The works of Nathaniel Lardner
LARDNER'S WORKS.

VOL. VII.
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OF

NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D.

WITH A LIFE BY DR. KIPPIES.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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THE CREDIBILITY

OF THE

GOSPEL HISTORY,

or,

THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONFIRMED BY PASSAGES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS, WHO WERE CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR SAVIOUR, OR HIS APOSTLES, OR LIVED NEAR THEIR TIME.

PART II.
LARGE COLLECTION
OF ANCIENT
JEWISH AND HEATHEN TESTIMONIES.

PREFACE.

With some farther observations upon the paragraph in the Works of Josephus concerning our blessed Saviour.

Notwithstanding all that has been said by me and others, for showing that the paragraph concerning our Saviour, now found in the Antiquities of Josephus, is not genuine, but an interpolation, some learned men are still tenacious of it. I therefore intend to offer here some further observations upon it.

I have as yet taken no notice of an argument which is entitled, 'A Dissertation upon the Account supposed to have been given of Jesus Christ by Josephus: being an attempt to show that this celebrated passage, some slight corruptions only excepted, may reasonably be esteemed genuine.' At Oxford, in the year 1749, pp. 69, beside a short preface.

The dissertation is without a name, but is generally ascribed to Dr. N. Forster. As great regard has been shown to it by some, I think it not improper for me to consider the merits of it.

Says the learned author, p. 12, 13: 'First then I consider the account itself as a mere simple narrative, in which there is not a sentence that, when properly read and understood, betrays the writer to have had any suspicion that Jesus was the Messiah, or even a teacher sent from God.' On the

* See Dr. Sharpe's Argument, taken from the concessions of adversaries, p. 39.
other hand, some expressions plainly imply him to have
been persuaded of the contrary. And the whole, taken to-
gether, seems to be the composition of a person perfectly
satisfied that the christian scheme could not be true:
astonished however at some amazing appearances in its
favour, but artfully evading the force of them, avoiding to
enter into the merits of the affair, and yet affecting to give
a seemingly plausible account of its original.

And at p. 49, 50: ‘But a short view of the whole para-
graph will best illustrate and confirm what has been ob-
served. It may, I think, be fairly rendered in the follow-
ing manner: “But about this time appears one Jesus, a
man of great abilities, if indeed he may be properly styled
a mere man. For he was a worker of wonders, a teacher
of people, who embraced his new and extraordinary doc-
trines with eagerness. And he led away many, not only
of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles after him. This was
the person so well known by the name of Christ. And
though Pilate, upon the impeachment brought by the prin-
cipal persons of our nation against him, caused him to be
 crucified, they who had before entertained an affection
for him did not desist. For he appeared to them to be
alive again on the third day, their own preachers at least
having reported both these and numberless other wonder-
ful things concerning him. And the sect of the christians,
who received their denomination from this person, are not
extinct even to this day.”’

In support of this interpretation, the learned writer pro-
poseth two alterations, as emendations of the present text in
Josephus. And instead of men ' who received the truth
' with pleasure,' των ἄληθεν ἰδεύσαντο τι αληθὸς ἐξομολογομα'
he would read, τα αὐθεν,' new, strange, unheard-of, extraordinary doctrines,' p. 27—29. And instead of των θεων προφήτων, 'the divine
prophets,' he is for reading των γε ἢθεων, 'their own prophets
or preachers,' p. 41—44.

Upon all this I must say, first, that this is indeed giving a
new turn to the passage, never so understood before, so far
as we know, by any ancient christian writers. But still the
objections taken from ' the want of connexion' in the place
where the passage stands, and from ' the silence of all chris-
tian writers before Eusebius,' and of some others after him,
remain in their full force. Some things are offered by the
learned author of the dissertation to diminish the force of
those considerations. But they are of small moment. No-	hing material can be said here. Interpret the paragraph
as you please; it was worth alleging. If the things here
mentioned are the declarations not of the ancient Jewish prophets, but of the first preachers among the christians, or the disciples of Jesus, their testimony was fit to be taken notice of. Nor could it have been omitted by the early apologists for christianity. The apologists, and other christians, of the second and third centuries, who were continually speaking of Jesus, and his resurrection from the dead, and his wonderful works, as proofs of a divine mission, would not have failed to remind their adversaries, and all men, that their doctrine was no other than the doctrine of the first disciples of Jesus, and that Josephus, a learned Jew and an unbeliever, who was contemporary with Christ's first disciples, and wrote before the end of that age, had borne witness of it in his writings to all the world.

Secondly, the alterations proposed by the learned author of the Dissertation, as emendations of the text, are destitute of authority.

The paragraph is twice quoted by Eusebius, and afterwards, in the space of a few centuries, by many others: by Jerom in his Book of Illustrious Men in Latin; by his interpreter in Greek; by Isidore of Pelusium, Sozomen, Suidas, and others, and all in the like manner, without affording any the least countenance to either of the proposed alterations. I therefore do not see how they can be admitted or approved of by any sober and cautious critics, who are concerned for the integrity of ancient writings. I do not think it needful for me to say any thing more here. I therefore proceed.

Thirdly, in this paragraph it is said of Jesus, 'he performed many wonderful works;' or, 'he was a worker of wonders.' Ἡν γὰρ παραδοξῶν ερήμων ποιητὴς. Which I think could be said by none but a christian.

But let us see what this learned writer says, p. 25: 'And what Jesus almost, either ancient or modern, that has written of Jesus, does not say the same?' And in a note at the same page: 'This is not merely a periphrasis for εὐγγερή, but somewhat more express and particular. He was by profession and character παραδοξῶν ερήμων ποιητῆς. This was what he was chiefly remarkable for; the light in which, according to our author (Josephus) he is principally to be considered.'

b Indeed I cannot think it needful to enlarge here. And yet I know not how to forbear to confront the proposed τὰ αὐθημεία for τὰ αὐθημεία, with a reference to a letter of Isidore of Pelusium, who, after having quoted the paragraph in Josephus, according to the present reading, reflects upon it in these words: Εγὼ δὲ λαον θεωρῶ τ' αὐθημείας τῶν άρσης μὲν τὰ φιλολογεῖν, μάλα δὲ ἐν οἷς, εἰτε, εἰςάρκαλος αὐθημείων τῶν ἴδεσιν τ' αὐθημείας ἐξεχομένων. Ἡ. 4. ερ. 225.
I am rather of opinion, that few or none will admit miracles to have been performed by any but such as they believe to have been teachers, who acted with divine authority.

However, let us not perplex ourselves about the opinions of modern Jews. We are examining a paragraph in an ancient writing. Let us therefore observe the sentiments of the ancients.

When Nicodemus came to our Lord, he said, John iii. 2: "Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles that thou doest except God be with him:" which I take to be a certain truth, and that no man can work miracles unless he have the special presence of God with him. I suppose this to have been the opinion of the Pharisees, and all Jews in general, in the time of our Saviour. The poor man who had been born blind, and had been healed by our Lord, was of this opinion, and openly declares it, and argues from it before the Jewish council: John ix. 30—33, "Herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he has opened mine eyes. Now we know that God heareth not sinners: but if a man be a worshipper of God, and doeth his will, him he heareth. Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one born blind. If this man were not of God he could do nothing:"

It is said, Acts iv. 13—18, that when Peter and John were brought before the council, after healing the lame man at the temple: "And beholding the man which was healed, they could say nothing against it. But when they had commanded them to go aside out of the council, they conferred among themselves, saying: What shall we do to these men? for that a notable miracle has been done by them, is manifest to all them that dwell at Jerusalem; and we cannot deny it." So they say privately in a consultation among themselves. The meaning is: 'It is not our business to dispute about it, or contest the truth of the miracle with the people.' Or, as Dr. Doddridge: 'Nevertheless, it is equally plain that both our credit and our interest require us to suppress the rumour of it as much as we can.' Which they did. They did not publicly declare the miracle, as Josephus is here made to do. "But that it spread no farther among the people, let us straitly threaten them that they speak henceforth to no man in this name. And they called them, and commanded them not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus."

The sentiment of the unbelieving Pharisees at that time
may be clearly discerned in the debate between the council and the man who had been healed of blindness, John ix. 18—22: But the Jews did not believe concerning him that he had been blind, and received his sight, until they called the parents of him that had received sight. And they asked them, saying: Is this your son, who ye say was born blind? How then doth he now see? His parents answered them, and said: We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind; but by what means he now seeth we know not: or who hath opened his eyes, we know not: he is of age, ask him. These words spake his parents, because they feared the Jews: for the Jews had agreed already that if any man did confess that he was Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue."

The parents did not dare to own either the miracle or the consequence. But the man who had been healed acknowledgeth both; that his cure was miraculous, and that Jesus, by whom it had been performed, was a prophet. For which he was reviled by the council, and then excommunicated.

Let us now observe the sentiment of Josephus himself in this point. Speaking of Elisha, he says: 'And not long after the prophet also died, a man celebrated for his virtue, and manifestly favoured by God. For through his prophecy were shown wonderful and extraordinary works, and such as were worthy of an honourable remembrance among the Hebrews.'

Josephus therefore supposed the performance of wonderful works to be a proof of divine favour, and a prophetical character.

However, still our learned author proceeds, p. 26: 'The fact then, which Josephus mentions, could not be dissembled. But the conciseness and ambiguity with which it is expressed are extremely proper. Silent entirely with regard to the great variety and singular nature of the miracles which Jesus had done, he is satisfied with simply representing him as a worker εργων παραδοξων, a word, which all who are acquainted with its natural and original signification, and more particularly with the uses to which Josephus commonly applies it, (denoting any thing strange, extraordinary, or unaccountable, of what kind and degree soever it may be,) will perceive it to be one of the most equivocal, and consequently the best adapted to his du-

\(^c\) Μετ' ου τολύ ἐκαὶ τὸ προφήτης απεθάνειν ἀνηρ εἰπὲ ἑκαστοῦν ἐκατημοῦν, καὶ φανερῶς σπειράζεται ύπο τοὺς θεοὺς. Θαυμάσα τοὺς ἄνθρωπον καὶ παραδόξα ἑαυτῷ τὸ προφήτης απεικόνισε εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγενέστατο εὐγε

\(^{494}\) \textit{Antiq.} i. 9. c. 8. sect. 6. p. 494.
Jewish Testimonies.

`bious character of the person concerned, that this extensive and capacious language could have afforded him.'

I do not perceive this to be rightly said. I have not observed the use of the word παραδόξος in Josephus to be so ambiguous and equivocal. It has with him a precise and determinate meaning, and is equivalent to 'miraculous.' So it is used by him in the place before cited, where he speaks of the works of Elisha, which manifested his favour with God. It is easy to allege other places in the writings of Josephus where this word has the same sense. When Moses in the wilderness saw the burning bush all in a flame, the fruit not hurt, nor the green leaves blasted, he was astonished at the 'wonderful sight:' Exod. iii. 3. ο ὑδατικον τινι ἑντικον τινι παραδόξον ἐγεγερμένην. Ant. l. 2, cap. 12, p. 105. We call it, "this great sight," agreeably to the Hebrew, as do also the Seventy. Certainly it was miraculous, and a token of the divine presence, and allowed to be so by Josephus. When the water in Egypt had been turned by Moses into blood he says, 'The water had not only the colour of blood, but it also caused great pains to those who drank of it. So it was to the Egyptians, and to them alone: for to the Hebrews it was sweet and potable, and not at all altered in its nature. When the king saw this wonderful thing, he was much perplexed, being concerned for the welfare of the Egyptians; and he gave leave for the Hebrews to depart.' -Προς ἐν το παραδόξου αυτχανάσσας ο βασιλέως, καὶ δείξας περι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, συνεχώρει τοις Ἑβραίοις απειναί. Ant. l. 2, c. xiv. sect. 1, p. 108. See Exod. vii. 19.—After relating the safe passage of the Israelites through the Red sea, and the destruction of Pharaoh and his army, he says: 'The Hebrews having obtained this wonderful deliverance, Moses led them toward Mount Sinai,' Παραδόξος ἐν τη Ἑβραίοις τὴς σωτηρίας ἐτοι γεγεγερμένης, κ. λ. Ant. l. 3. c. i. in. Comp. Exod. xiv. and xvi. In Numb. xvii. is the contention for the priesthood, which is determined in favour of Aaron and the tribe of Levi, by the budding and blossoming of the rod of Aaron, which had been laid up in the tabernacle. Josephus calls this also a wonderful thing; and says that thereupon all the people readily acquiesced in the 'divine judgment and determination.' Ἐκπληγέντες δ' επι τη παραδόξῳ της θεᾶς, ει καὶ εις μισην την Μωσῆς και λαρνον, Ἀφεντες τοτε, θαυμάζεον ἡγαστον τη τε Θεω περι αυτων κραίσιν και το λοιπον, επεννήμενες τοις ἐκδογμενοις τω Θεω, συνεχώρει λαρνοι καλων σχει την αρχιερασιν. Antiq. l. 4, cap. 4, sect. 2, p. 203. Going over the miracles of Elisha, and observing those recorded, 2 Kings ch. vi. and particularly
what is mentioned, ver. 19, 20, he calls it a 'divine and 'wonderful work.' — Εν εκτηθείν δὲ δείκνυον καὶ ἀνθρώπων των Σωτήρ, οὐκ εἰκοσ, εφ' ἐπων θεία καὶ παραδοξα τραγματε κειμενων' — κ. λ. 1. 9, c. 4, sect. 3, p. 479.

In all these places the Greek word signifies 'miraculous;' and so it must do in this paragraph. And as Josephus allows miracles to be divine works, and a proof of a prophetical character, and of the special favour and approbation of God, he could not say this of Jesus unless he was a christian. I might add that Josephus often speaks of God's confirming the mission of Moses by signs and wonders. See particularly Antiq. 1. 2, cap. xii. xiv. And if Josephus owned that Jesus had performed wonderful or miraculous works, he must have received him as a divine teacher and the Messiah, and must have embraced the christian religion; and would have been quite another man than what he really was, and we now see him to be in all his works.

Indeed, it is not Josephus, but Eusebius, or some other christian about this time, who composed this paragraph. Every one must be inclined to think so who observes the connexion in his Evangelical Demonstration, where is the first quotation of it. In the third book of that work Eusebius has a chapter, or section, 'against those who do not give 'credit to the history of our Saviour's wonderful works.' Προς τεν ἀπειθεντα τη τα σωτηρον ημων περι των παραδοξων πραξεων διηγησει. Dem. Ev. l. 3, c. vii. p. 109. Where follows an excellent argument, taken from the internal characters of credibility in the evangelical history, the success of the gospel among Greeks, and Romans, and Barbarians, and the zeal, intrepidity, and sufferings, of Christ's apostles, and the first christians. Then he says, ' Though the testimony of such men concerning our Saviour must be 'esteemed fully sufficient, it cannot be amiss for me to 'add, over and above the testimony of Josephus, a He- 'brew, who, in the eighteenth book of his Jewish Antiqui- 'ties, writing the history of affairs in the times of Pilate, 'speaks of our Saviour in these words.' Where follows the paragraph which we are considering: where our Lord is said to be a ' worker of wonderful works.' Ην γαρ παρα- δοξων ερων πονηρης. Which way of speaking is so agree- able to Eusebius, and has such a similitude with his style, that I am disposed to put down below some instances from

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d Ανταρκτις μεν ουν καὶ ή τονε τυγχανε περι τα σωτηρον ημων μαρτυρια' κ. λ. Dem. Evang. l. 3, p. 124. Α.  

ε Και η σκεψιμεθα, ονων και εινων, σιν ανθρωπος τας διατυπου πεποιη-
him; which must be of use to satisfy us that the style of this paragraph is very christian, if it be not the composition of Eusebius himself, as Tanaquil Faber suspected.

Fourthly, once more, the learned author of the Dissertation argues, that it was very unlikely that Josephus should be silent about our Saviour, p. 51, 52, 'Now, though I entirely agree with this great writer, the author of the Divine Legation of Moses, that preaching up Christ was an affair which Josephus would studiously decline, and have always deemed appearances of this kind considerable objections to the passage in question, as it is usually read and understood, yet I cannot but think, (as many persons have already observed,) that it is improbable that he should omit all account of Jesus, a person so remarkable in Judea, who so lately had been the cause of so great commotions among his countrymen, and whose fame was at this very time spread by his followers throughout the world. Christianity was an affair which made some noise at this very time.—Some account of it therefore seems to have been unavoidable in a person treating of the extraordinary incidents of that period. And silence, with regard to so remarkable and conspicuous an object, would have been only shutting his own eyes that others might not see it.'

I must own that I did not expect to see this learned author enlarge so much, and to set so high value, upon a worn-out argument, 'which,' as he says, 'many persons have already observed,' to little purpose in my opinion. I shall only say that this argument proves too much, and therefore it proves nothing. It has been observed by some learned men, that Josephus has said nothing of the golden calf made by the Jewish people in the wilderness; thus dropping a very remarkable and important narrative, with a variety of incidents, recorded in one of the books of Moses himself, the Jewish lawgiver, the most sacred of all their scriptures. Yet, if we please, we may argue with a great deal of seeming probability that he did and has taken notice of that transaction. 'Was it not well known in the world? Is it not recorded in one of the sacred books of the Old Testament? Is it not in the Hebrew original? Is it not also in the Greek version, made before the times of Josephus, and

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μενος, παραδεξαν γεγονε πωητης εργων. Dem. Ev. l. 3. c. 4. p. 107. 6.—

Οὐς ἦν σεμνοτέρων τα πράττεσθαι, ὅτι των τειωκε πωητης εργων παραδεξαν

gεγονε το γραφειν ὅτι μηδεν θυντων περι αυτων σωβεζε—κ. λ. 1β. p. 123. D.

---Πως οὖς αυ τειω και εν λοίπως, ως εμφαννησαν αυτω παραδεξα; κ.

λ. p. 124. A.

1 See Vol. vi. ch. iv. sub. fin.

5 Mr. Whiston's wrong, and indeed absurd, method of accounting for that
in the hands of many Greeks and others? Does not he say, 
1 at the beginning of his Antiquities, that he should write of 
1 the Jewish affairs as he found them recorded in the sacred 
1 books, without adding to them, or taking away from them? 
1 Therefore he could not avoid mentioning this. Is not Jo- 
1 sephus an historian in great repute? And can it be con- 
1 sistent with that character to omit so remarkable an event? 
1 Upon the whole, therefore, it may be concluded with great 
1 probability, if not with certainty, that this story is in his 
1 works, or was there formerly.

So men may harangue very plausibly, but yet to little purpose. And therefore it may be applied to the present case. If Josephus had reasons which induced him to pass by that transaction, recorded in the ancient history of his people, he might also have reasons which induced him to be silent about some remarkable occurrences in his own time.

I have now, as I think, paid due regard to the author of the aforesaid Dissertation.

II. Since the publication of the first volume of this work, I have received a letter from a learned friend, with several objections to what has been said by me for showing this paragraph in Josephus to be an interpolation. And, if I am not mistaken, my friend is well acquainted with the above-mentioned Dissertation.

1. Says my friend: 'It is introduced with great pro-
1 priety, as what happened under Pilate's administration, 
1 and as what was one occasion of the disturbances amongst 
1 the Jews in his time. Give me leave to add that this par-
1 graph, concerning Jesus, doth not seem to me so much 
1 to interrupt the course of the narration as is complained 
1 of. It is introduced under the article of Pilate, and placed 
1 between two circumstances which occasioned disturbances. 
1 And was not the putting Jesus to death, and the continu-
1 ance of his apostles and disciples after him, declaring his 
1 resurrection, another very considerable circumstance, 
1 which created very great disturbances? And though Jo-
1 sephus does not expressly say this, and, perhaps, had good 
1 reasons for not saying it, yet perhaps he intimates it, by 
1 placing it between the two causes of commotion, by giv-
1 ing so honourable a testimony to Jesus, and telling us that 
1 he was crucified at the instigation of the chief persons of 
1 the nation.'

To which I answer, that there is not in this paragraph omission, may be seen in his second Dissertation, sect. 28. p. xlv. and a con-
1 futation of it may be seen in Dr. Warburton's Divine Legation, Vol. 2. p.430.
any intimation of disturbances occasioned by Jesus or his followers. And I shall here repeat the words of Mr. Tille-
mont, which were quoted formerly, Vol. vi. ch. iv. "It 'must be owned,' says he, 'that there is one thing embar-
rassing in this passage, which is, that it interrupts the '
course of the narration in Josephus. For the passage that 'immediately follows begins in these terms: "About the 'same time there happened another misfortune which dis-
turbed the Jews." For those words, "another misfort-
tune," have no connection with what was just said of Je-
sus Christ: which is not mentioned as an unhappiness, 'On the contrary, it has a very natural reference to what 'precedes in that place; which is a sedition, in which many 'Jews were killed or wounded." Therefore the paragraph 'concerning Jesus was not originally there, but was inserted 'by some interpolator afterwards. So likewise says Vitringa: 'Take away the paragraph concerning Jesus, and the pre-
ceeding and following paragraphs exactly agree and tally 'together." Sed restat longe maxima difficultas, de coha-
rentiâ horum verborum Josephi, quibus Christo testimonium 'perhibet cum sequentibus; 'Circa eadem tempora aliiud 'etiam Judæos turbavit incommodum, &c." Que tamen 'verba, si testimonium de Christo e contextu Josephi sustu-

'He testifies that he was 'a wise man.' Is uncertain 'whether he was not something more than a common man;'
'which is the meaning of the words, εικε ανδρα αυτου λεγειν 'χρις. Josephus, upon Jewish principles, could not but 'think him a man, though he was uncertain whether he was 'not somewhat greater and more extraordinary than any 'mere man. And your own quotation from Josephus about 'Moses, Vol. vi. ch. iv, that he was a man superior to his 'nature, accounts for the character given to Jesus.'

I alleged that place to show that the expression here 'used, is not altogether without example in the style of Jose-
phus. But I did not intend to say or intimate that Josephus 'had as high an opinion of Jesus as he had of Moses. Nor 'can any think that Josephus believed Jesus to be equal to 'Moses, unless they suppose him to have been a christian.

'He says he was παραδοξων ερημων πανηγυς. That the Jews 'themselves, his contemporaries and enemies, acknow-
ledged.' Matt. xiii. 54; xiv. 2, &c.

This has been considered already in the remarks upon the 'Dissertation.

'I think, as you allow with great reason his testimony to
the Baptist to be genuine, it is not to be accounted for that he should wholly omit to say any thing of Jesus.'

So says my very learned and very ingenious friend, And another very ingenious man \(^h\) is reported to have said, that ' Tanaquil Faber threw himself into innumerable difficulties by attacking the genuineness of the passage concerning Christ, and defending that where John the Baptist is mentioned.'

I am undoubtedly in the same case with Tanaquil Faber. I receive the passage where John the Baptist is mentioned, and reject that concerning Jesus. But I do not here feel the weight of any difficulties. I am not at all embarrassed thereby.

For, first, many Jews \(^i\) may have respected John the Baptist as a man of an austere character who did not receive Jesus as the Christ. And Origen \(^k\) in his books against Celsus has quoted the passage of Josephus relating to John the Baptist. But he, and all other christian writers before Eusebius, are silent about the paragraph concerning Jesus, now found in the Jewish Antiquities. Surely this makes a difference.

Secondly, Josephus says nothing of that which is the distinguishing character of John the Baptist—that he was the harbinger, or forerunner of the Messiah. This is the true and genuine character of John. He would not have existed, he never would have been at all, if it had not been for the sake of another, who was to come after him, and was greater than he.

Concerning Jesus, John testified: "This is he, of whom I said: After me cometh a man which is preferred before me. And I knew him not; but that he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water," &c. John i. 30, 31. And see Matt. iii. 11, 12; Mark i. 6—8; Luke i. 16, 17, 76, 77; iii. 16, 17; John iii. 28, and other places. Josephus's entire silence about this true and genuine character of John the Baptist, by which he is distinguished from all the men and prophets that ever were, affords a cogent argument that Josephus is not the author of the paragraph concerning Jesus, now found in the same book of his Antiquities; wherein Jesus is said to have been 'more than a mere man, a worker of miracles, the Christ,' and the like.

I hope my honoured friend will accept of these answers to the principal objections which he has sent me.

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\(^h\) The Abbé de Languere. See Langueruana, Vol. 2. p. 70.

\(^i\) See Vol. vi. ch. iv. et ultra chap. xviii. sect. 2. fin.

\(^k\) See Vol. vi. ch. iv.
III. I now intend to recollect and sum up the argument with some additional observations.

That this paragraph, concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, is not Josephus’s, but an interpolation, is argued from these several following considerations.

1. It is not quoted nor referred to by any Christian writers before Eusebius, who flourished at the beginning of the fourth century, and afterwards.

2. This paragraph was wanting in the copies of Josephus, which were seen by Photius in the ninth century.

3. It interrupts the course of the narration.

4. It is unsuitable to the general character of Josephus, who is allowed not to have been a Christian.

It is here said that ‘Jesus was a wise man, if he may be called a man,’ so that the writer of the paragraph was uncertain whether Jesus was not somewhat greater, and a more extraordinary person than a mere man. ‘He performed wonderful works;’ or, ‘was a worker of wonders.’ The original word, rendered wonders, is equivalent to miracles in Josephus and in Eusebius, who first quoted this paragraph. And if Josephus had ascribed miracles to Jesus, he must have owned him to be a teacher come from God. Afterwards it is said: ‘This was the Christ.’ That is the genuine and only meaning of the Greek words, ὁ Χριστός αὐτοῦ ἡν. And every thing else said in that paragraph confirms that sense.

‘And when Pilate, at the instigation of the chief men among us, had condemned him to the cross, they who before had conceived an affection for him, did not cease to adhere to him. For on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and many other wonderful things concerning him.’ All very Christian. And every thing here said is in all our copies of Josephus, and in the first quotation made by Eusebius, and in all the quotations since made by other ancient writers.

That this last clause, the divine prophets having foretold these, and many other wonderful things concerning him, was always in this testimony, we are assured by Eusebius who so quotes it. And presently after quoting it, makes a remark upon the passage; which shows he so read it. For he presently adds: ‘And the book of the Acts of the Apostles assures us, that many thousand Jews believed

1 See Vol. vi. ch. iv.

him to be the Christ of God, whom the prophets had foretold.’ See Acts xxii. 20.

How Christian is all this! And said likewise to be agreeable to the predictions of the divine prophets! which is suitable to many texts of the New Testament, and even resembles them: Luke xxiv. 25, 26, 44; Acts xx. 22, 23; Rom. i. 1—4; 1 Cor. xv. 4. Throughout all the works of Josephus there is not any the least notice taken of Christ, or the Christians, or their affairs. But in this short passage are inserted almost all the articles concerning Jesus Christ, which were in the ancient Christian creeds, except his miraculous nativity, and his ascension to heaven: he suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried: the third day he rose again from the dead.

And, to complete this testimony, the great progress of the Christian religion in the world is here asserted, and that this Jesus had brought over to him many Jews and many Gentiles. The steadiness of his followers in their zeal for him is also plainly intimated. They who had conceived an affection for him did not cease to adhere to him. And the sect of the Christians, so called from him, still subsists. Which are the expressions of a person who lived some good while after the rise of Christianity; and later than the time of Josephus: Nor is it any great wonder that his followers should be so attached to him, since they were men who received the truth with pleasure, and had at first given up themselves to him as a teacher of it. The bishop of Gloucester therefore, in considering this passage, aptly calls it preaching up of Christ, and assigns a reason why Josephus should studiously decline the doing; and therefore makes no scruple to call this passage spurious.

5. If Josephus were the author of this paragraph, it would be reasonable to expect in him frequent mention of Christ’s miracles: whereas he is every where else silent about them.

All these considerations were mentioned formerly. But I have now made enlargements under the fourth. And I beg leave to add here a thought or two more.

6. The word Christ, or Messiah, appears not in any place in all the works of Josephus, excepting two: namely, the paragraph which we have been considering, which is now in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities; and another in the twentieth book of the same Antiquities, where is mention made of James, the brother of Jesus who is called Christ.’

This appears to me a good argument that these two passages are interpolations. For Josephus had many, yea, innumerable occasions for mentioning that word, and speaking of the expected Messiah. But that word is not to be found any where in him, excepting these two passages where he is made to speak of Jesus Christ. He must have designedly and studiously avoided that expression. And it is incredible that he should bring it in for the sake of Jesus, our Saviour, for whom he cannot be supposed to have had any favourable regard.

7. Finally, to conclude, it appears to me to be the wisdom and the interest of christians, to adhere to and improve the genuine works of Josephus, and to maintain their integrity, instead of attempting to vindicate passages which are so justly suspected to be interpolations.

His works are valuable and useful, and highly deserving the esteem of christians upon divers accounts.

First, his rehearsal, or paraphrase of the books of the Old Testament, as it is called by Isidore of Pelusium, is very valuable, notwithstanding some alterations by way of omission or addition.

Secondly, his account of the state of things among the Jewish people from the conquest of Judea by Pompey to the commencement of the war, and during the ministry of our Saviour and his apostles, is very valuable, indeed above all price.

Thirdly, his testimony to the fulfilment of our Saviour’s predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish nation by Vespasian and Titus, is also invaluable, and has always been so esteemed by all christians in general.

Such a testimony to all these several things from a learned Jew, contemporary with the apostles of Jesus, zealous for the law, and in some respects an enemy to us, deserves the attentive regard, and high esteem of all friends to christianity.

παραγαγων εις αυτο του αυελφων Ισμι τω λεγομενω Χριστω, Ιακωβις ουναμ αυτω, και τινας ετερες. Ant. 20. c. ix. sect. 1. p. 976.

I understand the learned author of the Dissertation to allow this where he says, p. 34, 35, ‘Not as the adversaries of this passage on the one hand, or its advocates on the other, equally misled by christian notions, have generally interpreted it: ‘This was the Christ,’ or ‘the person said to be the Christ,’ viz. as a Jewish appellation or title of office and dignity, concerning which he has carefully avoided dropping the least hint throughout his whole history.’

‘See the judgment of Fabricius, before alleged, Vol. vi. ch. iv. note 3.

Και την παλαιαν ειαθηκην μετ’ αληθειας παραφρασας.—Isidor. l. 4. ep. 225.

Ἐγενετο δε τις Ἰωσηφος, Ισαας ακρος, και τη νεμα ζηλωτης ε. λ. Ibid.
TESTIMONIES

OF

ANCIENT HEATHEN AUTHORS.

CHAP. IX.

PLINY THE YOUNGER, AND TRAJAN.

THE LETTER OF PLINY THE YOUNGER TO TRAJAN CONCERNING THE CHRISTIANS, AND TRAJAN'S REScript, WITH NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTION IN THE TIME OF THAT EMPEROR, GENERALLY RECKONED THE THIRD HEATHEN PERSECUTION.

I. The history of Pliny, and the time of his provincial government. II. Pliny's letter to Trajan, and Trajan's rescript. III. Eusebius's account of the persecution in the reign of Trajan. IV. Pliny's letter rehearsed, with notes and observations. V. Trajan's rescript rehearsed, with notes and observations. VI. Whether Trajan did by any edict put an end to the persecution. VII. The judgments of divers learned men upon the preceding letter and rescript. VIII. The characters of Pliny and Trajan represented with freedom, candour, and impartiality. IX. Observations, showing the uses of the two foregoing epistles.

I. Caius Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, or Pliny the younger, a son of Lucius Cæcilius and a sister of the elder Pliny, by whom he was adopted for his son, was born at Como, near Milan, in the year of Christ 61 or 62. He was praetor under Domitian, and afterwards praefect of the trea-


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sury of Saturn; which trust seems to have been conferred on him jointly by b Nerva and Trajan. He c was consul in the third year of the reign of Trajan, in the year of our Lord 100; when he pronounced his celebrated panegyric upon that emperor. He was also augur, and for a while governor d of Pontus and Bithynia. It is very probable that he did not survive Trajan, who died e on the tenth of August, in the year 117. It is more reasonable to think that he died several years before him; forasmuch as there is nothing extant, either in his epistles, or elsewhere, that should induce us to think he lived long after his provincial government.

Pliny had not the title of proconsul, but was sent into the province by the emperor, as his lieutenant and proprætor, with proconsular power; as appears from some ancient inscriptions still e remaining.

But learned men are divided about the time of his government, and consequently of his letter to Trajan, which must be alleged presently. The great Joseph Scaliger f acknowledged the difficulty of this point.

Some think he g went into the province in the year 101, and that the persecution which the christians underwent in his time, happened in the year 103. Others suppose that h he got into the province in the latter part of the year 103, and left it in the summer of 105, staying there about eighteen months; which term of his government is generally agreed to. Basnage and cardinal Noris were inclined to

b Ut primum me, Domine, indulgentiâ VESTRA promovit ad præfecturam aerarii Saturni. Lib. x. ep. 20.

b Sed primum meâ, deinde patris tui valetudine, postea curis delegati a vobis officii, retentus, &c. 1b. ep. 24.

c Nondum biennium compleramus in officio laboriosissimo et maximo, quam tu nobis, optime principum,—consulatum obtulisti. Paneg. cap. 91.


e Pagi Anno. 117. num. vi. Basnag. ann. 117. num. ii.

f C. PLINUS

C.ÆCILIUS SECUNDUS

COS. AUGUR. LEGAT. PRO. PRÆT.
PROVINC. PONTI. CONSULARI. PO
TESTATE. IN. EAM. PROVINCIAM. AB.
IMP. CÆSARE. NERVA TRAIANO
AUG. GERMANICO. MISSUS.


f Vid. ejus Animadvertiones in Euseb. Chron. p. 207. That was the opinion of James La Baune, editor of the ancient Panegyrists in usum Delphini. De Vitâ Plinii. It was likewise the opinion of Mr. Dodwell. Missus est in provinciam Bithyniam anno sequente, 1f.—Ita inciderit persecutione illa Plinii in annum Domini, cih. accuratissime. Dodw. Diss. Iren. i. § xvi.

think that\(^k\) Pliny went thither in the year 109, and left it in 111. Pagi's computation makes it still later; for he says that\(^l\) Pliny did not enter into the province before the year 110. Le Clerc, in his Ecclesiastical History of the first two centuries, follows Pagi, placing Pliny's letter concerning the christians in the year 111.

In order to form a judgment concerning this point, some things may be observed by us. In the first place it is generally allowed that\(^m\) the emperor Trajan was at Rome all the time that Pliny was in the province; which appears to be very evident from his letters written to Trajan in that space. This does not favour the early date of Pliny's governments; for at that time Trajan must have been engaged in the Dacian wars. Secondly, another thing, which much weakens the supposition of that early date, is this: Pliny was consul in the year of our Lord 100; but he did not go into his province the year after; several years passed between his consulship and his provincial government; as has been shown by divers learned\(^n\) men.

Nevertheless I do not see sufficient reason to defer his government so long as some have done. And I am inclined to think that Pliny was sent into the province in the year 106, and left it in 108. I see no good reason to believe that Trajan was absent from Rome in that space of time. The Dacian wars, and the two triumphs for them, might be over by the end of the year 105, or the middle of 106.

We can perceive from Pliny's panegyric, pronounced in the beginning of September, in the year 100, that\(^p\) the war against the Dacians was even then designed by Trajan, and that, probably, preparations were then making for it.


\(^l\) Plinius igitur anno Christi centesimo decimo Bithyniam intravit. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 102. num. vi.


\(^n\) Vid. Pagi Crit. in Baron. ann. 102. n. vii. viii. Basnag. ann. 109. num. ii.


\(^p\) Quod si quis barbarus rex eo insolentiae furorisque processerit, ut iram tuam indignationemque mereatur, ne ille, sive interfuso mari, seu fluminibus immensis, seu precipitii monte defenditur, omnia hæc tam prona, tanque cedentia virtutibus tuis sentiet, ut subsedisse montes,
The Dacian wars began in that same year, or in the following; and lasted five years. They ended therefore in the year 105, or the beginning of 106.

In the year 102, Trajan obtained a signal, though difficult, victory over the Dacians, and triumphed at Rome upon that account in the year 103: of this there is full proof. The first war therefore was completed in two years. The second could not last much longer.

After these wars Trajan staid a long while at Rome. For, though some learned men have thought otherwise, it seems to me to have been well shown by Pagi, and Basnage, that Trajan did not go into the East before the year 112. During that stay at Rome he received the solemn embassies of divers eastern princes, raised many new buildings, and repaired others, built his forum, and erected the famous column, which was not finished and dedicated before the year 112 or 113.

What has been already said must be sufficient to render it probable that Trajan was at Rome in the year 107, and afterwards.

Another argument for the time of Pliny’s government offers itself here from the martyrdom of Ignatius, which must be supposed to have some connection with the rescript of Trajan, to be produced hereafter, and which cannot be removed from the tenth of Trajan, and the hundred and seventh of our Lord, where it is placed by Eusebius in his chronicle, and by Jerom in the chapter of Ignatius, in his Book of Illustrious Men. Eusebius could not be mistaken about the time of the martyrdom of a bishop of a city so near his own.

And by the Acts of Ignatius, which we have, his martyr-

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1 Trajanus hoc anno et Dacia Romam redux de Decebalo Dacorum rege triumphavit, ut certum facit nummus a Card. Norisio in Epistolà Consulari ex Thesaurio Mediceo productus. Pagi ann. 103. viii. et Basn. ann. 103. i.


Those Acts indeed are not sincere and incorrupt, nor, perhaps, of the highest antiquity. In them it is supposed that Ignatius was condemned at Antioch by Trajan in person, and sent by him to Rome; which is inconsistent with the just mentioned consulship: at which time Trajan was not at Antioch, as was before shown. Nor does Eusebius, or Jerom after him, say any thing of Ignatius having been condemned by Trajan himself; a remarkable circumstance, which, if true, could not have been omitted by writers, who have enlarged so much in their accounts of this bishop and martyr. Moreover, if Trajan had been at Antioch, Ignatius would have suffered in that city. His being sent to Rome is an argument that Trajan was there. So now, as we shall see presently, Pliny having some christians brought before him, who were citizens, he sent them to Rome, where Trajan certainly was at that time. And that Trajan was at Rome, when Ignatius suffered there, is expressly said by a christian writer of the ninth century.

Pliny, then, was sent from Rome in the summer of the year 106. He went by the way of Ephesus, and arrived in Bithynia on the eighteenth of September, which was the genuine, or natural birthday of Trajan. He seems also in one of his epistles to speak of the same birthday in another year. Whilst he was in the province he twice celebrated the day of Trajan's accession, or the anniversary of his empire. The first time may have been on the 27th of January, in the year 107; the next, or second, on the same day of January, in the year 108. It is likely that he did not leave the province before the summer of that year. Consequently

---diem illum, triplici gaudio latum, qui principem absulit pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit. Paneg. cap. 92.

---diei illum, tripli gaudio latum, qui principem absulit pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit. Paneg. cap. 92.

---diei illum, tripli gaudio latum, qui principem absulit pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit. Paneg. cap. 92.

---diei illum, tripli gaudio latum, qui principem absulit pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit. Paneg. cap. 92.

---diei illum, tripli gaudio latum, qui principem absulit pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit. Paneg. cap. 92.
C. Plinius Trajano Imp. S. Lib. x. ep. xvii.

chris\textsuperscript{t}ians: so that I know not well what is the subject
matter of punishment, or of inquiry, or what strictness
ought to be used in either. Nor have I been a little per-
plexed to determine whether any difference ought to be
made upon account of age, or whether the young and ten-
der, and the full-grown and robust, ought to be treated
all alike: whether repentance should entitle to pardon, or
whether all who have once been christians ought to be
punished, though they are now no longer so: whether the
name itself, although no crimes be detected, or crimes only
belonging to the name ought to be punished. Concerning
all these things I am in doubt.

In the mean time I have taken this course with all who
have been brought before me and have been accused as
chris\textsuperscript{t}ians. I have put the question to them, whether they
were christians. Upon their confessing to me that they
were, I repeated the question a second and a third time,
threatening also to punish them with death. Such as still
persisted, I ordered away to be punished; for it was no
doubt with me, whatever might be the nature of their opi-
nion, that contumacy, and inflexible obstinacy, ought to
be punished. There were others of the same infatuation,
whom, because they are Roman citizens, I have noted down
to be sent to the city.

In a short time, the crime spreading itself, even whilst
under persecution, as is usual in such cases, divers sorts of
people came in my way. An information was presented to
me without mentioning the author, containing the names
of many persons, who upon examination denied that they
were christians, or had ever been so: who repeated after
me an invocation of the gods, and with wine and frankin-
cense made supplication to your image, which for that
purpose I have caused to be brought and set before them,
together with the statues of the deities. Moreover, they
reviled the name of Christ. None of which things, as is
said, they who are really christians, can by any means be
compelled to do. These therefore I thought proper to
discharge.

Others were named by an informer, who at first confessed
themselves christians, and afterwards denied it. The rest
said they had been christians, but had left them; some
three years ago, some longer, and one, or more, above
twenty years. They all worshipped your image, and the
statues of the gods; these also reviled Christ. They af-
firmed that the whole of their fault, or error, lay in this,
that they were wont to meet together on a stated day be-
fore it was light, and sing among themselves alternately a
hymn to Christ, as a god, and bind themselves by an oath,
not to the commission of any wickedness, but not to be
guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their
word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them, when call-
ed upon to return it. When these things were performed,
it was their custom to separate, and then to come together
again to a meal, which they ate in common, without any
disorder: but this they had forborne, since the publication
of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I
prohibited assemblies.

After receiving this account I judged it the more neces-
sary to examine, and that by torture, two maid-servants,
which were called ministers. But I have discovered no-
thing, beside a bad and excessive superstition.

Suspending therefore all judicial proceedings, I have
recourse to you for advice: for it has appeared unto me a
matter highly deserving consideration, especially upon ac-
count of the great number of persons who are in danger
of suffering. For many of all ages, and every rank, of
both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. Nor
has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but
the lesser towns also, and the open country. Nevertheless
it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It
is certain that the temples, which were almost forsaken,
begin to be more frequented. And the sacred solemnities,
after a long intermission, are revived. Victims likewise
are everywhere bought up, whereas for some time there
were few purchasers. Whence it is easy to imagine what
numbers of men might be reclaimed, if pardon were grant-
ed to those who shall repent.'

So writes Pliny. We are now to observe the emperor's
rescript.

'Trajan to Pliny wisheth health and happiness.'

'You have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your
proceedings with those who have been brought before you
as christians; for it is impossible to establish any one rule
that shall hold universally. They are not to be sought

1 Trajanus Plinio S.
2 Lib. x. ep. 98. Actum quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in executiendis causis
corum qui christiani ad te delati fuerant, secutus es. Neque enim in univers-
sum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constituì potest. Conquirendi
non sunt. Si deferarunt, et arguantur, puniendi sunt: ita tamen, ut qui ne-
gaverit se christianum esse, idque re ipsa manifesto fecerit, id est, supplantando
Dis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum fuerit, veniam ex pœnitentia im-
petret. Sine auctore vero propositi libelli, nullo in crimine, locum habere deb-
ent. Nam et pessimi exempli, nec nostri seculi est.
for. If any are brought before you, and are convicted, they 
ought to be punished. However, he that denies his being 
a christian, and makes it evident in fact, that is, by sup-
plicating to our gods, though he be suspected to have been 
so formerly, let him be pardoned upon repentance. But 
in no case of any crime whatever, may a bill of informa-
tion be received without being signed by him who pre-
sents it: for that would be a dangerous precedent, and 
unworthy of my government.

I have put together these two letters, that we may make 
our remarks upon them jointly, and without interruption.

It may be observed here, that the genuineness of these 
letters is unquestioned. They are found with the other let-
ters of Pliny to Trajan, and Trajan’s letters to him. And 
they are both particularly mentioned by Tertullian, in his 
Apology for the christians, and by Eusebius from him, not 
now to mention any later writers.

III. But before we enter upon any particular remarks 
upon these epistles, it may be of use to take Eusebius’s ac-
count of the persecution of the christians in the reign of 
Trajan.

In the thirty-second chapter of the third book of his 
Ecclesiastical History, he expresseth himself to this pur-
pose: ‘After Nero and Domitian, in the time of him of 
whom we are now speaking, we have understood that in 
several places, and in divers cities, there was a persecution 
occasioned by the tumults of the people.’ After which he 
there relates the martyrdom of Simeon, son of Cleophas, 
bishop of Jerusalem: who at the age of an hundred and 
twenty years was crucified by order of Atticus, governor of 
Judea under Trajan.

In the next chapter he writes thus: ‘And indeed so 
heavy a persecution was there against us in many places, 
that Pliny, a governor of great eminence and distinction, 
being moved at the multitude of the martyrs, could not for-
bear writing to the emperor concerning the multitude of 
those who were slain for the faith. At the same time in-
forming him that he had not discovered any wickedness 
they were guilty of, or any thing done by them contrary 
to the laws: only that rising early in the morning they 
sang together a hymn to Christ, as a god: that they con-
demned adultery, murder, and all such crimes: and that 
they acted in all things according to the laws. In answer 
to which Trajan sent an edict to this effect: “That the 
christians should not be sought for, but if any were

k Apol. cap. 2.  
1 H. E. 1. 3. cap. 33.
brought before him they should be punished." By which
means the violence of the persecution against us was in
some measure abated. Nevertheless, they who had a mind
to disturb us did not want pretences for so doing: in some
places the people, in other places the governors of pro-
vinces, laying snares for us. So that, though there was no
open [or general] persecution, there were persecutions in
several places and provinces, and there were many faith-
ful men who underwent divers kinds of martyrdom.'

So writes Eusebius, I believe very truly, and I think
judiciously, and with good temper, though not with ele-
gance or accuracy of expression. He then proceeds to trans-
cribe a part of Tertullian's Apology, where he speaks of
Pliny and Trajan, of which I may take farther notice here-
after. At present I transcribe below what we find upon
this subject in Eusebius's Chronicle.

IV. I now intend to go over the two epistles above trans-
cribed.

'It is my constant custom, Sir, to refer myself to you in
'all matters concerning which I have any doubt.'

That this was Pliny's constant custom, sufficiently ap-
ppears from his many letters sent to Trajan, whilst he was in
the province. He seems to have had some particular en-
couragement from the emperor so to do. But the intro-
duction to this letter is rather more formal than ordinary,
because of the importance of the present subject of enquiry.
And indeed it was a frequent practice of the governors of
provinces, upon special occasions, to consult the Roman em-
peror, the supreme* magistrate.

'I have never been present at any trials of the christ-
ians.'

This manner of speaking shows that the christians were
then well known in the world. Pliny does not say to the
emperor that he had now unexpectedly met with a certain
sort of men in his province, called christians. No. There
were people well known to himself, and the emperor, who

* Plinius Secundus, quum quamdum provinciam regeret, et in magistratu
suo plurimos christianorum interfecisset, multitudine eorum perterritus, quasi-
vit de Trajano, quid facto opus esset, multitius ei, praeter obstinationem non
sacrificandi, et antelucanos coetus ad canendum cuidam Christo, ut Deo, nihil
apud eos reperiri: praeterea ad confœderandam disciplinam vetari ab his homic-
cidia, adulteria, latrocinia, et his similia. Ad quae commotus Trajanus re-
scripsit, hoc genus quidem inquirendos non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere.
* Summas, Domine, gratias ago, quod, inter maximas occupationes, iis, de quibus consultui, me quoque regere digna-
tus es: quod nunc quoque facias, rogo. L x. ep. 64.
bore the denomination of christians. When he says, 'he
had never been present at any trials of the christians;' it
seems to be implied that he knew of some such trials,
though he had not been concerned in them. And there
may have been such trials in this province before he came
into it.

' So that I know not well what is the subject matter of
punishment, or of inquiry, or what strictness ought to be
used in either.'

Hence it may be argued, that when Pliny came into his
province there were no edicts in force against the christians.
If there had, Pliny, who was a learned man, and
well acquainted with the Roman laws, must have known
them. The reason why there were then no edicts in force
against the christians, I suppose to be, that the edicts of
Nero and Domitian had been abrogated.

' Nor have I been a little perplexed to determine whether
any difference ought to be made on account of age, or
whether the young and tender, and the full grown and
'robust, ought to be treated all alike.'

Mr. Melmoth's translation is this: 'Whether therefore
any difference is usually made with respect to the ages of
the guilty, or no distinction is to be observed between the
young and the adult —.' I have allowed myself to be
more diffused, and somewhat paraphrastical, because I have
imagined that Pliny's question relates not only to those who
were tender upon account of their age, but also upon ac-
tount of their sex.

p Certe jam ante se cognitiones in provinciā fuisset de Christianis habitas,
initio literarum suarum nosis significat. Ac eum quidem, qui proxime ante
Plinium Bithyniae praefuerat, fuisset persecutorem, inde manifestum puto, quod
Plinius refert nonnullus ad se productorum dixisse, 'se jam ante triennium de-
sises esse christianos.' Sūa antem sponte eös, non metu supplicii, id fecisse,

q Fuisset aliquod Traiani de interificiendi christianis certum edictum ante
Plinii relationem, non existimo. Si quod enim fuisset, Plinius non dubitāset; aut
Trajanum certe consulendo, ejus edicti mentionem fecisset. Fr. Balduin.
C. 103, seq. contra eos tentaverit, ex Plinio constat, cujus Epistola indicat,
 vexatos quidem esse christianos variis in locis, absque ullā tamen hactenus
Cesárum rescripto. Unde Plinius eā de re Trajanum consulere neccessum ha-
buit. Lampe Synops. Hist. Ec. 1. 2. c. 3. num. xxxiiii. p. 112. Quum Tra-
janus, primus imperatorum hujus seculi, reipublicae gubernationi admoveverat,
nulla aderant in christianos leges et edicta. Quod cum aliores, tum Plinii
notissima epistola, extra omnem dubitationem ponit, quā imperatores significat,
nescire se, quomodo cum christianis agendum esset; quod vir juris et consue-
tudinum Romanarum consultissimus non ignorāset, si leges in christianos ex-
titissent. Neronis nimum leges Senatus, Dominiatimi Nerva imperator, abro-
Some have thought that Trajan gives no answer to this question. Whether he does or not will be considered hereafter.

Le Clerc is much offended that Pliny should not know whether a difference ought to be made between the young and the adult, especially in matters of religion, where children are very likely to follow the judgment of their parents. However, I apprehend that this question is proposed by Pliny with a good intention, and hoping that Trajan would determine favourably, that the young and the tender should not be treated in the same manner with those of mature age and robust constitution.

Another commentator upon Pliny observes, that in other cases regard was had to age by the Roman laws; but that this equity was not shown in the treatment of Christians; as indeed is well known from the ancient apologists, and other ancient Christian writers, who often speak of the sufferings, and of the courage, resolution, and patience, of young people and women; of which a few instances shall be placed below in their own words.

And perhaps Pliny himself did really hesitate here. In other cases regard was usually had to age. But the persecutions of the Christians were carried with so much violence, and there was such vehemence in the complaints against them brought before him as enemies to the gods, and for neglecting the worship at the temples, and all the sacred solemnities, that he was in doubt whether they ought to partake in the common equity.

Whether repentance should entitle to pardon, or whe-

--- Nec mediocriter hesitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen etatum. Huic dubitationi non respondet Trajanus. Balduin. ubi supra.


--- Etatis magna omnino in poenis irrogandis haberi solet ratio. Unde non tantum de finibus Icti, que etas delicii sit capax; sed etiam docent, si maxime capax sit, ob etatem tamen tenellam et florescentem, mihiorem debere poenam infligi—Caterum, ut haec sit sint, de fide tamen Christianâ quando res erat, omni etatis discrimine posthabito, in ipsos etiam pueros puellasque crudeliter sevietur. Kortholt. ubi supr. p. 12.

ther all who have been once Christians should be punished
ed, though they are no longer so.

Upon this Le Clerc observes, that, 

> Whether Christianity were supposed to be an error only, nothing more could be expected of him who had erred in embracing it, than renouncing it upon being convicted of his error. And as the Christians were charged with no crime that should expose them to punishment, it was highly reasonable that pardon should be granted upon repentance.

And I am apt to think that this is what Pliny aimed at in this enquiry. We may be rather disposed to think so, because he plainly recommends it afterwards nearer the end of his letter.

> Whether the name itself, although no crimes be detected, or crimes only belonging to the name, ought to be punished? Concerning all these things I am in doubt.

This is Pliny’s third question, and of great importance. If rightly determined, the Christians could no longer suffer upon account of their religion. But I do not discern any hint from Pliny in favour of the right answer, nor any intimation how he wished to have it answered.

Pliny speaks in the language of those times. We find this complaint frequently in our ancient apologists, that they were punished for the name only, as Christians, without proof of any crimes they were guilty of.

When Pliny first formed these three questions, this last in particular, he might possibly be in doubt whether the Christians were not guilty of some crimes. But, before he wrote this letter and sent it away to Trajan, he had good reason and must have been well satisfied that there were no crimes,

> Vid. 1636.

Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

belonging to,' or 'inherent in the name,' or the profession of Christianity; as we shall see by and by: at present we go on.

In the mean time,' says Pliny, 'I have taken this course with all who have been brought before me, and accused as 'Christians.'

Le Clerc thinks it strange that whilst Pliny had such doubts he should proceed to act as if he had been well satisfied what was fit to be done, and treat the Christians very severely.

I put the question to them whether they were Christians. Upon their confessing to me that they were, I repeated the question a second and a third time, threatening also to punish them with death. Such as still persisted, I ordered away to be punished.'

Mr. Melmoth very softly and cautiously translates in this general manner. 'If they confessed, I repeated the question twice again, adding threats at the same time; when, if they still persevered, I ordered them to be immediately punished.' But to me it seems that Pliny's expressions require the interpretation that I have given: which is also agreeable to Mr. Tillemont's French version.

The obvious meaning of the last words, perseverantes duci jussi, is that of being had away to be punished with death. The phrase frequently occurs in that sense in the Latin authors, and is equivalent to the Greek words in Acts xii. 19,—"and commanded that they should be put to death."

However, the word is also used for being had away to prison. And Tertullian, representing Pliny's conduct in the province, as from his own letter, which we are now considering, says: 'Some Christians he condemned to death, others he degraded.' And in like manner Eusebius in his

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*Quamvis Plinius animi, ut vidimus, penderet, ac proinde rem deferre debuisset, quasi exploratum ei fuisse, quid factum opus esset, pessime habuit christians. Ib. n. vii. in. 'Perseverantes duci jussi,' nempe ad mortem. Sic enim, ut omnes nōrunt, loqui solent Latinī scriptores. Cleric. ibid.*

*Quand ils ont avoué, je leur ai fait deux ou trois fois la même demande, en le menaçant même de la mort, s'ils ne renoncèrent a cette religion. Ceux qui ont persisté dans leur aveu, je les ai fait mener au supplice. Tillem. La Persecution sous Trajan. art. iv. H. Emp. T. 2.*

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*—a calvo ad culvum duci imperavit. Suet. Calig. c. 27. †ducie ad supplicium imperavit. Tib. c. 57.—paucis duci jussis. Tertull. ad Scap. c. ult.—innocentes duci jubentur. L. Csec. de Mart. Persec. c. 40. ad supplicium deducte. Ib.—innocentes occasas esse testatur. Ib.*

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*—ἐκέλευσεν επαχθήφων. †ducie in carcere jussit. Sueton. Csec. cap. 20.*

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*Plinius enim Secundus, cum provinciam regeret, damnatis quibudam christianis, quibudam gradu pulsit, ipsā tamen multitudine perturbatus, κ.κ. Apol. c. 2.*

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*κατακρίνως ἡρσιάνως τινας, καὶ τῆς αἰδᾶς εκβαλον, κ. λ. Euseb. H. E. l. 3, c. 33, p. 105, D.*
Greek quotation of Tertullian’s Apology. Possibly, therefore, Tertullian supposed that in the word duci were included several kinds of punishment; or else he understood duci, as I have translated, ‘put to death:’ and by ‘degrading others,’ he explains what Pliny says of sending some, who were citizens, to Rome. Nevertheless, in the chronicle before transcribed by us, Eusebius writes that Pliny, when he presided in a certain province, and had put to death many Christians in the time of his government, being concerned on account of the multitude of those who were in danger of suffering, he wrote to the emperor for advice what should be done.

Pliny here says: ‘I put the question to them whether they were Christians. Upon their confessing to me that they were, I repeated the question a second and a third time, threatening also to punish them with death.’

Here I must say that, so far as I am able to judge, Pliny acted the part of a true and thorough persecutor: advising these persons well to consider of the matter, and to have due regard to their own welfare. If they departed from their first confession, mercy might be shown them: but if they persisted in it, nothing less than death could be expected.

But there is no real argument in such fine speeches, or such threatenings. Indeed Pliny did all that was in his power to make them recant without, and contrary to, conviction. And undoubtedly he subdued the consciences of some, and made them fall from the faith. It is implied in what he says presently afterwards: ‘Such as still persisted, I ordered away to be punished.’ Therefore all did not persevere. Some were overcome by his promises and threatenings. I must transcribe below some observations of Le Clerc upon this passage of Pliny, which to me seem very just, and not at all too severe.

Nevertheless some learned men have of late apologized for Pliny, and they blame Le Clerc, and propose to cor-

\footnote{f} See before, p. 26, note \textsuperscript{m}.

\footnote{g} Cur vero interroga\ibus, an essent christiani? Si ex animo essent, an volebat homines mentiri, et id, quod erant, se esse negare?——Qui religioni ducebant alium, prater rerum omnium Creatorem, colere, an erant vidit digni, ut se alteri sentire falso dicerent? Attamen hoc ipsum volebat Plinius, qui ‘supplicium’ utique non ‘minabatur,’ nisi ut eos negare coegerat: quod erat imprudum et impium, si revera cum christianis sentiebant, &c. Clerc. ib. \textit{n. vii.} p. 549.

\footnote{h} Adjungo Jo. Clericum, qui Hist. Eccl. sect. 2, p. 546—553. suas ad totam hanc epistolam protulit meditationes; sed, ut ex hac mea Dissertatione apparebit, justo festinantius excusas. Ilid in primis erat vir doctissimus, quod
rect him. They say that 'Pliny' did all this out of kindness and good-will to the Christians; hoping they might be induced to disown their first profession,' that is, I think, to deny Christ; 'and that he might not be obliged to put them to death.'

This appears to me exceeding strange. I think that Pliny had as much kindness for the Christians as other heathen persecutors: and that this treatment of them was exactly the same with what they met with from their worst enemies in the times of the worst persecuting emperors.

The Irenarch, who apprehended Polycarp, said: 'What harm is it to say, Lord Caesar, and sacrifice, and save your life?' And afterwards the proconsul himself, endeavouring to persuade him to deny Christ, said: 'Reverence the thine age,' and other things common upon like occasions; 'Swear by Caesar's fortune. Repeat. Swear, and reproach Christ, and I will dismiss thee.' To all which Polycarp made a resolute and proper answer.

Eusebius, giving an account of the martyrdoms of Phileas, bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, and Philoromus, receiver-general at Alexandria, who suffered under the persecuting emperor Maximin, says: 'When many of their kindred, and other honourable friends, and some of the magistrates, and even the judge himself, advised them to take pity upon themselves, and to consider their wives and children, they would not by all their entreaties be induced, out of a regard to their own lives, to transgress the divine laws concerning denying and confessing our Saviour; and, having withstood all the threatened and abuses of the judge, they were beheaded.'

Lactantius is far from reckoning them merciful governors, longe alter in christianos putat affectum fuisse Plinium, quam revera fuit. Heuman. Disput. de Persecutione Christianor. Plinian. n. i. ubi supr. p. 120, not. 6.


8 Euseb. H. E. l. 4, c. 15, p. 151. B. Ibid. p. 151. D.

m H. E. l. 8, c. x. p. 301. And see the Credibility, Vol. iii. ch. lx.

n Illud vero pessimum (Praesidum) genus est, cui clementiae species falso blanditur. Ille gravior, ille sevierum est carnifex, qui neminem statutum occidere.
who took great care to save the lives of christians by inducing them to deny their first confession, and who sometimes mightily pleased themselves, when they left their provinces, that their government had been unbloody. And he speaks with great disdain of a governor of Bithynia, and therefore a successor of our Pliny, 'who exulted as if he had gained a victory over a whole nation of barbarians, when one christian at last seemed to give way, who with signal fortitude had for two years withstood all his cruel attacks.'

But it would be endless to rehearse all the ancient instances of this kind.

The true and only kindness of any in such cases, whether they be magistrates or others, can be none but this only: they who have power ought to discharge men brought before them and accused, if, upon enquiry, they appear to be innocent and free from such crimes as deserve punishment: and real friends should exhort them to persevere in the profession of the truth, and not to do or say any thing contrary to conviction, through fear of suffering.

'For it was no doubt with me, whatever might be the nature of their opinion, that contumacy and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished.'

'Whatever might be the nature of their opinion,' says an author, favourable enough to Pliny, 'whether their religion tended to make them wicked or good men.'

The observation of Le Clerc is to this purpose: 'But the constancy of these men, who were convicted of no

Itaque dici non potest, hujusmodi judices quanta, et quam gravia tormentorum genera excogitaverint, ut ad affectum propositi sui pervenirent. Hece autem non tantum ideo facient, ut gloriiari possint, nullum se inoscentium permisere, (nam et ipse audivi aliquos gloriantes, quia administratio sua, in hac parte, fuerit incruenta,) sed invidiae causâ, ne aut ipsi vinceantur, aut illi virtutis suae gloriam consequantur. Itaque in excogitandis poenarum generibus, nihil aliud, quam victoriam excogitantium—Vidi ego, in Bithyniâ, praesidem, audio mirabiliter elatum, tamquam Barbarorum gentem aliquam subegisset, quod unus, qui per biennium magnâ virtute restiterat, postremo cedere visus est. Instit. l. 5. c. xi.

They who desire to see more instances, may consult Kortholt, as before, p. 37, &c. p — 'Quaecumque esset quod faterentur: hoc est, sive improbos redderet ipsos religio sua, sive bonos. Heuman. ubi supr. n. vi. p. 128. q Atqui 'pertinacia' et 'obstinatio' dico nullo juro potuit eorum constantia, qui nihil flagitiows (quod max de christianis agnoscit noster) fatabantur. Perseverantia in re bona non potest non laudari, nedom ut jure penas dare debeat. Preterea quibus legibus pertinaciae mors erat imposita, nisi res per se mala esset, quæ pertinacius fieret? Itaque debuisse Secundus, antequam 'duci' christianos jubetur, in eorum religionem inquirere, non, 'quaecumque esset quod faterentur,' eos damnare. Cler. ib. n. viii. p. 549.

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crimes or wicked principles, as our president will acknowledge; and by and by, ought not to be called "contumacy," and obstinacy. Perseverance in what is good deserves commendation; so far is it from exposing men to punishment. By what law was death ever appointed for obstinacy, without any other fault? Pliny, therefore, before he ordered any Christians away to be punished, should have inquired into the principles of their religion, and not have resolved to condemn and punish them whatever their opinions were.' So says that rational and judicious writer.

The learned lawyer, Fr. Balduinus does not speak more favourably of this determination of Pliny than Le Clerc.

Indeed these are hard words, very improperly applied to men who were open to conviction, and willing to satisfy others if they might have leave to speak. But they would not be persuaded by fair promises, and severe menaces, to deny what they thought to be truth. And, as Kortholt says: 'Who can forbear to admire such magnanimity?'

'There were others of the same infatuation, whom, because they are Roman citizens, I have noted down to be sent to the city.'

Upon this part of Pliny's epistle we may farther remark, as follows:

First, I believe we may hence reasonably conclude that the Christians underwent many hardships in several places from governors of provinces, when there was no general persecution.

Secondly, it appears to me that Pliny acted very arbitrarily and unrighteously in his treatment of the Christians in his province. Some perhaps, yea probably many, he put to death; and others, who were Roman citizens, he sent from their native country, or the place of their usual abode, to Rome. What they suffered we cannot say: but he sent them away to be dealt with as Christians. But what right had Pliny to act in this manner? By what law, or laws,

did he punish those with death, who, upon examination before him, persisted in the profession of Christianity? There was not at that time any imperial edict in force against the christians, as was observed some while ago.

There had been such laws in the time of Nero and Domitian; but they were abrogated. Nor were any like edicts since published. And upon other occasions Pliny expresseth great dislike of those two emperors, as enemies to liberty and mankind.

The old Romans protected people of all sects and religious; as was largely shown by us formerly. Nor were any of their priests or worshippers molested, or their rites prohibited, unless they were guilty of some misdemeanor, contrary to good manners, and inconsistent with the welfare of society. Nothing of that kind had been proved to Pliny against the christians. I do not therefore perceive how they could be punished by virtue of any laws of the emperors, or any ancient laws of the senate and people of Rome. I think that there were not, and could not be, any laws against them as christians. When St. Paul pleaded before Festus and Agrippa, and that numerous and august assembly at Cæsarea by the seaside, the residence of the Roman governor, he gave a large and distinct account of himself, and his doctrine, and his conduct; what he had preached to Jews and Gentiles, and what zeal he had acted in recommending this doctrine to all men. And when he had finished his discourse they all agreed in their verdict, "saying, This man doeth nothing worthy of death or of bonds. Then said Agrippa to Festus, This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar:" Acts xxvii. 31, 32.

Therefore there were no Roman laws against the christian religion, or its professors or teachers. Consequently Pliny, in putting christians to death as such, acted without law and authority.

That they suffered without law appears from himself. He punished them for 'inflexible obstinacy.' But who can allege any law of the Roman empire which condemned men to death for 'contumacy and obstinacy, whatever might be the nature of their opinion?' We proceed.

'In a short time, the crime spreading itself, even whilst under prosecution, as is usual in such cases, divers sorts of people came in my way. An information was presented to me, without mentioning the author, containing the names of many persons, who, upon examination, denied that they

a See Vol. i, ch. viii.
were christians, or had ever been so: who repeated after me an invocation of the gods, and with wine and frankincense made supplication to your image, which for that purpose I had caused to be brought and set before them, together with the statues of the deities. Moreover they reviled the name of Christ. None of which things, as is said, they who are really christians, can by any means be compelled to do. These therefore I thought proper to discharge.

This is a remarkable paragraph. We hence learn that Trajan was worshipped as a god in his lifetime. And here we see many people brought before Pliny and accused as christians, who were not so, and, as it seems, never were. But they were mentioned by name in an information which was not subscribed. It appears to have been a malicious accusation. Le Clerc says, 'We hence perceive how dangerous a thing persecution is: when also innocent persons are involved in it, or are without reason suspected; which, in the affair of religion, may be of bad consequence.'

Though these persons were not now christians, and never had openly professed christianity, they may have been men of a mild and moderate disposition. Possibly, they had sometimes spoken favourably of the christians, and intimated that they thought they were treated too rigorously, and were not so bad people as some insinuated. These we may consider as low-church Gentiles, though they were not christians.

All these persons Pliny, our pretor, discharged: but not without strict examination, and good assurance that they were not christians. First, he puts the question to them: and they deny that they were christians, or had ever been so. And, as he says, they afterwards invoked the gods in a form prescribed by himself: me praevunte. It is implied, and to be understood, that they did every thing else, hereafter mentioned, in the like manner: that is, in a form prescribed by him, they made supplication to Trajan's image, and reviled the name of Christ.

A learned man, who not long since wrote a commentary upon this letter of Pliny, and, with a design to correct the mistakes of former commentators, says, that 'Pliny seems

* Christum quidem pro altero Socrate videtur habuisse, qui, cum pia vitæ,
to have considered Christ as another Socrates, who both, by a pious life, and a pious doctrine, excited his disciples to the love of virtue, and an abhorrence of vice.’ I think we may do well to take our notion of Pliny’s character and sentiments from himself, rather than from our own imagination. How he treated the name or person of Christ, and how he required others to treat it, we have just seen. What he thought of the christian religion, we before saw, when he called it ‘infatuation,’ or madness, amentia. Moreover he inflicted death upon several of the faithful followers and steady disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Others were named by an informer, who at first confessed themselves christians, and afterwards denied it. The rest said they had been christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years, some longer, and one, or more, above twenty years; [or, as Mr Melmoth, ‘a few above twenty years ago.’] ‘They all worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods. They also reviled Christ.’

These were presented to Pliny in a libel, or information; and, as we may reasonably think, properly subscribed with the name of the accuser. Nevertheless his accusations seem to have been malicious; for they were not all true. Some whom he accused as christians were not so at that time.

The persons first mentioned are described by Pliny after this manner: ‘They confessed themselves to be christians; that is, when brought before Pliny, and interrogated by him, they said they were christians, and afterwards denied it.’

Here we are to recollect what Pliny assured Trajan was his constant method of proceeding. ‘I have taken this course,’ says he, ‘with all who have been brought before me, and accused as christians; I put the question to them whether they were christians: Upon their confessing to me that they were, I repeated the question a second and a third time, threatening also to put them to death.’ So he had acted toward those of whom he is now speaking. Upon his first putting the question to them whether they were christians, they confessed they were. But when he repeated the question the second or the third time, adding menaces, they denied that they were christians; that is, they gave


Quamquam admiranda erat, et plane inusitata, christianorum plerorumque, si persecutiones æstuarent, constantia, παθότατα, et ærequa; multi tamen tormentorum metu, multi etiam ex merâ animi levitate, vel seculi vanitate fascinati, a fide defecerunt. Kortholt, in loc. ubi supr. p. 95.
way and their courage failed them, being terrified by the governor's threatenings. Here we see more persons over- 
come by the artifices and menaces of our prætor, who 
was an ingenious man, and soon became an expert perse-
cutor.

After them he mentions others, ' who said they had been 
christians, but had ceased to be so some three years, some 
longer, and one at least above twenty years.'

What were the occasions of their leaving the christians we 
cannot say particularly, but probably it was not willingly, 
and of their own choice, but rather through fear of suffering 
for the profession of the christian religion. However, the 
change of some may have been owing to the fickleness and 
inconstancy of their own temper, or to some worldly con-
siderations, less moving than open persecution. All these 
are deserters and apostates, some made so by Pliny him-
self, others by other governors, and some possibly through 
their own unsteady temper. All these Pliny examines, and 
reports their testimony; which we are next to observe.

They affirmed, that the whole of their fault, or error, lay 
in this,—that they were wont to meet together on a stated 
day before it was light, and sing among themselves alter-
ately a hymn to Christ as a god, and to bind themselves 
by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, but 
not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery, never 
to falsify their word, not to deny a pledge committed to 
them, when called upon to return it. When these things 
were performed, it was their custom to separate, and then 
to come together again to a meal, which they ate in com-
mon, without any disorder. But this they had forborne, 
since the publication of my edict, by which, according to 
your commands, I prohibited assemblies.'

Here, perhaps, some may wish, that Pliny had expressed 
himself more distinctly. 'For they who had deserted the 
christians several years ago, could not of their own know-
ledge inform him about what had been done by them since 
he came into the province. However, we before observed, 
that the persons first mentioned professed themselves chris-
tians when they were brought before him. They therefore 
could inform him of their late conduct. And concerning 
other times all here present could bear witness.

They affirmed,' they solemnly attested, ' that the whole 
of their fault, or error, lay in this, that they were wont to 
meet together on a stated day: doubtless, meaning the 
Lord's day, or Sunday; on which, as Justin relates parti-
cularly in his first Apology, all the christians in general, in any city, and in the neighbouring country, came together for divine worship.

—- Before it was light.'

Justin Martyr, in his large and particular account of the christian worship, says nothing of this circumstance. It is likely, therefore, that this was not chosen, but only out of necessity, when they were disturbed by enemies, either the common people or magistrates.

'And sang among themselves alternately a hymn to Christ, as a god.' Mr. Melmoth thus: 'And addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god.' What Pliny means by 'secum invicem,' which I have rendered 'among themselves alternately,' I cannot say distinctly. Justin says, 'they stood up and offered up prayers and thanksgivings together, and when the president had concluded, all the people said, Amen.' Perhaps this is what Pliny means. The prayers were common, the people joined therein with the president, and signified their assent by a loud Amen at the conclusion.

Tertullian, representing Pliny's account, says: 'He discovered nothing beside their meeting together before it was light, and singing to Christ and God;' or, as some would read, 'to Christ, as a god.' And Eusebius, speaking of the same matter from Tertullian, says, 'they sang a hymn to Christ, as to a god.' Such are their expressions,


3 Vid. Ap. i. sub. fin.


e —Nihil alium se de sacramentis eorum compersisse, quam eceus antelucanos ad canendum Christo et Deo. Ap. cap. 2. p. 3.

f —Και τον Χριστον θεω εικην υμειν. H. E. l. 3. c. 33.
though 'carmen,' the word used by Pliny, does not always signify a composition in metre, but may denote a prayer in any form.

'And sing together a hymn to Christ, as to a god.' This is a heathen way of speaking; and it has been questioned whether Pliny speaks here in his own words, or those of the christians who were brought before him, heathen people being willing to deify eminent men. Jesus Christ was such an one, especially in the esteem of christians. All knew he had died, and that the christians said he was risen again from the dead, and was ascended to heaven. Heathen people therefore might naturally enough say, they worshipped Christ as a god.

Justin Martyr nevertheless says: 'In all our oblations we praise the Creator of all through his Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit.' And, 'The president gives praise and glory to the Father of all in the name of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.' And, says Tertullian, 'The God, whom we worship, is the God who made this whole universe and every thing therein, by his powerful word.' Again, 'We worship God through Christ. Call him a man, if you think fit. It is by him, and through him, that we have been brought to the knowledge and the worship of God. And the Jews themselves were taught how to worship God by the man Moses.'

Mr. Melmoth, as before seen, translates those words in this manner: 'And addressed themselves in a form of prayer to

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1 Epì πας τε υς προσφέρομεθα, ευλογημεν τον πατητι των παντων δια τα νυ αυτη Ιησο Χριστα και δια πνευματος τα άγια. Ap. i. p. 98. C. al. 83. C.

2 Kai autos λαβων, αυτω και δοθον τω πατρι των δωρων δια τα ονωματω τω νυ, και τα πνευματα άγια, αναπτυ. p. 97. C. al. 82. D.


Christ, as to some god.' And I must acknowledge that his translation appears to me as proper as my own. For
carmen, or ὑμνος, (as before hinted,) does not always denote
a metrical composition. Julian concludes his oration upon
The Mother of the Gods, with what he calls A Hymn to
her Honour, which is a prayer in prose: and, unquestion-
ably, Julian speaks properly. Therefore Pliny's Carmen
Christo quasi Deo, may have been a prayer to God in the
name of Christ: a prayer upon christian principles, in which
God was praised for all the blessings of the christian reve-
lution. I may here observe likewise, that Marinus, in his
life of Proclus, says, some hymns to the gods are in metre,
others in prose.

And to bind themselves by an oath not to the com-
misery of any wickedness, but to forbear adultery, theft,
and all vice in general.'

About the interpretation of these first words learned men
have differed. It is plain that Pliny does not here send Tra-
jan an account of the several parts of the christian worship,
reading and explaining the scriptures, and delivering ex-
planations and exhortations from them, nor of the eucharist.
To me therefore, it seems, that in these words Pliny aimed
to represent the general design of their worship in their re-
ligious assemblies; which was to engage themselves to the
practice of all virtue, and to avoid all vice. This seems to
be the meaning of Tertullian's expressions, though perhaps
somewhat obscure. Who says, Pliny tells Trajan, 'that,
excepting an obstinate refusal to sacrifice, he had detected
nothing in their mysteries, beside their assembling togeth-
er early in the morning, before daylight, to enforce the
observation of their discipline; forbidding murder, adul-
tery, fraud, cheating, and all manner of wickedness.' Eu-
sebius, representing the same thing, speaks exactly to the
like purpose. In short, Pliny tells Trajan, that the design
of their religious assemblies, so far as he could discover,
was to establish themselves, and each other, in the firm be-
ief of the principles of their institution, and to engage them-
theselves, not to the practice of any wickedness, but to avoid

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"οὐλαὶ τί πιθανόν ἐστιν μοι τού των λόγων, η ἐγὼν ὡς ὁ τες τῆς μεγάλης ἐμοσθ θεό;
Orat. v. p. 179. Spanh. 6 Καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦ ἐμος κομψότερον ἐργαστηκε
τος μν ἐν μετροι της δἐ καὶ ανω μετροι. Martin. de Vita Pror. cap. i.

6 —Allegans, præter obstinationem non sacrificandi, nihil aliud se de sa-
cramentis eorum compersisse, quam eceus anteulcanos ad canendum Christo
et (vel ut) Deo, et ad confredendarum disciplinam, homicidium, adulterium,

7 —Καὶ προς τον ὑπενθηναι αυτων ἐπιφελασθαι. κ. λ. Eus. II. E. l. 3. c.
33, p. 106, Λ.
all wickedness of every kind. This Pliny calls 'binding themselves by an oath.'

So Justin Martyr, in his account of the christian worship, says: 'the memoirs of the apostles, and the writings of the prophets, are read: when the reader has finished, the presbyter makes a discourse, recommending and exhorting to the imitation of the good examples that have been recorded.' To the like purpose Tertullian.

Mr. Mosheim explains Pliny after the same manner that I have now done.

'Which things being performed, it was their custom to separate, and after some time to come together again to a meal, which they ate in common. This they had forborne since the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I had prohibited assemblies.'

There can be no doubt but that Pliny, by this meal or supper, means what was called by the christians αὐθανατία, or a love-feast: of which mention is made by Tertullian, and other ancient writers. Of which likewise, as is generally supposed, St. Peter speaks, 2 ep. ii. 13, and St. Jude, ver. 12. It is plain, from what Pliny says, that this meal was not eaten in the morning at the time of their solemn worship, but some while afterwards; and probably in the evening.

Some have thought that this feast generally accompanied the eucharist. But Mr. Hallett in his discourse on the Agapæ, or Love-Feasts, of the ancient christians, having considered the testimonies of ancient writers, says, 'it was a supper, and that the eucharist did not attend it, either before or after.' Again: 'the agapæ, or love-feasts, being suppers, were not concomitants, or appendages of the eucharist.'

Ap. i. p. 98. D. al. 83. D.


See his notes and discourses on several texts of scripture. Vol. 3. p. 235, &c.
charist. They were entirely distinct and independent 
'things.' This may be farther confirmed by observing that 
Justin Martyr, in his account of the public worship of the 
church, and particularly of the eucharist, does not say one 
word of the agape, or love-feasts, as tacked to it, either 
before or after.

Others represent this in a different manner: 'As the 
worship of the christians in Bithynia was for some reasons 
performed early in the morning, they were obliged to have 
their love-feast separate; though, at other seasons, when 
they had more liberty, this and their solemn worship were 
joined together, both by them and by other christians. 
The morning was not a time for a meal. This therefore 
'they deferred till noon, or after.' So Mr. Mosheim.

The accounts which Pliny had received of this meal, re-
presented it as harmless, and free from disorder. And it 
may be reasonably supposed* to have been very frugal, and 
without delicacies, as Tertullian says, and Pliny† seems to 
intimate.

However, this meal or feast, as Pliny was assured, the 
christians in Bithynia had forborne and discontinued, since 
he published the emperor's order, forbidding fellowships or 
assemblies. Mr. Dodwell thought that* Trajan's order did 
not include a prohibition of their meetings for religious 
worship. But Tillemont* does not assent to this. Whether 
that opinion be right or not, the christians continued to meet 
early in the morning for religious worship, to enforce and 
secure the great design of their institution, but omitted the 
other assembly.

And, as seems to me, we have here a remarkable instance 
of that sincere regard which the primitive christians had for 

* Hoc igitur [stato] die binos conventus agebant Bithyniensis Christianis; alterum ante lucem, Dei colendi, firmandeque pietatis causâ: alterum sole 
lucem, meridiano sine dubio tempore, communis cibi capiendi causâ. Non 
divellebant hoc ratione officia, quæ Deo debeatur, reliqui Christiani; verum 
una omnia conventu, quæ cultús publici lex imperabat, nullo intervallo, pera-
gebant. Bithyniensibus vero cur in duo tempore divisos actús cultum dividum 
distribuerent, hæc erat magni momenti ratio. Propter hostium insidias in die 
ad cultum publicum congregari non poterant, sed ante lucem convenire debe-
bant. Id vero antelucanum tempus cibo capiendo haur commodum erat. 
Quare differendum erat conyvivum amoris in illud diei tempus, quo corporea 
† See before note a, p. 42. ‡ Promiscus cibus opponitur hic, ut 
* Sed et illud Agapas duntaxat spectavit, non item synaxes ecclesiasticas, 
quæ quidem Eucharistie percipiendae gratiâ celebrarentur, &c. Diss. Cypr. 
xi. sect. 25.
* Persecution de l'Eglise sous Trajan. art. v.
the commands of civil magistrates in all things, within the
compass of their authority. These love-feasts were of early
original, and had been long in use. Nevertheless, they
were not considered as a divine command, or an institution
of the gospel. When therefore Pliny published his edict,
forbidding assemblies, they omitted them, whilst they con-
tinued their other meeting; forasmuch as the great design
of these, the providing for the poor and destitute, might be
secured some other way, by private contributions and bene-
factions.

We may form an idea of the assemblies prohibited in
Pliny’s edict, by observing another letter of his to Trajan.
There had been a dreadful fire in Nicomedia, the chief city
of Bithynia, whilst Pliny was absent in some distant part of
the province. By that fire had been consumed many pri-
vate houses and two public buildings. Of this Pliny in-
forms the emperor, and makes a proposal to this effect:
‘You will consider, Sir, whether it may not be advisable
to institute a college of smiths,’ or a company of firemen,
consisting only of one hundred and fifty.’ And he tells
Trajan that as this college will consist of so small a num-
ber, it will be easy enough to keep them under a proper
regulation.

Nevertheless the emperor did not approve of that propo-
sal; and says, in his answer to Pliny: ‘Whatever name
we give them, and for whatever purposes they may be
founded, they will not fail to form themselves into assem-
blies, however short their meetings may be.’ This is suf-
ficient to show how jealous Trajan was of such societies. I
shall refer to two other letters which have some affinity
with these.

By Philo we are assured that Flaccus, president of
Egypt, near the end of the reign of Tiberius, prohibited
their εταυπιας, fellowships, or assemblies at Alexandria;
which they held under a pretence of religion indeed, but
made use of for drunkenness and other excesses.’ How-

b Says Mr. Hallett, as before, p. 255. I cannot find that the christians
looked upon their love-feasts as religious or divine institutions, like the
Lord’s supper. If they had, their councils would no more have banished
them out of the churches, than the Lord’s supper itself.

c Quum diversam partem provinciae circumirem, Nicomediae vastissimum
incendium, multas privatorum domos, et duo publica opera—absumsit. l. x.
ep. 42.

d Tu, Domine, dispice, an instituendum putes collegium
fabrorum, duntaxat hominum cr.—Non erit difficile custodire tam paucos.
Ibid.

e Quodcumque nomen, ex quicumque causâ dederimus
iis qui in idem contracti fuerint, heteriæ quamvis breves fient. Ep. 46.

f L. x. ep. 117, 118.

* Phil. in Flac. p. 965.
ever, such were not the love-feasts of the christians, as we are well assured, but sober and harmless meals.

After receiving this account, I judged it the more necessary to examine, and that by torture, two maid-servants, which were called ministers. But I have discovered nothing beside a bad and excessive superstition.

We may be apt to think that Pliny might have been satisfied with the accounts received from deserters or apostates, who were several in number, who had ceased to be christians, some many years ago, others more lately, at different times; who had all given a clear and an agreeing testimony to the innocence of the Christian worship, and the sobriety of their manners. Nevertheless he is still dissatisfied, and now proceeds to an examination by torture. Surely this governor's moderation is not here very conspicuous! However he gets into his hands two of the weaker sex, hoping, I presume, that if the christians had among them any secrets still concealed from him, he should now find them out. One or other of these women must needs give way, and open all, when put to the question.

Two maid-servants.' Some think that these were chosen because they were slaves. But I suppose, that others, beside slaves, might be legally put to the torture, though Roman citizens might not. I cannot easily believe that deaconesses in christian churches were slaves. Nor do I think it very likely that they should be domestic or hired servants. We now all know what is meant by a deaconess in christian writings. But I suspect that Pliny was misled by the ambiguity of the Greek word ἐιακώνος, which is sometimes used for slaves, or such as performed the lowest services, usually appropriated to slaves. I say, I am apt to think that Pliny was not sufficiently aware of the different meanings of the word, ἐιακώνος, 'deacon,' in common use, and in the ecclesiastical sense. Rom. xvi. 1, "I commend unto you Phoebe our sister, who is a servant of the church which is in Cenchrea." ὤντων ἐιακώνον τῆς εκκλησίας τῆς εν Κέγχρεαις. She was a servant of that church: but it does not follow that she was either a slave or a hired servant, to any one member of it.

A thought offers itself here which will aggravate the se-

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verity of this torture; for very probably these women were in years; such only being qualified for the office of deaconess; see 1 Tim. v. 9. However, Pliny made no scruple to try the torture upon them. For their office and their age would lead him to think that they were thoroughly acquainted with what passed among the christians, in their assemblies, and in their own houses. Lord Orrery, in his Notes upon Pliny's Epistles, Vol. 2, p. 430, says: 'Age might have pleaded in defence of these unhappy ancillae. But no circumstance was sufficiently strong to stem the torrent of religion.'

Well. Pliny put to the question, and examined these two women, deaconesses among the christians in Bithynia. But all he could discover was no more than 'a bad and excessive superstition.' By 'bad, praevam,' meaning, I think, absurd, wrong, different from the commonly received religion. And he calls it 'excessive, immodicum,' because they who embraced it were fond and tenacious of it, and would rather die than deny and forsake it. And many of them were active in propagating it and recommending it to others.

By 'bad,' he could mean nothing more than wrong and absurd, and contrary to the prevailing religion. If Pliny in these examinations had discovered any thing vicious, any lewdness, any cruelty, practised in their worship; any seditious principles, any attempts or designs to subvert the government of the province, or the state of the Roman empire; he must have given hints of it—he must have mentioned it distinctly. His regard for the welfare of Roman people, his respect for the emperor, which is well known to have been very great, would have prevented all concealment, and would have obliged and induced him to be very explicit and particular. We may hence therefore absolutely conclude, that the christians held no principles, and were guilty of no practices, that could justly expose them to punishment from civil magistrates. Their only offence was their religion, and that was innocent in all respects; though different from the idolatrous worship of the nations.

'Suspending therefore all judicial proceedings, I have recourse to you for advice. For it has appeared to me a matter highly deserving consideration, especially upon account of the great number of persons who are in danger of suffering: for many of all ages, of every rank, of both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. Nor has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country.'
Thus does Pliny bear witness to the great number of converts to Christianity in Pontus and Bithynia, over which he presided. The words of Tertullian, who wrote some while afterwards, representing the great increase of Christianity and the multitude of its professors of all ranks and orders of men, are very strong and emphatical. And yet Pliny does in a manner confirm the whole of what he says.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin to be more frequented; and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are revived. Victims likewise are every where bought up, whereas for some time there were few purchasers. Whence it is easy to imagine what numbers of men might be reclaimed if pardon were granted to those who shall repent.

From what Pliny says of the desolation of the temples, and the neglect of the sacred solemnities, and the few purchasers of victims, which there had been for some while, it has been argued, that this persecution was begun and fomented by the priests and their adherents, and such others as had a dependence on the sacred solemnities. Which may be true in this as well as some other persecutions.

And I am willing to allow that Pliny here adopts the language of those people who brought these complaints, and who magnified the danger of the downfall of their religion. However, we are hereby assured that the progress, which the Christian religion had made in Pontus and Bithynia, was very considerable.

Learned men, I say, observe that this persecution was begun and fomented by the priests; to whom, as I sup-

k Hinc liquet, in Bithyniä ingentem Christianorum jam iis temporibus numerum fuisset; ac proinde per Asian longe lateque religionem christianam, invitis Ethnics et Judaeis, sola sua præstantiâ, propagatam fuisset. Cleric. A. cxi. p. xii.


Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia compleximus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia—Sola vobis reliquimus templum. Ib. c. 37. Conf. c. v. et ad Nat. l. i. c. 1. et alibi.

m Hos vero delatores christianorum sacerdotes fuisse, manifestum esse reor ex his Plinii verbis—Causam hic moti ergo christianos bellis clarissime proconsul indicat: 'Templa in Bithyniâ desolata erant, sacra solemnia intermissa,' victimæ rarissime offerebantur. Hae vero cuncta nullus tangebant, nisi sacerdotes, sacerorumque antistites, quorum interret unice, ut templæ frequentaretur, et victimæ cæendentur. Quisti ergo hi sine dubio apud Plinium erant, religiones deorum in summo discrimine versari; atque populum fortissim etiam incitate, ut clamoribus supplicia christianorum posceret. Moshem. ut supr. p. 232, notis.
pose, many others would join themselves who had a zeal for the prevailing religion. But learned men seem to forget that Pliny himself, our proprætor, was a priest, and that the emperor, to whom he writes, was high-priest, pontifex maximus. We need not, we ought not, to impute to Pliny any thing mean and sordid. He was above such things, which must have been far from his temper. But I think we may reasonably suppose that he was sincerely concerned for the honour of the gods and the priesthood; that he was desirous the sacred solemnities should be upheld in all their splendour, and that the priests should continue to enjoy their usual emoluments and perquisites without diminution. I should think, therefore, that it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that Pliny himself was not a little moved at the above mentioned complaints, when made to him.

Some learned men have of late said that what Pliny did against the christians was done by him unwillingly, and not without some sort of compulsion. But I cannot discern any the least reason for this persuasion in his letter.

I am unwilling to advance any thing without ground and reason; and therefore I forbear to say that, very probably, the arrival of this proprætor, who was augur in the province, a man well known for his exactness in all the solemnities of the ancient religion, raised great expectations in the minds of many in the province, zealous for the established rites; and encouraged accusations and persecutions against the christians. However, I must say that this severe persecution under Pliny is a strange phenomenon; and would appear still stranger, and almost unaccountable, if it had no encouragement from him.

Though great numbers of men had embraced the christian religion, or, as Pliny's expressions are, 'though the contagion of this superstition had seized many;' he was of opinion that it might be 'restrained and corrected.' For this end he proposeth that 'pardon should be granted to those who repent.' And says, 'it is easy to imagine what numbers of men might' then 'be gained.'

Every one should judge for himself: but to me it seems

* Cum his sociabat sese innumerabilis variæ generis turba, cui superstitiones publicæ quæstui erant, mercatores, qui thura, bestias, aliqua vendebant Deorum cultoribus necessaria, architecti, cauponès, auriferæ, Act. xix. 25. fabri lignarii, statuarii, sculptores, tibicines, eitharcedii, et alii, quibus omnibus id, eorumque ministri, templœ, ceremoniae, dies festi magnas afferebant ad vitam deucendum opportunitates. Moshem. ut supr. p. 103.

that in all this there is no indication of favour to the christian religion, or good will to the professors of it. I think that Pliny proposes these measures to the emperor, as the most likely to secure the interests of the old religion. He really thought this method the most likely and most effectual to abolish what he calls 'absurd superstitio,' and to reduce, and gradually extirpate, the professors of it. And I suppose that from our remarks upon his epistle it may appear that Pliny himself had found the benefit of this scheme, and he had too much success in drawing men off from the open profession of the christian doctrine. The earl of Orrery, p. 431, has already said the same that I now do. For he allows that Pliny expresses a detestation of christianity, calling it amentia, superstitio prava et immodica. 'And the proposal,' he says, 'which Pliny made to the emperor, to give room for repentance, seems rather an act of policy than of good nature.'

Having now gone over this letter, I beg leave to say, it seems to me that there is a remarkable omission. Pliny fails not to tell Trajan that the christians worshipped Christ, 'as a God,' and that they refused to worship his image. He should also have told Trajan, 'they assured him, however, that they offered supplications to the God of the universe, for the health and long life of the emperor, and for the peace and prosperity of the empire, and that God would grant him wise counsellors, and faithful servants and officers: and that they were obliged by the rules of their religion so to do.' These things do so often occur in the ancient apologists, and other christian writers, that it may be reckoned certain, and taken for granted, that some of the christians who pleaded before Pliny, whether Roman citizens or others, did sufficiently assure him of their dutiful respect for the emperor, and other magistrates, and of their love toward all mankind, even enemies as well as others. This one omission alone, so far as I am able to judge, is enough to persuade us there was some defect of equity and candour in Pliny's treatment of the christians.

It has been said, that 'Pliny's letter throughout is an

p Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, ac potentatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Tertull. ap. c. 39. Conf. c. 31.


q Apologia enim christianorum est, quod facile patet, tota Plinii epistolæ, VOL. VII.
‘apology for the christians.’ If so, is it not also his own condemnation? He had received many testimonies to the christian innocence. These he reports to the emperor. Nor could he do less. In this report the christian principles, worship, and manners, appear in a good light. But then, is not Pliny blameable who inflicted death, and other penalties, upon such men, and that without any express law?

I am willing to make allowances for prejudices. And I believe that the Supreme Judge, when he shall take the final cognizance of human affairs, will pass an equitable sentence upon all, according to the advantages and disadvantages of their condition in their state of trial. The further vindication of Pliny I leave to those who are pleased to undertake it. And I am very willing that my readers should observe and consider what is said by such advocates as are favourable to him.

Having done this, I must applaud the steadiness of those Roman citizens, and others in Pontus and Bithynia; who, when interrogated by the praetor a second and a third time, persevered in their first confession of the name of Christ, unmoved by his fair promises and cruel threatenings. Who can forbear to think that those christians were mindful of what St. Peter had written to them? 1 Ep. iv. ver. 12, to the end.

To them, and other such men, I humbly conceive it is owing that there is now any such thing as virtue in the world. To them, and others like them, it is owing that many great men so apprehensive of inquisitiveness in things of religion, have been at length awakened, and induced to examine, and consider, and also to embrace, the christian doctrine, and then to adorn it by the practice of all the virtues becoming their reasonable nature, and their high stations.

V. We now come to Trajan’s Rescript, which is short

quâ calumnias, quibus illi premebantur, convellere studet, et mentem Trajani ad lenitatem et clementiam erga homines, quos ille Romanorum quidem religione alienos, verum sceleris puros cognoverat, inclinare. Moshem. ut supr. p. 147.

The earl of Orrery, in his Preface to the tenth book of Pliny’s Epistles, Vol. 2. p. 323, expresses himself in this manner: ‘Such a correspondence between a sovereign and a subject is no less curious than extraordinary. But, if we are to pass an impartial judgment upon the two correspondents, the emperor’s epistles will certainly out-hone those of Pliny, to which they are answers. The conciseness and sagacity which run through Trajan’s style and manner of writing, show him an artist, if I may use the expression, in the epistolary science.’
and concise, written in the style best becoming lawgivers; and which is now to be rehearsed by us, with notes and observations.

'You have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your proceedings with those who have been brought before you as christians.'

Pliny's proceedings, as I suppose, had been in some respects extraordinary, and unsupported by express law: and yet Trajan declares his approbation of them. And hereby he also ratifies and confirms the proceedings of other governors of provinces, if any of them had acted in a like manner, without express law: as very probably several had.

'For it is impossible to establish any one rule that shall hold universally.'

This, as seems to me, relates more especially to Pliny's first question: 'whether the young and tender, and the full grown and robust, ought to be treated all alike.' And Trajan seems to leave this very much to the discretion of governors, to do as they thought best. Accordingly, as we well know, many, in succeeding times, both young people and women, did suffer as christians.

With regard to Pliny's second question, whether 'pardon should be granted to those who repent,' he allows of it, if good proof be given of repentance.

As to the third question, Trajan peremptorily decides that 'the name is punishable without any crime annexed. But he says 'they should not be sought for.'

'I shall now recite the very words of this part of the rescript.

'They are not to be sought for. If any are brought before you, and are convicted, they ought to be punished.'


However, he that denies his being a christian, and makes it evident in fact, that is, by supplicating to our gods, though he be suspected to have been so formerly, let him be pardoned upon repentance. But in no case, of any crime whatever, may a bill of information be received without being signed by him who presents it.' And what follows. This last clause is very reasonable, as will be allowed by all. The rest we must consider.

As I said just now, Trajan allows pardon to be granted, if good proof be given of repentance; 'If he makes it evident in fact, by supplicating to our gods.' It has been said by some commentators, that here is a sign of Trajan’s modesty, in that he does not add, 'and by sacrificing to our image;' and that here is a proof of his moderation, in not adding, 'and by reviling the name of Christ.' But I cannot persuade myself to think that such observations are at all material. Trajan knew very well that the governors of provinces would not fail to supply those articles, though omitted by him. Trajan approves of Pliny’s method, and what had been his, would be the method of other governors, and actually was so, as is well known.

Tertullian has ridiculed this decree of Trajan as inconsistent and contradictory. 'He forbids the christians to be sought for, supposing them to be innocent; and he orders them to be punished as guilty. If they are criminal, why should they not be sought for? If they are not to be sought for, why should they not be absolved?'

However, for certain, here is fresh proof of the christians’ innocence. If they had been criminal; if Trajan had not known, and been well satisfied, that they were guilty of no great crimes, he would not have forbid inquiring after them. And since they were guilty of no offences contrary to the peace of society, they should have been protected; and Trajan’s rescript should have been very different from what it is. It should have been to this effect: 'You have well done, my Pliny, to inquire into the principles and conduct of the christians. As you have detected no crimes committed by them, and you recommend pardon upon repen-

Satis interim sciebat provinciarum præsides hæc parte non defore suo officio. Voss. Comment.


Ex his iterum liquet, nullius crimini reos factosuisse christianos, nisi deorum minime cultorum. Cleric. ib. n. xiv.
ance, and forsaking their error; I readily grant it, if it be needful. And I hereby declare that no Christians ought to suffer without proof of some crime; for to inflict penalties upon innocent men would be a disparagement of my government. And it has been a maxim with me, from the beginning of my empire, not to let any good men suffer death.'

So, I think, Trajan might and should have said: and so he would have said, were it not that people were not then disposed to treat Christians as they did other men. But the time was not yet come that Christians should be exempted from suffering as such, and on account of their Lord and Master, who had died for them, and was risen again.

This rescript of Trajan, which we are now considering, was designed not for the direction of Pliny only, but of all governors of provinces in general: as is observed by that judicious lawyer, Fr. Balduinus. And, as Tillemont says, this unreasonable edict subsisted for almost an age, and was the rule of action to the Romans till the persecution of Severus.

VI. Before we proceed any further, it may be fit we should consider a question, whether Trajan ever put an end to the persecution by an order from himself.

Suidas says that Trajan relaxed the persecution against the Christians. For Tiberian, who was governor of what was called the first part of Palestine, wrote to him that he was weary of killing the Christians, because they offered themselves to punishment. Wherefore Trajan gave orders to all his subjects that they should no more punish the Christians.

This is supposed to be taken by Suidas from John of Antioch, or John Malala, a writer near the end of the sixth century, and of little credit.

To this purpose then writes Malala: 'While the emperor Trajan was at Antioch of Syria, consulting about the affairs of war, he received a letter from Tiberian, governor of Syria, 'Oç Æ autokrataw egenvTO, epetede Tp Bêtq autokræwma alla te, kai õc wëpna qvdrâ ayaðov aúotozou, õpagwou. Dion. L. 63. p. 1122.


of the first Palestine, to this effect, "To the invincible emperor, Caesar, the most divine Trajan. I have to the utmost of my power performed your order for killing the Galileans, who go under the denomination of christians. But they cease not to discover themselves, and offer themselves to be put to death. I have discountenanced this by my advices, and even by threatenings, telling them that they should not come to me to accuse themselves of holding that opinion: but all to no purpose. I must therefore entreat you to determine in this point as shall seem meet to your invincible majesty." And the emperor sent an order to him, and to all the prefects every where, that they should no longer put to death any that were called christians. After which the christians had a short breathing time from the affictions which they had endured.

So writes Malala. But Mr. Dodwell has examined this letter of Tiberian, and has argued that it is a downright forgery. He says that if there had been such a letter written to Trajan by a governor of Palestine, Eusebius could not have been ignorant of it. He also says that the province of Palestine was not divided into two parts till long after the reign of Trajan. He likewise observes that the titles here given to Trajan by Tiberian, are not suited to that age. For these, and other considerations, he rejects that letter as a forgery. And his argument has been approved of by all learned critics in general.

As Trajan directed that the christians should not be sought for, it is not unlikely that toward the latter part of his reign the persecution was moderated in some places. The account which Sulpicius Severus gives of this persecution is to this purpose: 'Not long after Domitian, the third persecution was raised by Trajan, who, when after strict inquiries made by racks and tortures, no discovery was made of any thing done by them worthy of death, or other punishment, he forbade their being any longer persecuted.' The expression is strong; yet, perhaps, no more is intended than this emperor's prohibition to seek for them, which is in his rescript to Pliny.

\[4\] Dissertat. Cyprian. xi. sect. xxiii. xxiv. 
\[5\] Vide Pagi ann. 116. num. ii. Basnage. ann. 117. n. iii. Cleric. H. E. ann. 113. Dr. Jortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 2. p. 82, 83. Where that learned writer having alleged such reasons as show the Letter of Tiberian not to be genuine, concludes: 'So I hope we shall no more hear of it henceforward, either for or against the behaviour of the martyrs.'

\[6\] Non multo deinde intervallo, tertia persecuto per Trajanum fuit; qui cum tormentis et questionibus nihil in Christianis morte aut pena dignum reperisset, seviri in eos ultra vetuit. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. c. 31. p. 244. edit. Cleric.
VII. The observations of commentators and ecclesiastical historians upon the foregoing letter and rescript are so numerous, that I am induced to mention some more general remarks, beside those which have already appeared under the several paragraphs of each of them.

It is certainly a just observation that some writers have aggravated the severity of Trajan, and that we ought to exercise moderation in our reflections upon the proceedings of former times, and even of those who have been unfriendly to us. Paul Orosius, a christian writer not far from the beginning of the fifth century, speaks ‘as if the persecution had been begun by Trajan’s order, and that Pliny and other presidents were sent by him into the provinces for this very purpose, to carry on the persecution of christians;’ which is evidently contrary to Pliny’s letter, which we have largely considered. He carried not with him any edict against the christians, nor any particular directions concerning the method of treating them: but they were brought before him after his arrival in the province; and he had occasion to refer himself to the emperor for advice in several things relating to them.

Moreover Eusebius, as before quoted, acknowledged that the persecution in the time of Trajan was first occasioned by the clamours and tumults of the people.

It seems to me likewise that in the martyrdom of Ignatius, in all the editions of it, whether Greek or Latin, Trajan’s earnest concern to extirpate the christian religion by a general persecution is aggravated: which, together with other things, may be reckoned an argument that it was not composed, as is generally said, by such as were contemporaries of the emperor and the martyr.

On the other hand, I think the mildness of Trajan has been beyond measure extolled, and the benefits of his edict

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too much magnified by some of late times: as if, after the publication of the above-mentioned rescript, christians might meet together and worship God securely in their own way, provided they observed only the common rules of prudence.

I think that Tertullian's censure of this edict above taken notice of, in which he shows the inconsistency of it, is very just. And in another paragraph he acknowledges all the benefit of it, saying that Trajan had in some measure defeat, restrained, or moderated, the decrees of Nero and Domitian against the christians, by forbidding inquiry to be made after them.

What that amounts to I should think might be easily computed. It implies no more than this—that the presidents of provinces or other magistrates should not, or need not, send out their iренarchs, their serjeants, or other peace-officers, to search for and apprehend the christians, as was usual to be done for appreliending heinous criminals. But it does not hence follow that the presidents of provinces always observed this rule. And as to other people, they are left at liberty to do as they saw good. Among them certainly the christians had many enemies. And if they were brought before the governors, and accused as christians, the governors are required to punish them, unless they denied their christianity, and gave proof of it by sacrificing to the gods: all which was frequently done. This must be the truth of the case, as it is agreeable to what Eusebius says, who could not but know very well what was the state of affairs after the publication of this edict. 'Nevertheless,' says he, in the place before cited, 'they who had a mind to disturb us did not want pretences for so doing: in some places the people, in other places the governors of provinces, laying snares for us: so that, though there was no general persecution, there were persecutions in several places and provinces; and there were many faithful men who underwent divers kinds of martyrdom.'

Le Clerc therefore justly says that in this rescript there

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1 Peccavit quidem in eo non leviter, quod christianos deserte majorum religionis convictos, et cedere nolentes, capitali pena jussit affici—Sed valde tamen profuit christianis, quod inquisitionem et investigationem etrum vetuit. Hac enim sublatâ, secure christiani secretos conventus suos celebrare, atque hostium suorum invidia, modo prudentiae obedient, effugere poterant, &c. Moshem. de Reb. Chr. ante C. M. Sec. 2. sect. i. p. 233, 234.

k Quales ergo leges istae, quas adversus nos soli essequeuntur impii, injusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? Quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est, vetando inquiri christianos. Ap. cap. 5.

1 Re vera species tantum erat moderationis in Trajani rescripto. Nam,
is little more than an appearance of moderation, without any real kindness. And the learned writer, whom I have already quoted several times, and who, I think, sometimes too much magnifies the kindness and the benefits of this rescript, acknowledges that 'it being placed among the laws of the empire, and being long in force, occasioned the death of many excellent men under divers succeeding emperors of good character; and that, by virtue of this very edict, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, and Ignatius of Antioch, were put to death.' And yet the same learned writer, in the very next words says, that, 'however severe this law may appear, the christians of a warm temper were displeased at it, because it deprived them of the honour of suffering a glorious death for Christ.' But if the christians disliked this edict as too mild, how came it that so warm a man as Tertullian complained of it as unjust and severe? And why were there so many apologies written afterwards by Justin, Athenagoras, and others, complaining of the severities with which they were treated, and offering every argument that could be thought of by innocent and good men, for moderating and averting the sufferings which they underwent, or were liable to? However, for proof of this assertion is alleged a story told by Tertullian, who says, 'When Arrius Antoninus in Asia grievously persecuted the christians, all the christians of the city in which he was came together in a body to his tribunal, offering that he might do with them as he saw good. He, ordering away a few of them to be put to death, said to the rest:

quamvis magistratus in christianos publice questiones non habenter, inimicis tamen suis tradebantur christiani, quos satis erat deferri ad magistratus, ut plecetentur, nisi religioni christianarum nuntium remittere vellent. Nuncquam autem iis defuisset inimicos apud Ethnicos, facile est intellectu. Cleric. A. exi. n. xv.


a Quod vero valde mireris, dura satis haec et inhumana lex servitioris animi christianis displicebat, quod viam eis ad gloriam pro Christo mortem obtinerem, magistratu non inquirente, et accusatore sepe deficientem, occulueret. Hinc multae passim ipsi nomina sua defendebant apud iudices. Ibid. p. 235.

arrius Antoninus in Asia, cum persecutione instanter, omnes illius civitatis christiani antea tribunalia ejus se mansi facta obtulerunt. Cum ille, paucis duci jussis, reliquis ait: Ο θείῳ, εἰ θέλεις αποδυνακές, κρινήνως η βρόχως εἰτε. Ad Scap. cap. ult.
‘O miserable people, if you have a mind to die, you may
‘find precipices and halters enough.’

As this passage has been alleged by Mr. Dodwell also, I
shall now immediately put down his argument upon it. Only premising, that whereas the learned man before men-
tioned placeth this affair in the reign of Adrian, and as con-
sequent upon Trajan’s rescript, Mr. Dodwell supposeth it
to have happened in the reign of Trajan, at the same time
that Pliny was persecuting the christians in Bithynia. He
argues that many did not suffer in that persecution; be-
cause, when the christians of that place offered themselves
at the governor’s tribunal, it is said he ‘ordered away a few
‘of them to be put to death.’ But does not this learned
writer forget the word instanter, in the former part of the
sentence? Antoninus had persecuted some while. And
that word implies somewhat very grievous, either for the
manner, or the length and duration of the persecution, car-
rried on by that president in Asia. So that it may be reck-
oned not improbable that many christians had suffered death
by his order.

Which also overthrows Mr. Mosheim’s observation.
Those christians did not offer themselves because of the
mildness of Trajan’s rescript, and accuse themselves be-
cause there were none to accuse them; but it was the
governor’s severe treatment which occasioned their acting
in that manner. Which interpretation is manifestly the
sense of the paragraph itself, and is confirmed by the
coherence in Tertullian. The persecution of Arrius was
so violent, and so long continued, that the christians in
Asia were reduced to great distress. Under this affliction
they came in a body to the governor, and told him ‘he
‘might even take them all, if nothing else would satisfy

p Eodem ni fallo tempore, quo persecutus est in Bithyniâ Plinius, persecu-
tus etiam est in Asiâ Proconsulari Arrius Antoninus, avus maternus Antonini
Pii, ad quem scripsit etiam nonnullas epistolos ipse Plinius. De hujus perse-
cutione ita Tertullianus. Arrius Antoninus in Asiâ. Et hic sese offerentium
multitudine, ut Plinius multitudine perictantium, impeditus est, quo minus
pro libitu suo saviret.—Ceterum multis fuisse probable non est, quos ita
paucas tam frígide censuit esse animadvertendos. Diss. Cyp. xi. sect. xxvii.
q ‘——Ömnes illius civitatis christiani ante tribunalia ejus se manu factâ
‘obtulerunt.’ molestae nimium ferentes, nullum sibi accusatorum obtigisse, et
proconsulem inquirere nolle, quod imperator vetuerat, ipsi accusatorum sibi

r Cruelitas vestra est glória nostra. Vide tantum ne hoc ipso, quod talia
sustinemus, ad hoc solum videamur erumpere, ut hoc ipsum probemus, nos
88. A.
him; for they were not afraid to die.' This resolution of mind in those generous christians astonished him. And putting a good countenance upon his proceedings, he shut up that disagreeable scene, and concluded the persecution in the manner before related.

If this account be right, these christians were not so contemptible as has been insinuated: and Mr. Mosheim might have spared a reflection unworthy of himself, which so generous minds do not deserve.

Before we quite dismiss this affair, it may be worth the while to consider who this Antoninus was, and the time of his persecution.

There were three of this name, proconsuls of Asia, in the space of a century, or less. The first I take to be Arrius Antoninus, of whom Tertullian here speaks; the second Antoninus, afterwards emperor, and surnamed Pius; the third, named Arrius Antoninus, was proconsul of Asia afterwards, in the time of Commodus. Casaubon supposeth this to be the person intended by Tertullian. Several other learned men have been of opinion that the person intended by Tertullian was the emperor Antoninus, grandfather by the mother's side, and the same to whom some of Pliny's letters are sent. Which opinion, as already hinted, appears to me very probable. Hereby we may be led to the time of this event. By Mosheim, as before observed, it is placed in the reign of Adrian, and also by Mr. Lampe; but by Mr. Dodwell, as already mentioned, in the time of Trajan, and whilst Pliny was in Bithynia. But, if he be the same to whom Pliny wrote, it must have been sooner. For Pliny, in one


✉ See Casaubon in the preceding note.

✈ Neque sub Hadriano Imperatore res christianorum in Oriente satis pacata erant; sub quo Asiae administravit Arrius Antoninus, qui christianos male habuit. Lampe Synops. H. E. p. 113.

✈✈ Quod semel atque iterum consul fuisti, similis antiquis; quod proconsul Asiae, qualis ante te, qualis post te vix unus et alter (non sinit enim me vere-
of his letters to him, speaks of his having been twice consul, and then proconsul of Asia some time before: consequently he had been proconsul of Asia before Pliny went into Bithynia. For I cannot discern that any of Pliny's letters, now extant, were written after his provincial government. Indeed, Arrius Antoninus was an old man at the time of Pliny's writing to him. And if this be the person intended by Tertullian, here is another consideration that overthrows Mr. Mosheim's reasonings.

When Arrius Antoninus was proconsul of Asia, I cannot say exactly; whether in the time of Domitian, or some while afterwards; but plainly before Pliny was sent into Bithynia.

This Antoninus was a learned and ingenious man, and has a good character in Pliny, and other writers. Nor do I think he was a bad man. I only say he acted badly for some while toward the christians, whom the great men of those times did not suppose entitled to the common equity vouchsafed to all other people. However, he also, like our Pliny, was at length overcome by their resolution and steadfastness in the cause of what they were persuaded was the truth, and important truth.

I have taken notice of the sentiments of some learned men of late times, who have been very ready to magnify the moderation of Trajan, and his propraetor Pliny. I shall now take notice of some other things. For Grotius, who thought Trajan to be pointed at by St. John, [Rev. xiii. 18.] says that Trajan shed as much christian blood as Nero and Domitian. Which may be true: for the cruel edicts of Nero and Domitian were soon abrogated: but Trajan being generally reckoned by the Romans a good emperor, his re-script subsisted long in force, and by virtue of it many suffered in every part of the empire for a long time; as Pliny says in a letter to Trajan, in which he proposeth his making
an ordinance for settling some affairs relating to Pontus and Bithynia: 'For it well becomes you, whose every word and action deserves immortality, to give laws that shall be for ever permanent.'

I shall now also subjoin some other observations of Gro-tius, in which he declares it to be his opinion that the persecutions ordered by Trajan began in the tenth year of his reign, and that, by virtue of his edict, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, and Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, suffered martyrdom.

VIII. As I have enlarged in my remarks upon the foregoing letter and rescript, and have passed very free censures upon the writers of them, it may be of some use to observe their several characters more distinctly; whereby, possibly, we may be able to discern how it came to pass that so renowned men as Pliny and Trajan treated the christians so hardly.

Pliny, as I suppose, was a dutiful child, and he was very respectful to the memory of his uncle, by whom he was adopted for his son. He evidently was a loving husband, a good master, a faithful friend, and a kind and generous benefactor to many. He was also a friend to civil liberty, and an enemy to tyrants. Withal he was a good writer. To that he owes the immortal fame of which he was desirous. To that we likewise are indebted for the advantages which we may receive from his Panegyrick and Epistles, still remaining. If to a friendly temper for particular persons he had added a love of mankind in general, his conduct might have been more unexceptionable than it was. His virtue and his wisdom had a trial when he met with christians in the province which he was sent to govern. And, when they were brought before him, he failed, as seems to me, in a proper regard to the rules of justice and equity.

But before I proceed to any such things, as may be

\[\text{b} \quad \text{Nam quod in perpetuum mansurum est, a te constitui debetur, eujus factis dictisque debetur aeternitas. L. x. ep. 113.}\]

\[\text{c} \quad \text{Sub Domitian, ut omnes sciant, acerbissima fuerat christianorum vexatio. Nerva uno edicto omnia Domitianæ edicta sustulit, inter quæ et alia contra christians, quorum plurimi ab exiliis reversi, ut Eusebius in Chronicæ et Historiæ notat. Resuscitavit sævitiam novo edicto Trajanus anno principatus sui decimo, ut idem Eusebius notat, Historiæ iii. 27.—Quibus addi potest notissima Plinii epistola de poenis christianorum, et Tertullianus Apologético. Ex eo edicto crucifixus Simon, filius Cleopæ, Hierosolymorum Episcopus; Ignatius Antiochenæ Ecclesiae Episcopus Romæ fœris objectus; notante utrumque Eusebio. Grot. ut supr. T. 3. p. 471.}\]

\[\text{d} \quad \text{Me autem nihil æque ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido sollicitat; res nomine dignissima, presertim qui nullius sibi conscius culpas, posteriæs memoriam non reformidet. L. v. ep. 3.}\]
imagined to have been in part the sources of some wrong conduct, I must expatiate farther in the detail of his amiable qualifications, which may be easily collected from his letters, and are such as may deserve the imitation, and excite the ardour, of christians themselves.

Several of his letters are written to his friend Tacitus, all of them very agreeable. One of them, particularly, is a mirror of intimate, sincere, and delightful friendship.

Many of his letters express compassion and tenderness for the distressed and afflicted. His letter to Marcellinus, where he laments the death of Junius Avitus, is very affecting. Catanaeus admires and commends it as superior to all the rest.

In another letter he well represents the benefit of sickness. 'Then,' says he, 'we recollect that there are gods, and we know ourselves to be but men.' And he thinks it may be laid down as a short rule, more valuable than many volumes of philosophical speculations, 'that we should endeavour to be in health, what we promised to be when sick.'

He has an excellent letter, written in a fine turn of expression, in behalf of forgiving injuries, or at least covering and hiding any offences which we have received. I must transcribe below a large part of this letter, though I do not translate it. However he recommends it as a good rule to be inexorable to our own failings, whilst we treat those of the rest of the world with tenderness, not excepting even such as forgive none but themselves.'

After reading these, and other letters, written in a moving and affectionate manner, we may be disposed to wish that Pliny had never met with those people called christians, whose only fault was, that they differed from him, and most others, in things of religion; and whose great unhappiness it was, that they were generally despised, and their princi-

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a Lib. 7. ep. 20.  
" Lib. 8. ep. 23.

5 Impar igitur tanto dolori, (concepto ex Junii Aviti morte) Marcellino rem totam per hanc epistolam exponit, inter pulchriores pulcherrimam, inter tristiores tristissimam, inter amantiores amantissimam. Catan.

h Tunc Deos, tunc hominem esse se meminit.—Possum ergo, quod pluribus verbis, plurimis voluminibus philosophi docere conatur, ipso breviter tibi mihique precipere, ut tales esse sani perseveremus, quales nos futuri profitemur infirmi. L 7. ep. 26.

ple unknown, and supposed to be unworthy to be inquired into and considered.

When old Simeon saw the child Jesus presented by Joseph and Mary at the temple, he said, under the influence of the prophetic spirit: "Behold this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against—that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed?" Luke ii. 34, 35. Which prophecy was afterwards fulfilled among the people of Israel, in the times of our Saviour and his apostles: and has been oftentimes verified since in other people and other countries. By the proposal of the gospel, men have been tried; and it has been discovered whether they were lovers of truth, and open to conviction, or not. I therefore proceed.

It has been said that Pliny was indifferent about things of religion. On the other hand, I think, he was credulous and superstitious. His credulity is sufficiently manifest from his long letter, in which he gravely relates divers silly stories in support of the reality of apparitions. I might also refer to his long letter concerning the dolphin at Hippo, that carried boys upon its back: though that letter is written with more pleasantry. And perhaps we may hereafter observe more proofs of this weakness of our author.

His veneration for the gods is apparent, and shows itself upon every occasion.

Pliny begins and ends his panegyric upon Trajan in


\[ ^m \] L. 7. ep. 27.

\[ ^n \] L. 9. ep. 33.

\[ ^o \] I cannot but wonder that this should have been overlooked by any learned men. It is acknowledged again and again by Colonia, tom. 2. p. 49, 50. It fit toujours gloire d’être fort religieux, &c. See him quoted more at large by and by.

\[ ^p \] Bene ac sapienter, Patres C. majores instituerant, ut rerum agendarum, ita dicendi initiun a precationibus capere: quod nihil rite, nihilque providenter homines sine deorum immortalium ope, consilio, honore, auspicarentur—Quo magus aptum, pliumque est, te, Jupiter optime maxime, antea conditorem, nunc conservatorem imperii nostri, precari, ut mihi digna Consule, digna Senatu, digna Principe contingat oratio. Paneg. cap. i.

\[ ^q \] In fine orationis præsides custodesque imperii deos ego Consul pro rebus
very devout addresses and thanksgivings to Jupiter, and the other deities, founders and guardians of the Roman empire. I before referred to some of his letters to Trajan from the province, showing how devoutly he and the people there celebrated the anniversary of his empire.

Upon occasion of private, as well as public concerns, he always adores the gods. His wife, having had an abortion, he writes to her grandfather, that he should however give thanks to the gods for her safety, and that there were still hopes of her having children.

In a letter to one of his friends, he tells him he had lately purchased, with a legacy that was left him, a statue of Corinthian brass, which appeared to him to be antique, and was so highly finished as to deserve the attention of the curious. Well, how is this masterpiece to be disposed of? He goes on: 'I bought it not with any intent of placing it in my own house, (for I have nothing of that kind there,) but with a design of fixing it in some conspicuous place, in my native country, and in the temple of Jupiter; for it is a present worthy of a temple and a god.'

He built several temples at his own expense. His letter relating to the temple of Ceres deserves to be read throughout. It begins with these words: 'In compliance with the advice of the Aruspices, I intend to rebuild and enlarge the temple of Ceres, which stands upon my estate.'

Concerning another temple of his building he writes in a letter to Fabatus, his wife's grandfather. He and his wife were going to make him a visit; but Pliny makes excuses for a short delay, because he would first go and consecrate that temple. 'We shall stop only once, and that for a short time; intending to turn a little out of the way in order to go to Tuscany.—There is a town near my estate, called Tifernum, upon the Tiber, which put itself under my patronage when I was yet a youth—that I may return their good offices, I have built a temple in this place at my own expense. As it is finished, it would be a sort

humanis, at te praecipue, Capitolina Jupiter, precor, ut beneficiis tuis favaeas, tantisque numeribus addas perpetuatem. Cap. 94.

Lib. x. ep. 44, 45, 60, 61, 101—104. Vide et ep. 9.


Emi autem, non ut haberem domi; (neque enim illum adhuc Corinthium domi habeo,) verum ut in patria nostrâ celebrâ loco ponereum, ac potissimum in Jovis templo. Videtur enim dignum templo, dignum deo donum. L. 3. ep. 6.


L. 4. ep. 1.
of impiety to omit the dedication of it any longer: "differre longius irreligiosum est." We design therefore to be there on the day that the ceremony is to be performed. And I have resolved to celebrate it with a grand feast."

He speaks of erecting another temple, which was entirely new, in a place where had been none before; where he intended to place all the statues of the Roman emperors which he had in his possession. And he asks leave of Trajan that he might set up his statue there also.

In a letter to Maximus, who was going into Achaia, he writes to this purpose: 'You will consider yourself as sent to that noble province of Achaia, the real and genuine Greece.—Revere the gods their founders, those venerable deities. Respect the ancient glory of this people.—Pay a regard to their antiquity, to their noble exploits, and even to their fictions.'

This letter of advice is written with uncommon earnestness, that Maximus might act worthy of himself, and not lose in Greece any part of that reputation which he had gained by his qustorship in Bithynia, and the discharge of other offices in which he had been employed. And can we think that Pliny neglected such rules himself when he was governor in Bithynia?

Pliny, as before said, was augur. It was an office which he much valued, and which he asked of Trajan in this manner: 'I beg you would be graciously pleased to add either the office of augur, or septemvir, (both of which are now vacant,) to the dignity which I already enjoy by your indulgence, that I may have the satisfaction of offering up those vows for your prosperity, from the duty of my office, which I daily prefer to the gods in private from the affection of my heart.'

Pliny was greatly delighted with his being appointed augur: 'My advancement,' says he to Arrian, 'is indeed an honour that justly merits the congratulation which you give me.—It is also an ancient and sacred institution, which has this high and peculiar privilege annexed to it—that it is for life. Other sacerdotal honours, though they may not be much inferior in dignity, yet as they are given, so they may be taken away; upon this, fortune has no power but to be-

\*—Ego statim decurionibus scripsieram, ut adsignarent solum, in quo templum pecuniâ meâ extruereem. L. x. ep. 24.

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stow it. What recommends this dignity to me still more is, that I have the honour to succeed so illustrious a person as Julius Frontinus; who for many years, upon the nomination-day of proper persons to be taken into the sacred college, constantly proposed me, as if he had a view to my being his successor.

This last-mentioned particular certainly deserves some notice. Pliny's usual character was such as to show him to be a very fit person for this honourable priesthood.

In another letter also he relates how a that eminent man Virginius Rufus often recommended him as a person well qualified for the priesthood.

The business of the augurs, as is said, was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, and to foretell whether any action should be fortunate or prejudicial to particular persons, or to the whole commonwealth. And it appears, from our Pliny's letters b to his friends, that he thought he had a happy talent for interpreting dreams, and could give a shrewd conjecture, at least, how far they were to be depended upon, and whether they foreboded success or disappointment in any undertaking:

None can contest his credulity and superstition, who observe what he says describing the river Clitumnus. 'Near it,' says c he, 'stands an ancient and venerable temple, wherein is placed [the river god] Clitumnus, clothed in a splendid robe; whose immediate presence the prophetic oracles, there delivered, sufficiently testify.'

I am not singular in my judgment concerning Pliny's respect for the heathen deities, and his zeal for upholding their worship. Colonlia expresseth himself very clearly to the like purpose.d

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a Sic illo die, quo sacerdotes solent nominare quo dignissimos sacerdotio judicant, me semper nominabat. L. 2. ep. 1.

b Vid. l. i. ep. 18. Conf. l. 5. ep. 5.


d Mais il eut encore une attention plus particulière à faire fleurir par tout la culte des Dieux. Car il fit toujours gloire d'être fort religieux, comme il parloit, entre autres choses, par les grands mouvements qu'il se donna pour faire transporter dans un lieu plus décent le vieux temple de la Grande Mère des dieux, c'est-à-dire de Cybèle, qui était à Nicomédie, [l. x. ep. 58.] et par le soin qu'il eut de faire bâtir à ses propres frais un temple dans une de ses terres, assez près de Tifernum.

Cet entêtement singulier de Plinie pour les dieux, et pour les erreurs de Paganisme, doit paraître certainement quelque chose d'assez bizarre dans un aussi bel esprit que lui, qui devrait, ce semble, par mille raisons, s'être mis fort au dessus des frivoles préjugés du vulgaire. Colonnia La Religion Chrétienne autorisée, &c. T. 2. p. 49, 50.
I think I ought not to omit that Pliny did not condemn combats of gladiators, or other things usually accompanying those cruel entertainments. He seems to have approved of them upon some occasions. This appears from a letter to his friend Maximus. ‘You were extremely in the right,’ says he, ‘to promise a combat of gladiators to our good friends the citizens of Verona; not only as they have long distinguished you with their peculiar esteem and veneration, but as it was thence also you received the amiable object of your affection, your late excellent wife. And since you owed some monument, or public show, to her memory, what other spectacle could you exhibit more proper to the occasion?—The readiness with which you granted this request, and the magnificent manner in which you performed it, is much to your honour. —I am sorry that the African panthers, which you had largely provided for that purpose, did not arrive time enough. But though they were delayed by the tempestuous season, the obligation to you is equally the same, since it was not your fault that they were not exhibited.’

The emperor Trajan has been admired and applauded by many. And it must be owned that he was an eminent person, and had many good qualities. Crevier begins his history of this emperor in this manner: ‘Trajan is justly esteemed the best and greatest prince the Romans ever had.’ His distinguished title was that of Optimus, given to him by the senate, and all the people in general. ‘But,’ as a learned man says, ‘that title among the Romans does not denote a man of excellent morals, as if he were another Socrates, but only kind, courteous, obliging, agreeable; implying that he behaved respectfully toward the senate,

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a Recte fecisti, quod gladiatorium munus Veronensis nostris promissit. L. 6. ep. 34.

b Cujus memoria aut opus aliquod, aut spectaculum, atque hoc potissimum, quod maxime funeris, debeatur. lb. id.

c Cf. ibid. Reimar, not. sect. 44. Tillem. note vi. sur Trajan. et Pagi ann. 103. n. ix. et ann. cxi.

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b Contra optimis summa, et contra illum s. etiam in aliis et aliis multis. Dion. p. 1124.
and was gracious and condescending toward the people, conversing familiarly with them, indulging them in their pleasures, gratifying their humour, and affording them magnificent spectacles.

And it may be not unfitly observed by us, that we have not Pliny's panegyric upon Trajan, as it was pronounced by him in the senate. For, as we know from himself, he afterwards enlarged and improved it, not only for more fully doing justice to the emperor himself, but also that it might be the model of an excellent prince, for the imitation of others in time to come.

Trajan's piety to the gods is acknowledged. The emperor's and his panegyrist's piety go hand in hand. In that justly admired performance Pliny celebrates his master as a humble worshipper of the gods. And he says, that 'Trajan' placed his predecessor, Nerva, among the gods, not to please the people, nor out of any disrespect to the deities, nor with a view of honour to himself upon that account, but because he really believed him to be a god.' And, in a letter formerly referred to, representing his own vows, and the vows of the province in which he was, he says: 'We implored the gods to preserve you and the republic in safety and prosperity, with that peculiar mark of their beneficence, which not only your other many and great virtues, but particularly your distinguished piety and reverence of them, deserve.'

Though Trajan has been much applauded by men of former and later times, as excelling in the arts of peace and war, temperate, mild, equitable; such was the impartiality

k Officium consulis iniunxit mihi, ut Reipublicæ nomine Principi gratias agerem. Quod ego in Senatu quum ad rationem et loci et temporis ex more fecisset bono civi convenientissimum credidit eadem illa spatiisius et ubebius volumine amplecti; primum ut Imperatori nostro virtutes sure veris laudibus commendarentur; deinde, ut futuri principes non quasi a magistro, sed tamen sub exemplo praemonerentur, quâ potissimum via possent ad camdem gloriam niti. Plin. l. 3. ep. 18. Conf. ep. 13. Vid. et l. 6. ep. 27.

1 Tu delabra non nisi adoraturus intras. Tibi maximus honor excubare pro templis, postibusque pretexi. Paneg. cap. 52.

m Quem tu lacrymis primum, ita ut filium decent, mox templis honestasti: non imitatus illos, qui hoc idem, sed alia mente fecisti.—Tu sideribus patrem intulisti, non ad mentem civium, non in contumeliam numinum, non in honorem tuum, sed quia Deum credis. Paneg. cap. xi.


of divers of the ancient historians, that they have not scru-
ped to record some very great faults which he was guilty of.

He is said to² have indulged himself at some seasons in
excess of eating and drinking: and he is charged⁹ with a
vice not fit to be named. Some³ would set aside this charge,
as if the testimony of Dion Cassius was liable to suspicion;
but there is no reason for it: Dion was as likely to be well
informed as any man. His only fault is that he does not
condemn the vice with the severity which it deserves: and⁶
Trajan's guilt is attested also by other witnesses, altogether
unexceptionable.

Trajan was fond of the combats of gladiators. Dion says
that, ⁴ after¹ he had triumphed for his first victory over the
¹ Dacians, he exhibited in the amphitheatre shows of gladiat-
ors, of whom he was very fond; and introduced dancers
² into the theatre, being enamoured with one of them.³ And
³ after the second victory over the Dacians, the same historian,
or Xiphilinus from him, says, there⁴ were shows continued
⁴ for an hundred and three-and-twenty days, in which were
slain eleven thousand beasts, wild and tame: and there
were combats of ten thousand gladiators.

² Trajanum familiarium prosecutus est: quandoquidem et induluisse vino
¹ se dicit, Trajani moribus obsequentem; atque ob hoc se a Trajano locupletis-
sime numeratum. Spartan. ad Adrian. cap. 3.

Quin etiam vinolentiam, qui viuo, uti Nerva, agebatur, prudentiâ molliverat,
curari vetans justa post longiores epulas. Victor. de Cesaribus, cap. 13.—
Nisi quia cibo vinoque paululum deditus erat. Victor. Epit. cap. 13. de
³ Traiano.

Hæ tamen, quibus Traianus aspersus est, vinolentiam, et cupiditatem tri-
⁴ umphandi, usque eo detestatus est, ut bella non movert, sed invenerit;
⁵ prohibueritque lege ministeria lasciva, psaltriaeque commissationibus adhibire, &c.
⁶ Id. cap. 48. De Theodosio. Quaerit, uti de vino quibus uxor et uxor, ut o de
⁸ Spanh. et Conf. ib. p. 318. C.

¹ Om. eòv ὅ τε οὐκ αὑτον εἰχε. Ὅια οὐδα μεν ὅτι καὶ πιεί μερικακα, καὶ
² περι αινων ἵσπιδακακα ἀλλ' ει μεν τι εκ τετων η αἰσχρον η κακον η ἐμφακε, η
³ επετονθει, ἐπηγοροι τι πιε εν η που εν τε οιναι διακαιφ επίναι, και νηπιάν
⁴ ἐν τε τους παιδιας οδην ελπιείνειν. Dion. l. 68. p. 1124.
⁵ A Dionë, fortasse ex odio in Romanorum Imperatorum Graecis insito,
ebrietatis et præposteræ libidinis notatus. J. de la Baume De Vitâ Traj. sub fin.

⁶ Fuitque in amore Trajani, nec tamen ei per pedagogos paerorum, quos
⁷ Trajanus impensus diligebat, Gallo favente, defuit. Spartan. Adrian. cap. 2.
⁸ Corrupisse eum Trajani libertos, curasse delicatos, eodemque sepelisse per ea
tempora, quibus in aula familiaris futu, opinio multa firmavit. Id. ib. cap. 4.
⁹ Ηνεων δε αυτων ο Σελήνους έρη—ον ον την την ἑσπητο τω σκοπειν, οπόως ο
¹⁰ Γανυμήδης αυτων φροφητησα. Julian. ib. p. 311. C.

¹¹ Traianos δε τατε νικηπαιρα γιγαε—ον τη τη θεατρον μονομαχος συνεβαλε' και
¹² γαι εγαρεν αυτως κα της ορχης ες το τηατρον επανεγειαι, και γαι ενος
¹³ αυτων τη Πυλαδ, ηαρ. Dion. l. 68. p. 1127. al. 774. B.
¹⁴ Dion. ib. l. 68. p. 1131. al. p. 777.
The emperor's great fondness for gladiators has been supposed by some to be one reason why Pliny speaks so honourably of those shows in his Panegyric.

Trajan's introducing Pantomimes into the theatre is the more remarkable, because they had been prohibited or restrained by Domitian. Nerva disliked them, though to please the people he allowed them at Rome. Pliny has more than once plainly condemned them in his letters, which is much to his honour. And indeed I take him to be a much better man than his admired master.

It seems to make no small abatement in Trajan's reputation for wisdom, and his regard for the prosperity of the empire, that he so long deferred to nominate his successor. Pliny extols Nerva for appointing Trajan to succeed him. And it is always reckoned a point of wisdom in princes to make early provision against their own mortality. But Trajan, though he reigned almost twenty years, did not adopt Adrian his successor till he was dying, if he did then. And whenever this was done, whether before or after his death, it is represented to be owing to the good conduct of the empress Plotina, who was favourable to Adrian, and has a great character for virtue and discretion.

They who will consider all these things, may, perhaps, see cause not to be much surprised at the hard treatment which Christians met with from the great men of those times.

v Satisfactum, quà civium, quà sociorum utilitatisb. Viseum est spectaculum inde non enerve, nec fluxum, nec quod animos virorum molliret et frageret, sed quod ad pulchra vulnera contemtumque mortis accenderet; quum in servorum etiam, noxiorumque, corporibus amor laudis et cupidio victoriae cerneter. Paneg. cap. 33.

w Interdixit histrionibus scenam, intra domum quidem exercendi artem jure concesso. Sueton. Domit. cap. 7. Vid. et Nero. c. 16.


a Tibi terras, te terris reliquit; eo ipso carus omnibus, ac desiderandus, quod prospererat, desidererat. Paneg. cap. x.

b At Trajanum non prius Hadrianium adoptasse, si tamen adoptavit, quam in morbus inciderit—certo deducitur. Pagi, ann. 117. n. v. And see Crevier's History of Trajan, near the end.

c Vid. Dion. l. 69. in. Eutrop. l. 8. c. 6. Victor. de Cæsarib. cap. 13 Spartan. in Adrian. cap. 4.

It ought not to be thought by any that I take pleasure in
detracting from the merit of those who have been distin-
guished by their high stations, or their eminent abilities, or
their useful services to mankind of any sort. For indeed
the disadvantageous part of this detail has been made, and
carried on, not without great reluctance, much diffidence,
and tenderness; whilst commendable things have been
cheerfully acknowledged. And if we now think, and
judge, and act, better than many in former times, it is
owing to our superior advantages: such especially as we
have received from the christian revelation, by which our
minds have been enlightened and enlarged; for which we
ought to be ever thankful, still thinking modestly of our-
ourselves, and giving God the glory of all.
IX. There still remain some general remarks upon the
foregoing epistles to be mentioned here, though divers of
them may have been in part hinted before.
1. These epistles are justly esteemed by learned men as
very valuable. They are the only authentic accounts of the
persecution in Pontus and Bithynia which we have. Indeed
those epistles have been referred to by Tertullian, and Eu-
sebius, and other later writers: but we have no history of it
by any christian writer who lived at that time. Whence this
has come to pass cannot be certainly said. We may regret
it, but we cannot help it, and should acquiesce, and improve
what we have as well as we can.
2. We see here one ground of offence against christians
—they drew men off from the worship of the heathen de-
ties. Their temples were not so much frequented as for-
terly. The priests, and all who had a dependence upon
the temples, the sacrificers, the statuaries, the painters, the
engravers, and others, were deprived of their wonted gain.
This must have made the christians many fierce enemies in
all parts. An early instance of this kind is recorded by St.
3. Here is a remarkable evidence of the great progress of
the christian religion in a short space. There never was
any such thing as christianity heard of in the world before
the reign of Tiberius. It was not fourscore years since the
crucifixion of Jesus when Pliny wrote this letter, nor seventy

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Verum hisce temporibus, et hoc quidem anno, coepit tertia, quae vocatur,
persequutio, ut liquet ex Epistolâ Plinii, qui Bithyniae Proconsul erat,—quam
integram recitabimus, quod sit unicum persequutionis illius tertiae monumentum,
tempori æquale. Tanta fuit christianorum ævo, in scribendâ religiosis sue
cxi. n. i.
years since the disciples of Jesus began to make any mention of him to Gentiles. And yet there were at this time great numbers of men, whom Pliny once and again plainly calls christians, in that part of Asia where he presided, at a great distance from Judea. Christians there were everywhere, throughout the whole extent of his province, in cities, in villages, and in the open country. There were persons of all ages, of every rank and condition, and of each sex, and some Roman citizens, who had embraced this principle. They abounded so much in those parts, that there was a visible desertion of the temples. Beasts, brought to market for victims, had few purchasers; the annual sacred solemnities were much neglected. So many were accused, and were in danger of suffering upon account of the prevalence of this opinion, as gave the president no small concern.

Moreover, there were not only many at this time who bore that name, but there had been such people there a good while; some several years before; and one, or more, brought before Pliny, had professed christianity, and forsaken it, twenty years before. By which we are assured that there were christians here before the year of our Lord 90, and within sixty years after the crucifixion of Jesus. And indeed the great number of christians found in this country by Pliny, affords good reason to believe that christianity had been planted there many years before his arrival. Such an increase must have been the work of time.

I do not say, nor think, that the christians were the majority of the people in Pontus and Bithynia; but I suppose we may conclude, from what Pliny writes, that there were then many christians in every part of those countries.


But it seems to me that, in a preceding note, the same learned man speaks more judiciously in a remark upon Tertullian. Oracula fundere Tertullianus plurimis videtur in Apologetico. cap. 37, 1 Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus—Palatium, senatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus templam. Ego ivrum, ad exaggerandum natûrâ factum, declamatione, modo dudque excedere, arbitror. Tolle distributionem illam rhetoricam, fallacem certe et insidiosam, et hanc habebis sententiam: Plurimi sunt in orbe Romano christiani, et nullus fere ordo est, qui prorsus illis careat. Id. ib. p. 217.
4. They who were called Christians were very resolute and steady in this profession, which must have been owing to some cause or other. Jesus had been crucified as a malefactor; and yet there were great numbers of men who had a great respect for him, and could not by any means be compelled, as Pliny was assured, to speak ill of him. And this governor found those informations, which had been given him, to be true. For there were men brought before him, who, when he interrogated them whether they were Christians, confessed they were. And, though threatened by him with death, they persevered in that confession, and therefore were by him ordered away for execution.

It is reasonable to think that this was owing to some authentic information which they had received concerning Jesus, and his exemplary life and excellent doctrine, confirmed by miraculous works, and a full persuasion of the truth of them, as also of his resurrection from the dead, and his exaltation to power and dominion after his crucifixion.

It could not well be owing to any thing, but such evidences of these things as are contained in the books of the New Testament. What else could have induced so many men to take upon them the name of Christ, and profess themselves to be his followers, though all men knew he had suffered an ignominious death? They lived near enough to the time of Jesus to know whether there had been any extraordinary appearances in his favour, during his abode on this earth, at his death, and after it. Without credible information of some such things, it is unaccountable that any number of men should take upon them this profession, and persevere in it, notwithstanding the many difficulties to which they were exposed.

If it should be said they were not all constant; there were some who abandoned this profession; it is allowed—some such there were; but they seem to have been but few in comparison of those who persevered. For Pliny saw that great numbers of all sorts of people were exposed to danger. Besides, the constancy of a few, in such a case as this, is of more weight than the inconstancy of many. There were many temptations to renounce this profession, even contrary to conviction: but there were no worldly inducements of any kind to persist in it. Unsteadiness might be owing to worldly considerations; perseverance could be owing to nothing but a firm persuasion of the truth.

5. We are here assured of divers important things concerning the religious belief and worship of the first Chris-
tians, in which they agree with the principles and precepts delivered in the New Testament.

(1.) They disowned all the gods of the heathens: they would not worship the images of the emperors, or of their gods. The people, who embraced this religion, forsook the heathen temples and altars, and offered there no sacrifices.

(2.) They met together on a stated day, undoubtedly meaning Sunday, or the Lord's-day, on which Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead. And we are assured by Justin Martyr, in his Apology, written not very many years after this time, that this was the practice of all christians in general.

(3.) When they were assembled, as Pliny says, 'they sung a hymn to Christ, as a God: and also engaged themselves, as by an oath, not to commit theft, robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, or betray any trust committed to them.' Which account is much to the honour of these christians. Their religion did not lie in abstruse speculations, or numerous rites and ceremonies, but in the worship of the one God, through Jesus Christ, and the practice of moral virtue.

(4.) The christians in Pontus and Bithynia had love-feasts, or agapæ, as they are also sometimes called. Many other christians had the like, as we learn from Tertullian. Those of the christians in Bithynia were not held at the same time with their more solemn worship, but afterwards; and for avoiding offence they had omitted them.

(5.) They also had church officers. Pliny expressly mentions two women, who were ministers, or deaconesses, whom he also calls maid-servants. But, as before hinted, he might be mistaken about their condition. Whence it came to pass that he has mentioned no other officers among the christians, such as bishops, or presidents, or elders, or deacons, cannot be said. But it may be allowed that the persons pitched upon by him, to be examined by torture, were as likely as any to answer his purpose, of obtaining a knowledge of their secret practices, if the christians had any such among them.

(6.) We are here assured of the innocence and virtue of the first christians. Both these epistles, that of Pliny, and that of Trajan, bear testimony to their innocence, in their solemn worship, in their meal, some time afterwards, and in their

whole lives. There was not any crime, beside that of their
religion, proved against any of those who were brought be-
fore Pliny. Even their accusers and prosecutors appeared
not to have alleged any thing against them, but that they
were christians. He examined deserters. He put to the
torture two women who were ministers, or deaconesses.
And yet he discovered nothing but what was quite harmless.
The only charge against them is, an absurd superstition and
obstinacy therein.

Trajan's rescript affords as strong proof of the innocence
of these men. He knew not of any offence they were guilty
of, excepting only their not supplicating to the gods. He forbids inquiries to be made after them; and he allows
pardon to those who would give proof of their renouncing
christianity, by a public act of worship paid to the gods,
then generally received.

The honesty and innocence of these men, oblige us to
pay a great regard to their belief and profession of the
christian religion. If they were sober and discreet before
they embraced it, we may hence argue, that there were then
such evidences of its truth as approved themselves to seri-
ous persons. If they are supposed to have been in fore time
vicious and irregular, here is a strong proof of the truth and
goodness of christianity, in that it had so great an influence
on men's minds at a time when they might easily know whe-
ther it was well grounded or not. Either way, it is an ho-
nour to these principles, that they who embraced them main-
tained such innocence in their lives, that their enemies, by
the strictest inquiries, could discover nothing criminal in
them.

7. At the same time that these christians appear reso-
lute in the adherence to Christ and his doctrine, and will by
no means be compelled to give religious worship to the em-
perors, or the heathen deities, they pay due obedience to the
orders of the civil magistrate. Their evening meeting, for
partaking together in a common meal, was not a sacred or-
dinance of the christian institution. When therefore Pliny
published an edict forbidding assemblies, which was often
done by the Roman governors of provinces, because of the
licentious practices which usually attended them, these
christians forbore those meetings, though they had not been
used to commit any disorders in them.

*h Conquirendi non sunt. Si deferantur, et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita
tamen, ut qui negaverit se christianum esse, idque re ipsâ manifestum fecerit,
id est, supplicando Diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in præteritum fuerit, veniam
ex pœnitentia impetret. Trajanus.
8. I would now take occasion to observe the expedience and usefulness, the value and importance, of inquisitiveness in things of religion.

Improvements in any science depend upon inquisitiveness, carried on and continued with diligence. These are the only methods of obtaining a knowledge of the principles of any science, and the grounds, reasons, and evidences of them: for the want of which there is so much ignorance in the world. Nor is there any such thing less cultivated than the knowledge of religion. How easily might some great men, and many others, have avoided the faults which they fell into, and have acted more for their own honour, and the benefit of mankind, than they did, if they could but have been persuaded to attend to the principles of the christian religion, and the evidences of their truth and certainty, apparent in their intrinsic excellence and reasonableness, and in the extraordinary works accompanying the original revelation of them, which showed that they were promulgated with divine authority?

That christianity had appeared in the world a good while ago, and that there were many christians at Rome, and elsewhere, in the reign of Nero and Domitian; and that these christians had suffered much, and still persisted in the faith of Christ, were things well known to Tacitus and Suetonius, friends of our Pliny, and indeed to all the world, at the time when the eminent men, just mentioned, lived and wrote. But how little regard did they show to this? Did they consider the evidences which those christians alleged, as the ground and reason of their firm and disinterested belief and profession? Did those persons admit any doubts about the grounds of the ancient worship, or make any serious inquiries about religious truth? It does not appear they did.

We have a collection of Pliny's letters in ten books. The tenth and last contains the correspondence between him and the emperor Trajan. In the other nine books are more than two hundred and forty letters, many of them written to Tacitus and Suetonius, and other men of great distinction for their learning and ingenuity, and high station, and the offices which they had borne in the Roman empire. Is there any thing in these letters relating to the christian religion, or the christians, its honest professors? Not one word: there is total silence upon that subject throughout! Do any of them ask Pliny whether he could inform them concerning the christian philosophy, which had made such progress in the world in a short time? Or does Pliny ask any of them whether they had examined the pretensions of those people,
and considered whether there was not somewhat extraordinary in this new sect? No, there are no inquiries of this sort sent by Pliny to any of his learned and honourable friends: nor to him by any of them, so far as appears! They are all well satisfied in the ancient way. They hesitated not to proceed in the observation of all the idolatrous rites and ceremonies practised by their ancestors. If they would not inquire, how should they know? And if they did not know, how should they act wisely, as the circumstances of things might require?

And in all ages ignorance will be culpable, if men neglect the means of knowledge, and will not inquire. And they must bear the consequences of their own neglects.

I beg leave to transcribe here the pathetic address of Justin Martyr to Antoninus the Pious, and the senate and people of Rome, at the end of his first apology, to induce them to attend to, and examine the evidences of the christian religion, and to give such treatment to the professors of it as in all equity they had a right to expect. And I the rather transcribe it here, because I am persuaded the like things were said to Pliny, and repeated to him more than once, by those christians who were accused before him and examined by him. And possibly, yea, very probably, they came also to the ears of the emperor Trajan himself.

'On the day called Sunday we all meet together—On which day Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead. On the day before Saturday he was crucified. And on the day after Saturday, which is Sunday, he appeared to his apostles and disciples, and taught them those things which we have set before you, and refer to your consideration. If these things appear agreeable to reason and truth, pay a regard to them. If they appear trifling, reject them as such. But do not treat as enemies, nor appoint capital punishment to those who have done no harm: for we foretell unto you, that you will not escape the future judgment of God if you persist in unrighteousness. And we shall say: The will of the Lord be done.'


* Ο χλον της θεψ, τηνε γενεσθω.
CHAP. X.

EPICTETUS THE STOIC PHILOSOPHER.

I. His life and time. II. A story representing his great patience. III. That he was learned. IV. A general account of the stoic principles. V. Of Arrian, who drew up the Enchiridion, and Discourses of Epictetus. VI. Passages in Epictetus relating to the Christians, with remarks and observations.

I. EPICTETUS a was a celebrated stoic b philosopher. But there are not many particulars of his life that are known with certainty. He is in Suidas: and I shall take the historical part of his article for my text.

Epictetus, says that c author, born at Hierapolis in Phrygia, a philosopher, was slave of Epaphroditus, one of the emperor Nero’s body guards. He was lame in one leg, occasioned by a defluxion. He dwelt at Nicopolis, a city of New Epirus; and reached to the time of Marcus Antoninus. He wrote many things.

That Epictetus was for some while a slave, and always poor, and likewise lame, are things attested by many ancient writers, and need not to be disputed. They are mentioned by d Aulus Gellius, who was contemporary with our philo-

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c V. Epiktetos.

d Natum Hierapoli Phrygiae tradunt. Lips. citat. in notis ad A. G. l. 1. c. 2. On le fait natif de Hiéraple en Phrygie. Tillem. ut supr.

e Πηρωθεις ἐκ τοῦ σκέλος ὑπὸ ρεματος. Suid.

f De Epicteta autem, philosopho nobili, quod is quoque servus fuit, recentior est memoria, quam ut scribi quasi obliteratum debuerit. Eius Epicteti etiam de se scripti duo versus feruntur——

Δελος Ἐπικτητος γενομην, και σωματι πιηρος, 
Και πεννην Ιρος, και φιδος αβανατος.

A. G. l. 2. c. 13. Et Macrob. l. 1. c. xi. sub fin.
sopher, but survived him: who mentions a short Greek epigram, which he also ascribes to Epictetus himself, to this purpose:

'A slave, in body maim’d, as Irus poor:
Yet to the gods was Epictetus dear.'

Simplicius, whose authority is very good, says that Epictetus was a slave, of an infirm constitution, and lame from early age; and so well satisfied with extreme poverty, that his small house at Rome needed no securities, having nothing in it but his couch and mattress, upon which he lay.

Hence I think it may be collected that, while Epictetus lived at Rome, he was, for some time at least, a freeman, and had a house of his own. And it may be supposed that there were some who were willing to support him, and furnish him with such things as were necessary. This may be argued also from some preceding words of Simplicius, where, having represented a like case, he says: 'Who would not be willing to maintain such a one, at the same time thinking that he rather receives than confers a benefit?'

In another place of the same work Simplicius says: 'The admirable Epictetus for the greatest part of his life dwelt alone; but afterwards [or in his advanced age] he was attended by a woman, whom he took to nurse a child, which he intended to bring up, and which otherwise a friend of his, who was very poor, would have exposed.'

Though Simplicius mentions no other furniture of this philosopher's house beside a couch and mattress, undoubtedly there was also a lamp; which, as we learn from Lucian, was sold after his death for three thousand drachms, or a hundred pounds of our money; which high price, however, was not owing to the value of the materials, for it was earthen; but the reputation of the proprietor.

Epictetus himself refers to his lameness several times. And Origen supposeth him to have been a slave.

Suidas says that Epaphroditus was one of Nero's body-
'guards;' by which some have understood chamberlain; and others, from this place of Suidas, as I apprehend, have been led to think he was a captain of the guard, or praefectus praetorio: which must be a mistake. Suetonius calls him master of the requests. For certain he was Nero's freed-man, and one of his favourites, He is generally supposed to be the same to whom Josephus inscribed his Jewish Antiquities, and of whom he speaks honourably.

But I think it doubtful whether Epictetus ever was his slave. 'It is certain,' says Tillemont, 'that he was a slave. 'Suidas says he was slave of Epaphroditus, one of Nero's body-guards.' Of this last particular therefore he speaks doubtfully.

Epictetus has thrice mentioned Epaphroditus in his Discourses, recorded by Arrian. In one of those places he calls Epaphroditus Nero's freed-man; and tells a story very disadvantageous to his character, exposing him to contempt and ridicule. And it is manifestly fictitious; in part at least. But would Epictetus treat Epaphroditus in that manner if he had been his master and had made him free? Moreover, if Epictetus's master had been so great, and so well known a person as Epaphroditus, he would have been sometimes called his freed-man, as Epaphroditus is called Nero's, and Philegon Adrian's; and Stephanus Byzantinus, under the word Bithynion, says it was the native place of Pinytus, who taught grammar at Rome; who was the freed-man of Epaphroditus, as he was Nero's; not now to add any more like instances.

'He dwelt at Nicopolis, a city of New Epirus.'

We know, from Suetonius and other authors, that in the reign of Domitian, about the year of Christ 94, the philosophers were ordered by a decree of the senate to depart from Rome and Italy. Among them was Epictetus, who then went to Nicopolis, and taught philosophy there.

¹ Capitaine des gardes de Neron. Morery.
³ Il est certain, qu’il a été esclave. Suidas dit, qu’il se fit d’Epaphrodite, garde du corps de Neron. Ibid.
⁵ Vid. Spartan. Adrian. c. 16. et Phot. cod. 97.
Epictetus may refer to this banishment of the philosophers, when some of them, as may be supposed, to conceal their character and avoid the public resentment, took x off their beards.

That Nicopolis was the place of his abode, is expressly saidy by himself, once at least, in his Discourses, preserved by Arrian; and it is implied in what he says inz several other places.

'He reached to the time of Marcus Antoninus,' And to the like purposea Themistius. Nevertheless, there are divers learnedb men who do not assent to this: and what they said is of no small weight: for they observe that he is not mentioned byc Marcus himself, nor byd others, among those philosophers by whose instructions he had been benefited, and who were cherished and favoured by him. And that emperor himself acknowledgeth his obligations to Junius Rusticuse for procuring him a sight of Epictetus's Discourses.

Epictetus is mentionedf by Spartan among those philosophers to whom Adrian showed great regard. If that be true, Epictetus must have lived to his time. And some have hence argued that he returned to Rome. But I rather think he never left Nicopolis after he had settledg there. And he might receive marks of esteem from Adrian without going to Rome.

His own discourses, as seems to me, afford the best help for settling his time. In the second book he says thereh was then war between the Romans and the Getes, or Da-
cians. According to a computation formerly made, Trajan's wars with the Dacians lasted five years, beginning in the year 100 or 101, and ending in 105 or 106. In thei third book he speaks of there being then peace all over the Ro-
m-an empire; which may be that time of profound and ge-
neral tranquillity which succeeded the victories and tri-
umphs over that people. Inj the fourth book Trajan is men-

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x Αγε γνω, Ἐπικτητης, διαλεξηπατω α. λ. Arrian. l. i. c. 2. p. 89.


z L. i. c. 10. et 10. fin. et. c. 25. p. 147. l. 4. c. 1. p. 376.

a Or. 5. p. 93.


c De Rebus suis, cap. 2, 3.

d Vid. J. Capitolin. M. Anton Phil. cap. 3.

e Και το ενυχην των Επικτητησων ὑπομνημαι, ᾧ οικοθεν μετεδικε. De Reb. suis. l. 1. sect. 7.

f In summâ familiaritatem Epictetum et Heliodorum—habuit. Spart. Adrian. cap. 16.

g Nec post id tempus Romam illum puto redisse, sed ibrum mortem obiisse. Salmas. ib. p. 4.

h Και νυν Τραμαιος προς Γετος. L. 2. c. 22. p. 244. Cantab.

i See before, p. 19.


tioned by name; and it may be supposed that he was then living: which may induce us to think that all the philosophical discourses of Epictetus, recorded by Arrian, were spoken before the end of that emperor's reign.

It is allowed that Epictetus lived to old age. He is called an old man in A. Gellius and Lucian. He speaks of himself as an old man in the first book of his Discourses.

It is generally allowed by learned men that Arrian did not publish the Discourses of Epictetus till after his decease. It is manifest that Epictetus was dead when A. Gellius published his Noctes Atticae. And Arrian's Collection was abroad in the world when A. Gellius studied at Athens: which, probably, was in the time of Adrian. Consequently Epictetus did not survive Trajan, or, however, not long. Lucian, who flourished in the time of M. Antoninus, speaking of the person who bought Epictetus's lamp after his death, says, 'he was one of our time, and might be still living:' which implies that the purchase had been made some good while before. All the discourses of Epictetus, which we have, were delivered at Nicopolis, as is manifest. And from his settlement in that city to the death of Trajan, in the year 117, or thereabout, must be reckoned the time when he chiefly flourished.

Le Clerc, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaks of Epictetus at the year of Christ 104: which is not at all amiss, as must appear from what has been just said. But, as my observations may relate to the whole collection of his discourses, some of which might be spoken later, I have chosen to place him at the twelfth of Trajan, and the one hundred and ninth year of our Lord.

'He wrote many things;' which will be considered by and by.

II. Having now gone over what is said by Suidas, we

m L. i. c. 2.


q A. G. l. 2. c. 18.

r —Jussique (Herodes Atticus) proferri Dissertatotem Epicteti digestarum ab Arriano, secundum librum, in quo venerandus ille senex. A. G. l. i. c. 2. Atque ibi coram ex sactimulâ suâ librum profutit Epictetii philosophi, quinquum Διαλέκτων, quas ab Arriano digestas congruere scriptis Zenonis et Chrysippus non dubium est. Id. l. 19. cap. 1. s ὁσα καθ᾿ ἡμᾶς αυτὸς εγενετο·τις, καὶ εἰ τι εστὶν, ομοι. T. 2. p. 386.

t Et projecto omnes ejus sermones ac dissertationes, quas scripto mandavit Arrianus, quæque hodie extant, Nicopolii habitae sunt. Salmas. ut supr. p. 4.
will observe a story told of Epictetus by Celsus, in his books against the Christian religion: that, when his master tortured his leg, he, smiling, and not at all discomposed, said, "You will break it?" and when it was broke, he said, "Did I not tell you that you would break it?" This Celsus magnifies, as exceeding every thing recorded of our Saviour's patience.

Here again Tillemont hesitates. And indeed we might have been pleased to find this account in Aulus Gelius, or some other ancient author, not writing in controversy. However, there certainly is some foundation for it: though the story is not always told in the same way. Epictetus is several times brought in as an example of heaven's patience in Gregory Nazianzen, and the Dialogues ascribed to his brother Cæsarius.

Possibly some may think that Epictetus himself refers to this occurrence of his past life, when in the first book of his Discourses, speaking of death, exile, imprisonment, and other pains, which men ought to endure patiently and cheerfully, he says: 'I must die—and must I die groaning too? Be fettered—Must it be lamenting too? Exiled—And what hinders me then but that I may go smiling, and cheerful, and serene? Betray a secret—I will not betray it: for this is in my power. Then I will fetter you—What do you say, man? Fetter me? You will fetter my leg; But not Jupiter himself can get the better of my choice—These things ought philosophers to study,—and in these to exercise themselves.'

However, though there may be some foundation for this story, we can perceive that the lameness of Epictetus was not owing to a violent fraction or dislocation: for we are in-

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\[\text{Orig. Cont. Cels. l. 7. p. 268. al. sect. 53.}\]

\[\text{On trouve quelques chose de cela dans les Dialogues de Cæsareus, et dans Grégoire de Nazianze; mais non pas dans un endroit d' Aulon-Gelle, dont on le cite, et dont le témoignage rendroit cette histoire plus assurée. Tillem. as before.}\]


\[\text{Kai to Epiktetin sklogo. Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 77. Vid. et ep. 64. al. 58. p. 822.}\]


\[\text{Here I take Mrs. Carter's translation, p. 5.}\]

\[\text{Alexo eisws se. Anphrōpe, ti leges; eme; to skelos µε δύνας την προαμένην ἐν, κεδο ζεως νικησαι ἐνναται. L. i. c. 1. p. 85.}\]
formed by Suidas that his lameness was owing to a defluxion, and by Simplicius that he was lame from early age.

We likewise perceive, from the writers above alleged, that Epictetus was not always a slave. In the latter part, and perhaps the longer part of his life, he was a freed-man. He was a philosopher, living at ease in his own house, attended by a woman, with the child of a friend whom he intended to bring up. All which particulars lead us to think that Epictetus had a sufficiency, or competence, though not superfluities. Nor can it be at all doubted that his friends and disciples would, and did, furnish him with all things necessary during his abode at Rome, and afterwards at Nicopolis; where we suppose him to have ended his life, and where he seems to have had many hearers and disciples, and some of good condition, who would not fail to allow him handsome gratuities for his instructions, which they highly valued.

III. We have seen what ancient writers say of the furniture of this philosopher’s house. It consisted, they say, of ‘a couch and mattress upon which he lay, and a lamp.’ I have sometimes thought they should have added, ‘and a library,’ the books of which he carefully read and studied; for Epictetus was learned. I cannot say that I have seen this observation in any writers of his life: and yet it is very obvious. Nor is it reasonable to think that the only use of the lamp was to enlighten his room in the dark night, or to dress his victuals by the light of it: very probably he read and studied by it.

Epictetus’s learning is conspicuous in his Discourses. He knows very well the history of Greece and Rome, and the customs of all nations, Jews, Syrians, Egyptians, as well as Romans. He is intimately acquainted with the principles, the history, the sayings, the writings of the ancient Greek philosophers: the Iliad and Odyssey are familiar to him. He also quotes Hesiod. He had read the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, and the comedies of Menander, and the orations of Lysias and Isocrates. In a word, he was no stranger to any part of polite literature. And Mrs. Carter says; ‘He often quotes, with great applause, the sentences of many writers not of his own sect.’ But how could that be done without having read?

We have no distinct account of his education: but his

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own discourses are a proof that he had read, and studied, as well as thought.

IV. I am not obliged to give a distinct account of his philosophical principles. I shall put down here only a few general observations from Mrs. Carter's introduction, sect. 33: 'Stoicism is indeed inferior to the doctrine of Socrates, which did not teach that all externals were indifferent; which did teach a future state of recompense; and, agreeable to that, forbade suicide.' And, in another section of her introduction, the same philosophical lady says: 'There is, I think, very little evidence to be found that they believed future rewards and punishments, compared with that which appears to the contrary; at least the reader will observe that Epictetus never asserts either.' Sect. 20, p. xiii.

V. I must now give some account of Arrian, to whom we are indebted for what we have of Epictetus.

In Photius\textsuperscript{k} are several articles concerning his works. One of the last of which was a history of his own country, Bithynia: wherein Arrian says 'he\textsuperscript{1} was born and bred, and educated, in Nicomedia: and that he was priest of Ceres and her daughter, to whom that city was dedicated.'

In another article Photius, having given an account of several of his works, says: 'This Arrian was by profession a philosopher, and one of Epictetus's friends. He flourished in the times of Adrian, Antoninus the Pious, and Marcus Antoninus. He was called the young Xenophon. On account of his uncommon abilities he was intrusted with divers civil employments, and attained to the dignity of the consulship. Beside those already mentioned, he wrote other works, as Dissertations of his master Epictetus, in eight books, so far as we know; and Homilies [or Discourses] of the same Epictetus, in twelve books; and it must be owned that his style much resembles that of Xenophon.'

Suidas\textsuperscript{o} mightily agrees with Photius, saying: 'Arrian, of Nicomedia, an admirer of Epictetus's philosophy, and called the young Xenophon, lived at Rome in the times of the emperors Adrian, Marcus, and Antoninus; and, upon account of his distinguished abilities, attained the dignity

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\textsuperscript{k} Cod. 58. p. 51. Cod. 91, 92, et 93.  
\textsuperscript{o} V. Armeves.
of the consulship, as Heliconius says. He wrote very many books.'

Lucian\(^p\) says: 'Arrian, a disciple of Epictetus, was a man of the first rank among the Romans, who employed his whole life in the study of literature.'

I have no concern at present with any works of Arrian, excepting those relating to Epictetus. I therefore now proceed to Simplicius, who has been already cited more than once; who in the sixth century wrote a Commentary upon the Enchiridion of Epictetus. His preface to that work begins with these words: 'Arrian,\(^q\) who compiled the Dissertations [or Discourses] of Epictetus in several prolix books, wrote concerning the life and death of Epictetus. From him may be learned what a sort of man he was. The same Arrian composed this book which is called the Enchiridion of Epictetus, selecting out of the several parts of his discourses \(\lambda o p h e u v\) such things as are most important, and most necessary in philosophy, and most likely to affect men's minds. As the same Arrian says in his epistle to Mesgalenus, [or Messalinus,] his own friend, and especially a great admirer of Epictetus:'

Hence it may be concluded that Epictetus published nothing himself. Suidas therefore is mistaken when he says that 'Epictetus wrote many things,' unless he may be understood to mean by his disciples.

Learned men are now generally of opinion that Arrian published three or four books, one concerning the Life and Death of Epictetus, another called his Dissertations, and a third his Discourses, beside the Enchiridion. I rather think that besides the Enchiridion, he composed but one, called his Dissertations or Discourses, whence may be known what sort of man he was, how he lived, and how he died.' I understand Simplicius to speak of but one work only, which I suppose to be that which we now have in four books; though possibly something at the end may be wanting; as we have also lost Arrian's epistle to his friend Messalinus, which he prefixed to the Enchiridion.

Photius speaks of Arrian's composing two works, the Dissertations, and the Discourses of Epictetus. But he speaks doubtfully of the number of books of which the Dissertations consisted. And I am apt to think he had read none of them. He multiplies the works, being led into a

\(^p\) Pseudom. p. 747, Tom. i. Griev.

\(^q\) Περι μεν τυ βασιν τυ Ἐπικήτης, και της αυτη τειντης, Ἀρριανος εγραφεν, ὁ τος Ἐπικήτης ἐπιρρέας εν πολλοιχος συντάξας βιβλίον, και ἐπ ἐκεῖνοι μοθεν ετιν, ὁπονος γεγονεν των βιων συναρ. κ. λ. Simp. p. 1.
mistake by the different titles of one and the same work, sometimes called Dissertations, at other times Discourses.

I do not perceive Marcus Antoninus to speak of more than one work, called by him \footnote{1} Memoirs of Epictetus. Which title well suits the discourses now in our hands. Aulus Gellius quotes a\footnote{9} long passage of the second book of his Dissertations, which we have: another of\footnote{10} the fifth book of the Dissertations, which we do not find. Simplicius, in his preface, useth both these words indifferently, Dissertations and Discourses. Arrian himself, in his epistle to L. Gellius, prefixed to the work which we have, useth the expressions of Discourses and Memoirs: \textit{logos} \textit{υπομνηματα}.

Thus I had written long before I had met with Mr. Upton's edition of Epictetus: and it was not without some surprise as well as pleasure that I have observed how nearly we agree in sentiment upon this point. For he likewise supposeth that\footnote{9} Arrian published nothing of Epictetus beside the Enchiridion, and his Discourses, some books of which are now lost.

I must now transcribe a part of what Arrian says in his preface or dedication to Lucius Gellius. \textquoteleft I\textquoteright neither composed the discourses of Epictetus in such a manner as things of this nature are commonly composed, nor did I myself produce them to public view any more than I composed them. But whatever sentiments I heard from his own mouth, the very same I endeavoured to set down in the very same words, as far as possible, and preserve as memorials, for my own use, of his manner of thinking, and freedom of speech.

\textquoteleft These discourses are such as one person would naturally deliver from his own thoughts extempore to another, not...\textquoteright

\footnote{1}{Tois \textit{Επικτητους υπομνημασιν}. L. 1. sect. 7.}
\footnote{9}{Jusitque proferri dissertationum Epicteti digestarum ad Arriano secundum librum. L. 1. c. 2.}
\footnote{10}{Librum protulit Epicteti Philosophi quintum \textit{Διαλεξιων}, quas ab Arriano digestas, &c. L. 19. c. i. Vid. et l. 17. c. xix. in.}
\footnote{9}{Here I use Mrs. Carter's translation, p. xli.
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' such as he would prepare to be read by numbers after-
wards.'

Here therefore it should be observed, that what I am about to transcribe from this work ought not to be con-
sidered as said by Arrian, but by Epictetus himself, whose
sentiments Arrian has recorded in his own words, as near as
could be done.

For this reason I have been careful to settle the time of
Epictetus. About the time of Arrian I have not been so
solicitous: but I am inclined to believe that he published
these discourses of his master soon after his death, about
the year of our Lord 120, and the fourth of the emperor
Adrian.

VI. In these discourses there are two passages which
have been supposed by many learned men to relate to the
christians.

1. In the first, Epictetus blames those who assume the
profession of philosophy, or 'any other character, without
acting up to it. ' Why,' says he, 'do you call yourself a
'stolic? Why do you deceive the multitude? Why should
you pretend to be a Greek, when you are a Jew? Do you
not perceive upon what terms a man is called a Jew, a
'Syrian, an Egyptian? When we see a man inconstant to
his principles, we say he is not a Jew, but only pretends to
be so: but when he has the temper of a man dipped, y
and professed, then he is indeed, and is called, a Jew.
Even so we are counterfeits, Jews in name, but in reality
'something else.'

It appears to me doubtful whether christians are here in-
tended, or only Jews, and proselytes to Judaism: who
sometimes lived like Jews, and sometimes like Greeks.
It is reasonable to think that many did so in the time of Epic-
tetus, when Jews were hardly treated by Domitian.

2. In the other place Epictetus is speaking of intrepidity,
or fearlessness, and particularly with regard to a tyrant,
surrounded by his guards and officers, and says: 'Is it
possible that a man may arrive at this temper, and be-
come indifferent to those things from madness, or from


x 'Όταν δ' αναλαβη το παθος, το τε βεβαιμενη και ηρημενη, τοτε και επι
των αντι, και καλεται Ιεωκος. Ουτω και ημως παραβαπτησαν λογοι μεν
Ιεςαοι, εργον δ' αλο τη 1b.

y Instead of ηρημενη, Mr. Upton and Petavius would read πεπρωμενη,
'circumcised.' But it is a mere conjecture, without the authority of any
manuscript, or ancient printed edition. See Upton's notes, p. 124.

z Επις υπο μανας μεν ημναι τας εης ευαίας προς τουτα και υπο εθεος,
habit, as the Galileans, and yet that no one should be able
to know by reason and demonstration that God made all
things in the world—?"

Some have thought that by the Galileans are here meant
the followers of Judas of Galilee. I should rather think
that christians are intended; of whose sufferings there are
such accounts in Tacitus and Suetonius, as may assure
us that Epictetus and Arrian could not be unacquainted
with them. The followers of Judas of Galilee were extinct
before this time. Our Lord had dwelt in Galilee the greatest
part of his life here on earth. He was called "the prophet
of Galilee."a Most of his wonderful works were wrought in
that country, or near it; and his disciples were called Ga-
likeans.b Such things often occur in our gospels, and the
Acts of the Apostles. So that it is not at all unlikely that
in early days, as well as afterwards, the christians might be
opprobriously called by some Galileans.

Suidas says, that, c in the time of the emperor Claudius,
they who before had been called Nazarenes and Galileans,
received a new name at Antioch, and were called christians,'
Mani, in the third century, sometimes called the catholics,
Galileans, as appears fromd one of his epistles still extant.
I think there can be no question made but that the christ-
ians, in general, were sometimes called Galileans before the
time of the emperor Julian.

It is however very observable, that this stoic is much dis-
pleased with some people who had exceeded his own sect
in fortitude and patience. A like reflection we shall meet with
hereafter in a passage of the emperor Marcus Anti-
ninus, likewise a stoic philosopher, by whom the christians
are expressly named.

Mrs. Carter, who by her translation of the discourses of
Epictetus has done honour to herself and to her sex, has a
note upon this place, which deserves to be transcribed here.
'Epictetus,' says she, e probably means not any remaining
disciples of Judas of Galilee, but the christians, whom
Julian afterwards affected to call Galileans. It helps to
confirm this opinion that M. Antoninus [i. 2. sect. 3.]
mentions them by their proper name of christians, as suf-

a Matt. xxi. 11.  
b Acts i. 11; ii. 7.  
c Νιτον ετ, οτι ηπι Κλαντιε βασιλεως Ρωμης—εν Αρτιοκε μετονομαζο-
θαν οι παλαι λεγομενοι Ναζαραιοι και Γαλλαιοι, Χρισταιοι. Suid. V. Ναζ-
ραιος. Vid. et V. Γαλλαιοι, et Χρισταιοι.  
d Των Γαλλαιων, διο φωτις ενομαζοντων εις τον Χριστον, πλαινων κατα-
fering death out of mere obstinacy. It would have been more reasonable, and more worthy the character of these great men, to have inquired into the principles on which the christians refused to worship heathen deities, and by which they were enabled to support their sufferings with such amazing constancy, than rashly to pronounce their behaviour the effect of obstinacy and habit. Epictetus and Antoninus were too exact judges of human nature, not to know that ignominy, tortures, and death, are not merely on their own account objects of choice. Nor could the records of any time or nation furnish them with an example of multitudes of persons of both sexes, of all ages, ranks, and natural dispositions, in distant countries, and successive periods, resigning whatever is most valuable and dear to the heart of man from a principle of obstinacy, or the mere force of habit; not to say that habit could have no influence on the first sufferers.

I shall just add, it was the opinion of Tanaquil Faber, that by Galileans the christians are here intended.

3. Some may think I might conclude here; but I must proceed. Epictetus's discourses, as was observed above, abound with quotations of Greek authors, and references to ancient history. Nevertheless, we observe not any mention made of Moses, or David, or Solomon, or any of the Jewish prophets, nor yet of Matthew, or Mark, or Luke, or John, or Paul, or Peter. The disciples of Jesus wrote in Greek; and the books of Moses and the Jewish prophets had been before his time translated into the Greek language. I do not say he had read them; but he could not be altogether ignorant of them. Nor were any of them undeserving the regard of a moral philosopher. But they were Unitarians. Nor could they be alleged or taken notice of without hurting, if not overthrowing, the polytheistic scheme.

4. In the sixteenth chapter of the first book of his Discourses, Epictetus has such expressions as these. "What else can I, a lame old man, do, but sing hymns to God? Since I am a reasonable creature, it is my duty to praise God. And I exhort you to join in the same song." No christian can read this passage without thinking of David's psalms, and perhaps some other parts of scripture. Justly therefore does Mrs. Carter observe, in a note upon that pas-


sage, \text{‘} Beautiful and affecting examples of such praise and exhortation may be seen in Psalms xxxiv. civ. cxlv. \text{—‘} and other parts of the sacred writings.'

5. In the time of Epictetus, and his disciple Arrian, christians were numerous and well known at Rome, and most parts of the Roman empire, as we are assured by what Tacitus, Pliny, and Suetonius have written concerning them: not now to insist upon any Christian writers, however celebrated or however credible they may be.

Nor was Epictetus unattentive to things that passed in the world about him in his own time, as all must be sensible who read his discourses. Nevertheless, the christians are not mentioned at all, or very seldom. It is hard to believe that this silence was not affected. Epictetus, I apprehend, was high-minded, and the christians were contemptible. He had his share of the common philosophic pride. He did not think it worth the while to inquire into their principles: nor was it proper to mention them often in his discourses, lest the curiosity of his hearers should be excited, and they should be induced to make more particular inquiries after them.

6. However, let him have due praise for all the good he has said or done. Origen, that great christian philosopher, whose mind was contracted by no narrow sentiments, who read all sorts of writings himself, and advised others\(^1\) to do the same who had leisure and abilities, assures us\(^2\) that Epictetus was more acceptable to people of lower rank than Plato, who was more polite.

7. The whole design of his philosophy is said to\(^3\) have been comprehended in this short and fine maxim, consisting only of two words: \text{‘} Bear and forbear,' \text{\textit{\textipa{\textapl\textepsilon\textchi\textupsilon}} and \textit{\textipa{\textapl\textepsilon\textchi\textupsilon}}. Which I have not observed among his Fragments, neither in Mr. Upton, nor in Mrs. Carter; though it is particularly mentioned by Aulus Gellius, and ascribed by him to Epictetus himself.

\(^1\) See Vol. ii. ch. 42.  
\(^2\) Contr. Cels. i. 6. sub fin.  
\(^3\) Præterea idem illæ Epictetæ, quod eodem Favorino audivimus, solitus dicere est, duo esse vita multo omnium gravissima ac tertërima, intolerantiam et incontinentiam; quum aut injurias, quæ sunt serendæ, non toleramus, neque ferimus; aut, a quibus rebus voluptatibusque nos tenere debemus, non tenemus. Itaque, inquit, si quis hæc duo verba cordi habeat, caque sibi imperando, atque observando curat, is crit pleraque impeccebabilis, vitamque vivet tranquillissimam. Verba duo hæc dicebat: \text{\textipa{\textapl\textepsilon\textchi\textupsilon}} and \textit{\textipa{\textapl\textepsilon\textchi\textupsilon}}. A. Gell. i. 17. cap. 19.
CHAP. XI.

THE EMPEROR ADRIAN.

I. His time and character. II. His rescript in favour of the christians to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. III. His letter to Servianus, concerning the christians in Egypt. IV. Whether he erected, and intended to consecrate, temples to the honour of Jesus Christ.

I. PUBLIUS AELIUS ADRIANUS, or the emperor Adrian, was born at Rome on the twenty-fourth day of January, in the year of Christ 76, and died on the tenth day of July, in the year 138, being then more than sixty-two years of age. He reigned twenty years and eleven months, from the death of Trajan, on the tenth or eleventh day of August in 117.

As I may not enlarge either on his character or history, it may be best for me to be quite silent. I shall only say that both have been written by ancient Roman and Greek authors with great freedom; and that he is reckoned one of those princes who had great virtues and great vices. He is also represented to have been very various and inconstant.

II. Adrian is not generally reckoned among the persecuting emperors, because he published no new edicts against them. But Trajan's edict was still in force. Many christians therefore might suffer in his reign, as there certainly did. Jerom supposeth that the persecution in his reign was for a while very violent, and that it was moderated upon occasion of the apologies which Quadratus and Aristides presented to Adrian at Athens. These apologies we have

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c Idem severus, fatus; comis, gravis; lascivus, cunctator; tenax, liberalis; simulator, sevus, clemens, et semper in omnibus varius. Spartan. Adrian. c. 14.


e Quadratus, Apostolorum discipulus; et Atheniensis Pontifex ecclesiae, nonne Adriano principi, Eleusinia sacra invisi, librum pro nostra religione tradidit? Et tante admirationi omnibus fuit, ut persecutionem gravissimam illius excellens sedaret ingenium? Aristides Philosophus, vir eloquentissimus, eodem principi apologeticum pro christianis obtulit; &c. Hieron. ep. 83. al. 84.
dated in the year of Christ 126. Sulpicius Severus placeth the fourth persecution in his reign. But he allows that afterwards the same emperor restrained it, referring, as it seems, to the rescript which shall be produced at length hereafter. Orosius does not number him among the persecuting emperors, and placeth the fourth persecution in the time of Marcus Antoninus.

We are informed by Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, that Serenius Granianus, proconsul, wrote to Adrian, that it seemed to him unjust that the christians should be put to death only to gratify the clamours of the people, without trial, and without any crime proved against them: and that Adrian, in answer to that letter, wrote to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, ordering that no man should be put to death without a judicial process, and a legal trial.

It is manifest, from the conclusion of Justin Martyr's first Apology, which was presented to Antoninus the Pious, and the senate of Rome, that the rescript of Adrian was subjoined to it. And from Eusebius we know that it was in Latin. He translated it into Greek, and inserted it in his Ecclesiastical History; whence we have it, and whence it has been put at the end of Justin's Apology, in the same language, the Latin original being lost.

The reason why this rescript was sent to Minucius Fundanus, is supposed to be that Serenius's letter to the emperor was not written till the time of his government was near expiring.

Beside Justin Martyr's early and express authority, this rescript is also mentioned by Melito in his Apology to Marcus Antoninus, whom he reminds that his grandfather

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*See Vol. ii. ch. xxviii.*

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f Quarta sub Adriano persecutio numeratur, quam tamen post exercerj prohibuit; injustum esse pronuntians, ut quisquam sine crime reus constituere tur. S. Sever. H. S. l. 2. c. 46.

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g Eti ουτος [Ιστινος] ιστορει δεζαμενον του Ἀδριανου παρα Σερενου Γρανιανου λαμπροσατα ήγμενα γραμματα υπερ Χριστιανων, περιεχοντα, ως η έκαιον ειν επι μηδεν εγκληματι, βοαι δημη χαριωμενα, ακριτως κετειν αυτου, αντιγραφα Μινουκου Φινιδανου ανδυσατο της Ασιας, προστατοντα μηδεν κετειν ανευ εγκληματος και ευθυγμον κατηγοριας. H. E. l. 4. c. 8. p. 122. D.

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h Oros. l. 7. c. xv.

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j Τετοιου δε μεν εθυλοκε αυτην παραπητατα την Ρωμαικην αντιγραφην. Ημις δε επι τω Ελληνους κατα δυναμεις αυτην μεταληθαμεν, εχουσαν άλλων. Euseb. l. 4. c. 8. p. 123.

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Adrian had written in their favour, as to others, so particularly to Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. This rescript is also referred to by Sulpicius Severus, as before observed: the genuineness of it therefore is indubitable.

It is very reasonably supposed that, beside the letter of Serenius Granianus, the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, presented about the same time, contributed to procure this favourable rescript. As much is plainly hinted in Jerome's Latin edition of Eusebius's  

n Chronicle. I now proceed to translate it literally from the Greek of Eusebius.

Adrian  

94 to Minucius Fundanus. I have received a letter written to me by the illustrious  

Serennis Granianus, whom you have succeeded. It seems then to me that this is an affair which ought not to be passed over without being examined into; if it were only to prevent disturbance being given to people, and that room may not be left for informers to practise their wicked arts. If therefore the people of the province will appear publicly, and in a legal way charge the Christians, that they may answer for themselves in court, let them take that course, and not proceed by importunate demands and loud clamours only. For it is much the best method, if any bring accusations, that you should take cognizance of them. If then any one shall accuse and make out anything contrary to the laws, do you determine according to the nature of the crime: but by Hercules, if the charge be only a calumny, do you take care to punish the author of it with the severity it deserves.

By importunate demands and loud clamours, or in other words, by clamorous petition, learned men generally understand the popular cry of those times. The Christiansto the lions. Nor was it an unusual thing, as Valesius observes in his note upon the place, for the people at Rome, or in the provinces, in the time of public shows, when they were got together in the theatre, by loud cries, and a tumultuous behaviour, to gain their will of the presidents, and even of the emperor himself. This method had been


o H. E. l. 4. cap. 9.

p Ἀλφρυδος ἀνέφεξ.  

—Ἀλλ' ἐκ ἀξιωσίαν, ἐδε μοναξ βως.

r Si Tiberis ascendit ad moenia, si Nilar non ascendit in arva, si celum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues; statim, christianos ad leonem. Tertull. Ap. c. 40.
practised against the Christians. And it is likely that men were often brought before the presidents with general accusations, without distinct proofs. The emperor was apprehensive that evil-minded men should sometimes hurry on to death men who were not Christians. Therefore he directs the proconsul that no man should be punished as Christians, without a fair and public trial before himself in court.

The emperor's orders are obscure. 'If any one accuse 'and make out any thing contrary to the laws, do you de- 'termine,' or punish, 'according to the nature of the crime.' Some may be apt to think that the emperor now appointed that none should be punished for being Christians, unless some real crime were alleged and proved upon them. But that does not clearly appear to be the meaning. Nor can we reasonably suppose that Trajan's edict is here repealed; according to which, if a man was accused and proved to be a Christian, a president is required to punish him unless he recant. Nevertheless, this rescript must be allowed to have been beneficial to the Christians. Several ancient writers, as we have seen, say that afterwards the persecution, which before had been violent, was restrained and moderated.

The Christians were hereby taken out of the hands of the common people and tumultuous rabble, and brought before the governors of provinces to be examined in open court, and not to be condemned without evidence. This must have been a considerable advantage to men who were much disliked by the generality of their neighbours, as the Christians were.

Melito, as before quoted, says that 'Adrian wrote in fa- vour of the Christians, as to divers others, so particularly to Fundanus, proconsul of Asia.' By which we are led to understand that this rescript was sent to other governors of provinces, as well as to Fundanus; or that this rescript, sent to him, was to be the rule of conduct, not to him only, but to other governors likewise.

From this rescript, and from the letter, which gave occa- sion to it, we learn that there were then Christians in Asia. It is probable they were there in great numbers; for the

95

The Emperor Adrian. A. D. 117.

95
affair appeared worthy of the emperor's consideration. But
Christianity, as is apparent, was odious to the generality of
people in that country; therefore men must have had some
good reasons for embracing a profession which rendered
them obnoxious to their neighbours.
From what we have seen of Quadratus and Aristides,
two learned Christian apologists, and the emperor Adrian,
and also Serenius and Fundanus, two governors of the pro-
vince of Asia, it may be concluded with certainty that the
Christians were now well known to the Roman emperors, and
throughout the Roman empire. Indeed the Christians di-

gently embraced all favourable opportunities to make them-
selves, and their own innocence, and the principles of their
religion, and the grounds and reasons of their belief, well
known to all men, and especially to the emperors and other
magistrates. By that means they propagated their religion,
and gradually wiped off the calumnies that had been in-
vented against them, and with which they were loaded for
a while. Quadratus and Aristides presented their apologies
to Adrian, at the time of the celebration of the Eleusinian
mysteries at Athens, when there was a concourse of men of
all ranks, especially of the highest, and of the most emi-
nent, and most distinguished for their learning, and zeal for
the established rites.
At that very time those apologists made a public appear-
ance, and pleaded the cause of their religion, and of their
brethren, the professors of it. Nor did they make a con-
temptible figure. Their discourses were rational, eloquent,
and persuasive; and they were followed by a relaxation of
the violence of the persecution, which for some while had
raged in several provinces, through the prevailing animosity
of the people: and, as it is particularly observed by Euse-
bius, in his Evangelical Preparation, 'In the reign of

 Quadratus, Apostolorum discipulus—Quamque Hadrianus Athenis exegi-

set hiemem, invisius Eleusinam, et omnibus pene Greciae sacris initiatus,

dedisset occasionem his, qui Christianos oderant, absque praecepto Imperatoris

vexare credentes, porrexit ei librum pro religione nostra compositum, valde

utilem, plenumque rationis et fidei, et apostolicae doctrinae dignum: in quo et

antiquitatem sua aetas ostendens, ait, plurimos a se visos, qui sub Domino

variis in Judaeâ oppressi calamitibus sanati fuerant, et qui a mortuis resur-

rererant. Hieron. de V. I. cap. xix.

Aristides, Atheniensis Philosophus eloquentissimus, et sub pristino habitu
discipulus Christi, volumen nostri dogmatis rationem continens, codem tem-

tore, quo et Quadratus, Hadriano principi dedit. Ib. cap. xx. And see be-

fore, p. 92.

V—Μετρὶ των Λε διανω χρονων—Οὕτως ἐν μαλτα ἡν χρονος, καθ' ὃν ἡ


164. D.
Adrian the Christian religion shone out in the eyes of all
men.'

There are others beside our two apologists, who are entitled to applause in this place. Serenius Granianus is styled by Adrian, in his rescript, 'an illustrious man, лαμπροτάτης ανδρός,' and by Jerom, in his Chronicle, 'a truly noble person, vir apprime nobilis.' We cannot but believe that he was a man of a generous mind, a lover of justice and equity, who pleaded the cause of the Christians, when the current ran violently against them. His successor Fundanus, to whom the rescript was sent, may have been a man of a like disposition. Nor can we forbear saying somewhat here to the honour of the emperor Adrian. It does not appear that he ever issued out any orders for persecuting the Christians. The persecution, which they had suffered in the beginning of his reign, was owing to the blind bigotry and violence of the common people. When the proconsul of Asia sent him a letter, representing the hardships which Christians lay under, beyond most other men, he sent a favourable rescript, which could not but be, and actually was, of advantage to them: and he received the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides in behalf of a despised and persecuted people, without resentment. So far from being provoked at their importunity, he gratified their request, and moderated the displeasure of men against those whose cause they had pleaded. If moderation be a virtue, (as it certainly is,) it is more especially commendable in men of power and high stations.

A passage, formerly omitted, shall be now transcribed from the Apology of Quadratus, which probably was the first written apology presented to a Roman emperor. It is in these very words: 'The works of our Saviour were always conspicuous, for they were real: both they that were healed, and they that were raised from the dead, who were seen not only when they were healed, or raised, but for a long time afterwards; not only whilst he dwelled on this earth, but also after his departure, and for a good while after it: insomuch that some of them have reached to our times.' Jerom supposeth that Quadratus himself saw several of those persons who had been the subjects of our Saviour's miracles.

III. Beside the rescript, there is a letter of Adrian to Servianus, husband of Paulina, the emperor's sister, who was consul in 134. It is preserved in Vopiscus, one of the

\[w\] See Vol. ii. ch. xxviii. \[x\] Euseb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 3. \[y\] See before, p. 96. note u.
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writers of the Augustan history, who flourished about the year 300. Adrian had been some while in Egypt. Having left it, when he got into Syria he wrote that letter to his brother-in-law, in the year 134. I shall transcribe it from the historian, with the connection.

' The Egyptians, as you well know,' says Vopiscus, ' are vain, fond of innovations, men of all characters—For there are among them christians and Samaritans, and such as take a prodigious liberty in censuring the present times. That none of the Egyptians may be offended with me, I shall produce a letter of Adrian, taken from the books of Phlegon, his freed-man, in which the character of the Egyptians is clearly represented. "Adrian Augustus to the consul Servianus wisheth health. I have found Egypt, my dear Servianus, which you commended to me, all over fickle and inconstant, and continually shaken by the slightest reports of fame. The worshippers of Serapis are christians, and they are devoted to Serapis, who call themselves Christ's bishops. There is no ruler of the Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no presbyter of the christians, no mathematician, no soothsayer, no anointer: even the patriarch, if he should come to Egypt, would be required by some to worship Serapis, by others Christ. A seditious and turbulent sort of men. However, the city is rich and populous. Nor are any idle. Some are employed in making glass, others paper, others in weaving linen—They have one God—Him the christians, Him the Jews, Him all the Gentile people, worship."'  

It cannot be needful for me to explain all the several sorts of people here spoken of. Nor ought it to be thought strange that christians share in the emperor’s satire, and are represented by him as fickle and inconstant, like the other Egyptians. It appears from this letter that the christians were numerous at Alexandria, and in other parts of Egypt, when Adrian was in that country: which, certainly, is very remarkable, that in a century after the resurrection of Jesus he should have so many followers in Asia and Egypt, as is manifest from this one emperor’s authentic writings. Without any countenance from the civil government, and under a great deal of opposition from it, as well as from most other ranks of men, and especially from the lower sort of people, Christ’s bishops were already become as considerable as the priests of Serapis.

IV. Once more, Ælius Lampridius, another writer of the Augustan history, who flourished about the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth century, in the life of the emperor Alexander Severus, says: \( ^b \) He \( ^b \) intended to build a temple to Christ, and to receive him among the gods. Which Adrian also is reported to have designed; \( ^c \) who ordered temples to be erected in all cities without statues; which therefore to this day are called Adrian’s, \( ^d \) it being said that he built them for that purpose. But he was hindered by some, who, having consulted the oracles, \( ^e \) were assured that, if that were once done, all men would be christians, and the other temples would be deserted.’

This account is received by some \( ^c \) as true; by others it is rejected, as destitute of any good foundation. I have referred below to several learned and judicious men on this side the question; and I would willingly find room at the bottom of the page for Casaubon’s observations upon this

\( ^b \) Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter Deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templam in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jussaret fieri; quæ hoc diecirque, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est ab iis, qui, consulentes sacra, repenerant, omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, et templam reliqua deserenda. Æl. Lamp. in Alex. Sever. cap. 43.


\( ^e \) Quod et Hadrianus cogitasse fertur.’ De Tiberio narrant hoc Tertullianus et alii patres Græci et Latini. De Hadriano vero nemo illorum, si satis memini, simile quidquid. Et mirum profecto, tam nobilium historiam, tot fidei Christianæ propugnatores acerrimos, viros undecumque doctissimos, et quorum intererat hoc seire, potuisse fugere. Sed videtur hæc de Hadriano suspicio multo post ejus seculum hominum mentes insedesce; cum neque Jus-
section of Lampridius; and the rather, because they have been judged so material by Pagi, as to be transcribed by him into his Critique upon Baronius. 'Casaubon then, and divers other learned men after him, or agreeably to him, observe that somewhat of this kind has been related of Tiberius by Tertullian, and other ancient Latin and Greek writers of the church, who are quite silent about the story of Lampridius. If there had been any truth in it, they say, so remarkable a thing could not have been omitted by Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Cyprian, and all other ancient writers of the second and third centuries, who had many occasions to mention it, if there had been any ground for it. Nor is this mistaken opinion of Lampridius, and some others in his time, very hard to be accounted for. Adrian had erected, or ordered to be erected, temples in many places. He intended to have set up in them an altar, or statue, to himself: but he died before they were consecrated, and some of them were left unfinished. It was well known that the Jews and Christians had no images in their places of worship; Lampridius therefore, and some others in his time, entertained a notion that these temples were built in honour of Christ.'

That Adrian intended them in honour of himself, is continuus Martyr, neque Athenagoras, neque Tertullianus, neque Cyprianus, aut omnino quisquam ex illâ veterum patrum manu, vel tenuissimam ejus rei suspicionem fando unquam accipisset. Unde autem vulgo multi seculo Lampridii hanc de Hadriano concepissent opinionem, declarat auctor, cum subjicit: 'qui tempa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jussaret fieri; quod hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, quae ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur.' En fontem et originem hujus opinionis. Jusserat Hadriani tempora fieri in omnibus civitatibus, suo nomini sine dubio consecranda; quod et Spartianus in vitâ suâ testatur. Sed, mortuo Hadriani prius quam haec tempa absolverentur, mansere plerque illorum imperfecta, neque unquam dedicata sunt. Exemplo esse potest illud quod Tiberiade magnificus inchoatus, mox relictus est neodium absolutum, tandemque in usu balnearum a civibus destinatum. Epiphanius contra Ebnées. H. 30. n. xii. τὰος μεγίς τον θολον τιβεριάδε προντηντος ταυτα, ομί, ἀδριάνιον το φάκλαν. Αὑτός ἐν τετο ἀδριανίοις ἐιμανος οι πολιτες ἐν εὐμονον λατρινον ἀεικαν επισκυεσσαυ. Talia edificia in plerisque civitatibus adhuc Lampridii atate exstabant, inchoata solum, non perfecta, non dedicata; ac proinde, ut ait ipse, sine numine et simulacro ullo. Eo factum, ut in animum inducèrent multî, quibus assentitur hic Lampridius, non sibi Hadrianum illa tempia extruxisse, verum Christo. Erat quidem Lampridius, ἑλληνισμον, et a pietatis christianae sacris, ut ejus scripta ostendunt, alienus; sed nòrat ille, quod ignorare poterat nemo, et Iudas olim in Hierosolymitaan ædeo euως κα και γαλαματος χωρῆς, ut Strabo quoque ac Dio scribunt, Deum coluisse; et suis etiam temporibus christianorum templa ejusmodi esse, qualia adhuc memoriam suâ beatissimus Augustinus cum alihi profidit fuisse, tum etiam in Psalmi cii. enarratione, sane luculent. Gasaubon. annot. in Lamprid. cap. 43. Et Conf. Pagi ann. 134. iii. iv.
firmed by what Spartan says in his life of this emperor:

'That, when he had returned from Africa to Rome, he soon went away again into the East. Coming to Athens he dedicated the buildings that had been begun by him, particularly the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and an altar to himself. In like manner, travelling through Asia, he consecrated temples of his own name.'

That seems to be the most probable account. But though it cannot be reasonably supposed that Adrian intended those temples to the honour of Jesus Christ, some may imagine that, according to the doctrine of Numa and Pythagoras, Adrian might design to erect temples where the gods might be worshipped without images.

Crevier's judgment upon the point is to this purpose:

'He paid but little attention to the religion of those nations, whom the Romans and Greeks considered as barbarians, they appearing to him as only deserving of contempt. This makes it difficult for me to believe, upon Lampridius's testimony, that he formed a design to consecrate, in honour of Jesus Christ, a great many temples, which he had begun, but not finished, in the several cities of Asia and Egypt, and which remained without a dedication or statute. It is much more probable that he intended them for himself, and for his own proper worship.'

Indeed I think the opinion, that Adrian intended to consecrate temples to the honour of Jesus Christ, is without any good foundation; it being inconsistent with his known principles, and unsupported by the testimony of those ancient Christian writers, who must have known it, and would have mentioned it, if it had been true.

However, though there is no good ground for this story of Lampridius, it is honourable to the christian religion,

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f Denique quam post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad orientem, proiectus per Athenas, iter fecit, atque opera, quae apud Athenienses coeperat, dedicavit; ut Jovis Olympiæ adem et arcem sibi: eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens, templum sui nominis consecravit. Spartan. in Hadrian. cap. 13.

g Extracta tamen ex Christo templum, quæ simulacrorum vacua erant, nostrum in animum inducere non sustinémus. Aliæ igitur nobis sunt tentanda causa. Legitur in Victore; 'Adrianus, pace ad Orientem composita, Romam regreditur. Ibi Graecorum more, seu Pompilii Numae, ceremonias, leges, gymnasias, doctoresque curare occupavit.' Est ergo vero proximum, more atque instituto et Pythagore, et Pompilii Numae, Adrianum, philosophiae peritum, templo quoque sine simulacris strui voluisse. Basnag. ann. 126. n. vi.


k Casaubon sans doute n'a point de fort de rejeter cela comme fabuleux. Ce que je trouve de vraisemblable, est cette crainte des Riens, que leur reli-
which was a spreading doctrine. And it was apprehended by those, who were far from wishing it success, that if a little encouragement were given to it, it would soon be the prevailing religion.

CHAP. XII.

BRUTTIUS PRÆSENS.

His testimony to Domitian's Persecution; with Remarks.

EUSEBIUS, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaking of the persecution under Domitian says: 'Moreover, at this time the doctrine of our faith was so conspicuous, that writers aversive to our sentiments have not forborne to insert in their histories an account of this persecution, and the martyrdoms that happened in it. They have likewise exactly marked the time of it, relating that in the fifteenth year of Domitian, Flavia Domitilla, niece by the sister's side to Flavius Clemens, then one of the consuls of Rome, with a great many others, was banished to the island Pontia, for the profession of the christian religion.'

In his Chronicle, at the fifteenth year of Domitian, Eusebius says: 'And Bruttius writes that many christians suffered martyrdom under Domitian. Among whom was Flavia Domitilla, niece by the sister's side to Flavius Clemens the consul, who was banished to the island Pontia, because she confessed herself to be a christian.'

I need not transcribe any thing from Nicephorus. But in the Paschal Chronicle, at the year of Christ 94, are these testimonies of ancient Heathens which was a spreading doctrine. And it was apprehended by those, who were far from wishing it success, that if a little encouragement were given to it, it would soon be the prevailing religion.

a Eus tostov d’ ara kata tis dhlmenois y tis hmatiras piteous edoskodia dialampei, ws kai tis apodein te kal’ ‘hman loyge syngrafeis yh apoktitaia tas autwn itorwv ton te Ewymon, kai ta en autwn matpria parakínavi. ‘Ogy kai ton kairov ep akribieis epesiymenastov en en te phinikidiatou Domitian kata pletwv etropou kai Flaviai Domitiellan itorfanteres, ex adelphes geqonnam Flavew Klomenew, ndos ton ton tinekide eti Rwmis ‘uptov, tis en Xrhow matpriaia inekein, eni vmpson Pontian kata timofiai edosbhai. H. E. l. 3. c. 18. p. 89. A.


c Vid. Niceph. l. 3. c. 9.
words: 'Brutus\textsuperscript{d} relates that many Christians suffered martyrdom in the fourteenth year of Domitian.'

There were several eminent men of this name in the second century. There is a\textsuperscript{e} letter of the younger Pliny to Presens, whom some think to have been also called Brutius, or Bruttius. We meet with Bruttius Presens, who was consul with Antoninus the pius, in the year 139; C. Bruttius Presens, who was consul with Asturius Rufinus in the year 153; and L. Fulvius Brutiius Presens, consul the second time in the year 180, with Sex. Quintilius Conianus. The daughter of this Brutius\textsuperscript{f} was married to Commodus, with the consent of Marcus Antoninus. And\textsuperscript{g} Pagi supposeth that to be the reason why he was honoured with a second consulship.

Scaliger\textsuperscript{h} supposeth this Bruttius, who had been consul with Antoninus, and afterwards a second time, whose daughter was married to Commodus, or a relation of his, to be the historian intended by Eusebius.

Tillemont\textsuperscript{i} says he may have been Bruttius Presens who was consul in the year 139, or Presens to whom the younger Pliny wrote: though, as he adds, there were others of the same name about that time.

Mr. Dodwell's\textsuperscript{k} conjecture is, that\textsuperscript{l} he is the same who was consul with Antoninus the pious, as I understand him, though his manner of expression is ambiguous.

Some remarks may now not be improper. In the first place it may be fit to observe, that Brutus, and Bruttius, and Brettius, as in the\textsuperscript{m} Greek of Eusebius's Chronicle, are all one and the same name, as Scaliger has shown.

Secondly, I suppose no one will hesitate to allow that Bruttius was an heathen historian, though he is not expressly

\textsuperscript{d} Ἰτορεῖ ὁ ⌜Βρτιος, πολλὰς Χριστιανὰς κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ Δομιτιανὸς μεταφηματίσας. Chron. Pasch. p. 250.

\textsuperscript{e} L. 7. ep. 3.


\textsuperscript{g} Erat Bruttius Presens pater Crispinæ uxoris Commodi, ob idque alter Consulatu hoc anno a M. Aurelio decoratus. Pagii ann. 180, num. i.

\textsuperscript{h} Aut Brutiius Præsens, qui cum Imp. Antonino Consul fuit, et euius filia Imperatoris Antonini filio nupta fuit, aut salthem ejus gentilis quidam, fuerit historicus iste. Scalig. in Euseb. p. 205. a.


\textsuperscript{k} Ethnicum scriptorem protulit Eusebius, quem Brutium appellat in Chronico, forte eundem, qui consulatum gesserit sub [forte cum] Antonino. Diss. Cypr. xi. sect. 16.

\textsuperscript{l} P. 80.

\textsuperscript{m} In Graecis est Βρτιος. In Casauboni Chronico Βρτιος, ut hic. Nam non audiendi sunt, qui hic Brutius substituant, aut Bruttius. Sat enim est, eos Graecâ lectione confutari. Nam quemadmodum Βρτιος et Βρτιος, Italie populi, indifferenter vocantur; ita etiam Βρτιος et Βρτιος pro codem scriptore usurpandi potuerint. Scal. ibid. p. 205.
called so in any of the places where he is named. The manner in which he is mentioned by Eusebius in his Chronicle, and by the author of the Paschal Chronicle, would lead us to suppose him not a christian. And the passage in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, compared with his Chronicle, I think puts it out of doubt.

Thirdly, Nothing has appeared in our ancient authors to satisfy us whether Bruttius was a Latin or a Greek writer. But\(^n\) Vossius placeth him among Latin historians.

Fourthly, Dion Cassius, to be hereafter quoted, will inform us of a Flavia Domitilla, wife of the consul Clement, who was banished by Domitian for christianity into the island Pandeteteria, which lay near to Pontia, upon the same coast of Italy. This has given occasion to a dispute whether there were two of this name who suffered for christianity about the same time: some\(^o\) supposing one and the same person to be intended, others\(^p\) again contending that there were two. The matter is of no great importance; nevertheless, perhaps, we may hereafter give it some farther consideration in the chapter of Dion Cassius.

Fifthly, it seems somewhat probable that the author of the Paschal Chronicle did not copy Eusebius, but took his account from the work of Bruttius itself. For Eusebius, making particular mention of Domitilla only, who was not banished till the year 95, says that 'historians of different sentiment from us had accurately marked the time of that persecution to be in the fifteenth year of Domitian.' But the Paschal Chronicle affirms from Bruttius that many suffered in the fourteenth year of that reign. And\(^q\) Pagi hence argues, and not without some appearance of probability, that the persecution began in the fourteenth year of Domitian.

Sixthly, I wish that either Eusebius, or the last mentioned author, had given us the very words of Bruttius. He did not say 'the christians suffered martyrdom.' The style of heathen authors in such matters is curious and entertaining, and more satisfactory than any other whatever.

Once more, seventhly, Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaks in the plural number, and says that 'writers of a different sentiment from us had given an account of Domitian's persecution in their histories:' but we have not found more than one named in his Chronicle, nor in the Paschal Chronicle. Dion Cassius wrote before Eusebius:

\(^{n}\) De Hist. Lat. lib. 3. B. fin.  
\(^{o}\) Basnag. ann. 95. num. vii. Vid. et Scal. ubi supr. p. 205.  
\(^{q}\) Ann. 94. num. v.
whether he ever read him does not now appear: but we shall quote him upon the same subject in his place and time.

I have been very much at a loss where to place this writer. One would think, from Eusebius's manner of expression in his Ecclesiastical History, that he had been contemporary with Domitian's persecution. And in his Chronicle Bruttius is placed at the year of Christ 95. Nevertheless, none can suppose that to be the real time of his writing. However, that I may not be charged with entering him too late, I place him at the year of Christ 136, the twentieth year of Adrian. And if this Bruttius be the same (as divers learned men have thought) who was consul with Titus Antoninus in the year 139, I have placed him early enough.

CHAP. XIII.

PHLEGON, THALLUS, AND DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.

I. Phlegon. His time and works. II. A passage in him concerning our Saviour's foreknowledge. III. Another passage supposed to relate to the miraculous darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, with remarks and observations. IV. Thallus, supposed also to speak of the same darkness. V. Dionysius the Areopagite, supposed likewise to speak of the same event.

I. PHLEGON,a freed-man of the emperor Adrian, was born at Tralles in Lydia. He was author of several works; one of which was entitledb The Olympiads, orc A Collection of Olympiads and Chronicles, in sixteen books. It was a kind of general history of the world from the first to the two hundred and twenty-ninth olympiad, or to the times of Adrian. If the last olympiad was complete, asd some think,

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b Φλεγόν Τραλλιανος—ἵστορικός. Εγραψε Ολυμπιαδάς εν βυζαντίων ιτο. Ετεί δε μεχρι της σχολας των προσαρτηθητων πανηγυριων. Σουδ.
it reached to the fourth year of Antoninus the pious: if it was incomplete, as others suppose, the work ended in the year 138, in which Adrian died; at which time I also place him. It was inscribed to Alcibiades, one of the bodyguards of Adrian: which may afford an argument that the work did not go lower than the reign of that emperor, and was published in the year 138, or soon after. Basnage speaks of Phlegon at the year 141.

I write not the history of Phlegon, or his works: I therefore refer to other learned moderns.

Out of the large work abovementioned, some passages have been alleged by ancient christian writers, of which some notice must be taken here.

II. Origen, in his books against Celsus, has this passage:

However, Phlegon in the thirteenth, or, as I think, the fourteenth book of his Chronicles, ascribes to Christ the knowledge of some future things; though he makes a mistake in the person, naming Peter instead of Jesus: and he allows that the things foretold came to pass.

Upon this I must be allowed to say, first, that Origen seems to have trusted to his memory in this quotation. Secondly, If Phlegon named Peter instead of JESUS, it is a mark of carelessness and inaccuracy. Thirdly, We should have been glad to see this passage of Phlegon more at length; for want of which we cannot form any clear judgment about it. Fourthly, Phlegon was so credulous that his testimony concerning things of a marvellous kind must be of little weight. His credulity and uncommon regard for all sorts of oracles, are manifest in the character of his Olympiads given by Photius, and in the fragments of his works, published by Meursius. I would also refer to the article Ταρραχινη, in Stephanus Byzantinus, where Phlegon speaks of a child who was able to converse with others when it had been born not more that nine-and-forty days;

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8 Και η περι τως χρησιμως ακαυος φιλοτομια τε και φιλοτιμια, εις κορον απαγωγης του ορκοσην—χρησιμως ε ονομα ανευρεθην εις κεβρυμενοι. Phot. ibid.
1 Φλεγων ολυμπιαδε ικατοστοι γεγονοτης πρωτη 'Οτι παιδων, εκ έως χρησιμομενου, τη ευναται και τεσσαρακτη της γενεσεως του προσαγωγοντας αντιπρωσαγωγουσα. Steph. V. Ταρραχινη.
and to Salmassius's character of Phlegron's Olympiads in his notes upon Spartan's Life of Adrian. Fifthly, Origen is the only person that has mentioned this. I do not recollect any other ancient writer who has taken any notice of it. Consequently, I think we must say that upon the whole this citation is of no great moment.

III. But there is another passage of this author which may be reckoned more material, many learned men of late times having been of opinion that it relates to the darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.

The Greek of Eusebius, in his Chronicle, which I must transcribe at large, is to this purpose: 'Jesus Christ the Son of God, our Lord, according to the prophecies concerning him, came to his passion in the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius: about which time we find these things related in other, even Gentile memoirs, in these very words: "the sun was eclipsed, there was an earthquake in Bithynia, and many houses were overturned in Nice." All which things agree with what happened at the time of our Saviour's passion. So writes and says the author of the Olympiads, in the thirteenth book, in these words: "In the fourth year of the two hundred and second Olympiad there was an eclipse of the sun, the greatest of any known before. And it was night at the sixth hour of the day, so that the stars appeared in the heavens. And there was a great earthquake in Bithynia, which overturned many houses in Nice." So writes the forementioned author.'

I shall also transcribe and translate this article as it appears in Jerom's Latin version of Eusebius's Chronicle.

'Jesus Christ, according to the prophecies which had

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1 De Domino etiam mentionem egit, si fides Origeni.—Basag. ann. 141. n. vii.

m Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ νόος τῷ Θεῷ, ὁ Κυρίος ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτῷ προφητείας, εἰ τὸ παῦσαν προφῆτα, εἰς τὸν Τιβέριον Κασαραυν βασιλέως καθὰ ὅν καιρὸν καὶ εἰν αὖδος μεν Ἑλληνικοὺς ὑπομνήμασιν εὑρομὲν ἑιρομένα κατὰ λεῖν ταῦτα ὁ ἡλίος εκλείπειν Βῆθυννα εσοβῆν Ἕκκαιας τὰ πολλὰ ἐπεισ. Ὄ καὶ ὑποδείξεται τοις περὶ τὸ παῦσα τὸ κυνῆρος ἡμῶν συμβεβηκείσ. Γραφεῖ εἰ καὶ λέγει ὁ τὰς ὀλυμπιάδας. Περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰ τῷ ἡγ. ὑμ. αὐτοὶ παντὶ ὡς ἐκ τῶν τῆς οὐκ ὁλυμπιάδος εγένετο εκλείπεις ἥλιος μεγέθες τῶν εὐγεμενίων προτερος, καὶ τοις ὥρας π τῆς ἡμέρας εγένετο, ὥσι καὶ στερεὰς εἰν ὁμοίων φανηκαί, σείρας τε μέγας κατὰ Βῆθυνναν γενομένας, τα πολλά Ἕκκαιας κατεσφατο. Καὶ ταῦτα μεν ὁ ἐνικήτως αὐτῷ. Eiseb. Chr. p. 77.

n Jesus Christus, secundum prophetias, quae de eo fuerant prolocutæ, ad passionem venit anno Tiberii xviii. quo tempore etiam in allis Ethnicorum
Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

before spoken of him, came to his passion in the eighteenth
year of Tiberius; at which time in other, even heathen
memoirs, we find it written to this purpose: "There was
an eclipse of the sun: Bithynia was shaken by an earth-
quake, and in the city of Nice many houses were over-
thrown." All which things agree with what happened at
the time of our Saviour's passion. And so writes Phlegon,
an excellent compiler of the Olympiads, in his thirteenth
book, saying: "In the fourth year of the two hundred and
second Olympiad there was a great and extraordinary
eclipse of the sun, distinguished among all that had hap-
pened before. At the sixth hour the day was turned into
dark night, so that the stars in the heavens were seen, and
there was an earthquake in Bithynia which overthrew
many houses in the city of Nice." So writes the above-
named author.

Phlegon is twice quoted, after the same manner, in the
Paschal Chronicle⁰ composed in the seventh century.

Many learned men⁰ have supposed that Eusebius here
speaks of another, beside Phlegon, who had borne witness
to the darkness at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion.
They think that Eusebius refers to Thallus, as well as
Phlegon. I think that Eusebius speaks of one only. His
first expressions are general. He observes that, what is said
by prophets and by the evangelists, there are heathen au-
thors who have borne testimony to this darkness. Never-
theless he means one only. And, having given a general
account of what was to be found in other memoirs, beside
the sacred, he produces distinctly the passage of Phlegon,
and concludes, 'so writes the forenamed man.' I need not
enlarge farther. To me it appears exceeding manifest that
Eusebius speaks of one writer only, meaning Phlegon the
compiler of Olympiads. The two quotations in the Paschal
Chronicle, as well as St. Jerom's version, are all to be un-
derstood in the like manner.

Before making any remarks upon this passage of Phlegon,

commentarius hac ad verbum scripta reperimus. 'Solis facta defectio; Bi-
thynia terræ motu concusa; et in urbe Nicæa aedēs plurimae cornuerunt.'
Quae omnia his congruent, quæ in passione Salvatoris acciderant. Scribit
vero super his et Phlego, qui Olympiadarum egregius suppulator est, in tertio
decimo libro ita dicens: Quarto autem anno ceci. Olympiadas magna et ex-
cellens inter omnes, quæ ante eam acciderant, defectio solis facta; dies horæ
sextā in tenebrassam noctem versus, ut stellae in caelo visae sint; terraeque
motus in Bithyniā Nicæar urbis multas aedēs subverteret. Hac supradictus vir.

⁰ Chr. Pasch. p. 219, et 222.

et Tillemont, note xxxv. sur J. C.
I would take notice of some authors more ancient than Eusebius, who have referred to Phlegon, or are supposed to have referred to him.

Of these, undoubtedly, Tertullian is the most ancient. At the same time," says he, "at noonday there was a great darkness. They thought it to be an eclipse, who did not know that this also was foretold concerning Christ. And some have denied it, not knowing the cause of such darkness. And yet you have that remarkable event recorded in your archives?

I think that Tertullian refers not to Phlegon, or any other author, whose testimony could be no other than a private record, but to some public acts of the Romans, and probably those in which was kept registered the Relation of Pontius Pilate, sent to the emperor Tiberius, concerning the crucifixion of our Saviour, and the wonderful circumstances of it.

Huet understands Tertullian to refer to some public acts: and in like manner Grotius. And Dr. Clarke, in the first edition of his sermons at Mr. Boyle's lecture, where he quoted Phlegon, and in the eighth edition, where he omitted Phlegon, represents the sense of this place of Tertullian after this manner, and in the same words: "And divers of the most remarkable circumstances attending our Saviour's crucifixion, such as the earthquake, and miraculous darkness, were recorded in the public Roman registers, commonly appealed to by the first Christians, as what could not be denied by the adversaries themselves."

What Tertullian says here has a great resemblance with what is said by the martyr Lucian, in his Apology, as represented by Rufinus in an addition to Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, where he says: 'Look into your own


c Exstabant olim et libri, tum privatorum, tum Phleogontis, tum et acta publica, ad quae Christiani provocabant, quibus constabat de eo sidere, quod post Christum natum apparuit, de terræ motu, et solis deliquio, contra naturam, plenissimo lume orbe, circa tempus, quo Christus crucis supplicio affectus est. Grot. de Verit. Rel. Christ. l. 3. c. xiv.

d See the first edition, p. 325; and the eighth edition, p. 357.

Solem vobis ipsum horum producu testem; qui cum hoc fieri per impios
annals; there you will find that in the time of Pilate, when Christ suffered, the sun was obscured, and the light of the day was interrupted with darkness.

For the present I pass by Africanus. The author therefore that next offers himself to our consideration is Origen, who, in his books against Celsus, says: 'But of the eclipse, which happened in the time of Tiberius, in whose reign Jesus was crucified, and of the great earthquakes which were at that time, Phlegon writes in the thirteenth, or, as I think, the fourteenth book of his Chronicle.'

Afterwards in the same work: 'But' Celsus thinks both the earthquake and the darkness to be only fictitious wonders. To which we have already answered according to our ability,' says Origen, 'alleging Phlegon, who relates that such things happened at the time of our Saviour's passion.'

In the first of these two passages, Origen refers to the book, but does not quote the words of Phlegon. This second reference is not more distinct nor more accurate.

There is another long passage of Origen in his Commentaries upon St. Matthew's Gospel, which it may be expected I should transcribe here: and I shall do so. But,

videret in terris, lumen suum meridie abscondit in celo. Require in annalibus vestris; invenietis, temporibus Pilati, Christo patience, fugato sole, interruptum tenebris diem. Euseb. H. E. l. 9. c. 6. ex versione Rufin.


'Ουται δὲ πετρεται εναι και των σεισμου και το σκοτος περι ὑν κατα δυνατον, εν των ανατοιῳν απολογησαμεθα, παραθυμουν τον Φλευγοντα, ἵστορας κατα των χρονων των παθες των σωτηρος τοιωντα ἀποντηκεναι. Ib. l. 2. p. 96. al. sect. 59.

Matt. xxvii. 45. Ad hunc textum quidam calumniantur evangelicam veritatem, dicentes, quomodo secundum textum potest esse verum quod dicitur, quia factae sunt tenebrae super omnem terram a sexta hora, usque ad nonam, quod factum nulla refert historia? Et dicunt, quia, sicut solet fieri in solis defectione, sic facta est tunc defectio solis. Defectio autem solis, quae secundum consuetudinem temporum ita currentium fieri solet, non in alio tempore fit, nisi in conventu solis et lunae—in tempore autem, quo passus est Christus, manifestum est, quoniam conventus non erat lunae ad solum; quoniam temporibus erat paschale, quod consuetudinis est agere, quando luna solis plenitudinem habet, et in tota est nocie. Quomodo ergo poterat fieri defectio solis, cum luna esset plena, et plenitudinem solis haberet?—Pone, quia extra consuetudinem facta est illa defectio solis in tempore non antiquo, sub principatu Romanorum, ita ut tenebre fierent super omnem terram usque ad horam nonam; quomodo hoc factum tam mirabile nemo Graecorum, nemo Barbarorum factum conscripsit in tempore illo, maxime qui Chronicis conscripserunt, et notaverunt, sicuti aliquid novum factum est aliquando, sed soli hoc scripserunt vestri auctores? Et Phlegon quidem in Chronicis suis scripsit,
considering that we have it only in a Latin translation, which is obscure, I suppose I may be excused from attempting to translate it at length.

The substance of what Origen says may be reduced to a few observations. He proposeth an objection of unbelievers against the evangelical history. They said that an eclipse of the sun never happens at full moon, as the darkness mentioned by the evangelists did: and that if there had been an eclipse, or other darkness, over all the earth, lasting three hours, from six till nine, it would have been mentioned by many authors, and especially by writers of chronicles. Origen allows that if the evangelists had mentioned such a thing in all those circumstances, and had said it was general all over the world, it would be reasonable to expect to find the mention of it in many writers, both Greeks and barbarians. But he says the evangelists speak only of a darkness in the land of Judea; nor do they call it an eclipse. Other extraordinary things, which are related by the evangelists to have happened at the time of our Saviour's sufferings, he says, were at Jerusalem, or near it.

There "the veil of the temple was rent," there "the earth quaked and the rocks were rent," there, or near it, "the graves were opened." So likewise it is to be understood, that at Jerusalem, or near it, or over the whole land of Judea, was "darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour."

say that the eclipse mentioned by him happened at the time of a full moon."

Tillemont, arguing upon this testimony of Phlegon, observes: 'Nevertheless, he did not say that this obscurity, which he took for an eclipse, happened at full moon, when it is impossible to happen, according to the ordinary course of nature. For which reason Origen says very wisely, that we must not too positively maintain against heathen people that Phlegon spoke of the darkness which happened at the death of Jesus Christ.'

We are now coming to a main point.

I suppose my readers to be well acquainted with the gospels, and to know that it is there related that "from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour," Matt. xxvii. 45; or, "when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour," Mark xv. 33; or, "and it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over all the earth [or land] until the ninth hour. And the sun was darkened," Luke xxiii. 44, 45.

1. In the first place, then, it appears to me very plain that the evangelists, by the earth, or the land, mean Judea. So the original word is sometimes used, as Luke iv. 25; Matt. xxiv. 30. So it was understood in these texts by that great critic Origen, as we have seen. So likewise says that eminent man G. J. Vossius, and divers other learned moderns of very good judgment. And Beza, for preventing ambiguity, useth the word region, or country, instead of land, or earth; and upon Mark xv. 33, has a good note, c

\[^{y}\text{Il ne marquait pas néanmoins que cette obscurité, qu'il prenoit pour une eclipse, fût arrivée dans la pléine lune, ou il est impossible selon l'ordre de la nature qu'il en arrive jamais. C'est pourquoi Origène remarque fort sagement, qu'il ne faut pas s'opiniâtrer à soutenir contre les Pagens, que Phlégon a parlé de ce qui est arrivé à la mort de J. C. Note 35. sur N. S. J. C. p. 449. M. E.}\]

\[^{z}\text{Putamus autem, per universam terram solam signari Judæam. Quod et Erasmus arbitratus in cap. xxvii. Matt. G. Voss. Harm. Ev. l. 2. cap. x.}\]

\[^{a}\text{Matt. xxvii. 45. "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land [of Judea] until the ninth hour." Whitby.—Sur tout le pays. Le Clerc. Apparemment sur la Judée, comme Luc. iv. 25; Matt. xxiv. 30. L'Enfant. See also Basnage ann. 33. n. cxviii.}\]

\[^{b}\text{"Super universam regionem." Πασῶν τῆς γης, i. e. χωρας. Vulgata, et Erasmus, universam terram, quasi omnes mundi plagae fuerint obscurae. Bez. ad Matt. xxvii. 45.}\]

\[^{c}\text{Queritur autem a multis, an de Judæa duntaxat, an vero potius de universo orbe terrarum, hec sint accipienda. Quod posterior videtur ampletti Tertullianus Ap. c. xxi. hoc solis deliquium vocans ' mundi casum,' quem Romani in suis archivis habeant. Sed ego is potius assentior, qui de Hierosolymis et tota vicinâ regione hoc dictum accipiens. Nam in Archivis annotati justius etiam prodigium illud potuit, quoniam fuit Judææ peculiare.}\]
justifying that version. Indeed, it is so pertinent, that I am tempted to write out a good part of it below. This, I think, must be right. The evangelists speak of things that happened in the land of Judea, the place of their residence, and within the extent of their knowledge. How should they know what happened abroad, throughout the whole world? There was darkness at Jerusalem, and near it, and in that whole country where Christ was crucified, and among that people who had been taught by his ministry, who had seen his miracles, and now triumphed in his crucifixion. But there might be the light and brightness of the sun in other countries, as probably there were.

A. Bynæus, after having carefully examined this point, expresseth himself to the same purpose.

2. There are such inaccuracies, and such differences, in the quotations of Phlegon by several authors, as very much diminish the credit and authority of this testimony. Origen says no more than that Phlegon speaks of an eclipse and earthquakes in the reign of Tiberius, without mentioning what year of his reign. Eusebius, and Jerom, and the Paschal Chronicle, speak of an eclipse of the sun, and an earthquake, in the fourth year of the two hundred and second olympiad, meaning the eighteenth or nineteenth year of Tiberius, and the thirty-second or thirty-third year of our Lord, according to the common computation. But they do not say in what part, or what month of the year, those things happened: which would be very material, and tend to decide a reference to the darkness at our Saviour's passion, if it had been said that the eclipse was in the spring, or such a month of the spring part of the year.

I now add some other quotations to those just mentioned.

J. Philoponus, who lived near the end of the sixth, and

Familiares etiam est sacris scriptoribus, terræ appellatione, etiam nihil adjectu-tur, intelligere terram Chanaan. Et γυν pro χωραν, id est, 'terræm,' pro 'regione,' reperimus alibi: ut Matt. ix. 26, et Luc. iv. 25. Confert autem hoc ad prodigii novitatem, si intellexerimus non modo die Paschæ, id est in plenilunio, accidisse hanc solis eclipsin, sed etiam reliquam orbem illustrante sole, atque adeo in ipso meridie hunc unum orbis terrarum angulum, in quo tantum facinus patrabatur, in densissimis tenebris delituisse. Et si universale fuisse hoc prodigium, esset procul dubio omnium astrologorum monumentis celebratum. Bez. in Mark xv. 33.

the beginning of the seventh century, writes to this purpose: "Phlegon also, in his Olympiads, makes mention of this darkness, or rather this night; for he says that in the second year of the one hundred and second Olympiad there was the greatest eclipse of the sun that had been known before, and night came on at the sixth hour of the day; insomuch that the stars appeared in the sky."

Afterwards the same Philoponus speaks of Phlegon, as saying that the eclipse happened in the two hundred and second Olympiad. Some may think this to be an inconsistency: but, perhaps, there were different ways of computing the Olympiads, or the years of each Olympiad.

In the Chronicle of George Syncellus, who flourished in the eighth century, Africanus is quoted in this manner: "Phlegon relates that in the reign of the emperor Tiberius, at the time of the full moon, there was a total eclipse of the sun from the sixth hour to the ninth."

It is obvious to observe here—it is not easy to believe that Africanus said Phlegon had mentioned an eclipse with those circumstances, because Phlegon is not so quoted by any other writer. And Origen assures us that Phlegon had omitted that circumstance, that the eclipse mentioned by him was in the time of the full moon."

Maximus, of the seventh century, in his Scholia upon the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite, says: "Phlegon the Gentile chronographer, in the thirteenth book of his Chronography, at the two hundred and third Olympiad, mentions this eclipse, saying that it happened in an unusual manner: but does not say in what manner. And our Africanus in the fifth book of his Chronography, and Eusebius Pamphili likewise in his Chronicle, mention the same eclipse."

J. Malala, in the sixth or seventh century, in his Chronicle, writes to this purpose: "And the sun was darkened.

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J. Malala, in the sixth or seventh century, in his Chronicle, writes to this purpose: "And the sun was darkened."
and there was darkness upon the world. Concerning
which darkness, Phlegon, that wise Athenian, writes thus:
"In the eighteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar,
there was a great eclipse of the sun, greater than those
that had been known before; and it became night at the
sixth hour of the day, so that the stars appeared."

Such are the principal quotations of Phlegon in ancient
texts. We may wish they had been more distinct and ac-
curate, and that there had been a nearer agreement between
them; but we must take them as they are. Nor do they
all place the eclipse, which they speak of, in the same year
of the same Olympiad. However I do not choose to enlarge
on this particular; it is rather too critical for my present
work: I therefore refer to m Pagi, who has spoken to the
point with great learning and judgment, and must be of
use to remove difficulties of this sort. Wherefore I pro-
ceed.

3. Phlegon says nothing of Judea. What he says is, that
in such an Olympiad, 'there was an eclipse in Bithynia, and
an earthquake at Nice.'

4. Phlegon does not say that the earthquake happened at
the same time with the eclipse.

5. Phlegon mentions not any extraordinary circumstances
of the darkness at the time of our Saviour's sufferings. We
cannot perceive from the quotations that have been made of
him, that it is reasonable to believe he said that the eclipse
mentioned by him happened at the time of a 'full moon,' or
that it lasted 'three hours.' These circumstances could not
have been omitted by him if he had known any thing of
them.

The acute Mr. Bayle, in his n article of Phlegon, has en-
larged upon this point, and as it seems to me with good
reason. 'Never was there a man more intent than Phlegon
to collect marvellous events, and to observe the superna-
tural circumstances of them. How then was it possible
that a man of this temper should omit to remark that which
was most extraordinary in this eclipse, I mean that it hap-
pended at the time of a full moon.'

6. Phlegon speaks of an ordinary eclipse of the sun.
Therefore he cannot intend the darkness mentioned by the
evangelists, which happened when the moon was full: at
which time an eclipse of the sun is impossible. Nor do
any of the evangelists use the word eclipse in their his-
tory of this darkness. Phlegon speaks of a total, or very
near total eclipse of the sun, so that the stars were seen:

m Pagi ann. 32. num xi—xiv. n Phlegon, note D. Diction. Critic.
which is common when there is a total eclipse, and the air is clear; but could not have been if there had been clouds, which would have hid the stars also. G. J. Vossius\(^6\) was clearly of opinion that Phlegon speaks of an ordinary and natural eclipse of the sun: for which and other reasons he concludes that Phlegon did not intend the darkness in Judea at the time of our Saviour’s passion.

Scaliger\(^7\) likewise understands Phlegon to speak of a natural eclipse of the sun. 7. It is reasonable to believe, from what Phlegon writes, that there was a great eclipse of the sun in some year of the two hundred and second olympiad. According to the calculations of some able astronomers there\(^8\) was a great eclipse of the sun in the month of November, in the twenty-ninth year of our Lord, according to the common account, and the first year of the two hundred and second olympiad. But whether their calculations be right or not, I think we may be satisfied that Phlegon thought there was a great eclipse of the sun about that time.

From all these considerations (however without insisting much upon that which is the second in order) it appears to me that we have not sufficient reason to think that Phlegon has mentioned the darkness which happened at the time of our Saviour’s crucifixion at Jerusalem: several learned men have been of the same opinion. I have already mentioned, and quoted, G. J. Vossius: I now\(^7\) refer to several others who may be consulted by the curious.


\(^7\) Nam eclipsin quoque veram Phlegon putavit. Scaliger, Animadv. in Euseb. p. 186. a.

\(^8\) See Dr. Sykes’s Dissertation on the Eclipse mentioned by Phlegon, p. 70—79. and his Defence of the same Dissertation, p. 60—67.

\(^7\) Kepler. Eclogæ Chronicæ, p. 87, 126. He may be seen cited largely in Dr. Sykes’s Diss. p. 70—72. Dr. Sykes’s Dissertation on the Eclipse mentioned by Phlegon, and his Defence of the same Dissertation, London, 1732 and 1733; to whom I may add Dr. S. Clarke, who, in the first edition of his sermons at Boyle’s lecture alleged the passage of Phlegon, but afterwards left it out. Comp. p. 325 of the first edition in 1706, and p. 357 of the eighth
Colonia puts great value upon the testimony of Phlegon to the extraordinary events attending our Saviour's passion; but I see no reason to make any remarks upon what he says: I refer however to other learned men on the same side of the question.

8. I must add one observation more (eighthly). The passage of Phlegon concerning an eclipse of the sun is very seldom mentioned by the ancient learned Christian writers as a testimony to the wonderful events at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion: which induces me to think they paid little or no regard to it; and that they did not judge it proper to be alleged, either for the satisfaction and confirmation of their own people.

I have already shown what notice is taken of this passage of Phlegon by Origen, in his books against Celsus, and in his commentaries upon St. Matthew's gospel: and I have also mentioned divers other authors as low as the sixth and seventh century, chiefly writers of chronicles. All which, however, amount to no great number in so long a period.

For there is very little notice taken of it by other ancient Christians, whether apologists, historians, or commentators.

To be more particular. No notice is taken of Phlegon, or his eclipse and earthquake, by Justin Martyr, Tatian, Bardesanes, Athenagoras, Theophilus ad Autolicum, Tertullian, Cyprian of Carthage, Arnobius, Lactantius. They may mention the miraculous events attending our Saviour's sufferings; but they allegé Phlegon as confirming the truth of the evangelical history. How those events are mentioned by Arnobius, and Lactantius, may be seen in edition in 1732. Basnag. ann. 29. num. 30, 31. and Bayle's Dictionnaire, Phlegon. Note D.

[Notes]

1 La Religion Chretienne autorisee par les Auteurs Payens. Vol. i. ch. i. p. 1—44.
3 Exutus at corpore—novitate rerum exterrita universa mundi sunt, elements turbata, tellus mota contremuit, mare funditus refusum est, aer globis involvulus est tenebrarum, igneus orbis solis tepfacto ardore diriguit. Arnob. l. i. p. 32.
their own words, which I place below. Lactantius has twice very particularly rehearsed the extraordinary things that bore honour to our Lord when suffering by the hands of men: but he takes not any notice of Phlegon.

Eusebius has the honour to sustain at once all the just mentioned characters of apologist, historian, and commentator. And yet, so far as I recollect, he has no where mentioned Phlegon, except in his Chronicle, which has been expressly cited by me. He has not distinctly quoted or referred to this passage, that I remember, in his Ecclesiastical History, nor in his Evangelical Preparation or Demonstration. All which works may be reckoned partly historical and partly apologetical for the principles of our religion. Nor does Phlegon appear in his Commentary upon the Psalms or Isaiah. In his Ecclesiastical History, having mentioned the troubles which Pilate met with, and his tragical end, he adds: 'This is related by Greek writers who have published olympiads, with a history of events, and the times when they happened,' Whether Phlegon was here intended cannot be said: he is not mentioned; nor has this any connection with the passage of Phlegon, which we are now considering. Nicephorus, going over again this same history, is not more particular than Eusebius. He mentions not Phlegon by name, nor any other writer of olympiads. In his Chronicle, under the reign of Caligula, Eusebius, recording the death of Pilate, who laid violent hands upon himself, says: 'This is related by Roman historians.'

Nor is Phlegon's eclipse any where taken notice of by Jerom, in any of his numerous and learned works, excepting only in his Latin version of Eusebius's Greek Chronicle, above quoted by us. Scaliger observes that Jerom seems to refer to this author and his Olympiads, in his Commentary upon Habakkuk, ch. iii. 9, 10. But Phlegon is not there named; nor does he there speak of his eclipse, but of quite other things. I have transcribed below the passage

w 'Ἰσορωσι Ἑλληνων οι τας ὀλυμπιαδας αμα τους κατα χρονον πεπραγμον αναγραφαντ. H. E. l. 2. c. 7. x Vid. Niceph. l. 2. c. 10.

y Pontius Pilatus incidens in multas calamitates proprias se manu interfecit. Scribunt Romanorum historici. Chron. p. 159.

referred to more distinctly, from the Benedictine edition of Jerom, than it is quoted by Scaliger. Doubtless Jerom has several times spoken of the darkness and other extraordinary events at the time of our Saviour’s passion; as in his Commentary upon Amos viii. 9, 10. And in his Commentary upon Matt. xxvii. 45, he says: ‘They who have written against the gospels suspect that the disciples of Christ, through ignorance, speak of an ordinary eclipse of the sun, which never happens except at the time of the new moon. But Jerom answers that there could be no ground for such a supposition; for our Lord suffered at the time of the Jewish passover, when the moon was at full, as all know. The darkness therefore must have been miraculous. Moreover, it lasted three hours; which is sufficient to remove all suspicion that it was a natural eclipse.’

So Jerom. But nothing is said of Phlegon, either here or elsewhere. The silence about Phlegon, in so learned a writer as Jerom, appears to me remarkable.

Nor does Phlegon appear at all in the Homilies, or other writings, of Chrysostom. In a homily, remarking upon Matt. xxvii. 45, he says, that ‘darkness’ was not an eclipse, but a token of the divine displeasure, as is manifest from the time of it; for it lasted three hours: whereas, an eclipse of the sun is over in a moment of time. This all know who have seen an eclipse, as we have lately.’

Nor do I remember that Phlegon is mentioned by Augustine in any of his numerous writings. In that noble work, his Apology for the christian religion, called, Of the City of God, he observes, that ‘the darkness at the time of our Saviour’s passion, was not owing to an eclipse of the sun; for it was the time of the passover, when the moon was at

a Possumus hunc locum et in Domini intelligere, passione, quando sol horâ sextâ retrait radioc suos, et pendentem in cruce Dominum suum spectare non ausus est. In Amos, p. 1442.


c Origiœmènu gav epo toû toû tòlómuônuû tû toû ektos ekewo. Ὅτι γαρ οὐκ ἦν εκείσθη, ἀλλ’ ὁργήτε οὐ καὶ αγανακτήσας, εκ ενεπεδέθη μονον ἐδέσαν τῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ καρδί. Τρίς γαρ ὤρας παρεμείνεν. Ἡ δὲ εκείσθη ἐν μιᾷ καρδί γενέται ἡμερί. Καὶ ισασιν οἱ πάντες κατασκευαστὲ καὶ γαρ επὶ τῆς γενέας τῆς ἡμέρας συναβ. Chr. in Matt. hom. 88. al. 89. p. 825. T. vii.

d De Civ. Dei, l. 3. cap. xv.
'the full: whereas all natural eclipses are at the time of the 'new moon.' But he does not call in Phlegon to bear wit- ness to this. In like manner, in one of his epistles, he ar- gues excellently well that 'the darkness at the time of our 'Saviour's crucifixion was miraculous and preternatural, 'and not owing to an interposition of the moon between our 'earth and the sun.' But neither does he here take any no- tice of Phlegon.

I might go on to mention Epiphanius, Leo the great, Gregory the first, Ambrose of Milan, Theodoret both an his- torian and a commentator, and other learned and volumi- nous writers of the fourth, fifth, and following centuries, who are all silent about Phlegon and his eclipse.

Nor is Phlegon named in Æcumenius, or Theophylact, both excellent commentators. But this last, in the eleventh century, in his note upon Matt. xxvii. 45, distinctly shows that the darkness, at our Saviour's crucifixion, was preter- natural, and could not be an ordinary eclipse of the sun.

There are many historians, partly secular, partly ecclesias- tal, who, as we may think, might have been led, either occasionally, or on set purpose, to mention Phlegon: such as Socrates, Sozomen, Orosius, Cassiodorus, Zonaras, Nice- phorus, and others; who nevertheless take no particular notice of him or his eclipse.

Orosius indeed, near the beginning of the fifth century, rehearsing the affecting circumstances of our Saviour's suf- ferings, says: 'And divers writings of Greek authors con- firm the evangelical history.' But he does not mention Phlegon, nor any other.

Nicephorus in like manner speaks of the darkness, the earthquake, and other wonderful concomitants of our Sa- viour's sufferings: but says nothing of Phlegon, or any other heathen authors.

This silence about Phlegon in many of the most judicious and learned ancient Christian writers has induced me to think they did not reckon the passage of Phlegon very ma- terial. If it had been reckoned by them clear and impor- tant, we should have seen numerous quotations of it, and cogent arguments upon it. Indeed, if it had been clear, it

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\[\text{Ep. 199. al. 80. ad Hesychium. cap. x. num. 34. Tom. 2. P. 2.}
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\[\text{Deinde anno ejusdem [Tiberii] decimo septimo, cum Dominus Jesus Christus voluntarie quidem se tradidit passioni,—et patibulo suffixus est, maximo terræ motu per orœm facto, saxa in montibus scissa sunt——Eidem quoque die ad horam diei sextam sol in totum obscursatus, tetaque nox subito obducta terris est.—Quod non solum sanctorum Evangeliorum fides, sed etiam aliquanti Graecorum libri adtestantur. Oros. l. 7. cap. 4.}
\]

\[\text{Vid. Niceph. l. i. cap. 31.}\]
must have been important. But not being, as I suppose, reckoned by them clearly to refer to the darkness in Judæa, at the time of our Lord's sufferings, they did not esteem it of much moment, and therefore did not allege it.

Many people of our times, I believe, suppose that this passage of Phlegon is quoted and insisted upon by all ancient Christian writers in general. But so far is that from being the case, that it is to be found quoted in very few, one perhaps in a century or two, and those chiefly writers of Chronicles.

Petavius, speaking of Phlegon's eclipse, says: 'That this 'is the same which happened at the death of Christ, all the 'ancient fathers have declared, as with one mouth.' But what does Tillemont say to this? His remark is in these words: 'But Petavius makes use of an expression which 'is rather too strong. For I think that 'all the fathers' are 'reduced to Jerom, who translated Eusebius,' [meaning his Chronicle:] 'and if by 'fathers' he means ecclesiastical 'writers, it will not extend, perhaps, to more than four or 'five.'

I hope that what has been observed under this last particular may be of use to satisfy some, who may not be fully convinced by the foregoing considerations. None, I think, can much dislike my declining to insist upon a passage, as a testimony to the truth of the evangelical history, which has been so little regarded, and so seldom quoted by ancient Christian writers, remarkable for their diligence, as well as for their learning and judgment.

IV. Thallus,¹ a Syrian author, is sometimes alleged by learned moderns, as bearing witness to the darkness at the time of our Saviour's passion. Whether there be any good reason for so doing, may appear from a few observations.

In the fragments of Africanus, which are in the Chronicle² of G. Syncellus of the eighth century, and in the collections of Eusebius's Greek Chronicle, as made by Joseph Scaliger, that very learned ancient Christian writer says,

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³ Et si, par les pères, il entend les auteurs ecclésiastiques, cela ne s'étendra peut-être à plus de quatre ou cinq. Ibid.
⁴ Vid Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. 3.
There was a dreadful darkness over the whole world, and the rocks were rent by an earthquake, and many buildings were overthrown in Judea, and in other parts of the earth. This darkness Thallus calls an eclipse of the sun, in the third book of his histories; but as seems to me, very improperly; for the Jews keep the passover in the fourteenth day of the moon; at which time an eclipse of the sun is impossible.

Upon this passage I must observe, 1. That it appears only in the fragments of Africanus; whereas it often happens that, in collections of that kind, we do not find so much accuracy as could be wished. 2. The words of Thallus are not cited: for which reason we cannot presume to form a judgment concerning what he said. 3. This passage of Thallus is no where quoted or referred to by any other ancient writer that I know of. It is not in any work of Eusebius, excepting those Greek collections of his Chronicle, which are very inaccurate and imperfect: nor is there any notice taken of it in Jerom's version of the Chronicle.

I might rest here without adding any thing more. Nevertheless I shall proceed somewhat farther.

The time of Thallus seems not to be exactly known. If indeed there was any thing in his history relating to transactions in Judea in the time of our Saviour, he must have lived between that time and Africanus: but of that we want some farther proof.

In Eusebius's Evangelical Preparation is quoted a long passage of Africanus, from the third book of his Chronology; where are mentioned, all together, Diodorus, Thallus, Castor, Polybius, and Phlegon. And afterwards Helianicus and Philochorus, who wrote of the affairs of Asia; Castor and Thallus, who wrote a history of Syria; Diodorus, and Alexander Polyhistor. Whereby we learn that Thallus was a Syrian, who wrote in the Greek language.

Thallus is quoted by divers ancient christian writers. Justin Martyr, in his exhortation to the Greeks, allegeth Helianicus, Philochorus, Castor, and Thallus, as bearing witness to the antiquity of Moses, the Jewish lawgiver.

Ib. p. 488.
Tertullian⁴ and Minucius Felix⁵ quote Thallus and divers other authors, as acknowledging Saturn to have been a man who had lived on this earth.

Thallus and other writers are quoted with a like view by⁶ Lactantius.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch about the year 180, in his⁷ letter to Autolicus, quotes Thallus, to prove that Belus lived long before the Trojan war; which passage is quoted again from Theophilus by⁸ Lactantius.

All these quotations of Thallus appear to be made properly: and he is so quoted with other writers of antiquity, that one might be apt to think that he lived rather before than after our Saviour’s coming: nor is there any thing here said of an eclipse; which may induce us to think that the passage in the fragments of Africanus is not material. Indeed, if I was unwilling to admit any thing disrespectful to the memory of so great and learned an ancient as Africanus, I should suspect that the eclipse mentioned by Thallus, (whenever it happened,) was a natural eclipse of the sun. For it is not likely that a learned historian, as Thallus was, should use that expression concerning any other darkness or obscurity. Consequently, what he said could not have any reference to the darkness in Judea at the time of our Saviour’s last sufferings.

Thallus is not quoted upon this occasion, either by⁹ Gro- tius, or⁸ Dr. Clarke.

V. It has been often said that Dionysius the Areopagite, when a young man, went into Egypt for the sake of improvement in knowledge. ⁵ And⁶ being at Heliopolis, with


⁶ Omnes ergo, non tantum poëtae, sed et historiarum quoque, ac rerum antiquarum scriptores, hominemuisse consentiunt, qui res ejus in Italiâ gestas memoriae prodiderunt; Graeci, Diodorus et Thallus; Latini, Nepos, et Cassius, et Varro. Lact. Inst. l. i. cap. 13.


⁸ Theophilus, in libro de temporibus ad Autolycum scripto ait, in historiâ sui Thallum dicere, quod Belus, quem Babylonii et Assyrii colunt, antiquior Trojano bellouisse inventur 322 annis, &c. Id. ib. l. i. cap. 23. Conf. ejusd. Epit. cap. 24.

⁹ Vide de Veritate Rel. Christian. l. 3. cap. xiv.

⁵ See his Sermons at Boyle’s Lecture, the first ed. p. 325, the eighth ed. p. 357. A. D. 1732.

his friend Apollonophanes, when our Saviour suffered, they
there saw a wonderful eclipse of the sun: whereupon Dio-
nysius said to his friend: "Either God himself suffers,
or sympathizeth with the sufferer."

But, as all the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopa-
gite are now reckoned spurious, and are allowed not to have
been composed before the fifth or sixth century, this story
is disregarded by all learned men in general. I shall put
below the judgments of Huet and Tillemont, who might
be as likely to assert it as any, but do absolutely abandon
and give it up as of no value. Colonial likewise, after a
good deal of parade, declares it inconsistent with sincerity
to allege it among genuine and authentic testimonies in fa-
vour of christianity.

CHAP. XIV.

THE EMPEROR TITUS ANTONINUS THE PIOUS.

I. His time and character. II. That he was favourable to
the christians. III. His edict in their favour sent to the
States of Asia. The genuineness of which is here asserted
with remarks.

I. TITUS AURELIUS FULVIUS BOIONIUS ANTO-
NINUS PIUS; or Antoninus, surnamed the Pious, or the
Good, was born in the reign of Domitian, in the year of
Christ 86. He succeeded Adrian on the tenth day of July,
in the year of our Lord 138, and died on the seventh of March in 161, in the twenty-third year of his reign.

He is much commended; and indeed seems to have been a man of as fair a character as any of the Roman emperors, not excepting the most admired. And, though he was about seventy years of age at the time of his death, he was as much lamented as if he had died in the prime of life.

When Xiphilinus made the epitome of Dion Cassius's History, the seventeenth book of that work, which contained the reign of this emperor, was wanting, excepting only a small part at the beginning. Having given a short account of that, Xiphilinus proceeds: ‘It is agreed by all, that Antoninus was a good and mild prince, who was oppressive neither to any of his other subjects, nor to the christians, whom he protected and favoured, even beyond what had been done by Adrian, as is shown by Eusebius.'

II. So writes Xiphilinus. We are therefore led directly to the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, in which is the earliest account we can expect to find of Antoninus's reign.

He is not reckoned among the persecuting emperors. Nevertheless the christians were persecuted in his time; otherwise there could have been no occasion to present apologies to him; and that Justin's first apology was addressed to him is allowed. It is inscribed in this manner:


'e Ο γαρ Αντωνίων οἱ μολογεῖται παρὰ παντὸς καλὸς τε καὶ αγαθὸς γενεσθαι, καὶ οὔτε τῶν αἵλων ὑπηκοῶν τις βαρὺς, οὔτε χριστιανὸς επαχθῆς, οὔλα πολλὰ τινὰ των σειμῶν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῇ τῷ Λέραντο τῷρ, ἦν εκείνως εὐπραχιανος, προσεχθῆς, κ. λ. Dio. l. 70. p. 1173. al. 799.

f Mr. La Roche, in his New Memoirs of Literature, vol. i. p. 81—99, gives an account of a book in two volumes, 8vo. printed at the Hague, entitled, Histoire de la Philosophie Payenne, &c. A History of the Pagan Philosophy, or the Sentiments of the most famous Pagan Philosophers and Nations concerning God, the Soul, and the Duties of Man. Where, at p. 98, Mr. La Roche says: 'In the last chapter of this work, the author shows that there was not one perfect man among the heathens. He examines the lives of Pythagoras, Aristides, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Dion, Phocion, Timoleon, Cato the censor, Cato of Utica, Brutus, Seneca, Apollonius of Tyana, Titus Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius; and finds them guilty of several vices. He highly commends the wise and just government of Titus Antoninus. But, says he, that emperor had some faults, which however were not very prejudicial to his subjects.' It is plain that this author had a very favourable opinion of Titus Antoninus. I should be very glad to see his work: but it has never come in my way.
To the emperor Titus Aelius Adrianus Antoninus the pious, and to his son Verissimus, and Lucius, and the senate, and all the people of the Romans, in behalf of men gathered out of all nations, who are unjustly hated and ill-treated, I Justin, son of Priscus, son of Bacchius, one of them of the city of Flavia Neapolis, in that part of Syria which is called Palestine, make this address and supplication.

And, not to take notice of any other passages of it, the same apology concludes in this manner: 'If what has been now offered be material, pay a suitable regard to it; but if all this be of no moment, let it be slighted as trifling: but do not treat as enemies, and appoint death for men who are guilty of no crimes. And we foretell unto you that ye will not escape the future judgment of God if you persist in this injustice.'

Which plainly shows that the Christians were then persecuted even to death.

III. Eusebius, having given an account of Justin's apology, and quoted the beginning of it, goes on: 'And the same emperor having been applied to by other of the brethren in Asia, complaining of the many injuries which they suffered from the people of the country, sent an edict to the common council of Asia, which is to this purpose: "The emperor—to the states of Asia sendeth greeting. I am well satisfied the gods will not suffer such men to be concealed; for undoubtedly they are more concerned to punish those who refuse to worship them than you are. But you only confirm these men in their sentiments, and make them more obstinate by calling them impious, and giving them vexation: for they are not so desirous to live, as to be prosecuted, and suffer death for their God. Hence they come off victorious, laying down their lives rather than do what you demand of them. As for the earth- quakes of the former, or the present times, it may not be improper to advise you to compare yourselves with them, and your sentiments with theirs; for when such things happen you are dejected, but they are full of confidence in God: and you, in the ignorance you are in, neglect the other gods and their rites, and the worship of the Immortal likewise: and the christians, who worship him, you

\[\text{Euseb. Kofievbiv, STTiuivijTs TipoXeyoniv}\]
banish and persecute to death. Before our time many governors of provinces wrote to our deified father about these men. To whom he wrote that they should not be molested, unless they did things contrary to the welfare of the Roman government. Many also have informed me about the same men; to whom I returned an answer agreeable to the rescript of my father [Adrian]. If therefore any person will still accuse any of these men as such, [as a christian,] let the accused be acquitted, though he appear to be such an one [that is, a christian;] and let the accuser be punished. Set up at Ephesus in the common assembly of Asia.” And that these things were so done, adds Eusebius, is attested by Melito bishop of Sardis, who flourished at that time, in what he says in his excellent apology, which he made for our religion to the emperor Verus.

Melito’s apology was presented to Marcus Antoninus about the year 177. From that apology Eusebius, in a following chapter, makes a large extract: a part of which I also must transcribe here, reserving the rest till hereafter: Of all the Roman emperors, says Melito to Marcus, Nero and Domitian only, who were misled by designing men, have shown enmity to our religion. From them have proceeded the evil reports concerning us, that are received and propagated by the vulgar; which have often been checked by your pious ancestors, who by edicts have restrained those who have been troublesome to men of our religion. Among whom is your grandfather Adrian, who wrote, as to many others, so particularly to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. And your father also, at the same time that you governed all things with him, wrote to several cities, that they should not give us any vexation, and among them to the Larisseans, and the Thessalonians, and the Athenians, and to all the Greeks. And we are persuaded that you, who cannot but have the like regard for us, and are yet of a more humane and philosophical disposition, will grant all we desire.

So writes Melito. And hence, and from what Eusebius before said, may be concluded with certainty, that not only Justin presented an apology to Titus Antoninus, but that other christians also, from divers parts, had applied to him; and that he had sent favourable orders to the Larisseans in Thessaly, and to other Thessalonians, and the Athenians, and to all the Greeks in general, which may comprehend the

m See Vol. ii. ch. xv.  

Asiatics, for whom Melito in particular seems to have pleaded.

Nevertheless there are difficulties relating to that edict, before translated, said to have been sent to the common council of Asia. Some think it was given by Titus Antoninus, others by Marcus Antoninus; and others suspect it to be a forgery, and really sent by neither of those emperors.

And among the ancients there is some difference of opinion. By Eusebius, whom I have transcribed at length, it is supposed to have been sent by Antoninus the pious. This letter, or edict, is also at length in the Paschal Chronicle and in Nicephorus Callisti. By the former it is ascribed to Antoninus the philosopher, by the latter to his predecessor. Zonaras follows Eusebius, as does also Xiphilinus, before quoted. Orosius does not expressly mention this edict; but he says that Justin presented an apology to Antoninus the pious, and that thereby the emperor was rendered favourable to the christians.

Among the moderns likewise, as before hinted, there are various sentiments. Valesius, the learned editor of Eusebius and the other ecclesiastical historians, dissents here from his author: he says the letter is Marcus's, and that Eusebius was mistaken in ascribing it to the elder Antoninus. Of the same opinion are Scaliger, Huet, Basnage, and Pagi. By Baronius, Cave, and divers others, it is supposed to have been sent by Antoninus the pious. As the argument of the Benedictine editors, on the same side of the question, is not very prolix, I shall put a part of it below. They say, with Tillemont, that the authority of Eusebius, who ascribes it to Titus Antoninus the pious,

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{0}} \text{P. 259.} \]  
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{1}} \text{L. 3. cap. 28.} \]  
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{2}} \text{Tom. 2. p. 206.} \]  
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{Verum Justinus philosophus librum pro christianâ religione compositum Antonino tradidit, benignumque eum erga christians fecit. Oros. I. 7. cap. xiv.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{4}} \text{Errat Eusebius, qui Antonino Pio hanc epistolam tribuit, cum sit divi Marci Annot. in Euseb. p. 66.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{5}} \text{Animadv. in Euseb. p. 219.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{6}} \text{Dem. Evang. p. 42.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{7}} \text{Bas. ann. 139. n. vii. et ann. 164. n. iv.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{8}} \text{Pagi ann. 152. num. iv. v.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{9}} \text{Baron. ann. 154. n. v.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{10}} \text{H. L. de Justino M.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{11}} \text{Baldun. Edict. Princep. Rom. p. 86—92.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{12}} \text{Tillem. Antonin. art. xi. S. Justin M. art. xii. et note xi. Moshem. de Reb. Christian. p. 86—92.} \]

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{13}} \text{Nam, ut Tillemontii, qui Antonino vindicat, rationum momenta breviter referam. 1. Eusebii auctoritas, qui eas Antonino tribuit, maximi debet esse ponderis. 2. Antonino conveniunt, qui Adrianum solus appellare potuit parentem suum, ac solus post Adrianum illâ etate favit christians. Hunc enim constat ea ad civitates, ac nominatim ad Larissaeos, ad Thessalonicenses, ad Athenienses, ad universos denique Graecos scripsisse, quae in litteris ad Commune Asia leguntur, nempe accequ novi adversus christians molientur. At Marcus semper christianis iniquus fuit. Pref. ad Justin. M. Pars. 3. cap. v. num. iii.} \]
ought by no means to be slighted: he only could call Adrian his father, and was the only emperor after him who favoured the christians: for Marcus was always unfriendly to them: and it is certain that he wrote the same things to the Larisseans, and the Thessalonians, that are contained in this letter to the states of Asia, that they should not be troublesome to the christians.'

But some suspect the genuineness of this letter, as Mr. Dodwell, who says it is so christian, that he can hardly think it was written by a heathen emperor. Thirlby rejects it as a plain forgery. Dr. Jortin goes into the same opinion, saying: 'It was forged by some christian before the days of Eusebius,' and Reimar wisheth that some farther light might be obtained for clearing up the difficulties relating to it.

I think this rescript could not be written by Marcus Antoninus, who was always averse and unfriendly to the christians, as we shall see hereafter. If this letter had been written in the first year of Marcus's reign, as Valesius thought, or in the fourth of it, as Pagi and Basnage say, the christians would not have suffered such persecutions in his time, as they did in many places. Nor would there have been so many apologies presented to him, as we know there were. Nor could Melito have omitted to take notice of it. He reminds Marcus of the rescript of his grandfather Adrian, and the letter of Antoninus, his father, to several cities; much more would he have reminded him of his own letter in favour of the christians, if there had been any such thing.

As for the suspicion of forgery, I see no plain evidence of it. I do not discern the hand of a conceited and pedantic sophist; nothing but what might come from a good-natured magistrate, as Antoninus was. There had been some earth-

b Sed mihi fator suspicium esse, magisque ad mentem christianorum esse conceptum, quam illud concepturus fuerit gentilis Imperator. Diss. Cypr. xi. num. 34.

c Tot viros doctos et graves ludos fecit unus, ideoque non vaferimus, nebulo, qui hoc rescriptum confinxit—Emendatione autem nostrá dignum non censuimus figmentum ineptum et puerile. Thirlb, in Justin. M. p. 101.


e Quoniam vero ne veteres quidam sibi constant, utri imperatorum adscribenda sit; et, quamcumque teneas sententiam, difficulitates aliae obstant inexplicables; opere pretium fuerit, clariore quam factum est adhuc luce discutere dubia, ni tota illa epistola conficta quibusdam liberius judicantibus debeat videri. Reimar, in notis ad Dion. Cass. p. 1172. al. 799.

f Adversa ejus temporibus haec provenuerunt; famæ, de quâ diximus, circi ruina, terrâ motus, quo Rhodiorum et Asiae oppida conciderunt.—Quæ omninu
Quakes in Asia, and other countries not far off. The heathen people were much terrified by them, and ascribed them to the vengeance of heaven, because the Christians were numerous among them: and they had thereupon committed great outrages: of these injuries the Christians made complaints; and the emperor, in his letter to the states, pleas-antly reprimands his own people, the heathens, upon both those accounts, that is, for their timorousness, and for their cruel usage of the Christians, their neighbours: and he as agreeably commends the Christians for their intrepidity, or composure, amidst such dangers; and sends orders that they should not be any longer abused as they had been.

I think, then, that this rescript was sent by Titus Antoninus the pious, as Eusebius supposed. But, allowing that to be doubtful, we learn several things from what has now passed before us. The emperor Antoninus the pious must have had good knowledge of the Christians and their principles: he was favourable to them, and must have been well satisfied of their innocence. To him Justin presented a long and excellent apology, still extant, a most valuable remain of Christian antiquity. By Eusebius, and others, we are assured it had a good effect. And, if it had not been of some advantage to the Christian interest at that time, Justin would scarcely have thought of making any more addresses to Roman emperors: and his addressing another apology afterwards to Marcus Antoninus is an argument that he had some encouragement to it by the success of his former apology.

To Antoninus the pious applications had been made also by other Christians beside Justin: and he wrote to the La-risseans, the Thessalouians, the Athenians, and all the Greeks in general, that they should forbear to give trouble to the Christians, as such, and unless they were guilty of some offence contrary to the welfare of society and the peace of the Roman government: by which we must understand, at least, that he confirmed the rescript of Adrian, sent to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. All this we are fully assured of from the apology of Melito, presented to Marcus Antoninus: for none can admit the suspicion of an attempt to impose upon so knowing and so


Some more observations for showing that this rescript was sent by Antoninus Pius, will appear near the end of the chapter of Marcus Antoninus, in what is there called the Summary of the Argument.
great a man as that emperor. By all which we may be as-
sured that Antoninus the pious was persuaded of the inno-
cence, both of the principles and of the conduct of the
christians; which are largely insisted upon in the apology
of Justin Martyr.

And, as it was the design of all the apologies at that time
to clear the christians from the charge of the crimes imputed
to them, it is reasonable to believe that all the other apo-
logies from different persons and several countries, agreeing
in their accounts, they concurred together to give full satis-
faction to this good and vigilant emperor, Antoninus the
pious, for that is one part of his character: he was inquisi-
tive about every part of his government: ⁴ He knew all
the concerns of the empire, and of all the people subject
to him, as distinctly as he did those of his own family. Nor
were the least things overlooked by him: which is
sometimes mentioned to his advantage, and at other times as
a fault, and almost the only fault that could be charged
upon him, that he was too inquisitive, and prying into little
things. That temper however must have been of use to
divers people; and, upon many occasions, this in particular.
By most men at that time the christians and their affairs
were despised, as unworthy of regard: and it is one great
concern of all the christian apologists, to excite the attention
of the Roman emperors, and the Roman governors of pro-
vinces, and of all other people in general, and to induce
them to inquire and examine, and take cognizance of the
christian cause, and their affairs: which, as it seems, this
emperor had done, to his own credit and their benefit.


⁵ Quoque vero dubito, Xiphilinum loqui generatim, et intelligere accuratum et diligens studium, in quicumque re, ctiam minimà et obvià, inquirendi et rimandi id quod verum recturnique esset. Reimar. ad Xiphilin. loc. modo citat. not. k.
CHAP. XV.

THE EMPEROR MARCUS ANTONINUS THE PHILOSOPHER.

SECTION I.

I. His time and character. II. The passage in his Meditations concerning the christians, with notes and observations.

I. MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS, or Marcus Antoninus, surnamed the Philosopher, was born in the reign of Adrian, the twenty-sixth day of April, in the year of Christ 121. He succeeded Antoninus the pious on the second day of March in the year of our Lord 161, and died on the seventeenth day of March in the year 180.

The virtues of his private and public life have been greatly commended and highly celebrated: but, if a comparison were to be made between Antoninus the pious and Antoninus the philosopher, I should be disposed to give the preference to the former.

Aristides the sophist, in his panegyric upon this emperor, says, that 'before he came to the empire, he restrained and prevented many disorders and mismanagements in the government of public affairs:' and insinuates that 'great injuries were done, and many things carried with violence and insult.' But, as Tillemont observes, 'Aristides seems to have aimed to decry the government of Antoninus, in order to extol that of Marcus. But,' as he adds, 'the sophist therein showed greater regard to the laws of oratory than of truth. For, according to historians, Marcus did not at all excel Antoninus in moderation and the care of the public.'

Some other learned men have formed a like judgment concerning this emperor.


c M. Aurele. art. iv.

d Vide vero hic infelicitatem temporum Marci, quo nullus Imperatorum justior et sapientior putatur! Princeps minime malus philosophicis meditatio- nibus animum pacebat, non admodum curious corum, quae in imperio gerentur. Interea magistratus impune voluntati sua obsequiabantur, quasse
Marcus, however, deserves great commendation upon many accounts. Tillemont, having given a history of the rude and disagreeable treatment which he received from Herodes Atticus, and Marcus’s obliging behaviour to him afterwards, adds: ‘There are many christians, whom this mildness of a heathen emperor will condemn in the last day.’

In the year 175, Avidius Cassius rebelled, and set up himself for emperor, and was soon defeated. Marcus’s clemency toward the family and the accomplices of Avidius is universally allowed to have been very extraordinary, and even above all commendations. Upon that, and many other occasions, he showed that he was master of himself, and had a great government of his temper.

But, to be a little more particular concerning this renowned emperor and much admired heathen philosopher: He was a youth of great expectations, and was beloved by Adrian from his childhood. That emperor introduced him into the college of the priests, called Sali, at the age of eight years. And Marcus made himself complete master of all the rules of that order, so as to be able to discharge himself all the functions of the priesthood.

He was early initiated in the principles of philosophy, and put under the tuition of the most able masters of the several sects. At the age of twenty years he put on the venerari videbantur leges, turpissime violabant. Moshem. de Reb. Christianorum, p. 244. Dubitavi dudum, tantus num fuerit Marcus, quantus esse pleisque omnibus et olim visus est, et hodie videtur—Bonum virum fuisse, valde licet superstitosum, dubitare nolo; boni vero imperatoris et principis nomen an mereatur, dubito. Id. ibid.

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habit of a philosopher, and wore their cloak. He also practised austerities, so far as to lie upon the bare ground; and was difficulty persuaded by his mother to make use of a mattress, with a slight coverlid. When emperor, he sometimes went on foot to the schools of Apollonius and Sextus, stoic philosophers. I do not know whether it be worth mentioning, that he placed in his private chapel golden statues of his deceased masters, and honoured them by visiting their sepulchral monuments, offering there sacrifices, and strewing upon them flowers.

Zonaras, entering upon the history of a war in Germany, to be taken notice of by us hereafter, says that Marcus was weak in body; and so intent upon his studies, that he went to school after he was emperor, to hear several philosophers, and others, whom he there names. Dion Cassius speaks to the like purpose, and Zonaras seems to have copied him: but, by the place where it is brought in, it seems to have been the intention of Zonaras to insinuate that the great difficulty into which Marcus was brought, in the war with the Quadi, was owing to his want of military skill, he having been so much taken up with philosophical studies.

Before he entered into the war with the Marcomans, and other people in Germany, he performed illustrations for the city of Rome, and called together priests from all quarters to offer sacrifices, and adopted even foreign rites; for the doing of all which things his departure from Rome was delayed. He seems to have been sometimes ridiculed for the great number of his sacrifices.

Marcus had faith also in dreams: and says himself that duodecimum annum ingressus, habitum philosophi assumisit, et deinceps tolerantiam, quum studeret in pallio, et humi cubaret, vix autem matre agentc instrato pollibus lectulo cubaret. Id. cap. 2. — Kai to semeio kai to apos epideymias, kai osa topoantai tis Ellinikis aghieis exomena. De Reb. suis, l. i. sect. 6.

a Usus est et Apollonio Chalcedonio Stoico philoso. Tan tum autem studium in co philosophiae fuit, ut adsitum jam in imperatoriam dignitatem tamen ad domum Apollonii discendi causâ veniret. Capit. cap. 3.


c Tantum autem honoris magistris suis detulit, ut imagines eorum aures in lanario habaret, ac sepulchra eorum aditus hostis, floribus semper honoraret. Capit. cap. 3.

d Zon. Tom. 2. p. 297.

e Dio. l. 71. sub in.


f Marci illius similis Caesaris, in quem id acceperim dictum. Oi leivouc boic Mavorc to Kaisar. 1 An ev nikhug, ici wev apoamboea. Amm. Marcell. l. 25. cap. 4.

g To de onuvratou bovthama eovthina, alla te, kai ws mu ytvouc aima, kai mu olugina. De Reb. suis, l. i. sect. ult.
he had thereby learned remedies for staying his spitting of blood, and for curing a dizziness in his head.

Of Antoninus his predecessor, and father by adoption, he says, 'he was religious without superstition'; and, in another place, that 'he was not a superstitious worshipper of the gods.' Marcus therefore knew that religion and superstition were different, and that there might be one without the other. Whether he was so wise as to separate them, may be partly discerned from what we have now seen.

II. There is still remaining a work of this emperor in twelve books, which we generally call his Meditations. They must have been put together at several times as he had leisure. However some have computed that they were composed before the year 175.

In the eleventh book of that work there is an observation which I shall now transcribe, and place here.

'What a soul is that which is prepared, even now presently, if needful, to be separated from the body, whether it be to be extinguished, or to be dispersed, or to subsist still. But this readiness must proceed from a well weighed judgment, not from mere obstinacy, like the Christians. And it should be done considerately, and with gravity, without tragical exclamations, and so as to persuade another.'

In the English translation, published at Glasgow in 1742, the same passage stands thus: 'How happy is that soul which is prepared either to depart presently, or to be extinguished, or dispersed, or to remain along with it! But let this preparation arise from its own judgment, and not from mere obstinacy, like that of the Christians: that you may die considerately, with a venerable composure, so as even to persuade others into a like disposition, and without noise and ostentation.' p. 259, 260.

Upon this passage Dr. Jortin has a remark which is to this purpose: 'The emperor Marcus was prejudiced against the Christians; and in his own book, xi, 3, censures very unreasonably what he ought to have approved—this readiness and resolution to die for their religion.'

Certainly that remark is very just, and I think very mild; for, if I were to allow myself to speak freely, I should say

1 Marcus Antoninus: his passage concerning the Christians. 135

2 Καὶ ὁς θεωρήσεις χωρίς εὐπάραγμας. Ib. l. 6. sect. 30.
3 Καὶ το μνήμε πιν θεωρεῖται. Ib. l. 1. sect. 16.
4 Ta μελαντον. De Rebus suis. 5 See Tillemont, Marc. Aurele. art. 28.
5 Οὐ εἰσίν ἔρυμος, ἔτομος, εἰς ἀπόλυσθαι δὴ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ
ητοί οἰεσθήρα, η σκέασθηναι, η συρρικάν. Το ἐν έτομιν ἔνατα, ἕνα ἀπο ἑάνης
κράτος ἀρχηγα, μὴ κατά φυλὴν παραταιν, ὡς αἱ χρήσιμοι ἀλλα κλονοσεμνη, καὶ
σύμων, καὶ ὄρατα καὶ κλονο πείσα, ατραγωνώλ. L. xi. sect. 5.
6 Discourses concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion, p. 57.
that this is the basest reflection upon the christians that I remember to have met with among all their old enemies. To say it is unbecoming a gentleman, and an emperor, is to say nothing. It is insensibility and inhumanity—in a word, stoicism. It is the worse, as it comes from a magistrate; who, if he had been pleased to send proper orders to the officers under him, and particularly to the governors of provinces, he might have delivered the christians from that trial which is here supposed.

It may seem strange to some that such a man as Marcus Antoninus should pass any censure upon the christians' fortitude. One would rather think that, as a stoic, he should have admired and commended their resolution: but it may be accounted for.

1. The christians refused to join in the common worship of the heathen deities: and they were likewise very free in their reflections upon the philosophers.

2. They outdid the stoics themselves in patience under all kinds of sufferings. The women and children and common people among the christians had in a short time shown more examples of true fortitude, than the stoics had done since the origin of their sect.

3. Once more. This emperor was a bigot in religion and philosophy: whereas bigotry in any one thing will have bad effects, and make the best tempers act contrary to the laws of equity upon some occasions.

It will not be thought that I speak with too much severity, if we examine the several particulars of this passage; which I now intend to do; and afterwards I shall mention some corollaries.

(I.) Marcus's expressions denote great uncertainty

b Nisi constaret, Stoicorum doctrinam, cui M. Aurelius addictus erat, plenam fusisse repugnantis, quod singulari opere ostendit Plutarchus, mirum esset mortis contemptorem his detrare, qui eam despiciebant. Atque non licuit, Philosopho præsertim, in aliis damnare quæ in se et suis probaret. Cleric. H. E. ann. 165. n. iv.


d Nostrorum autem (ut de viris taceam) pueri, et mulierculae, tortores suos taciti vincunt; et exprimere illis semetips nec ignis potest. Eant Romani, et Mutio gloriantur aut Regulo—Ecce sexus infirmus, et frigilis eas dilacerari se toto corpore, utique perpetitur, non necessitate, quia licet vitare, si vellet, sed voluntate, quia confidunt Deo. Hæc est vera virtus, quam philosophi quoque glorabundis, non re, sed verbis inanibus jactant: disserentes, nihil esse tam congruens viri sapientis gravitati, atque constantia, quam nullis terroris de sententiae proposito posse depelli, &c. Lactant. Instit. l. 5. cap. 13.

e Nesciebant enim [Stoici] an qui corpore migrassent, animi extingueren- tur, vel dispergerentur, vel permanerent, quod cum icta haberet, nemini poterant probare virtutem. Numinis gratam, vitium contra invision esse; cum
concerning a future state of existence; being doubtful whether the soul, when separated from the body, should be ‘extinguished, or be dispersed, or still subsist.’ He speaks again to the like purpose elsewhere: ‘To what purpose all this?——You have made your voyage, and arrived at your port. Go ashore; if into another life, the gods are there: if into a state of insensibility, you will be no longer distracted by pains and pleasures, nor be in subjection to this mean vessel.’

(2.) The christians had a strong persuasion and good hopes of another life,—a life of happiness without end for all good and virtuous men. No men therefore could be ready to leave this world upon better grounds than they, when they could no longer live here with innocence.

(3.) Marcus ascribes the christians’ willingness to die to obstinacy; and says that men ought to resign life only ‘upon a well formed judgment, and considerately.’

Did not the christians die in that manner? Should they have denied themselves to be christians, when they were brought before Pliny, or other governors, and were examined by them? Should they then have told a lie, and so redeem their lives by falsehood, or by worshipping images contrary to their religion?

bonos et malos nullo discrimine neglexerat.—Quod si numen talia non curaret, quid opus erat homines vel ipsius vitae jacturâ virtutem colere, et vitio adversari?—Exclamationi ergo, aut interrogationi M. Aurelii, ‘qualis est anima, quae perata est, si jam e corpore migrare, aut extingui, aut dispersi, aut per manere oportet? ’ respondebimus: Misera et infelix, quæ nescit, quid a summo Numine expectare virtus possit, aut vitium timere. Quod ferme perinde est, ac ignorare, an sit Deus, &c. Cleric. ubi supr. num. v.  

De Rebus suis, l. 3. sect. 3.

8 Verum inquit, Philosophus mortem spernit ‘proprio judicio, conside rate.’—Audio. Sed annon christianus quisvis mortem ferebat ‘ex proprio judicio,’ qui cinctus Ethnicius furentibus, aut ridentibus, et a morte revocantibus, si modo Diis sacra faceret, moriebatur tamen, quod mentiri nollet, nec ore, nec factis; quia nefas putabat, veritatem ejurare. Annon considerate satis, qui deprehensâ Ethnici religionis falsitate, et veritate ejus, quam Christus et apostoli docuerant, sese dudum pararat ad mortem, siquid vetari non posset, sine abnegatione veritatis?—Fac Epicureos fuisse rerum potitos, et furore quodam actos ad tribunalia sua traxisse Stoëcos, omnibus suppsiciis propositis et morte ipsâ intentatâ, nisi Zenoni, Cleanthi, Chrysippo, cæterisque sectâ conditoriis maledivissent, negassentque se iis adseriri, et facerent quæcumque principes sectae veteuerant, cum seirent se mentiri, et improbe facere; an se Stoëci familiae defensoribus, et mortem fortiter obeuntibus, exprobassæ M. Aurelius παραταύρι; Inno vero summopere eos laudasset, ut laudati sunt apud Ethnicios omnes, qui maluerunt mori, quam qui dumquam facere, quod inhonestum et impium judicabant. Si voluerat Socrates contra animi sententiam loqui, et mentiri, ac se ad pedes judicium abjicere, vitae sue sine dubio consuluisse; sed ejus absolutionem aeterna infama esset consecuta. Quod de caeteris omnibus, qui virtutis causâ mortui sunt, dictum putâ. Cleric. ib. num. iv.
to their judgment, and the principles which they had embraced after serious inquiry and consideration? Were not all wise and honest men persuaded that a man ought to die rather than do what he thought evil and dishonourable. Celsus,\(^h\) who wrote against the christians, says as much. Was there any way for a christian’s escaping, but by criminal hypocrisy and dissimulation, when statues of heathen deities were set before him to be worshipped by him; or when he was required to revile Jesus Christ? They had taken up their principles upon consideration; and it was reasonable to adhere to them at all times.

(4.) Marcus says must be done ‘considerately.’

The christians took up their principles upon consideration. When they first embraced them they could not but see that, as the world then stood, the making a profession of them was very likely to expose them to many sufferings. And therefore, when\(^i\) they first resolved upon christianity, they must have resolved to adhere to it whatever it should cost them. By this means they were always ready to die, upon mature consideration, whenever the spite of their ignorant and prejudiced neighbours worked so far against them. And a constant readiness for a violent death, in a good cause, is the most glorious fortitude that can be imagined in a human creature.

(5.) He says it should be done ‘gravely, without tragical exclamations.’

Upon this Le Clerc well observes, that ‘it\(^k\) is not a little strange that a stoic, whose writings are full of affectation,

\(^{h}\) cap. 1. 8. p. 421. al. num. 66.

\(^{i}\) Nos quidem neque expavescimus, neque pertimescimus ea quae ab ignorantibus patimur; cum ad hanc sectam utique suscepta conditione ejus pacti venerimus, ut etam animas nostras auctorati in has pugnas accedamus, ea, quae Deus repromittit, consequi optantes, et ea, quae diversae vitae comminatur, patimentes, Tertull. ad Scap. cap. i.

\(^{k}\) Verum et hoc mirum est, hominem Stoicum, et cujus liber plenus est exaggerationibus vere tragicis, hoc est, tumidis et fictis, exprobare christianis, quod \(\alpha\pi\\rho\gamma\iota\omega\nu\rho\iota\varepsilon\) non morerentur. Atqui nihil illi exaggerabant, cum vitam Deo repentendi, potius quam ab eo deficerent, libenter reddendam profitebantur. —Si qui, quod interdum factum negare nolim, credulitatem suppliantum, propinquitate mortis, speque proximae beatitatis, extra se rapit, quaedam proferebant, quae supra vulg. Ethnici captum erant, an tribuebant haec sunt \(\pi\varphi\alpha\tau\alpha\varepsilon\)i, obstinationi, vel perturbationi? Imo eo aut vitio, aut adfectu, vel maxime laborabat, qui innocentes excarnificatos occidebant, quod facere nolent, quae illicita, et a Deo improbati, pro certo statuebant. Cleric. ib. ann. 165. n. iv.
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If they then called upon God and Christ; if they then ex-

horted their brethren to constancy and perseverance; if

they expressed a contempt of this world, and its fading en-

joyments; if they spake in sublime strains of the felicities

of the world to come; in a word, if they triumphed in death,
as some of them did, there is nothing in it absurd or unreas-

sonable; nothing but what is truly admirable: the heathen

people around them wanted nothing to make them sensible

of it but a better knowledge of the christian principles;
such as a persuasion of the boundless power and goodness

of the one God, Creator of all, and a well-grounded expec-
tation of eternal life.

(6.) And lastly, Marcus says, "it should be done so as to

persuade another."

This alone, if there were nothing else, would be sufficient
to satisfy us that Marcus was influenced by prejudice in his
judgment concerning the christians. It has been often said,
and very truly, that the blood of the martyrs was the seed
of the church. And some early believers have themselves
assured us, that they were led to inquire into the princi-
ples of the christians when they observed their manner of
dying; and that this was the first means of their own con-
version. The like is often testified by christian writers,
who lived when the followers of Jesus were in suffering cir-
cumstances, and martyrdoms were frequent. But if there
were nothing of this kind in the remains of ancient christian
authors, since there continued to be christians in the world,
and they suffered in every age, and were not extinguished,
but remained and increased, as heathen writers themselves

1 Nec quidquam tamen proficis exquisitor queaque crudelitas vestra. Ille-
cebra magis est sectae. Plures efficimus, quoties metinurus a vobis. Semen est

2 Και γαρ αυτός εγώ, τος Πλατωνος χαραν διάμαση, διαβαλλόμενος
akious Xristianos, ους δε αφοβίς προς θανατόν, και παντα τα αλλα νομίζομενον
θόβωρα, ευνοον αἀνάντιον ειναι εν καις και φληγόνη υπαρχειν αυτος. Justin.
M. ap. 2. p. 50. a. al. p. 96. num. 12.

3 Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris et mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in
Tusculanis, ut Seneca in fortuitis—Nec tamen tantos inveniunt verba discipulos,
quanto christiani factis docendo. Illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis,
magistra est. Quis enim non contemplatione ejus concutitut ad requirendum,
quid intus in re sit? Quis non, ubi requisitit, accedet? Ubi accessit, pati ex-
optat? Tertull. ap. cap. 50.

Nec tamen deficiet haec secta, quam tune magis edificari scias, cum eadi
videtur. Quisquis enim tantam tolerantiam spectans, ut aliqou scrupulo per-
cussus, et inquirere accenditur, quid sit in causa: et ubi cognovert veritatem,
acknowledge; we may depend upon it that many did die so as to persuade others; their brethren were animated to patience and courage by their example; and unbelievers were awakened, and excited to serious examination, till they were convinced and converted.

As I have gone along, I have transcribed in the margin several remarks upon this passage of Marcus Antoninus from Le Clerc’s Ecclesiastical History. I would also refer to Mr. Mosheim, in whom likewise divers just observations may be seen upon the same.

But perhaps it will be said that the christians gave cause for these censures by their too great forwardness, and by offering themselves to death.

To which I would answer. First, Instances of this kind were not very common, and they were disliked and condemned by the wiser sort. Some such instances there were during the persecution in Asia when Polycarp suffered. They are particularly mentioned, and censured in the epistle of the church of Smyrna, which gives an account of the martyrs in that city. And St. Cyprian, in his last letter to his people at Carthage, in the persecution of Valerian, in the year 258, exhorts them to a quiet and peaceable behaviour, but not to offer themselves to the magistrates; forasmuch as the Lord had not required it of us; but to confess his name when called upon so to do. And he reminds them that this had always been his doctrine. Secondly, There could be no instances of this kind but in times of persecution, and when there were magistrates who were disposed to inflict death upon men as christians. Thirdly, The most remarkable instances of this kind happened when the persecution was violent. So it was in the case before taken notice of by us. When Arrius Antoninus, proconsul of Asia, furiously persecuted the christians in that country, a great number of them, in some city where he was, came before his tribunal, telling him he might do with them as he pleased, for they were not afraid to die. In like manner Scapula, proconsul of Africa, persecuted the christians with great severity. Some he ordered to be burnt alive;

* Vos autem, fratres carissimi, pro disciplinâ, quam de mandatis dominicis a me semper acceputis,—quidem et tranquillitate tenete: ne quisquam vestrum aliquem tumultum de fratibus moveat, aut ultero se Gentilibus offerat. Apprehensus enim et traditus loqui debet: siquidem in nobis Dominus positus illâ hora loquatur, qui nos confiteri magis voluit quam profieri. Ep. 81. al. 83. p. 239. Oxon.
* See p. 57.
* Pro tantâ innocentiâ, pro tantâ probitate, pro justitiâ, pro pudicitiâ, pro
though that was a punishment seldom inflicted even upon traitors, or the worst of criminals. Upon that occasion Tertullian⁴ puts him in mind of the forementioned conduct of the christians in Asia: and, the more to alarm him, tells him the like might happen again, and at Carthage itself. And what would you do, says he, if you should see the christians of that place present themselves in a body before your tribunal? What would you do with so many thousands of each sex, of every age, of every condition, and some of the most honourable persons of the city, some of them your friends, or friends and relations of your friends and counsellors?

After all, it must be acknowledged that the christians⁵ readiness to die, and their intrepidity in death, were sometimes perverted to their disadvantage. Nor do I think that the primitive christians were exempted from human frailty. Nevertheless I apprehend that the exceptions and reflections of this kind were chiefly owing to the prejudices and ignorance of misguided and sensual men, who minded little or nothing but the affairs of this present life; who did not consider the importance of religious truth, nor the great virtue and value of integrity, and a steady regard to the convictions of our own minds. So⁶ says Lactantius. And Tertullian has spoken to this point excellently at the conclusion of his Apology. He⁷ mentions Mutius, Regulus, fide, pro veritate, pro Deo, vivi cremamur; quod nec sacrilegi, nec hostes publici, verum nec tot majestatis rei pati solent. Ad Scap. cap. 4. p. 88. A.

¹ Vide tantum, ne hoc ipso, quod talia sustinuens, ad hoc solum videamur erumpere, ut hoc ipsum probemus, nos hece non timere, sed utro vocare. Arrius Antoninus in Asia cum persequetur instanter, omnes illius civitatis christiani ante tribunalia ejus se, manu facta, obtulerant.—Hoc si placuerit et hic fieri, quid facies de tantis millibus hominum, tot viris ac feminis, omnis sexitis, omnis ætatibus, omnis dignitatis, offerentibus se tibi? Quantis ignibus, quantis gladiis opus erit? Quid ipsa Carthago passura est decimanda a te, cum propinquis, cum contubernales suos illic unusquisque cognoverit, cum viderit illic fortasse et tui ordinis viros et matronas, et principales quase personas, et amicorum tuorum vel propinquos vel amicos. Parce ergo tibi, si non nobis: parce Carthagini, si non tibi. Ad Scap. cap. 5.


⁵ Sed illi malitiae et furore cecantur, ne videant; stultosque arbitrantur esse, qui cum habeant in suâ potestate supplicia vitare, cruciari tamen, et emori malunt. Lact. l. 5. cap. 13.

⁶ O gloriam licitam, quia humanam, cui nec presumpstio perdita, nec persuasio desperata reputatur, in contemptu mortis et atrocitatis omnimoda; cui tantum pro patria, pro imperio, pro amicitia pati permisserit est, quantum pro Deo non licet. Et tamen illis omnibus et status defunditis, et imagines inscribitis—quantum de monimentis potestis scilicet, prestatiss et ipsi quodam-
Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

...and others, whose resolution had been admired and ap-
plauded by the Greeks and Romans. And indeed,' says
he, 'with you it is reputable to die for our country, for the
commonwealth, for a friend; but to die for God and truth
is reckoned reproachful and dishonourable?'

Certainly the first christians, who were men as we are,
and had the same sensations with us, were not weary of life,
nor did they desire death: but* as men engaged in a war-
fare, hazard their lives for the sake of victory, and the ad-
vantages of it; so the christians of those times, desirous to
approve themselves to God, and hoping for the reward of
eternal life, were ready, if required, to lay down their lives
rather than deny Christ and the truths which they had re-
ceived from him.

The corollaries to be drawn from this passage are several;
but they will be all easily admitted after what has been al-
ready said.

1. At that time the christians were well known in the
world. 2. The emperor Marcus was well acquainted with
them, and had often heard of their sufferings. He knew
that many christians had died in testimony to their princi-
pies, and as christians; and that the sufferings which they
had undergone were in common estimation very grievous.
3. He knew, and here acknowledgeth, their resolution and
steadiness in the profession of their principles for which
they suffered death. This he calls obstinacy. 4. He had
heard of their cheerfulness in death and in all the sufferings
which they had met with. This he endeavours to disparage
by comparing it to the declamations of tragedies. 5. He
was also persuaded of their innocence, or freedom from pro-
miscuous lewdness and other gross crimes in their assem-
blies, with which they were charged by some. If he had
known and believed that they practised such things, he
would have expressed himself very differently. 6. He de-
spised and scorned the christians as a mean, illiterate, and
unphilosophical set of men. 7. He was not at all inclined
modo mortuis resurrectionem: hanc qui veram a Deo sperat, si pro Deo pati-

* Ergo, inquitis, cur querimini, quod vos insequamur, si pati vultis; cum
diligere debitis, per quos patimini quod vultis? Plane volumus pati, verum eo
more, quo et bellum nemo quidem libens patitur, cum et trepidare, et pericli-
tari sit necesse; tamen et praeliatur omnibus viribus, et vincens in praeli gaudet,
qui de praelo quercatur, quia et gloria consequitur et praelatum. Precium
est nobis, quod provocemur ad tribunalia, ut illis sub discriminate capitis pro
veritate certemus. Victoria est autem, pro quo certaveris, obtinere. Ea victo-
toria habet et gloria placendi Deo, et praelam vivendi in aeternum. Ter-
tullian. Apol. c. 50. p. 44. B. C.
to interpose in their behalf, either for preventing or for mitigating their sufferings. And hereafter we shall see that, when application was made to him by a governor for direction how to treat some men, who had been accused before him as christians, and were in his custody, this emperor sent orders that 'they should be put to death,' unless they renounced the christian doctrine. Once more, 8, I must beg leave to observe that we can hence infer, that the christian scriptures were as yet held in contempt by the wise and great men of this world. The books of the New Testament were all published and joined together in two codes or volumes, one, called Gospels, the other Epistles, before Marcus Antoninus was born: and they were in the hands of great numbers of his subjects, and were highly prized, and diligently read and studied by them. But he had never read them, nor perhaps ever seen them. They might, possibly, be well known to some of the philosophers, his masters: but they knew how to be silent and to keep their disciple in ignorance about what they did not desire he should know. Hence this great man, in the midst of light, was in darkness: he had no just apprehensions concerning a life to come.

The christian religion, considering the difficulties it had met with, and that it contained no worldly allurements, had made great progress. But it was not yet the prevailing religion. The state of things in the world had still a resemblance with what it was in the time of St. Paul: 1 Cor. i. 22, and 26. "The Jews," says he, "require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom." And, "Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called." And Jesus himself, reflecting upon the success of his ministry after having preached the heavenly doctrine with unparalleled faithfulness and zeal, and observing that they were chiefly of the meaner rank with whom it had met with a ready acceptance, expressed his acquiescence in the event, and said: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth," 'I give glory to thee, ' cheerfully acquiescing in this dispensation of thy providence,' "that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." Matt. xi. 25; Luke x. 21.
SECTION II.

OF THE PERSECUTIONS IN HIS TIME.

I. A general account of the persecutions in the reign of this emperor. II. Large extracts out of the Martyrdom of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who, with twelve others, suffered in that city in the year 167 or 168. III. The history of the martyrs at Lyons, who suffered in the year 177. IV. Remarks and observations upon the foregoing history.

I. I THINK it must be fit for me to take some particular notice of the treatment which the christians met with in the reign of this emperor, who by the ancients is always reckoned among the persecuting emperors. Eusebius\(^a\) placeth the fourth persecution under him; as does also\(^b\) Orosius, who follows him. Sulpicius,\(^c\) thinking that the christians were persecuted by Adrian, reckons Marcus's the fifth persecution.

And learned moderns seem now to be fully convinced that Marcus was unfriendly to the christians. Says Dr. Jortin: 'As to\(^d\) the emperor Marcus, with all his amiable and princely qualities, he did not love the christians, as appears from unquestionable authority, even his own book. The philosophers had probably contributed to set him against them. And his love of philosophy, and the respect which he paid to the professors of it, was excessive, and indeed sometimes ridiculous.'

Tillemont says, 'There\(^e\) were many instances of mildness in the reign of this emperor, and very few of severity, excepting against the christians, who the least deserved it.' And in another place, the same diligent writer, having put down some instances of this emperor's exactness in the rites

\(^a\) Euseb. Chr. p. 169.
\(^b\) Sed in diebus Parthici belli persecutiones christianorum, quartá jam post Neronem vice, in Asiâ et Galliâ graves precepto ejus exstiterunt, multique sancrorum martyrio coronati sunt. Oros. l. 7. c. xv.
\(^d\) Remarks upon Ecclesiastical History, Vol. ii. p. 169. See also his Discourses, p. 57
\(^e\) L'Emp. Max. Aurele. art. vii.
of the established worship, adds: 'We have taken notice of these things to show that we ought not to be surprised that a prince, reckoned so mild and equitable, should persevere in the true religion, as we know he did.'

Pagi acknowledged the same. He says that this emperor was not only averse to the christians, but persecuted them in the former part of his reign, as well as afterwards: and elsewhere he observes how grievous the persecutions were in this reign, and the reasons of it.

Mosheim says that in the time of no emperor after Nero the christians suffered more or greater calamities than under Marcus. And he ascribes this emperor's ill-will toward the christians more to the instructions of the philosophers, and the hard-hearted philosophy which he had embraced, than to his superstition.

The Benedictine editors of Justin Martyr, and other ancient Greek apologists, are likewise very sensible of this temper of Marcus. And I transcribe in the margin some of their observations, to be perused by such of my readers as are willing to cast their eyes downward.

This temper of Marcus, which, as before hinted, prevailed

Ibid. art. ii.

Ad haec Marcus non solum a christianis alienus fuit, sed etiam saepe in eos saevit, et quidem prioribus imperiiannis, quibus Lucilla Lucio Vero uxor data est. Ann. 161. n. xi.


Mala haec Imperatoris in christianos voluntas unde prodierit, nusquam memoriae proditam legitur: proelive vero conjecut est, a philosophis, quibus omnia dare solebat, inductum fuisset eum, ut christianos absurdo, rationis inopem, obstinatos, et vanos esse ducaret; ideoque quam ex lege philosophiae, quam profitebatur, justo durior esset, judicasse, satius esse recordes ejusmodi hominis delere, quam tolerare. Moshem. Ibid. p. 242. Vid. et p. 244, 245.

in every part of his reign, has appeared to me the more strange, considering how favourable to the christians Adrian was, and also his predecessor Antoninus. Nor can we forbear to observe that Marcus must have been well acquainted with the conduct of his predecessor, and the reasons of it: for it was the custom of that good emperor Titus Antoninus, to determine nothing concerning the provinces, or any other affairs of the public, without first consulting his friends, of whom Marcus was one. Moreover during the whole time of his reign, Marcus lived in the same palace, and was almost constantly with him. As those two emperors were so intimate, and Marcus had so long experienced the favour of his predecessor and father Antoninus, it is truly somewhat strange that their temper and conduct toward the christians should have been so different.

One thing we plainly hence discern, that Marcus was not unacquainted with the christians. He must have often heard of them, and of their sufferings, and of the apologies made by them. The christians were well known to Adrian and to Antoninus the pious, his grandfather and father, and they had been favoured by them. Marcus therefore must have had good knowledge of them, and have been acquainted with their circumstances, many years before he came to the empire himself.

We have seen how learned men ascribe Marcus's aversion to the christians to his attachment to philosophy, and the rites of the established deities. Nor is that judgment formed without probability. Nevertheless I have observed a passage at the beginning of this emperor's meditations, which may perhaps deserve to be taken notice of here; 'From Diognetus,' says he, 'I learned not to busy myself about vain things, nor to give credit to wonder-workers, and stories of incantations, and expelling demons, and such like things.'

Possibly Marcus applied the instructions of Diognetus to the history of our Saviour's miracles, and to the relations of some extraordinary works, said to have been done by christians; and he concluded the whole to be nothing but imposture. If so, he might admit of an aversion to the chris-

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\[n\] — tantumque apud eum valuit, ut nunquam quemquam sine eo facile promoverit. Capit. in Vit. M. Aurel. cap. 6.

\[o\] Παρὰ Διογνῖτι, τὸ αὐξιοσουμένου, καὶ τὸ αὐτησικον τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν περατευμονῶν, καὶ γοητῶν περὶ επιδον καὶ περὶ ἐαυτοῦς αποταμίης, καὶ τῶν τουτων λεγομενως. De Reb. suis, 1. 1. sect. 6.
tians in general, who often spoke of these things and relied much upon them.

I am indeed well satisfied that Marcus had never read, or looked into, the books of the New Testament. But if he could have been persuaded to read them, I think (provided he had in him any real goodness, and could have detached himself for a few moments from subjection to the philosophers) he would have admired the sublime morality of the gospels and the epistles; and then the miracles would have been distinguished from the pretensions of imposture, and would have been received by him as true and divine works, notwithstanding all the precautions of Diognetus: but that was not to be obtained. Marcus scorned every thing that was christian, their books as well as their persons, and looked upon all as void of merit.

But, whatever was the reason of it, we plainly perceive the christians to be under great discouragements during the reign of this emperor. In that period were published many apologies, as the second of Justin Martyr, the Apologies of Tatian, Athenagoras, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Melito of Sardis, Theophilus of Antioch. In this reign likewise, or at the beginning of that of Commodus, is to be placed the Apology of Miltiades. In this period were many martyrs; some of great distinction, as Justin, Polycarp, and the martyrs of Lyons, with their aged bishop Pothinus.

Justin, at the beginning of his second apology, presented in the early part of this reign, mentions Ptolemy, and two others, who had suffered martyrdom at Rome a short time before, by the order of Urbicus, praefect of the city, and speaks as if the persecution was general; and he suffered himself not long after in the year 166 or 167, if not sooner.

'Things that have happened very lately, but a few days ago, in your city, and which are every where done in like manner by the presidents, without reason, have compelled me to make this address to you.' And he says that, 'every where, if any Gentile was admonished or reproved for a fault, by a father, or a neighbour, or a child, or a friend, or a brother, or a husband, or a wife, he would presently have his reprover before a governor, who would be willing to inflict death upon him.'

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1 Marcus Antoninus. A.D. 161.

[Note: The text is a transcription of a passage from the works of Justin Martyr, a Christian apologist and bishop of Rome, discussing the persecution of Christians and the publication of their defenses, known as Apologies. The passage is from Justin Martyr's second Apology, where he mentions the martyrdom of Ptolemy and other Christians.]
Athenagoras is supposed to have been an Athenian. His apology was presented to Marcus and Commodus jointly, and therefore not till near the end of Marcus's reign, in the year 177 or 178. He tells the emperors that all other people experienced the benefit of their equitable government: but we, Christians, says he, because no regard is had to us, nor any provision made for us, though we do no evil, and are in all things obedient to the Divine Being, and your government, are harassed and persecuted for the name only.—We therefore entreat you to take care of us, that we may no longer be put to death by sycophants.

Athenagoras therefore does not speak of any edicts issued out against them, but only that they were neglected. They were accused by many, and put to death by the presidents, as Christians, without any crime proved against them. And the emperor took no care of them, to protect them from the abuses of their enemies. However, though Athenagoras mentions not any new edicts against the Christians, he supposed that their sufferings were not unknown to the emperor, and that they had now for a long time been carried on with his connivance and permission.

In the same reign, about the year 177, another apology was presented by Melito, bishop of Sardis or Sardes (for the name is frequently written in the plural number by the ancients.) The apology is lost: but Eusebius has preserved a large fragment of it in his Ecclesiastical History. I quoted a part of it some while ago: I now take another paragraph, which is remarkable for politeness, as well as upon other accounts.

'Pious men,' says he, 'are now persecuted and harassed throughout all Asia by new decrees, which was never done before. And impudent sycophants, and such as covet the possessions of others, taking occasion from the

1 See this work, Vol. ii. ch. xviii.
3 See before, p. 127.
4 Τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πρῶτο χριστιανοῦ, τὸν ἔδωκατα τοῦ θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων γενὸς κοινῶς εἰς χριστιανοῦν δόγμα κατὰ τὴν Αικατ. Οἱ γὰρ αἰνεῖες συκοφανταί, καὶ τῶν αἰλοτριῶν οφαίνα, τὴν εἰ τῶν διαταγμάτων ἑχοντος αφορμήν, φανερὸς λέγεσθαι, νυκτὸρ καὶ μεθεμεριαν διαρπασμώτως ταῖς μὴν αἰώκωντας—καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡδῶς φέρομεν τῇ τοιαύτῃ θανάτῳ τῷ γεγο—εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ σου μη κακία, καὶ το κακόν τοῦτο διαταγμα, ο μήδες καταπίπτον πρὸς πολεμίου, πολὺ μαλλον δομεῖθα τι, μη περιδέμεν ἡμᾶς εὐνοῦσιν λεγεσθαι. P. 147. B. C.
edicts, rob without fear or shame, and cease not to plunder those who have offended in nothing." And afterwards:

If these things are done by your order, let them be thought to be well done. For it is not reasonable to believe that a just emperor should ever decree what is unjust. And we shall cheerfully bear the reward of such a death. This request, however, we make to you, that you will first inform yourself concerning those who are engaged in this contention,' meaning the christians, 'and then judge whether they deserve death and punishment, or safety and quiet. But if this resolution and new edict, which is not fit to be enacted against barbarians and enemies, proceeds not from you, [as we hope] much more would we entreat you not to neglect us, and give us up to this public rapine.

This paragraph is very observable. Melito seems to speak of new edicts against the christians throughout Asia. Nor is it easy to contest or evade this testimony of Melito. For it may be well supposed to be only owing to prudent caution that he expresseth a doubt whether the edict, to which he refers, came from the emperor or not. Tertullian indeed says that Marcus published not any laws against the christians. But Tertullian did not know every thing that passed in the empire. There might be imperial edicts published in Gaul and Asia, which he was not acquainted with: Ruinart reckons this passage of Melito a proof that there were then imperial edicts against the christians. As does also Mosheim, whose observations upon this emperor's

X Quales leges istae, quas adversus nos soli exsequuntur impii, injusti, turpes, truces—? Quas nullus Hadrianus, nullus Pius, nullus Verus impressit. Ap. c. 5.


z Neque satis videbatur Imperatori fræna laxare hostibus christianorum, quae parent ejus injecerat. Addebat etiam edicta christianis inimica, per quae voluntas deferendi et accusandi accendi poterat. Diserte Melito in Apologiâ apud Eusebium meminit novorum in christianos edictorum in Asia pervulgatorum, unde impudentissimi homines occasionem caperent palam din noctuque grassendi. Et acerbissima fuerint haec edicta necesse est.—Tertium ergo locum sapientissimus ille Imperatorum Marcus, Philosophus ille, cujus hodie sapientiam admirari non cessamus, post Neronem et Domitiam inter vere et proprie dictos christianorum persecutores mentitur.—Velem hoc Marci edictum ad nos pervenisset—Quamquam in Melitonis loco inest aliquid, unde hujus generis atrox illud Marci edictum esset, conjecturarum facere licet. Perhibet illa, 'impudentissimos et alienarum opum cupidos delatores, lege Marci ad christians dum noctuque invadens invitari. Igitur habebat aliquid edictum hoc, quod spem ostendebat hominibus avaris et argenti cupidis ex alienis opibus suas augendi. Hoc posito, quod apudert est, credibile videri debet, ino prope certum, Imperatorem, præmio proposito, accusatores christi-
conduct toward the christians I shall place below, to be considered by such as are pleased to attend to them: who also thinks he has discovered the severity of those new edicts to which Melito refers. He supposeth that the emperor sent an edict against the christians, appointing also that the accusers and prosecutors of the christians should be entitled to their possessions, as a recompense for their zeal against them.

I should rather think there was no occasion for any edict of the emperor to put christians to death. The case seems to me to have been this. Several, perhaps many, christians had been put to death in Asia at the importunity of the common people, and by virtue of Trajan's rescript. The Roman proconsul in Asia was at a loss how to dispose of the effects and estates of those sufferers; he therefore sent to the emperor for direction in this affair. The emperor wrote back that their goods and possessions should be given to the accusers and informers. This resolution or edict, Melito says, was such as was 'not fit to be enacted against enemies and barbarians.' And he says to the emperor, 'If this edict 'be yours, we will bear the reward of such a death:' [we will endeavour contentedly to bear the loss of our goods, with which others are rewarded for accusing us, and procuring our death.] For certain, such encouragements would make prosecutions frequent; and Melito might have reason to say, as he does at the beginning of the paragraph cited by us: 'Pious men are now persecuted and harassed 'throughout all Asia.'

II. I shall take no farther notice of apologies, but immediately proceed to the martyrdoms of this reign, I shall say nothing more than I have already done of Justin," or other martyrs mentioned by him at the beginning of his second apology: but I shall give some account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, and then a large account of the martyrs at Lyons. The reasons of my doing so will be manifest hereafter. They are a necessary part of the history of this renowned emperor; and the state of christianity in this early age will be much illustrated.

The time of the martyrdom of Polycarp has been disputed. I still think, as formerly said, that he died in the year of our Lord 167 or 168. His death is placed by Eusebius, and Jerom after him, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, in


what they call the fourth persecution. Says Eusebius,\(^d\) in his Ecclesiastical History, \(^4\) Antoninus, surnamed the pious, \(\'\) being dead, he was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Verus, \(\'\) called also Antoninus, and Lucius Verus. At that time \(\'\) the persecutions being violent in Asia, Polycarp ended \(\'\) his days by martyrdom. \(\'\) Whereby, I think, Eusebius intends to intimate that there were then persecutions in several places in Asia, and not at Smyrna only.

Some while after the death of Polycarp, the christians at Smyrna sent an account of it in a letter to the christians at Philadelphia, Philomelium, and other places, who had expressed a desire to have it from eye-witnesses. The letter is to this purpose: `The\(^e\) church of God which is at Smyrna \(\'\) to the church at Philomelium; [or Philadelphia, in another copy;] \(\'\) and to all the congregations of the holy catholic \(\'\) church in every place; the mercy, and peace, and love of \(\'\) God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied. We have written to you, brethren, concerning those who \(\'\) have suffered martyrdom, and particularly concerning the \(\'\) blessed Polycarp; who by his martyrdom as it were sealed up and put an end to the persecution. After which, says Eusebius, \(\'\) before they speak of Polycarp they relate \(\'\) the sufferings of the other martyrs, describing their constancy under the torments which they endured; and how \(\'\) all who stood round them were astonished, seeing them \(\'\) scourged till their veins and arteries were laid bare, and \(\'\) even their entrails became visible; after which they were \(\'\) laid upon the shells of sea-fish, and upon sharp spikes, \(\'\) fixed in the ground, with many other kinds of torture: \(\'\) in the end they were cast to wild beasts to be devoured \(\'\) by them. They are particular in the account of the generous Germanicus, who, being corroborated by the divine grace, overcame the fear of death implanted in the nature of men. For when the proconsul advised him to think of \(\'\) his youth, and to spare himself, and not throw away his \(\'\) life in his flourishing age, he was not at all moved thereby. But, as they say, he enticed and stimulated the wild \(\'\) beasts to approach him, that he might be the sooner dismissed from this evil world. Presently after that glorious \(\'\) exit, the whole multitude cried out, "Away with the impious. Let Polycarp be sought for." There following \(\'\) then a great noise and tumult, and having in view the wild \(\'\) beasts and other tortures, Quintus, a Phrygian, was intimidated, and gave way; as did also some others with him,

\(^d\) H. E. l. 4. c. 14. fin. c. 15. in. p. 128.
\(^e\) Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 15. p. 128. &c.
who without a truly religious fear had rashly presented
themselves before the tribunal.—When the admirable
Polycarp heard of the demand made for him, he was not
at all disturbed, but continued to be in a firm and com-
posed temper of mind; and he resolved to stay in the city.
Nevertheless, at length he so far complied with the request
of his friends, as to retire to a country house not far off;
where he abode with a small company, spending the time
night and day in continual prayers to God, offering up
supplications for the peace of the churches throughout the
world: which indeed was his constant usage. Moreover,
three days before his apprehension, having been at prayer,
and falling asleep in the night time, he had a vision of the
pillow under his head consumed by a flame of fire. When
he awoke he related the vision to those about him, and
letting them know that he thence concluded that for the
testimony of Christ he should lose his life by fire. And
when they, who were sent out to apprehend him, were
using their best diligence to find him out, they say that
for the love of the brethren he was constrained to remove
again to another place. However, in a short time, his
pursuers, by informations given them, were led to the place
where Polycarp was. Coming thither in the evening, they
found him resting in an upper room; whence it was not
difficult for him to remove to another house; but he would
not, saying: “The will of the Lord be done.” He then
went down to the men, and talked to them in a free and
cheerful manner, and ordered meat to be set before them,
begging that they would allow him the space of one hour,
in which he might pray without disturbance. Prayer be-
ning ended, they set him upon an ass to carry him into the
city. As they were going he was met by Herod the Ire-
narch, and his father Nicetas, who took him up into their
chariot. As they sat together they endeavoured to per-
suade him, saying, “What harm is it to say, Lord Cæsar,
and to sacrifice, and so to be safe?” At first he made no an-
swer: but, when they were importunate, he said, “I will
never do what you advise.” They then began to reproach
him, and they thrust him out of the chariot so hastily, that
in getting down his leg was bruised: but he got up and
went on cheerfully, as if he had suffered no harm, till he
came to the stadium. When he was brought before the
tribunal there was a great shout of the multitude. As he
came near, the proconsul asked him if he was Polycarp.

* In the ancient Latin edition of this epistle, which may be seen in Ruinart,
and elsewhere, the proconsul’s name, near the end, is said to be Statius Qua-
Upon his confessing that he was, he endeavoured to persuade him to deny Christ, and saying: "Reverence thy age," and other like things customary with them; "Swear by the fortune of Caesar. — Repent. Say, Away with the impious." The governor still urging him, and saying: "Swear, and I will dismiss thee; reproach Christ," Polycarp then answered: "Fourscore and six years have I served him, and he has never done me any injury. How can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" The governor was still urgent, saying: "Swear by the fortune of Caesar." Whereupon Polycarp answered: "How can you desire this of me, as if you did not know who I am. Hear me then openly professing I am a christian. And if you have a mind to know the doctrine of christianity, appoint me a day and I will inform you." —The proconsul said: "I have wild beasts, and I will cast you to them unless you change your mind." But he answered: "Call for them; there can be no alteration from good to bad: but it is good to change from vice to virtue." He said again to him: "Since you do not mind the beasts, I will order you to be consumed by fire, unless you repent." Polycarp said: "You threaten me with fire which burns for an hour, and then is extinguished; but you are ignorant of the fire of the future judgment, and everlasting punishment reserved for the wicked. But why do you delay? Appoint which you please." The proconsul then sent the cryer to make proclamation thrice in the midst of the stadium: "Polycarp has confessed himself to be a christian." That proclamation having being made by the cryer, the whole multitude of the Gentiles and Jews, inhabiting Smyrna, with furious rage, and in a loud voice, cried out: "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the christians, the destroyer of our gods, who teacheth all men not to sacrifice, nor to worship them." Having uttered those words, they cried out, and requested Philip the Asiarch to let out a lion upon Polycarp. He said he could not do that, because the amphitheatrical shows of wild beasts were over. Then they cried out, with one consent, that Polycarp should be burnt alive. Which was no sooner said than done; all immediately joining together in bringing wood, and dried branches of trees, from the shops and the baths: the Jews also, according to their custom, assisted; who is mentioned by Aristides the sophist, as proconsul of Asia. And Valesius hence argues that Polycarp suffered in the seventh year of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, or the year of Christ 167.
ing with the greatest forwardness. When the pile was made ready, he unclothed himself, and un tied his girdle, and endeavoured to pull off his shoes himself, which for a long time he had not done before; the faithful performing such offices for him, and that not only since he became grey-headed, but in a more early age: such was the venera tion in which he had been long held for the sanctity of his life! Now all things being prepared and put in order for the pile, when they were about to nail him to the stake, he said: "Let me be as I am. He that enables me to bear the fire, will enable me also to remain unmoved within the pile, without your fastening me with nails." They there fore did not nail him, but only bound him. He then offered up a prayer to God; which he concluded, saying aloud, Amen. Then the officers who had the charge of it, kindled the fire. But Polycarp's body not being so soon consumed as expected, the people desired that the confector should be called for, and run him through with a sword. The faithful were now very desirous to have his body delivered to them: but some there were who moved Nicetas, father of Herod, to go to the governor to prevent his giving the body to the believers, lest, as they said, they should leave him that was crucified, to worship this man. This they said at the suggestion of the Jews, who also dili gently watched us, that we might not carry off the body; little considering that we can never forsake Christ, who has suffered for the salvation of all men. Him we worship as the Son of God. The martyrs we love as the disciples and imitators of the Lord. The centurion therefore, perceiving the perverseness of the Jews, caused the body to be brought forth, and burnt it. We then gathered up his bones, and deposited them in a proper place. This is our account of the blessed Polycarp, who, with twelve others from Philadel phia, suffered martyrdom at Smyrna: or, according to another reading, 'who, together with those of Philadelphia, was the twelfth who suffered martyrdom at Smyrna.' It may be here asked by some what was the death which Polycarp endured? I answer, he was burnt alive. Some who were cast to wild beasts were torn and mangled, but not killed out-right by them: their death was completed by the officer called confector, who thrust them through with a sword, or some other weapon with which he was armed. So it now was with Polycarp: he was burnt alive. But by some means it so happened that he lived a good while in the pile. For which reason it was determined
that he should be despatched with a sword. Nor was there any exception made to that by the multitude: they even desired it to secure his death.

Thus died the excellent, the aged and venerable Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna.

It is needless for me to make remarks which may be obvious to every reader. Polycarp, and the rest with him, suffered as Christians. It does not appear that any crime, beside that of Christianity, was proved or even imputed to them. Their innocence of great crimes, punishable by law, is manifest. If they had been known, or even suspected, to kill and eat children, and practise promiscuous lewdness in their worship, they would not have been readily discharged upon a bare verbal renunciation of their religion.

We must also be persuaded that the Christians were now well known in the world: how much soever the great men of those times might affect to seem unacquainted with them, they knew them very well. It is not conceivable that an emperor, who has any the least concern for the welfare of his people, and the peace of society, should neglect to inform himself about what is done in great cities, and in their theatres or amphitheatres. Marcus, therefore, and his courtiers, and the philosophers about him, knew very well what had now happened at Smyrna in Asia. Nevertheless he took no pains to restrain the animosity of the people.

Let me say one thing more—that the steadiness of the Christians might have induced Marcus and his courtiers to make inquiries after their scriptures, and the evidences of those principles which they so firmly believed, and by which they were supported under so grievous sufferings.

III. I shall be rather more particular in my account of the sufferings of the martyrs at Lyons, another instance of grievous persecution in the reign of the same emperor. Of the histories of their martyrdom, and of that of Polycarp as is well known, that great man, Joseph Scaliger, speaks with admiration: 'The minds of pious and devout men,' says he, 'must be so affected with them, as never to be satiated with the reading of them. For my own part I

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never met with any thing in ecclesiastical history by which
I have been so transported as by these.'

I formerly said that the history of the sufferings of
the martyrs at Vienne and Lyons is the finest thing of the kind in
ancient antiquity. The martyrdom, or passion, of Perpetua and
Felicitas, who suffered near the beginning of the third cen-
tury, in the time of the emperor Severus, is likewise affect-
ing and curious in divers respects, as was also observed for-
merly.

To relate this in the way of an extract would be to en-
ervate what is in the highest degree affecting: and moreover,
as before said, it is a necessary part of the history and cha-
acter of this emperor. I therefore intend to transcribe Eu-
sebius at length, word for word, for the most part: after
which I shall add some remarks.

Says Eusebius, in his preface to the fifth book of his Ec-
clesiastical History: 'At this time Eleutherus succeeded
Soter in the see of Rome: and it was the seventeenth year
of the emperor Antoninus; in which time the persecution
against us raged with great violence in several parts of the
world, through the enmity of the people in the cities.
What vast multitudes of martyrs there were throughout
the whole empire may be concluded from what happened
in one nation: which also have been committed to writing,
that they may be delivered to others and may be always
remembered. The whole history of these things has been
inserted in our work, of the Collection of Martyrs, of which
I here select a part.'

Eusebius then goes on in the first chapter of that book;
the country in which those things happened, of which I
am now to speak, is Gaul. In which are two great and
famous cities, Lyons and Vienne, both washed by the river
Rhone, which traverseth that country with a rapid stream.
These famous churches sent in writing an account of their
martyrs to the churches in Asia and Phrygia. I shall in-
sert their own words: 'The servants of Jesus Christ,
dwelling in Vienne and Lyons, to the brethren in Asia
and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of reemp-
tion with us, peace and grace, and glory from God the

Vol. ii. ch. xvi. 1 Vol. ii. ch. xl. 2 Μυραδάς μαρτυριών ανα την οικεμένην διαπραζμεν σωσάμω μαζί εν ενεπτιμων. Η. E. l. 5. Pr. p. 153.
3 That the persecution at Lyons, of which Eusebius here speaks, happened in the seventeenth year of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, and the year of Christ 177, was shown formerly. Vol. ii. ch. xvi.

H. E. l. 5. c. i. p. 154, &c.
Father and Jesus Christ our Lord." After a few things said in the way of preface, they begin the narration in these words: "The greatness of the affliction in these places, and the excessive rage of the people against the saints, and what the blessed martyrs have endured, we are not able to describe in words, nor put down in writing: for the enemy at the very first invaded us with the greatest violence, showing from the beginning what sore evils we were to expect. Every thing was done to exercise his ministers, and to train them to the practice of the utmost cruelty against the servants of God. We were not only excluded from houses," [of friends, as it seems,] "and from the baths and the market, but we were forbidden to appear in any place whatever. However, the grace of God fought for us against the enemy; delivering such as were weak, and setting up the pillars, which were firm and stable, and able by their patience and fortitude to withstand all the force of the enemy. They therefore came to a near combat with him, undergoing all manner of reproach and suffering. Accounting the greatest afflictions to be small, they hastened to Christ; thus showing, in fact, that "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us;" Rom. viii. 18. First then they courageously endured the insults of the multitude gathered together about them in crowds, their shouts, and blows, and draggings about, pillaging their goods, throwing of stones, confinement to their dwellings, and all such things as an enraged multitude is wont to practise against adversaries and enemies. Then, being brought into the market by the tribune and the chief magistrates of the city, they were examined before all the people; and, having made their confession, they were shut up in prison till the arrival of the president. Afterwards, when they were brought before the president, who exercised all manner of cruelty against us, Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, full of

The name of the president is no where mentioned in this epistle; but Valesius thinks he was Severus, afterwards emperor; and he thinks he was not proconsul, but the emperor's legate, or lieutenant; forasmuch as Spartan says he governed the province of Lyons in that quality. Deinde Lugdunensem provinciam legatus accepit. De Severo, c. 4. I shall add, that Dion Cassius also mentions his government at Lyons. Καὶ εὐ Λαγδονω αρχων — προσήλθε. Dion. p. 1243. Reimar. And Fr. Balduinus was of the same opinion. Interea, dum haec Romæ exercerentur, Lugdunensem provinciam legatus regebat Septimius Severus.—Non dubium est, quæ tunc illic de christianis sumpta supplicia esse dicuntur, hujus Severi imperio irrogata fuisse. Edict. Princ. Rom. de christianis. p. 97.
love toward God and his neighbour, whose course of life
also was so perfect that, though a young man, he might
deserve the character of old Zacharias, Luke i. 6. "that
he walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the
Lord blameless:" and was unwearied in the performance
of all good offices to his neighbour, being full of zeal for
God, and "fervent in spirit:" Rom. xii. 11: he being
such a one, was not able to bear these so unjust proceed-
ings against us; but, being moved with indignation, re-
quested that he might be allowed to make a defence in
behalf of the brethren, and show that nothing impious and
irreligious was done by us. But they who were near the
tribunal cried out against him, (for he was a person well
known,) and the president refused to grant his request,
though so reasonable, and asked him whether he was a
Christian. He, answering with a loud voice that he was
a Christian, was put into the number of the martyrs, and
was called the advocate of the Christians. And indeed he
had within him the advocate, the Holy Ghost, in a greater
measure than Zacharias: Luke i. 67. Which he also
showed by the abundance of his love, being willing to lay
down his own life in defence of the brethren: 1 John iii.
16. For he was and is a genuine disciple of Christ, "fol-
lowing the Lamb whithersoever he goeth:" Rev. xiv. 4.
After this, others were chosen out; and they proved to be
illustrious and well-prepared proto-martyrs; who with all
alacrity of mind accomplished the solemn confession of
martyrdom. They also were manifest who were unprepar-
ed, and unexercised, and still weak, and not able to bear
the shock of so great a combat; of whom about ten in
number fell away, causing in us great grief and un-
measurable concern, and damping the alacrity of those who
were not yet apprehended. Of whom however it must be
acknowledged that they kept company with the martyrs,
and did not forsake them though they suffered considerably
in so doing. At that time we were all in great consterna-
tion, being uncertain about the event of this confession:
not dreading the torments that might be inflicted upon us,
but apprehensive of the issue, and that some might fall in
the trial. However, from day to day such were taken up
as were worthy to supply the number of such as had gone
off: so that the most eminent men of the two churches,
and by whom good order had been settled among us, were
picked out and brought together. Moreover, some Gen-

° So confessors are called in this, and many other ancient writings, about
the same time.
tile servants of our people were apprehended. For the
governor had given public orders for making strict in-
quiries after us. They, at the instigation of Satan, and
dreading the torments which they saw the saints suffer, the
soldiers also exciting them to it, falsely charged us with
having the suppers of Thyestes, and the incestuous mix-
tures of Edipus, and other such like things, which it is
not lawful for us to mention, nor to think of, nor to believe
that they were ever done among men. These stories being
spread abroad, all men were incensed against us: insom-
nuch, that if any there were who before had been civil to
us, upon account of affinity or friendship, they were then
much offended, and exclaimed against us. And then was
fulfilled what the Lord had said, John xvi. 2; "that the
time would come when every one who killeth you will
think that he doth God service:" [or, offers to God a sa-
crifice.] After that the holy martyrs underwent such tor-
ments as are above all description; Satan doing his
utmost to make them also to say such impious things;"
[or to confess what had been declared by the heathen ser-
vants.] But the utmost excess of rage of the multitude,
and of the president, and of the soldiers, fell upon Sanctus,
deacon at Vienne; and upon Maturus, newly baptized in-
deed, yet a most valiant champion, and upon Attalus, a na-
tive of Pergamus, who always was a pillar and support of
the churches here; and upon Blandina, by whom Christ
showed that those things which among men seem mean,
base, and contemptible, are by God accounted worthy of
great honour, for their love toward him, which is evidently
manifested in great power, and not in appearance only
boasted of: 1 Cor. i. 27, 28; 2 Cor. v. 12. For when we
were all in pain for her, and especially her mistress ac-
cording to the flesh, Eph. vi. 5, (who likewise was one of
the champions among the martyrs,) lest, upon account of
the infirmity of her body, she should not be able to make
an open confession, she was furnished with such strength,
that they, who by turns tortured her all manner of ways
from morning to evening, became feeble and faint, and
acknowledged themselves overcome, there being nothing
more that they could do to her. And they wondered that
she had any breath left, her whole body having been torn

P Thyestes, as is said, ate part of his own son, whom his brother Atreus, to
be revenged on him for committing adultery with his wife, had killed, and
then dressed, and set before him at an entertainment.—Edipus, as the story
is, married his mother Jocasta, not knowing her to be so, and had children
by her.
and mangled; and declaring that any one kind of torture, used by them, was sufficient to deprive her of life, much more so many and so great. But that blessed woman and renowned champion renewed her strength in the midst of her confession: 2 Cor. iv. 16. And it was a refreshment and ease to her, and an abatement of the torments inflicted upon her, to say, “I am a christian; nor is there any wickedness practised among us.” Sanctus likewise, having in a most extraordinary manner, and beyond all human power, courageously undergone all the tortures they could invent, the wicked wretches hoping, by the continuance and greatness of their tortures, to extort from him somewhat unbecoming; [a confession of unbecoming practices among the christians] he withstood them with such resolution that he would not tell them his own name, nor his country, nor the city whence he was, nor whether he was a slave or a freeman. But to all their interrogatories he answered in the Roman tongue: “I am a christian;” that was what he declared again and again, instead of his name, and city, and country: nor did the Gentiles hear any other word from him. Upon which account the rage both of the president and the tormentors was very great. And when there was nothing more that they could do unto him, they at last clapt red hot plates of brass upon the most tender parts of his body, and his members were burnt: yet he stood firm, without yielding at all, and continued steadfast and unshaken in his confession; bedewed and strengthened with the heavenly living water which flowed out of the belly of Christ: John vii. 38. His body showed what had been done, being all over wound and scar, contracted and drawn together, having lost the external shape of a man. In whom Christ suffering, performed great wonders, defeating the enemy, and demonstrating, for an example to others, that nothing is formidable where there is the love of the Father, nor any thing painful where the glory of Christ is concerned. For when those wicked men, a few days after, began again to torture the martyr, supposing that if they should make use of the same tortures whilst his body was swelled, and his wounds inflamed, they should master him, since he could not endure to be touched by the hand; or that he would die under the tortures, which might strike terror into others; not only no such thing happened to him, but contrary to the opinion of all men, his body became erect by means of those repeated tortures, and he recovered his former shape, and the use of his limbs: so that, by the grace of Christ, the
second torture became a remedy instead of a punishment. Moreover, the devil caused one Biblias to be brought out, being one of those who had denied the faith, and whom he considered as already devoured by him; but was desirous to accumulate her guilt by compelling her to utter re-proachful things against us. And indeed she had shown herself weak and timorous: but now in the midst of her torture she recovered herself, and awaked as it were out of a profound sleep, being by these torments, which are but for a time, remedied of the everlasting torments of hell. She then contradicted the slanderous reports concerning us, saying: "How should they eat infants to whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of brute animals!" And therefore she confessed herself a christian, and was added to the number of the martyrs. But when these tyrannical measures were rendered ineffectual by Christ, through the patience of those blessed men, the devil tried other devices: such as imprisonment in dark and noisome dungeons; putting the feet into stocks and straining them to the fifth hole; and such other pains as enraged ministers, and full of the devil, inflict upon those who are shut up in prison: so that many were suffocated in their confinement, even as many as it was the will of the Lord should go out of the world in that manner, thereby showing forth his glory. But some others, who had been grievously tortured, so that it was thought they could not live, though the best methods of cure had been afforded them, continued to live in prison; deprived indeed of the help of men, but corroborated by the Lord, and strengthened both in body and mind; who also animated and comforted the rest: whilst others who were but young, and were newly apprehended, whose bodies were not accustomed to hardships, were not able to bear the inconvenience of confinement, and expired in the prison. But the blessed Pothinus, who was intrusted with the administration of the episcopal office at Lyons, being more than ninety years of age, and very weak in body, and scarcely breathing by reason of his bodily infirmity, but strengthened in mind with a desire of the martyrdom now in view, even he also was dragged to the tribunal. His body was worn out by age and distemper; but his soul yet remained in him, that by it Christ might triumph. He being brought before the tribunal by the soldiers, the city magistrates also attending, and the multitude hooting him all along with loud shouts, as if he had been Christ himself, exhibited a good testimony. Being asked by the president, "who was the
God of the christians," he answered: "If you are worthy, you shall know." After that he was dragged about in an inhuman manner, and received many blows; they who were near striking him with their hands and feet, without any respect to his age; they who stood farther off threw at him whatever came to hand: every one thinking himself guilty of an offence against religion, if he did not offer him some abuse: for thereby they thought they should avenge their gods. And when there was scarcely any breath left in him, he was cast into prison, where after two days he expired.

And now appeared a wonderful dispensation of divine providence, and the boundless mercy of Jesus Christ. It was a rare instance indeed in the brotherhood, but not beyond the power or wisdom of Christ; for they who, at their first being apprehended, had denied the faith, were also shut up in prison, and partook of the same sufferings with others; for their denial was of no benefit to them at that time. They who confessed that they really were, were imprisoned as christians, no other crime being laid to their charge; but these were confined as murderers and malefactors, and therefore underwent a double punishment: for the joy of martyrdom, the hope of the promised happiness, and the Spirit of the Father comforted those; but the conscience of the others was a torment to them, insomuch that, in their passage from the prison to the tribunal, the difference of their countenances was manifest to all. The others appeared cheerful, having in their countenances a mixture of gravity and pleasuantity. Their fetters gave them grace and comeliness, "like a bride adorned with tresses of gold, wrought with divers colours," (Psal. xlv. 10—15) having also a sweet savour of Christ, so that some thought they were anointed with terrestrial ointment. The others appeared dejected and dispirited, and covered all over with deformity. And, moreover, they were reproached by the Gentiles as unmanly and mean-spirited; having brought upon themselves the accusation of being murderers, and lost the honourable and glorious and reviving appellation [of christians].

When the rest beheld these things, they were established. And if after this any were apprehended, they presently, without any doubt or hesitation, confessed, not admitting the least thought of a diabolical suggestion. Having here interposed some things,' says Eusebius, 'they go on. Henceforward the martyrdoms were divided into all sorts: for, having platted one crown of different co-
lours, they offered it to the Father: and indeed it was fit that these generous champions, who had sustained various combats, and had gloriously overcome, should receive a glorious and incorruptible crown. Maturus then, and Sanctus, and Blandina, and Attalus, were brought to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, to be a public spectacle to the inhumanity of the Gentiles: a day for combats of wild beasts having been purposely granted upon our account. And Maturus and Sanctus did again undergo all sorts of torments in the amphitheatre, as if they had before suffered nothing at all. Or rather, having already overcome the adversary in many encounters, and being now to contend for the crown itself, they again endured in the way to it the accustomed blows of the place, and the tearings of wild beasts, and whatever else the mad multitude from all sides called for and demanded: and after all these things the iron chair, upon which, when their bodies were broiled, they yielded the offensive smell of burnt flesh. Nor were they yet satisfied, but were still more enraged, being earnestly desirous to overcome the patience of the sufferer. However, they could get nothing from Sanctus more than the confession which he had made at the first. These two therefore, (Maturus and Sanctus,) having undergone a severe combat, their life having continued a long while, they were at last slain, having been made throughout that day "a spectacle to the world," instead of all that variety which is usually exhibited in the combats of gladiators (1 Cor. iv. 9). But Blandina, having been hung upon a stake, was left for a prey to wild beasts which were let out upon her. And, as she seemed to hang upon a cross, and prayed to God earnestly, she infused great alacrity into the combatants, they seeing with their own eyes, in the person of their sister, him who was crucified for us, that he might persuade all who believe in him that all who suffer for his glory shall have everlasting communion with the living God. None of the wild beasts touching her at that time, she was taken down from the stake, and sent again to prison, being reserved for another combat; that having overcome in many encounters, she might render the condemnation of the crooked serpent inexcusable (Is. xlvii. 1); and that she might be an encouragement to the brethren, when she, who was of little account, infirm, and despicable, being clothed with the great and invincible champion, having often overcome the enemy, obtained an incorruptible crown of glory, (1 Cor. ix. 25). Now Attalus was earnestly called for by the
multitude: for indeed he was an eminent person, and by reason of the clearness of his conscience came forth as a champion prepared for the combat; for he was well exercised in the christian discipline, and was always a witness of the truth among us. He was led round the amphitheatre with a board carried before him, upon which was inscribed in the Roman tongue: This is Attalus, the christian; the people all the while expressing great indignation against him. The president, understanding that he was a Roman, commanded him to be taken away, and to be carried to the rest who were in prison; concerning whom he had sent to Cæsar, and was in expectation of an answer. That interval of time was not idly spent, nor unprofitable to them; but through their patience the boundless mercy of Christ was manifested. By the living the dead members of the church were revived. The martyrs obtained favour for those who were no martyrs. And there was great joy to the virgin mother, when she received those alive which had been cast out as dead. For by the holy martyrs many of those who had denied the faith were formed again in the womb, and had their vital heat rekindled in them, and learned to confess themselves christians; (Gal. iv. 19), and having recovered life and strength, came before the tribunal, that they might be again interrogated by the president. And God, who desirèth not the death of a sinner, being propitious to them, put into them a better disposition: (Ezek. xxxiii. 11.) The rescript of Cæsar was, That they who confessed Christ should be put to death; but that if any denied themselves to be christians they might be set at liberty. The public assembly of this place being now begun, at which there is a vast concourse of people from all parts, the president ordered the blessed martyrs to be brought before the tribunal, exposing them as a public show to the multitude. Having again interrogated them, as many as were found to be Roman citizens he ordered to be beheaded; the rest he sent to the wild beasts. But Christ was greatly glorified in those who before had denied the faith; but now, contrary to the expectation of the Gentiles, confessed themselves to be christians. They were interrogated apart, as being now to be dismissed, and set at liberty; but, making confession, they were added to the number of the martyrs. However,  

9 Επιταγάντος γαρ τη Καίσαρος, της μεν ἀποτυμπανοθηκας εἰ δὲ τινς αὐτοῖς αὐτοῖς, τῆς απολύθηκας. p. 162. D.  

1 'Should be put to death.' Ut confitentibus quidem gladio cæderentur, Vales. And see his notes, and Gataker. Miscell. cap. 46. p. 912.
they remained without, who never had the principle of faith, nor a regard to the wedding garment, not having the fear of God in them, but were sons of perdition, and by their conversation had caused the way of truth to be blasphem'd; all the rest were added to the church. And, when the question was put to them, Alexander, a Phrygian by nation, and by profession a physician, who had lived in Gaul many years, and was known to almost all men for his love of God and boldness in preaching the word, encouraged them: for he was not destitute of apostolic grace. He, standing near the tribunal, and by nods encouraging them to confess the faith, appeared to those, who stood round about the tribunal, as if he endured the pangs of childbirth. But the multitude being greatly incensed that they, who before had denied the faith, should now be admitted to make confession, cried out against Alexander as the occasion of it. Whereupon the president caused him to be set before him, and asked him who he was. He confessed himself to be a christian, the president in a great rage condemned him to the wild beasts. The day following he came into the amphitheatre, together with Attalus: for the president, to gratify the people, delivered up Attalus again to the wild beasts. Which two having undergone all the instruments of torture in the amphitheatre, which were invented to torment them, and having endured a great combat, were run through with a sword. Alexander neither sighed, nor said any thing at all, but in his heart conversed with God. Attalus, when he was set in the iron chair, and was scorched all over, and an offensive stench of burnt flesh proceeded from his body, spake to the multitude in the Roman tongue:—This, says he, is to devour men, which is your practice. As for us, we neither devour men, nor do we commit any other wickedness whatever.—Being asked what is the name of God, he answered: God has not a name as men have. After all these, on the last day of the shows, Blandina was again brought in with a young man named Ponticus, about fifteen years of age; who also had been every day successively brought in to see the sufferings of the others. Now they were required to swear by their idols; but, as they remained firm, and set their gods at nought, the multitude was greatly incensed against them, so that they had no compassion on the age of the young man, nor any respect for the sex of the other; but exposed them to all manner of sufferings, and

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5 Και γας τον Αττάλον, τω σχεδιω χαριζομένον, ο ήγεμων εξεδωκε παλιν προς θημα. p. 163. C.
'made them go through the whole circle of tortures, at times calling out to them to swear, without being able to effect it. For Ponticus, animated and established by his sister, as the Gentiles also perceived, after having courageously endured every kind of torment, expired. But the blessed Blandina, the last of all, having, like a good mother, encouraged her children, and sent them before her victors to the king; after having again measured over the same course of combats that her sons had passed through; hastened to them, rejoicing and exulting at her departure, as if she had been invited to a wedding supper, and not cast to wild beasts. After she had been scourged, after she had been exposed to wild beasts, and after the iron chair, she was enclosed in a net, and thrown to a bull: having been often tossed by the beast (though she was all the while insensible, by reason of hope, and a firm assent to what she believed, and familiarly conversing with Christ,) she also was run through with a sword. The Gentiles themselves acknowledged that there never had been any woman among them who had undergone so many and so great sufferings: nevertheless, their cruel rage against the saints was not yet satiated.—Their abuses began again in a new and peculiar manner against the bodies of the saints. They were not ashamed that they had been vanquished by them. And, as if destitute of human reason and understanding, their rage was farther inflamed: and the governor, and the people, like a wild beast, manifested a like degree of hatred against us, that the scripture might be fulfilled which saith, Rev. xxii. 11, "He that is unjust let him be unjust still; and he that is righteous let him be righteous still." Those who had been suffocated in prison they cast to the dogs, carefully watching them day and night, lest any of us should inter them. Then they laid out the remainders of the bodies left unconsumed by the fire, partly torn, and partly burnt, and the heads of the rest, with the trunks of their bodies: all these they kept unburied with a guard of soldiers many days. Some were filled with indignation, and gnashed with their teeth at the dead, as if desirous to be farther revenged upon them. Some insulted over them and de- rided them, at the same time extolling their idols, and attributing to them the punishment that had been inflicted on the martyrs. Some, who were more mild, and seemed in some measure to sympathize with us, nevertheless upbraided us, saying: Where is their God? and of what benefit has their religion been to them, which they have
preferred above their lives? In the mean time we were greatly concerned that we could not bury the bodies in the earth: for neither did the darkness of the night afford us any assistance, nor would money persuade, nor entreaties prevail; but they continued to watch the bodies very carefully, as if some great matter were to be gained by their not being buried.' After interposing here some things, says Eusebius, they proceed. 'The bodies therefore of the martyrs having undergone all manner of ignominy, and having laid exposed in the air six days, were burnt: and, having been reduced to ashes by those impious men, were by them thrown into the river Rhone, which runs hard by, that no remains of them might be any longer visible on this earth. Thus they acted, as if they could be too hard for God, and prevent their reviviscence; or, as themselves said, that they might have no hope of a resurrection: trusting to which they have brought in among us a strange and new religion, and, despising the heaviest sufferings, are ready to meet death with cheerfulness. Let us now see whether they will rise again, and whether their God is able to help them, and to deliver them out of our hands.'

'Such things,' adds Eusebius, at the beginning of the next chapter, 'befel these churches of Christ in the reign of the forementioned emperor; whence it may be reasonably concluded what happened in the other provinces.'

By which we are led to believe that Eusebius supposed there was a general persecution of the christians throughout the Roman empire at that time.

Eusebius goes on, and I shall continue to transcribe him; hoping that my readers may not be unwilling to admit of some prolixity upon this occasion.

'But,' says 'Eusebius, in the words next following, 'it may be worth the while to take somewhat more from that epistle, wherein the meekness and humanity of the forementioned martyrs is described, and in these words:

Who also were so far followers and imitators of Christ, who, being in the form of God, did not covet to appear like God; Phil. ii, 6; that though they were in so great glory, having suffered as martyrs, not once only, or twice, but often; although they had been tossed by wild beasts, and then committed again to prison; although they had the marks of fire and scars and wounds all over them, they did not declare themselves to be martyrs, nor allow us to

——ev' υ' πετωθοτες, ξενην τινα και καινην ἡμιν ὡσαγον θρησκειαν. p. 165. D.

' Ib. cap. 2. p. 166.
call them by that name. But if at any time any one of us, either in a letter, or in discourse, termed them martyrs, they reproved us sharply. But they readily ascribed the honour of martyrdom to Christ,—the faithful and true witness, and the first-begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the life of God; Rev. i. 5. They also commemorated the martyrs who were already departed out of this life, and said—These now are martyrs whom Christ has vouchsafed to take to himself in the midst of their confession, sealing their martyrdom by their death; we are mean and humble confessors. And with tears they besought the brethren, entreating that earnest prayers might be made for them that they might be perfected. And they demonstrated the power of martyrdom in fact, using great freedom of speech in all their answers to the Gentiles, and manifesting a greatness of mind in their patience, fearlessness, and undaunted courage under all their sufferings. But they refused the appellation of martyrs from the brethren, being filled with the fear of God. Again, after some few things, they say:—They humbled themselves under the mighty hand, by which they are now exalted; 1 Pet. v. 6: they apologized for themselves to all, but accused none. They loosed all, but they bound none. They prayed for those who grievously treated them, as did Stephen the perfect martyr: Lord, lay not this sin to their charge; Acts vii. 60. And if he prayed for those who stoned him, how much more for the brethren? And again, after a few other things, they say: for that was the greatest encounter which they had with the enemy, proceeding from their genuine love. And the beast being strangled brought up again alive those whom before he supposed he had digested. They did not proudly glory over those that fell. On such as were indigent they bestowed those good things with which themselves abounded: having motherly bowels of compassion, they poured out many tears for them to the Father: They asked life, and he gave it them; Psal. xxi. 4; which also they imparted to their neighbour: and, having been in all things conquerors, they went to God. They always loved peace, they always recommended peace, and in peace they went to God: leaving no grief to their mother, nor contention and war among the brethren, but joy and peace and concord and love.

Eusebius still goes on in another chapter, which I shall likewise here transcribe.

—καὶ τὴν εὐγενείαν διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ αφοβίας, καὶ αὐτομαχίας φανερὰν ἔποιην. p. 166. D.
Moreover,' says he, 'in the same epistle there is another thing well deserving to be taken notice of. It is to this purpose: 'For Alcibiades, one of the martyrs, who led a very austere course of life, and hitherto had fed upon bread and water only, and still observing the same course of life in prison; it was revealed to Attalus, after his first combat in the amphitheatre, that Alcibiades did not do well in not using the creatures of God, and was an occasion of scandal to others; 1 Tim. iv. 4: and Alcibiades submitted, and after that partook of all sorts of food prudently, and gave God thanks.' For,' adds Eusebius, 'they were not destitute of the grace of God, but the Holy Spirit was their director.'

IV. I shall now make some remarks.

1. The fierceness of the persecution at Lyons must have continued for some good while, several months at least. This must be manifest to all, so that I need not add any thing to show it.

2. Here is a proof of the great progress of the christian religion in a short time. There were now two churches in that part of Gaul; one at Lyons, the other at Vienne. Pothinus, bishop of the church of Lyons, was a venerable man, of great age. The number of christians in those two places must have been very considerable. There were among them men of distinction for their knowledge and understanding. Attalus, and divers others, were Roman citizens. Alexander was by profession a physician. There were among them men of substance, who had a number of slaves, some of which were heathens, others christians, one of whom was the admirable Blandina.

As it may be of use to cast some light upon this remarkable story, and upon the epistle which we have just seen, I shall now transcribe some observations of Valesius: 'Here ariseth,' saith he, 'a twofold question. The first is, Why was this epistle written jointly by the two churches of Vienne and Lyons? The other is, Why these Gauls wrote in Greek, and to the churches of Asia and Phrygia? As for the first, I suppose the reason to be, that the churches of Vienne and Lyons were joined together, not only by vicinity of place, but also by the bonds of mutual love. And since they had suffered together in the same persecution, they joined together in an account of their martyrs. And both the provinces seem to have been under the jurisdiction of one and the same president; for these reasons they joined together in this account. For whereas

* Ib. cap. 3. p. 167.  
* Annot. in Euseb. p. 85, 86.
some have supposed that there was but one bishop only of
these two cities, they are confuted by the epistle itself,
which calls Pothinus bishop of Lyons, not of Vienne.
Moreover, they of Lyons out of respect name those of
Vienne first: forasmuch as they of Lyons wrote the epistle,
and gave an account of what was done in their own city.
As for the second question, we perceive from the epistle
itself that there were many Greeks in the church of Lyons.
Attalus and Alexander were Phrygians: and Alcibiades
also, as I suppose, came from Phrygia. Irenæus likewise
was born in Asia, and when young, conversed with Poly-
carp. The name of Pothinus denotes it to be of Greek
original. It is no wonder therefore that they, who came
into Gaul from Asia, should write to their brethren in
Asia; from whom also, as may be supposed, they had be-
fore received an epistle concerning the death of Polycarp
and others.’ So writes Valesius.
Sulpicius Severus, referring to this persecution, says,
‘And now first of all martyrdoms were seen in Gaul,’ It is
manifest that there were now two churches, one at Vienne,
another at Lyons; though the bishop of the former city is
not expressly named. These words are very remarkable:
However, from day to day such were taken up as were
worthy to supply the number of such as had gone off. So
that the most eminent men of the two churches, by whom
good order had been settled among us, were picked out
and brought together.’ We cannot hence conclude when
conversions were first made in this country: but we can
hence reasonably infer that these two churches had been for
some while in a flourishing condition; and that the eminent
men, who had been the authors of the good order among
them, were still living, and several of them now suffered
martyrdom.
And we have reason to believe that though these two so-
cieties underwent a severe shock at this time, they were not
shattered or broken to pieces. They may have recovered
themselves and flourished again. For Irenæus, who was
now a presbyter, succeeded Pothinus in the episcopate, and
lived and wrote with great reputation after this. His large
and excellent work against heresies in five books is a work

7 Sub Aurelio deininde, Antonini filio, persecutio quinta agitata. Ac tum
primum intra Gallias martyria visa; serius trans Alpes Dei religione suscepta.
Sud. Sev. l. 2. cap. 46.
8 ———υτε συλλεγεινα εκ των δυο ιεκλησιων παντας των σπειρων, και ην
ον μαλατα συνεσθει γα ενθαυτε p. 156. C. a Euseb. 1. 5. cap. iv.
b See in this work, Vol. i. p. 363, &c.
of leisure, and must have been written in a time of peace and tranquillity.

3. The sufferings which the christians now underwent were various and very grievous; they need not to be here particularly rehearsed. We might have been apt to think that the accounts of the christians' sufferings, which we meet with in Lactantius, and other ancient apologists, are oratorical exaggeration. But here is an authentic account of eye-witnesses and fellow-sufferers which assures us that it is all matter of fact.

Such things may be thought to be a reflection upon the Roman government. But we are to consider that the Romans, and many other people at that time, were accustomed to the inhuman spectacles of gladiators, and that excessive cruelty was then practised upon many occasions. Since which time the farther progress of the christian religion has in a great degree corrected and mollified the tempers of men in this part of the world. We ought likewise to consider that the sufferers, whose history we have been reading, were christians, whom many then thought to be the most contemptible of all men, and not entitled to the common rights of the human kind.

The excessive and repeated sufferings of Blandina were very extraordinary: but she was a slave, and therefore despised. And in the eye of prejudiced idolaters the provocation was very great, that she, a woman, and a slave, should withstand all attempts to induce her to pay homage to their deities.

Attalus was a Roman citizen, and should have been beheaded; but being a christian this privilege was not allowed. The multitude demanded that he should be tortured, and thrown to wild beasts; and the president granted their request, relying undoubtedly upon impunity, though he acted contrary to law. Such was the hard condition of the christians at that time!

The persecution at Lyons was very severe. The tortures made use of were grievous and various, and the sufferers were numerous. By the edict of Trajan, such christians as were brought before a governor's tribunal, and were convicted, were to be punished. 'But they are not to be sought for,' says that emperor. But 'the president at Lyons issued out public orders, that strict searches should be made for them.'

4. The sufferings of these Christians in Gaul cannot but
be d a disparagement to the emperor Marcus Antoninus. He could not be unacquainted with them, though he had not been applied to about them. But he was applied to. The governor wrote to him for direction. And he wrote back that 'they who confess themselves christians should be put to death; but that they who denied it might be set at liberty.' Certainly Marcus deserves to be put in the number of persecuting emperors. If he had only connived at the sufferings, (as he may have done in some places,) that would not exculpate him, when he might have restrained and forbid them by his imperial authority. But here is a rescript, with an order that all who, upon examination, confessed themselves to be christians, 'should be put to death.' And such rescripts may have been sent by him to other governors, and to other provinces.

Some may think that e this emperor was hardened by the principles of his sect. Nevertheless, I think that will not fully account for his cruel treatment of the christians; it was owing to want of equity to them; and he was a bigot to his religion, as well as to his philosophy; and he had been so from his childhood; for he could show tenderness enough for some men. As Tillemont said some while f ago: 'there were many instances of mildness in the reign of this emperor, and very few of severity, excepting against the christians, who the least deserved it.'

However, it must be owned that g the beginning of this persecution at Lyons was not owing to any new edicts, or to any express orders from the emperor; for when the president perceived that Attalus was a Roman citizen, he sent him back to those who were in prison, and wrote to the emperor for directions how to act toward those prisoners; and he deferred to proceed any farther till he had received an answer from him; which answer was such as we have just taken notice of. Indeed the persecutions in many places were very much owing to the clamours of the common peo-

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d Hic finis suppliciorum in Lugdunensi provincia fuit, quae mirum est Marci Aurelii temporibus de innocentibus potuisse sumi eantum de causâ, quod Ethnicorum sacra suscipere nollent.—Hinc ergo erit macula, qua boni alias viri vitae inusta, infamem eam, crudelis superstitionis causa, omnibus seculis faciet, et philosophie Stoâœ contentum merito creabit. Cleric. H. E. ann. 167. n. xv.

e Igitur tragice christianos mori, non philosophice, censebat. Hinc etiam malis, quibus afficiebatur, parum movebatur, imo ex prescripto sectâ, cui parabat, moveri nullo modo debebat. Moshem. ubi supra. p. 246.

f See before, p. 144.

ple. So Eusebius, as we may remember, says in the pre-
face to his fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History, and to
his account of the persecutions in this reign; "At which
time," says he, "the persecution against us raged with
great violence in several parts of the world, through the
enmity (or instigation) of the people?"

5. I presume it may be hence apparent that the emperor
and the governor at Lyons were persuaded of the innocence
of the christians; or that they were not guilty of the crimes
sometimes imputed to them by the credulous, ignorant, and
spiteful vulgar. If they had believed that the christians
practised promiscuous lewdness in their assemblies, and that
they killed and ate little children, they would not so readily
have set at liberty all who renounced christianity: which
we see they did, or were willing to do. And with great re-
gret they saw any who had once renounced christianity re-
turn to the profession of it. It is manifest that they envied
them the honour of it. Moreover, we plainly see, throughout
this narrative, that they who suffered, suffered as christians.
When Vettius Epagathus would have apologized for them,
the governor refused to grant his request: and, upon his
owning himself a christian, he committed him to prison with
this character, "The advocate of the christians." The title
carried before Attalus was: "This is Attalus, the christian.'
Other things might be added to show that the contest be-
tween the accusers and the accused was of a religious kind.
Potheinus was asked by the governor, "who was the God of
the christians." And Attalus was asked, "what was God's
name." When Blandina and Ponticus were brought in,
they were required to swear by the heathen deities. And
under their tortures they were again and again called upon
to swear: that was all that was wanted; and they not com-
plying, neither the governor, nor the multitude, had any
compassion upon them. When the executions were over, the
heathens insulted the bodies of the martyrs, and ascribed
the victory, which they had obtained, to their deities. And
they did all they could to defeat the hope of a resurrection,
as knowing it to be a principle that had greatly contributed
to the resolution and fortitude of the christians under all the
sufferings which they had seen them endure.

6. The fortitude of the christians at Lyons was truly ad-
mirable and heroic. The sufferings set before them were
very grievous. But neither death itself, nor all the preceed-
ing tortures inflicted upon them, could terrify them, or in-

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*αναφημισθεντος τη καθ' ἡμων διωγμη εκ επιθεσεως των κατα τοι
duce them to depart from their stedfastness. The number of these patient sufferers was very great. Many were suffocated in prison, none of whom are expressly mentioned by name, beside Pothinus. The mistress of Blandina was among the confessors or martyrs, but her name is not mentioned. Several Roman citizens were beheaded, as is expressly said in the narrative; but none of their names are mentioned. Attalus was a Roman citizen; but he had not the privilege of the city allowed him. Moreover, among the remains of the dead were heads and trunks of bodies, which must have been the remains of Roman citizens, no others having been put to death by separating the head from the body. Some gave way: but a great part of these afterwards recovered themselves, and made a right confession, in defiance of the sufferings by which they had been once terrified, and which they might now again justly expect: the rest were all along stedfast in their confession; and these were by much the majority of such as were publicly examined at the governor's tribunal.

The testimony of these men is very valuable: they are not such witnesses as the apostles, and others, who were eye-witnesses of Christ and his miracles; but they lived at a time when the evidences of the truth of the christian religion might be easily traced to the first original. Irenæus, now a presbyter in the church of Lyons, afterwards bishop of the same church, in his younger days was well acquainted with Polycarp, disciple of St. John. Pothinus, now bishop of Lyons, who was older than Irenæus, and now suffered martyrdom when he was ninety years of age, may be well supposed to have been acquainted with some of the first succession of bishops, or christians, next after that of the apostles.

All these martyrs must have been firmly persuaded of the truth and divine original of the christian religion, and all the principles of it. They had embraced it upon the ground of such evidence as appeared to them sufficient and satisfactory; and, as their enemies themselves saw and acknowledged, 'they preferred their religion above their lives.' They believed, as they supposed upon good ground, that Jesus Christ was a divine teacher sent from God. They were, in particular, firmly persuaded of the truth of his doctrine concerning future rewards for the good, and punishments for the wicked, and were thereby engaged to the

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1...εις μν των αποτυχει κεφαλη τετελωμενων εδον ετων θροσν μισθων παραβεβλημενων και ανθης των ετη της οκτης καικμημενων. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. cap. 4. p. 168.

k See Vol. ii. ch. vi. p. 94.
sincere profession of the truth and the abhorrence of falsehood. Their knowledge of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and their respect for them, are manifest from their frequent allusions to them, or quotations of them.

7. They seem to have had among them gifts of the Spirit. Eusebius says, 'they were not destitute of the grace of God, and the Holy Ghost was their director.' Of Alexander, the writers of this epistle say, 'he was known to almost all men for his boldness in preaching the word; for he was not destitute of apostolic grace.' They likewise say of Attalus, 'that after his first combat it was revealed to him that Alcibiades did not do well in not using the creatures of God; and Alcibiades acquiesced, and thenceforward partook of all sorts of food promiscuously.' And it may deserve to be considered that Attalus was a Roman citizen, and not a mean person. To me those expressions likewise appear remarkable, where they say of these confessors: 'They demonstrated in fact the power of martyrdom, using great freedom of speech in all their answers to the Gentiles, and manifesting a greatness of mind in their patience, fearlessness, and undaunted courage, under all their sufferings.' Certainly the christian sufferers had the presence of God with them. All men around them were adversaries; but God did not forsake them; he strengthened and supported them.

8. Finally, by the example of these patient and victorious confessors and martyrs, let us be animated and encouraged to steadiness in the cause of truth; humbly depending upon God, and earnestly praying that we may have strength from above, equal to the trials which we may meet with: for it is better to suffer for truth and virtue, though we should be put into the iron chair with Attalus, or be hung upon a stake like Blandina, than to be a persecuting judge upon a tribunal, or a persecuting emperor upon a throne.

What is above was intended for the conclusion of this article: but some may be of opinion that, to my own thoughts upon this subject, I ought to add the observations of that fine writer, and good christian, Mr. Joseph Addison: 'Under this m head,' says he, 'I cannot omit that which appears to me a standing miracle in the three first centuries; I mean, that amazing and supernatural courage or patience which was shown by innumerable multitudes of martyrs, in those slow and painful torments that were inflicted on them. I cannot conceive a man placed in the

1 Their testimony to the scriptures makes a distinct chapter, Vol. ii. ch. xvi.

burning iron chair at Lyons, amidst the insults and mockeries of a crowded amphitheatre, and still keeping his seat; or stretched upon a grate of iron, over coals of fire, and breathing out his soul among the exquisite sufferings of such a tedious execution, rather than renounce his religion, or blaspheme his Saviour. Such trials seem to me above the strength of human nature, and able to overbear duty, reason, faith, conviction, nay, and the most absolute certainty of a future state. Humanity, unassisted in an extraordinary manner, must have shaken off the present pressure, and have delivered itself out of such a dreadful distress by any means that could have been suggested to it. We can easily imagine that many persons, in so good a cause, might have laid down their lives at the gibbet, the stake, or the block; but to expire leisurely among the most exquisite tortures, when they might come out of them, even by a mental reservation, or an hypocrisy, which is not without the possibility of being followed by repentance and forgiveness, has something in it so far beyond the force and natural strength of mortals, that one cannot but think that there was some miraculous power to support the sufferer.' So Mr. Addison.

SECTION III.

A REMARKABLE DELIVERANCE OF THIS EMPEROR IN HIS WARS IN GERMANY, AND THE HISTORY OF THE THUNDERING LEGION CONSIDERED.

I. A general account of the deliverance obtained by Marcus Antoninus in Germany, in the year 174. II. The account given by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, where that deliverance is ascribed to the prayers of a legion of christians in the emperor's army. III. Observations upon that history. IV. A summary of the argument.

I. THERE is yet one thing more relating to this emperor, which must be taken notice of. If, upon enquiry, it should appear to be of small importance, some may be of opinion that it might have been passed by in silence, or but slightly mentioned. On the other hand, since some have judged it to be of great moment, and there have been many controversies about it, in which learned men of great eminence on each side have been engaged, it may be justly supposed to deserve particular consideration.
When Marcus Antoninus was engaged in a difficult war with the Quadi, a people in Germany,\(^a\) in the fourteenth year of his reign, and of our Lord 174, he was reduced to great straits, his army being in want of water. Whilst they were in that distress, there came a very seasonable and plentiful shower of rain, which refreshed him and his soldiers, and he obtained a victory over his enemies. This deliverance has been thought by many to have been miraculous, owing to the prayers of the christians, who were in the Roman army. And it has been supposed that thereupon the emperor wrote a letter to the senate which was very favourable to the christians.

II. I shall begin with reciting what Eusebius says of this matter in his Ecclesiastical History.

\(^a\) It\(^b\) is said, that when Marcus Aurelius had drawn out his forces against the Germans and Sarmatians, his army was brought into a great strait by reason of drought, so that he knew not what course to take: that the soldiers of the legion, called the Melitenian Legion, which still subsists as a reward of their faith, when the armies were going to engage, falling down to the earth upon their knees, according to our usual custom in prayer, offered up requests to God: that the enemies were greatly surprised at that wonderful sight; and that, as is\(^c\) said, there soon after followed a thing more wonderful, a violent lightning, which put the enemies to flight, and destroyed them; and also a shower, which fell upon that army which had prayed to God, and refreshed it when they were all ready to perish with thirst. This is related by such writers as are far from embracing our religion, but were concerned to record the events of those times: it is also related by our authors. By other writers who were averse to our religion the wonderful event is recorded: but they do not acknowledge that it was owing to the prayers of our people: but by our authors, who were lovers of truth, what happened is related in a plain and ingenuous manner. One of them is Apollinarius, who says, that from that time the legion, by whose prayers that wonderful deliverance was obtained, was by the emperor's order called\(^e\) in the Roman language, the Thunderbolt Legion, a name suited to the event. Tertullian is another witness worthy of credit; who in his


\(^b\) ——Δογος εξηλ. κ. λ. H. E. I. 5. c. 5. p. 169. &c.

\(^c\) ———αλλο πι δογος εξηλ. p. 169. B.

\(^d\) ———πελειται μεν το παραδοθουν. p. 169. C.

\(^e\) ———κεχαυνοβοϊν τω Ρομαΐων επικληθειαν φωνη. p. 169. D.
apology for our faith, addressed to the Roman senate in
the Latin tongue, (of which we also before made mention,) strongly confirms the letter of this history; saying, that
there is still extant the letter of that worthy emperor Mar-
cus, in which he testifies that, when his army was in great
danger of perishing in Germany for want of water, it was saved by the prayers of the christians. He likewise says
that the same emperor threatened the punishment of death to such as should accuse them. But of these things let
every one judge as he sees fit. We now proceed in the
course of our history to other matters.

III. I now intend to make some observations for clearing up this history.

Obs. 1. It seems that Eusebius did not rely upon the truth of this history. For, as we have seen, he begins the account in this manner: 'It is said.' And in the end he leaves every one to judge of it as he sees good. A like observation has been already made by divers learned men.

Obs. 2. Eusebius quotes Apollinaris, as saying that, by Marcus's order, there was a legion called the thundering, or thunderbolt legion, in memory of the wonderful event here spoken of. But he does not quote the words of Apollinarius, nor name the book in which he said it. And, moreover, it has been observed by learned men of late times that

\footnote{Alla tanta mev ótē tis ἐθλη τίθεσθω. Metwomēn εὐ ημεις επ' την των έξης απολεθιαν. Ib. p. 170. A. B.}

\footnote{Sed et verba, quibus totam narrationem concludit, satis indicant, ipsum de veritate rei dubitasse. Sic enim ait: Alla tanta mev ótē tis ἐθλη τίθεσθω. Id est, sed de his quisque pro arbitrio suo judicet. Vales. loq. loc. p. 93.}

Equidem, si certum fuisset, et a legione christianorum advocatum fuisse im- brem, et Marcus hoc scripsisse senatui, nuncam narrationi non colophonom ejusmodi imposuisset Eusebius: 'Sed de his quique pro suo arbitratu statuat: indicio, Eusebium ipsum e de traditione dubitasse, eti Tertulliani verba im-
mutatīr, omisso forte adverbio, quod habet Tertullianus. Basagn. ann. 174. n. viii.}

\footnote{Qui et in eo peccat, quod Apollinaris locum non protulit, nec librum ipsum, in quo hac Apollinaris scripsit, indicavit. Vales. ib. ib. ib. ib. Premier le de-
ceus qu'Eusêbe allégué sur ce sujet est S. Apollinaire Evêque d'Hieraple,
dont le témoignage est d'autant plus authentique, qu'il vivait au même temps que ce miracle arriva. Mais il seroit à souhaiter, qu'Eusêbe nous eût rapporté ses propres paroles. Tillem. L' Emp. M. Aurele. art. xvi.}

\footnote{Jamundum monuit Scaliger in Animadversionibus Eusebianis, legionem fulminatricem ab hoc miraculo cognominatam non fuisse, quippe quia diu ante-
tempora M. Antonini ita vocata fuerit. Docet id manifeste Dio Cassius in
libro 55, ubi legiones omnes enumerat. Vetus quoque inscription, a Scaligero
probata, id ipsum confirmat. Quamobrem de ipso quidem miraculo pluvia
a christianis militibus impetrata, et Apollinari et Tertulliano testantibus,
facile credimus legionem vero Meltinam ob id fulminatricem esse dictum a M. Anto-
nino Imp. nondum mihi persuasit Apollinaris. Diete fortasse aliquid, fulmi-}
there had been a legion with that denomination long before the times of Marcus Antoninus.

Obs. 3. Eusebius calls it the Melitenian legion, or the legion of Melitene, τω δὲ ετι της Μελιτηνης ετω καλεμενης λεγεωνος στατιωτας. If there was any legion so called, it is likely that it had its denomination from Melitene in Cappadocia, where the soldiers, of which it was composed, had been enlisted, or where it had resided. And it appears from writers of good authority, that the twelfth legion, called the thunderbolt legion, was sometimes quartered in Cappadocia. However, Valesius denies that there was any legion called the Melitenian legion.

Obs. 4. Eusebius seems to have supposed that the legion, of which he speaks, consisted chiefly, or entirely, of christians; whereas it is not easy to think so of any legion at that time. There may have been christian soldiers in Marcus’s army: but it is altogether improbable that there should then have been an entire legion of christians, or near it.

Obs. 5. Eusebius quotes Tertullian as of great weight in this matter. ‘Tertullian,’ says he, ‘is another witness worthy of credit: who, in his apology for our faith, addressed to the Roman senate in the Latin tongue, strongly confirms the truth of this history, saying that there is still extant the letter of that worthy emperor Marcus, in which he testifies that when his army was in great danger of perishing in Germany, for want of water, it was saved by the prayers of the christians——’

Now I shall transcribe below the passage of Tertullian from his Apology, in his own words.

natricem quidem legionemuisse antempor M. Antonini, sed Marcum ob acceptum a Melitinâ legione beneficium, ei quoque fulminaticis cognomen inidisse. Verum, si ita esset, secunda fulminatrix dici debuerat. Dio tamen nullam ejus mentionem facit, quanvis omnes legiones a superioribus principibus conscriptas accurate recenset. Vales. ib.


m Caeterum, ut ingenue dicam quod sentio, parum mihi probabilè videtur, totam legionem militum Romanorum eo tempore christianamuisse; quod tamen affirmare videtur Eusebius. Vales. ut supr.

n At nos e contrario editus protectorem. Si litteræ Marci Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris requitantur, quibus illam Germanicam situm christianorum forte militum praecationibus impetrato imbru discussam contestatur. Sicut non palam ab ejusmodi hominibus pœnam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit, adjectâ etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetiore. Ap. cap. 5. p. 6. D.
In English they are to this purpose: 'Nero and Domitian have been our enemies. But among good emperors we can allege a patron. If the epistle of that worthy emperor Marcus Aurelius be sought for, it will perhaps be seen that he ascribes his deliverance from a great drought in the German war to the prayers of christian soldiers.' I shall put below also the account which we find in Eusebius's Chronicle, as we have it in Jerom's Latin translation. And now it will be proper to make some remarks upon what we have just seen.

(1.) Hence it seems that Eusebius chiefly relied upon Tertullian for the truth of this relation. He quotes him with the character of an author of good credit. He also mentions the name of his work, whereas he omits the title of the work of Apollinarius, to which he refers.

(2.) Eusebius never saw any letter of the emperor in which he ascribed his deliverance in Germany to the prayers of christian soldiers. If he had met with it, he would have inserted it in his Ecclesiastical History. So says the great Joseph Scaliger.

(3.) Nor had Tertullian seen any such letter. He does not say that he had seen it. And in the Latin original of Tertullian's Apology, and also as cited in the Latin edition of Eusebius's Chronicle, there is an unlucky *forte*, or 'perhaps:' wherein he seems to express a doubt whether the emperor did in his letter to the senate expressly acknowledge that his deliverance in a time of great drought was owing to the prayers of christians—quibus illam Germanicam sitim christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. This does not appear in Eusebius's Greek translation of Tertullian, which he inserts in his Ecclesiastical History—εν αἰσ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖ· ταῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐχαίς αεασωθήσεται. Possibly some may think that we ought not to lay much stress upon this observation. Nevertheless, it must be allowed that if this *forte*, 'perhaps,'


p Non igitur illam epistolam vidit, [Orosius,] non magis quam Tertullianus. Quinetiam ea non existabat tempore Eusebii. Eam enim Grace a se conversam in suâ Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ posuisset, quae est ejus diligentia, nulla ejusmodi pretermittère, ne Latina quidem, quæ ipse convertère solet, ut multa ex Tertulliano. Scal. in Euseb. p. 222. fin.
has no meaning; it comes in here very unhappily. Nor am I the first who have mentioned it. Basnage also supposeth it a proof that neither Tertullian, nor Jerom, who so allegeth it in the Chronicle, had seen the emperor’s letter.

Before I proceed any farther, it may be observed that, in his book to Scapula, Tertullian speaks again of this matter, where he says: 'And Marcus Aurelius in a German war, where he was in danger by a great drought, obtained rain by the prayers which the christian soldiers offered to God.' But here he says nothing of the emperor’s letter.

We now proceed to some other observations.

Obs. 6. There is little notice taken of this event in the most ancient christian writers.

It would be without reason for any to allege here so late writers as Nicephorus Callisti, and Zonaras. I now intend early writers of the second, third, and fourth century. If indeed Marcus Antoninus had obtained a signal deliverance in a hazardous war, and had acknowledged the benefit to be owing to the christian soldiers in his army, we might expect to see particular notice taken of it in christian apologetics, and other writings of christian authors, published not long afterwards. I allow that there is a reference to this story in one of Gregory Nyssen’s homilies, near the end of the fourth century. But I think that if an heathen emperor, and his

9 Si Marci literae extitissent de impetrato a christianis imbre, vix ac ne vix quidem magnum Eusebium in conquirendis ejusmodi monumentis diligentiam eflugisset. Atqui in has literas christianorum nemo est qui se concejisse oculos scripto prodiderit. Non Tertullianus, non Eusebius, imo non Hieronymus, cujus hie verba sunt——Dixisset ne christianorum forte militum precationibus, si litteras perlegisset? Siccine Marcus Senati scripsit? Basnag. ann. 174. n. viii.


v Cum igitur ostensum sit, neque Romano in exercitu christianam fuisset legionem, neque Marci animum id subisse cogitationis, quod a christianis pluvia sit impetrata, consentaneum est, nullas Patribus Conscriptis a Marco litteras datas esse, quibus hoc maximi beneficii christianis ascriberet. Quae res aliunde non pertenuebat patet in argumentis. Post exhaustum bellum Marcomannicum scripta est Melitoniis apologia, consortae jam imperii Commodi. Quo potius argumento uti Melito debuit, existuenda persecutioni, quam beneficii, quo Marcus a christianis effectus fuerat, dum unam cum exercitu pene siti conficiebat? Quod tamen argumenti non attulit——At immerso negatur, Athenagore apologistam Marcomannico bello fuisse posteriorum. Quid, memoriam Athenagoras pluvia a christianis impetrata, ut, eo beneficio Marci in memoria revocato, misericordia vexit, benevolentiam conciliiaret? At qui certe certoque meminisset. Imo cæ de re scriptas ad Senatum literas memorisset. Basnag. ann. 174. n. vii.
army, had obtained a very extraordinary deliverance by the prayers of Christian soldiers in the year of Christ 174, and he had ascribed it to their prayers in a letter to the senate, it would have been mentioned by many Christian writers, both Greek and Latin, before the end of the fourth century. This argument is largely insisted on by Basnage, whose words I have just now transcribed below. And this is also one of Mr. Moyle’s arguments. It is his fifth proposition, that ‘the Christians’ in general did not believe this ‘miracle, notwithstanding the testimony of Apollinaris and Tertullian.’

For this,’ says he, ‘no better argument can be alleged than the silence of all the Christian writers of the third century: not one of whom, except Tertullian, that I ever read or heard of, has made the least mention of this miracle. Is it possible that so signal a testimony in favour of Christianity could escape the knowledge and industry of so many able apologists as wrote after Tertullian? Could they have failed to urge so strong an argument against the heathens, as a miracle so publicly avouched and attested and owned, as is pretended, by imperial edicts: No other rational account can be given to this silence but that they gave no credit to the story, and were too wise to expose their religion to the scorn of the heathens by employing so mean an artifice to defend it?’

Eusebius, though he has given a full relation of the miracle in all its circumstances, yet it appears plainly, by the close of his narration, that he did not believe it, as Valerius rightly observes: so that the whole credit of this miracle rests on the authority of Apollinaris and Tertullian. As for the first, I know little of his character, his works, I think, being all lost. But it is remarkable that the only particular which is preserved of his relation is undoubtedly false. Tertullian wanted neither wit nor learning; but he must be allowed to be a very credulous writer, and an errant enthusiast.’ So Mr. Moyle.

Obs. 7. Paulus Orosius, a Christian historian, who flourished not far from the beginning of the fifth century, and is placed by Cave at the year 416, gives a particular account of this emperor’s war with the Marcomans, Quadians, and other people in Germany. He says that ‘the Roman army’


x Hoc quidem bellum [Marcomannicum] providentia Dei administratum fuisset, cum plurimus argumentis, tum praecipue epistolae gravissimi ac modissimi Imperatoris apertissime declaratum est. Nam cum insurrexissent gentes immanitate barbarae, multitudine innumerabilis, hoc est, Marcomanni, Quadi,
was in a great strait, and likely to be overpowered by the
enemy, and that the greatest danger was owing to a
drought which oppressed the Romans; that by the prayers
of a few and illiterate soldiers, who openly, and with a
lively faith, invoked the name of Christ, a plentiful shower
was obtained from heaven, by which Antoninus’s army
fell upon the Romans; that the Romans were greatly annoyed,
and many of them were killed: whereupon the Romans
fell upon them, and cut them almost all off, and gained a
very glorious victory. And it is said that there still is in
the hands of many persons a letter of the emperor Anto-
inus, in which he acknowledgeth that the drought was
removed, and the victory obtained, by means of an invoca-
tion made of the name of Christ by christian soldiers.’

Whence it is evident that Orosius had never seen such a
letter of Marcus Antoninus. And it may be argued that
there was not then extant any such a letter: for, if there had,
Orosius, a learned and inquisitive man, and a writer of his-
tory, would not have failed to procure it. It is also very
observable that Orosius mentions not any legion by name,
neither the Melitenian legion, nor the thunderbolt legion.
Nor do any such expressions proceed from him as should
lead us to think there was then a legion of christians in
Marcus’s army. Nay, he plainly supposeth that they were
few in number. Finally, we may from all these particu-
lars be disposed to think that Orosius took the account
together entirely from Tertullian; for he omits divers things which
are in Eusebius. And there is a great resemblance in their
expressions; both say the drought was removed by the
‘prayers of christian soldiers.’ Tertullian calls Antoninus ‘a
Vandali, Sarmatae, Suevi, atque omnis tunc Germania, et in Quadrarum usque
fines progressus exercitus, circumventusque ab hostibus, proper aquarum
penuriam, praeuitus sitis quam hostis periculum sustinere; ad invocationem
nominis Christi, quam subito magis fidei constans quidam militis effusiss in
precem palam fecerunt, et tanta vis pluviae effusa est, ut Romanos quidem lar-
gissine, ac sine inuiaria rececerit, barbaros autem crebris fulminum ictibus per-
teritos, praesertim cum plurimi eorum occiderunt, in fugam coegeris. Quo-
rum terga Romani usque ad interierniem cedentes gloriosisissimae victoriam
et omnium pene antiquorum titulus praerendi, rudi parvoque militum numero,
sed potentissimo Christi auxilio, reportarunt. Exstare etiam nunc
apud plerisque dicitur literae Imperatoris Antonii, ubi invocatione nominis
Christi per milites christianos, et sitim depulsam, et collatam fatetur fuisse vic-
toriam. Oros. l. 7. cap. 15.

2 quibus illam Germanicam sitim christianorum forte militum pre-
cationibus—discussam—Tertull. Ubi invocatione nominis Christi, per milites
christianos, et sitim depulsam, &c. Oros.

3 Si literæ Marci Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris requirantur. Tertul,
worthy emperor; so does Orosius in the same or like words. And they both speak at the same time with a like assurance, and a like diffidence and uncertainty, about the emperor's letter, which neither of them had seen.

Obs. 8. Undoubtedly Marcus Antoninus sent a letter to the senate of Rome, giving an account of his deliverance, and of the victory which he had obtained over the Quadians, and others in Germany; which letter, as is reasonably supposed, was written in the Latin tongue; but we do not meet with any ancient authors who appear to have seen it.

However, there is extant a letter, both in Greek and Latin, which I shall now produce in an English version, without being very solicitous about exactness in my translation; it is to this purpose.

The emperor Caesar, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Germanicus, Parthicus, Sarmaticus, high-priest— to the people of Rome, and to the sacred senate greeting. I gave you an account of the greatness of the enterprize which I had undertaken, and what great difficulties came upon me in Germany; how I was surrounded and besieged in the midst of it, and afflicted with heat and weariness: at which time I was overtaken at Carnutum by seventy-four regiments, who were not more than nine miles off from us. Now when the enemy was come near us, our spies gave us notice of it; and Pompeianus, my general, informed me also of what I knew before. In our army we had only the first, the tenth, the double, and the Fretensian legions, to contend with an innumerable company of barbarians. When I had computed my own numbers with those of the enemy, I addressed our gods in prayer; but not being regarded by them, and considering the distress we were in, I called for those whom we call Christians; and upon examination I found that they were a great multitude, at which I was much displeased, though I should not have been so; for afterwards I understood how powerful they are. For which reason they began, not by preparing their darts, or other weapons, or their trumpets, inasmuch as such things are disagreeable to them on account of God, whom they bear in their consciences: for it is reasonable to believe that they, whom we call atheists, have God within them for a bulwark. As soon therefore as they had cast themselves down upon

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the ground, they prayed, not for me only, but also for the whole army, for relief under our great thirst and hunger. For it was the fifth day that we had no water, because there was none in that place. For we were in the midst of Germany surrounded by their mountains. But as soon as they had cast themselves upon the ground, and prayed to a God, who was unknown to me, water came down from heaven immediately. Upon us it was very cool, but upon our enemies it was fierce hail. And immediately after their prayers we found God to be present with us, as one that is impregnable and invincible. Beginning here, therefore, let us permit these men to be christians, lest they should pray for the like weapons against us and obtain them. And I declare that no man who is a christian is to be called in question as such. And if any man accuse a christian, because he is a christian, I declare that the christian who is accused may appear openly; and that if he confesseth himself to be so, but showeth that he is accused of no other crime but that he is a christian, let his accuser be burnt alive. And as to him that confesseth himself to be a christian, and gives full evidence of the same, let not the governor of the province oblige him to renounce his religion, nor deprive him of his liberty. I will that this be confirmed by the decree of the senate. And I command that this my edict be set up in Trajan’s forum, that it may be read by all. Vitruvius Pollio, prefect of the city, will take care that it be sent into the provinces; nor is any one, who desires to have it and make use of it, to be hindered from taking a copy of this our edict which is publicly set up by me. Farewell.’

Upon this letter Joseph Scaliger c made such critical remarks as have quite disparaged it in the opinion of most learned men. Even they who are willing to assert the miraculous deliverance of the emperor’s army, and that it was obtained by the prayers of christians, give up d this letter as spurious. The Greek letter, as Scaliger says, was not composed before the sixth century. And it is generally thought

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that the Latin edition of the same letter is taken from the Greek, and is not more authentic.

Without alleging here any abstruse critical observations, it must be obvious to all that an edict so favourable to the christians could not come from Marcus Antoninus, in whose reign, from the beginning to the end of it, the christians were persecuted in some of the provinces by the tumults of the people, and put to death by governors, without any control from this emperor. And there were some edicts, or orders of his particularly in Gaul and Asia, for putting them to death.

And if this letter had been set up in Trajan's forum at Rome in the time of Marcus Antoninus, and had been sent to all governors of provinces, with leave also for men to read it, and to take copies from those which were published by authority, copies of this letter would have been very common among christians; whereas we cannot now find that it was seen by any of them in the second, or third, or fourth, or even fifth century.

Obs. 9. Eusebius, in the passage above transcribed, says that the heathen historians of those times had mentioned this extraordinary event, but did not acknowledge it to be owing to the prayers of christians. We cannot say who are the heathen writers intended by him: but I shall now take notice of such as we have.

(1.) Dion Cassius flourished at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, not finishing his history long before the year 230. Of Marcus Antoninus's wars in Germany he writes to this purpose: 'Marcus therefore, having met with many difficulties, subdued the Marcomans and Jazugæ; after which he had war with the Quadians, and obtained a wonderful victory over them, or rather had it given him by God; for, when the Romans were in great danger, the Divine Being delivered them in a wonderful manner. The Quadians having surrounded them in a place that was much to their advantage, the Romans fought very valiantly; at the same time the barbarians relaxed the combat, expecting to see them wasted by heat and drought. They therefore carefully secured every place around them,'


καὶ πολίμως αὐτῷ συνετῇ μεγας καὶ νηχ παραδόξος εὐτυχήθη, μαλλον ἐν παρα θεω εἰσφθη. Κυκλοσυνώνας γὰρ εἰς ταύ μαχα τῶν Ρωμαίων παραδόξωτα το ὤνον εἶξον. p. 1182.
that they might come at no water: which was easily done by them, as they were much superior in number. The Romans were then in a great strait, wounded, and fatigued with labour, oppressed with the heat of the sun and with thirst: and for that reason neither able to fight nor to escape. They only stood still in their ranks consumed with heat. On a sudden there appeared a gathering of clouds, which was soon followed, not without divine appointment, with a plentiful shower of rain, for it is said that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was present with Marcus, invoked the aerial Mercury, and other demons with magical rites.

Upon which Xiphilinus, a christian author of the eleventh century, who abridged Dion, says: So this affair is related by Dion. But he lies, as seems to me, either knowingly and wilfully, or through ignorance. But I rather think wilfully. And how should it be otherwise? For he was not unacquainted with the legion of soldiers, called the thunderbolt legion, which himself has mentioned in his catalogue of the other legions. Nor has it been ever said that it obtained that denomination for any other reason than upon account of what happened in that war; when it was the cause of deliverance to the Romans, and of destruction to the barbarians, and not Arnuphis the magician. Nor is it any where related that Marcus was fond of magicians, or their tricks. The truth is, that Marcus had a legion, the soldiers of which were brought from Melitene, and were all christians. At that time the prefect of the pretorium, being in great perplexity, and apprehensive of the loss of the whole army, is said to have come to the emperor, telling him that there is nothing which christians are not able to perform by prayers, and that there was in the army a whole legion of that sort of men. When Marcus heard that, he desired them to pray to their God: when they prayed, God immediately heard them, and beat down their enemies with lightning, and refreshed the Romans with rain. At which Marcus, being greatly astonished, favour ed the christians with an edict, and ordered that the legion should be called the thundering legion. It is also said that there is an epistle of Marcus concerning these things. The Gentiles know very well, and bear witness, that there is a legion with that name, but they do not mention the reason of it.

h ——γεῖστι οصلة ἑκατον τενερας και νεκτος πολις ουκ άθεσ κατερβαγε. p. 1183.

1 Λεγεται εί και ηπτυλην των περι τυτων ενων τη
Μαρκ. p. 1184
And now Dion proceeds again: 'When the rain began to fall,' says he, 'all looking up, at first received it in their mouths. Afterwards they caught it, some in their shields, others in their helmets: out of which they drank greedily, and also gave to their horses to drink. And when the barbarians fell upon them, they drank and fought at the same time: and some who were wounded drank water and blood together, which fell from their wounds into their helmets. And indeed they would have suffered greatly from the enemies who attacked them, when the greatest part of the army were employed in satiating their thirst, if a violent storm of hail, with lightning, had not fallen upon them; so that at the same time, and in the same place, might be seen water and fire coming down from heaven; whereby some were refreshed with drink, and others were burnt and consumed. Nor did the fire reach the Romans: or if it did it was presently extinguished. Nor did the rain help the barbarians, but rather increased the flame, like oil: so that, though they were rained upon, they called for water: and some wounded themselves, that they might put out the fire with blood: and others went over to the Romans, as being the only people who had wholesome water: wherefore Marcus had pity upon them. And he was, for the seventh time, proclaimed emperor by the soldiers. And, though he had not been wont to admit such a thing to be done before it had been decreed by the senate, he did not refuse it now, it seeming to come from heaven. About this he wrote to the senate, and Faustina was declared mother of the camps.'

So writes Dion Cassius. We may therefore rely upon it that Marcus Antoninus was in a great strait, and was delivered, and obtained a victory over the Quadians. And from the pompous style of Dion upon this occasion it may be inferred, that the heathen people were very willing to magnify this event, and the circumstances of it, as very extraordinary.

Dion, in his account of this matter, above quoted, writes: 'For it is said that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was present with Marcus, invoked the aerial Mercury, and other daemons, with magical rites.' I therefore shall observe that in Suidas, the article of Arnuphis is in these words: 'He was an Egyptian philosopher, who, being present with Marcus the philosopher, emperor of the Romans, when the Romans laboured under a great drought, is said to have caused a gathering of black clouds, which on a sudden poured down great rain with thunder and lightning. This
Arnuphis is said to have effected by a certain art. Others say it was Julian, a Chaldaean, who performed this wonderful work. For whom likewise Suidas has another article, which may be consulted by such as are curious.

There is no need to make many remarks upon Xiphilinus, after what has been already said upon the passage of Eusebius. Notwithstanding what is said by him, learned men are persuaded that before this time there was a legion called the thunderbolt legion, from a thunderbolt engraved upon the soldiers' shields. Xiphilinus also supposeth that there was in Marcus's army a whole legion of Christians which, as before shown, is very unlikely. He also says that after this, Marcus published an edict favourable to the Christians; which we are not assured of. He likewise adds: 'It is said there is an epistle of Marcus concerning these things.' Nevertheless, Xiphilinus had not seen that letter, or did not think it authentic, or to his purpose; as is evident from his manner of speaking.

(2.) Julius Capitolinus, one of the writers of the Augustan History, who flourished near the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, in his Life of Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, says: 'When his army was in a great strait, and in danger of perishing by thirst, he by his prayers obtained from heaven lightning against his enemies, and rain for his own people.'

(3.) Ælius Lampridius, another of those writers, who also flourished about the same time, in his Life of Antoninus Heliogabalus, is supposed to refer to the same thing in a passage in which I place below without translating it.

(4.) Themistius, in an oration spoken in the year 381, and the third of Theodosius, ascribes the victory now under consideration to the piety and prayers of Antoninus. 'When that emperor's army was much encompassed by a drought, lifting up his hands to heaven he said: 'By this hand, which has taken no life away, I desire to appease thee, and I pray to the giver of life.' With which the Deity was so

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k Kai τωτο σοφια των ἐργασαθαί Δρενίφις. Οἱ δὲ βασιν ὤλιανον τον Χαλδαιον τατο πετομενον το θευματον. Σούδ. V. Δρενίφις.


m Quum Marcomannis bellum inferre vellet, quos Antoninus pulcherrime profigaverat, dictum est a quibusdam, per Chaldeos et magos Antoniun Marcus id egisse, ut Marcomanni P. R. semper devoti essent atque amici, idque factis carminibus et consecratione. Lampr. Anton. Heliog. cap. 9.

n —αναχώρων τω χειρι ὁ Βασιλεύς προς τον καμαν, ταυτη εφι τη χειρι πρετρεψομεν σε, και ιετενα του ζωνς δοτηρα, ὑ ζωνων κε αφελουμεν. Και ιτω πατισησε τον Θεου τη ευχη, ὦτε εκαθις σαιλον νεβιλαυ υδροφορσαι τους τρατων, κ. λ. Them. Or. 15. p. 191.
well pleased, that the clouds presently poured down rain upon the soldiers. I have seen a representation of this event, in which was the emperor praying at the head of his army, and the soldiers receiving the rain in their helmets, and refreshing themselves with drink that was the gift of heaven. Of so great advantage is the virtue of a prince to his subjects.

So speaks Themistius in an oration to a christian emperor. He ascribes all to the virtues and prayers of Antoninus, without any the least notice of the christians. He seems to refer to the Columna Antoniana: though we do not observe in that sculpture the emperor standing at the head of his army, as here intimated.

(5.) The poet Claudian, in his panegyric of the sixth consulate of Honorius, in the year 404, speaking of the victory of Marcus Antoninus over the Quadians, says: 'It was not owing to the valour or conduct of the generals: the glory of this victory must be given by the Romans to heaven. There was a flaming shower which fell upon the enemies, and put to flight them and their horses: whether it was owing to Chaldrean magicians, who by their incantations brought the gods to the assistance of the Romans: or whether the piety of the emperor Marcus, as I rather think, engaged the favour of Jupiter the thunderer on their side.' So he also, without taking any notice of the christians.

Eusebius, as we may remember, said: 'By other writers, who were averse to our religion, the wonderful event is recorded; but they do not acknowledge that it was owing to the prayers of our people.' Which indeed is true of all those heathen writers which we now have. One of whom, Dion Cassius, is older than Eusebius; but we cannot certainly say that Eusebius ever saw him.

Obs. 10. 'Antoninus never ascribed this miracle to the prayers of the christians.'

That is Mr. Moyle's third observation, upon which he

Clemens, Marci, redis, cum gentibus undique cincta
Exuit Hesperiam paribus Fortuna periclis.
Laus ibi nulla ducum. Nam flammaeus imber in hostem
Decidit. Hunc dorso trepidum flammae ferebat
Ambustus sonipes: hic tabescente solutus
Subsidit galea, liquefactaque fulgere cuppis
Canduit, et subitis fluxere vaporibus ensest.
Tunc, contenta polo mortalis nescia teli
Pugna fuit. Chaldaza mago seu carmina ritu
Arnavere Deos; seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis
Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.


*p Vol. ii. p. 91.
enlargeth in this manner: 'Had this miracle been publicly
owned by the emperor, and ascribed by him to the prayers
of the christians, it is incredible that all the pagan histo-
rians should with one consent conspire to disown it in their
writings, as Eusebius confesses they did. See Dio Cass.
l. 71. p. 805. Capitolin. in Antonin. cap. 24, the name-
less authors cited by Suidas in 

Nor would The-
mistius [de Regià Virtute, ad Theod.] and Claudian [in vi.
Cons. Honor.] have dared to ascribe the honour of it to
heaven gods, in panegyrics to christian emperors.'

'That Antoninus thought himself obliged to his own gods
for this miracle, we have a testimony beyond exception in
his own pillar, which is still extant at Rome; of which I
have seen a cut in Baronius's Annals, to whom I refer you
for farthera satisfaction. The same is confirmed by a medal
in the French king's cabinet, published by Morelli, which
was struck the very year in which this miracle is said to
be wrought, viz. 174. On one side is the head of Antoni-
nus crowned with laurel; on the reverse is a Mercury with
this inscription: Religio Augusti. Which exactly agrees
with Dion's account of the miracle.'

A like cut or print of the sculpture, or bas relief, in An-
toninus's pillar, may be seen in Havercamp's edition of Ter-
tullian's Apology, and in Colonia. Where is Jupiter Plu-
vius, the giver of rain, sending down rain and thunder and
lightning; by which the soldiers on one side are refreshed,
and the others annoyed and terrified.

And Montfauçon, in his Antiquities, has exhibited an ex-
act representation of this Jupiter. I shall transcribe him in
his owna words: 'Jupiter, giver of rain, was honoured by

a At the top of the sculpture, to which Mr. Moyle refers, appears Jupiter Pluvius, sending down rain and lightning upon the two armies. Says Baro-
nius: Visuit adhuc in ea [Antonini columnâ] imago expressa rei gestae; sed
is plane signis, ut Jovis, imbris dantis, et illis fulgura admiscens, representet
efficac; quam, ex ea graphicè incisam, hac tibi formâ exprimendam cura-

b Col. Tom. i. ch. vii. p. 110.

b Jupiter le Pluvieux, Pluvius, appelé par les Grecs Oµαραι, et par
Lucien 'Yerio, était honoré par les Athéniens, qui lui avoient dressé un autel
sur le mont Hymette. Nous le donnons d'une manière bien extraordinaire, tel
qu'il est représenté dans la Colonne Antonine. C'est un veilard à longue
barbe, qui a des ailes, et qui tient les deux bras étendus, et la main droite un
peu élevé. L'eau sort à grands flots des ses bras, et de sa barbe. Les soldats
Romains de l'armée de M. Aurèle, que la sécheresse et la soif avoient reduits à
une extrême nécessité, reçoivent cette eau dans les creux de leurs boucliers.
Les Romains, plongez encore dans le Paganisme, attribueront ce prodige à
leur Jupiter Pluvieux. Mais ce furent, dit avec plus de raison Baronius dans
ses Annales, les soldats chrétiens, qui obtinrent cette pluie, qui sauva l'armée.
L'Antiquité Expliquée, Tom. i. Liv. 2. ch. iii. Pl. xiii. à la p. 44. The con-
cluding words of the Latin, in Montfauçon, are these: Romani, multiplicium
the Athenians, who erected an altar to him on the hill Hy-
mettus. We give an extraordinary figure of him as he is
represented in the pillar of Antoninus. It is that of an old
man with a long beard, who has wings: [the wings are
upon the upper part of the arms :] with two arms stretched
out, the right hand raised somewhat higher than the other.
The water flows in large streams from his arms and from
his beard. The Roman soldiers in Marcus’s army, whom
the drought and thirst had reduced to the utmost ex-
tremity, received the water in the hollow of their shields.
The Romans, still plunged in paganism, ascribed this pro-
digy to their Jupiter Pluvius. But they were, as Baro-
nius with more reason says, the christian soldiers who ob-
tained this rain, which saved this army.

So says Montfauçon, overpowered, as it seems, by the au-
thority and credulity of his church.

Obs. 11. I must be allowed to add, that other like things
are recorded in the Roman history. One instance is men-
tioned as happening in the time of the emperor Claudius,
in the year of Rome 795, of Christ 42. The Moors
had rebelled, and were reduced by Suetonius Paulli-
nus, a man of pretorian rank, [several times mentioned
by Tacitus,] upon account of his government and suc-
cesses in Britain, who wasted their country as far as
Mount Atlas—There being fresh disturbances in that
country afterwards, Cneius Hosidius, a man of the like
rank, made an expedition against them, and obtained se-
veral victories over their general Salabus. The Moors
fled into a sandy country. And Hosidius pursued them
with a part of his army; having beforehand furnished him-
self with such supplies of water as he was able to get.
But when that was spent he was reduced to great straits,
the barbarians being better able to endure thirst than the
Romans, and being also better acquainted with the places
where water might be had. It was impossible for the
Romans to proceed; nor was it easy for them to retreat, so
that they knew not what course to take. At that time an
numinum errore adhuc obruti, id prodigii Jovi Pluvio adscripsent. At
Baronius in Annalibus aquam a militibus christianis a Deo impetratam affirmat.
1 Dion. l. 60. p. 670, 671. al. p. 947, 948.
3 Τούς δὲ ἐν ὁ τούτων ἐν τούτων, αὕτων μὲν προχωρησαί, χαλεπὸν
dὲ καὶ ὑποστηὶ ἔτη ἀπορθητα ἐν αὐτὸν ὁ, τὸ γαρ πράσα, ἀνεπείκε τῶν
eπικεφαλῶν τῶν ασπίδων, ἐπὶ ἄχας ταῦτα καὶ μαγγανικὰς χρησάθαι, λεγὼν,
πολλὰςς σφαίρας εὐς τῷ τούτῳ πολὺ úδωρ ἔδεσσάν. Καὶ αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα
tούτων εὐς τῷ πρᾶν ἐφών, ώτε καὶ αὐτῷ δύος εἶξακεσθαι, καὶ τῆς πολεμικῆς
προσκαταληξαί, νομίζαντας το θεον εὐς εἰκων. p. 948.
inhabitant of the country, who was friendly to the Romans, came to Hosidius, and advised him to make use of magical incantations; assuring him that, by that means, he had often obtained rain. The Roman general having followed that advice, there fell on a sudden great quantities of rain, which refreshed the Romans and terrified their enemies. For they concluded that the gods favoured them. They therefore submitted, and accepted of the terms of peace proposed to them. So writes Dion Cassius.

There was another like shower in the contention between Niger and Septimius Severus, particularly in the last and decisive action, as related also by Dion Cassius. For a while, he says, the battle was fought with doubtful and almost equal success. Afterwards the army of Niger, by the superiority of their numbers and the advantage of their situation, prevailed very considerably, and the victory had been complete, were it not that on a sudden, when the sky was clear, nor a puff of wind blowing, there appeared clouds, and a violent shower of rain followed, with terrible thunder and lightning, which beat upon the faces of Niger's men. At the same time the army of Severus was not at all annoyed, as the storm was at their backs. This circumstance animated the army of Severus, esteeming themselves favoured by the Deity. But the army of Niger was dispirited, and gave way, thinking that heaven fought against them. In a short time the victory became complete: and not less than twenty thousand men were slain on the side of Niger.' So writes Dion again. But I do not here see any notice taken of magical incantations. The storm therefore happened in the usual course of nature; though it was sudden and unexpected, (as such things frequently are,) and it was favourable to the army of Severus. This is supposed to have happened in the year of Rome 947, of Christ 194.

I add no more observations.

IV. It may be reasonably expected that this long argument should be now summed up, and reduced to some propositions. This summary shall be now made according to the sentiments, and almost in the very words, of the late Mr. Mosheim.

w Loco citato. Vid. et Basnag. Ann. 42. num. i.
\[\text{Dion. lib. 74. p. 843. al. p. 1248, 1249.}\]
\[\text{Γαϊ παντελῶς εκρατήσαν, ει μη νεφώ εξ αὐθών, και ανέμου ει νηνεμας, βρονταὶ τε σκιέραι και στραιπά εξαί πεθ̣ νεφω λαβάρα κατὰ προσωπον αυτος προσεπέςων, κ. λ. p. 1249.}\]
\[\text{L. cit. et conf. Basnag, ann. Ch. 194. num. iii.}\]
\[\text{Mosh. de Rebus Christianor. ante Constant. M. sec. 2. sect. xvii. p. 248—253.}\]
1. 'In the first place, it is certain that, in the war with the Quadians and Marcomanni in Germany, Marcus, with his army, was in great danger. Marcus was a better philosopher than emperor: nor could he learn the art of war from the writings of the stoics. And his imminent danger from the enemy may be imputed to his own imprudence.'

2. 'It is also certain that he was unexpectedly delivered out of that great danger by a shower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and obtained a victory.'

3. 'Farther, It is certain that not only the christians, but also the emperor and the Romans, ascribed that shower, the great cause of their deliverance and victory, not to the ordinary course of nature, but to an extraordinary interposition of the divine power: they to the true God, and their own prayers; these to Jove or Mercury. This we learn from the Roman authors, Dion Cassius, Capitolinus, Claudian, and Themistius, and especially from the pillar at Rome, set up by Marcus, and still remaining, in which Jupiter, the giver of rain, is represented refreshing the almost expiring Roman soldiers by a plentiful shower of rain.'

4. 'There may have been many christian soldiers in Marcus's army. If there were, it may be taken for granted that, in the time of the danger, they offered up prayers to God for deliverance: and that afterwards they also gave thanks to God for it; and when they sent an account of it to their christian brethren, they let them know how great advantages God had vouchsafed to their prayers. Hence it is easy to suppose that a rumour prevailed, and was also firmly believed, that the Romans had been miraculously saved by the prayers of the christians.'

5. 'It is false, though supported by the authority of Apollinaris and Eusebius, that there was a whole legion of christian soldiers in Marcus's army. Consequently, there is no reason to believe that, when this imminent danger appeared, these soldiers drew up in a body, and falling down upon their knees presented prayers to God; and that immediately, before their prayers were over, a shower, with lightning and thunder, came down from heaven.'

6. 'It is not true that Marcus ascribed the safety of himself and army to that legion, and thereupon honoured it with the name of the thundering legion. Scaliger, and Henry Valesius, and other learned men, have shown that the thundering legion is older than the times of Marcus, and did not take its denomination from this event. But some christian, little acquainted with the military affairs of
the Romans, having heard that there was such a legion, concluded, without reason, that it had derived its name from thunder and lightning, obtained by the prayers of Christians, and then propagated his groundless imagination, which was received as true by too many, without examination, as is common in such cases.

7. 'That Marcus did not think that he owed his safety to the favour which the Christians were in with God, is manifest from the pillar set up at Rome, with his consent and approbation, in which Jupiter is acknowledged to be the deliverer of the Romans.'

8. 'Consequently, all that is said of Marcus's public letter, written at that time, in which he is supposed to have extolled the piety of the Christians, and have restrained their enemies and accusers, is entirely without foundation.'

The letter which we now have, and is generally placed at the end of one of Justin Martyr's apologies, is allowed, even by the defenders of the miracle of the thundering legion, to have in it manifest tokens of spuriousness, and to be the work of a man unskilful in Roman affairs, and who probably lived in the seventh century.'

But since Tertullian, in the fifth chapter of his Apology, makes mention of such a letter of Marcus, many are of opinion that in his time it was really in being; but has been since lost, through the injury of time. 'On the other hand,' says Tertullian, 'we can allege a protector, as may appear, if the letter of Marcus Aurelius, a most worthy emperor, be sought for, in which he acknowledged the remarkable drought in Germany to have been removed by a shower, obtained perhaps by the prayers of Christian soldiers.' Nevertheless this testimony of Tertullian is weakened, and even overthrown, by divers considerations. I forbear, says Mr. Mosheim, to insist here upon the word perhaps: whence some learned men have argued that Tertullian himself doubted of this miracle, or that he had not seen the emperor's letter. For to me it appears clear that it does not relate to Tertullian, but to the emperor and his letter. The meaning of what he says is


\[c\] Manifesto nimium pertinet, non ad Tertullianum, verum ad Imperatorem, ejusque epistolam; sensusque orationis hic est: Marcum non aperte fateri ac decernere, imbrem militum christianorum supplicationibus impetratum esse, verum dubitantier loqui, atque significare, 'forte' magnum hoc beneficium christianorum precibus deberi. Mosheim. ibid. p. 251.
this: that Marcus did not openly confess and declare that the shower was obtained by the prayers of Christian soldiers, but spoke doubtfully, 'that perhaps this great benefit was 'owing to the prayers of the Christians.' This I pass by. But there are two other considerations by which this testimony is absolutely enervated and overthrown. First of all, what Tertullian says of the design of the emperor's letter, if I am not greatly mistaken, manifests that when he wrote this he had in his eye the edict of Antoninus the pious, (who is often confounded with Marcus,) which he sent to the community of Asia, of which we spoke formerly. For so he says: 'Who,' though he did not openly abrogate the laws 'against the Christians, yet in another way he openly broke 'their force, appointing also a penalty to their accusers, 'and of the severest sort.' Let us now attend. First of all, Tertullian says, that 'Marcus did not openly abrogate the 'laws against the Christians,' that is, he did not openly forbid Christians to be punished. Then he adds, 'but in another way 'he openly broke the force of the laws;' that is, he made a wise provision that the Christians should not be easily punished by the judges. Lastly he says, 'that he appointed 'a punishment for the accusers of the Christians.' All these 'three things exactly suit the edict of Antoninus the pious to the common council of Asia. There, indeed, he does not absolutely forbid the punishing of Christians: nevertheless, when he appoints that no Christian should be punished, unless he be convicted of some crime, he very much restrains their punishment, and contracts their sufferings in narrow limits. Lastly, he requires that the accusers of the Christians, who could not convict them of some crime, should undergo the punishment of their own temerity. In this therefore, as I think, Tertullian was certainly mistaken, in ascribing the edict of Antoninus the pious to his successor Marcus Antoninus. And when he had been told that Marcus and his army had been saved in a time of imminent danger by the prayers of the Christians, he imagined that this benefit had induced Marcus to pass that law in their favour. The other consideration, which invalidates this testimony of Tertullian, is the persecution of the Christians at Lyons and Vienne, of which we spoke formerly. It happened in the year of Christ 177, three years after the victory obtained over

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\[d\] I also think that edict, sent to the community of Asia, to be rightly ascribed to Antoninus the pious. It may be seen at length above, at p. 126, 127.

\[e\] Sic nempe loquitur: sicut non palam ab hujusmodi hominibus penam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit; adjecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem tetriore. Apol. cap. 5.
the Quadrans and Marcomanni. For who can believe that the emperor, who, in a public letter to the senate, in the year 174, had extolled the christians, and appointed a heavy punishment to their accusers, should in the year 177 deliver them up into the hands of their enemies, and order them to be capitally punished, unless they denounced their religion?

9. There still remains one point to be considered: Whether the shower, by which the Romans were saved in the war with the Marcomanni, ought to be placed in the number of miracles. But this question, in my opinion, may be solved without much difficulty. Learned men are now agreed that nothing ought to be placed among miracles, which may be accounted for by the ordinary powers of nature. But in this shower, though it happened unexpectedly, there is nothing beyond the power of nature, or which needs a divine interposition. For it is a very common thing, according to the laws of nature, for long droughts in the summer season to be followed with plentiful showers of rain, joined with terrifying thunder and lightning. Nor ought it to be esteemed miraculous that the lightning fell upon some of the enemies, and put their army to flight; forasmuch as all the people of Germany supposed that lightnings came from God, and they would form their judgment accordingly.

So writes Mr. Mosheim; and, as seems to me, judiciously and plausibly. I have transcribed him here, as summing up my argument, and making also some valuable additions to it.

I shall take this opportunity to correct a mistake common among learned foreigners—that Mr. King, who had a debate with Mr. Moyle about the thundering legion, was Sir Peter King, afterwards Baron of Ockham, and Lord High Chancellor of England. So thought Mr. Mosheim, who trans-

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8 That observation of Mr. Mosheim answers to what is the sixth observation of Mr. Moyle, p. 99, &c. That the deliverance of the Roman army, though undoubtedly true, was no miracle. Whereupon the same ingenious writer proceeds: I see nothing supernatural in this deliverance of the Romans. Thunder and rain are no miracles; and they are nevertheless natural for happening in so critical a season. There are examples enough in the Greek and Roman story of such casual events, which, because they were a little uncommon and surprising, and fell out in seasonable junctures of time, have been styled miracles by the ignorance and superstition of the vulgar,' &c.


lated these letters into Latin, and in the main embraced Mr. Moyle's sentiments. But I am assured, by those who are likely to know the truth, that Mr. King, who disputed with Mr. Moyle, was a clergyman, and minister of Topsham near Exeter; which last was the place of his nativity, as well as Sir Peter's. He is the same King to whom Mr. Locke wrote some letters, which are in the post-humous collection of his letters, published by Mr. Col- lings. He is there styled the Reverend Mr. King.

It is pity that the person who corresponded with Mr. Moyle, upon so curious a subject, should be so little known. Mr. King and Mr. Moyle must have been intimate friends; for Mr. Moyle's Dissertation upon the age of the Philopatris was sent to the same person in several letters.

Since writing what is above, I have received an authentic account from a gentleman personally acquainted with Mr. Moyle. It is in these words: 'Mr. Moyle's correspondent in the affair of the thundering legion was Mr. Richard King, vicar of Topsham. Mr. Moyle died in 1721; Mr. King survived him many years.'

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CHAP. XVI.

APULEIUS OF MADAURA IN AFRICA.

I. His history, time, and works. II. Passages relating to the christians. III. Miracles ascribed to him. IV. The design of his metamorphosis, or golden ass.

I. LUCIUS APULEIUS of Madaura in Africa, a Platonic philosopher, flourished in the times of the emperors Antoninus the pious and M. Antoninus the philosopher. Madaura was a Roman colony, and his family was considerable. He appears to have had an insatiable thirst for

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\(^b\) In quâ coloniâ patrem habui loco princepe Duumviralem, cunctis hono- ribus perfunctum. Apol. p. 444. And farther see Bayle, as above, note \(^a\).

knowledge, and studied at Carthage, Athens, and Rome. He was the author of many works, divers of which still remain monuments of great learning and ingenuity.

He had married a rich widow, named Prudentilla, against the will of her first husband's relations, which occasioned him a great deal of trouble. They accused him of the practice of magical arts to gain her consent. He pleaded for himself before Claudius Maximus, proconsul of Asia, who had been consul of Rome in the year of Christ 144: which has induced learned men to place Apuleius as flourishing about the year 163.

II. Apuleius seems to have had some knowledge of the Christians and their affairs.

The first place which I shall quote will be taken from his Metamorphosis, or the Ass, or the Golden Ass, as it is sometimes called; which is a fabulous story, wherein are represented many events observed by him, and disasters that befell him, whilst in the shape of an ass, enjoying human understanding. He could see, and hear, and observe; but he could not speak with human voice.

1. Among his many adventures in this state one is this: He was sold to a baker; who, as he says, was a very good sort of a man, but he had a very bad wife, who so abused her husband, that he could not but lament his unhappy condition as well as his own. She had every vice without any thing agreeable. She was perverse, ill-natured, obstinate, given to drinking, she robbed her husband, was

e Ego vero, quonquam perfectus asinus, et pro Lucio jumentum, sensum tamen refinebam humanum. Metam. 1. 3. p. 95. f ——sed jam humano gestu simul et voce privatus. Ibid.

f 6 Pistor ille, qui me preto summ fecerat, bonus alioqu vir, et apprimo modestus, pessimam et ante cunctas mulieres longe deterrimam sortitus conjugem, poenas extremas tori larisque sustinebat; ut, hereule, ejus vicem ego quoque tacitus frequenter ingemiserem. Nec enim illum vitium nequissimae illi feminae decrat: sed omnia prorsus, ut in quandam cæsonam latrinam, in ejus animum flagitia confluxerant. Scæva, scæva, viatoria, ebriosa, pervicax, pertinax, in rapinis turbibus avara, in suntibus turbibus profusa, iminica fidei, hostis pudicitiae. Tunc sprevis, atque calcitis divinis numinis, in vicem certa religionis, mentitio sacrilega presumptione Dei, quem praedicaret unicum, conflict, observationibus vacuis, fallens omnes homines, et misericordiam decipiens, mutatino mero et continuo stupro corpus manipératur. Talis illa mulier mira me persequebatur odio. Nam et anteluculo recubans adhuc, subjungi machinæ novitium clamabat asinum; et statim, ut cubiculo primum processerat, insensibus jubebat incornam sui plagas mihi quamplurimas irrogari; et cum tempus profusum lacarentur jumenta cetera, longe tardius applicari præsepio jubebat. Metam. 1. 9. p. 282.
Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

profuse in her expenses, and unchaste; and moreover, slighting the immortal gods and their worship, instead of the true religion she adopted a false and sacrilegious opinion concerning the Deity, which she said was one only, and practised vain observances, deceiving all men, and especially her miserable husband, and devoting herself to drinking and lewdness from morning to night. The mistress being such a woman, she was very severe to the new-bought ass. She took care he should be early put to the mill; nor would she let him be released when the other cattle were at noon. And what follows:

There can be no doubt that Apuleius here design to represent a christian woman. And, as he was pleased to prolong his fiction with a great variety of incidents, we are not to wonder that he brought in this character. The christians at that time, being under persecution, often had their religious solemnities, and particularly the eucharist, early in the morning. Therefore Apuleius charges this woman with 'getting up early to drink.' And as their assemblies for divine worship were then private, and sometimes in the night season, he charges her with lewdness. It is also very likely that christian people were often charged with 'robbing their husbands'—to give to poor christians or their ministers. It cannot be thought very strange that, in such a work as this, Apuleius should gratify his own malice, and divert his reader with the character of a christian, dressed up agreeably to the common reports which prevailed among their enemies.

2. I now proceed to another place, which is in the apology; where Apuleius, having mentioned his own initiatives into the mysteries of several deities, he goes on: 'But I know some, and especially that Emilian, (brother of Prudentilla's first husband, by whom the present accusation was carried on,) who laughs at all these things and derides them; for, as I hear, from the accounts of those who know them well, he has never yet made supplication to any god,

nor worshipped in any temple. When he passes by a consecrated place, he esteems it a crime to put his hand to his mouth, by way of adoration; nor does he consecrate to the gods of agriculture, who feed and clothe him, any first-fruits of grain, or of the vine, or of his flocks. Nor is there in his country seat any chapel, nor indeed any consecrated grove or other place whatever. But why do I talk of groves and chapels? They who have been there say they never saw in his territories so much as a stone anointed with oil, or a crowned bough. Insomuch that there are two surnames given him; Charon, as I said before, because of the fierceness of his look and temper; the other is Mezentius, upon account of his contempt of the gods; which last-mentioned name, possibly, he likes the best of the two.

There is very little here that needs explication. But it may be proper to observe that Mezentius is the name of a king of the Tyrrenhians, who is several times spoken of by Virgil as a contemner of the gods.

The place first alleged by me has been taken notice of by all commentators upon Apuleius in general. But this other was first observed by the learned Dr. Warburton, now bishop of Gloucester; who, from what Apuleius had said, concludes that Licinius Æmilianus, his wife's brother-in-law, was a Christian; and that the accusation of magic, brought by him before the proconsul of Africa, did not a little contribute to inflame our author's bigotry for Gentilism, and increase his aversion to Christianity.

3. I shall allege one place more in the same apology, where he waords off the charge of magic in procuring the marriage with Prudentilla in this manner: \( ^1 \) If,\(^ 1 \) says he, they can show any particular advantage which I could propose to myself in this marriage, let me then be esteemed Carinondas, Damigeron, or that Moses, or Jannes, or Apollonius, or Dardanus, or any other, who since Zoroaster and Hostanes have been most celebrated among magicians.'

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\(^k\) See the Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated. B. 4. sect. 4. p. 120. in the notes, the second vol. edit. 1741.

\(^1\) Si una causa, vel minima, fuerit inventa, cur ego debuerim Prudentillae nuptias, ob aliquod mecum commodum, appetere; si quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaveritis, ego ille sin Carinondas, vel Damigeron, vel is Moses, vel Jannes, vel Apollonius, vel ipse Dardanus, vel quicumque alius, post Zoroastrem et Hostanem, inter magos celebratus est. Apol. p. 544.
In 2 Tim. iii. 8, mention is made of “Jannes and Jambres, who withstood Moses.” I do not say that Apuleius had read this text, or any book of the New Testament; but the passage is a proof that Moses was well known in the world as a person of great eminence; and doubtless he was esteemed the Jewish lawgiver.

III. I have not observed any more passages in Apuleius relating to the Christians. In the fourth and fifth centuries miracles were ascribed to him; of which I say nothing now; but I propose to consider that point hereafter in the chapter of Hierocles.

IV. But, if it might not be reckoned too presuming, I would now consider the judgment passed upon the Metamorphosis, the principal remaining work of this author, by Dr. Warburton, now bishop of Gloucester; who supposes that his design was to recommend the Pagan religion as the only cure for all vice in general.

Against that interpretation, it seems to be no small objection that the author himself calls it a Milesian tale, and a Greek fable; and the ancients always so understood it, as our great author himself acknowledges.

The Metamorphosis," says he, p. 117, "even from its first appearance, hath had the character of a trifling fable. Capitolinus, in Clodius Albinus, tells us that Severus could not bear with patience the honours which the senate had conferred on Albinus, especially the distinguishing title of learned, who was grown old in the study of old wives' fables, such as the Milesian Punic tales of his countryman and favourite Apuleius. Major fuit, (says Severus in his letter to the senate on this occasion,) dolor, quod illum pro literato laudandum plerique duxistis, quum ille veneiss quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apuleii sui et ludicra literaria consenesceret. That poor, modern-spirited critic Macrobius, talks too of Apuleius in the same strain, lib. I. cap. 2. Again, p. 118, "The ancients, who stuck in the outside, considered it without refinement as an idle fable." And p. 123, "The author introduces his Metamorphosis in this manner: At ego tibi sermonem isto Milesio varius fabulas conferam, auresque tuas be-


n See the Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated, book iv. sect. 4. vol. 2. p. 117, &c, in the notes, ed. 1741.


'nevolas lepido susurro permulceam—And his kind readers
took him at his word: and from that day to this never
troubled themselves about any farther meaning.'

And why should not 'his readers take him at his word,' and accept of his own account of the design of his work? And why should we trouble ourselves farther? Why may not we understand him as the ancients did?

One reason against that is taken from the character of the writer, p. 117, 'However, Macrobius seems to wonder that 'Apuleius should trifle at this rate; and well he might; 'for the writer of the Metamorphosis was one of the gravest 'and most virtuous philosophers of his age.'

I do not know what assurance we have of this. I am not able to reconcile that character with the many horrible obscenities of that work, not inferior to the most offensive things of that kind in any of the works of Lucian. A grave philosopher may, for the sake of diversion, propose in conversation, or writing, a tale, 'a Milesian tale,' if you please: but not such a story as that of Apuleius's ass. Marcus Aurelius was a philosopher of the same age; no man can believe him capable of such an obscene performance as this, notwithstanding his aversion to Christianity. I own that Apuleius must have been studious; otherwise he had not attained to such learning as appears in his writings; and he had the character of a philosopher: but his obscenity is a strong objection to his virtue and gravity. And his apology also manifests great gaiety of temper; nor is it entirely free from obscenity.

P. 123, 124, 'The fable opens with the representation of 'a young man, figured in his own person.' For certain, it
is Lucius Apuleius himself throughout, who speaks, and acts, and suffers, in his fable.

P. 125. 'Matters growing still from bad to worse, his
affairs come to a crisis; for being now about to perpetrate,
in the ninth book, (it should be said the tenth,) one of the
most shocking enormities,—he abhors the idea of his pro-
jected crime, evades his keepers, and flies to the sea-
shore.'

I must take the liberty to say I do not perceive that to be
the truth of the case; for he had before perpetrated that
shocking enormity, and has related the commission of it
with shameful particularity; but he scorned to repeat it in
public, and made his escape from his keepers.

At the end, in the eleventh book, he recovers his original

a L. 10. p. 336, &c.  

r lb. p. 343, &c.
form; and he undergoes three initiations into the mysteries of Isis, and then of Osiris, and lastly the Roman rites.

'All this considered,' says the venerable and laborious author before named, p. 130, 'who can any longer doubt but that the true design of this work was to recommend initiation into the mysteries, in opposition to the new religion?' meaning the Christian religion.

I do not yet perceive the certainty of that conclusion. Supposing a man by some means to have been transformed into an ass, and in that state to have been treated as a beast of burden, and to have undergone many hardships; it was natural for him, upon his recovering the human shape, to make acknowledgments to heaven, in a way agreeable to the religion of which he makes profession, or as best suited to his own temper. Lucian, whose regard for the gods is not reckoned to have been very extraordinary, having been transformed, as Apuleius is represented to have been, upon the recovery of human shape, 'sacrifices' to the gods his 'saviours, and makes offerings to them.' Apuleius, who was more accustomed to religious rites, is initiated, as just shown.

I must therefore still understand this to be a Milesian fable, as the ancients did. And I cannot but consider the allegorical interpretation as a fiction without foundation.

But, though I am not able to discern that deep and hidden design which our author sees in this work, it may be allowed to be (what divers learned and ingenious men have supposed) a perpetual satire of the tricks and irregularities of magicians, priests, debauchees, cheats, and sharpers, with which the world was then filled.

Crevier's character of Apuleius is absurd and unacc
Early Writers against the Christians.

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countable. I put it below with a remark or two; and perhaps it may be remembered when we come to the chapter of Hierocles.

Since writing what is above, upon reviewing the chapter, I have observed that Mr. Mosheim had seen and examined the argument of the bishop of Gloucester. But, after expressing just tokens of respect for his lordship, he declares himself not to be fully satisfied with his representation of the design of the fable of the ass.

CHAP. XVII.

A general account of the early adversaries of the christians, who wrote against them: Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian, Fronto, and some others.

The next author to be quoted by me, is Celsus, who in the second century wrote professedly against the christians. And I shall now give a general account of all our ancient adversaries, or such heathen authors, who designedly opposed the christian religion.

Doubtless, all the heathen authors, hitherto quoted, were, in a sense, enemies to christianity. For though they had heard of it, they did not embrace it, but rejected it: and usually they manifest ill-will and aversion, in their manner of speaking of christians, and their principles. But now I intend such as on set purpose wrote against it, and endeavoured to confute it. In these it is reasonable to expect more particulars concerning christianity, than in others, who only speak of it by the by. We might at least expect this if their treatises were now entire; or if there remain some considerable fragments of them. We might expect to see there the best reasons which heathens had to offer against it, and the arguments deduced at length, and the defects of the evidences of our religion, if indeed there are any. And if those adversaries employ only weak and inconclusive arguments, or make use of ridicule and calumny, we may be thence farther confirmed in the persuasion of the

* De consilio vero fabulae de Asino, quod commendationem mysteriorum, et christianæ religionis contentionem, vir doctissimus esse conjicit, dubitare nihii heceat; quum nihil afferri videam ex ea quod difficulter in aliam partem accipi possit. Mosheim. de Reb. ante C. M. p. 563.
truth of our religion. And it is very likely, that we should see fresh reason to admire the steadiness and perseverance of the christians of those times, who bore up, and held out, against the virulent pens of keen and witty adversaries, as well as against the sword of the magistrate, and the clamours of the common people.

The most noted adversaries of the christian religion, in the first four centuries, are Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, and Julian. The three former wrote within the compass of the first three centuries, and before the establishment of christianity in the Roman empire by Constantine; the last, not till after the middle of the fourth century, and after the reigns of several christian emperors, Constantine and his sons. But, beside them, there were some others, not so considerable, of whom I shall take some notice here.

The principal adversaries were Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian; as may be inferred from the distinct and frequent mention made of them by ancient christian writers; who, when they are speaking of the enemies of our religion, sometimes mention those three only, without taking notice of any others. So Jerom\(^a\) in the preface to his book Of Illustrious Men; and also in another\(^b\) place where he likewise particularly mentions those learned christians who had published answers to them. I transcribe both those places below.

It is evident from a letter of\(^c\) Constantine, that in his time the memory of Porphyry was made infamous, and that his books against the christian religion were by edict ordered to be burnt. There was afterwards another edict of\(^d\) Theo-

\(^a\) Discant igitur Celsus, Porphyrius, Julianus; discant eorum sectatores, qui putant ecclesiam nullos philosophos, et eloquentes, nullos habuisse doctores, quanti et quales viri eam fundaverint, exstruxerint, adornaverint; et desinant fidem nostram, rustice tantum simplicitatis arguere, suamque potius imperitiam agnoscant. De Vir. Ill. in Procm.

\(^b\) Scripscrunt contra nos Celsus atque Porphyrius. Priori Oregenes, alteri Methodius, Eusebius, et Apollinaris fortissime respondentur. Quorum Origenes octo scripti libros; Methodius usque ad decem millia procedit versuum; Eusebius et Apollinaris viginti quinque et triginta volumina condiderunt.— Julianus Augustus septem libros in expeditione Parti\(\text{c}\) adversus Christian evomuit, et juxta fabulas po\(\text{c}\)tarum suo se esse laceravit. Hieron. ad Magn. ep. 83. [al. 84.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 655.


\(^d\) Sancimus igitur, ut omnia, qu\(\text{e}\)cumque Porphyrius su\(\text{a}\) pulsus insan\(\text{a}\), aut quivis alius, contra religiosum christianorum cultum conscripsit, apud quemcunque inventa fuerint, igni mancipentur. Omnia enim provocantia Deum ad iracundiam scripta, et pias mentes offendentia, ne ad aures quidem hominum venire volumus. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. i. l. iii. in. Vid. et. Justinian. Nov. 42. cap. i.
dosius the younger, in 449, for abolishing the writings of Porphyry, and of every one else, who had written against the christian religion.

In that edict Porphyry only is expressly mentioned. It is a proof of the great aversion which Christians had for his memory.

I do not by any means justify such proceedings; which have been often blamed by learned moderns,* who regret the loss of those writings. However, I do not entirely ascribe the loss of them to imperial edicts; but rather to the general contempt which they soon fell under. There is a remarkable passage in Chrysostom, in which he says, that† the books written against Christianity were so contemptible, that they had been all in a manner lost long ago. Many of them perished almost as soon as they appeared. But if they are still to be found any where, it is among the Christians.'

Lactantius⁵ makes particular mention of two persons in his own time, (though he does not name them,) who wrote against the christian religion; and he supposeth, that there might be others who did the like about the same time, as well as in former times. One of the two above mentioned is supposed to be Hierocles, who wrote, as is computed, in the year of Christ 303, and was confuted by Eusebius of Cæsarea. Of him we shall be obliged to take particular notice hereafter.

But beside them, I think, there were some others of an earlier age, possibly, about the same time with Celsus, or before him. Minucius Felix published his excellent apology for the Christian religion⁶ about the year 210. It is in the form of a dialogue, or conference, between Cæcilius Natalis a heathen, and Octavius Januarius a Christian, in which Minucius sits as judge.

Cæcilius, the heathen interlocutor, arguing against the

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† Alla tosnyos eti tov b' autov xagrasmenon o 'gelos, ote asaphodhnu kai ta baxia pola, kai igma to evxhthria, kai apolesthia ta polla. Ei de twn tiv eivwthi eaxowen, para xrisiounos tuto sognomen eiroi tes av. De S. Bab. Or. 2. Tom. ii. p. 539. Bened.

⁵ Inst. l. v. cap. 2, 3, 4, 5.

christians, speaks to this purpose. 'As for the feast, it is a well-known thing. Every body talks of it. They come together, upon an appointed day, with all their children, their sisters, and mothers; persons of each sex, and of every condition. And after feeding plentifully, when the lights are put out, they practise promiscuously incest, and all manner of uncleanness.'

To this Octavius refers, when it comes to his turn to speak. 'The story,' says he, 'of the incestuous mixtures is a mere fiction, a lie invented by demons. Nor does your Fronto attest it as a positive witness; but he flings it out in the way of reproach as an orator.'

It hence plainly appears, that one Fronto had published an oration against the christians, in which was that odious calumny, particularly taken notice of by Tertullian, and other ancient christian apologists. Several learned men have been of opinion, that this Fronto is the same, who was master in the Latin tongue to Marcus Antoninus the philosopher. If so, we may the less wonder at that emperor's antipathy to the christians; for Fronto was one of his masters, for whom he had a high respect. As Antoninus's master was a professed orator and rhetorician, the conjecture that he is the same who published the oration here mentioned, is very probable.

But beside this Fronto, who was of Cirtha in Numidia, expressly mentioned both by Cæcilius and Octavius in their

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k Et de inceso convivio fabulam grandem adversum nos daemonum coitio mentita est, ut gloriarm pudicitias deiformis infamæ aversione [f. aspersione] macularet—Sic de isto et tuus Fronto, nos, ut affirmator, testimonium fecit, sed convivium, ut orator, inspersit. Ib. cap. 31.

1 Nam et ex eadem Africâ prodibant hostes minime ignavi, neque improbi minus, quam vehementer calumniatores. Qualis, ne longius aseam, fuit ille, cujus jam memini, Fronto—Nollem hunc fuisset Papirium Frontonem jurisconsultum, qui in Pandectis laudatur. Suspicer potius fuisset Cornelium Frontonem rhetorem, quem Capitolinus narrat fuisset præceptorem M. Antonini Philosophi Imp.—Baldun. in Præf. ad Min. Felic. cap. iii. Vid. et annotata a Rigaltio, in cap. ix.

m Latinas autem litteras eum Fronto orator nobilissimum docuit. Eutrop. lib. viii. cap. 12.

Early Writers against the Christians.

conference, there seem to be references to one or two more, who are anonymous. For before Octavius mentions Fronto, he says: 'And he who tells against us the fiction of our 'worshipping the priest's secret parts, only strives to throw 'scandals upon us, which are his own, and belong to his 'own people.'

And soon afterwards: 'And now,' says Octavius, 'I 'would willingly speak to him, who says, or believes, that 'we are initiated with the murder and blood of a child.'

Here seem to me to be two different writers, who had aspersed the christians, beside Fronto. But whether they were professed adversaries, who wrote a book against the christians, as Fronto did; or whether they only occasionally flung out reflections upon the christians in some work, the principal part of which was some other subject, does not clearly appear. But they are authors. And as they are both taken notice of by Octavius, before he comes to Fronto, it is not unlikely, that they were at least as ancient as he; and probably not very remote in time from Celsus, of whom we are now to speak more distinctly.

I have not particularly mentioned Autolycus, to whom Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, near the end of the second century, addressed three books in the way of apology for the christians.

Nor Demetrian, to whom Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, about the middle of the third century, wrote a letter, with the same view; because, though they were men of some learning, and of some consideration upon account of their worldly condition, it does not appear that they ever wrote against the christians, but only, so far as we can discern, cast reflections upon them in their discourses, and sometimes even in the presence of the above-mentioned bishops, to whom they were not absolute strangers.

\[\text{Etiam ille, qui de adoratis sacerdotis virilibus adversus nos fabulatur, tentat in nos conferre que sua sunt. Cap. 28.}\]

\[\text{Illum jam convenire, qui initiari nos dicit, aut credit, de caede infantis et sanguine. Cap. 30. in.}\]
CHAP. XVIII.

CELSUS.

1. His time, and character, and his work against the christians. II. Passages in Celsus, representing the Jewish expectation of the Messiah. III. Passages of Celsus, containing references to the books of the N. T. IV. Passages of Celsus concerning christian facts, chiefly such as are recorded in the N. T. V. Passages of Celsus relating to the christian principles. VI. Passages relating to the progress of the christian religion. VII. Passages of Celsus, in which he chargeth the christians with magical practices. VIII. Passages relating to christian worship, and their religious assemblies. IX. Passages in Celsus concerning those called heretics. X. Passages in Celsus, containing calumnies, or injurious reflections upon the christians. XI. Remarks upon the work of Celsus against the christians, and upon Origen’s answer to it. XII. A Recapitulation of the preceding extracts. XIII. Three summaries of the fragments of the work of Celsus preserved in Origen, made by three several learned men.

SECTION I.

His time, and character, and his work against the christians.

The book, which Celsus wrote against the christians, was⁠a entitled ‘The true Word.’ Origen⁠b says, he had understood, that there were two of this name, who were Epicureans: one lived in the time of Nero, the other in the time of Adrian, and afterwards. Him he takes to be the person who had written against us.

⁠b Και περιγραφαμεν εν οκτω βιβλιοι παντα, ὅσα προσον ἐνα ινομισαμεν πεγανεσαν προς τον επιγραμμενον Κελσου Αληθη Δογον. L. viii. sect. 76. p. 428. et passim.

⁠b Contra Cels. l. i. c. 8. p. 9
Concerning Celsus, and his work, divers learned moderns may be consulted.

It was a time of persecution when he wrote; for he several times speaks of the christians teaching their principles privately, and holding assemblies contrary to law, and hiding themselves, because they were sought for to be put to death. This leads us to the reign of Marcus Antoninus the philosopher. It is also very probable, that this Celsus is the same, to whom Lucian inscribed his Alexander or Pseudomantitis, which was not written until after the death of the fore-mentioned emperor. He therefore reached to the time of Commodus. I choose, therefore, upon the whole, to place him with his friend Lucian, (who will be in the next chapter,) in the year of Christ 176, not far from the end of the reign of Marcus, who died in March, in the year 180.

Against this adversary of our religion, Origen, at the desire of his friend Ambrose, wrote an answer. It was published, as some think, in the year 246, according to others in 249, an excellent work, greatly esteemed and celebrated, not only by Eusebius and Jerom, but also by many judicious moderns, particularly Du Pin; who says, it is polite and methodical; not only the best work of Origen, but the completest and best written apology for the christian religion, which the ancients have left us.

This apology of Origen consists of eight books, undoubtedly thus divided by that great master himself, that each


Μετα ταυτα, περι τω χρυσα χριστανοι τα αρεσκοντα ιαυτοις τουεπ και διασκειν καινων, και ότι η ματην τοτο τουεπν, οτα διωθηνοι την επιφοημην αυτοι σεκερι τα ζανατη. L. i. sect. 3. p. 5.

e Ut ut est, Celsus, quem confutat Origenes, saum Αλεξιλ Γογον scribere non potuit ante Marci Aurelii imperium, quandoquidem, teste Origene, l. v. n. 62, non solum in eo opere memineras Marcionitarum, qui circa annum Christi 142 orti sunt, sed et Marcellianorum, qui nomen tradebant a Marcellinâ, qui dam ex Carpocratianorum sectâ muliere, quae, teste irenæo, lib. i. cap. 24, Romam venit sub Aniceto post annum Christi 157. Verisimile autem admodum est illum hoc opus composuisse ardente Marci Aurelii adversus christianos persecutione, siquidem, teste Origene, lib. viii. num. 69, christianos asserit ubique latere, ut mortis, ad quam querebantur, periculum evaderent. Benedictin. Moniment ad libros Origenis contr. Cels. p. 313.
f Lucian. T. i. p. 746. edh. Gr. 8 Contr. Cels. in Pr. et sub fin. libri octavi et ultimi.

b See Vol. ii. ch. xxxviii. p 2
book might be perused at a single reading, without disgust or weariness. But the Benedictines have now divided the books into sections; which is a very useful and acceptable service.

As Celsus undertook a laboured argument against the christians, and he wrote so late as the time of Marcus Antoninus, when too the christians were openly persecuted, and their affairs were rendered better known by the persecution itself, and by the apologies then made for them; we may reasonably expect to find in his work many things which may be now of great use to us; none, however, more valuable, than the testimony here given to the books of the New Testament. As Chrysostom says: 'Celsus and Bataneotes, (meaning Porphyry,) are sufficient witnesses to the antiquity of our books. For, I presume, they did not oppose writings which have been published since their own time.'

As our collections from the remains of Celsus, preserved in Origen, will be large and various, it is very proper to divide them into several sections.

SECTION II.

Passages in Celsus, representing the Jewish expectation of the Messiah.

NOR ought it to be thought at all strange, that we find some things in Celsus concerning this matter, because in a large part of his work he personated a Jew.

I. 'But my prophet said formerly at Jerusalem, that 'the Son of God will come a judge of good men, and a punisher of the wicked.'

Upon this Origen has divers observations, showing, that these words are improperly put in the mouth of a Jew. First, he says, that the Christ was not prophesied of by one, but by many. Secondly, if by 'my prophet' be meant Moses, here is another absurdity; for the name of Jerusalem was not known in his time. Thirdly, no Jew would say, that any prophet foretold the coming of 'the Son of

1  Ἰκανοὶ ἐκ καὶ αἱ καθ' ἡμῶν εἰρηκότες τὴν ἀρχαίανα μαρτυρίαν τῶν βιβλίων, οἱ περὶ Κελσοῦ καὶ τοῦ Βατανωτῆς τοῦ μετ' εκείνων. Οὐ γὰρ ὅπερ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὴς συντέλεσαν αντέλεσαν. Chrys. in ep. i. ad Cor. hom. vi. T. x. p. 47.

God,' but the coming of 'the Christ of God.' Not that we deny, says Origen, that the coming of the Son of God was foretold; but no Jew would allow of this.

2. 'There are innumerable, says the Jew in Celsus, who confute Jesus, affirming, that of themselves were said those things which were prophesied of concerning him;' that is, concerning the person who was to come.

But those were impostors, as Theudas, and some others, who affirmed without proof; who neither said, nor performed such things as Jesus had done; as Origen well shows.

3. 'And says he, how could we, who had told all men, there would come one from God, who should punish the wicked, treat him injuriously when he came.'

4. 'But the Jew in Celsus says: For what reason could we reject him, whom we had before spoken of. Was it, that we might be punished more severely than other men?'

5. 'The Jew adds: The prophets say, that he who is to come, is great, and a prince, and lord of all the earth, and of all nations, and of armies.'

6. 'The Jew in Celsus says: What god ever came to men, who did not obtain acceptance, especially if he came to them who expected him? Or, why should he not be acknowledged by them, who had long before expected him?'

7. 'Afterwards the Jew, representing their sentiments, says: For we certainly expect a resurrection of the body, and eternal life: of which he who is to be sent to us, is to be a pattern: and thereby to show, that it is not impossible for God to raise up a man with a body.' But Origen makes a doubt, whether any Jews would say this of their expected Messiah.

8. 'Afterwards Celsus in his own person says: That the contention between the christians and the Jews is very silly; and that all our dispute with one another about Christ, is no better than about the shadow of the ass, according to the proverb. And he thinks, the whole question is of no importance; both sides believing that it had been foretold by the Spirit of God, that a Saviour of man-
kind is to come. But they do not agree, whether he who
has been prophesied of, is come, or not.'

9. There are other places, where Celsus speaks of this
same matter. Perhaps some of them may appear hereafter
in our fourth section. Here is enough to show, that the
Jewish expectation of a great person prophesied of, was a
thing well known; and that this expectation was in being
before the appearance of Jesus in the world. And indeed
their having generally such an expectation in the time of
Celsus, is an argument, that they had it before the coming
of Jesus; for they would not have taken up such a notion
from his followers.

10. I must not go from this section, without putting down
a remarkable observation of Origen, that the Jews did not
join John (the Baptist) with Jesus, and made a difference
between the death of each of them.

SECTION III.

Passages of Celsus containing references to the books of the

1. IN some of these passages we shall observe our scrip-
tures spoken of in general; in others there will be references
to particular texts.

2. 'After that,' says Origen, the Jew in Celsus goes
on in this manner: I could say many things concerning
the affairs of Jesus, and those too true, different from those
written by the disciples of Jesus. But I purposely omit
them.'

It is not easy to believe, that the Jew, or Celsus, would
have done so, if he could have contradicted the disciples,
upon good evidence, in any material points. This is only
an oratorical flourish, as Origen well observes.

Celsus by 'disciples of Jesus' does not mean his follow-
ers in general; for them he calls Christians, or believers, or
the like. He therefore here useth that term in the most
strict and proper sense, for those who had been taught by
Jesus himself, that is, his apostles and their companions.

k L. iv. sub in. et alibi. 1 L. i. sect. 48. p. 38. And see before,

a —οίτι πολλα εγων λεγειν, και αληθη, πιην των κατα ίηνων γενομενων,
και n παραπλησια τοις ιπο μαθητων τη ίηνω γραφειν, εικων εκεινα παραλειπει.
We hence learn, that in the time of Celsus there were books well known, and allowed to be written by "the discipiles of Jesus:" which books contained a history of him, and his teaching; doctrine, and works. The books here intended, undoubtedly, are the gospels; and, possibly, there may be here also a reference to the Acts of the apostles.

3. 'Then,' says Origen, he accuseth the discipiles, and says: It is a fiction of theirs, that Jesus foreknew and foretold all things, which befell him.'

He refers to our gospels, in which it is often related, that Jesus spoke of his sufferings before-hand, and likewise of the things that should befal his discipiles, who were to be brought before kings and rulers for his name sake.

4. Afterwards he says, that some of the believers, as if they were drunk, take a liberty to alter the gospel, from the first writing, three or four ways, or oftener, that when they are pressed hard, and one reading has been confuted, 'they may disown that, and flee to another.'

So that there was an ancient original account; but the believers, or christians of after-times, had altered it, he says, to serve a purpose. But that is only a general charge, which is of no value, without particular instances; which, so far as we can perceive from Origen, Celsus did not specify. Origen, by way of answer, says, he did not know of any who had altered the gospel, beside the followers of Marcion and Valentinus, and perhaps Lucanus; and that this is not the fault of the word itself, but of those who had been so daring as to corrupt the gospels; and that the fault of those men, who introduce new opinions, ought not to be laid to the charge of genuine christianity.

However, we hence perceive, that there were ancient written histories of our Saviour, composed by his own discipiles. Nor is their genuineness disputed, but allowed of, as well known.

5. 'The Jew in Celsus,' says Origen, 'shuts up that argument in this manner. These things, then, we have alleged to you out of your own writings, not needing any other witnesses. Thus you are beaten with your own weapons.'

b L. ii. n. 13. p. 67.

c Μετά ταύτα τινας των πετευόμενων φύσεως, ὡς εκ μιθης ἔκκομας ὡς το εφεται αὐτοῦ μεταχαραττέν εκ τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς το ευαγγελίου τρείχει και τετραχής και πολλάχθ' κ. λ. L. ii. n. 27. p. 77.
d ——ταύτα μὲν ἃν ὑμῖν εκ τῶν ὑμετέρων συγγραμμάτων, εφ' ὡς ὁδόν τις ἀλλὰ μαρτυρὸς χρήσιμος. κ. λ. L. ii. sect. 74. p. 106.
6. Origen expressly says, 'That Celsus quoted many things out of the gospel according to St. Matthew, as the star that appeared at the nativity of Jesus, and other wonderful things.'

7. Celsus says, the composers of the genealogies of Jesus, 'were very extravagant in making him to descend from the first man, and the Jewish kings. And he thinks he says somewhat very extraordinary, when he observes, that the carpenter’s wife was ignorant of her high original.'

Celsus plainly refers to both St. Matthew's and St Luke's gospels; for he speaks of composers of the genealogy in the plural number; and St. Luke only has carried up our Saviour's genealogy to the first man. See Matt. ch i. and Luke iii.

8. 'They have likewise such precepts as these. Resist not him that injures you; and, if a man strike thee, as his phrase is, on the one cheek, offer to him the other also. That is an old saying; but here it is expressed in a more homely manner.' Then he quotes a passage from Plato's Crito to the like purpose.

Celsus here refers to our Saviour's sermon upon the mount, as it is called, and particularly to Matt. v. 39, "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also." See likewise Luke vi. 29. Celsus says, the same thing had been said before, and better expressed. This is not a place to enter into controversy upon that head. But Origen answers very well: 'That these precepts of Jesus thus expressed, as Celsus says unpolitely, αγροικοτερον, have been more beneficial in life than Plato's discourse in Crito, of which the vulgar have never heard, and hardly they, who have gone through a course of Greek philosophy.'

9. 'He finds fault with Jesus after this manner. He threatens, and feebly reproaches, when he this says: "Woe unto you!" and "I foretell unto you:" For thereby he

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6 οτι δε καταγγελων ο Κέλσος οι κατοικίαι την προφήτειαν. [L. viii. 10—14. Matt. i. 22, 23.] εδευο μοι γινεται, εκ τω παραδεκαυντιστων αυτω πολλα απο τα κατα Μαθαουν ουαγγελει, ιωσι το αναγινωσκεν των αναρτων απει πι τη γενεσει τη ιησου και αλλα των παραδεκαων, μητε την αρχην των ενενενεκεαι. Ι. ι. n. 34. p. 27.

7 Φησι δε απινδεδοθαι τως γενεαλογησοντας απο τα πρωτα ψυνος και των ειν Ιουδαιους βασιλεων την ιησου και ουκ ατι τε εισερευθαν γενεαν, ότι αν αν η τε τεκτονος γενου τηλικως τευχασε γηνα. Ι. ι. n. 32. p. 80. 8 Φησι δε απινδεδοθαι τως γενεαλογησοντας απο τα πρωτα ψυνος και των ειν Ιουδαιους βασιλεων την ιησου και ουκ ατι τε εισερευθαν γενεαν, ότι αν αν η τε τεκτονος γενου τηλικως τευχασε γηνα. Ι. ι. n. 32. p. 80. 9 L. vii. n. 58. p. 370. 10 L. vii. n. 58. p. 370. 11 L. ii. n. 76. p. 107.
17. Celsus \( ^{k} \) asks, why we may not worship angels, and destroy demons, which Celsus' God, because "it is impossible to serve two masters." He refers to some text, where are those words, either Matt. vi. 24, or Luke xvi. 13. This maxim Celsus has endeavoured to expose, \(^{l} \) several times.

11. 'O light, \(^{m} \) O truth, says the Jew in Celsus; Jesus with his own mouth expressly declares these things, as you have recorded it, that there will come unto you other men, with like wonders, wicked men, and impostors.

Undoubtedly, he refers to some of our Saviour's predictions concerning the coming of deceivers, and false prophets; as Matt. vii. 15; xxiv. 11, 24; Mark xiii. 22. And the genuineness of the evangelical histories is here clearly acknowledged; they are here alleged as containing our Lord's own words there recorded. And \( ^{n} \) in other places Celsus has taken notice of such like predictions of our Saviour.

12. In another place Celsus is arguing, that Moses and Jesus, though both are said to be sent from God, do not agree. Moses\(^{o} \) encourageth the people to get riches; and destroy their enemies. But his Son, ['the Son of God,'\(^{p} \)] the Nazarean man, delivers quite contrary laws. Nor will he admit a rich man, or one that affects dominion, to have access to his Father. Nor will he allow men to take more care for food, or treasure, than the ravens; nor to provide for clothing, so much as the lilies; and to him that has smitten once, he directs to offer, that he may smite again.'

Beside the quotation from Matt. v. 39, or Luke vi. 29, which we had before, here are plain references to Matt. vi. 26, "Behold the fowls of the air. For they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns. Yet your heavenly Father feedeth them." And ver. 28, "Why take ye thought for raiment! Consider the lilies of the field——" or to Luke xii. 24, 27, "Consider the ravens. For they neither sow,

\(^{k} \) L. vii. sect. 68. p. 376, 377. \(^{l} \) L. viii. sect. 2, 3. p. 380, 381. \(^{m} \) et sect. 15. p. 388. \(^{n} \) ———αλλ’, ο ϕως και αλήθεια τη αυτη φωνη διαφόρων εκαγορανυ μης ταυτα, καθα και ιμας συγγεγρατε——κ. λ. L. ii. sect. 53. p. 92. \(^{o} \) Vid. l. vi. sect. 42. p. 303. \(^{p} \) ———ο ει νυς αρα αυτη, ο Ναζαραιος ανθρωπος, αντιομοθετη. κ. λ. L. vii. sect. 18. p. 343.
nor reap. Which neither have store-house, nor barn. Con-
sider the lilies, how they grow"

As to what Celsus says of our Lord's discouraging the
seeking of riches, power, honour; it is indeed the tenour of
our Lord's doctrine in his discourses, that we are to "seek
the kingdom of heaven, and its righteousness, in the first
place," Matt. vi. 33. And he condemns the seeking, princi-
pally, that honour which comes from men, John v. 44. And
in Luke vi. 24, he says: "Woe unto you that are rich: for
you have received your consolation:" the very same chap-
ter, in which he says, at ver. 29, "And unto him that
smiteth thee on one cheek offer also the other." Which are
the very words to which Celsus seems to refer.

And he calls our Saviour 'the Nazarean man,' or man of
Nazareth, referring to some texts of the gospels, or the Acts,
where Nazareth is mentioned, as the place of our Lord's
education and abode, till he appeared publicly in the
world. See Matt. ii. 23; iv. 13; Mark i. 9; Luke i. 26;
ii. 4, 39, 51; iv. 16. And he is often spoken of as 'the
Prophet of Nazareth,' as Matt. xxi. 11; Mark i. 24; x. 47;
Luke xviii. 37; xxiv. 19; John i. 45; xix. 19; Acts ii.
22; iii. 6; and elsewhere. This character of Jesus, there-
fore, Celsus learned from the historical books of the New
Testament, though he is pleased to mention it in the way of
contempt.

13. 'Of that p saying of Jesus, "that it is easier for a
'camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich
'man to enter into the kingdom of God," he says, it was
'plainly taken from Plato; but Jesus had spoiled the ob-
'servation of Plato, who says; To be very good and very
'rich is impossible.'

Here was in Celsus a reference to Matt. xix. 24, or Mark
x. 25, or Luke xviii. 25, where that expression is recorded.
Origen has several good remarks upon this passage of
Celsus. He says, it must appear ridiculous, not only to
the followers of Jesus, but likewise to all other attentive
persons, to say, that Jesus had read Plato; when, according
to the true records of his faithful disciples, he was a Jew,
educated among the Jews, supposed to be the son of a car-
penter, who had never been instructed neither in Greek, no,
nor Hebrew learning. And he likewise asks, if that obser-

P Μετὰ ταύτα την κατὰ τῶν πλείων ἀποφασίων τὴν Ἰησοῦ εὐπορίαν, Εὐκοπω-
τέρον καμηλὸν—φημιν, Αὐτικρα ἀπὸ Πλατωνὸς εἰρήθαι, τὴν Ἰησοῦ παραφθειρο-
τος, τὸ Πλατωνικόν, εἰς ὅς εἶπεν ὁ Πλατων ὁ γεγονός ὁ πρώτος καὶ
vation of Plato does not justify all that our Lord says in the gospels concerning moderating our regards for riches, and other worldly goods?

14. 'He says, it is a saying of ours, that God was sent to sinners. And he asks; But why was he not sent to those who were free from sin? What harm is it not to have sinned? God accepts an unrighteous man, if he humbleth himself for his wickedness; but a righteous man, who has practised virtue from the beginning, if he looks up to him, he will not accept.'

Here is a manifest reference to what our Lord says in several of the gospels: "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance," Matt. ix. 13; Mark ii. 17; Luke v. 32, and likewise to the parable of the pharisee and the publican, which last "stood afar off, and would not so much as lift up his eyes to heaven, and went down to his house [from the temple,] justified rather than the other." Luke xviii. 9—14.

Origen makes good answers to these cavils, which well deserve to be perused; but I must not stay to transcribe them.

15. He also adds; 'But Celsus insinuates, that we give this encouragement to sinners, because we are not able to persuade any really good and honest men; and therefore we open the doors to the most wicked and abandoned.' 'But,' says Origen, 'if any man will with a tolerable degree of equity examine our conversions, he may see that we have among us more of such as were converted from no very bad life, than of such as were abandoned.'

16. 'Celsus,' says Origen, 'omitting those things that show the divinity of Jesus, reproacheth him with those things that are written of him in the gospels, his "deriders, the purple robe, the crown of thorns, and the reed in his hand," Matt. xxvii; Mark xv; Luke xxiii; John xix. 'Whence did you learn these things, Celsus, but from the gospels, says Origen, and tells him, that instead of ridiculing these things, he ought to admire the veracity of those who wrote them, and the greatness of him, who voluntarily suffered such things for the good of men, and

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17 Περὶ δὲ τῶν κατανοημάτων ἡμῶν εὐγυμνοῦς τὸ αἵρεσις, πλεονάσας εἰσερέθην παρατηρήσω τὸς ὡς ἀπὸ χαλκέως παῦν βίων, ητέρ τῶς ἀπὸ ἐξωλεπtáων ἀμαρτημάτων εὐπερφαντάς. L. iii. sect. 65. p.

3 L. ii. sect. 34. p. 81.

1 Πόθεν μν, οἱ Κόλας, ταυτα μεμάθηκας, η ἀπὸ τῶν εὐαγγέλων.

Mállon μν Ξαναμαξε αὐτῶν το φιλαληθεῖ—
bore all with meekness and patience; for it is no where written, that he bemoaned himself, or that he said or did any thing mean and abject, when he was condemned.

And just before Celsus had said: 'But neither did he who condemned him suffer any thing like Pentheus, who ran mad, and was torn to pieces.'

He does not consider,' says Origen, 'that Jesus was not so much condemned by Pilate, 'who knew that for envy the Jews had delivered him," as by the Jewish people; for which cause they have been condemned by God, and have been dispersed and scattered over the whole earth more than Pentheus. And why does he designedly omit what is recorded concerning the wife of Pilate, who sent to him, "saying, Have nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in a dream, because of him,"' Matt. xxvii. 19. So writes Origen. But Eusebius says, that Pontius Pilate met with many troubles, and at last made away with himself.

18. 'He pretends,' says Origen, 'that christians argue miserably when they say, that the Son of God is the Word himself: and he thinks he makes good his charge, in that after we have affirmed the Son of God to be the Word, we do not show him to be a pure and holy Word, but a miserable man, condemned, scourged, and crucified.'

Where, as I apprehend, Celsus referred to St. John's gospel, in which, at the beginning, Jesus is spoken of as the Word," and at the end, as indeed in all the gospels, his crucifixion is related.

19. By way of ridicule Celsus speaks of the blood, which flowed from the body of Jesus when on the cross. Referring, as Origen justly supposes, to John xix. 34.

20. The Jew, in Celsus, having referred to some heathen stories, or rather fables, turns himself to Jesus: 'But you, what good or wonderful thing, either in word or deed, did you perform? You showed us nothing, though they called upon you in the temple to give some manifest sign, that you were the Son of God.'

Here is, I think, a reference to John x. 23, 24, "And Jesus walked in the temple, in Solomon's porch. Then

v L. ii. sect. 34. p. 81.  
H. E. i. ii. cap. 7.  
L. ii. sect. 31. p. 79.  
Euseb. H. E. i. ii. cap. 7.  
ancapoeiomev τι σωματος, πως εχωρ,  
Origen, cap. 7.  
EKIFNTOS MEND NA PAIIZU.  
L. ii. sect. 36. 81.  
L. i. sect. 67. p. 52.
came the Jews round about him, and said unto him: How long doest thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly." See also John ii. 18.

21. 'After this he adds,' says Origen: 'To the sepulchre of Jesus there came two angels, as is said by some, or, as by others, one only. He had observed, I think, that Matthew and Mark mention one only, Luke and John two. But,' says Origen, 'those things are not contrary to each other: they are easily reconciled.' See Matt. xxviii. 2; Mark xvi. 5; Luke xxiv. 4; John xx. 12.

Origen supposed, therefore, that Celsus had read all our four gospels; which, indeed, appears to me to be very probable, from the collections which we have made. And their genuineness is here acknowledged. These histories of Jesus were written by his own disciples, the apostles, and their companions, as we now say, and as has been said by all Christians in general from the beginning.

22. 'But Celsus, who has often derided a resurrection, which he did not understand, not contented with what he had already said, adds, that we expect a resurrection of the flesh from wood: perverting, as I suppose, what is figuratively said: "By wood [or by a tree] came death; and by a tree comes life. By Adam came death, but life by Christ,"' I Cor. xv. 22. Then playing upon the word, wood, he endeavours to expose it in two respects, and says, "that wood is honoured by us, either because our master was fastened to a cross, or because he was a carpenter by trade." In answer to which Origen says; 'That Jesus himself is no where called a carpenter in any of the gospels received by the church.'

Whence it came to pass that Origen said this is not certain; whether it be a slip of memory, or whether the copies used by him had carpenter's son; for in all the Greek manuscripts in general Jesus is called a carpenter, in Mark vi. 3, as in our version.

I suppose, that this passage may afford good proof, that Celsus had seen and read St. Mark's, as well as the other gospels.

23. 'Some of them say: "Do not examine, but believe;
and thy faith shall save thee; and the wisdom of this world
is evil, and folly good.""

Afterwards Origen quotes from Celsus the same saying
in this manner: "Wisdom in life is evil, and folly good.'
In another place Celsus says, that we say: "Wisdom in
men is foolishness with God:"
whereas, says Origen, Paul
says: "The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."

Nor can it be questioned, that Celsus referred to St.
Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians. See 1 Cor. iii. 19.

And compare 1 Cor. i. 19—31.

24. Here I may take a reflection of Celsus upon the
christians, which is in these terms. 'These,' he says, are
our institutions: Let not any man of learning come hither,
nor any wise man, nor any man of prudence; for these
things, he says, are reckoned evil by us: but if any man
be unlearned, if he is ignorant, if he is silly, let him come
without fear. Thus acknowledging, that these are the men
who are acceptable to their God; and thereby manifesting,
that they are neither willing nor able to gain any but the
foolish, the vulgar, the stupid, slaves, women, and chil-
dren.'

To which, beside many other things, Origen answers:
Celsus, without reason, chargeth us, as if we said: Let
not any man of learning, any wise man, and discreet per-
son come to us. Yea, let the learned, the wise, the dis-
creet come, if he will: but let him also come who is un-
learned, and uninstructed, and ignorant, and foolish; for
such likewise the word undertakes to heal, (or promiseth
to heal,) if they are willing, and will prepare themselves
for the divine acceptance.'

' For it is false, that the foolish, the ignorant, the vulgar,
and slaves, and women, and children, are the only persons,
whom the teachers of the divine word are desirous to per-
suade. Such indeed the divine word calls, that it may
improve them; but it calls also those who are of very dif-
f erent characters; for our Saviour Jesus Christ is "the
Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe,"
whether they are wise, or simple.' 1 Tim. iv. 10.

For certain, that is a misrepresentation of the christian
institution, wherein all who are willing, are called, and
invited, to come, and learn, and partake of the blessings
appertaining to it, as appears from Matt. xi. 22—30. See
also Rev. xxii. 17. And presently afterwards Origen says,

\[^f\] L. iii. sect. 44. p. 137. \[^g\] L. iii. sect. 48, 49. p. 141."
there is no harm in being learned; for learning leads to virtue.'

25. If, says Celsus, those idols are nothing, what harm can there be to partake in their feasts? If they are demons, then no doubt they are of God; and they are to be believed and honoured according to the laws, and to be prayed to, that they may be propitious to us.

Origen, with good reason, supposeth, that Celsus here has an eye to 1 Cor. viii. 4—10, 11, "As concerning, therefore, things offered to idols, we know, that an idol is nothing in the world." And what follows.

26. Notwithstanding the many divisions and contentions which there are among them, says Celsus, you may hear them all saying: "The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." Which are the very words of Gal. vi. 14.

27. Some of them, he says, will neither give, nor receive a reason of the things which they believe.

It is St. Peter's advice, 1 ep. iii. 15, "And be always ready to give an answer to every one that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you." Whether Celsus alluded to that place, we cannot say positively; though it is not improbable.

28. After these things, says Origen, he speaks to us in this manner; Surely, you will not say, that when he could not persuade those that were here, he went to Hades, to persuade those who are there?

St. Peter says, 1 ep. iii. 19, 20, "By which also he went, and preached to the spirits in prison, which some time were disobedient," and what follows. There seems to be a reference to this text. And Celsus was aware, they would say something like to what he says, surely you will not say? and his apprehension might be built upon this text. And in Origen's next section there follows a quotation from Celsus, which may confirm this supposition; but it would be too prolix to enlarge farther here.

29. Celsus chargeth the christians with having gross apprehensions of God: He says, we expect to see God

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References to the Epistles of the N. T. A. D. 176.

1 To μεν κν αληθως πεπαιδευθαι τα κακαυν ἑος γαρ επι αριστην ειναι παρενναι. I. viii. sect. 49. 1 L. viii. sect. 24. p. 393.

κ Παντων ἡν, φησιν, ακινητων λογου το, Εμοι κοσμου εσαυρωται και την κοσμων. L. v. sect. 64. p. 273.

ι Φησιν τινας, μηδε βεδομενον οδον η λαμβανον λογον περι αν πετευσαι. L. i. sect. 9. p. 8.

ιι Λεγων προσευχησαι μηνας φθαρμενος σωματες θεου φθειος, και οπι της φωνης αυτη ακευθους, και χρινων ανθημιας ψανιν αυτα. L. vii. sect. 34. p. 374.
Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

with the eyes of the body, and to hear his voice with our ears, and to handle him with our sensible hands.'

St. John says, 1 ep. i. 1, "That which was from the beginning: which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life." And iii. 2, "We shall see him as he is." Whether Celsus referred to either of those places, I cannot say positively.

30. I shall allege no more passages from Celsus concerning the books of the New Testament; many more references to them will appear in the next section. In those already cited are plain references to the gospels, and to several of St. Paul's epistles, if not also to the epistles of St. Peter and St. John. We are assured by Celsus, that there were histories of Jesus, 'written by his disciples:' and that these books were well known, and in high esteem with Christians. We have seen plain references to the gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John; and probably, he had read, and was acquainted with Mark's also. Nor is there so much as a pretence or insinuation, that the later Christians, of Celsus's age, had forged those histories to do honour to Jesus. He only says, that they had altered some things: but of that he produced no proof.

SECTION IV.

Passages of Celsus concerning Christian facts, chiefly such as are recorded in the New Testament.

1. 'IT is but a few years, says Celsus, since he [Jesus] delivered this doctrine, who is now reckoned by the Christians to be the Son of God.'

Never the worse for that; if Jesus had not been acknowledged to be the Son of God, soon after his coming, he ought never to have been so acknowledged. But he was esteemed to be so, when the evidences, which he produced, might be examined. As there were many in divers parts of the world, who soon owned his divine mission and character, notwithstanding many outward discouragements, there is reason to believe, that they had good evidences of it. Origen answers very well: 'That Jesus had by his doctrine so affected many in different parts of the world,

Greeks and barbarians, wise and unwise, that they had contended for Christianity even unto death.'

2. In another place Celsus calls Jesus the first author of this sedition.

3. 'After this,' says Origen, he brings in his Jew, arguing against Jesus in this manner. First, that he pretended, he was born of a virgin; then he reproacheth him with his birth in a Jewish village, and of a poor woman of that country, who subsisted by the labour of her hands. And he says, she was put away by her husband, who was a carpenter by trade, he having found that she was guilty of adultery. Then he says, that having been turned out of doors by her husband, she wandered about in a shameful manner, till she had brought forth Jesus in an obscure place, and that he, being in want, served in Egypt for a livelihood; and having there learned some charms, such as the Egyptians are fond of, he returned home; and then valuing himself upon those charms, [powers.] he set up himself for a God.'

4. Farther, Origen says, that this fictitious person of a Jew says, that the mother of Jesus, being great with child, was put away by the carpenter, who had espoused her, he having convicted her of adultery with a soldier named Panthers.' But Origen seems not to give us here the words of Celsus exactly. However, afterwards Celsus goes on: 'Was the mother of Jesus handsome, that God should be in love with her beauty? It is unworthy of God, to suppose him to be taken with a corruptible body, or to be in love with a woman, whether she be of royal descent, or otherwise.'

5. In another place Celsus says: 'But if God would send forth a spirit from himself, what need had he to breathe him into the womb of a woman? For, since he knew how to make men, he might have formed a body for this spirit, and not cast his own spirit into such filth.'

6. From all which we learn, that there did then obtain among christians such an account of the miraculous conception of Jesus, as we now have in the gospels; that he was born of a virgin, by the power of the Highest; that her husband was a carpenter, that Jesus was born in a village or town of Judea, which was not then of any great extent, and

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c L. i. sect. 28. p. 22.
d Καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἐγγυμνᾶ, καὶ πίστιδος, καὶ χρηστίδος. Ib.
e L. i. sect. 32. p. 25. Of this Panthers see again, l. i. sect. 69. p. 54.

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also that he was in Egypt, and returned thence; and that there were some extraordinary works related to be done by him afterwards; upon account of which he was in the highest veneration with many. See Matt. i. and ii; Luke i. and ii.

Origen\(^h\) says very well, that the story of Pantheras is a silly and improbable fiction, the forgery of blind malice, to overthrow the credit of the miraculous conception of Jesus. And he appeals to Celsus, and all the Greeks and barbarians in general, whether it was at all likely, that a person, whose great design was to deliver men from the corruptions of this world, and who had succeeded to a great degree, in converting men from their vices, should not have so much as a legitimate birth? It was much more likely that it should be of an extraordinary kind, such as that received by christians.

However, it was no hard matter for malicious enemies, such as the Jews were, to whom Celsus had applied for scandal, to frame a different account from that of the disciples; concerning which I shall only say farther, that undoubtedly, at first, Mary only knew, that the child was conceived in her by a divine interposition, without the concurrence of a man. It is probable, that the account given by her is true, in that her husband was convinced of it, and fully satisfied about it, as appears from the evangelists. Their account is supported by all the great works done by Jesus, and by his resurrection from the dead, and by the miracles of his apostles, and by the wonderful success and great effects of his doctrine in the world. This is said for the truth of the miraculous birth of the Lord Jesus.

As to the fitness of it, I would observe, that there is no absurdity in the evangelists' account of this matter: and we may do Celsus the justice to own, that he does not deny the possibility of it.

7. 'After these things,' says\(^i\) Origen, 'the Jew in Celsus; instead of the Magians in the gospels, says: It was given out by Jesus, that Chaldeans were moved at the time of his birth, to come, and worship him, as a God, when he was but a little child, and that\(^k\) this was told to Herod the tetrarch.'

\(^h\) L. i. sect. 32, 33. p. 25.  
\(^i\) ——Χαλδαίως φθαν από της ερήμης Αλεξάνδρου κινηθέντας επί της γενεσει αυτης. κ. λ. L. i. sect. 58. p. 45.  
\(^k\) "And that this was told to Herod the tetrarch." Και Ἡρώδης τῷ τετραρχεῖ τῷ έδήλωκεν. I would here make two remarks upon Celsus mis-taking Herod king of all Judea, in whose time Jesus was born, for his son Herod the tetrarch of Galilee. First, We see the great difficulty of any writer's taking upon himself the character of a more early age than that in which he lives, without committing some great mistakes. This instance may confirm
Celsus. References to Facts recorded in the N. T. A. D. 176. 227

'who issued out an order to have all killed, who had been
born there about that time, intending to kill him with the
rest, lest if he should live to mature age, he should take
the government.'

It cannot be questioned, but that here is a reference to
the history in the second chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.
We are not to wonder, that Celsus, who was pleased to
consider Jesus as an impostor, should say, that this, or some
other things in the gospels, 'were given out,' or invented by
Jesus himself, by whom therefore his disciples were deceived.
But that is only said, not proved; for it is unreasonable to
suppose, that the disciples should preach Jesus at the hazard
of their lives, without any good evidences of his divine mis-

tion and character. There are many great things related
of Jesus in the gospels, which the disciples must have cer-
tainly known, whether they were true, or not. Moreover,
it would have been in vain for Jesus, or his disciples, at
that time, to tell a story of Chaldeans, or Wise Men of
the East, coming to Jerusalem to worship a new-born child,
and of Herod's thereupon putting to death a great number
of children in an adjacent village, unless it had been true,
and matter of fact; especially with so many circumstances
as are put into the narrative by St. Matthew.

8. 'Afterwards' the Jew in Celsus addresses Jesus, and
says: "What occasion had you, when an infant, to be car-
ried into Egypt, lest you should be killed? A God has no
reason to be afraid of death. And now an angel comes
from heaven to direct you and your relations to flee into
Egypt, lest you should be taken up and put to death; as
if the great God, who had already sent two angels upon
your account, could not have preserved you, his own Son,
in safety at home.'"

Here is another manifest reference to the history in the
second chapter of St. Matthew; but there is nothing solid
in this objection of Celsus. Jesus, being a man, born of a
woman, he was exposed to dangers, as other men are. And
it was more agreeable to divine wisdom and goodness, that
Jesus should sometimes decline dangers, than that his en-
emies should be destroyed. See Matt. ii. 13, and compare
ch. i.

the argument, so much insisted on for the credibility of the evangelical history,
in the first part of this work: where the evangelists' freedom from all errors of
this kind was largely shown. Secondly, Since so learned a man as Celsus,
about the middle of the second century, has made such a blunder in history,
the christian writers, of the same age, or later, ought not to be too severely
treated for any mistakes of the like kind.

1 L. i. sect. 66. p. 51.
In another place Celsus has these words: *But²⁸ if he \[Herod\] was afraid, that when you were come of age, you should reign in his stead; why did you not reign when you was of age? But so far from that, the Son of God wanders about, cringing like a necessitous beggar.* Or, as some may choose it should be rendered: *Skulking from place to place, as if he was afraid of being taken.*

These expressions are very irreverent; but they contain another testimony to the second chapter of St. Matthew's gospel.

9. *But⁹ that it may not be suspected,* says Origen, *that we pass by any chapters because we have no answer at hand; I have thought it best, according to my ability, to confute every thing proposed by him; not so much observing the natural order of things, but the order which he has taken himself. Let us see therefore what he says, denying that the Holy Spirit was seen by our Saviour in the shape of a dove. It is the Jew, who still goes on, addressing himself to him, whom we own for our Lord. "You say, that when you was washed by John, there lighted upon you the appearance of a bird." The Jew adds: "What⁴ credible witness has said, that he saw this? or who heard the voice from heaven, declaring you to be the Son of God, excepting yourself, and, if you are to be credited, one other of those, who have been punished like yourself."

This passage bears testimony to many things recorded in the gospels: our Saviour's baptism by John; that John, as well as our Saviour, had suffered a violent death; that according to the disciples of Jesus, who had written his history, when he was baptized, the Holy Ghost descended like a dove, and abode upon him; and there was a voice from heaven, declaring him to be the Son of God, or the Messiah. Celsus may have referred to several of the gospels, but, as it seems, more particularly to John i. 32, 33, "And John bare record, saying; I saw the Spirit descending from heaven, like a dove, and it abode upon him." And what follows.

Origen's answer to this is prolix; toward the conclusion of which he says: *¹ I must add, that Celsus is mistaken,

²⁸Εἰ ἐ ὤτος μὴ συν αὐξηθεῖ αὐτ' εκεῖνος βασιλεύσει, τῷ εὐαγγελεῖ γὰ αὔξηθης, ὁ βασιλεύος, ἀλλ' ὁ τῷ Θεῷ παῖς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἀγείρετος, κυπταζόμενος [αὐτοῦ κυρίαν] ύπὸ φεοῦς, καὶ πενθοφορομένος αὐτῷ κατώς. L. i. sect. 61. p. 47.

²⁹ L. i. sect. 41. p. 31. ὁ Τὸ γανοῦ εἰς εἰρήνης ἀδικοχρωμένος μάρτυς τοσάτα; ἡ τῆς ἡσυχᾶς εὐ πράγματ ἐπιστολή σε ᾿Ιην τῷ Θεῷ, πλην ὅτι συ φρε, καὶ τινὰ ἑνὸς ἐπειδὴ τοῦ κατακαλομένων. Ibid.

³⁰ L. i. sect. 48. p. 37.
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when he thinks, that Jesus himself told these things, the
opening of the heavens, and the descent of the Spirit at
Jordan, in the shape of a dove; forasmuch as in no text
of scripture it is related that he said this. Nor did this
great author consider, how little this suited him, who of
the vision in the mount said to the disciples, “tell this
vision to no man, until the Son of man be risen from the
dead,” Matt. xvii. 9. It is not likely, that he who said
this, should tell the disciples what had been seen and
heard by John; and any may perceive from his whole life,
how he declined speaking of himself. “If I bear witness
of myself, [says he,] my witness is not true,” John v. 31.
He chose to show himself to be the Christ by his works,
rather than by words; so far was he from boasting.

10. ‘Celsus’ says, that Jesus, taking to himself ten or
eleven abjects, vile publicans and sailors, went about
with them, getting his subsistence in a base and shameful
manner.’

There is no doubt, that Celsus means the twelve disciples
of Jesus, by whom he was usually attended: but he so much
disliked the truth of the gospels, that he could not endure
to put down the right number, though that be a point so indifferent: for the same reason, I suppose, he calls the
disciples ‘sailors,’ or mariners, instead of fishermen. Celsus
gives ill language, and vilifies the disciples; but it does
not appear, that he produced any instances of their wicked-
ness. Publicans and sailors, or fishermen, are oftentimes
bad men; but they are not all so. The original employ-
ments of the disciples show, that they were not men of much learning, or of great and wealthy families; but they might be very honest nevertheless. The more despicable they
were, the more evidently does the success of the gospel,
preached by them, appear to be owing to its truth and im-
portance, and the power of God attending it. That Celsus
produced no proof, nor credible account, that the disciples
were bad men, is apparent; because Origen conjectures, he
might found this character upon what is said of them in τ
the epistle of St. Barnabas, or else upon what St. Peter says
to Christ, Luke v. 8, “Depart from me, O Lord, for I am a
sinful man.” And though Jesus subsisted in a mean and
humble manner, it was not shameful: but it is great and shameful perverseness, to censure the life of Jesus, who,

1 —δεκα ειςεν η ἐνδεκα τινας εξαρτησαμενος τον Ιησουν ιαντω επιφάνειας ανθρωπος, τελωνας και ναυτας της σουρωσεως, μετα πατων της κακιας αυτον
αποέλαθεναι μισχως και γλαυχως τροφας συναγωντα. L. i. sect. 62. p. 47.
without external pomp and splendour, "went about doing good," as it is justly said, Acts x, 38. And who was sometimes attended by thousands, whom he fed in desert places; who would have been his constant followers, with many others, if he would but have exerted his power for procuring to himself and them such worldly advantages, as they saw he was well able to do.

11. I must not omit, that in another place the Jew in Celsus says, Jesus set out with ten profligate publicans and sailors.

12. After this, says Origen, Celsus, well knowing what great works may be alleged to have been done by Jesus, pretends to grant, that the things related of him are true, such as healing diseases, raising the dead, feeding multitudes with a few loaves, of which likewise large fragments were left, and whatever other things the disciples, who, as he thinks, delighted in strange things, have written. And then adds: Well, then, let us grant, that all these things were done by you. After which he instanceth in the tricks of Egyptians, and other impostors: and then asketh this question: Because they do such things, must we therefore esteem them to be God's sons? or must we not rather say, that these are artifices of wicked and miserable men?

Celsus here evidently refers to our gospels, and allows the histories of our Lord, in which those miracles are recorded, to have been written by his disciples: and he knew, that those works were esteemed proofs that he was the Son of God. Upon which Origen observes: You see, says he, that Celsus in a manner allows there is such a thing as magic; though, possibly, he is the same who wrote several books against magic. Origen speaks modestly: but I think it very probable, that he is the same person. Moreover Origen here answers very well, that whatever things were performed by the jugglers, whom Celsus speaks of, were not done for the reformation of mankind, nor to form in them the fear of God, or other virtues; which was the great design of the life of Jesus; who did not perform great works to be wondered at; but

5 Ὅτι πάρων δέκα ναυτὰς καὶ τίλωνας τῆς ἐξωλιταταις μονῆς ἥλι. κ. λ. Λ. ii. sect. 45. p. 86.
6 L. i. sect. 68. p. 53.
7 ——προστοιοισαι συγχωρων αληθεν ειναι, όσα περι σεραπιους, η αναστασις, η περι αρτων δισθανοι σεραπιων σαλος ἀναγεγραπτα, η όσα αλλα αυτα τερατευομενες της μαθητης ἰσαρκεια, και επιφερε αυτας. Φερε, πτευσωμεν ειναι ειναι αυτη εξασμα. Ibid.
8 Ὁρας ως εις πυτονόν οῖνον παραδεχηται μαγγαν ειναι εκ οἷα ει ὁ αυτος ἐν τη γραψαντι κατα μαγγας βιβλια πληνα. Ibid.
9 Ibid.
Celsus. References to Facts recorded in the N. T. A. D. 176. 231

'that the men of that and future times, might be induced, by his doctrine and example, to live well, and aim to please God in whatever they do.'

13. 'He asks us,' says Origen, 'by what reasons are we induced to think him the Son of God?' And he makes us answer: "because we know his death was undergone for the destruction of the parent of evil." And soon after: 'Here he makes us answer him, "that we therefore have thought him to be the Son of God, because he healed the lame and the blind, and, as you say, raised the dead."

To which Origen makes this glorious answer: 'Undoubtedly, we do think him to be the Christ, and the Son of God, because he healed the lame and the blind; and we are the more confirmed in this persuasion by what is written in the prophecies. "Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear, and the lame man shall leap as an hart," Is. xxxv. 5, 6. But that he also raised the dead, and that this is not a fiction of those who wrote the gospels, is evident hence; That if it had been a fiction, there would have been many recorded to be raised up, and such as had been a long time in their graves. But it not being a fiction, few have been recorded: for instance, the daughter of the ruler of a synagogue; (of whom I do not know why he said: "she is not dead, but sleeppeth:"expressing something peculiar to her, not common to all dead persons;) and the only son of a widow, on whom he had compassion, and raised him to life, after he had bid the bearer of the corpse to stop: and the third, Lazarus, who had been buried four days. Witsius, quoting the words of Celsus above cited, in a dissertation upon our Saviour's miracles, observes, 'that many learned men have understood Celsus to allow, that Jesus had healed the blind, and the lame. But, he says, he apprehends that these words do not represent what Celsus allowed, but what Christians affirmed.'

* L. ii, sect. 47, p. 87.  

\[\text{\textit{ὅτι ἐδα τυρ' εὐμομοῖον αὐτον μιαὶ Ἰων θεῷ, ἐπὶ χωλες καὶ τυφλες ἐθεραπεύσεν. Προσίθηκε ἐκ καὶ το, ὡς ὰργής φατε, αὐτη νεερής.}}\text{Ibid. sect. 48, p. 87.}

It appears to me somewhat difficult to determine, whether Celsus believed those great works of our Lord, or not. But it is not easy to see, how he could disbelieve them: and he was at a loss how to account for them. And, as Origen observed: 'You see, how in a manner he allows, that there is such a thing as magic.' I think Celsus could not, or would not allow our Lord's great works to have been done by the power of God, because he would not admit the consequence, which was, that Jesus had a divine commission, and acted by authority from heaven: and rather than admit that just and necessary conclusion, he has recourse to shifts and evasions, which are absurd and inconsistent. As Origen says, 'Celsus, not being able directly to deny the great works which Jesus is recorded to have done, asperseth them, and calls them juggling tricks.'

However, we learn from Celsus, that Christians did then believe Jesus to be the Son of God, because he had healed the lame and the blind, and raised the dead: and because after this he had voluntarily submitted to death for the destruction of sin, or of Satan and his works. And may we not now appeal to all mankind, if those Christians did not act very rationally, in believing Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of God, provided they had but good ground for the truth and reality of the great works ascribed to him? as they certainly had, and it is well shown by Origen in the passage before quoted.

14. Still it may be expected, that I should take some notice of the insinuation which we met with some while ago, that Jesus, when he was in Egypt, might learn some charms and magical powers, whereby he obtained an ability to perform some works, that should appear surprising. To which it has been already well answered by learned Christian writers: 'How should Jesus learn magic in Egypt, when he was yet an infant, and not much more than two years of age? and if he had learned that art in his childhood, how came it to pass that he performed not any wonderful works before he was thirty years of age? To

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a Ἡλλακις ε' ὁ Κέλσος ἡ' μὴ ἑναρενος αὐτιβλεπον ὡς αναγιγραπται πετονεκαι ἑναρενον ἐξ η' θυσ, διαβαλλει αυτας ὡς γητεىας. L. ii. sect. 48. p. 87.

b See before, p. 225.

c opponnimus Munsteri responsum—— Et quomodo, quæso, potu-
didit puere, et infant duorum annorum, discere magiam? Quod si in puertitiam enim corruit, quare non fecit signa ante 30 vitiues annum? Tunc magicum virtutem, ut Jesus Christus fecit?' Wagens. Confutatio Toldos. Jeschu, p. 44
which might be added, that it is beyond the power of
magic to perform such works as were done by Jesus.'

This objection has been considered, and well answered
by Grotius. I need only transcribe a part of what he says,
referring my readers to the rest. 'That a Jesus was in
Egypt, is known only from the writings of his disciples,
who also say, that he returned thence when he was still
an infant. And if in the time of Christ and his apostles,
there had been in Egypt, or any where else, any magical
art, by which the blind might be made to see, the lame to
walk, the dumb to speak, and all kinds of maladies might
be healed on a sudden, as they were by Jesus Christ; the
emperors Tiberius and Nero, and others, who were very
curious and inquisitive, would have spared no cost to ob-
tain it.'

15. 'The e Jew goes on: How should we take him for
a God, who, as we have understood, performed none of
those things which were promised? [that is, as I appre-
heed, did not accomplish the worldly deliverance which
the Jews expected.] But when we had judged him guilty,
and would bring him to punishment, though he shamefully
bid himself, and fled away, yet was taken, being betrayed
by those whom he called his disciples. But it became not
a God to flee, nor to be taken, and executed; least of all
did it become him to be deserted and betrayed by his
companions, who knew all his secrets, who followed him
as their master, who esteemed him a Saviour, and the Son
and messenger of the Most High God.'

This passage assured us of many things, agreeable to the
gospels which we now have, and from which Celsius mani-
festly takes his accounts, whilst he endeavours to form con-
clusions to the disadvantage of Jesus.

This passage, then, assures us, that the Jews disliked
Jesus, because he did not answer their carnal expectations;
that he met with unkindness from his disciples; by one of
whom he was betrayed, and by the rest forsaken; that the
Jews plotted against Jesus, and that he was taken and put
to death by them. But what Celsius insinuates, that Jesus
absconded, is false. He was apprehended, and died volun-

\[d\] Nam fuisse Jesum unquam in \AEgypto, non constat, nisi ex discipulorum
libris, qui addunt, infantem adhuc inde reddisse———Tum vero, si Christi et
ejus discipulorum tempore, usquam aut in \AEgypto, aut alibi, extitisset ars u \lla
magica, quæ possent fieri, quæ de Christo prædicantur, muti omnès subito
sanari, claudis gressio, cæcis visus dari; Imperatores, Tiberius, [Tacit. ann. vi.
20.] Nero, [Sueton. ejus vita. cap. 56.] atque alii, qui ad inquirenda talia
nullis impediiis pepercerunt, haud dubie eam reprehendissent. Grot. De V.
R. C. lib. v. sect. 3.

\[e\] L. ii. sect. 9. p. 62.
tarily; though he had at some times retired for safety, "his hour not being yet come:" and the garden, in which he was apprehended, was a place whither he often went with his disciples. We learn also, that the christian accounts of that time were, (agreeable to our gospels,) that the disciples had conversed intimately with Jesus, and that they owned him for their master, and Saviour, and the Son and messenger of the great God. We learn, finally, that the cross of Christ was matter of offence and scandal with many.

16. 'He' then finds fault with the disciples, as if it were their fiction, that he foresaw and foretold the things which befell him. But that this is true, we can show, whether Celsus will or not; for we can allege many other things foretold by our Saviour, which happened to the christians his followers in after times. Who can forbear to admire these words: "And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony to them and the Gentiles?" Matt. x. 18.—For if any men were to be brought before governors and kings for their doctrine, who should be more likely than the Epicureans, who deny a providence?—And who, that shall in his mind place himself near Jesus, must not wonder when he hears him say: "And this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to them, and to the gentiles,"

[Matt. xxiv. 14.] And yet it has been fulfilled; and the gospel of Jesus Christ has been preached to all men under heaven, Greeks and Barbarians, wise and unwise; for the word preached with power has subdued all mankind; nor is there any sort of men that has refused to accept of the doctrine of Jesus. And let the Jew in Celsus, who denies that Jesus foresaw what would happen to himself, consider, how it should come to pass, that when Jerusalem was standing, and the Jewish worship was performed in all its splendour, Jesus should foretell all that would happen to it from the Romans. Nor can they say, that the disciples preached the doctrine of the gospel by word of mouth only, and did not deliver to their disciples any written memoirs concerning Jesus; but in them it is written: "When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know, that the desolation thereof is nigh," Luke xxi.

20. There were then no armies near Jerusalem, to sur-round it, and besiege it; that first began to be done under Nero, and continued to Vespasian, whose son Titus levelled Jerusalem with the ground.'

"Εγκαλετ ἐν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ὡς πλασαμένως. k. λ. L. ii. sect. 13. p. 67.
17. 'But^ Celsus says, that the disciples of Jesus, the
thing being too manifest to be denied by them, have be-
thought themselves to say, that he foreknew all these
things.—But * they are very weak in thinking to vindic-
cate Jesus by writing these things of him. As if one
should affirm a man to be righteous, and show him to be
wicked; say, he is a good man, and show that he has
committed murder; say, he is immortal, and show him
death; [This last is the point which he is arguing, the
other instances are only for illustration;] pre-facing, how-
ever, continually, that he foreknew all these things. For
neither do you say, that he seemed to wicked men to suffer
these things, when he did not suffer; but you openly and
expressly say, that he did suffer.'

It is certain, then, that Jesus died; otherwise his disciples
would not have related it; and it is as certain, that he fore-
told both his death and his resurrection. And it may des-
erve to be taken notice of, that the christians of that time,
with whom Celsus argued, did not say, that Jesus only
seemed to die, or seemed to suffer; but, that he really suf-
fered, and died. His attacks, therefore, were made upon
the sounder part of the christians, not upon Docetæ, or any
such like men.

18. 'What^ god, or demon, or wise man, who foreknew
that such things were to happen to him, would not have
avoided them, if he could, and not fall under the evils he
foresaw?'

We learn hence, that the disciples' account of Jesus was,
that he foreknew his sufferings, and that he suffered, and
died, as we now see in our gospels: and we may observe,
that whereas some while ago Celsus pretended, the disci-
plies had been deceived by Jesus, now he makes them de-
signing men, who had contrived to say, that Jesus 'knew
all these things.' And whereas just now he insinuated, that
Jesus had fled, and absconded, but nevertheless was appre-
hended; here he endeavours to show the absurdity of
coming in the way of sufferings that had been foretold. So
that, after all, the account in the gospels, written by the
disciples, was, as now, that Jesus had voluntarily submitted
to the sufferings which he had foreseen: in which there is
no absurdity. Origen reminds Celsus of Socrates, and
other wise men, who underwent sufferings which they could
have avoided.

19. 'The^ Jew in Celsus still goes on, saying more

\(^{a}\) L. ii. sect. 15. p. 69.  \(^{b}\) L. ii. sect. 16. p. 70.
\(^{c}\) L. ii. sect. 17. p. 74.  \(^{k}\) L. ii. sect. 18. p. 71, 72.
fearful things. "If he foretold who should betray him, and who should deny him; how came it to pass, that they did not fear him as a God? so that the one should not dare to betray him, nor the other to deny him? But they betrayed him, and denied him: so little did they regard him."

Here are more references to some of the material facts and circumstances attending the sufferings of Jesus, as recorded in our gospels; and they are all easily accounted for. Judas, the traitor, was a wicked, covetous man; and acted against his light and conviction. Peter, who denied Jesus, was exceedingly shocked by our Lord's being apprehended, and was overcome by fear, so as to disown his relation to Jesus. However, Judas soon afterwards was so sensible of the greatness of his guilt, as to fall into despair: and Peter soon after bewailed his weakness with many tears.

So long as these facts which Celsus cavils at are in the gospels, they will be thought credible histories: they who put down such things, so disadvantageous to themselves, or their friends, and seemingly so dishonourable to Jesus himself, their Lord and Master, did not forge a story to aggran-dize him, or themselves; but they wrote the truth impartially, without fear or favour; as is admirably shown by Origen in this context.

20. "How frivolous and manifestly false is what Celsus says, that never any man betrayed another man with whom he sat at table; and how much less would any man, who was so favoured by a God, betray him?"

Origen treats this remark with indignation, and calls it a falsehood; there being many instances of such things, both among Greeks and barbarians.

It seems to me, that Celsus here not only argues from the intimacy of Christ and the disciples, but intends also to use some of the very expressions of the evangelists. Luke xxii. 21, "But behold the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table." And see John xiii. 26, and 28.

21. But Celsus has pushed this argument still farther: which, perhaps, ought not to be omitted by me. "It was God, says he, who foretold these things; therefore there was a necessity that they should come to pass. God therefore compelled his own disciples and prophets, with whom he ate and drank, to be wicked and abominable,


m L. ii. sect. 20. p. 72.
Celsus. References to our Saviour's last Sufferings. A. D. 176. 237

for whose welfare above all others he ought to have been concerned. Never did man betray another with whom he sat at table. Here he who sits at table with God betrays him; and, which is still worse, God himself lays snares for those who sit at table with him, making them impious traitors.'

To which Origen answers. 'Celsus thinks, that what has been foretold, comes to pass because it has been foretold; to which we can by no means assent. For we do not say, that he who foretold something future, is the cause of its coming to pass; but whatever is future will come to pass, though it was not foretold; and therefore he who has the gift of foreknowledge foretells it.'

22. 'If he thought fit to undergo such things, and if in obedience to the Father he suffered death; it is apparent, that they could not be painful and grievous to him, he being a God, and consenting to them. Why then does he lament, and bewail, and pray, that the fear of destruction may be removed, saying to this purpose: "O Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass away,"' Matt. xxvi. 39.

Here Origen observes, that Jesus is not said in the gospels to bewail.' But we plainly see, that Celsus had our gospels before him; and in them Jesus is represented suffering in obedience to the Father, himself willing, and consenting thereto. And yet he prayed, that "the cup might pass from him." I need not stay to show the consistence of these things.

23. 'Why did he not now at last, [when condemned] if not before, deliver himself from this ignominy, and do justice upon them, who reviled both him and his Father?' Referring to the reproaches cast upon Jesus when hanging on the cross. Matt. xxvii. 39—44.

Origen says, that the same answer will serve here, which is given by all others, who hold a divine providence, in answer to the objection, taken from God's not presently punishing wicked men.

24. 'Celsus, as Origen says, selecting some passages out of the gospels, with a design to expose them, reproaches Jesus with "the gall and the vinegar, as if he was mighty eager to drink, and was not able patiently to endure thirst, which common people often bear contentedly,"'

Celsus here plainly refers to Matt. xxvii. 34, "They gave

\[ L. ii. sect. 23. p. 75. \]
\[ L. ii. sect. 24. p. 75. \]
\[ L. ii. sect. 75. p. 81. \]
\[ Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ ἀπὸ τὰ ἐναγγέλια ἐκλάβων λείψει. κ. λ. L. ii. sect. 39. p. 82. \]
him vinegar to drink, mingled with gall. And when he had tasted thereof, he would not drink." He also as manifestly refers to John xix. 28—30, "After this—that the scripture might be fulfilled, Jesus saith: I thirst." And when a sponge filled with vinegar was reached up to his mouth, it is said, he received the vinegar, and then said: "It is finished. And bowing his head, he gave up the ghost." So that Celsus, in this short passage, referred to St. John's account of the vinegar given to our Lord, at the conclusion of his crucifixion, as well as to the vinegar, and the gall, presented to him when they were going to crucify him: but in neither is there any just ground for reflections upon Jesus.

25. Celsus, in a rude and abusive manner, says: 'What's difference can there be for a God to eat the flesh of lambs, and drink gall and vinegar, or to eat any other impurity?' It is likely, that Celsus here refers to our Saviour's eating the paschal lamb with the disciples. Origen answers: 'We do not say, that God ate the flesh of lambs: but Jesus, being clothed with a body, might eat it.'

26. 'But,' says Origen, 'what the Jew in Celsus affirms, is a downright lie: That he was put to death, and suffered, having convinced no man in his lifetime, not so much as his disciples.'

It is, however, very true, that few believed in Jesus then, in comparison of them who believed in him afterwards. Celsus pretends, that the disciples did not believe in Jesus, because they forsook him in the time of his last sufferings.

27. 'They who conversed with him when alive, and heard his voice, and followed him as their master, when they saw him under punishment, and dying, were so far from dying with him, or for him, or being induced to despise sufferings, that they denied they were his disciples: but now-a-days you die with him.'

Celsus here refers to the timorousness of the disciples, and particularly to Peter's denying Christ. It is no great wonder, that they were all greatly shaken at the sight of the sufferings of Jesus: which, at that time, they could be hardly induced to think should befall the Messiah. But

Concerning our Saviour's thirst upon the cross, see sermon on that subject in the ninth volume of this work, p. 290.


9 θεὸς ἐπὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς προβατὶν σάρκας ὦ ἀνθρώπιν. Ἡμᾶς γὰρ καὶ ἐδιχθὺν, ὅτι ἡθένων ὡς σωμα φόροι, ὡς ἡθεὼν ἡθύν. Ibid.

L. ii. sect. 35. p. 83.
they afterwards preached him boldly, with the hazard of all that is dear in this world; which shows, that they had good evidence of his resurrection from the dead: otherwise, they would never have resumed their courage. And as the disciples were afterwards undaunted in professing and preaching the name of Jesus; so the christians in the time of Celsus were in the right to die with Christ, or for him, rather than deny him.

Celsus seems to have had an eye to one or more texts of St. Paul's epistles: as 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12, "It is a faithful saying. For if we die with him, we shall also live with him:" and what follows.

Celsus here bears testimony to the fortitude of the christians in his time. It is manifest from this passage, that many did then die for Christ, rather than deny him: and it is not a little strange, that a learned man, a man of extensive knowledge and understanding, should ridicule, and make a jest of the grievous and unrighteous sufferings of innocent men, and of their patience under them. But so it was. Such was the contempt which was then the lot of the followers of Jesus. And Celsus, having taken it into his head to enter into controversy with them, and thenceforward considering them as enemies, made no scruple to ridicule men, who according to his own confession, were arrived at such exalted virtue, as to despise sufferings, and endure death patiently, rather than speak and act against conviction.

28. Having mentioned several Greek stories, generally, if not universally, allowed to be fables and fictions, Celsus says: 'But let us consider, whether any one that has really died, ever rose again in the same body: unless you think, that the stories of others are indeed, as well as seem to be, fables; whilst your fable is probable and credible, because of his voice on the cross, when he expired, and the earthquake, and the darkness; and because that when he was living he could not defend himself, but after he was dead, he arose, and showed the marks of his punishment, and how his hands had been pierced. But who saw all this? Why, a distracted woman, as you say, and one or two more of the same imposture, and some dreamers, who fancied they saw things as they desired to have them; the same that has happened to innumerable people.' See Matt. xxvii. 50, 51; John xx. 10—18.

* ——οντες ἰσπασθανον αυτοι, ὥστε καλασιων καταφορονιν επισθησιν— γνω δ' ομοι αυτῳ συναποθηκετε. Cels. ibid.  

w ——οντες ἰσπασθανον αυτοι, ὥστε καλασιων καταφορονιν επισθησιν— γνω δ' ομοι αυτῳ συναποθηκετε. Cels. ibid.  

x L. ii. sect. 55. p. 94.
The wonderful things attending the death of Jesus, here taken notice of by Celsus, his loud voice just before he expired, Matt. xxvii. 50; Mark xv. 37, 39; Luke xxiii. 46. the earthquake, and the darkness, are proofs that Jesus was an extraordinary person. And I think that the showing of the prints of the nails in his hands, and appearing again alive to a woman, and others, who knew him, were good proofs that he was risen from the dead, and in the same body that had lived and died. There is no evidence that they were dreamers or governed by fancy; they saw Jesus awake, and by day-light, distinctly, again and again, after he had been publicly crucified, and died. And his resurrection from the grave is an argument that he suffered voluntarily, and that he was not destitute of power, as Celsus insinuates, to help himself in his life-time, if he had seen fit so to do.

Celsus says, Jesus showed himself to one woman. But he showed himself afterwards to several women, and to his disciples. Celsus knew this very well; but it was to his purpose, it seems, to use the singular rather than the plural number. That Celsus was well acquainted with the gospels, is apparent; he knows what seems to his disadvantage; and therefore he calls this woman, meaning Mary Magdalene, 'a distracted woman:' referring to the seven demons that were in her; but it should be considered, that these demons had been cast out long ago, and she was now very sober when she saw Jesus after his resurrection.

St. John, ch. xx. 11—18, gives the most particular account of Mary Magdalene's seeing our Lord, and conversing with him, after he was risen from the dead; indeed St. Mark, xvi. 9, 10, 11. says, "Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven demons." But whether Celsus had here an eye to St. Mark's gospel, I cannot determine; for he might refer only to St. John's account of our Lord's showing himself to Mary, and apply to her the character of a distracted woman, from a remembrance of what he had read concerning her in St. Luke's gospel, ch. viii. 1, 2.

Beside the texts already taken notice of, Celsus may be supposed to refer to Luke xxiv. 39, "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself:" and to our Lord's showing himself to Thomas, as related, John xx. 24—29.

29. 4 But 5 Celsus says; If he would make manifest his

4 Τὴν εἰς τὸ σκολοπὸς αὐτῆς φωνῆν, οὐ' αἰτιόν. Cels. ubi supr.
divine power, he should have shown himself to them
that derided him, and to him that condemned him, and
indeed to all; for surely he had no reason to fear any
mortal now, after he had died, and, as you say, was a
God.'

To which I would answer: It would have been very mean
in Jesus to show himself to his judge, and to his deriders: it
is unspeakably below the character of one, who had pub-
licly wrought so many wonderful works, as Jesus had done,
and who, after having been crucified, was really raised from
the dead: it might likewise have been called insulting them.
As for showing himself to all, it is absurd and preposterous:
Jesus showed himself to the most proper persons, [and to as
many as was fit,] by appearing to those who best knew him.
To show himself to such as did not well know before,
might have been reckoned officious, and impertinent, and
vain-boasting. Finally, the works wrought in his name
afterwards, by those who attested his resurrection and ex-
altation, were better evidences of his being risen from the
dead, than showing himself to all the world would have
been. They make out the most satisfactory, and most du-
rable testimony to this important fact.

From the objections made by Celsus, we learn, however,
that the history, which we now have in our gospels; is the
same which the christians at that time had. Jesus, in our
gospels, does not show himself to all, but to his disciples
and acquaintance, of whom there were once "five hundred"
together, 1 Cor. xv. 6, probably at a place in Galilee,
where he was best known, and which he had before ap-
pointed, Matt. xviii. 16, 17.

Moreover, all Celsus's attacks, in his argument against
the christians, are against our gospels: which manifests the
great esteem they were in. If he confuted those books, he
knew he overturned the faith founded on them.

30. He goes on. 'When he was neglected in the body,
he was continually preaching to all men; but when he
should have given full assurance to all men, he shows him-
self privately to one woman, and his associates.'

He did once show himself to one woman only, and to his
disciples, when met together privately. But that is not all,
as Celsus would insinuate: for he also showed himself to
several women, Matt. xxviii. 1—9, and to the disciples, and
others with them, several times openly. And, as before said,
he appointed a place in Galilee, where they might see him.
Matt. xxviii. 16. And it cannot be doubted, but that there

a L. ii. sect. 70. p. 104.
were great numbers who saw him there. From his appoint-
ing before hand a certain place for meeting his disciples and
followers, it is manifest, that he was not shy of showing
himself to those who had known him in his lifetime.
31. 'Again he says; When he was punished, he was
'seen by all; but when risen, by one; the contrary to
'which ought rather to have been.'

Any one may perceive, that Celsus affects unfairly to
diminish the number of those who saw Jesus after he was
rised. He here pretends that Jesus appeared to one only;
whereas before, he owned that he had appeared to his asso-
ciates, or companions. I am glad, however, that Celsus
owns, Jesus preached to all in his life-time, and that he died
publicly before all the world; for there must have been
some good reasons to induce men to believe in a person, who
was himself well known, and his doctrine well known, and
who had been publicly crucified.
32. ' If he would be hid, why was there a voice from
'heaven, declaring him to be the Son of God? [Matt. xvii.
'5.] And if he would not be hid, why did he suffer? why
'did he die?'

I imagine that in this place Celsus refers to our Lord's
transfiguration in the mount, and to what our Lord says,
Matt. xvii. 9, "And as they came down from the mountain,
Jesus charged them, saying: Tell the vision to no man, till
the Son of man be risen again from the dead." Some while
ago Celsus referred to the voice from heaven at Christ's
baptism; now he refers to the voice from heaven, when he
was on the mount.

So that there were divers testimonies given from heaven,
in favour of Jesus, in the beginning, and in the progress
of his ministry; and in the end he died. I need not stay
to show the consistence of these things. Nor was he left
without witness during the time of his ignominious suf-
ferrings.
33. We have now traced, even in Celsus, the history of
our Lord's nativity, baptism, preaching, miracles, death,
and resurrection; all agreeable to our evangelists.

It will be next incumbent upon us to observe what he
says of christian principles, and of the grounds and reasons
upon which they acted.

b L. ii. sect. 70. p. 104.  c L. ii. sect. 72. p. 105.
SECTION V.

Passages of Celsus concerning christian principles.

1. 'LET a us now see,' says Origen, 'how he affects to lessen us with regard to our moral doctrine, saying, that b it is only the same with that of other philosophers, and contains in it nothing weighty and new.' He also says, 'That c others, as well as the christians, had disallowed the divinity of gods made with hands, forasmuch they were formed by wicked men.'

Whether there be here any reference to Acts xix. 26, I cannot say certainly: but it hence appears, that the christian moral doctrine had nothing in it to which any just exceptions could be made. Celsus, indeed, would not allow it to have any superior excellence above the doctrine of the philosophers; but he does not deny it to be like to their doctrine, and equal to that of the best sort of the philosophers.

2. 'He d says, the same things are better taught by the Greeks, and without the threatenings or promises of God, or his Son. And that e Plato did not pretend to come from heaven, and declare such things.'

Supposing, for the present, that the same things had been taught by others; they would not, and did not so effectually influence men, as when taught with authority from God, and with assurances of suitable recompenses.

It would have been more material, if Celsus could have shown, where the heathen deities, or their priests with authority under them, had recommended sobriety and other virtues; adding likewise threatenings of misery to the refractory, and promises of happiness in a future state to such as feared the gods, and practised righteousness and mercy to their neighbours. Augustine, in his work of the City of God, observes, that f the gods of the pagans had never authorized the doctrine of virtuous living.

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a L. i. sect. 4, 5. p. 6.  
*b Τω κανόνι εἰναι καὶ πρὸς ἄλλης φιλοσοφῶν ὄς καὶ σιμφωνεῖ καὶ κανόνι μαθημα. sect. 4. 
*c ——λεγὼν, αὕτη διὰ τοῦτο μὴ νομίζειν αὐτὴς χιντρωποτήτας θείας. sect. 5. 
*e L. vi. sect. 10. p. 281. 
*f Sed demonstrantur vel commemorentur loca, talibus aliquando convenientiis consacrata; non ubi ludæ agerentur obscenæ vocibus et motibus histrionum—sed ubi populi audient, quid Dii præcipierent de cohibenda
3. 'Celsus' thinks, that we, by worshipping one that 
'was apprehended, and died, do much the same thing with 
'the Gete, who worship Zamolxis, and the Cilicians, who 
'worship Mopsus.' 'Again' he says of us, that we 
'laugh at those who worship Jupiter, because his tomb is 
'shown in Crete; nevertheless we worship one that was 
'buried.'

The difference is manifest; the Cretans knew of no mira-
cles done by Jupiter; whereas, the christians knew of many 
miracles done by Jesus in person, and by others in his name, 
after his resurrection.

A part of Origen's answer here is to this purpose. 'All 
'this we have been forced to say by way of answer to 
'Celsus, who, little favourable to Jesus, believes it to be 
'true which is written of him, that he died, and was buried; 
'but esteems it a fiction only, that he was raised from the 
'dead; although his resurrection had been foretold by the 
'prophets, and there were many proofs of his being alive 
'again after he had died.' Compare Acts i. 3.

4. 'But' the christians, according to Celsus, making 
some additions to the Jewish notions, say, that the Son of 
'God has been already sent, because of the sins of the 
'Jews; and that the Jews, having punished Jesus, and 
given him gall to drink, have brought upon themselves the 
'anger of God.' 

'Which, Origen says, is a plain case; and if it is not 
'so, let any man show it. For Jerusalem was destroyed 
'within two and forty years after the crucifixion of Jesus, 
'and ever since they have been in subjection to others, 
'without their own proper rites and worship; which is one 
of those things, that manifests Jesus to have had in him 
'somewhat divine and sacred; forasmuch as upon his ac-
count the Jews have suffered so many and so great ca-
lamities, and for so long a time.'

5. He argues against a resurrection in this manner. 'But 
'that is another absurdity of theirs, that when God shall 
'throw a fire on the world, and all other things shall be 
destroyed, they alone shall remain: and that not only the 
living, but they also who have been ever so long dead,

avaritii, ambitione fragendâ, luxuriâ refraenandâ—Dicatur, in quibus locis 
hæc docentium Deorum solemnt præcepta recitari, et a cultoribus eorum 
§ L. iii. sect. 34. p. 131.  
ð L. iii. sect. 43. p. 136.  
i Ibid. sect. 43. p. 137.  
£—et al χολον ποτισαντες, επι σφας αυτως εκ θεω χολον επισπασαντο.  
shall come forth out of the earth in their own bodies, [or in the same flesh:] which is no other than the hope of worms. For what soul of a man would desire a putrified body? Nor is this doctrine of yours agreed to by all christians: for some among you reject it as impure, and abominable, and impossible. For how is it possible, that a body, which has entirely been corrupted, should return to its own nature, and to its own primitive constitution, which it has once lost? When they are able to make no answer to this, they fly to that absurd refuge, that all things are possible with God. But neither can God do any thing that is shameful; nor will he do what is contrary to nature. Nor because you perversely desire any thing, is God therefore able to do it, or is it to be supposed, that he will do it. For God is not the author of extravagant desires, nor of any unbecoming disorders, but of what is right and fit. God may give everlasting life to the soul; but dead bodies, as Heraclitus says, are more contemptible than dung. To make flesh, full of filthiness not fit to be named, eternal, is a thing so unreasonable, that God neither can nor will do it; for he is himself the reason of all things in nature; and, therefore, can no more do any thing contrary to reason, than contrary to himself.

I have transcribed this long passage, to show at once the heathen sentiments and reasonings, upon this point; but I do not intend a laboured confutation of them. Celsus affects to despise the body; but I presume he goes upon an ill-grounded principle, that the human soul may be as happy, or more happy, without the body, than with it; and, as Origen observes, the body, at the resurrection, is to be changed for the better, and made fit for the soul in a state of perfection. Which, I think, removes all these difficulties, in the reunion of the soul and body, which to Celsus appeared so formidable.

What we are here to observe, is, that it hence appears, christians then expected a change or resurrection of the living and the dead at the end of the world, or the dissolution of the present state of things, according to what St. Paul writes, 1 Cor. xv. 51—54, and 1 Thess iv. 13—17.

 Says Dr. Cudworth, The true Intellectual System of the Universe, B. i. ch. v. p. 577, 'However, our christian faith assures us, that the souls of good men shall at length be clothed with spiritual and heavenly bodies, such as are, in Aristotle's language, ἀναλογα τῷ τῶν αἰεών τοίχῳ analogous to the element of the stars. Which christian resurrection, therefore, "to life and immortality," is far from being as Celsus reproached it, σκωλῆκων ἐπις, the mere hope of worms.'
When Celsus says, that Christians were not all agreed about the doctrine of the resurrection, it may be doubtful, whether he intends some of his own time, or whether he refers to 1 Cor. xv. 12, and the following context. "Now if Christ be preached, that he rose from the dead; how say some among you, that there is no resurrection of the dead?"

However that may be, none of my readers will omit to observe, that here is a reference to the above-mentioned texts of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and the first to the Thessalonians.

6. It is, I suppose, with regard to the expectation of the resurrection of the body, that, as Origen says, Celsus called the Christians a sort of men that were very fond of the body. And yet in another place he says: 'Is it not exceeding absurd, that you should desire and hope for the resurrection of the same body, as if we had nothing more excellent, nor more precious; and yet to expose it to all manner of sufferings as a thing of no value?'

This needs no answer; but it ought to be observed, that Celsus here again lets us know, that Christians were then in a suffering condition; and he bears testimony to their steadiness and fortitude under the tortures, and all the variety of sufferings, which they met with. This ought to be taken notice of.

7. "But," says Celsus, 'omitting many things that might be alleged against what they say of their master, let us allow him to be truly an angel.' Is he the first, and the only one, that has come? or, have there been others before? If they should say, he only: they are easily convicted of falsehood. For they say, that others have often come——And in particular, that there came an angel to his sepulchre: some say one, others, two, to tell the women, that he was risen: for the Son of God, it seems, could not open the sepulchre, but wanted another to remove the stone. And there came also an angel to the carpenter about Mary's pregnancy; and another angel to direct them to take the child, and flee. And what need is there to reckon up particularly all that were sent to Moses, and others?"

The design of this argument is to draw off Christians from

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{v} Ετι ἐς ποις κα άτοπα ἴμοι ταυτα, το μεν σωμα ποθεν, καὶ ειπησεν, ὅτι αυτο το τετα ανατησαν, ὡς κεν ἴμων τινε κραμτον κεν τιμιατον παλιν δ' αυτο ἴματεν εις κολασεις, κα τιμων. L. viii. sect. 46. p. 409.

{w} L. v. sect. 52. p. 265, 266.
their peculiar veneration for Jesus. He reminds them, therefore, that there had been, even according to themselves, many other messengers from God, whom they might respect as well as him.

From this passage we learn, that the main point with christians was a faith in Jesus, whom they esteemed their master: nor would they forsake him upon any account.

Beside the references to the conception of Jesus in the womb of his mother Mary, and his flight into Egypt, observed formerly, here are also references to many circumstances of our Saviour's resurrection, as related in the gospels. There was a stone at the door of the sepulchre: an angel came, and rolled it away: women came to the sepulchre, who saw there an angel: which also told them, that Jesus was risen. The resurrection of Jesus was recorded by more than one: for Celsus observes, that some said there was one, others two, angels, who told the women that Jesus was risen. So it is in our gospels. For St. Matthew xxviii. 5, Mark xvi. 5, mention but one angel. Luke xxiv. 4, and John xx. 12, speak of two angels.

But the angel did not remove the stone, as Celsus insinuates, because Jesus was not himself able to do it; but it was fit, that so great a person as Jesus, should have the attendance and service of angels upon so great an occasion, as his resurrection from the grave.

Finally, any one may now judge, whether Celsus was not well acquainted with our gospels, and whether he has not given a very valuable testimony to them.

8. I shall here take another passage, somewhat resembling that alleged just now.

'After these things,' says Origen, 'he bespeaks us in this manner. How much better were it for you, since you affect novelties, to attend to some other of those who have died nobly, and to whom that fiction of deity might be better applied? For instance, if you did not like Hercules, nor Esculapius, nor others already consecrated, you had Orpheus, a man endowed with a holy spirit, as all allow, who likewise suffered a violent death. But, perhaps, he has been already taken by some others. Well then, you might have thought of Anaxarchus, who when thrown into a mortar, and cruelly pounded in it, despised it all, saying; "Beat on, beat the case of Anaxarchus. For you do not beat him." Which is, indeed, the saying of a divine spirit. But here you are prevented by some naturalists, who have already followed him. Still, had you not Epictetus, who

'when his master bent forward his leg, with a smile, and 'unmoved, said: "You will break it." And when he had 'broke it, said to him: "Did I not say, you would break 'it?" Did your God, when under punishment, say any 'thing like this? There is also the Sibyl, whom some of 'your people quote, whom you might as well, or better, 'have called the daughter of God. But instead of that, 'though you have inserted many impious things into her 'writings, you will have him to be God who ended an in- 'famous life with a miserable death. Had it not been bet- 'ter for you to take Jonas, who was in the whale's belly, 'or Daniel, who was delivered from the beasts, or some 'others more wonderful than they?' To each of these instances Origen makes proper replies. I shall take only a part of what he says. 'He also sends us to Epictetus, extolling his fine saying 'when his leg was broke; which yet is not to be compared 'with the wonderful works and words of Jesus, though they 'are so despised by Celsus; forasmuch as his words are 'accompanied with such a divine power, as to convert not 'only many of the simple sort of people, but also many of 'the more understanding.' " Then after his catalogue of so many he says: Did your 'God, when under punishment, say any thing like this? To 'which we shall answer, that his silence under all the abuses 'and reproaches which he met with, showed more fortitude 'and patience, than any thing said by the Greeks under 'their sufferings, provided Celsus will but believe what 'has been written by men of the best credit; who, after 'they had truly related his miracles, have also related his 'silence under his sufferings; and when derided, and 'dressed in a purple robe, with a crown of thorns upon his 'head, and a reed in his hand instead of a sceptre, was per- 'fectly meek, saying nothing mean, nor any thing pro- 'voking, to those, who so many ways abused him.' 9. If Celsus had alleged any kind of infamous actions 'in the life of Jesus, we would have done our best to answer 'every thing that seemed to him to be so. As for the 'miserable death of Jesus, the same may be objected to 'Socrates, and Anaxarchus, just mentioned, and many 'others. Was then the death of Jesus miserable, and theirs 'not? Or was theirs not miserable, but that of Jesus misera- 'ble?" So writes Origen. 10. Again Celsus argues: 'If you tell them, that it is

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(Sec. 54, 55, 56, p. 368, 369. 1 Ibid. p. 369. fin.

not the Son of God, but he who is Father of all, whom men ought to worship, they will not be satisfied, unless you also worship him who is the author of their sedition: not that they exceed in the worship of God, but that they above measure worship this man.

Celsus had said somewhat to the like purpose* a little before; in both which places Origen's answers may be seen. 11. 'Afterwards,' w says Origen, 'Celsus speaks to this purpose. But if God at last, like Jupiter in the comedy, awaked out of a long sleep, will deliver mankind from the evils under which they labour, why did he send this spirit, whom you speak of, into one corner only? He should have breathed in the like manner into many bodies, and sent persons all over the world—and do you not think it ridiculous to maintain, as you do, that the Son of God was sent to the Jews?'

This then was the christian account, that Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God, came among the Jewish people. Nor is there any absurdity in this. A messenger from the true God is sixty sent, where God is known and worshipped, as he was by the Jews. To them also this special messenger, the Messiah, had been promised. And among them, by many wonderful appearances, God had preserved, for many ages, the knowledge of himself, and the expectation of that great person. And though the Christ came in person to them only, by him others were commissioned, and fully furnished to teach all the world: which was sufficient, and was the wisest method.

At the beginning of this passage Celsus hints an objection to the christian religion, taken from the late appearance of Jesus in the world. The same objection appears* in some other places of his argument; but I need not transcribe them.

God never neglected mankind; he was constantly teaching them in the works of creation, and in the ordinary methods of his providence. Extraordinary messengers are a favour; several such had been sent of old to the Jews, and before their time to the patriarchs; at last he sent Jesus Christ. We have certain proofs of his mission, and great character. The seasonableness of his coming, and the wisdom of sending him at the time he came, ought not to be disputed; but the favour should be thankfully received, and carefully improved, after due examination, and observing the evidences of his mission.y

* L. viii. sect. 12, p. 385.  
* Vid. l. iv. sect. 7, p. 165.  
* L. vi. sect. 78, p. 329.  
* Haece est igitur animae liberandae
12. ‘The Jew in Celsus,’ says Origen, ‘blames the christians for alleging the prophets, who had foretold the things concerning Jesus; whereas, he says, the prophecies may be applied to many others more probably than to Jesus.’

We hence learn, that the writers of the New Testament, (to whom Celsus has an eye in most of his arguments,) and the christians after them, did make use of the prophets in arguing for Jesus: though Celsus, or his Jew, would not allow their arguments to be valid.

13. Celsus, with great indignation, says: ‘The Pythian, the Dodonæan, the Clarian, the Branchidian, the Ammonian oracles, and many others, by whose directions colonies have been successfully planted all over the world, must pass for nothing: but the obscure Jewish predictions, said or not said, the like to which are still practised in Phœnicia and Palestine, are thought to be wonderful, and impossibly certain.’

Certainly the christians had some benefit by this argument: or Celsus would not have been so much provoked. It deserves our observation also, that those heathens, and even the Epicureans, (for such was Celsus,) who had been wont to ridicule the most renowned oracles, were now willing to give them some repute. So hard pressed were they by the progress of christianity, that they were willing to set up again, as real and valuable, such things as they had before decreed as cheats and impostures.

14. We have now seen what Celsus says of christian principles, and the grounds of them; as we had before seen what he says of their great facts. It may be worth the while, likewise, to observe some hints relating to the success of the christian doctrine.

SECTION VI.

Passages concerning the progress of the christian religion.

1. ‘At first,’ says Celsus, ‘they were few in number, and then they agreed, [or were of one mind.]’ But being in-

2 Ἀρχηγεῖς μὲν, φύσιν, ὀλγαὶ τὰ γῆς, καὶ ἐν φόροιν' εἰς πλῆθος ἥπε σπαρτίτες, αὐθεν αὐτοῖς ἐμφανίζονται, καὶ σχεδόνται, καὶ πᾶσις ἤδεις εἰπὼν ἰκανὸν ἔλεος. Κ. λ. L. iii. sect. 10.
creased, and spread abroad, they divide again and again,
and every one will have a party of his own; which is what
they were disposed to of old.'

I cannot but think, that Celsus has an eye to some things
in the Acts of the Apostles, where the wonderful unanimity
of the first christians is recorded, as Acts ii. 44—47; iv. 32
—37. In his time there were many sects and divisions
among them, he says. He adds: 'Which is what they
were disposed to of old,' or from the beginning, apXηθεν.
Here he may refer to the early divisions in the church of
Corinth, 1 Cor. i. 11—17; iii. 3—6; xi. 17, 18, and, perhaps,
to some of St. Paul's exhortations to concord and harmony.
He may refer likewise to contentions about the method of
receiving the Gentile converts, Acts xv. and other places.
For it appears to me very probable, that he has here an eye
to some things recorded in the New Testament.

However, he owns, that the christians were now much
increased: and, with regard to the divisions which were
then among them, it may be observed, that they were fore-
told by Christ's apostles. But such things are not the fault
of the gospel itself, but of men: nor is perfection to be at-
tained or expected in this world. Origen says very well,
there never was any thing useful, and considerable, about
which men have not differed. In medicine, in philosophy,
among Jews, Greeks, and barbarians, there are different sects
and opinions.

2. 'Celsus,' says Origen, 'brings in his fictitious person
of a Jew, bespeaking the Jewish believers in this manner:
What ailed you, fellow-citizens, that ye left the law of your
country, and seduced by him, to whom we spoke just now,
you have deserted us, to go to another name, and another
way of living?' Again, 'When we had taken, and
punished him, who led you about like brute beasts, you
have notwithstanding forsaken the law of your country.
How can you begin upon our sacred books, and afterwards
disregard them? when you have no other foundation but
our law?'

It was well known, therefore, that there were Jews who
believed in Jesus, and that they fetched arguments for their
belief from the Jewish scriptures; and why might not those
Jews who believed in Jesus, understand their books, as well
as they who rejected him?

It is to be observed likewise, that after Jesus was cruci-
fied, or punished, as he expresseth it, there were Jews
who were persuaded to believe in Jesus, and to profess his

\[b\] L. ii. sect. 1. fin. p. 57.
\[c\] L. ii. sect. 4. p. 59.
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religion. And I pray, how is that to be accounted for, but upon the supposition of some good proofs and evidences afforded of his great character after his crucifixion?

It appears to be very probable, that when Celsus wrote this, he had before him the books of the Acts of the Apostles; and there he might have seen sufficient grounds of a faith in Jesus after he was put to death by the Jews.

3. 'He d says, that the Hebrews were originally Egyptians, and owed their rise to a sedition from the rest of that people; so some Jews in the time of Jesus made a sedition against the body of the Jewish nation, and followed ed Jesus.'

So that there was a good number of Jews who believed in Jesus, and followed him, though the body of the people did not, as we readily allow; but it was not a sedition, as Celsus calls it. Here again, I cannot but think, that Celsus had an eye to the book of the Acts.

4. In order the better to judge of the progress of the gospel, and the sincerity and steadiness of those who embraced it, it will be of use to observe what Celsus says of any difficulties and hardships which they lay under who professed these principles, and bore the name of christians.

5. 'The e first head of accusation with Celsus against christianity,' says Origen at the beginning of his work, is, that christians secretly hold assemblies together contrary to law.'

Origen supposeth him to refer particularly to their agapae, or love-feasts. I should think he might intend all their assemblies in general, for divine worship.

6. 'Afterwards,' f says Origen, 'he speaks of the christians performing and teaching those things which are agreeable to their sentiments privately; and that therein they did not act without reason, for avoiding the punishment of death hanging over them. And he compares their dangers to the dangers which men have been liable to on account of philosophy; and he instanceth particularly in the case of Socrates: he might have added Pythagoras, and other philosophers.'


f Μετα ταυτα περι τω κρισι γαρ αποστολα ειαυτως παιων και διδασκειν ειπων, και οτι ο μαθην τα τους ειπεν, ατε διωθημενοι την επιτοτημενοι αυτως ειπεν το Σαυσταν' ομοιον τον κυινων κυινους τοις συμβαινοις ειπεν φιλοσοφαι, ως Σωκρατη, κ. λ. L. i. sect. 3. p. 5.
Does not this imply an acknowledgment, or at least a supposition, of the christians' innocence? Their dangers resembled those of the philosophers. But Socrates did not deserve the capital punishment inflicted upon him. The like may be said of many other of the philosophers: they did not deserve banishment or other like punishment. They recommended the principles of philosophy, or religion, in a peaceable manner, in the way of reason and argument.

7. We saw before how Celsus ridiculed the christians, saying: 'But now you die with him.' Afterwards, in another place he thus insults them. 'Do not see, good Sir, how any man that will, may not only blaspheme your demon, but drive him away from the earth, and the sea, [or from every quarter of the world under heaven:] and binding you, his sacred image, has you away, and crucifies you? And your demon, or as you say, the Son of God, gives you no help.' And afterwards. 'If you abscends, and hides himself, he is sought for to be punished with death.'

But these sufferings of christians are no objection against their faith, or the doctrine received by them. If the christians were good men, and alleged weighty reasons for their belief, their sufferings are no reproach to them; the dishonour falls upon those who oppose and abuse them. There might be good reasons for God's permitting the followers of Jesus to endure great trials for a while; the truth of his religion is the more established by their patience and fortitude. And Celsus himself says, 'That he who has once embraced the truth, ought not to forsake it, nor pretend to forsake it, or deny it, through fear of sufferings from men.' Insomuch that, as Origen says, 'he might be understood to be a strenuous defender of those who persevere even to death in their testimony to christianity.'

What has been just alleged may be sufficient to satisfy

8 See before, p. 238.  
10 Tune enim Porphyrius erat in rebus humanis, quando ista liberandæ animæ universalis via quæ non est alia, quam religio christianæ, oppugnari permittebatur ab idolorum demonumque cultoribus, regibusque terrenis, propter asserendum et consecrandum martyrum numerum hoc est, testium veritatis, per quos ostenderetur, omnia corporalia mala pro fide pietatis, et commendatione veritatis esse toleranda. Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. x. cap. 32. n. 1.

11 Εικε ἐκ μετα δεινοτητος συναγόρευεν πως τως μαρτυρος την χριστιανισμον μεχρι ἴσως, λεγων: Και το την ἱερον ὡς χρις του αγαθα δουματος περιχυρισαν ει μελλεις δε αυτο κοινωνειν πιναι ανθρωπον, αποτυμης τα δουματος η πλασσσαι διω κεφτων, η εξαρνω γεμισαί. L. i. sect. 8. p. 8.
us, that the christians had very bad treatment, and had few or no worldly inducements to follow Jesus, and profess his name: they had therefore some other reasons, of a different kind; they were overcome by the force of truth, "and loved not their lives unto the death:" as it is said of some, Rev. xii. 11. They obeyed our Lord's command, Rev. ii. 10, "Be thou faithful unto death, in hope of receiving from him a crown of life." At this very time, when Celsus wrote against them, they underwent a grievous persecution; but they were able to endure and withstand his sharp-pointed pen, and also the sword of the magistrate.

8. We go on. 'The Jews therefore,' says Celsus, being a distinct nation, and having the proper laws of their country, which they still carry about with them, together with a religion, such as it is, however those of their country act like other men; forasmuch as all follow the institutions of their own country, whatever they are. And that is reasonable enough, because different laws have been framed by different people; and it is fit that those things should be observed which have been established by public authority; nor would it be just to abrogate those laws, which have been enacted from the beginning in every country.—But if another appears, I should ask them, whence they came, and what country-laws they have for their rule? They will answer, None at all. For they descend from the same original; and they have received their master and leader from the same country; and yet they have revolted from the Jews?

Thus deplorable was the condition of the christians at that time! So obnoxious were they to the resentment and displeasure of their neighbours, above and beyond all other men, without any just reason! The Jewish people were very troublesome subjects of the Roman empire; the christians were the most peaceable subjects upon the face of the earth; and yet they were looked upon with a worse eye than the Jews themselves; and were judged unworthy of the common rights and privileges allowed to all other men! This was the disposition of Celsus himself toward them. It is not to be much wondered at, that many others were in the same way of thinking.

Celsus allegeth not, as a ground of this treatment of them, any crimes in action, or wicked principles in belief; but only a singularity of institution, not established by the laws of any country.

The reason of this particular enmity to the christians, be-

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L. v. sect. 25, p 247
yond the Jews, though they were also worshippers of the one God alone, and condemned all idolatry, I suppose to have been this; Christianity made much greater progress than Judaism, and threatened the utter ruin and overthrow of Gentilism.

This is a passage which I would recommend to the consideration of those who deny men the freedom of judging personally for themselves in things of religion; and found all right of professing religious principles upon the consent and authority of the magistrate, and civil laws and constitutions. Such may observe, how exactly they agree with Celsus; and they may easily discern, that if they had lived in his time, they must, according to their own principles, have sided with him against Christianity itself.

SECTION VII.

Passages of Celsus, in which he chargeth the Christians with magical practices.

WE saw before how Celsus says, that Jesus had learned the Egyptian arts, and valuing himself upon them, had set up himself for a god. And in some other places he has been ready to have recourse to magic, in order to account for the works said to have been done by our Saviour. Now I would observe what he says of Christians to the like purpose.

After this,' says Origen, 'I do not know for what reason Celsus says, that the Christians seem to be well skilled [or 'very mighty'] in the names and invocations of certain demons.'

Origen supposeth, that Celsus there refers to those who exorcised, or expelled demons: but says, that in so doing Christians made use of no other name but that of Jesus, and the rehearsal of some parts of his history.

'Celsus says, he had seen with some presbyters of our religion, books, in a barbarous language, containing the names of demons, and other charms. And he says, that

those presbyters of our religion professed nothing good,  
but every thing hurtful to mankind.'

This, as well as somewhat else said before, Origen says, is  
downright fiction. And he says, that all those stories are  
confuted by all who have conversed with christians, who  
ever heard of any such things practised by them.

However, this charge of magic against the christians may  
be reckoned an argument that there were some uncommon  
things done by them at this time, and is often affirmed by a  
Origen, as well as by other ecclesiastical writers; but not  
to the detriment of mankind, as Celsus insinuates, but for  
their benefit.

SECTION VIII.

Of christian worship, and their assemblies.

WE have just now seen mention made of christian pres-  
byters, the only place, so far as I remember, where Celsus  
has taken any notice of them. But though there were then  
persons of that denomination, who taught the christian doc-  
trine, and officiated in the worship of God, it does not ap-  
ppear that christians had at that time any temples, or sump-  
tuous buildings for public worship. Celsus rather inti-  
mates that they had none. ' They a cannot,' he says, ' so  
'much as endure the sight of temples, altars, statues.'  
However, he adds: ' Nor do the Persians erect temples.'  
In another place Origen observes; Celsus b says, ' we erect  
' no statues, altars, or temples.'

And that christians declined joining with heathen people  
in their public worship, Celsus bears witness. ' God,' c  
says he, ' is the common Lord of all; he is good to all; he  
' needeth not any thing, and therefore is free from envy.  
' What then should hinder the most devoted to him from  
' partaking in the public festivals?' And afterwards, says  
Origen, ' Celsus d endeavours to persuade us to eat things  
'sacrificed to idols, and to join in the public sacrifices of  
'the solemn festivals, saying; If these idols are nothing,  
' what harm can there be to partake in the public solemn-

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a L. i. sect. 2. p. 5. L. i. sect. 46. p. 34. L. iii. sect. 24. p. 124.  
In the third book against Celsus. He is speaking of the great benefit of the Christian religion. 'And God,' says he, 'who sent Jesus, having defeated all the artifices of demons, has so ordered it, that the gospel of Jesus should prevail everywhere where reforming mankind; and that there should be everywhere where churches governed by different laws from the churches of superstitious, intemperate, and unrighteous men; for such are the manners of most of those who belong to the churches of the cities. But the churches of God, instructed by Christ, compared with the churches of the people among whom they live, are as "lights in the world," Matt. v. 14; Phil. ii. 15. And who is there, who must not acknowledge that the worst of those who are in the church, and are inferior to the rest, are better than most of those who are in the churches of the people.'

For instance, the church of God at Athens is quiet, mild, and well behaved, being desirous to approve itself to God who is over all. But the church of the Athenians is turbulent, and by no means comparable to the church of God there. The same you must also acknowledge of the church of God at Corinth, and the church of the people of the Corinthians; as you must also allow of the church of God at Alexandria, and the church of the people of the Alexandrians. Every one who is candid, and diligently attends to these things, with a mind open to conviction, will admire him who formed this design, and has accomplished it; that there should be everywhere where churches of God, dwelling together with the churches of the people in every city. And if you will observe the senate of the church of God, and the senate in every city, you will find some senators of the church worthy to govern in the city of God, all over the world, if there were such a thing. And on the other hand, you will find, that the senators of the cities have nothing in their behaviour to render them worthy of the distinction allotted to them. And if you

\[L. iii. sect. 29, 30. p. 128, 129.\]

\[Οὔτω δὲ καὶ βελην ἐκκλησίας ὦ θεί βελην τῇ καθ ἐκαταρ πόλιν συνείτατον, εἴροις αν τινιέ μεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας βελευτα αὕτω εἰςιν, εἰτε εἰτι εἰν τῷ παυτὶ πολις τῷ θεί, εἰν εἰκεν πολεμεωθάμ. Ibid. num. 30.\]
should compare the presidents of the churches of God with
the presidents of the people in the cities, you will find the
senators and governors of the churches, though some may
be inferior to others who are more perfect, nevertheless
you will find them to excel in virtue the senators and
governors of the cities.'

SECTION IX.

Passages in Celsus concerning those called heretics.

CELSUS was not unacquainted with those particular
opinions called heresies, which arose early in the world
under the christian name.

1. I shall transcribe at length a part of what Origen
says upon this subject. 'Then a he says; Let not any man
think me ignorant, that some of them will allow that
their God is the same with the God of the Jews; whilst
others believe in another, and contrary to him, and by
whom, as they say, the Son of God was sent.'

Here, I think, Celsus must mean the Marcionites, though
Origen does not expressly say so.

2. 'He b adds, that some are Sibyllists. Perhaps he
had heard of some, who blamed those who accounted the
Sibyl a prophetess, and who therefore called them Sibyl-
lists.'

3. Origen goes on. 'Then c heaping up the names of
many among us, he says, "he knows of some, who are
Simonians, who following Helena, or a master called Hele-
nus, are called Helenians." But,' says Origen, 'Celsus
does not know that the Simonians do by no means confess
Jesus to be the Son of God, but say, that Simon is the
power of God. Many strange things are told us of that
man, who thought, that if he could perform some wonders
like to those which Jesus had done, he should be honour-
ed in the like manner that Jesus was. But neither Celsus,
nor Simon, were able to comprehend, how Jesus, as a good
husbandman of the word of God, ὃς καλὸς λειωρίσας λουὴν Θεῷ
was able to sow a great part of Greece, and a great part
of the Barbarian world, and fill them with words, which
convert the soul from every evil, and lead them to the
Creator of all. Celsus was also acquainted with the Mar-
cellians, so called from Marcellina, and the Harpocratians


who had their rise from Salome, and others from Marianne, and others from Martha; though I, who have made it my business to acquaint myself with the different sects among us, as well as among the philosophers, never met with any of these, ἐδεσπε, τοὺς ὄμηλησαμεν. Celsus has also made mention of the Marcionites, so called from Marcion.

4. 'And then, that he may seem to be acquainted with others, beside those already named, he adds, after his accustomed manner: “and others form to themselves another master and demon, walking in the greatest darkness, and practising more shameful and impious things than the associates of Antinous in Egypt.”'

5. In another place Origen observes, that the Simonians never were persecuted; and says, he believes, there could not at that time he found thirty Simonians in the world.

Celsus also brings in the Ophians, or Ophitæ, who, as Origen says, were no more christians than himself. He likewise seems to refer to the Valentinians, and to some other obscure people, whom Origen knew nothing of; and borrowing their sentiments, he forms an objection from them against all christians in general.

However, the main dispute of Celsus is with our gospels, and those christians that followed them, as is manifest from the whole of his work; so far as we can judge of it by those fragments that remain; and there are enough of them in Origen to give us a just idea of it.

6. It is not at all surprising, that Celsus should endeavour to make an advantage of the absurd opinions of those called heretics, for loading christians in general, or christianity itself, with the reproach of them; or by setting them up against the more prevailing sentiments of the sounder part of the christians, from which indeed proceeded all the fears and apprehensions of heathen people.

a Ib. sect. 63. p. 272.  
e L. vii. sect. 11. p. 282. Et conf. l. i. sect. 57. p. 44.  
g L. vi. sect. 34, &c. p. 298.  
SECTION X.

Passages in Celsus, containing calumnies, or injurious reflections upon the christians.

HE objects after this manner. "That I say nothing more severe than truth obliges me to say, is manifest hence: when others invite men to the mysteries, they invite men after this manner: "Whoever has clean hands and a good understanding: or, Whosoever is pure from vice, whose soul is conscious of no evil, and lives according to the law of righteousness, let him come hither." Now let us see whom they invite. Whoever, say they, is a sinner, whoever is ignorant, whoever is silly, and, in a word, whoever is miserable, these the kingdom of God receives. Whom do you mean by "sinners." Do you not thereby intend thieves, house-breakers, poisoners, sacrilegious, and the like? And what else could men say who aim to form a society of the worst of men? To which Origen answers: It is one thing to invite sick souls to come to be healed, and another thing to call such as are cured to partake of higher mysteries. We who know the difference of these two things, first invite men to come and be healed, and we exhort sinners to attend to those who teach men not to sin; and the ignorant and unwise we exhort to hearken to those who will teach them wisdom; the weak we exhort to aim at manly wisdom, and the miserable we invite to accept of happiness, or, to speak more properly, blessedness. And, when they whom we have admonished, have made some progress, and have learned to live well, then they are initiated by us. "For we speak wisdom among the perfect," 1 Cor. ii. 6.

2. That the christian doctrine gives no encouragement to wickedness, is apparent from the books of the New Testament, in which it is clearly taught: and that the general practice of christians is here misrepresented, appears from Justin Martyr, who lived about the same time with Celsus, who, in his first apology, giving an account of the christian principles and worship, says: 'Whenever any are persuaded of the truth of the things taught by us, and engage to the utmost of their power to live accordingly, they are directed to pray, joining therewith fasting, that they

\[ a \] L. iii. sect. 59. p. 147.  
may obtain from God the forgiveness of their past sins, we
also praying and fasting with them: then they are brought
by us to a place where there is water, and they are re-
generated in the same manner that we were." Nor were
they admitted to the eucharist till afterwards; as he farther
shows.

3. So writes Justin. The discipline of the church was
much the same in the time of Origen: for, some while be-
fore, in answer to another reflection of Celsus, not very dif-
ferent from this which we are now considering, he says:
"But what ground is there to compare us with those
haranguers, and common strollers? Is there any resem-
blance between them and us, who by readings, and by
explications of those readings, excite men to piety toward
the God of the universe, and to other virtues of like ex-
cellence, [και τὰς αὐθόρους ταυτή ἀρετάς] and who call men
off from a neglect of religion, and from all things contrary
to right reason? Certainly the philosophers would be well
pleased to gather together such as are disposed to hear
their discourses concerning what is good and honest. Nor
ought such to be compared with the common strollers
above mentioned: nor is it reasonable to suppose, that
Celsus would condemn those philosophers, who from a
principle of humanity, endeavour to instruct and improve
the ignorant vulgar."

"The christians are more careful in distinguishing their
hearers than any other men. When the philosophers speak
in public, all attend that will: the christians carefully ex-
amine the tempers and manners of those who come to
them; nor are any received by us, till they have given
some evidences of a progress in virtue. If afterwards they
fall into sin, especially any kind of intemperance, they are
excluded from the community: if afterwards they repent,
their recovery is considered as a rising again from the dead.
But now they are received again not without more diffi-
culty than at the first: nor can they ever be admitted into
any office or dignity in the church of God."

4. Moreover, as Dr. Wall observes in his Notes upon
John viii. at the beginning: "It is no discredit, but an ex-
cellence in any religion, that it has rules of pardon for
great sins, provided it lay conditions, and strong injunc-
tions of amending, and doing so no more, such as here at
ver. 11." For certain, the gospel promiseth not any
special advantages to men who live in sin; such as sin, it

\[c \text{ lb. p. 97, sect. 65, &c.} \]
\[d \text{ L. iii. sect. 50, 51. p. 142, 143.} \]
calls to repentance; nor is there any pardon, nor salvation for sinners, unless they repent, and practise real holiness and virtue.

5. That charge of Celsus against christianity, therefore, is altogether absurd and groundless; though it was afterwards renewed by the emperor Julian: and I hope it will be excused, that I have so particularly considered this objection the first time it came in our way.

6. 'Celsus' quotes, or seems to quote, words of a Dialogue, (if they are not his own invention,) as written by some christian, where mention is made of angels of light, and other angels, and their prince at the head, who is mentioned by a very opprobrious name. Then,' says Origen, 'laying hold of those words, he deservedly censures those who say such things. We also are very ready to join in censuring such as call the God of the Jews accursed, if indeed there are any such men; I mean the God that sends rain and thunder, the God of Moses, and author of the creation described by him. 'Here,' adds Origen, 'Celsus seems to have intended somewhat very unfair against us, proceeding from ill-will, unbecoming a philosopher. He intended, that they who read his book, to whom we are unknown, should declare war against us, as men who called the good creator of the world accursed; in which he resembleth the Jews, who, at the first rise of the christian doctrine, spread abroad calumnies against it; giving out, that they killed a child and ate it, and that when the lights were put out, they practised promiscuous lewdness. Which calumny, however absurd, was of old credited by many who differ from us; and even now there are some who are so deceived by it, that for this reason they are so averse to all christians, that they will have no discourse or communication with any of them. Somewhat of this kind Celsus seems to have aimed at, when he gave out, that the christians call the creator of the world the accursed God; that men, believing such things of us, might be disposed to do their utmost to extirpate the christians, as the most impious of all men.'

By all which we may perceive, that Celsus was filled with enmity against the christians of his time, and did not spare them.

6 Των μεν το φωτος, ἐπερων δὲ των οὐρανοζομένων ἀρχαντικῶν καὶ λεγει τον ἀρχοντα των οὐρανοζομένων ἀρχαντικῶν λεγέσθαι θεον καθηραμένον. Ib. num. 27.  
8 Εἰ εὖ των ἡς λεγοντες θεον καθηραμένον τον Ισδαων. Num. 27.
7. There is yet one place more, which I must take notice of before I leave this article.

After this he insinuates, that the worship paid to Antinous, one of the beloved favourites of Adrian, at Antinopolis in Egypt, differs not from the respect which we have for Jesus. Another instance this of his hatred of us! But what have we in common with men, whose manners are so vicious, as not to be exempt from that effeminacy which is contrary to nature? What comparison can be made between them, and the venerable Jesus, whom we follow, against whom, though innumerable lies and calumnies have been forged, none have dared to charge him with any kind of intemperance whatever?

SECTION XI.

Remarks upon the Work of Celsus against the christians, and upon Origen’s Answer to it.

CELSUS says, 'he knows all things.' Which Origen treats as a very arrogant saying; but I think the coherence shows, that Celsus intended to say, he knew all things relating to the christians. And perhaps he meant no more, than that he was well qualified for the work he had undertaken, of writing against them; and Origen himself, in some other places where he takes notice of this saying, leads us to understand it of his being well acquainted with the christian affairs.

Which, I apprehend, cannot be disallowed; for Celsus had read the books of Moses, and perhaps all the other books of the Old Testament. He had read, as it seems, all the books of the New Testament; but when he had done that, he supposed, he needed not to give himself much trouble about any of them, excepting the historical books, and particularly the gospels.

1 Τι γαρ κοινον εχει ὁ γενομενος εν τοις Ἀδριανῳ παιδιος βιος, ὥσ τον ἀφρενα απαθη γυναικειας νοση φυλαξαντος, προς τον σεμνον ἵμων Ἰησων, και μηδε οι μυρια κατηγορησαντες, και ψευδη όσα περι αυτω λεγοντες, δευνυναι κατειρμην, ως και το γυνον ακολασιας και επ’ ἐλαυν γενομενων. L. 3. sect. 36. p. 132.

2 Δεκτουν ἐκ προς τα, παντα γαρ ουδα, αλαζωνικωτα πε' αυτω αποτελομενον. L. i. sect. 12. p. 11.

He had also made inquiries after those absurd people called heretics, and looked into some of their writings.

Beside all this, he had sent for some Jews to come to him, with whom he had a good deal of discourse. From them he learned their expectation of the Messiah, and their idea of him; by them he endeavoured to inform himself, wherein lay the controversy between the Jewish people and the christians; with their assistance he formed divers objections against the christian doctrine; and from them, undoubtedly, he aimed to pick up all the scandal which they could furnish him with against the christians; and from them he received the infamous account of our Saviour's nativity, before taken notice of.

And it may be well supposed, that there were some reasons, which induced thist learned Epicurean to take so much pains to inform himself about the christians, and then to write a large volume against them. Their principles were very different from his, and contrary to all the established notions about the heathen deities; and their principles had already gained great ground, and were still spreading more and more to the detriment of Epicurism, and all idolatrous schemes; which could not but move his indignation. We see his resentments in the bitterness with which he has treated the christians, and Jesus himself, whom they followed as their Lord and Master. I am unwilling to insinuate, that Celsus was allured into this service, and that he encouraged himself with hopes of success in his design, by the afflictive circumstances of the christians at that time; but I must say, it was not very generous in him to attack and oppose them in the manner he did, when they were under persecution, and liable to capital punishments.

Celsus c expressly quotes the Dispute or Dialogue of Papiscus and Jason, and speaks of it with great contempt, of which I took notice d formerly. It is a work which may be allowed to be written by a catholic christian. Excepting that one book, I do not recollect that Celsus has mentioned the name of any of our celebrated ancient christians, or particularly referred to any of their writings; though there were several before, and about his time, who might have been mentioned; as Clement of Rome, Ignatius bishop of Antioch, Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, Quadratus, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Tatian, not to speak of any others, divers of whom were well versed in Greek literature; which silence

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\(^{c}\) See Vol. ii. p. 310.
about them may be ascribed to a scornful disdain, unwilling
to do justice to the merit of a Christian; nor do we perceive
from Origen, that Celsus had named any of the evangelists.
And by the way I would observe here, that we compute
the Dialogue of Papiscus and Jason to have been written
about the year of Christ 140; Celsus, therefore, could not
publish his work against the Christians till after that time.
At the conclusion of his eight books in answer to Celsus,
Origen observes, that Celsus promised another work, in
which he would show men how to live. This work Origen
seems to suppose to have been likewise designed in opposi-
tion to Christianity. Origen did not know whether Celsus
had performed his promise; but he desires his friend
Ambrose to send it to him, if he had met with it; and he
engageth to examine it.
Origen's own work, as before shown, has been greatly
commended. Eusebius, entering upon his own answer to
Hierocles, considers it as a needless performance; forasmuch
as a confutation of him may be seen in Origen's books
against Celsus, who had already said every thing that could
be said upon the subject.
I do not judge it proper for me to indulge myself in any
characters that should be reckoned extravagant; neverthe-
less I think I may say, that Origen's eight books against
Celsus are an invaluable treasure. Every one is now able
to judge of the importance of the fragments of the work of
Celsus, preserved in it. Origen's answers to Celsus are also
valuable. There are likewise many other things, of which
good use may be made; whence the curious may learn
divers things hardly to be met with elsewhere. I suppose,
I shall hereafter have opportunities for verifying this ob-
ervation, by quotations out of it.

SECTION XII.

The Recapitulation.

IT is a large extract which I have now made out of Origen's
eight books against the work of Celsus, entitled The True
Word: it is fit that we should now recapitulate what we
have seen in several articles.

\[\text{Eusebius, L. viii. sect. 76. p. 428.} \]
\[\text{Contr. Hier. p. 511.} \]
And it is a great deal. All these things have we seen in Celsus distinctly and clearly. What greater advantage could we expect from the writings of an adversary, who flourished, and wrote not long after the middle of the second century of the christian epoch; and not much above 130 years after our Saviour's ascension?

In the passages alleged under the second section we have seen good proofs that the Jewish people had expectations of that great person the Messiah.

In the passages cited under the third section, we have seen many plain references to the gospels, and to several of St. Paul's epistles, if not also to St. Peter's and St. John's. We are assured by Celsus, that there were histories of Jesus written by his disciples, meaning his apostles and their companions; and that those books were well known, and in high esteem with christians.

We have seen in his fragments plain references to the gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John; it appears also highly probable, or even certain, that he was not unacquainted with the gospel according to St. Mark; but he has not expressly mentioned the books themselves, nor the names of the writers; nor is there so much as an insinuation, that the later christians, of Celsus's own time, or thereabout, had forged these histories to do honour to Jesus. He only says, that they had altered some things; but of that he produced no proof; nor did he allege any particular instances; he only says, in the place referred to, if Origen has taken the words of Celsus exactly, that some of the believers had taken the liberty to alter the gospel from the first writing.

I presume I have now particularly shown, from numerous passages above alleged, the truth of St. Chrysostom's observation: That Celsus bears witness to the antiquity of our writings.

And, as it was in those times a common method to quote authors in a loose manner, and as it is reasonable to believe that Celsus was far from being scrupulously exact in his citations of christian books, or in his allusions to them; it may be well reckoned somewhat extraordinary, that we can discern in him so many evident traces of quotations from the books of the New Testament, or references to them.

In the fourth section are many passages of Celsus bearing testimony to the books of the New Testament, and the facts contained in them.

* The first section is not recapitulated here, as it contains only the history of Celsus, and his work.
He lets us know that Jesus was the author of the Christian institution, and that he had lived and taught not very long ago. We learn from him also, that according to the accounts given by his disciples, he was born of a virgin, in a small village of Judea, supposed to have been descended from the Jewish kings; that she was married to a carpenter; that for some while her husband was doubtful about her chastity; that Chaldeans, or other wise men from the east, came to Jerusalem, soon after his nativity, to do him homage as king of the Jews, having been excited to that journey by the appearance of a star; that Herod, moved by jealousy, put to death many young children, hoping to kill Jesus with them; that by direction of an angel, he was carried by his parents into Egypt for the preservation of his life; where, as Celsius insinuates, Jesus learned the charms practised in that country. He calls Jesus the Nazarean man, or man of Nazareth, from the place where he was brought up, and chiefly resided, before his appearance in a public character. He takes notice of our Lord’s baptism, and of the descent of the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove, and of a voice from heaven declaring Jesus to be the beloved Son of God. In another place he speaks again of a like voice from heaven, which seems to be what happened when our Lord was transfigured on the mount. He afterwards takes notice, that when Jesus appeared in a public character, as a teacher of religion, he went about attended by ten or eleven disciples, publicans, and sailors, or mariners, as he generally calls them. In the history of Jesus, written by his disciples, he is said to have healed the lame and the blind, and to have raised some dead persons to life: and though he is unwilling to allow that these were real miracles done by the power of God, he dares not to deny their truth, and is troubled to account for them, and was almost reduced to the necessity of allowing the power of magic, though he is supposed to have formerly written against it. He has taken notice of our Lord’s death on the cross, and almost all the circumstances of his last sufferings: that he was betrayed by one of his disciples, and denied by another: that he was condemned by a judge, and prosecuted by the Jews. He mentions our Lord’s deriders, and the reproaches he underwent, the crown of thorns, the purple robe, the reed in his hand. Nor has he omitted the wine mingled with gall, when our Lord was going to be crucified, and the vinegar, when he was near expiring on the cross. He also takes notice of the darkness during our Lord’s crucifixion, and the earthquake at the
same time, or soon after it. And though he will not admit, that Jesus rose from the dead, he acknowledgeth the disciples to have related it, and that an angel descended, and removed the stone from the door of the sepulchre, and that he is said by them to have shown himself to one woman, and then to others, and to his disciples. He also observes, that the disciples have recorded, that Jesus foreknew and foretold the things that happened to himself, and which were to happen to them also after he had left them. So that we have in Celsus, in a manner, the whole history of Jesus, as recorded in the gospels: for we have traced in him the history of our Lord's birth, life, preaching, miracles, death, and resurrection; all as taken by him from the writings of Christ's own disciples. In this section, therefore, we have seen many testimonies to the antiquity and genuineness of our scriptures, additional to those alleged in the preceding section.

In the fifth section we have observed the notice which Celsus takes of some christian principles, in particular, the general resurrection of the dead; as for the moral doctrine he was not able to find any fault with it; but he says, the like things had been before taught by the philosophers, and better expressed. He takes notice of the veneration which the christians had for Jesus, as their master, and the Messiah promised of old. But he says, the Jews were mistaken in expecting such a person at all: and the christians were mistaken in thinking that he was actually come; though, as he allows, they argued from the ancient Jewish prophets.

In the sixth section we have seen some passages bearing testimony to the great progress of the christian religion in the world, notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements. Indeed, this whole work of Celsus is an evidence of the prevailing power of the christian religion; he has sufficiently acknowledged the great number of Jews and Gentiles, who had been gained over to this belief: and if it had not been still spreading and prevailing, this learned and ingenious man would have saved himself the pains of this laborious argument to confute it; but how so many at that time should embrace this doctrine, under many worldly discouragements, without good reason, is a thing not easy to be accounted for.

Under this section, I suppose, may be observed some passages containing references to the book of the Acts of the Apostles.

Under the seventh section we saw, how Celsus was dis-
posed to charge the christians with magical arts and practices; upon which I need not enlarge here; it is sufficient to remind the reader of what is there alleged.

In the eighth section are some passages relating to christian worship. It appears from what Celsus says, that they worshipped the one God, Creator of all things, and had a high veneration for Jesus Christ; nor would they worship demons, or join in the public sacrifices and festivals of heathen people. He likewise speaks of christian presbyters; though they had not then any altars, nor temples, nor other sumptuous buildings to meet in. He also reproacheth them with holding their religious assemblies privately, and contrary to law; nor was it without reason that they aimed at privacy; for, as he owns, they were then sought for to be put to death.

From the passages alleged under the ninth section we learn, that Celsus was not unacquainted with the absurd opinions of some who went under the christian name; these he brings in, the more to reproach those who were the most rational in their belief. All the attacks of Celsus are against the more sober part of the believers; those others were sought for in order to disparage and expose them, if possible.

Finally, it is well known, that in early times, soon after the rise of christianity, the followers of Jesus were loaded with many calumnies.

They were said to kill infants, and eat them, and when the lights were put out, to practise promiscuous lewdness in their assemblies. I do not perceive Celsus to insist upon these; I rather think he did not. These calumnies were not yet extinct, nor obsolete; the martyrs at Lyons and Vienne, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, about the year 177, were reproached with them; and they were in vogue after that time. But to me it seems probable, that Celsus thought those charges to be absurd and incredible; and to mention them with any marks of countenance and approbation, he supposed would be a prejudice to his argument. But though he has omitted them, he has brought in divers injurious reflections upon them, and thereby shown his good will to expose them to general and public resentment; as may be seen in the passages alleged from him under this section.

If therefore we now have any advantage from the work of Celsus, as we certainly have, and very considerable, it is

\[a\] Vid. L. vi. sect. 40. p. 302.
\[b\] Vid. Euseb. H. E. L. v. cap. 4. p. 156. D. and the present volume of this work, ch. xv. sect. ii. num. iii.
altogether beside the intention of the author: so that we may here apply the words of Samson's riddle, or ænigma: "Out of the eater," or devourer, "came meat, and out of the strong," or the fierce, "came sweetness," Judges xiv. 14.

SECTION XIII.

Three summaries of the fragments of the work of Celsus preserved in Origen, made by three several learned men.

1. A SUMMARY of the Work of Celsus, by the late Rev. Dr. Philip Doddridge.

My late excellent friend, Dr. Doddridge, observed to me, that few learned men knew the importance of the remains of Celsus. He said, 'An abridgment of the history of Christ may be found in Celsus;' and he entreated, that when I should come to this writer, 'I would labour the point.' I think I have shown a regard to his advice, as I have also followed my own judgment and inclination.

Since his decease, I have understood that he had abridged the argument of the eight books of Origen against Celsus, and sent it to an honourable friend. A copy of it having been taken, I have procured it from the Rev. Mr. Ashworth, of Daventry in Northamptonshire. I shall now transcribe it with references to the pages of Spencer's edition of Origen at Cambridge, in 1677.

'Of the proof of the genuineness of the New Testament, that may be derived from the fragments of Celsus, as preserved by Origen.'

'The book of Celsus is unhappily lost; but there are large extracts made in Origen, and, as it seems, with such exactness, that it is difficult to find more considerable remains of any ancient book, not now extant. The following collection is confined to the illustration of this thought: "What we may learn from him concerning the real existence of the New Testament, in his age, and the regard in which it was held among Christians."'

'Celsus is, no doubt, an evidence of great value, as he wrote so early. Origen observes, p. 3, that he had been dead long before his undertaking to answer his book against Christianity, which he calls "The True Word."' And it appears, from another passage of Origen, that he lived

in the days of Adrian and his successor, p. 8. So that
his book must have been written in the second century:
which is farther confirmed by Lucian's dedicating to him
one of his works, entitled, Pseudomantis. It may be also
observed, that he speaks of Christ, as having taught and
suffered very lately, p. 21, and p. 282.

As for the references to the gospels, we do not find that
he quotes any of them by the name of the authors: but he
speaks of the gospel, meaning, no doubt, the history of
Christ, as being changed three or four times, p. 77. He
seems to speak of several of the evangelists, as agreeing
to write of Christ's predictions, p. 89, and of things written
by the disciples of Christ, p. 67. All which seem to make
it evident, that he had more than the book of St. Matthew
in his hand: and though the greatest part of his references
may be found there, yet there are also many of them in the
other gospels.

He quotes from the gospels such a variety of particulars,
that the enumeration of them will almost prove an abridg-
ment of the evangelists' history: particularly, That Jesus,
who, he says, was represented as the Word of God, p. 79,
and who was the author of the christian name, p. 21, and
also called himself the Son of God, ibid. was a man of
Nazareth, p. 343. That he was the reputed son of a car-
penter, p. 30. That his mother's pregnancy was at first
suspected, ibid. but that it was pretended, that his body
was formed in her womb by the Spirit of God: or, as he
elsewhere expresses it, produced by a divine operation, p.
30. And that to remove the carpenter's prejudice, an
angel appeared to him to inform him of this, p. 266. That,
when he was born, a star appeared in the east to certain
Magi, who came to adore him, p. 31, 45. The consequence
of which was the slaughter of the infants by order of Herod,
hoping thereby to destroy Jesus, and prevent his reign,
p. 45. But that his parents were warned by an angel to
fly into Egypt, to preserve his life, as if his Father could
not have protected him at home, p. 51, and 266; and that
he continued in Egypt for a while, where, he says, he had
an opportunity of learning magic, p. 22.

He farther represents it, as pretended in those books,
that when Jesus was washed by John, the appearance of a
dove descended upon him, and that a voice was heard from
heaven, declaring him to be the Son of God, p. 31, and
105. That he was vexed by a temptation, and the assaults
of an evil spirit, 303. He calls Christ himself a carpenter,

b The words of Celsius, to which Dr. Doddridge refers, are these: 'O τοβο
p. 300, and insults his mean life, lurking from place to place, p. 47, gathering up ten or twelve poor men, publicans, and men that used the sea, of scandalous characters, and represents Christ as a beggar, p. 47: c that he was sometimes hungry and thirsty, p. 55; speaks of his being rejected by many that heard him, and hints, though not very expressly, at an attempt to throw him down a precipice, p. 298.

He grants, that he wrought miracles, and particularly, that he cured some sick people, raised some that were dead, and multiplied some loaves; but speaks of others doing the like, p. 53. He also expressly mentions his curing the lame and the blind; and his raising the dead is mentioned a second time, p. 87. He lampoons the expression, "thy faith hath saved thee," p. 8. d

He hints at several things concerning the doctrine of Christ, and the manner of his preaching, taken especially from St. Matthew's account of his sermon on the mount, particularly, that he promised, that his followers should inherit the earth; that if any strike them on one cheek, they should turn the other, p. 343, and 370; that he declared, no man can serve two masters, p. 380; and would have his disciples learn from the birds of the air, and the lilies of the field, not to be excessively careful about food and raiment, p. 343. He also refers to some other discourses of Christ, as his saying, that it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to be saved, 286 and 288.

He observes, that Jesus, however, was not generally attended to, and that he denounced woes upon his hearers for their obstinate infidelity, p. 107.

He also says, that his disciples in their writings pretend, that he foretold all things which he was to suffer, p. 67: and his resurrection, p. 93; and likewise, that deceivers would come, and work miracles, and speaks of the author of these wicked words by the name of Satan, p. 89.

He objects, that Jesus withdrew himself from those who sought to put him to death, p. 62, and yet afterwards did not avoid death, knowing it was to come, p. 70. He

The passages of Celsus, to which Dr. Doddridge here refers, may be seen transcribed above at p. 228, 229. d That is not exact, owing, perhaps, not to the author, but to the transcriber. The original is: χρησθαι των Μη ἐξετασθή, ἀλλὰ πιστευον καὶ πιστις σω ὁμεριστε. And see here at p. 221.
speaks of his eating the flesh of a lamb, p. 340; and that he foretold to his disciples, they would give him up to his enemies, thereby making them wicked, though they were the companions of his table, p. 72.

That before his sufferings he prayed in these words: "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass away," p. 75. That he was betrayed by his disciples, though robbers are faithful to their leaders, p. 62, and 66. That none of his disciples dared to suffer for him, p. 86, and that he professed to undergo his sufferings in obedience to his Father, p. 75, and said, that "these things ought to happen," p. 332.

That he was denied by one who knew him to be God; p. 71, to whom, as well as to the traitor, he had foretold what he would do, p. 72.

It is intimated, that he spoke of coming again with an heavenly host, p. 337.

He speaks of Jesus as ignominiously bound, p. 282; as scourged, p. 79; as crowned with thorns, with a reed in his hand, and arrayed in a scarlet robe, and as condemned, p. 81; as having gall given him to drink when he was led away to punishment, p. 174; as shamefully treated in the sight of the whole world, p. 282; as distended on the cross, p. 82. He derides him for not exerting his divinity to punish those outrages, p. 81; as taking no vengeance on his enemies, p. 404; as incapable to deliver himself, and not delivered by his Father in his extremity, p. 41; and as greedily drinking gall and vinegar, through impatience of thirst, p. 82, and 340.

He observes, it was pretended, that when Jesus expired upon the cross, there was darkness and an earthquake, p. 94; that when he arose, he needed an angel to remove the stone of the sepulchre, though he was said to be the Son of God, p. 266. And according to some, one, according to others, two angels came to the sepulchre to inform the women of his resurrection, p. 266. That after his resurrection he did not appear to his enemies, p. 98; but first to a woman whom he had dispossessed, p. 94, and 104; that he appeared to a few of his disciples, showing them the marks of crucifixion, and appeared and disappeared on a sudden, p. 94, &c. and 104. And he says; We take these things from your own writings, to wound you with your own weapons, p. 106.

Beside all these circumstances produced from the gospels, he speaks of Christ's pretending, that he should come again to burn the wicked, and to receive the rest to eternal
Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

life with himself, p. 175. He refers to the christian doctrine, of the fall of the angels, and their being reserved in bonds under the earth, p. 266.'

It is observable, that nothing is quoted by him from the Acts in his whole book; nor does he name St. Paul; but he quotes his epistles, particularly these words from the epistle to the Galatians, iv. 14, "The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world," p. 273, which Origen says is all that he had taken from St. Paul. However, he has also these words of 1 Cor. iii. 29, "the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God," p. 283, and "an idol is nothing," 1 Cor. viii. 4; p. 293. But it is observable, that in the first of these quotations Celsus reproacheth the christians with their many divisions; and yet says, that however they differed, they agreed in using that expression. He seems also, p. 242, expressly to refer to 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52; and 1 Thess. iv. 15—17, when he says, that the christians expected, that they only should escape in the burning of the world, and that not only they who are alive when it happens, but those also who have been a long time dead.'

Upon the whole, there are in Celsus about eighty quotations from the books of the New Testament, or references to them, of which Origen has taken notice. And whilst he argues from them, sometimes in a very perverse and malicious manner, he still takes it for granted, as the foundation of his argument, that whatever absurdities could be fastened upon any words or actions of Christ, recorded in the evangelists, it would be a valid objection against christianity; whereby in effect assuring us, not only that such a book did really exist, but that it was universally received by christians in those times as credible and divine. Who can forbear adoring the depth of divine wisdom, in laying such a firm foundation for our faith in the gospel-history, in the writings of one who was so inveterate an enemy to it, and so indefatigable in his attempts to overthrow it!'

To conclude: Celsus does not appear to have founded any single objection against christianity upon any of the spurious gospels, Acts, or Revelations; which, considering

e I think that Celsus was acquainted with the book of the Acts. And I would entreat the reader to observe the passages quoted from him above, at p. 243, 244, 251.

f Origen’s words are these, p. 273, f. τωτο γαρ μονον απο τη Παωλου εικε μεμνημονευκεναι δι Κελσου. But I suppose, that Origen is not to be understood strictly, but rather in this manner: ‘That Celsus had seldom quoted Paul: and now took notice of that expression with a design to expose it, so far as he was able.’
his malice on the one hand, and the many foolish and exce-
tionable things to be found in them on the other, seems to be a good argument that he never saw them. Else he had hardly candour enough to forbear pleading such argu-
ments as they might have afforded him; even though he had known that the christians did not esteem them of equal authority with those, which he has so furiously, but at the same time so impotently assaulted.' So far Dr. Doddridge.

I shall now take another summary of the argument of Celsius, from Dr. John Leland of Dublin, in his Answer to Christianity as old as the Creation, Vol. ii. ch. v. p. 150—154, omitting for the most part the references to the pages.

'Celsius, a most bitter enemy of christianity, who lived in the second century, produces many passages out of the gospels. He represents Jesus to have lived but a few years ago; he mentions his being born of a virgin; the angel's appearing to Joseph on occasion of Mary's being with child; the star that appeared at his birth; the wise men that came to worship him, when an infant, and Herod's massacring the children; Joseph's fleeing with the child into Egypt by the admonition of an angel; the Holy Ghost's descending on Jesus like a dove when he was baptized by John, and the voice from heaven, declaring him to be 'the Son of God;' his going about with his disciples; his healing the sick and lame, and raising the dead; his foretelling his own sufferings, and resurrection; his being betrayed and forsaken by his own disciples; his suffering, both of his own accord, and in obedience to his heavenly Father; his grief and trouble, and his praying; 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;' the ignominious treatment he met with, the robe that was put upon him, the crown of thorns, the reed put into his hand, his drinking vinegar and gall, and his being scourged and crucified; his being seen after his resurrection by a fanati-
cal woman, (as he calls her, meaning Mary Magdalene,) and by his own companions and disciples; his showing them his hands that were pierced, the marks of his punishment. He also mentions the angel's being seen at his sepulchre, and that some said, it was one angel, others, that it was two; by which he hints at the seeming variation in the accounts given of it by the evangelists.'

'It is true, he mentions all these things with a design to ridicule and expose them; but they furnish us with an un-
contested proof, that the gospels were then extant. Ac-
cordingly he expressly tells the christians: 'These things we have produced out of your own writings,' p. 106. And
he all along supposeth them to have been written by Christ's own disciples, that lived and conversed with him; though he pretends, they feigned many things for the honour of their master, p. 69, 70. And he pretends, "that he could tell many other things relating to Jesus, beside those things that were written of him by his own disciples; but that he willingly passed them by," p. 67. We may conclude from his own expressions, both that he was sensible, that these accounts were written by Christ's own disciples, (and indeed he never pretends to contest this,) and that he was not able to produce any contrary accounts to invalidate them, as he certainly would have done if it had been in his power: since no man ever wrote with greater virulence against christianity than he. And indeed, how was it possible, for "ten or eleven publicans and boatmen," as he calls Christ's disciples by way of contempt, p. 47, to have imposed such things on the world, if they had not been true, so as to persuade such vast multitudes to embrace a new and despised religion, contrary to all their prejudices and interests, and to believe in one that had been crucified?"

There are several other things which show, that Celsus was acquainted with the gospels. He produces several of our Saviour's sayings there recorded, as "that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God:" that "to him, who smites us on one cheek, we must turn the other:" that "it is not possible to serve two masters," his precepts against "thoughtfulness for to-morrow," by a comparison drawn from "crows and lilies:" his foretelling, that "false prophets should arise, and work wonders:" his saying, "Woe unto you," &c. He mentions also some passages of the apostle Paul, such as these: "The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world. The wisdom of men is foolishness with God: an idol is nothing;"

The use I would make of all this is, that it appears here with an uncontested evidence, by the testimony of one of the most malicious and virulent adversaries the christian religion ever had, and who was also a man of considerable parts and learning, that the writings of the evangelists were extant in his time; which was in the next century to that in which the apostles lived: and that those accounts were written by Christ's own disciples, and consequently that they were written in the very age in which the facts there related were done, and when therefore it would have been the easiest thing in the world to have convicted them of
falsehood, if they had not been true.' So far that learned author.

A third Summary of the argument of Celsus.

Once more, Dr. Sherlock, or whoever is the ingenious author of 'the Evidence of the Resurrection cleared up,' has these following observations at p. 19 and 20.

For Celsus lived at no great distance from the apostolic age, at a time when all religions were tolerated but the Christian; when no evidence was stifled, no books destroyed, but the Christian. And yet Celsus laboured under the same want of evidence, as Woolston and his auxiliaries, and had only the gospel to search (as Origen more than once observes) for evidence against the gospel. A strong proof that there never had been any books, of any credit in the world, that questioned the gospel facts, when so spiteful and so artful an adversary as Celsus made no use of them.'

Celsus admits the truth of Christ's miracles; the difference between him and Origen lies in the manner of accounting for them; the one ascribing them to the power of God, the other to the power of magic. So that if the considerer will stand to the evidence of his own witness, the question will not be, Whether the miracles are true in fact, (for that is granted on both sides,) but whether the truth of the miracles infers the divine authority of the performer. Now can it be supposed, that Celsus would have admitted the miracles of Christ as real facts, had he not been compelled to it by the universal consent of all men in the age he lived?'

The truth is, that the objections of Celsus are preserved, and preserved in his own language. Origen's answer is not a general reply to Celsus, but a minute examination of all his objections, even of those which appeared to Origen most frivolous. For his friend Ambrosius, to whom he dedicates the work, desired him to omit nothing. In order to this examination, Origen states the objections of Celsus in his own words; and, that nothing might escape him, he takes them in the order in which Celsus had placed them. Celsus, then, as it happens, is safe; and the considerer needs not to lament over him any more.'

The fragments of the work of Celsus are, undoubtedly, of great importance. I have endeavoured to do justice to them, not only by my own large extracts, but likewise by these observations and summaries of three learned men; hoping,
that thereby my defects may be supplied, and that some
things may be better expressed by them than they have
been by me.

CHAP. XIX.

LUCIAN OF SAMOSATA.

I. His time, and works. II. A passage from him concern-
ing Peregrinus, in which is a copious testimony to the
christians of that time, with remarks. III. His account
of Alexander, who set up an oracle in Paphlagonia, with
remarks. IV. Passages from his True History. V. Ex-
tracts from the Dialogue, called Philopatris, ascribed
to him, with remarks.

I. LUCIAN was a native of Samosata in Syria. Accord-
ing to Suidas he flourished in the time of Trajan and after-
wards; but that is placing him too early. It is more
probable, that he was born under Adrian; and he may be
more properly said to have flourished in the reigns of
Antoninus the pious, and M. Antoninus the philosopher;
which last he survived, as appears from his Pseudomantis,
where he speaks of that emperor as already deified.

Some have supposed, that in the latter part of his life
Lucian was governor of Egypt; on the other hand, divers
learned men have shown, that he was only register of
Alexandria. However, he speaks of that post as both
honourable and profitable, and a step to higher preferment,
no less than the government of a province. Some have


c Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. 15, et Tillem. ubi supra.
d e I have taken some pains to adjust the age of Lucian. And from some
notes of time, which are preserved in his works, I have fixed the 40th year
of his age to the 164th year of Christ, the fourth of M. Antoninus: and con-
sequently his birth to the 124th year of Christ, and the eighth of Adrian.”
Moyle’s Works, Vol. ii. p. 363. Diss. upon the age of the Philopatris.

e —οτε Θεος Μαρκος ἦν τοις Μαρκομανος καὶ Κεβας συνεπλεκτο.
Pseud. p. 775. vol. i. f See Moyle, as before, vol. i. p. 298. et Valesii
Annot. in Euseb. H. E. l. vii. cap. 11. p. 147. et Annot. in Marcellin. l.
xxviii. cap. i. And Tillem. as before quoted, calls him Greffer du Prefet.
d’Egypte.

8 Apol. pro mercede conduct. T. i. p. 491, 492.
spoke of Lucian, as an apostate from christianity, but there is no sufficient reason to believe that ever he was a christian.

Lucian is placed by Cave at the year 176; and I shall place him there likewise; which is some while after writing his Peregrinus, and several years before publishing his Pseudomantis, another work to be quoted hereafter.

II. The work to be first quoted by me is a Letter to Cronius, concerning the death of Peregrinus, called also Proteus; who publicly burnt himself in the sight of all Greece, soon after the Olympic games were over, in the year of our Lord 165, or as others say in the year 169; not long after which this history of him was written by Lucian.

Peregrinus, according to Lucian's character of him, was a person who rambled from place to place, and from one sect of philosophy to another. Having been guilty of paricide, and other crimes, as our author says, he was obliged for a while to leave his native country, and travel abroad. At which time, as Lucian says, he learned the wonderful doctrine of the christians, by conversing with their priests and scribes near Palestine; and in a short time he showed, they were but children to him; for he was prophet, high-priest, ruler of a synagogue, uniting all offices in himself alone. Some books he interpreted and explained, others he wrote; and they spoke of him as a god, and took him for a lawgiver, and honoured him with the title of master. They therefore still worship that great

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n I have rendered that paragraph as it stands in Lucian; but those titles seem not to belong to Peregrinus; and it may be suspected, that somewhat is wanting hereabout. Tanagu. Faber, in his notes upon this place, conjectures that there were here some expressions injurious to our Saviour, which a christian copyist, more pious than wise, left out. However, of that we cannot be certain. Perhaps the place is genuine and pure, as written by Lucian: but
man who was crucified in Palestine, because he introduced into the world this new religion. For this reason Proteus was taken up, and put into prison; which very thing was of no small service to him afterwards, for giving reputation to his impostures, and gratifying his vanity. The christians were much grieved for his imprisonment, and tried all ways to procure his liberty. Not being able to effect that, they did him all sorts of kind offices, and that not in a careless manner, but with the greatest assiduity; for even betimes in the morning there would be at the prison old women, some widows, and also little orphan children; and some of the chief of their men, by corrupting the keepers, would get into prison, and stay the whole night there with him; there they had a good supper together, and their sacred discourses. And this excellent Peregrinus (for so he was still called) was thought by them to be an extraordinary person, no less than another Socrates; even from the cities of Asia some christians came to him by an order of the body, to relieve, encourage, and comfort him. For it is incredible what expedition they use when any of their friends are known to be in trouble. In a word, they spare nothing upon such an occasion; and Peregrinus's chain brought him in a good sum of money from them; for these miserable men have no doubt but they shall be immortal, and live for ever; therefore they contemn death, and many surrender themselves to sufferings. Moreover their first lawgiver has taught them that they are all brethren, when once they have turned, and renounced the gods of the Greeks, and worship that master of theirs who was crucified, and engage to live according to his laws. They have also a sovereign contempt for all the things of this world, and look upon them as common, and trust one another with them without any particular security; for which reason any subtil fellow, by good management, may impose upon this simple people, and grow rich among them. But Peregrinus was set at liberty by the governor of Syria, who was a favourer of philosophy: who, perceiving his madness, and that he had a mind to die, in order to get a name, let him out, not judging him so much as worthy of punishment. 'Then,' as our author says, 'Peregrinus returned to his native place then, here are inaccuracies, owing to ignorance and mistake, or to design and malice. The christians did not speak of Peregrinus in those high terms: but Lucian, as it seems, magnifies the respect which the christians showed to Peregrinus, the more to expose them to ridicule. See Fabric. Lux Evangelii. p. 152.
Parium, in hopes of recovering his father's estate; but meeting with difficulties, he made over to the Parians all the estate he might expect from his father; who then ex-tolled him as the greatest of philosophers, a lover of his country, and another Diogenes, or Crates. He then went abroad again, well supplied by the christians with all travelling charges, by whom also he was accompanied; and he lived in great plenty. Thus it went with him for some while. At length they parted, having given them also some offence, by eating, as I suppose, some things not allowed of by them.

I now make remarks upon this passage.

1. Peregrinus is mentioned by many authors; but I do not recollect any remaining writer, either heathen or christian, beside Lucian, who has said any thing of his christianity.

His death is mentioned by Tertullian, and by Athenagoras, who likewise says he had a statue erected to him at Parium, his native place, situated in Mysiæ, not far from Lampsacæus, which was supposed to give out oracles.

Several heathen authors mention him, and speak honourably of him. Aulus Gelius saw him at Athens, and was acquainted with him; he calls him a famous philosopher, commends him, and ascribes to him some good maxims; but he says nothing of his death. Probably Peregrinus, called also Proteus, was still living when he wrote.

Ammianus Marcellinus mentions his death, and calls him an illustrious philosopher.

Philostratus, who also mentions his death, calls him a cynic; and that he maintained that character, appears also

--- ωφθη γαρ τι, ως ομνι, εσθων των αποφητων αυτως. p. 570.

--- Minus fecerunt philosophi, Heraclitus, qui se bubulo stercoru oblitem ex-ussit, item Empedocles, qui in ignes Ἑθναι montis dissiluit; et Peregrinus, qui non olim se rogo immisit. Tertull. ad Mart. cap. 4. p. 157.


--- Peregrinum illum initus, Protea cognomine, philosophum clarum; qui cum mundo digredi statuisset, Olympiae quinquennali certamine, sub Graeciae conspicue tofius, adsenso rogo, quem ipse construxit, flammis absuntus est. Amm. 1. xxix. cap. 1.

from Lucian, who, in the account of his death, often\(^v\) rallies him as a celebrated cynic. And when Lucian ridiculed his vanity, he was\(^w\) like to be torn to pieces by the cynics, who also were spectators of that transaction.

Peregrinus\(^x\) was an old man when he threw himself into the flames in the year 165, or 169. I apprehend, that the time of his christianity was the early part of his life; and that his imprisonment upon that account must\(^y\) have been in the time of Trajan, or Adrian at the latest. He was best known by the name of Proteus; but, as Lucian says, whilst he was with the christians he was called Peregrinus. And it is manifest, from all the remaining writers who mention him, that he sustained the character of a philosopher and a cynic. It is probable therefore, that in the greatest, and the latest part of his life, he was a mere heathen philosopher, and it is reasonable, that a man’s denomination should be taken from that part of his life which was best known. Lucian himself allows, that after having been some while among the christians, he and they parted.

2. Having observed all these things relating to the history of Peregrinus, I proceed to some other remarks.

Here is an authentic testimony to some of the main facts and principles of christianity from a man of free sentiments not long after the middle of the second century, who knew the world, and was well acquainted with mankind. That the founder of the christian religion was crucified in Palestine; That he was the great master of the christians, and the first author of the principles received by them; That those men, called christians, had peculiarly strong hopes of immortal life, and a great contempt for this world and its enjoyments; That they courageously endured many afflictions upon account of their principles, and sometimes surrendered themselves to sufferings. Honesty and probity prevailed so much among them, that they trusted each other without security. Their master had earnestly recommended to all his followers mutual love; by which also they were much distinguished. And their assiduity in relieving and comforting one another, when under affliction, was known to all men; nor is it, I presume, any disparagement to them.

\(^v\) Άλλ’ ὁποταν Πρωτες, Κυνικως σχ’ αριστος απαντων—

\(^w\) Άλλ’ ὁποταν Κυνικος πολιονυμος ες θλογα πολλην. κ. λ.

De Morti Peregr. p. 579.

\(^x\) Άλλ’ ολιγα οινε, υπο των κυνικων εγω σοι δειπνασθην. Ib. p. 560.

\(^y\) —οςον ελαμαζων την αποναια τη γεροντος. Ibid. p. 560.

that they were imposed upon by Peregrinus, who was ad-
mired by many others; and, perhaps, was not so bad a man
as Lucian insinuates.

Another thing may be observed, that from his manner of
speaking it may be well argued, that Lucian did not
know the reason why Peregrinus and the christians parted.

I think it ought also to be observed, that Lucian, carry-
ing on his drollery, misrepresents and aggravates several
things. It was before hinted, that the christians did not
consider Peregrinus as a god. There are divers other loose
and inaccurate expressions. He says afterwards, that the
christians looked upon Peregrinus as 'another Socrates;' but
that is a way of thinking ascribed to them without reason;
many of them might think charitably and honourably of So-
crates; but every christian was superior to him. So likewise
when Lucian says, that 'Peregrinus was prophet, high-priest,
and ruler of a synagogue, uniting all offices in himself,'
he speaks inaccurately; thus joining together judaism and
christianity. And as Lucian indulged himself in a loose
and improper manner of speaking, I cannot but think it to
be a groundless deduction which some have made from
these expressions, that Peregrinus had been constituted a
bishop among the christians.

I proceed.

III. Lucian's Alexander, or Pseudomantis, as before
hinted, was not written before the year 180, in the reign of
Commodus; forasmuch as here he gives Marcus Antoninus
the title of god, or deified. It is a letter to Celsus, the
Epicurean philosopher, containing the history of an impos-
tor, named Alexander, who in the time of the fore-mentioned
Antoninus gave out oracles in Paphlagonia, and had vast
success in his design; his oracle having been in great re-
pute for some while in that and neighbouring countries, and
even at Rome itself.

'But,' says Lucian, 'when some, who had more wit than
others, awaking as out of a drunken fit, that had robbed
them of all their senses, made head against him, chiefly
men of the Epicurean sect, and the secret arts of his con-
trivance began to be discerned in several places; he struck
a kind of terror among them, saying, "That Pontus was
full of atheists and christians, who had the assurance to
raise slanderous stories against him."' And he excited the

---See before, note a, p. 279.  
---See before, note a, p. 279. 
---Lucian, vol. i. p. 746, &c. 
---Lucian. vol. i. p. 746, &c.

Lucian. His Account of Alexander. A. D. 176. 283
people not to spare them, but to drive them away with
stones, if they would not lose the favour of the god' [Æsculapius.]—He also appointed rites of initiation,
like those at Athens, and a holy feast of three days' con-
tinuance; and on the first day of the solemnity procla-
mation was made as at Athens: "If any atheist, or Chris-
tian, or Epicurean, be come hither as a spy upon these
mysteries, let him depart with all speed. And a happy
initiation to those who believe in God." Then they thrust
the people away, he going before, and saying: "Away
with the christians." Then the multitude cried out again:
"Away with the Epicureans."

It is honourable to the christians to be here mentioned
with Epicureans by a favourer of the Epicurean sentiments.
It evidently appears hence, that the followers of Jesus were
now well known in the world by the name of christians;
and that they were then numerous in Pontus and Phaphla-
gonia and the neighbouring countries; and finally, that they
were formidable to cheats and impostors.

IV. I shall now cite a passage taken from the second
book of what our author calls, True History, but is indeed
all fiction, as is acknowledged by himself at the beginning
of the first book.

'He and his companions, having travelled a great way,'
came to the Island of the blessed, where Rhadamanthus of
Crete reigned. Soon after they came ashore, they were
taken into custody, and were bound with roses, there be-
ing no other chains in that country; which too fell off of
themselves, when they were set at liberty. There were
then several causes to be tried before the king of the
country; theirs was the fourth in order. When their cause
came on, they were asked, how they came to be there,
when they were yet living? When they had related their
voyage, they were ordered to withdraw. The judge,
having consulted with his accessors and counsellors, de-
dermined, that after death they should be punished for
their curiosity and presumption; for the present they
might converse with the heroes of the country, but the
term of their sojourn there might not exceed seven

καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρωτῷ, προβάσας ἡν ὡσπέρ
Αθηναῖος, τουατη. ἔτι πάντως, η ἁρπανος, η Ἐπικερείας, ἢ ἑκατάσκοπος
τῶν ἀρχών, ἐφευτο—καὶ ο μὲν ἵνειτο λεγεν' Ἥξω χριστιανος. Το ἔτε
πλήθος ἀπαν ἐπεδιδύγητο. Ἑξω Ἐπικερείας. κ. Λ. Ibid. p. 770.

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πλήθος ἀπαν ἐπεδιδύγητο. Ἑξω Ἐπικερείας. κ. Λ. Ibid. p. 671.
months. Then they were conducted into the city, which is all gold, surrounded by a wall of emerald, Rev. xx.

There are seven gates made of the wood of cinnamon; the pavement of the city, and the ground within the wall, is ivory; the temples of all the gods are built of the beryl-stone; the altars in them are very large, consisting of one stone only, which is the amethyst, upon which they offer hecatombs. Round the city flows a river of the finest oil, the breadth of which is an hundred royal cubits, the depth such as is most convenient for swimming in. Their baths are large houses of glass, kept warm with fires made of cinnamon; instead of water they have warm dew in basons; their dress is purple, made of the finest spiders’ webs. None grow old here; but they remain as they were when they arrived. They have no night, nor altogether bright day: but such light as precedes the rising of the sun; nor have they more than one season of the year; for it is always spring, and the west is the only wind. The country abounds with all sorts of flowers and plants, which are always flourishing; their vines bear twelve times in the year, yielding fruit every month, Rev. xxii. 2. Apples and pomegranates, as they say, bear thirteen times in the year, yielding fruit twice in the month, called by them Minous. Instead of corn the stalks have ready-prepared loaves at their tops like mushrooms. There are in the city three hundred and sixty-five fountains of water, and as many of honey, and five hundred fountains of oil, but less: seven rivers of milk, and eight of wine.

More follows containing a description of the groves and fields round about the city; but I am not disposed to transcribe any more. They who please may consider, whether here are any allusions to the xxi. and xxi. chapters of the book of the Revelation. Lucian’s description of this island, and the chief city of it, falls so far short of St. John’s description of his New Jerusalem, that some may think he could not have so fine a model before him. However, let all judge as they see fit.

V. With Lucian’s works is joined a dialogue, called Philopatris. Bishop Bull, and some others, have been

---ν μην οδε νυξ παρ’ αυτως γιγνεται, οδ’ ύμερα πανω λαμπρα. p. 672.

A δεμ αρπελοι διδεικαφοροι εισι, και κατα μηνα ικασον καρποφοροσι. Ib.

1 Tom. ii. p. 703, &c. Grav.

2 Def. Fidei Nicen. sect. 2. cap. 4. p. 69. [al. 73.]

incli ned to think it Lucian's, or, however, written about his time, in the reign of Marcus Antoninus; many others are persuaded, that it is not his, nor written in that reign. But there is a great diversity of opinion among these concerning the true age of it.

Mr. Moyle\textsuperscript{m} thinks it was written in the time of Dioclesian, in the year of Christ 302, and 23 years before the council of Nice. Dodwelle\textsuperscript{n} varied in his opinion, and in the end placed it in the year of Christ 261, and the eighth of Gallienus. Others\textsuperscript{o} have argued for the third of Aurelian, in the year of Christ 272. And Gesner\textsuperscript{p} is of opinion, that it was written in the time of the emperor Julian, after the middle of the fourth century. None of these learned men think the Philopatris to be a work of Lucian.

I am not able to determine the time when it was written; nor do I think it needful to be much concerned about it. I do not think it to be Lucian's; the style is very different from his, and vastly inferior to it. Some other reasons may offer by and by in our observations upon it; but, as the writer was a heathen, and it is joined with the other works of Lucian, I speak of it in this place.

Says Mr. Moyle: ' It\textsuperscript{q} is a Dialogue between Critias and Triephon; the first a professed heathen, the other an Epicurean, personating a christian. The design of it is, partly to represent christians as a sect of men disaffected to government, and dangerous to civil society; partly to expose their opinions, as the Trinity, the creation of the world, with several other articles of our faith.'

Triephon meets Critias, who by his countenance appears greatly indisposed; and being asked the reason, Critias tells him, he\textsuperscript{r} had been where he had heard a strange discourse; and\textsuperscript{s} that the things which he had heard that day, from those execrable sophists, had most surprisingly affected him. Afterwards, he offers to swear by Jupiter, and Apollo, and other deities, which oaths Triephon rejects. By whom then shall I swear, says Critias. Triephon answers: By\textsuperscript{t} the most High God, great, immortal, celes-

\textsuperscript{m} See his Dissertation upon the age of the Philopatris. Lett. i. vol. i. p. 292.
\textsuperscript{n} See in the same Dissertation, p. 302, 314, 348, 349.
\textsuperscript{o} Vid. Heuman. Poccile, sive Epistolæ Miscellaneæ. T. i. p. 438, \&c.
\textsuperscript{q} As before, p. 285, 286.
\textsuperscript{s} Α γαρ ακηκοι τημαριν παρα τρισκελεθεσων εκενων σοφιστων, μεγαλως εξωγκως μι την υμεν. p. 765.
\textsuperscript{t} Και τινα επωμοσωμαι γε—Τρι. Βηγευοντα θεου, μεγαν, αμφιστερων,
tial, Son of the Father, the Spirit proceeding from the
Father, one out of three, and three out of one. These do
you think to be Jupiter, him do you esteem to be God.—
Crit. You teach me numbers; that is an arithmetical
oath— I do not know what you mean. One three, three
one.—Trieph. Hold your peace; you are not to measure
the steps of fleas. I will teach you what the universe is,
who was before all things, and what is the system of the
universe; for it is but the other day that I was as ignorant
as yourself. But when the Galilean, half bald, long
nosed, who travelled through the air to the third heaven,
and there learned the most extraordinary things, came to
me, he renewed us by water, he introduced us into the
regions of the blessed, and redeemed us from the regions
of the wicked. And if you will hearken to me, I will make
you likewise a man indeed.—Soon after this Triephon tells
Critias of the creation, and other things, in a ludicrous way.
By a word he dispelled the darkness, as the slow tongued
writer assures us, and founded the earth upon the waters.
He stretched out the heavens, formed the fixed stars, and
ordered the course of things, which you worship for gods.
The earth he adorned with flowers; man he brought out
of things that were not; and he is in heaven, beholding
the just and the unjust, and writes in books the actions of
all, and will accordingly render to all in the day that he
has appointed. After other things, Critias says: Where-
fore," Triephon, I entreat you to say nothing more of the
fates, though with your master you should be taken up,
and admitted to unspeakable mysteries. Afterwards
Triephon says; Do not you see, how inaccurate, and am-
biguous, and uncertain, all the sayings of the poets are?
Wherefore lay aside all those things, that you may be en-
rolled in the celestial books of the righteous.—Crit. But
tell me, Triephon, are the affairs of the Scythians also re-
gistered in heaven?—Trieph. All. x For Chrestus has

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**Lucian. Extracts out of the Dialogue Philopatris. A. D. 176. 287**

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Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

been among the nations. [Or, as others understand this place; Yes, all, provided there is any good man among the nations.] Crit. There must be a multitude of scribes in heaven, according to your account.—Trieph. I pray, forbear your jests, and say nothing contemptuous of the dexterous God; but become a catechumen, and be persuaded by me, if you have a mind to live for ever. Since he has stretched out the heavens like a curtain, and founded the earth upon water, and produced man out of nothing, what is there wonderful in his registering the actions of all men? Afterwards Triphon desires Critias a to give him an account of what he had heard in the assembly of the Christians, and which had so discomposed him. Critias answers; By c the Son out of the Father, it shall never be done. Trieph. Do, tell me, receiving from the Spirit the power of speech. Critias at length tells him what a beggarly, sorrowful company of people he had met with; insinuates their disaffection to the government, and that they wished for bad news, and delighted in public calamities. Some d of them spoke of their fasting ten whole days without eating—and of spending whole nights in singing hymns. Triphon e then bids him to have done with those stories, and begin with the prayer from the Father, adding at the end the hymn with many names. They conclude: But f let us find out the unknown God at Athens, and stretching out our hands to heaven, offer to him our praises and thanksgivings, that we are worthy to live under so great an empire, and leave others to trifle as they please.

It is now time to make remarks upon this dialogue.

1. There is a general observation very obvious to be made here; That g the writer of this dialogue appears much

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b Εντόμη, καὶ μηδὲν εἰτης φλαυρὸν ὑμῖν δείξω. p. 773.

c Νη τον τόν τον εἰκράτος, ο πῶς γεννήται. Τρ. Λειγ. παρα τον πνευματος δυναμεν τον λόγον λαβων. p. 774.

d Ελεγώ γαρ ἡλικι δικα αυτοι εἰμενεμοι και επα παννοις ὁμοθυμας επαγαρποντες ονιφρωτοι μεν τα τωνα. p. 778.

e Οτα εαυτον τον, την ευχην απο πατρος αξίαμενος, και την πολωνυμιν φῶνῃ εἰς τέλεος επιθεις. p. 779.

f Ἡμείς δε τον εν Αθηναις αγριωτον επειροντες, και προσκυνησαντες, χειρας εἰς μαννον εκτιναντες, των ευχαριστομεν, ως καταξιωσαντες τωνα κρατες υπηκοονι γενοθη. p. 780.

better acquainted with the affairs of the christians, and their sacred scriptures, than Lucian.

2. We may hence perceive, that the christians and their principles were in old times ridiculed by their ancient adversaries. It is therefore a mistake of those moderns, who have imagined, that the old heathens neglected this method of opposing christianity. Nor is this the only instance of the kind which we have met with; Lucian's writings before rehearsed in this chapter are another instance; and unquestionably some such writings have been lost, the christians of later times not thinking them fit or worthy to be preserved.

3. We see how poorly some men reasoned who opposed christianity, and still continued to be heathens. They ridiculed the most just and reasonable doctrines; such as 'the creation of the world, a Divine Providence, or observance of the actions of men, in order to a future retribution.' Whilst they rejected the christian revelation, they rejected also, and endeavoured to expose and weaken, those principles of religion, which reason alone, if attended to and improved, might have taught them, with a good degree of evidence and certainty. And the like things may be found in old heathen authors, who have spoken of Jupiter's 'registering things on his tablets, and consulting his parchments,' that all men, good and bad, may be recompensed in due time.

4. It is fit that we should observe the notice which is taken in this work of christian writings, and principles, and practices.

Here are references to the book of Genesis, and the Psalms, and the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul's epistles, and the Revelation, in which last is frequent mention made of "the book of life," and writing men's names in it, and of books in which the actions of good and bad are recorded. As Rev. iii. 5; xiii. 8; xvii. 8; xx. 12, 15; xxii. 27; xxii. 19. The phrase, "the book of life," is also in Philip. iv. 3. And in Heb. xii. 23, some are spoken of, as written, or enrolled, in heaven.

When Triphon says, that 'the Galilean, half bald, who travelled through the air, to the third heaven, and there learned the most extraordinary things, came to me,'

\[h\] Και παροιμία. 'Ο Ζεὺς κατείδε χρονος ες τας ἐθναρας' επι των ποτε αμιβομενων ὑπερ ὧν πραττα καλων η κακων ὅτι αν απρονητα φασι τα παντα, αλλα τον Δωι ες ἐθναρας, τινας απογραφεθας, και ποτε επεξεναι. Suidas. V. Ζεὺς. Ubi Annotator. Huc special illud Euripidis apud Sto-bæum, &c.

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he renewed us with water; ' there is certainly a reference to 2 Cor. xii. 1—4, and, possibly, to Tit. iii. 5; and Eph. v. 3, or some other like text. But it cannot be thence inferred, that the writer of this book was a disciple of Paul, or was baptized by him, or was contemporary with him. For, as Mr. Moyle' observes; ' This writer speaks of ' christians, throughout his dialogue, as aδερυοι, aδεροβα-
'tεντες, δαυμονιοι, αδεροβατεντες, &c. that is, a company of
'dreaming enthusiasts, who, like St. Paul, pretended to a
' power of flying to heaven when they pleased.'

In this dialogue is also a reference to the Lord's Prayer,
and, as often used by christians. ' Begin with the prayer
from the Father,' says he, ' adding at the end the hymn
with many names.' That the Lord's Prayer is here re-
ferred to, isk allowed by learned men; what is intended
by the hymn at the end, is doubtful. Some have argued,
that thereby is meant the doxology at the end of the Lord's
Prayer in Matt. vi. 13. But to me, as well as to some1
others, it seems more probable, that some other doxology,
more verbose and intricate, is here intended.

There seems to be an allusion to the gift of tongues, or
some other gift of the Spirit, with which christians were
favoured in the more early ages of the church in those
words; ' Do, tell me, receiving from the Spirit the power
of speech.'

Here are also plain references to the christian custom of
initiating by baptism, and of preparing men for it by in-
struction, or catechizing: The author likewise ridicules
the christian fastings, and singing hymns in the night.

It might carry me too far to remark distinctly upon his
ridicule of the doctrine of the Trinity, as represented by him,
or as held by the christians at the time of this author. None

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1 As before, p. 287, 288.
2 Pet την ευχην απο πατρος, p. 779,
Orationem Dominicanum Lucianus intelligit, ut recte notatum Rigaltio ad Ter-
tullianum. Sed per πολυομυον φανεραι non existimaverim notari
1 Nay, we know, that in fact it had another doxology sometimes added to
it, as we learn from the author of the Books concerning the Sacraments,
' among the works of Ambrose; [Lib. vi. ad fin.] who, having recited the
' Lord's Prayer, as it is in St. Matthew's gospel,' immediately adds: ' What
' follows? Hear what the priest says: ' Through our Lord Jesus Christ, in
' whom to thee, with whom to thee, is honour, praise, glory, majesty, power,
' with the Holy Spirit, from the beginning, now, and for ever. Amen.' " Of
' this sort of doxology I suppose the author of the Philopatris speaks. This
' kind of doxology is much more agreeable to other passages in that dialogue,
' than the plain one in St. Matthew.' Hallett's Notes and Discourses, vol. i. p.
144, 145.
of my readers can omit to take notice of this, which comes over so often; and I should think, that this may afford a good argument against the supposition, that this dialogue was written by Lucian, or any other author about his time; for it does not appear, that in the reign of Marcus Antoninus there were any controversies among christians upon this point. What is here said upon this subject, appears to be more suitable to the fourth century of the christian epoch.

CHAP. XX.

AElius Aristides the Sophist, and Dion Chrysostom.

1. Aristides, his life, and time, and works. II. Select passages from him. III. Passages concerning the christians, and illustrating the books of the N. T. IV. His character and importance. V. The sophist Dion Chrysostom: His time, and works, and a passage concerning the christians.

1. 'Aristides the sophist,' says Suidas, 'a native of Adriani, a small town in Mysia, now belonging to Bithynia, was a disciple of Polemon the rhetorician of Smyrna, son of Eudaimon, a philosopher and priest of Jupiter in his own country. He also heard Herod at Athens, and Aristocles at Pergamus. He flourished in the time of the emperor Antoninus, and reached to the reign of Commodus; he published many orations; the number of them is not exactly known.'

Philostratus confirms that account of Suidas, and farther says, 'That from his childhood Aristides had an infirm state of health; nevertheless he did not neglect labour. The people of Smyrna erected to him a brass statue, which they set up in their forum; and when they called him the founder of their city, it was no flattery, but a just and true commendation. For when their city had been overthrown, and almost destroyed by earthquakes, he so pathetically represented their calamities in a letter to the emperor, that he could not forbear weeping at some parts of it, and

a V. Ἀριστίδης. b De Vit. Sophist. i. ii. cap. ix. C. 248. p. 1271.
presently promised to restore it. And, as I have been in-
formed by Damian of Ephesus, Aristides had before that
had some conversation with Marcus in Ionia. That empe-
ror came to Smyrna, and was there three days before
Aristides came to pay his respects to him; the emperor
did not then know Aristides personally; he asked of some
present, whether Aristides was in the company? They
said, they had not seen him. Afterwards they brought
him. The emperor then said to him; How comes it to
pass, that it is so long before I could see you? He answer-
ed, I was employed about a work; and the mind is not
easily diverted from what it is engaged in. The emperor,
pleased with his ingenuity, and his diligence, said, And
when shall I hear you? Appoint a time, says Aristides,
and you shall hear me to-morrow, if you please. But I
must desire, that my friends may be present, and that
they may have leave to applaud, and clap their hands,
with all their might. The emperor smiling told him, That
would depend upon himself.

I forbear to add the critical remarks upon Aristides's
Orations, which follow in Philostratus.

There are in Photius\(^c\) large extracts out of several of
them.

Suidas says, that Aristides flourished in the time of the
emperor Antoninus, probably meaning the Pious. Never-
theless, as he was also well acquainted with his successor,
and is said to have reached to the time of Commodus, I
place him at the year 176, in which, as it seems, he saw
Marcus Antoninus at Smyrna. Though his constitution was
infirm, it is supposed that he did not die before he was 60
or 70 years of age.\(^d\)

II. It is allowed that Aristides was very superstitious, a
humble and devout worshipper of all the gods, especially
Esclapius, to whom, as he believed, he was much indebted
for the useful instructions which that god gave him, in his
dreams, concerning his health.

I think it cannot be amiss to transcribe some passages
containing a mixture of good sense and superstition, right
sentiments and absurd and foolish respect for all the deities
which were then in repute.

\(^e\) Jupiter\(^e\) made all things; all things whatever are the


\(^{d}\) They who desire to

\(^{e}\) Hymnus in Jovem, T. i. p. 2.

al. p. 5.
works of Jupiter, rivers, and the earth, and the sea, and the heaven; and whatever things are between them, or are above or under them; and gods, and men, and all living things, and all things obvious to our sight, or that can be perceived by our understanding. First of all he made himself; nor was he brought up in the odoriferous caverns of Crete; nor did Saturn ever intend to devour him; nor did he swallow a stone in his stead; nor was Jupiter ever in any danger; nor will he ever be in danger;—nor is there any thing more ancient than Jupiter; as children cannot be older than their parents; nor things made than they who made them; but he is the first, and the most ancient, and the prince of all things, and himself from himself. When he was made cannot be said; forasmuch as he has been from the beginning, and will always be; his own father, and greater than to be made by any; and as he brought forth Minerva out of his head, without need of marriage, so he had before made himself, of himself, not needing any to bring him into being; on the contrary, all things have had their beginning from him.' And what follows.

This is taken from a hymn to Jupiter, and is the first oration in the first volume of this work. He speaks somewhat to the like purpose near the end of the same oration; but I must not allow myself to take it at length.

In the conclusion of an oration to the honour of Neptune, which is the third in the same volume, he speaks to this purpose; 'These things are pleasant to see, and hear, and the painting of the sea reduced to a calm, with the boy from under the sail smiling upon Neptune. But there are other things, which ought never to have been in pictures, which are impious and horrible. And I wonder how it came to pass, that they who first saw them, did not presently fly upon the makers, and tear them to pieces; nevertheless they are still to be seen in the temples. But it is not my business to censure such things. Let us therefore offer up our prayers to Neptune, and Amphitrite, and Leucothea, and Palemon, and the Nereids, and all the marine gods and goddesses, to give health and safety, both by land and by sea, to the great emperor, and to all his family, and to the whole nation of the Greeks, and to grant all happiness to us all, suited to our condition.'

III. But the passage which I principally aim at, and for the sake of which Aristides is here brought in among other

* In Neptunum Oratio. T. i. p. 28. al. 50.
Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

witnesses, is to this purpose. He is displeased with some sophists, whom he compares, as I apprehend, to christians. But who can avoid being filled with indignation, that men of no worth should censure Demosthenes, whom I look upon as a Mercury come down from heaven to afford us an example of eloquence? What living man can bear this in people who utter more solecisms than words; who contemn others as much as they deserve to be contemned; who call indigence by the name of communion, who call singularity philosophy, and poverty a contempt of riches. They make great pretensions to humanity, and yet never were beneficial to any, and are injurious to them who would do them a kindness, who are scarcely civil to others: and yet for the sake of rich men they travel to the ends of the earth; and when they have got them they promise to teach them virtue—whether they show more regard to porters at the door than to their masters—These are they, who call impudence freedom, and to oppose others is reckoned a laudable boldness—Moreover they are arrived at a sort of wisdom, which consists in a pretence of neglecting money, whilst they do not refuse to receive what is worth money. They have invented a new sort of generosity, not to give largely, but to take little—These men are

\[\text{9 Orat. Platonic. ii. T. ii. p. 307, &c. al. p. 511, &c.}\\n\[\text{h ΑΛλ' ὑπὶ καὶ τῶν κομίδων πίνες άθένας άξιών.—T. ii. p. 307. in. al. p. 511.}\\n\[\text{ι Και σημύνων μεν τὴν αρετὴν, ασκεῖ ὁ σωτ.—ΑΛλα μὴν τὴν γ' απλησίαν καὶ πλούσιαν αυτῶν—οὶ τῷ μὲν αποστείρῃ κοινώνων οἰκομενίᾳ τίθενται, τῷ ὁ δὲ φάνειν φιλοσοφεῖν, τῷ δ' ἀπορεῖν νεποροφην χρηστῶν—p. 307, 308. al. p. 511, 512.}\\n\[\text{Here, probably, Aristides refers to the provision made by christians for the poor and necessitous among them. And in ridiculing the custom he approacheth at least to some scripture-phrases. See Acts iv. 44, 45, and ii. 42, and Rom. xii. 13, "Distributing to the necessities of the saints." Τας χριστιανικὰς των ἁγίων κοινωνίας. Communicating to the necessities of the saints.}\\n\[\text{ι Καὶ παραδοσόντως αγαθῷ, καὶ τὴν αρετὴν παραδοῦσιν νεποροφην. p. 308. al. p. 512.}\\n\[\text{ι Εἰς τὴν ἡκεῖν τῆς σοφίας, ὡς αργυρόν μεν ὁ προσταται, αργυρῷ δ' αξίως λαμβάνειν επιταναι. p. 305. al. p. 513.}\\n\[\text{ι It is very likely that Aristides here refers to the revenues of the christian clergy in ancient times, which depended upon the oblations made by the faithful of bread, and wine, and fruits, and other necessaries— nec molestiae et negotii secularis alligentur, sed in honore sportulantium fratrum, tamquam decimas ex fructibus accipientes, ab altari et sacrificiis non recedunt, sed die-ac nocte cœlestibus rebus et spiritibus serviant. Cyprian. Ep. i. p. 3. Oxon.}\\n\[\text{κ αινοτάτων δὲ μοι ἴχνη μεγαλοφυγών όρθεσθαι, καὶ μεγάλα ἐσόναι, αλλ' ἡ μικρά ληφθοῦνται ηῆ. p. 309. al. p. 514.}\\n\[\text{ι ο' but to take little,' that is, I think, to be contented with a little. Which is true magnanimity, to be as contented in a low station, as if they}
neither servile flatterers, nor free-men; for they deceive as flatterers, and correct men as their superiors—joining together two extreme and contrary evils, meanness and confidence. In manners not unlike the impious people in Palestine; for they acknowledge not the gods. They differ from the Greeks, and all good men. Very dexterous in subverting houses, and disturbing families, setting the members of them one against another, and getting the management of their affairs into their own hands. Who never said or did any good thing; who never contributed any thing to the public festivals, nor have honoured the gods, nor have promoted the welfare of the cities, nor have comforted the afflicted, nor have reconciled such as were at variance, nor have instructed youth, nor any others, nor adorned language; but dwelling in corners, they are wonderfully wise—as much as they advance in wisdom on one hand, they lose on the other; mightily pleasing themselves in disparaging the art of rhetorick: as if slaves, and especially such as are often and deservedly beaten, did not oftentimes secretly curse their masters.'

By 'the wicked men in Palestine,' I suppose Aristides to intend Christians who lived in Palestine, and whose religion had its original in that country. He calls them wicked, or profane and atheistical, because they did not worship the established deities, the same that were worshipped by the Greeks and Romans. Masson here understands Jews living in Palestine, and squabbles with Tertullian, and other Christian writers, who say, that after Adrian's victory, Jewish people were forbidden to come into Judea; but Carterus understands Aristides as I have done; and in his notes has illustrated this passage with good observations. Indeed we enjoyed affluence, and could dazzle mankind in a profuse way of living, and gratify them with expensive donatives.

9 Δυο τοις εσχατοις και τοις εναντιωτατοις ενοχοι κακως αυτες, ταπεινωσεται και ανθυδειας. p. 309.

7 Τοις εν Παλαιστινη δυσσεβειας παραπλησιοι της προπετες και γαρ εκεινοι τουτ' εστι σωματιου της δυσσεβειας, ότι της κρισις ε νομισθης, και ουι τοι προπετε την αφετησι των 'Ελληνοι, μαλλον δε και παντως των κρισιων,—παντων αρχητοτατοι διορειαν ε ουκαι, και παραξα παι δυσσεβειας της ενδειχες, και φθασαι παντι αυτης διακεισι, παντων δεινωσιοι οι λογοι μεν εγκαρπον ιδενα παποτ' θε' ειφον ιτε εποιησαν, και παγκος εκσημασαν, και Θεος ετυμωσαν, και πολεσι συνεβελεσαν, και λυπουμενες παρεμφυσαντο, και ταταζναντος δυσσεβειαν, και πρησκπεεν νεος, και αλλα αεδον, και εκτη τοις λογοις πρωνιε

7 De Aristidis Vitâ Collectanea Historica. Sect. vi. n. 8.
can here trace most of the common reflections which were then made upon the christians, and are particularly taken notice of in our ancient apologists. They were called 'atheistical.' They were complained of as 'unprofitable;' they are represented as 'mean' and 'obscure,' who nevertheless took great liberties in remarking upon the popular deities, and the worship paid to them. They had then no schools of rhetoric for instructing youth, or others, and sometimes spoke slightly of the ornaments of language. Such things offended our sophist. And yet before the end of the third century, there were among the christians divers learned men and good writers; and some men of great eminence in our author's own time, or before it.

2. Beside the letter sent to the emperor Marcus, and his son Commodus, imploring their favour for the city of Smyrna, after the earthquake, which is computed to have happened in the year of Christ 177, Aristides published a monody, bewailing their unhappy circumstances; and after that he wrote an oration, or epistle, in 178, congratulating the people of Smyrna upon their restoration. Here he celebrates not only the favour and liberality of the emperors, but likewise the generous compassion of many others: 'All the cities of Asia considered their affliction as their own, and sent them relief as to their parents or children. And when they entertained any of them who were destitute in their own houses, who of them did not think themselves gainers thereby? who did not think that they received rather than conferred a benefit? Many contributed money, and promised more, if it was needed. All the nations inhabiting Asia contended, who should exceed in regard to them. And in your city alone the falsehood of that old saying has been shown, that the unhappy are forgotten even

2 homines, inquam, deploratae, illicitae, ac desperate factionis, grassari de consendum est? Latebrosa et lucifugae natione Minuc. Fel. cap. viii.
4 Vid. Basnag. ann. 177. num. ii. 
5 Tom. i. p. 260. al. p. 455. 
7 —δόσει γαρ κοινή πτωμάτω τῆς Ασίας γεγονέναιν, περὶ τας γνωμας ἦχες—καὶ πασῶς αφορμάς παρασκευαζοντως, ὅσπερ γενεσθαι η πάσας αυτῶν—Τις γαρ επι ἐρμαῖν εισήλθε εποιησατο; γαρ επι εἰρήκεσθαι μαλλον, η γένεσθαι ταύτην χαριν φθηνί, ἐξεσθαι συνικες, τας τοις προς των προτεθουσας; 
8—Καὶ τι ἐς ταύτης εν μερε καταλειφεν; Παντα γαρ τα εἰς την τα πληρωθε ἤνι την Ασιαν, φιλοτιμιαν κοινην φιλοτιμεσται προς την πολιν, τα κρατεα των αρχων αντανακ. επι μονης ἐς ταυτης της πολεως το πολειον ῥήμα εξελεγεθη φευγης εχον, το καιως πραξανων ληθήν ειναι παρα τω φως. lb. p. 268.
by their friends.' Which occasioned Mr. Tillemont\textsuperscript{a} to say: 'Behold the change which the christian religion had made in the world! For it cannot be doubted, that the christians, who were numerous in those provinces, had a large share in these works of charity, which are the proper effects of the faith and of the grace of Jesus Christ, and that their ardour inflamed the heathens to show the false-hood of that ancient proverb, and that all the world forgets and neglects the unhappy; which had been too much the case hitherto.'

So Mr. Tillemont; and his observation may be right, though Aristides does not mention the christians; but his words, 'all nations living in Asia,' lead us to think, there was a concurrence of several sorts of men in contributing to the relief of Smyrna under the great calamity that had beenfallen it.

3. I must add one passage more.

Describing one of his voyages: 'We\textsuperscript{b} were going to Cephalenia, and again we had a high sea, and a contrary wind, and we were tossed up and down, to the great detriment of my health, and beyond what my constitution could bear. Afterwards the like happened in the straits of Achaia, when truly the good mariners would put off from Patrae, at the very time of the Equinox, against my will, and very much to my prejudice under my indispositions. The like things happened again in the \textit{Ægean} sea, through the obstinacy of the master of the ship and the mariners; when they would sail, though the winds were contrary, nor would they hearken to me.' So\textsuperscript{c} we were carried about by the tempest over that whole sea, for fourteen days and nights, and were oftentimes without food, and at length with difficulty got to Miletus.'

Here is such an agreement with the history of St. Paul's voyage, related in Acts xxvii. that some may be apt to think, he had read the book of the Acts; but I rather think, that Aristides had not read any of the books of the New Testament.

IV. Dr. Chapman\textsuperscript{d} has formed a plausible argument for the expediency of the continuance of spiritual gifts, and miraculous powers in the church, for upholding and propa-

\textsuperscript{a} L'Emp. Marc Aurele, art. xxiv. T. i. p. 306. al. p. 540.
\textsuperscript{b} Sacrorum Sermon. ii. T. i. p. 306. al. p. 540.
\textsuperscript{c} Ταῦτα ως παλιν αυται προς τας δεκα ώμεραι και νυκτες, χειμωνος κυκλω δια παντος τε πλαγω φρουμηων, καν ταυτας ασπια εκ ολγιας, και μολις \textit{Μληνω} προσπηχθημεν. p. 396. al. p. 540.
\textsuperscript{d} A View of the Expediency and Credibility of Miraculous Powers among the primitive Christians, after the Decease of the Apostles. 1732.
gating the christian religion, from the influence of the philosophers, and sophists of this time; who were in great favour with the Roman emperors, and received from them handsome stipends for instructing youth, and had a great interest with the people in Greece, and at Alexandria, and in many cities in Asia.

Ælius Aristides, from whom some extracts have been now made, was a fine writer, and a good speaker. He is credulous and superstitious, a true heathen, and a servant of the gods; but, so far as I have observed, he may be supposed a sober man, and serious. There are in his orations many fine sentences in favour of truth and virtue. If he says, he had rather be a fine speaker, than be Darius the son of Hystaspes, he joins with it a sober and virtuous life. And again, in another place, where he expresseth his superior value for learning and eloquence above all things, he says: 'Nor can he be so stupid as to despise glory if it comes to his share, and so far as it may flow from fine speaking, and a life of virtue suited to his discourses. For he did not desire to obtain it by any other means.'

A character of such eminence must have been an ornament to the popular religion, and its rites; and the charms of eloquence in his hymns to the gods, and in his other orations, cannot but have had powerful attractions.

V. I do not intend to make any distinct chapter of the sophist Dion; but I shall give a general account of him. Suidas says, he was the son of Pisicrates, born at Prusa, a sophist, and a philosopher, and called Chrysostom. Both he and Philostratus say, that he was much favoured by the emperor Trajan, who took him up into his triumphal chariot, and told him, that he loved him as well as himself. Eunapius also says, he was of Bithynia, and was called Chrysostom. We still have remaining his eighty Orations, men-
tioned by Photius, of which a particular account may be seen in Fabricius. Photius says, he flourished in the time of Trajan. To the like purpose Suidas and Philostratus. I therefore place him in the year 98, the first of that emperor’s reign; though he was also in favour with Nerva, as we know from himself. Whether he be the same as Coccelianus Dion, mentioned by Pliny in a letter to Trajan, and in Trajan’s rescript, is not quite certain.

I shall take but one passage from him; for which I am indebted to Dr. Chapman; but I shall quote it more at large than he has done. In an oration to the Corinthians he speaks with great vehemence: ‘Whom have not these men abused,’ says he, ‘who abuse every thing? Have they not abused Socrates, and Pythagoras, and Plato? Have they not abused Jupiter himself, and Neptune, and Apollo, and the other gods? Nor have they spared the female gods, though, as one might reasonably think, they should have more regard for them than the males. Hear then what they say of Ceres, and Venus, and Aurora; nor do they forbear Minerva and Diana.’

Dr. Chapman makes no doubt that by these men Dion meant the christians, ‘who, it seems, had talked contemptuously of the gods of the first rank.’ I am also inclined to be of the same opinion. And I think, that this passage of Dion, together with some others which we have seen, may satisfy us, that the christians were better known in those times than some have imagined. And we cannot help thinking therefore, that the silence of Epictetus about our ancestors, or his disregard of them, was designed and affected, as was also intimated formerly. Indeed the words of St. Paul concerning himself, and other apostles, were often verified in other followers of Jesus after their times.

As deceived, yet true; as unknown, yet well known— as poor, yet making many rich,” 2 Cor. vi. 8—10. Again: “Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus; that the life of Jesus might be made manifest in our body,” 2 Cor. iv. 10, and see also ver. 11.

1 Cod. 209. p. 530.  
3 Or. 44. p. 512. Or. 45. p. 513.  
4 Lib. x. ep. 85.  
5 Ep. 86.  
6 As before, p. 63.

7 Τινας γαρ ητοι ἡ διαβεβληκασιν οἱ παντα διαβαλοντες; ἡ Σωκρατην; ἡ Πυθαγορας; ἡ Πλατωνα; ἡ αυτον τον Δια; και τον Ποσειδω; και τον Απολ- λων, και της ἀλλης Θεως; Ἀποτονται δε και των θεων Θεων, ων εικος ἡν ετι μαλλον, η των αφριων εντρετεθα. Νεν ακινε γαρ ἀ λεγοι την Δημητρα, και την Αφροδιτην, και την Εω. Ἀπεχουται δε υδε της Αθηνας, υδε της Αρτεμιδος. Corinthiac. Or. 37. p. 463.
I. **His time.** II. **Passages concerning Moses, and Christ, and the christians.**

I. **CLAUDIUS GALENUS**, or GALEN, the celebrated physician, according to Suidas, was a native of Pergamus, and flourished in the times of the Roman emperors, Marcus, Commodus, and Pertinax, and died in the seventieth year of his age. Philip Labbe in his life, or Elogium Chronologicum of Galen, inserted by Fabricius in the third tome of his Bibliotheca Graeca, computes, that he was born in the 131st year of the Christian epoch, and in the 14th or 15th year of the emperor Adrian; and that he died in the seventh year of Severus, of Christ 200, when he was seventy years of age.

Some other learned men have been inclined to protract his life to the year of our Lord 210, near the end of the reign of Severus. I shall place him at the year of our Lord 180, and the last year of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, to whom he was well known, and by whom he was esteemed; at which time he must have been about fifty years of age.

II. This great author has mentioned Moses, Christ, and his followers.

1. He has twice mentioned our Saviour.
   In one place he blames Achigenes for not giving a

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d—eam opinor, ex omnibus de obitu Galeni probabiorem videri sententiam, quæ illum addicit anno imperii Severi vii. Christi cc. vita illius lxx. Id. ib. num. xx. p. 527.


f Καλλιων γαρ ἦν πόλλη προσθέαναι τινα, ει και μη βιβαιαν αποδειξιν,
Galen. Passages concerning Moses and Christ. A. D. 180. 301

demonstration, nor so much as a probable reason of some things advanced by him. So that, says he, we seem rather to be in a school of Moses, or Christ, where we must receive laws without any reason assigned, and that in a point where demonstration ought not by any means to be omitted.'

Here is a just description of Christ's delivering his precepts without any long deduction of reasons and arguments; and he allows, that reasons were not there absolutely necessary, or however not so requisite, as in the points treated of by the author whom he censures. I think, we may be hence disposed to think it probable, that Galen was not unacquainted with our gospels.

2. In another place he says: 'It is easier to convince the disciples of Moses and Christ, than physicians and philosophers, who are addicted to particular sects.'

Here is an acknowledgment of the steadiness of Christians in the profession of their principles; of which he may have seen many instances in the persecuting reign of Antoninus the Philosopher.

3. There is a work concerning Nephritic Disorders, which is ascribed to Galen, in which the author mentions the Christians, and ranks himself with them; but as it is not Galen's, I do not choose to take any thing from it.

4. And in his celebrated work, concerning 'the use of the parts of the human body,' he has mentioned Moses. It will be sufficient, that I transcribe below the account which Fabricius has given of the passages of that work relating to Moses; whence it may be argued, that Galen had read the Pentateuch, or at least the book of Genesis.


ε Θεηναν άν αν της απο Μωυσα και Χριστα μεταδοται, η της ταυ αριστα προστηκοτας ιατρης τε και φιλοσοφης. Id. ib. lib. iii. p. 34.


CHAP. XXII.

CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

I. Heathen sayings of the christians. II. Anecdotes concerning divers heathen governors of provinces, who persecuted the christians, or were favourable to them. III. Remarks concerning the number of ancient heathen writers, who have mentioned the christians.

I. I THINK it not amiss to put down in this place, at the end of the second century, some sayings and observations of heathen people concerning christians; which may be of use to show how far the heathens were acquainted with them, their character, their principles, or their sufferings.

Tertullian, who flourished about the year of Christ 200, in his Apology observes to this purpose: 'Such are your prejudices,' says he, 'that though you cannot but acknowledge the good character of a christian, yet you will reproach him for his religion. "Truly," says one, "Caius Seius is a good man, only he is a christian." Another will say: "I wonder that Lucius, who is so wise a man, should on a sudden turn christian."'

II. I will also put down here some anecdotes concerning divers heathen governors of provinces, who had some concerns with christians.

1. In his book addressed to Scapula, the proconsul of Africa, Tertullian expresseth himself in this manner: 'We can set before you, says he, 'the deaths of several governors of provinces, who at the end of their days were


sensible that they had done wrong in persecuting the
Christians. Vigellius Saturninus, who first persecuted us
in this country, lost his sight. Claudius Herminianus,
in Cappadocia, being enraged that his wife had embraced
this opinion, treated the Christians with cruel severity;
and when he alone in his palace was seized with a pesti-
\-lential disease, and worms crawled out of his body yet
alive, he said: "Let none know of this, lest the Christians
should rejoice." Afterwards, being convinced of his error,
in that he had by torments compelled some to renounce
this doctrine, he died almost a Christian. Caecilius Ca-
pella, when he heard of the destruction of the city of
Byzantium, cried out: "Christians, you have reason to
rejoice." But, says Tertullian, 'they, who may think
they have escaped, will be called to an account in the day
of judgment.'

Before I proceed any farther, I must make a few remarks
by way of explication.

Tertullus Scapula\(^c\) is supposed to have been consul in
Rome in the year 195, and proconsul of Africa in 211, or
thereabout. Therefore this work of Tertullian could not
be written before that time.

Vigellius Saturninus\(^d\) is supposed to have been proconsul
of Africa in the year of Christ 200.

Claudius Herminianus\(^e\) governed in Cappadocia in the
reign of the emperor Severus; but his exact time is not
now known. Fr. Balduinus seems to allow,\(^f\) that he is the
same whom Papinian in the Pandects has mentioned with
respect.

The city of Byzantium had sided with Niger. After a
long and obstinate siege it was taken, and destroyed by the
army of Severus in the year 196. The Christians in that
city had been persecuted in the time of Marcus Antoninus.
Probably\(^g\) Caecilius Capella had been then governor of
Thrace, in which Byzantium stood, and then persecuted the
Christians there with great severity. When he heard of the
lamentable fate of that city, he used the expressions men-
tioned by Tertullian; thinking, that the Christians would
rejoice at it, because many of their brethren had there en-

\(^d\) Tillem. Persécution sous L'Emp. Sévere, art. 3. \(^e\) Tillem. as before, art. 4.
\(^g\) Tillem. L'Emp. Severe, art. 18. See likewise la Persecution sous L'Emp. Marc Aurele, art. 6.
dured very grievous sufferings. But Tillemont says, 'That 'christians were wont to weep with those that wept, and 'not to rejoice at the calamities of their greatest enemies; 'though they might at the same time adore the disposals of 'divine justice.'

2. It follows in the next chapter of the same work of Tertullian: 'And how many governors, and those both 'resolute and cruel, have declined these causes? as Cincius 'Severus, who at Thysdri helped the christians to an answer 'that might clear them; as Vespronius Candidus, who, 'when a christian was brought before him, called him "a 'troublesome fellow, and bid him go, and ask pardon of 'his fellow-citizens:" as Asper, who having slightly tor-'tured a christian, and thereby overcome him, (so that he 'renounced his profession,) did not compel him to sacrifice, 'but let him go, openly declaring to those who sat upon the 'bench with him, "that he was sorry to be at all concerned 'in such a cause."' Pudens likewise, when a christian was 'brought before him, and he perceived some unfair dealing 'in the libel, dismissed him, and tore the libel to pieces, 'saying, "he would not receive an accusation, unless the 'accuser was present, as the law directed."'

We have no particular accounts of these things else-where; but it is reasonable to believe, that all these magis-tries were governors of provinces in the persecution of Severus, or not long before; perhaps in the time of the emperor Marcus Antoninus.

Basnage supposeth, that Pudens, here mentioned by Tertullian, is Servilius Pudens, who was consul in the year 166.

All these things does Tertullian boldly mention in his address to Scapula, proconsul of Africa; I think, it may be concluded, that they were known facts, and that the truth of them may be relied upon. Doubtless Tertullian speaks according to his own knowledge, or according to such informations as he judged credible; for he would not

h Quanti autem præsides, et constantiores et crudeliores, dissimulaverunt ab hujusmodi causis? ut Cincius Severus, qui Thysdri ipse dedit remedium quomodo respondentem christianis, ut dimittis possent; ut Vespronius Candidus, qui christianum, quasi tumultuosum, civibus suis satisfacere, dimisit; ut Asper, qui modice vexatum hominem, et statim dejectum, nec sacrificium compuisset facere, ante professus inter advocatos et assessores, dolere se incidisse in hanc causam. Pudens etiam missum ad se christianum, in elogio concussione ejus intellecta, dimisit, scissos codem elogio, sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem, secundum mandatum. Ibid. cap. 4.

i See Tillemont, la Persecution de l'Eglise sous L'Emp. Severe, art. 6.

k Vid. Basnag. ann. 166. num. i.
presume to tell the proconsul stories, which he had any suspicion might be confuted or contradicted. Indeed, most of these men just mentioned had been proconsuls in Africa, where Tertullian lived, in his own time, in the reign of Severus.

3. I should here have inserted the story of Arrius Antoninus, proconsul of Asia, who after having long exercised great cruelty toward the christians of his province, when some of them came before his tribunal, expressing great resolution, told them: 'If they had a mind to die, there were halters and precipices enough.' But this has been taken notice of already in the chapter of the younger Pliny.

III. I have been long ago admonished in a letter, 'not to forget to make some observations concerning the silence of contemporary heathen authors concerning christianity for several ages; or else mentioning all affairs relating to them in a slight and superficial manner.'

Surely, that difficulty is there too much magnified: however, I take this opportunity to say something to it. Some subjects are more agreeable to authors, because they are more entertaining to the generality of readers. Eusebius well observes, in the preface to the fifth book of his Ecclesiastical History, 'That most historians have employed their pens in recording wars and victories, and trophies erected over vanquished enemies, the valour of generals, and the exploits of soldiers, besmeared with the blood of innumerable slaughters for their country, their children, and their estates.'

Many writers of great worth, and many affairs of no small importance, have long lain in obscurity, or have been totally buried in oblivion. It has been observed, that Velleius Paternæus, a man of a good family, who flourished in the time of Tiberius, and wrote an abridgment of the Roman History, in two books, has been mentioned by no ancient writer, excepting Priscian. 'But the moderns have done him more justice, by publishing him frequently with notes and commentaries.'

M. Annaeus Seneca, father of L. A. Seneca the philoso--

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2 See p. 57.
3 H. E. i. v. in Pr. p. 154. A.
5 Bibliographia Classica, vol. ii. p. 189.

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pber, and author of divers works, has been confined with his son, and has been almost unknown as a writer.

Lucian, a subject of the Roman empire, who has written so many things, and so many sorts of works, has taken little notice of Roman authors, or Roman affairs. He has a lau-
boured encomium of Demosthenes; but says nothing of Cicero; though a comparison between those two great orators would have been very proper, and has been made by Plutarch and Longinus.

Maximus Tyrius, a Platonic philosopher, flourished in the time of Antoninus the Pious, and several of his Dissertations were written at Rome; nevertheless, as Davies, one of his editors, says, he appears little acquainted with Roman affairs. Nay, says he, I do not recollect, that he has made any reference to the Roman history.

We now know of two sons of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, which are not mentioned by any ancient historians.

Some writers are silent from reasons of policy. We are told, in the History of the Reformation of the Low Countries, that Margaret, governess in that country, in the year 1525, sent orders to all the convents, enjoining them to forbid preachers to mention Luther and his doctrine, and the opinions of ancient heretics. This order, says the abridger of the large work of Gerard Brandt, was very judicious. The best way of stopping the progress of heresies, is to seem to neglect them.

From this principle of policy Josephus may have been silent about the christians, and their affairs, in his writings, that he might bury them in oblivion.

Epictetus, and others, may have suppressed their own thoughts, and have been reserved in their discourses, lest they should excite inquisitiveness in their hearers, and occa-

a Tributa illi quae hujus erant, et claritate nimi filii obscurus pater hodie, immo ignotus. Memoriam boni senis fugitivam (impune hoc dicerim) primus retraham ego. Andreas Schottus de Auctore, et declamandi ratione, sub fin.


d Et sane, ne quid dissimularem, Graecia diutius quam Roma Maximum vide-
tur cepisse; quod in una quaque fere Dissertatone summam rerum Graecarum ostendat peritiam, cum res Romanas callissae nullo indicio constet. Certe, quoad memini, ad eorum historiam ne semel quidem respetit. Davis. Pr. p. 15.


* Abridgment of Gerard Brandt's History of the Reformation. By Mr. La Roche, vol. i. p. 29.
tion doubts about the popular deities, and the worship paid to them.

I might add, that it is not impossible, nor very improbable, that some writings of heathen authors have been lost, in which the christians were mentioned; for very few writers in the Syriac language are come down to us.

After all, we have now seen a goodly catalogue of heathen writers, in the first and second century, men of great eminence for their wit and learning, their high stations, and their credit in the world, who have, in their way, borne testimony to Jesus Christ, and the things concerning him, and to the christians, his disciples and followers, their numbers, their principles, their manners, and their fortitude and patience under heavy sufferings, and a great variety of difficulties and discouragements, which they met with for the profession of what they were persuaded to be the truth. And Celsus, who in this period wrote against the christians, has borne a large testimony to the books of the New Testament, and to the history of our Saviour.

And we can allege two Roman emperors, Adrian and Titus Antoninus, who have been favourable to us. And Adrian in his letter to Servian, written in the year 134, bears witness to the numbers and the influence of christians in Egypt at that time.

We must say the same of Serenius Granius, proconsul of Asia, who wrote so much in favour of the christians to Adrian, and of his successor in the same province, Minucius Fundanus, to whom Adrian's rescript was sent.

To them ought to be added some governors of provinces, mentioned in this chapter from Tertullian.

All these great men had some acquaintance with the christians, and saw through the thick mist of calumnies, with which the christians were aspersed by the vulgar, and by many others. They perceived, that though the christians had some religious sentiments peculiar to themselves, and did not join in the established rites, they were not disturbers of the public peace, nor were justly chargeable with any of those crimes which are generally published by civil magistrates; and consequently they were entitled to protection and favour.

* See this vol. p. 94—101.  x lb. p. 126—131. and ch. xv. sect. 3. near the end.  y To those two emperors above named might be added Tiberius: see vol. vi. ch. ii. and Nerva, vol. v. chap. ix. sect. vi. and hereafter in the chapter of Dion Cassius.

* See this vol. p. 98.  a See ibid. p. 93.
CHAP. XXIII.

THE PERSECUTION OF SEVERUS, AND SPARTIAN'S
TESTIMONY TO IT.

I. The time of the reign of Severus, and that for a while he
was favourable to the christians. II. Accounts of his
persecution from christian writers. III. How long it
lasted. IV. His edict against the christians from Spar-
tian, with Remarks. V. An observation of Balduinus
upon this reign.

I. THE reign of Septimius Severus is computed from
June 1, 193, to Feb. 4, 211. He reigned, therefore, seven-
teen years, eight months, and three days.

Severus is supposed to have been favourable to the chris-
tians in the former part of his reign. Says Tertullian in
his book to the proconsul Scapula, which we suppose to have
been written soon after the death of Severus, and the ascen-
sion of his son, Antoninus Caracalla: ' And Severus him-
self, father of Antoninus, was favourable to the christians.

For when he came to be emperor, he inquired after Pro-
culus, a christian, surnamed Torpacion, and steward to
Euhodia, who had cured him by anointing him with oil,
and kept him in his palace so long as he lived; whom
Antoninus also knew very well, he having been nursed by
a christian woman. Moreover, Severus openly withstood
the fury of the people against some men and women of the
first quality, whom he knew to be of this sect; and was so
far from bearing hard upon them, that he gave them an
honourable testimony.'

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a Vid. Pagi ann. 211. num. ii. et Basnag. 193. num. xv.

b Ipse etiam Severus, pater Antonini, christianorum memor fuit. Nam et
Proculum christianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Euhodiae procurato-
rem, qui eum per oleum aliquidum curaverat, requisivit, et in palatio suo ha-
buit, usque ad mortem ejus; quem et Antoninus optime noverat, lacte chris-
tiano educatus. Sed et clarissimas feminas et clarissimos viros, Severus, sciens
hujus sectae fuisse, non modo non lasit, verum testimonio exornavit, et populo

c Concerning the cure wrought by Proculus upon Severus, or, as others
understand it, upon Euhodus, may be seen Basnag. ann. 193. num. xxii.
To which I shall now add from Spartan’s Life of Caracalla, \( ^d \) that \( ^a \) at seven years of age, when he heard that a boy his play-fellow had been severely beaten, because he was of the Jewish religion, he would not for some while after look upon his own father, nor the father of the boy, nor those who had beaten him.'

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

These passages, partly from Tertullian a Christian, and partly from Spartan a heathen, are sufficient to show, that the emperor Severus was not unacquainted with men who by profession were Christians, and that they were well known in his family.

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

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

Orosius says, 'that \( ^h \) in the fifth persecution, which was

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\( ^e \) Loco Euhodiae, legendum esse Evodii, existimamus, &c. Basnag. ann. 193. num. xxii.

\( ^f \) Δι' Eυοδίων τροφέων αυτού. Dion. l. 76. p. 1273. al. p. 861. Vid. et p. 1287. lib. 77. in.

\( ^g \) Hic Tertulliani locus testis est, Septimium Severum alieno abs christianis animo semper non fusse. Sed favor propter curationem magis fuit, quam propter religionem; et privatus quidem favor, propter quem interea nihil sit remissum de publica illa sevitiis, quæ Christiani vexabantur. Nam neque Severus ullo edicto, ut Christianis parceretur, publice imperavit; qui tamen quam eo tempore crudelter vexabantur, ex ipso quoque Tertulliano intelligi potest. Balduin. de Edict. Princ. Roman. p. 99.

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under Severus, very many of the saints obtained the crown of martyrdom in several countries.'

Sulpicius Severus⁵⁰ calls this the sixth persecution, and observes particularly, that Leonidas, father of Origen, then suffered.

In the Chronicle of Eusebius⁵¹ this is reckoned the fifth persecution, and is placed at the tenth year of Severus. In his Ecclesiastical History he does not, I think, expressly say when it began; but he intimates, that¹ it was very grievous in the tenth year of Severus, and afterwards; and, according to him, the persecution was general, and very grievous. So he begins the sixth book of his Ecclesiastical History: 'And when Severus raised a persecution against the churches, there were every where in all the churches glorious martyrdoms of the champions for religion; but especially were they numerous at Alexandria, to which city, as to the noblest stadium of God, were brought the most eminent champions from Thebais, and from all Egypt, that by invincible patience under various torments, and divers sorts of death, they might obtain from God a glorious crown.' He then relates the death of Leonidas, Origen's father, who was beheaded; and afterwards the deaths of several others, and particularly Potamiena, a virgin, who with her mother Marcella was burnt to death, by order of Aquila the judge, and as he relates, in a slow and painful manner, scalding pitch having been by little and little poured upon the several members of her body, from the soles of the feet to the crown of the head; which, nevertheless, she endured with great patience and fortitude.

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

That Commentary of Judas concluded at the tenth of

¹ Sexta deinde, Severo imperante, christianorum, vexatio fuit. Quo tempore Leonidas, Origenis pater, sacrum in martyrrio sanguinem fudit. Sul. Sever. l. ii. cap. 32. al. 46.
² H. E. l. vi. cap. 2. p. 201. C.
⁵⁰ 'Ως δὲ καὶ Σιδήνης, διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν εἰκόνων εἰκονεῖ λαμπρὰ μεν τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβίων αἰθητῶν εν ἄπασι τῶν εἰκόνων κατὰ παντα τοὺς ἀπετελεῖτο μάρτυρα. κ. λ. Cap. i. p. 201. A. B.⁵¹ Ibid. cap. 5.
Severus; but it is likely, that the work was not finished until some while after that year; he therefore had been a witness of the sufferings of his brethren, after the beginning of the persecution, before he published his work.

At this time suffered in Africa, at Tuburibium, or, as others more probably, at Carthage, Perpetua and Felicitas and their companions; of whom notice was taken formerly.

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

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, who afterwards suffered martyrdom in the time of Decius, was imprisoned now.

Tertullian has mentioned another martyr, named Rutilius, who suffered in this persecution, though the year is not exactly known. Rutilius had absconded and fled from place to place, and had likewise given money to some officers to secure himself from suffering; and yet he was at length apprehended, and through the mercy of God suffered very patiently; though he was at first grievously tormented, and then burnt alive. Tertullian could not avoid speaking honourably of him; though he then condemned both flight in persecution, and pecuniary redemptions.

And in his book to Scapula he mentions Mavilus, an inhabitant of Adrumetum, whom that proconsul had himself condemned to be devoured by wild beasts.

I do not mention Irenæus here, as some do, because I do not think he died by martyrdom, as was formerly shown.

III. Mr. Dodwell computed the persecution under Severus to have lasted two years only. Basnage shows, that it lasted more than six years. Mosheim observes,

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9 See vol. ii. chap. xl. num. ii.  
12 L. vi. cap. xi.  
13 Rutilius, sanctissimus martyr, cum toticus fugisset persecutionem de loco in locum, etiam periculum, ut reputabat, nummis redemisset, post totam secutitatem, quam sibi prospererat, ex inopinato apprehensus, et Prasidi oblatus, tormentis dissipatus, credo pro fugae castigatione, dehinc ignibus datus, passionem, quam vitaret, misericordiae Dei retulit. De Fugâ, &c. cap. v. p. 693.  
14 Tibi quoque optamus admonitionem solam fuisse, quod cum Adrumeticum Mavilum ad bestias damnasset, et statim hoc vexatio subsecutae est. Ad Scap. cap. 3. p. 87.  
18 De fine belli hujus silent veteres. Quum vero certis auctoribus, maxime ex Tertulliano, constet, sub Severi etiam filio Caracalla, nonnullis in locis
that some christians suffered in the beginning of the reign of Caracalla. 'They therefore,' says he, 'judge rightly, who think, that this persecution did not end before the death of Severus.'

Sulpicius Severus, having spoken of this persecution, says, 'that from that time to the persecution of Decius, the church enjoyed peace eight and thirty years, excepting some disturbance given to the christian clergy by Maximin.' It is hence argued by Pagi, that Sulpicius supposed this persecution did not end before the year 211, in which the emperor Severus died.

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

And that the persecution continued some while after the death of Severus, is argued from Tertullian's book to the proconsul Scapula, not written before the year 211, or 212; for at that time the christians underwent heavy sufferings. By that proconsul some seem to have been condemned to
the flames; and in some other places there were governors, who inflicted capital punishments upon christians; though they did not strive to aggravate their death by exquisite tortures.

IV. However, I do not intend to write at length the history of this persecution; but I have been obliged to take some notice of it, not only upon account of the edict of Severus, but also out of regard to the testimony of Spartan, a heathen author, one of the writers of the Augustan History, who flourished in the time of Dioclesian, or soon after. He has mentioned not only the time of this persecution, but also the substance and design of the emperor's edict, more particularly than any of our christian authors. In the Life of the Emperor Severus, he says: 'Having passed through Antioch, he gave to his eldest son the manly gown, and appointed him consul with himself; and presently, while they were yet in Syria, they entered upon their consulship. After that, having enlarged the stipends of the soldiers, he went forward to Alexandria. In his journey through Palestine he enacted several laws. He forbade, under a severe penalty, that any should become Jews. He also published a like edict against the christians.'

This determines the beginning of the persecution to the tenth year of the reign of Severus, the year of Christ 202, when he and his son Caracalla were consuls together; and the design of the edict is represented to be to restrain the increase of christianity.

Upon this edict Mr. Mosheim observes to this purpose: 'These words, says he, show, that Severus enacted no

Tillemont, Persécution sous Sèvère, art. vii. translates: 'Le Lieutenant, qui commandoit la legion, qui residoit en Afrique, et le Gouverneur de la Mauritanie se contentoient de faire decapiter les martyrs.' I rather think, that by Legion is here intended a place, or province, in Africa, so called. Cellarius may be consulted, Geogr. l. iii. cap. 13. p. 505, though he is not there speaking of a place in Africa. Posterior oppidum fuisse, non castra sola alicujus legionis, licet origo et nomen his debeatur.


h Haec verba docent, Severum non novas in christianos leges tulisse, non religionem ipsam cum professoribus ejus extirpari jussisse, sed modum tantum statuere voluisse incrementis ecclesiâ, eosque puniri jussisse, qui a majorum sacris ad christianam deficerent. Natis igitur christianis, illis item, qui ante hoc edictum Christo nomen dederunt, antiquæ quidem leges molestæ et periculi aliquid parere poterant, maxime celebre illud, quod abrogatum per sequentes leges haud erat, Trajani rescriptum. At ex haec novâ Severi lege nihil ipsis
new laws against the christians; nor did he enjoin that the religion itself, with the professors of it, should be extirpated. He only intended to hinder the increase of the church, and ordered such to be punished, who should abandon the old religion of their ancestors for the sake of the christian. They, therefore, who were christians by birth, and were such before the time of this edict, had nothing to fear from it. The old laws indeed, particularly the edict of Trajan, which was not repealed, might occasion them some trouble; but this new law of Severus affected not any who were christians before. Learned men, he says, are difficultly brought to allow of this interpretation, because they see, that many christians suffered in the time of this emperor. Nevertheless it is very certain; for Spartan puts together the two edicts against the Jews and against the christians; and they were both of the same tenour. Severus never did forbid the Jewish religion, nor compel men born of Jewish parents to embrace the Roman rites; he only forbade the increase of Jews by the addition of other people to them. Therefore neither did he enact any thing more severe against the christians; for the two edicts were both alike. Nor can there be any good reason to believe, that Severus published any other edict against the christians beside that mentioned by Spartan.'

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

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

Secondly, Mr. Mosheim has no right to diminish the sufferings of the christians in the reign of this emperor. He earnestly contends, that Tertullian's Apology was composed in the year of Christ 198, before there was any law of Severus against the christians; and he has published a long
dissertation\(^1\) to prove it. Nor was Mr. Tillemon\(^k\) very averse to that date of the Apology; though he generally speaks of it as written in the year 200. And according to that later date, it was written before Severus had made any edict against the christians.

Well, what was the state of the christians at that time, even before the edict of Severus, which is allowed to be rightly dated at the year of Christ 202? \(^1\) They\(^1\) underwent,\(^4\) a multiplicity of the greatest sufferings.’ \(^4\) From\(^m\) that Apology of Tertullian it appears, \(^4\) that they were crucified, hung upon stakes, burnt alive, \(^4\) thrown to wild beasts, condemned to the mines, banished \(^4\) into desert islands.' I have put down no more than a part of the list of their sufferings, extracted by Mosheim himself from that Apology of Tertullian. And moreover, as that learned man likewise observes, \(^4\) the magistrates \(^4\) then transgressed the law of Trajan. They were not contented to punish those who were brought before them; they \(^4\) sought for them to be punished.'

Such were the sufferings of the christians then; And were they abated and restrained afterwards, when a new edict was published among them? No, certainly, they were increased; \(^4\) If\(^4\) these things were done, whilst the emperor \(^4\) was as yet no enemy to them, and the ancient laws against them were in a manner silent, and those which were favourable to them, were yet in being; what may we suppose to have been done when Severus was provoked, and not only confirmed the old laws against them, but added also severe laws of his own.' They are the words of

\(^1\) De Ætate Apologetici Tertulliani, &c.
\(^k\) Tertullien. art. v. at the beginning.
\(^1\) Hoc loco nihil mihi propostum est alius, quam ut ante ann. cii. quo Severi in christianos edicta publice rogata esse concedo, infinitam jam malorum magnitudinem illis exhibitant esse, planum faciam. Diss. de Ætate Apol. num. vii.
\(^m\) Perversissimi ergo judices non legibus obtemperabant, sed in manifestas leges vexandis christianis peccabant. Suppliciorum atrocitas par erat odio, quo ferebantur christianorum hostes. Apol. cap. xii. \(^4\) Crucibus et stipitibus impo
\(^4\) nitis christianos—ungulis ereditis latera christianorum—Cervices ponimus—
\(^4\) ad bestias impellimus—ignibus urrim—in metalla damnarum—in insulis re-
\(^n\) Tanta vero erat persecutionis hujus immanitas et gravitas, ut ipsa etiam Trajani lex, quæ inquiri christianos vetabat, negligenter. Explorabantur enim conventus eorum; et ad Deum coelendum congregati sine accusatore abducebantur. Cap. vii. ’Quotidie olsidemur, quotidie prodimur, in ipsis plurimum crebibus et congregationibus nostri opposimur.’ Id. ib. p. 254.
\(^o\) Hec omnia fidelis, Imperator christianis nondum inimico, et antiqus in eos legibus quiescentibus quodammodo, et per alias clementiores quasi obliteratis. Quid factum fuisse putabimus, Severo exaridescence, atque vetores non modo leges firmante, verum novas etiam severiores rogante? Ibid. p. 255.
Mosheim himself. For certain, the persecution then became more violent, and more general, than it had been before; as this learned writer himself acknowledgeth.

Nevertheless, he will say something to mitigate the guilt of their enemies. For he says, 'that the Christians fomented the persecution against themselves by a custom, which now for some while had obtained among them, of redeeming their lives and safety by presents of money made to the presidents, or other magistrates.'

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

I do by no means think, that there was any other edict of Severus against the Christians, beside that mentioned by Spartan; but possibly he has not fully expressed the whole design of it. There was at the same time an edict published against the Jews; nevertheless, the edict against the Christians might be somewhat different. Whether it

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p Hæc calamitas valde augebatur, quam tertio hujus sæculi anno Imperator ipse animum erga christianos incertum quibus de causis, quodammodo mutaret atque, proposito edicto, cives Romanos sub gravi poenâ ad christianam religionem a majorum sacris transire vetaret. Ib. p. 455.

q Malis his, variis ex causis natis, ipsi sine dubio Christiani alimenta suppedebant per consuetudinem, quæ ab aliquo tempore, approbantibus episcopis, inter eos invulcerat, salutem et vitam argento magistratibus oblato redimendi. Præsides enim et magistratus pecuniae avidi Christianos sepe invadebant, et pauperiorum quosdam necari jubebant, quo ditiones fortunis suis emungerent, et ecclesiærum thesauris rem suam locupletarent. Ibid. p. 453.


was, or not, it is manifest from Tertullian and Eusebius and other ecclesiastical writers, that after the tenth of Severus, there was a general persecution against the christians, wherein many suffered. And though the edict was exactly as Spartan says, the publication of it would give occasion for heathens of all sorts, both common people and magistrates, to showed their enmity to the christians; especially, as the rescript of Trajan was still in force. Nor need it be supposed, that they who were unfriendly to the christians, would be scrupulously exact to the terms of the edict, and forbear to prosecute or condemn any, beside new converts. It is certain they did not forbear others; for many who were born of christian parents, or had been christians by profession a good while before this edict of Severus, suffered martyrdom in this persecution. Trajan’s rescript forbids searching for christians; nevertheless, that part of his rescript was oftentimes transgressed or neglected by presidents, who published orders that they should be sought for.

Mr. Mosheim says, that the words of the edict of Severus, as represented by Spartan, show, that Severus only intended to hinder the increase of the church, and ordered such to be punished, who forsook the old religion of their ancestors for the sake of the christian. They, therefore, who were christians by birth, or were such before the time of this edict, had nothing to fear from it.'

But I very much suspect this observation to be of no moment; for all persecuting edicts may have been of this form. They may have been made so, to give them a more specious appearance, and to cover the real cruelty and malignity of them. The severest edicts of the worst persecutors may have been expressed in the same terms, and in the same form, with this of Severus. So says the emperor Maximin, one of that sort, at the beginning of his letter to Sabinus: ‘It is well known to yourself, and to all the world, that our lords and fathers, Dioclesian and Maximian, when they observed, that almost all men were forsaking the worship of the gods, and joining themselves to the sect of the christians, did rightly ordain, that all who had forsaken the worship of their immortal gods, should

be recalled to the worship of the gods, by public chastisement?

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

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

V. I have been longer here than I at first intended; and yet I have still one observation more to take notice of. Balduinus, in the place before cited, says: 'Papinian was prefect of the prætorium in this reign. And he says, he has often wondered, that Papinian did not take care to restrain the barbarous fierceness of the presidents, who treated the christians with so much cruelty; or at least find out a method to reduce their judicial proceedings to some good order, and the common rules of equity.' We must therefore suppose, that either Papinian did not understand the principles of religious and civil liberty, or that he was not able to establish all the schemes of equity which he had formed in his mind.

CHAP. XXIV.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

I. His time and work. II. The inscription of the altar to the unknown God, in Acts xvii. 23, illustrated by a paragraph in this author. III. Whether he refers to the christian eucharist.

I, DIOGENES, a surnamed Laërtius, as is generally supposed from Laërtes his native place, a town or castle in


Cilicia, who wrote of the lives and opinions of the most famous philosophers in ten books, flourished, as Vossius\(^b\) thinks, in the time of Antoninus the pious, or soon afterwards. Others\(^c\) have thought it more probable, that he lived under Severus and his successors, and that his book of the Lives of the Philosophers was written about the year 210; where also I shall place him.

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

The introduction to this speech was distinctly considered\(^d\) formerly; and the propriety and decency of the apostle's address to the Athenians were clearly shown.

I now intend to consider the inscription, "TO THE UNKNOWN GOD," of which\(^e\) he here reminds the Athenians, and

\(^{b}\) Nempe vixit Laërtius sub Antonio Pio, vel paulo post. Voss. ut supra.

\(^{c}\) Tillemont, as above.

\(^{d}\) See vol. i. p. 201, 202.

\(^{e}\) The Being and Attributes of God appear to have been known to the philosophers and sages of antiquity: and that only seems to have been known to them, which is also unknown to us, namely, the mode of his existence: the knowledge of which is either unnecessary, or else could not be revealed to such creatures as we are, who cannot comprehend, or have any idea of spirit.—It was in this sense, that God was unknown to the sages of antiquity: and to this unknown God, I doubt not, but one or other of them
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upon which he argues so rationally. For, if I mistake not, I have now an opportunity to illustrate this text by a paragraph of Diogenes in the Life of Epimenides; which, therefore, I shall here transcribe at length, and then explain.

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

Diogenes Laërtyius, having related some strange things of Epimenides, goes on: ' At this time the fame of Epimenides was very great among all the Greeks, and he was supposed to be in great favour with the gods. The Athenians being afflicted with a pestilence, they were directed by the Pythian oracle to get their city purified by expiation. They therefore sent Nicias, son of Niceratus, in a ship

erected the famous altar, which St. Paul took so much notice of, and attributed to the superstition of the Athenians. But in this I cannot help thinking there was some mistake. An altar, with such an inscription, could hardly be set up by the priests of that country, because it rather tended to destroy superstition, and subvert their power and influence, than to establish it. Their gods were local, their names and temples publicly known, and their priests stove who should gain the greatest number of votaries. This altar then must surely have been erected by some philosopher, to the One True God, who was known by the effects of his infinite power, wisdom, and goodness: but unknown as to the mode of his existence. The one true God (whom we now adore) was neither known, nor worshipped by the ignorant, deceived, heathen multitude. Neither was he ignorantly worshipped by philosophers. For they might, and every one who exercises his reason in the inquiry, may, from the works of creation, trace out the Being and Attributes of God.' The Morality of the N. T. digested under various heads, p. 50—52.

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

† Diogen. La. l. i. sect. 113. p. 72.

‡ Γνωσθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησπονδήσισι εἶναι υπελήψθη. ὦθεν Ἀθηναίοις τῷ τε λοιμῷ κατεχομένοις εὐχηθεὶς ἦν Πυθιὰ καθήμενα τὴν πολύν. Οἱ δὲ περιπατήσαν τινί καὶ Νικαίαν τοῦ Νικηφυρίτης καλύπτων τὸν ἕπιμηνον. Καὶ ὦθεν ἡλίων Ὀλυμπιαίας τεσσαρακοστῆς ἐκτὸς ἐκαθηρέν τών τολμόν, καὶ ἑπάνω τοῦ λοιμοῦ τούτου τοῦ τροποῦ. Ἀλμοῖοι πρὸ βασίτα μελανά τι καὶ λευκά, ἡγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρεών πογοῦ κρείθεν εἰσεν εἰοί οὐδέσποτο, προτάσας τοις ἀκολούθοις, ἔγγαν ἀν καταλείποιν αὐτῶν ἱερὸν. Τοῖς εἰς προσέρχοντι θεῷ καὶ ἥτω λήγει το κακόν. Ἐθεν εἰς καὶ νῦν εἶναι εὐρείαν κατὰ τοῖς ἐνεμοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοῶς ανανυσμένη, νυπομνήμα τοῦ τοτε γενομένης ἐξιλαστεώς. Diog. Laërt. in Epimenide, l. i. segm. 110. p. 70, 71.
to Crete, inviting Epimenides to come to them. He coming thither in the forty-sixth Olympiad, purified their city, and delivered them from the pestilence in this manner. Taking several sheep, some black, others white, he had them up to the Areopagus; and then let them go where they would; and gave orders to those who followed them, wherever any one of them should lie down, to sacrifice it to the god to whom it belonged. And so the plague ceased. Hence it comes to pass, that to this present time may be found in the boroughs of the Athenians anonymous altars, a memorial of the expiration then made.'

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

Jerom, in his comment upon the first chapter of Titus, ver. 12, says: 'The inscription of the altar at Athens was not "to the Unknown God," as St. Paul quotes it, but to 'the gods of Asia, and Europe, and Africa, unknown and 'strange gods.' He speaks to the like purpose in another place; and supposeth, that the apostle had not quoted the inscription exactly, but dexterously applied it to his own purpose.

Chrysostom, in a homily upon the Acts of the Apostles, speaks to this purpose: 'I found an altar with this inscription, "to the Unknown God."' What is that? The 'Athenians, who in a long tract of time had received various

h Nec mirum, si pro opportunitate temporis, gentilium poëtarum versibus abutatur; quum etiam de inscriptione are aliquâ commutans, ad Athenienses loquutus sit: 'Pertransiens enim,' inquit, 'et contempitam culturas vestras, inventi et aram, in quâ superscription est: Ignoto Deo. Quod ergo ignorantres colitis, hoc ego annuncio vobis.' Inscriptio autem are non ita erat, ut Paulus asseruit, 'Ignoto Deo,' sed ita; 'Diis Asiae, et Europae, et Africae, dis ignotis, et peregrinis.' Verum quia Paulus non disi indigebat ignotis, sed uno tantum ignoto Deo, singulari verbo usus est, &c. In ep. ad Titum. cap. i. T. iv. p. 420.


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To the text:


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' gods from their neighbours, as the temple of Minerva, ' Pan, and others from elsewhere; apprehensive that there ' might be still some other god, unknown to them, who was ' worshipped elsewhere in other places, for the greater ' safety erected also an altar to him. But because the god ' was not manifest, they put upon it this inscription, "To ' the Unknown God." This God, Paul says, is Jesus ' Christ, or rather the God of the universe. "Whom there- ' fore you ignorantly worship," says he, "him declare I ' unto you."'

So speaks Chrysostom; nor do I perceive him to have had any doubt about the genuineness of the inscription, as composed in the singular number, "To the Unknown God."

Nevertheless Theophylact¹ and Ὅεcumenius,ᵐ after say- ing the same that is in Chrysostom, add: that the whole of the inscription was to this purpose: 'To the gods of Asia, ' and Europe, and Lyibia, to the unknown and strange ' God.'

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

There is, therefore, great inaccuracy in the quotation of Isidore of Pelusium, which is in Mr. Wetstein's New Test- tament. For there he is quoted as saying, that the whole ' inscription of the altar was, To the gods of Asia, Europe, ' and Lyibia, the unknown and strange God.' Which, in- deed, is very agreeable to Theophylact and Ὅεcumenius, as just seen; but Isidore says nothing of that kind.

We have seen therefore two ancient christian writers, Chrysostom and Isidore of Pelusium, in the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century, who supposed, that the in-


ᵃ Δῶς φασιν αἰτίαν εἰναι, τῷ επιγραφῆς καὶ ἀναγνωστῆς Θεοῦ. Ἀγνωτὸν Θεὸν. κ. λ. Ibid. i. iv. ερ. 69.

ᵇ ——ναυν εἰμισμένον καὶ βωμὸν, επιγραφῆς, Ἀγνωτὸν Θεὸν. Ibid.

scription at Athens was in the singular number, as St. Paul quotes it.

The opinions of learned moderns have been very different. Many maintain the genuineness of the inscription, as cited by St. Paul. But Le Clerc says, that though the inscription was in the plural number, St. Paul was in the right to allege it in the singular number.

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

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

Diogenes Laërtius informs us, that the Athenians, by the direction of an oracle, sent for Epimenides to purify, or expiate their city; when they were afflicted with a pestilence; Epimenides, when he came to Athens, took several sheep, some black, some white, and then let them go where they would, directing those who followed them, when any he should lie down, to sacrifice it to the god to whom it belonged; which in the Latin version is rendered, to the god next the place. Which translation, as I perceive by my extracts, is disliked by Dr. Drake. He therefore translates in this manner: the proper god, to whom that affair

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1 Quamvis plurali numero legeretur inscriptio, Ἀγωνοῦς θεῶς, recte de 'Deo Ignoto' locutus est Paulus, qui plurali numero continetur singularis. Cleric. H. E. A. 52, p. 374, in notis.
3 Fatendum tamen est, plures fuisset olim Deos, quorum opem auxiliumque anonyms aris invocabant—Hanc autem, de qua speciatim egit apostolus, inscriptionem singulari fuisset numero prolatae confirmavit ipsius Pauli fides, industria, non sequioris etatis testimonio, non Hieronymi conjecturae posthabenda. Drake, ubi supra, p. 5. In excerptis nostri.
4 His qui illas sequebantur, ubicumque ille accubuissent, singulas macerarent loci ejus proximo Deo.
5 Hujus [Epimenidis] consilio monitos tradit Atheniensibus, cum patrios deos frustra fatigaret, sacra ut facerent, aranque construeren προσηκοντε θεω: non, ut male Laërtii interpres—loci ejus proximo Deo: Deo conve-
belonged, to him, whoever he was, who should remove the
‗inflicted pestilence.‘ Dr. Doddridge, reciting this para-
graph in his notes upon Acts, ch. xviit, understands the direc-
tion to be, ‗when the sheep lay down, to sacrifice them to
‗the god, near whose temple or altar they then were.‘

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

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

‗In the boroughs of the Athenians.‘ So I have translated,
kata twn ἐπιμων των Ἀθηναίων. Of them Potter speaks in this
manner: ‗TheseΔημοί were little boroughs in Attica,
‗several of which were reckoned together in the business
‗of the commonwealth; yet had separate habitations, and
‗distinct rites, and gods too; for each of them adored
‗peculiar deities; and yet all unanimously agreed in wor-
‗shipping Minerva, who was the tutelar goddess of the
‗whole country.‘

― nienti,‘ Deo, ad quem res ista pertinebat: ei, quisquis tandem es fuerit, qui
immissam luem propulsaret. Drake, ubi supra, p. 6.
Which seems to me to be much the same with that of Grotius—Sicit
Laërtius, originem hujus rei narrans, dicit ab Epimenide monitos Athenienses,
ut sacra facerent τῷ προσευκτι Θεῷ, id est ‗ei Deo, ad quem ea res pertineret,‘
non addito nomine. Grotius.

v Potter’s Antiquities of Greece, B. i. ch. ix. p. 50. vol. i. Oxford. 1699.
Thus I have explained this paragraph as I am able. I am now to make some observations; but they will be no more than two only. First, there were several anonymous altars at Athens; and in the adjoining country. We know not how many sheep Epimenides took up with him to the Areopagus, and then let them go away at pleasure; but they would all lie down when weary, if not before; some, it is likely, in the streets, or other public places of the city of Athens; others in the adjacent country; where they were sacrificed to the god, to whom they were supposed to appertain, according to their different colours. And the city being hereby expiated, and purified, and delivered from the pestilence, there was an anonymous altar erected in every place, where a sacrifice had been made, in memorial of the obtained deliverance. Secondly, all these altars were in the singular number. For each 'sheep, when it lay down, was to be sacrificed to the god to whom it ap- pertained.'

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

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

In another place Pausanias speaks of altars of gods called unknown, and of heroes, and of the sons of Theseus, and Phalerus. The inscription of this altar likewise may have been in the singular number; but as there were several altars at Athens, or near it, inscribed 'To the Unknown God,' it was natural enough for some writers to call them

* Καλείται ἐν Ὁλυμπείᾳ Διός. Πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ εἰς ἀγνωτῶν ζητῶν βωμὸς. Pausan. l. v. p. 412.
* Βωμοὶ οὖν τοῖς οὐνομαζόμενοι ἀγνωτῶν, καὶ Ἰῆρων, καὶ παιδῶν τῶν Ὑπατείως, καὶ Φαληρ. Paus. l. i. p. 4.
altars of unknown gods.' So says Grotius: 'When Pausanias says, that there were at Athens altars of unknown gods, he means that there were many altars with such an inscription, "To the Unknown God;" though, possibly, there were some with an inscription in the plural number, whilst others were in the singular.' Olearius has expressed himself in the like manner.

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

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

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

I come now at length to the Dialogue Philopatris, quoted by Dr. Drake, and others, as a work of Lucian; but I rather think, of some anonymous heathen author in the fourth century.

Here Critias confirms what he says, swearing by the Unknown God at Athens.' And near the end of the Dialogue: 'But let us find out the Unknown God at Athens, and stretching our hands to heaven, offer to him our praises and thanksgivings, that we are worthy to live

Cum Pausanias ait, aras Athenis fuisse θεων αγνωστων, hoc vult, multas suisse aras tali inscriptione θεων αγνωστων; quanquam potuere et aliae esse pluraliter inscriptae, aliae singulariter. Grot. ad Act. xvii.


'Ημεις δε, των Αθηνας αγνωστων εφευροντες, και ποικυλυσαντες, χειρας ως ερανον εκτειναντες, των ευχαριστησομεν. k. λ. Ibid. p. 780.
under so great an empire, and leave others to trifle as they please.'

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

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

I shall now recite the observations of the late Mr. Hallet of Exeter. Having argued the great ignorance of the heathen people concerning the Deity, and having alleged several texts from the New Testament to the same purpose, he goes on: 'The same St. Paul, when he was at Athens, where, if any where, the heathens should have known better, took notice, that the people had no knowledge of the true God. He found there an altar erected "to the Unknown God," Acts xvii. 23, that is, they did not know by what name to call him. This is manifest from the occasion of erecting the altar, which was this; About 600 years before our Saviour's birth, there was a pestilence at Athens. In order to get it removed, upon the advice of the philosopher Epimenides, (who appears by this to have been as ignorant of the true God as the Athenian populace,) the people sacrificed many sheep, not to any particular idol, but to that god, be he who he would, who was able to

<sup>307—309.</sup>"
remove the pestilence from them; upon which, it is said, the plague was stayed. In memory of this deliverance the Athenians erected several altars, which the historian Diogenes Laërtius calls Anonymous, because there was no name of any particular god inscribed upon them. The altars were erected, not to the honour of Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, by name, but to that particular god, whoever he was, who had wrought out this deliverance for them. See Laërtius in his Life of Epimenides. If they had known that Jupiter had removed the plague, they would have inscribed their altars to Jupiter. If they had known that Apollo had removed the plague, they would have inscribed the altars to Apollo. But while they could not tell which of all their gods it was who had removed the plague, they did not dedicate the altars to any one god by name, but to that god, whoever he was, who had thus delivered them. But still they thought, this god, whoever he was, was one of the idols of the heathen world. They did not suspect him to be a being of any greater wisdom and power than their own Jupiter and Apollo. They took their deliverer to be an idol of the same sort and size as the rest whom they worshipped. But the truth was, (though they did not know it,) that he, who delivered them by his providence from that distress, was the one infinite, supreme God. And therefore St. Paul justly says, that the Athenians worshipped him; for they worshipped him who removed the plague, whoever he was. But the true God removed the plague; therefore they worshipped the true God. But still, as the apostle observes, they worshipped him ignorantly, that is, they were ignorant of his true greatness, majesty, and power, and looked upon him as no greater than one of their own idols. Which worshipping of him in this ignorant manner, and under this debasing notion, was not much, if any thing, better than their not worshipping him at all. Accordingly St. Paul, in this same discourse, chargeth them, as men who yet wanted "to seek and find out" the true God, ver. 27, as thinking, that the "Godhead was like to gold and silver images," ver. 29, and as men "living in times of ignorance," ver. 30. To which we may add what the same apostle says, 1 Cor. i. 21, that "the world, by means of wisdom," that is, of the philosophy of the heathens, which was accounted wisdom, "knew not God." Agreeably to this, we may take notice throughout the Old Testament, that the heathen nations, who heard of Jehovah, did not look upon him as any other than the idol of Judea, a
being of the same kind with Baal, Chemosh, and the
like.' So writes my much esteemed friend the late Mr.
Joseph Hallet.

III. In the Life of Pythagoras, among his precepts, Dio-
genues Laërtius mentions this: 'That a loaf should not be
broke, because it was anciently the custom for friends to
meet together at one loaf, as the barbarians do now. And
therefore that should not be divided which brings them to-
gether.'

Gregorius Giraldus supposed, that by barbarians Laër-
tius here meant christians, and that he refers to their assem-
blies, where they met together to partake of the eucharist.
But other learned men with more reason, as seems to me,
believe, that he here intends such as were properly called
barbarians, and that there is here no reference at all to the
christians.

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

CHAP. XXV.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

I. His time. II. Divers passages concerning the christians,
from his Life, written by Lampridius, an heathen author,
about the year of Christ 306. III. Of Mammceae, the
emperor’s mother, by some said to have been a christian.

I. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS was succeeded by his son
Caracalla, he by Macrinus; he by Heliogabalus, concern-

1 Ἀρτον μὴ καταγγέλειν, ὅτι εἰπέκειν ὃς παλαιὸς φίλων φροντὶν, καθάπερ καὶ

νῦν ὁ βαρβαρὸς μὴ διαφέρειν ὃς συναγιαί αὐτὸς. Diog. La. l. viii. sect. 35.
p. 513.

2 Gregorius Giraldus, vir doctissimus, in libello de Pythagorae symbolis,
quid de hoc symbolo scribat, omnibus in promptu est. Quod autem barbaros
Laërtius christians hoc loco significet, id mihi nullo modo probatur. Neque
enim solent a scriptoribus quantumvis ethniciis hoc nomine appellari. Sed
barbaros intelligo vere barbaros, apud quos certum est, eum morem viguisse
cœundi in convivis, qui idem omnium fere gentium mos est. Aldobrand.
86. cap. 18.
ing whom I shall transcribe a passage from Lampridius, when I come to the chapter of the Augustan writers. Heliodabalus was succeeded by Alexander Severus, whose reign is computed from March 6, 222, to March 14, or 19, in the year 235. He reigned thirteen years, and died before he was seven and twenty years of age. Alexander is much commended, as an excellent prince, by Lampridius, as well as by others.

II. His Life of Alexander is addressed to Constantine; he has in it several passages relating to the christians, which must be taken notice of.

1. Of this emperor Lampridius says: 'He maintained the privileges of the Jews; He tolerated the christians.'

2. Of the same emperor he says: 'His way of living was this. Early in the morning, if there was no impediment, he performed some acts of religious worship in his private chapel, in which were the deified emperors, and also some eminently good men, and among them Apollo-nius; and, as a writer of his time says, Christ, Abraham, and Orpheus, (whom he considered as deities,) and the images of his ancestors.'

3. In a following chapter Lampridius says: 'This emperor called Virgil the Plato of poets, and placed his image with that of Cicero, in his second chapel, where also were the statues of Achilles, and other great men: but Alexander the Great he placed among the deified, and the best, in his more honourable chapel.'

Whereby it appears, that this emperor had two chapels, one greater, and more honourable, the other less honourable.

e Fuit ita moratus Alexander, ita vitâ atque animo constitutus, ut, inter ethnicos, paucos æquales habuerit, superioris forte neminem. Basnag. ann. 222. num. v.  
Christ was in the former. We are likewise to observe, that this was mentioned by a writer of this emperor’s own time; who, probably, was a gentile, or heathen, our author himself being an heathen, and making his collections from such.

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

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

Farther, he says of this emperor: 'When he was about to appoint any to the governments of provinces, or to other like offices, he published their names, inviting the people, if they had any crimes to lay to their charge, to produce their evidences; at the same time declaring, that if any charged what he could not prove, he should be put to death. And he said: It was a miserable thing, that when the christians and Jews observed this method, of publishing the names of their priests before they were ordained, the like care should not be taken about the governors of

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h Christo templum facere voluit, cumque inter deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitasse furtur, qui templo in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jussaret fieri; quae bodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani; quae ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur. Sed prohibitus est ab iis, qui, consulentes sacra, repererunt, omnes christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, et templum reliqua deserenda. Ib. cap. 43. p. 993.


k Et quia publicandis dispositionibus mentio contigit, ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciarum dare, vel praepositos facere, vel procuratores, id est, rationales, ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus, si non probasset, subiret pœnam capitatis. Dicebatque, grave esse, quum id christiani et Judaei facerent in praedicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunaæ hominum committerentur et capita. Ib. cap. 45. p. 997.
provinces, with whom the lives and fortunes of men were 'entrusted.'

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

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

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

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

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

If the building, I have been speaking of, was a church,
belonging to the christians, which may be naturally enough supposed; this is the oldest testimony we have of any edi-
ifice publicly consecrated to the worship of our holy re-
ligion, known to be such by the pagans."

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

7. Once more. The same writer says of the same empe-
or: 'If any went out of the road into the grounds of any private person, according to the nature of the ground, he was to be beaten with sticks in his presence, or whipped with rods, or fined. And if the quality of the offender exempted him from such punishments, he would severely reprove him, saying: "Are you willing to have that done in your own field, which you do in another's?" And he would often use a saying, which he had heard from some Jews or christians, and which he well remembered; and when any one was corrected, he ordered the cryer to pro-
claim: "What you would not have done to yourself, that do not you do to another." Which saying he so highly esteemed, that he ordered it to be engraved upon his palace, and upon public buildings.'

These and other things, mentioned by Lampridius, are very honourable to this emperor.

III. His mother Mammæa also is greatly commended by some christian writers. Eusebius calls her a pious and religious woman. And Orosius says, she was a christian. The main foundation of this supposition is, that as Eusebius informs us, she sent for Origen to come to her at Antioch; which might be no more than curiosity to see and discourse with a man, who was then in great reputation for learning. Crevier therefore justly observes: 'She is said to have been a christian; but that fact is not sufficiently proved.' And Basnage has offered divers arguments, sufficient to overthow that supposition.

n Si quis de viâ in alicujus possessionem deflexisset, pro qualitate loci, aut fustibus subjiciendar in conspectu ejus, aut virgis, aut condemnationi, aut, si huc omnia transiret dignitas hominis, aut gravissimis contumeliiis, quum dice-
ret: Visne hoc in agro tuo fieri, quod alteri facis? Clamabatque sæpe quod a quibusdam, sive Judæis sive christianis, audierat, et tenebat. Idque per pra-
conem, quum aliquem emendaret, dici jubebat: ‘Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.’ Quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit, ut in palatio, et in publicis operibus, prescribi jubebat. Id. ib. cap. 51. p. 1006.

o H. E. I. vi. cap. 21. 


r Ann. 222. num. iv.
I. His time. II. A passage of Lactantius concerning his work of the Duty of a Proconsul, in which he says, that Ulpian had collected all the edicts of former emperors against the christians. III. Observations of learned men concerning Ulpian, and his work. IV. Qu. Whether there remain, in the Pandects, any laws against the christians.

I. DOMITIUS ULPIANUS; or ULPIAN, was a native of Tyre in Phœnicia. After he had distinguished himself as a great lawyer in former reigns, he was made prefect of the prætorium by Severus Alexander, but was murdered by the prætorian soldiers, as is computed, in the year 228. I place him at the year 222, when the emperor Alexander began his reign.

II. Lactantius, among other cruelties practised by worshippers of idols, or heathen deities, reckons laws of princes, and decrees of lawyers, against good men, worshippers of the true God. 'Domitius, writing of the office of a proconsul, in the seventh book of that work, put together the wicked edicts, that he might show what punishments ought to be inflicted upon those who professed themselves to be worshippers of God.'

III. Herman Witsius supposeth, that Ulpian was very
Tillemont\(^d\) thinks that work was published before the reign of Alexander. Basnage likewise is of opinion, that\(^e\) this work was composed some good while before in the time of Septimius Severus. Nor can he believe that Ulpian would publish such a thing in the time of Alexander, when it would be far from being acceptable.

Crevier\(^f\) expresseth himself after this manner: ‘Ulpian has been praised by all the pagans without exception, and without reserve. The christians have reproached him with carrying his aversion so far, as, contrary to the inclination of his sovereign, who did not dislike them, to collect all the edicts which former emperors had published against them. Let us pity a blindness, in which he was confirmed even by his regard for the laws, which he had so much studied.’

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

As for Ulpian’s having been praised by all the pagans, (which Crevier repeats after Tillemont,) it is acknowledged that he has been commended by several heathen authors, and the confidence placed in him by Alexander is much to his honour. Nevertheless by\(^g\) Dion Cassius, or by Xiphilinus from him, he is said to have killed Flavian and Chrestus, that he might succeed them. And Zosimus, giving an account of Ulpian’s death, says, ‘The\(^h\) soldiers

\(^d\) Ubi supra, note \(^a\).
\(^e\) Quae collectanea edidisse existimamus, imperante Severo, cum Papiniano in consiliis fuit. Regnante quidem Alexandro, nil perniciei christians machinatus est Ulpianus, quos Mammaeae et filio ejus acceptos esse noverat. Ad dominorum ergo suorum studia sese composuit aulicus homo. Nec Alexandri Mammaeaeque gratiam retinuisset, si ecclesiam, cui favebant, ad sanguinem usque persecutus fuisset. Basnage, ann. 228. num. iii.
\(^f\) As before, p. 46.
\(^g\) Tov \(\varepsilon\) \(\varphi\)αλβιανον, \(\tau\ion{ta} \chi\rho\iota\sigma\nu\nu\) \(\alpha\pi\kappa\omega\kappa\iota\kappa\eta\iota\nu\alpha\nu\zeta\), \(\iota\nu\alpha\nu\zeta\ \\alpha\iota\nu\tau\iota\iota\zeta\varepsilon\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\zeta\tau\iota\zeta\), \(\kappa\alpha\alpha\iota\nu\) \(\mu\nu\o\iota\lambda\o\iota\nu\) \(\upsilon\tau\iota\rho\o\iota\nu\) \(\up\sigma\iota\\tau\o\iota\nu\) \(\tau\iota\iota\nu\) \(\delta\o\rho\o\iota\pi\o\iota\rho\o\iota\) \(\epsilon\iota\zeta\theta\iota\iota\iota\nu\iota\iota\nu\), \(\epsilon\iota\zeta\theta\iota\iota\iota\nu\iota\iota\nu\) \(\iota\nu\kappa\iota\tau\o\iota\nu\iota\tau\iota\nu\), \(\kappa\a\iota\zeta\\phi\iota\zeta\kappa\iota\zeta\iota\tau\iota\nu\). Dio. Cass. I. 80. p. 1369.
\(^h\) En \(\upsilon\o\iota\omega\iota\rho\iota\iota\) \(\\delta\e\iota\tau\iota\iota\) \(\tau\o\iota\iota\nu\) \(\zeta\gamma\o\iota\mu\o\iota\iota\iota\nu\), \(\tau\o\iota\iota\nu\ \\delta\e\iota\tau\iota\iota\) \(\\alpha\kappa\varphi\iota\zeta\iota\zeta\wv\ \varepsilon\kappa\varepsilon\omega\)
were much offended with him; the reason he could not say exactly, because the accounts were different.'

IV. There are in the Pandects several fragments of his, which by some learned men are understood to relate to the christians. I shall here alledge one or two.

1. In a treatise of his concerning Courts of Justice were these words. 'They may be reckoned physicians, who undertake the cure of the body, or of any particular distemper, in the ears, the throat, the teeth; but, if they use incantations, or invocations, or, to use the common word of impostors, exorcisms; these are no sort of medicine, although there are people who boast of having received benefit by them.'

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

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

When Ulpian wrote that book of his work, as Schulting says, Antoninus Caracalla was living. Therefore the blessed, or deified, is to be understood of Septimius Severus only, and not to be applied to both the emperors here mentioned.

Whether by 'the Jewish superstition,' be here meant the

ἐκλείπειν, διασφορὰ γὰρ ἑσορηκασί περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προσφέρεταις' αναφερεθησα. Zos. l. i. p. 638.

1 Medicos fortassis quis accipiet etiam eos, qui alicuius partis corporis, vel certi doloris sanitatem pollicentur; ut, puta, si auricularum, si fistulæ, vel dentium; non tamen, si incantavit, si imprecatus est, si (ut vulgari verbo impostorum utar) exorçizant. Non sunt ista medicinae genera, tametsi sint, qui hos sibi profusisse cum praedicatone adferant. D. lib. i. Tit. 13. l. i. sect. 3. De extraordinarioris Cognitionibus, &c.

k Bingham's Antiquitatis, &c. B. 3. ch. iv. sect. 3.

1 Eis qui judaicae superstitionem sequuntur, D. Severus et Antoninus honores adipsi permisissent; sed et necessitates eis imposuerunt, quæ superstitionem eorum non laederent. De Decurionibus, &c. D. L. l. Tit. 2. l. iii. sect. 3.

Jewish religion only, or whether the christians also were intended, has been doubted.

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

And says Witsius in the place to which we referred just now: 'The books of Ulpian concerning the Duty of a Proconsul are not now extant. But there are in the Pandects many fragments of them; in which, however, there is not one word about the christians. From the third book of that work is cited a law of Severus and Antoninus, allowing the Jews to possess magistracies; but it is not at all probable, that christians are here included. The design of Ulpian was to collect the laws against the christians; the same malignity of temper would induce him to suppress every thing that was favourable to them.'

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

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

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curiosity, and would afford us a great deal of light and instruction.

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

CHAP. XXVII.

DION CASSIUS.

I. His work and time. II. His account of the siege, and taking of Jerusalem by Titus. III. His account of Domitian's persecution of the christians. IV. Nerva's favourable treatment of the christians. V. That Marcia, concubine of Commodus, was friendly to the christians. VI. His account of the shower, by which Marcus Antoninus, and his army, were saved in Germany.

1. DION CASSIUS COCEIANUS, son of Apronianus, who in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian was governor of Cilicia, and afterwards of Dalmatia, was a native of Nice in Bithynia. He was made a senator of Rome in the reign of Commodus, and had the honour of several considerable posts and employments under the succeeding emperors. He was twice consul, the second time with Severus Alexander, in the eighth year of that emperor's reign, A.D. 229. After which, with the emperor's leave, he retired into his own country, and dwelt at Nice. He wrote the Roman History in eighty books, from the very beginning to the reign of Alexander. A great part of his work is lost. There is, however, an epitome of his work from the time of Pompey to the end of it in the reign of Alexander, which was made by John Xiphilinus, nephew to the patriarch of Constantinople. But then, as Dion's History is justly admired, not-

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withstanding some defects, so Xiphilinus's Epitome is likewise in good esteem. And in some places we find fragments of Dion himself; and the Epitome oftentimes represents Dion in his own words.

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

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

'In the mean time,' says he, 'Titus, who was appointed general in the war with the Jews, endeavoured to gain them by embassies and fair promises. When they refused to enter into treaty, he determined to subdue them by the force of arms. For a while they fought with equal success; but having gained some advantages over them, he laid siege to Jerusalem, which was encompassed by three walls. The Romans, drawing near, attacked and battered them with their engines. And indeed they had a numerous army, having in their camp large supplies from divers barbarian kings, who joined them as auxiliaries. The Jews likewise were very numerous, having with them the people out of the country, and others who agreed with them in their religious rites, and not only such of their nation as lived in other parts of the Roman empire, but also people from the countries situate beyond the Euphrates. And as they fought from the walls, they had an advantage in throwing darts and stones; and as often as favourable opportunities offered, they made sallies, and annoyed the Romans, by overthrowing and destroying their platforms and batteries, and by other ways. Moreover the Romans were in want

\[1\] See vol. vi. p. 478.  
\[2\] Dion. lib. 76. p. 746, &c. al. p. 1079—1082.  
\[3\] To δε ην πλευτον οι Ρωμαιοι τη νωτια εικασπαδων, και φαυλον και πολλοθεν τωρ επιγυνον. p. 1080.  

On the contrary, Josephus, l. v. cap. ix. sect. 3. p. 350, in Havercamp. represents the Romans to have had great plenty of water. Reimar thinks this account of Dion more probable. I shall transcribe part of his note upon the place. Josephus contra, vices mutatas reperit, ut fontes Judaëis etiam ante Titii adventum exaurerint, nunc Tito ubiores manuarent. Sed haec aut comparatæ intelligenda sunt, aut a pacis et alior Judaëis jactata. Probabilius Dio aquæ inopâ Romanos dicit laborasse. Nam fontes totâ Iudæâ rari, circa Hierosolymam rarissimi: plurima aquæ ex cisternis: et imbribus cessantibus,
of water, and were forced to go a great way to fetch it; though sometimes they got none but what was very indifferent. At such seasons the Jews made excursions, and fell upon the soldiers as they were dispersed abroad in the country. For they undermined the ground, and made passages under their very walls, to come at the Romans; but afterwards Titus stopt up all those passages.'

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

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

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'Ου μην καὶ παραχρήμα, διά το ἐξεσειαμονησα, ἐσθέραμον ἀλλ' οψε πορε, τι Τιτς σφας καταναγκασάντος, ισώ προσχωρήσαν. p. 1081. And Josephus says, that the Roman soldiers had a respect for the temple. Τῶν μεν γὰρ παρα
tiωνον καί ετιν ὡς η μετα ῥήμης εἰς τὸν ναον αφεώρα, καὶ προσεκυνεί. κ. λ. De B. l. vi. cap. ii. sect. 3.
py in being employed to fight for the temple, or to die near it; nor were they overcome, though they were few against many, till a part of the temple was set on fire. Then they willingly surrendered; some yielded themselves to be killed by the Romans, some killed each other, others killed themselves, and some threw themselves into the flames; and it appeared to them not a calamity, but victory, and safety, to be so happy as to perish with the temple.

Many were taken prisoners, and among them Bargioras their general; who only was put to death at the time of the triumph. Thus Jerusalem was taken on a Saturday, the day still respected by the Jews above any other. From that time it was appointed, that all who adhere to their religion should annually pay a didrachm to the capitol of Jupiter. Upon this occasion both the generals [Vespasian and Titus] received the appellation of emperor; but neither took the surname of Judaicus, although triumphal arches, and other honours customary after great victories, were decreed to them.

Such is the account of this great event, which we have in Dion Cassius. It is indeed short and defective: nevertheless, it is a testimony to the ruin of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the conquest of Judea under Titus and Vespasian. The account is imperfect; but then we may conclude, that we have here Dion himself, and not his abridger, who was a Christian. We must not much wonder at the conciseness; that may be owing to the contempt which the author had for the Jewish people, who were scorned and despised by the great men among the Romans, and by all heathens in general. Dion agrees with Josephus in many particulars, which every reader may be able to recollect, by comparing our accounts formerly given from Josephus himself. But he differs from him so much, and is so defective, that we may be apt to think he did not borrow from

1 Ovτω μεν τα Ιεροσολυμα εν τη τω Κρονι ημηρα εξωλετο. p. 1081.


And, as Mr. Reimer observes, Josephus does not say, that Jerusalem was taken on the Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. And if it had been taken on that day, he would not have omitted that circumstance. Nec Josephus eâ die capitam urbem adnotavit, non omitturus, credo, si ita fuisse. Reimar, in Dionis loc. Et supra. Notandus autem est error Dionis, ut aliorum, qui Hierosolyma fere semper Sabbato capta tradiderunt, sibi hodiernum persidant, &c. Id. ibid.
him; indeed, I should very much question, whether Dion had read Josephus's seven books of the History of the Jewish War. If he never read them, it is very likely, that he never read the other works of that Jewish historian. It seems to me, that though Dion spent several years in making collections for his large history of the Romans, he was not very curious or inquisitive about that part of it which related to the Jewish people. By which means he was led to give the very imperfect history, which we have seen, of the final period of their commonwealth. It is in this way that I would account for his saying nothing of the miseries of the grievous famine endured by the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem; and his omitting the numbers of those who perished, or were made captives, in the siege, and during the war, which are so particularly mentioned by Josephus. However we see in him, that the several parts of the city were taken, one after another, and that the temple was consumed by fire, and that the Jews were very resolute and obstinate in their defence of themselves. Whence it may be inferred, and concluded, that they suffered a great deal, before they were subdued and overthrown.

III. We now proceed to another remarkable passage, which is in the history of the emperor Domitian. And in the same year, [that is, when Domitian and Flavius Clement were consuls, or the year of Christ 95] Domitian put to death, beside many others, Flavius Clement the consul, although he was his cousin, and had for his wife Flavia Domitilla, who also was his relation. They were both accused of the crime of impiety [or atheism]. Upon which same account many others likewise, who had embraced the Jewish customs, were condemned; some of whom were put

6 Dion, in his account of the conquest of Judea by Pompey, betrays great ignorance of the Jewish people in several respects. Vid. lib. 37. p. 121, &c. al. p. 36, 37. He says, 'The Temple, which they had built to their God at Jerusalem, was large and magnificent, but open at the top.' Which is a great mistake. 

7 Kατ' αυτὴν ἐταῖς ἀλλὰς τέλος καὶ τὸν Γλαβρίων Κλημεντῆς ὑπατεύοντα, καὶ πέντε ἀνεύφων οὖν, καὶ γυναικα, καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενή εἶναι, Γλαβρίων Δομιτιλιανίτισσα ἔγοντα, κατεσφάζετο ὁ Δομιτιανός. Ἐπεφεύγετο ἐν συμφωνίᾳ γεγυμνῆσαι, ἄνθρωπος οὗ ἐκείλουτες πάλαι κατεδικασθήσατο. Καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ εἶναι ὁ δὲ τὸν γενός ἐπωθηθῆναι ἢ ὁ Δομιτιλλίας ὑπέρωσθη μονον τῆς Πανάστερειας. Τὸν δὲ Γλαβρίωνον τον μετὰ τὸ Τραίαν αὐτῆς, κατηγορήθησαν τὰ τε ἀλλὰ, καὶ δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ ὅτι καὶ Ἁρμίους ἔφεσεν, ἀπεπέσαν τοὺς οὓς ὑπάρχοντας τοὺς ἁγίους ἐν ψυχῇ. Τὸν δὲ Γλαβρίωνον τον μετὰ τὸ Τραίαν αὐτῆς, κατηγορήθησαν τὰ τε ἀλλὰ, καὶ δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ ὅτι καὶ Ἁρμίους ἔφεσεν, ἀπεπέσαν τοὺς οὓς ὑπάρχοντας τοὺς ἁγίους ἐν ψυχῇ. Τὸν δὲ Γλαβρίωνον τον μετὰ τὸ Τραίαν αὐτῆς, κατηγορήθησαν τὰ τε ἀλλὰ, καὶ δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ ὅτι καὶ Ἁρμίους ἔφεσεν, ἀπεπέσαν τοὺς οὓς ὑπάρχοντας τοὺς ἁγίους ἐν ψυχῇ.
to death, others suffered the confiscation of their goods. Domitilla was only banished into Pandateria. Glabrio, who had been consul with Trajan, [in the year 91,] accused also, beside other matters, of the same crime with the rest, and because he had fought with wild beasts, he put to death; against whom he was particularly incensed from a principle of envy. For having sent for him in his consulship to Albanum, at the time of the Juvenalia, he made him enter the lists with a great lion; but he was so far from being hurt in the combat, that with wonderful dexterity he killed the lion."

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

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

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

Domitilla we conclude to have been a christian. It is probable, that Clement also was a christian, or favourer of them. Glabrio's christianity is not so evident. However, some learned men have been willing to allow them all three the character of christians, and martyrs; but Tillemont does not put Glabrio in that number. I likewise think it may be questioned, whether he was a christian, though

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1 See vol. vi. pag. penult.  
3 As note 4.  
5 Vere igitur proximum est, fidei causâ Clementem, Domitillam, Glabriinemque damnatosuisse. Basnag. ann. 95. num. 5.  
accused of that or Judaism. It is not unlikely, that some designing and malicious people took the opportunity to accuse Glabrio of what would, at that time especially, render him obnoxious to Domitian. And the emperor made no scruple of laying hold of this pretence to destroy a man, against whom he had a grudge of three or four years' standing, ever since the year 92. Nor is this the first instance we have met with of men unfairly charged with Christianity by their enemies. Pliny's letter to Trajan affords some such instances, and there may have been many more.

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

Dion Cassius calls Domitilla 'wife of Clement.' Eusebius p from Bruttius calls her 'niece of Clement.' Hence some q have argued, that there were two of this name, who suffered for Christianity in the time of Domitian, one a virgin, the other a married woman, and banished into different places, one to the island Pontia, the other to Pandateria. I rather think, that r there was but one Domitilla, who suffered at this time, the wife of the consul Clement, and niece of Domitian. Eusebius and Jerom have not mentioned more than one; which surely they must have done, if there had been two. Domitilla was banished into Pontia, as Bruttius says. It was easy for Dion to mistake Pandateria for Pontia. Jerom s has particularly mentioned the confinement of Domitilla in the island Pontia; nor does he call her

p H. E. l. iii. cap. 18. p. 89.  
r Vid. Basmag. ann. 95. num. vii. et viii.  
Virgin, as he would have done, if he had supposed that to have been her condition.

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

What we have principally to observe, is the attestation here given by this noble and diligent historian to the progress of Christianity, and the sufferings of its professors. It had now got footing in the imperial family. Clement suffered death upon account of it; and his wife Domitilla was banished to a remote and unwholesome island, where persons were wont to be sent for state-crimes, or other like offences.

It is generally allowed, that Clement was a christian, as well as Domitilla; some have supposed, that his whole family was christian. That, I think, is more than we can say; but it is very likely, that some of their servants were christians. Many were accused and condemned upon the same account; some suffered death, others confiscation of goods; others were banished, as Domitilla. This is at least the fourth heathen author, who has afforded us a testimony to the persecution of the christians in the reign of the emperor Domitian; and though it was but short, it seems to have been felt by many persons.

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

It has been a question among learned men, whether Domitian, by any edict, put an end to the persecution of

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1 Ipsum etiam Clementem christianum fuisse, nullnuni colligunt ex Suetonio, cap. 15. quin contemtissimae inerte hominem appellat; quia notà christiani solent inuri. Reimar, ad Dionem. p. 1113, sect. 82.

2 ——et totam Clementis familiae fuisse christianam, verisimilimum est. Id. ib. sect. 83.


4 Καί ὁ Νερωνας τῆς τε κραυμασις ετ᾿ ασβίας αφῆκε, καὶ τῆς φευγοντας κατηγαγο—Τοὺς ἡ δὲ ἀλλος ἢτ᾿ ασβίας ἢτ᾿ ἰδαῖκε βίω κατακτασθαι τῖνας συνέχωρας. Lib. 68. p. 769. al. 1118
the christians before his death. This passage of Dion has been thought sufficient by some to determine the question, and to assure us, that the persecution did not cease till after the beginning of Nerva's reign.

We may be satisfied of this passage likewise, that it is not Xiphilinus's, but Dion's, in his own words, though perhaps contracted. The style is the style of a heathen, and not of a christian; and this passage may be supposed to confirm the supposition of the severity of Domitian's persecution, though it was not long. Beside those put to death, or banished by him, there were others under accusation, or under a sentence of condemnation, who now escaped by the lenity or goodness of Nerva.

I may add a short passage from Orosius, a christian writer, who says, 'That Nerva, by his first edict, recalled all such as had been exiled; and the apostle John, improving this general indulgence, then returned to Ephesus.'

V. I shall take one passage more from this author, concerning Marcia, concubine of the emperor Commodus. 'She is related to have had a great affection for the christians, and to have done them many good offices, she having a great ascendancy over Commodus.'

What is here said may be true; for the christians enjoyed a great peace in the reign of this emperor; and Marcia, though a woman of low condition, had a great influence upon him; she sometimes gave him good advice; and the honours paid to her were little below those of an empess. I need not add any other particulars of her history.

But this paragraph I rather think to be Xiphilinus's


\^\ Istopeita de avta polla te upe tov xorriano en pedasa, kai polla avteis eniereptaiavai, ati e para tov Koiwodio pavan dynamvnh. Lib. 72. p. 819. al. p. 1206.

\a\ Huic Marcia, generis libertini, formâ tamen meretricisque artibus pollenus, cum animam ejus penitus devinxisset, egresso e balneo veneni pocularum dedit. Victor Epi. cap. xvii.

\b\ Epie de ton gnomon avte taetn auoneke prós Markian, ùn eixe ton palækkà tumuatn, ùn ùdein ti atixe geitevhs yovanokos, alla taeta ñsia ejus pedh plh plh tou rouco. Herodian. l. i. p. 486. Syliburg.

\c\ Hac de Marcia christianis favente non Dionis esse, sed Xiphilini, susci-

\p\ 346. Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.
than Dion’s; the style at least is Xiphilinus’s. In the other passages before quoted, Dion speaks of impiety, or atheism, or Judaism, but never useth the word Christians. Another thing that may make us doubt, whether this observation be entirely Dion’s, is the phrase, ‘it is related.’ For at the beginning of the reign of Commodus he says: ‘These things, and what follows, I write not from the report of others, but from my own knowledge and observation.’ However, the sense may be Dion’s; but I wish we had also his style without any adulteration.

VI. Dion’s account of the extraordinary shower, by which Marcus Antoninus and his army were preserved in Germany, was observed formerly, together with Xiphilinus’s remarks upon it; to which, therefore, the reader is now referred.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE PERSECUTION OF MAXIMIN THE FIRST, OR THE THRACIAN.

MAXIMIN the first, or Lucius Maximinus the Thracian, succeeded Severus Alexander in the year 235, and died in 238. The excessive cruelty of his disposition is acknowledged by heathen historians.

Sulpicius Severus, passing from Septimius Severus to Decius, mentions this persecution, without numbering it. He says, that Maximin persecuted the clergy of some churches; which implies, that this persecution was local only, and not general.

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\(d\) Λεγω δε τατα τε και τα λοιπα, ηκ εξ αλλοτριων ετι παραδοσεως, αλλα’ εξ οικειων η’ν ημιποσεως. Ib. p. 818. al. p. 1205.

\(e\) This vol. p. 186—188.


\(b\) Sed inter has virtutes tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclope, alii Busiri- dem, nonnulli Phalarim vocarent. Senatus eum tantum timuit, ut vota in templis publice privatiqume mulieres etiam cum suis liberis facerent, ne ille unquam urbem Romam videret. Id. ib.

\(c\) Interjectis deinde annis 38, pax christianis fuit; nisi quod medio tempore Maximinus nonnullarum ecclesiarum clericos vexavit. S. Sev. lib. ii. cap. 32. p. 247.
Says Eusebius: 'The emperor Alexander being slain, after he had reigned thirteen years, he was succeeded by Maximin; who being filled with hatred against the family of Alexander, in which there were many christians, raised a persecution; appointing, that the presidents only of the churches should be put to death, as being the men who spread abroad the doctrine of the gospel. At which time Origen composed his book, Of Martyrdom, which he inscribed to Ambrose and Protocetus, presbyter of the church of Caesarea; forasmuch as they were at that time in great danger of suffering death. And they gained great honour by that confession.' That book of Origen, which is an exhortation to martyrdom, is still extant; I made several valuable extracts from it formerly. It appears hence, that Ambrose and Protocetus were imprisoned, though the place is not now exactly known.

Orosius, not very disagreeable to Eusebius, says, 'that Maximin's persecution proceeded chiefly from aversion to the christian family of his predecessor Alexander, and his mother Mamæa: and that his persecution was intended against the clergy, and particularly against the presbyter Origen.' So Orosius. And some learned men are of opinion, that Origen, though he sent his Exhortation to Martyrdom to the two above-named confessors, retired himself, and lived privately a part of this reign.

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

There was at this time a persecution of the christians in Pontus and Cappadocia, as appears from Firmilian's letter

\[d\] 'Ως δὴ κατὰ κοσμὸν τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὤκον ἐκ πλειονῶν πιστῶν συνετωτά, διότι διώκατος, τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησίων ἀρχοντας μονος, ὥς, αὐτῶς τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἐναγώνων ἐκσκάλας, ἀναφεύρα ἀμφοτεροι. H. E. l. vi. cap. 28.

\[e\] Vol. ii. p. 489, 490.  

\[g\] See Tillem. in Origene, art. 21. and Moslem. p. 469.

\[h\] Vid. Pagi ann. 235. num. iii.  
\[i\] Basag. ann. 235. num. v.

\[k\] Ante viginti enim et duos fere annos, temporibus post Alexandrum Imperatorem, multae iste conflictationes et pressurae acciderunt, vel in commune omnibus hominibus, vel privatim christiani. Terræ eorum motus plurimi et frequentes existerunt, ut per Cappadociam et per Pontum multa subrerunt,—ut ex hoc persecution quoque gravissius adversum nos christianis nominis fieret; quæ, post longam retro etatis pacem repente obtorta, de inopinato et insenuo malo ad turbandum populum nostrum terribilior effecta est. Serenianus tune fuit in nostra provinciâ proser, acerbus et dirus persecutor. In hac autem perturbatione constitutis fidelibus, et huc atque illuc persecutionis metu fugi-
to Cyprian; but it is not clear, that it was occasioned by any edict of Maximin. But the president was bigoted and cruel, and the christians were greatly molested by him. However, the neighbouring provinces being peaceable, the christians left their own country, and went thither.

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

CHAP. XXIX.

THE EMPEROR PHILIP.—THE QUESTION CONSIDERED, WHETHER HE WAS A CHRISTIAN.

I. His time. II. Reasons for this inquiry. III. An argument, showing, that he was not a christian, and the judgments of divers learned men concerning it.

I. THE emperor Gordian was succeeded by Philip, who took his son into partnership with him. He was an Arab, son of a captain of Arabian robbers. He reigned five years and somewhat longer. His time is computed from March in the year of Christ 244, to July in 249.

II. Of this emperor Eusebius tells the following story.

When Gordian had reigned six whole years, he issued, et patrias suas relinquentibus, atque in alia partes regionum transeuntibus, (erat enim transeundi facultas, eo quod persecutio illa non per totum mundum, sed localis fuisset,) &c. Firmilian. ad Cyprian. ep. 75. p. 222. Oxon. p. 146. Baluz.


Hinc facile credimus illis, qui per totum illud, quod Maximinus regnavit, triennium vexatos passim christianos suisse censent. Ib. p. 468.


Conf. Basnag. ann. 244. n. iv.
It is obvious to observe, that Eusebius speaks only upon the ground of report and common fame; nor does he name the bishop, nor the place where it happened. Chrysostom is supposed to supply that defect, as he ascribes a like action to Babylas bishop of Antioch; but then he does not name the emperor.

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

According to the Acts or Passion of the Martyr Pontius, Philip and his son were converted by the same Pontius, and baptized by Fabian bishop of Rome. And, as those Acts may be, Huet seems to rely upon them, and believes, that those emperors were baptized by Fabian.

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

In Jerom’s Latin edition of Eusebius’s Chronicle, Philip
is said to be the first christian emperor; and in like manner speak Origen, and some other christian authors.

All which has occasioned a debate among learned men of late times, whether Philip was a christian or not: Baronius, Huet, and some others, taking the affirmative side of the question, others the negative. Tillemont says, it is not without difficulties. And Mr. Mosheim has done his utmost to perplex this question; and the more to increase the difficulty, argues that he might be a christian secretly, though not openly. And upon the whole, according to him, it is a point not to be decided, whether the two Philips, father and son, were christians or not.

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

I. My first argument is, that divers ancient christian writers expressly say, that Constantine was the first Roman emperor who made profession of the christian religion.

The first to be quoted is Lactantius, contemporary with

sum consortem regni fecit, primusque omnium ex Romanis Imperatoribus christianus fuit. Chr. p. 174.

Hic primus imperatorum omnium christianus fuit, &c. Oros. l. vii. cap. 20.

Origen. l. i. cap. iii. n. 12.

Our writers of Universal Ancient History, in the article of Roman History, B. 3. chap. xxiii. vol. xv. p. 408, &c. note (L).


Neque desunt argumenta, quæ hos Imperatores, clam licet et secrete, ad sacra christianæ transiisse probabilé reddant. Sed his rationibus quæm aliae possint opposi acque validæ ac speciosæ, questio illa quæ tot viros doctos exercuit, de Philippi Arabis, ejusque filiis, religione, in medio reliqui debet. Mosheim. Insti. p. 110.


Basnag. ann. 244. n. vi. &c.


Animadversion. in Euseb. p. 234.
Eusebius, but rather older, who, in his inscription of his Institutions to Constantine, addresseth him in the character of the first emperor of the Romans who had forsaken the errors of Gentilism.

In like manner Sulpicius Severus, who published his Sacred History in the year 400, or soon after. 'That, says he, was the end of the persecution; from that time there have been christian emperors, of whom Constantine was the first.'

Theodoret, at the end of his Ecclesiastical History, says, that before Constantine all the Roman emperors were enemies to the christians.

Chrysostom says, that all the Roman emperors, Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and after him all the rest, were Gentiles, till the time of the blessed Constantine; and all of them opposed the church, some indeed with greater, others with less violence, however all of them in some measure. And as they all lived in impiety, that alone was an encouragement to the people to oppose the christians.

Nor can Eusebius be omitted, who, at the conclusion of his Life of Constantine, says, that he was the only Roman emperor, who hitherto had worshipped the true God with sincere piety, and had embraced and recommended the doctrine of Jesus Christ.

Pagi therefore says, he is persuaded, that all which

b Quod opus nunc nominis tui auspicio inchoamus, Constantine, imperator maxime, qui primus Romanorum principum, repudiatis erroribus, majestatem Dei singularis ac veri cognovisti et honorasti. Inst. 1. 1. c. 1.


f Μναοι μὲν Ῥώμαιοι βασιλείς τον παρακεκληθέν τε θεον ὑπερβολὴ ζησονμένος τετεμεικτος· μονά τε παπαρθησαιμενος τον τε Χριστον κυριάντος λογον. κ. Λ. De Vitâ Const. l. iv. cap. 75.

g Verum, re maturius examinâta, nunc non dubito, quin Eusebius quod habet de Christianâ professione Philippl, ex incertâ auditione retulerit. Ann. 244 n. v.
Eusebius says about the christianity of Philip, he had received from uncertain tradition.

2. All heathen writers are silent about the christianity of Philip and his son. It seems to me, that Spanheim does rightly insist on this argument of no small weight. Nor has Julian in his Cæsars taken any notice of it. If Philip had been a christian, they would some of them have reproached him upon that account, and they would have reproached his christianity, with the crimes of which he was guilty; for his treachery to the young Gordian was well known, and was very odious, and is spoken of as such.

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

In the Chronicle of Eusebius it is said, that at that time innumerable beasts were slain in the Circus, and there were theatrical shows in the Campus Martius for three days and three nights. And Orosius acknowledgeth, that the secular games were celebrated by Philip with great magnificence; though he will have it, that all was designed to the honour of Christ.

Capitolinus, one of the writers of the Augustan History, is very particular in representing the great number and various sorts of beasts produced to public show, or slain

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h Primo silent isti historici, qui res Philipporum Deciorum et ex professo quondam tradiderunt—Certe apud Ælium Spartanum, Julium Capitolinum, Ælium Lampridium, Aurelium Victorem, Lupërium abbreviatores, Zosimum,—nulla vestigia reprehendas christianæ in Philippis religionis. Span. p. 413.

i Julianus Imp. in Satyrâ suâ de Cæsariib, de Philippo tacet, non facturus, siquidem hic christianus fuisse, &c. Ibid. p. 413. m.


m Ita magnificis ludis augustissimis omnium præteritorum hic natalis annus a christiano imperatore celebratus est. Nec dubium est, quin Philippus hujus tante devoitiois gratiam et honorem ad Christum et ecclesiæ reportavit, &c. Oros. I. vii. c. 20.

n Fuerunt sub Gordiano Romæ elephanti xxx. et 11—tigres x. leones manuæti lx.—gladiatorum fiscalium paria mille; hippopotamus, et rhinoceros unus—equi feri xl. et carera hujusmodi animalia, innumeræ et diversa; que omnia Philippus ludis secularibus vel dedit, vel occidit—Nam omnia hac Philippus exhibuit secularibus ludis et muneribus atque Circensiibus, quum millesimum ab urbe conditâ annum in consulatu suo et filii sui celebravit. Capitol. Gordian. iii. cap. 33. p. 132—134.

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by Philip upon occasion of this solemnity. And other heathen authors, as well as ancient medals, bear witness to his celebrating this festival with great magnificence, as Eutropius, whom I transcribe below, and refer to the Victors.

4. Once more, finally, the Philips were deified after their death, as Eutropius says; which shows, that they were reckoned to be heathens. And Philip put Gordian in the number of the gods, as Capitolinus says, in which he acted like a heathen.

Upon the whole therefore, I can see no reason to believe, that the emperor Philip was by belief or profession a christian: though he might be favourable to some who were so.

As I do not love to be singular, I shall now transcribe the judgments of several learned men upon this point. Says Crevier: 'He is said to have been a christian; but if he was, it seems to me very strange, that none of the pagan writers who have spoken of him should have mentioned it.

Zosimus, in particular, who is full of venom against christianity, and who takes a pleasure in loading Constantine with the most atrocious calumnies, would surely not have spared Philip. The christian writers, upon whose authority the notion of this pretorian praefect's christianity is founded, certainly deserve respect. But their accounts are so confused, so full of circumstances, either palpably contradictory, or absolutely refuted by history, that the weight of their testimony is considerably diminished.

Though Mr. Tillemont inclines to their opinion, I am not afraid to own, that what he himself has written upon this subject makes me of a different mind. If Philip did profess our religion, he was certainly a bad christian. I had rather believe, that being born in the neighbourhood of the country which was the cradle of christianity, he might thence acquire some tincture of it; and that he favoured it, as Alexander Severus had done, but without re-
The Emperor Philip. Whether he was a Christian. A. D. 244. 355

' nouncing his idolatrous superstition to which he adhered ' when emperor.' And afterwards, ' The celebration of the ' secular games, in which all the pomp of the pagan super- ' stition was displayed, is a direct proof of the public pro- ' fession which Philip made of his attachment to idolatry. ' It is a violation of all probability to suppose, without any ' evidence, that the emperor could celebrate them without ' taking part in the sacrifices that accompanied them, or ' rather which were the essential part of them, and the very ' foundation of the whole festival.'

Pagi, at the conclusion of one part of his argument upon this subject, has an observation which may be reckoned sage and pertinent. ' There' is no more reason,' says he, ' to believe what Eusebius here says of the christianity of ' the emperor Philip, than what he says of Abgarus king ' of the Edessens, that he heard of the fame of Christ's ' miracles, he wrote a letter to him; and that our Lord re- ' turned him an answer, promising to send to him one of ' his apostles. Nor is there any more regard to be had to ' Jerom, when he calls the emperor Philip a convert to ' christianity, than when he speaks of the letters of Paul ' to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul. The first christians,' says he, ' wholly intent upon propagating our faith, and being ' men of great candour, oftentimes too easily admitted stories ' which were favourable to our religion; of which there are ' many instances.' A remarkable observation of a Francis- ' can monk, but a truly learned man.

Cellarius has an observation to the like purpose. ' They ' more greedily this story was received by our ancestors,

1 Ib. vol. ix. p. 9. 2 Quam cupide autem hoc creditum a majoribus fuit, tanto id minus fit vero simile, si veteres auctores executabant. Qui adseverant christianum fuisset, ideo videntur in hanc opinionem ingressi, ut millesimum Urbis annum Christi potius quam deorum cultori vindicaret. Oros. i. vii. cap. 23. de Constantino Magn. 3 Primus imperatorum christianus, excepto Philippo, qui christianus annis admodum paucissimis ad hoc tandem constitutus fuisset mihi visus est. 4 ut millesimus Romæ annus Christo potius, quam idolis dicaretur.' Cellar. Diss. de primo Principe Christiano. num. xxvii. p. 392. 2 A 2
Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

the more carefully ought we to examine their testimony concerning it; for they seem (some of them at least) to have embraced this opinion about Philip; being desirous to have it thought, that the secular games of the thousandth year of the city of Rome were celebrated to the honour of Christ, and not of the gods. I must not allow myself to take any thing more from this author; though his Observations upon the Christianity ascribed to Philip appear to me very clear and solid; and I recollect, that I did before transcribe some of his thoughts upon this point at p. 351, note v.

CHAP. XXX.

THE EMPEROR DECIUS.

I. His time, and character. II. Accounts of his persecution. III. A persecution at Alexandria, before the publication of his edict. IV. That this persecution was universal.

I. WE sometimes meet with chronological difficulties, where they might be little expected. Eusebius in his Chronicle says, that Decius reigned only one year and three months; and in his History, that he and his sons were slain before he had reigned two years; which account Baronius follows. But learned men are now rather of opinion, that Decius reached to the third year. And it is computed, that he reigned from July or August 249, to November or December 251.

Eutropius, and Victor In his Cæsars, say, he reigned two years; the other Victor says, thirty months. He was

a Romanorum vicesimus quintus regnavit Decius anno uno, menses iii. Chron. p. 175.

b H. E. l. viii. cap. i.

c Ann. 254. n. xlix.


g Cap. 29.

Decius. His Persecution. A. D. 249.

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born in Pannonia; and, as has been observed, he is the first of the many Roman emperors who were natives of Illyricum. His name, as inscribed upon medals, is Caius Messius Trajanus Decius. He has a very good character in the epitome of Victor, and Zosimus, heathen authors; but he is little taken notice of by christian writers, excepting upon account of his persecution. Some of their passages I shall transcribe, sufficient to afford my readers a general notion of it.

II. The author of the Deaths of Persecutors says, that Decius began to persecute the christians as soon as he began to reign; but he does not tell us what the edict was, nor the occasion of it.

Eusebius writes to this purpose. 'Philip having reigned seven years, he was succeeded by Decius, who, being an enemy to Philip, raised a persecution against the churches: in which Fabian at Rome having been perfected by martyrdom, he was succeeded by Cornelius in that bishopric. In Palestine Alexander, bishop of the church at Jerusalem, is again brought before the governor's tribunal at Caesarea for Christ's sake; and having made a second glorious confession is put in prison, being now venerable for his age and grey hairs. Having died in prison, after a noble and illustrious confession before the governor's tribunal, he was succeeded in the bishopric of Jerusalem by Mazabanes. In like manner Babylas, having died in prison at Antioch, after a public confession of the faith, was succeeded in that church by Fabius. How many and how great sufferings Origen endured at that time, imprisonment, chains, fetters upon his legs, his feet stretched in the stocks to the fourth hole for several days, menaces to burn him alive, and other torments, the judge all the while carefully endeavouring that he might not die under them, may be fully known from some letters written by him.'

Origen was then in the sixty-sixth or sixty-seventh year of his age; but neither his age, nor his learning, nor his many works, nor the greatness of his fame, secured him from a share in this trial. And Alexander before men-

2 See note 3.
3 Δικηύ μεν ενι αριστα βεβασιλευκοτη τελος τωνεσ ευμηνια. Zos. l. i. p. 644. in.
5 H. E. l. vi. cap. 39.
tioned, bishop of Jerusalem, was also a truly excellent and valuable man. They who desire to know more of him, may see his history more at large in another place. Origen survived that trial, being set at liberty at the period of the persecution; but he died a few years after.

III. The beginning of the Decian persecution must be dated in the year 249, or the beginning of 250; but there was a persecution raised against the christians at Alexandria in the year 248, whilst other churches enjoyed great peace under the emperor Philip. This persecution lasted a whole year, and was concluded by nothing but a sedition and disturbance among the gentiles themselves. Of this we have an account in the fragment of a letter of Dionysius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch. That fragment is preserved in Eusebius, and as the account is authentic, as well as curious, I am induced to transcribe it here. 'The persecution with us, says he, had not its beginning from the imperial edict; but began a whole year before. A soothsayer and poet, such as he was, stirred up the multitude of the gentiles against us, exciting them to contend for the superstition of their country. Being stirred up by him, and having it in their power to do as they pleased, they thought that religion lay in nothing more than killing us. First of all they lay hold of a man of great age named Metras, requiring him to repeat some profane words; he not doing as they desired, they laid many blows upon his body with clubs, and pricked him in the face and eyes with sharp reeds, and then leading him into the suburbs, they stoned him to death. After that, dragging a faithful woman named Quinta to their idol temple, they require her to fall down and worship it; but she refusing so to do, they tied her feet, and dragged her through the city, which is paved with sharp stones, and having dashed her against millstones, and scourged her, they led her to the same place without the city, and stoned her. They then broke into the houses of many pious men, robbing and plundering them of what they had. If they found any thing valuable, that they kept for their own use; but lumber, and utensils made of wood, they threw out in the streets; so that the city looked as if it had been taken by an enemy. However, many of the brethren retired, and saved themselves by flight, "joyfully taking the spoiling of their goods," like to those mentioned by Paul, Heb. x. 34. Nor do I yet know of more than one, that

* See vol. ii. p. 415—420.

 Basnag. ann. 249. ii. &c.

+ Pagi ann. 250. num. iii. iv.

fell into their hands, who has denied the Lord. Moreover, at this time they laid hold of an admirable virgin, of a great age, named Apollonia; they struck her upon the checks, and beat out all her teeth; then lighting a fire without the city, they threatened to burn her alive, unless she would join with them in pronouncing certain profane words; but she, begging a short respite, and being let loose, presently threw herself into the fire, and was consumed to ashes. Serapion they seized in his own house, and having tortured him with grievous torments, and broken all his limbs, they threw him headlong from the upper part of his house. Nor had we, says this bishop of Alexandria, a safe passage any where, through high streets, or narrow lanes, neither by night nor by day; but continually, and every where, the people were universally crying out; 'If any man refuse to pronounce such or such impious words, let him be immediately taken up and thrown into the fire.' So things went on for some time, till a sedition among themselves, and a civil war returned this cruelty upon them. We had then a short breathing time; but presently news came of the end of that reign which had been favourable to us; and all were seized with fears of an impending storm. Then came the edict, which was very terrible, putting us in mind of what was foretold by the Lord, that 'if it were possible, they should seduce even the elect,'” Matt. xxiv. 24.

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

IV. Sulpicius Severus calls the persecution under Decius the seventh persecution, as does Jerom in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, in the chapter of Alexander bishop of Jerusalem. Orosius also reckons Decius the
seventh persecutor of the church, and says, 'That by his cruelt edicts he sent many of the saints to receive crowns from Christ for the torments which they endured.' In Augustine likewise it is the seventh persecution. There can be no doubt but it was universal, as it was ordered by an imperial edict.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE EMPEROR GALLUS.

His time, and that he was a persecutor.

DECIUS was succeeded by Gallus and Volusian near the end of the year 251. Gallus is not mentioned among the persecuting princes by Sulpicius Severus, or Orosius, or Augustine, or the Author of the Deaths of Persecutors; nevertheless he must have been a persecutor.

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

As there is little notice taken of this matter by ancient ecclesiastical writers, Pagius argues, that this was only a persequendos interficiendosque christianos, septimus post Neronem, ferialia dispersit edicta, plurimosque sanctorum ad coronas Christi de suis cruciatibus misit. Oros. l. vii. cap. 21.

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* De Civ. Dei. l. xviii. cap. 52.  
* Vid. Basnag. ann. 250. num. iv. v.  
* H. E. l. vii. cap. 1.

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{\textsuperscript{b}}---τους ἱερους ανθρακας τους περι της ἐρημης αυτε και της υγιειας προσβενοντας προς τον Θεον ἡλασεν' εκουν αυν εκιον πελωκε και τας ὑπερ αυτη προσευχας. Ibid. p. 250.

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{\textsuperscript{c}} A. 252. num. x. xii. xvi.—xxi.
local persecution, and that it was felt in few places, except Rome, where Cornelius, and afterwards Lucius, bishops of that city, were banished by this emperor. As the conduct of Gallus is so particularly mentioned by Dionysius of Alexandria, I have been apt to think, that some christians suffered in that city, or in the countries near it. Mosheim's\(^d\) observations upon this persecution may be consulted.

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CHAP. XXXII.

THE EMPERORS VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS.

I. Valerian's time, and character. II. General accounts of his persecution from several christian writers. III. How long it lasted. IV. Accounts of this persecution from Dionysius bishop of Alexandria. V. The emperor Gallienus's edict, restoring peace to the churches. VI. Further accounts of that persecution from Cyprian bishop of Carthage. VII. The remarkable history of Marinus, who suffered Martyrdom at Caesarea in Palestine, after the publication of the fore-mentioned edict of Gallienus.

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\(^d\) Flagrantibus his christianorum certaminibus, Decius cum filiis anno cccl. necabatur; in cujus locum Gallus cum filio Volusiano succedebat. Is sequenti anno bellum in christianos, quod ultimis Decii temporibus remissius gestum erat, aut novis edictis propositis, aut antiquis renovatis, instaurari jubebat: unde multa iterum mala christianis in varis orbis Romani provinciis subeunda erant, &c. De Reb. ante C. M. p. 527.

\(^a\) Trebell. Poll. in Valerian. cap. i. ii. p. 171, &c.

II. He is reckoned the eighth persecutor of the Christians by Sulpicius Severus, Orosius, Augustine. The author of the Deaths of Persecutors does not mention the number of persecutions; nevertheless he speaks distinctly of this, and says, 'That Valerian shed the blood of many righteous men in a short time.' As does Orosius likewise, and says that this persecution was universal all over the Roman empire.

III. The persecution began in the year 257, and ended in other parts of the empire in 259, when Valerian was taken captive by the Persians; but at Alexandria it continued till the year 261, when Gallienus overcame Macrian, in whose power Egypt had been till that time. Then Gallienus sent the same favourable edicts to Alexandria, which had been sent before to several other parts of the empire. Dionysius speaks of this persecution having lasted 'forty-two months,' or three years and a half; which ought to be understood of Egypt only, not of the rest of the empire. In that manner some difficulties relating to this point are adjusted and cleared up by Pagi, to whom I refer, and to Basnage, who does not much differ from him.

IV. Of this persecution we have some authentic accounts in Dionysius of Alexandria, Cyprian, and his deacon Pontius, all contemporaries, which therefore cannot but deserve our regard.

Says Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History: 'In the mean time Gallus being slain, when he had scarcely reigned two years, he was succeeded by Valerian and his son Gallienus. Here it will be worth the while to attend to what Dionysius says in his letter to Hermammon.

Concerning this too John had a revelation. For he says; Rev. xiii. 5, "And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies. And power was given unto him to continue forty and two months." It is wonderful to observe, how both these things were fulfilled in Valerian; and it deserves to be considered what he was.

\[a^e\] Inde Valerianus octavus sanctorum hostis. S. Sever. i. ii. cap. 32.
\[b^d\] Valerianus quidem, mox ut arripuit imperium, octavus a Nerone, adigi per tormenta christianos ad idololatriam, abnegantesque interfici jussit, fuso per omnem Romani regni latitudinem sanctorum sanguine. Valerianus illico, nefarior auctor edicti, a Sapore Perzaratm rege captus, imperator populi Romani ignominiosaque apud Persas servitute consensuit, &c. Oros. i. vii. cap. 22.
\[c\] De Civ. Dei. i. xviii. cap. 52.
\[d^f\] Non multo post Valerianus, quoque, non dissimili furore corruptus, impias manus in Deum intentavit, et multum, quamvis brevi tempore, justi sanguinis fudit. De M. P. cap. 5.
\[e^g\] Ap. Euseb. i. vii. cap. 10. in.
\[f^h\] Ann. 261. n. viii. et seqq.
\[g^i\] Ann. 257. num. iii.
\[h^k\] H. E. i. vii. cap. 10.
before; how mild and how kind he was to the men of God. For none of the emperors before him were so favourable and benevolent to them; not even those who are said to have been openly Christians; as he was in the beginning of his reign; and his house was full of pious men, and was a church of God. But his master, and the chief of the magicians of Egypt, [he means Macrian, presently afterwards mentioned by name,) persuaded him to alter his measures, telling him that he ought to kill and persecute those men who opposed and obstructed his incantations, and then he might be happy.

Soon after the arrival of Valerian's edict at Alexandria, before the end of the year 257, as seems most probable, Dionysius was summoned before Emilian, then praefect of Egypt, of which he writes to this purpose in his letter to Germanus. 'I came to Emilian, says he, not alone. I was attended by my fellow-presbyter Maximus; and also by Faustus, Eusebius, and Chærмон deacons, and a brother from Rome, who was then at Alexandria. Emilian did not then say to me, You ought not to hold assemblies; for that was needless; nor was that his chief concern, but that we should not be at all Christians; he therefore commanded me to forsake that way of worship. For he thought, that if I would change my mind, others would do so likewise. I answered, and as I apprehend not improperly, though in short, "We ought to obey God, rather than men," Acts v. 29. And I plainly and openly declared, that I worship him, who alone is God, and no other; and that I could not alter my mind, nor cease to be a Christian. After which he ordered us to go to Cephro, a small village near the desert. But it may be worth the while to transcribe here the very words of both of us from the public register. "When Dionysius, Faustus, Maximus, Marcellus, and Chæremon, were brought in, Emilian the praefect said: I have not only written to you, but I have also by word of mouth represented to you the humanity of our lords, the emperors, which they show to you. For they grant to you the privilege of living in safety, if you will turn to that which is agreeable to nature, and will worship the gods, which are the preservers of their empire, and will forsake that which is contrary to nature. What therefore do you say to this? I hope you will not be ungrateful to their humanity: forasmuch as

they endeavour to bring you to that which is right. Dionysius answered: All men do not worship all the gods; but they worship such as they think to be gods. We worship and adore the one God, maker of all things, who also has put the empire into the hands of the sacred and august emperors Valerian and Gallienus. Him we worship, and to him we continually pray that he will prolong their empire in safety and prosperity. Emilian the governor then said to them again: Who forbids you to worship him also, if he be God, together with them who are by nature gods? For you are commanded to worship the gods, particularly those whom all know to be gods. Dionysius answered: We worship no other. Emilian the governor then said to them; I see that you are both ungrateful and insensible of our august emperors' lenity toward you. You therefore may not stay any longer in this city, but shall be sent into Lybia, to a place called Cephro; for I have chosen that place for you, agreeably to the order of the august emperors. Nor shall it be lawful for you, or any others, to hold assemblies, or to meet together in the places called cemeteries. If any one does not go to the place which I have appointed, or is found in any assembly, he brings danger upon himself; for a needful observation will not be neglected. Depart therefore to the place whither you are ordered." Nor could I, says Dionysius, obtain the delay of one day, though I was sick. At Cephro he had a large number of the faithful with him, partly such as came thither from Alexandria, partly such as came from other places of Egypt. And here, says he, "God opened a door to us for preaching the word," 2 Cor. ii. 12; Col. iv. 3. At first the people of the place were rude, and ready to pelt us with stones; but afterwards, not a few of the Gentiles, "forsaking idols, turned unto God," 1 Thess. i. 9.—And, as if for that purpose God had brought us to them, "when we had filled that ministry," he removed us, Acts xii. 25. For Emilian, as if desirous to send us into some more uncomfortable place than Lybia itself, gave orders for dispersing some others in several villages of Mareotis, and us he commanded to reside in the district of Colluthio, near the great road, that we might be the nearer at hand to be brought to Alexandria, if he should think fit.'

Afterwards. 'Moreover,' says Eusebius, 'the same Dionysius in his letter to Domitius and Dydimus writes again of the persecution in this manner. 'It is needless

° Ibid. p. 260.
to mention the names of all our people that have suffered, since they are many, and most of them unknown to you. It may suffice therefore to assure you, that persons of both sexes, and of every age and condition, and soldiers, and country people, have been victorious in this combat, and have been crowned, some by scourging, some by fire, others by the sword. Nevertheless in all this space of time, some there are who do not yet appear to be acceptable to the Lord; me in particular he seems pleased to reserve for some other season, according to the words of the prophet, Is. xlix. 8, "In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I accepted thee." Then after a few words intervening he says: "At present I have only with me Caius and Peter, deprived of the rest of the brethren." And soon afterwards: "Some have hid themselves in the city, that they may privately visit the brethren; as Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius, presbyters: for Faustinus and Aquila, being much known, travel up and down in Egypt. The deacons that survive after those who have died of the plague, are Faustus, Eusebius, Chæremon; Eusebius, I say, whom God has qualified from the beginning, and furnished with great resolution and ability for fulfilling the office of ministration to the confessors in prison, and for burying the bodies of the perfect and blessed martyrs, not without the utmost peril. For to this very day the praefect does not cease to treat our people in the most cruel manner, killing some, and torturing others, and making others pine away in fetters and dungeons, forbidding any to be admitted to them, and strictly inquiring likewise whether his orders are obeyed. Notwithstanding which, such is the courage and alacrity with which God inspires the brethren, the afflicted are not without the consolation suited to their exigence.' So writes Dionysius.

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

In the chapter next following, Eusebius mentions three men, and a Marcionite woman, at Caesarea in Palestine, who

p L. vii. cap. 12.
in Valerian's persecution were condemned to wild beasts, and were crowned with martyrdom.

V. Then in the next chapter he writes to this purpose. 'But a not long after, Valerian being taken captive, and reduced to slavery by barbarians, his son, who then reigned alone, acted more prudently in his empire. He immediately by edicts put a stop to the persecution against us, and gave command, that the presidents of our religion should be at liberty to perform the usual offices of their function. The edict is to this purpose: 'The emperor Caesar, Publius Licinius Gallienus, Pious, Happy, Augustus, to Dionysius, and Pinna, and Demetrius, and to the other bishops. I have directed, that the favour of my indulgence should be published throughout the whole world; that all may depart from the places of worship. You are therefore empowered to make use of this copy of my edict, that none may trouble you. And that you may perform what is lawful for you to do, has been already granted by me. And let Aurelius Cyrenius our high-steward observe this edict now given by me." This, says Eusebius, has been translated from the Roman tongue. 'There is also another edict of the same emperor, sent to other bishops, and appointing, "that the places called cemeteries should be restored."

In his' Chronicle likewise Eusebius observes, that Valerian being taken captive by the Persians, Gallienus gave peace to the churches.

VI. I began with Dionysius, and have carried on the history of Valerian's persecution from him; but as Cyprian suffered martyrdom in this persecution, dying on the 14th Sept. 258, and there are some authentic memoirs of his sufferings, I shall now allege some things from them also.

Cyprian seems to have been one of the first persons in Africa, who was called upon to make public confession in this persecution; and I therefore immediately take the beginning of the proconsular acts of his passion, which I shall transcribe below in the original, and also translate literally. 'The emperor Valerian being consul the fourth

a Cap. 13.

Valeriano in Persas ducto, Gallienus nostris pacem reddidit. Chr. p. 176.

time, and Gallienus the third time, [that is, the year of
Christ 257,] on the thirtieth day of August, at Carthage,
in the secretary's office, Paternus the proconsul said to
Cyprian the bishop; The most sacred emperors, Valerian
and Gallienus, have vouchsafed to send to me a letter,
wherein they command, that they who do not observe the
Roman religion, should now perform the Roman rites. I
therefore have made inquiry after you. What answer do
you make to me? Cyprian the bishop said; I am a chris-
tian, and a bishop. I know no other gods, but the one
ture God, who made the heaven, and the earth, and the
sea, and the things that are in them. This God we chris-
tians serve, to whom we pray night and day, for you, and
for all men, and for the safety of the emperors themselves.
Paternus the proconsul said; And do you persist in this
purpose? Cyprian the bishop answered; A good purpose,
agreeable to God, cannot be altered. Can you then, ac-
cording to the command of Valerian and Gallienus, go an
exile to the city Curubis? Cyprian said; I go. Paternus
the proconsul said: The emperors have written to me not
concerning bishops only, but also concerning presbyters.
I desire therefore to know of you who are the presbyters
that live in this city. Cyprian the bishop answered; By
your own laws it has been wisely enacted, that informers
should not be encouraged; therefore they cannot be dis-
covered and accused by me; but they will be found in
their cities. Paternus the proconsul said; I now inquire
after those who are in this place. Cyprian said; Since
et terram, mare, et quae in eis sunt omnia. Huic Deo nos christianis deservi-
nus; hunc deprecamus diebus ac noctibus, pro vobis, et pro omnibus
hominiibus, et pro incolumitate ipsorum imperatorum. Paternus proconsul
dixit: In hac ergo voluntate perseveras? Cyprianus episcopus respondit:
Bona voluntas, quae Deum novit, immutari non potest. Paternus proconsul
dixit: Pote ris ergo secundum praeceptum Valerian et Gallieni, exul ad urbem
Curubitanam proficisci? Cyprianus episcopus dixit: Proficiscor. Paternus
proconsul dixit: Non solum de episcopis, verum etiam de presbyteris mihi
scire dignati sunt. Volo ergo scire ex te, qui sint presbyteri, qui in hac
civitate consistunt. Cyprianus episcopus respondit: Legibus vestris bene
atque utiliter censuisti, delatores non esse. Itaque detegi atque deferi a me
non possunt: in civitatibus autem suis inveniuntur. Paternus proconsul dixit:
Ego hodie in hoc loco ex quo. Cyprianus dixit: Cum disciplina prohibeat,
ut quis se ulter offerat, et tua quoque censurae hoc displiceat, nec offere se
ipsi possunt. Sed a te exquisiti inveniuntur. Paternus proconsul dixit: A me
inveniuntur. Et adiectit: Præceperunt etiam, ne in aliquis locis concili-
abula fiant, nec cœmeria ingrediantur. Si quis itaque hoc tam salubre
præceptum non observaverit, capite plectetur. Cyprianus episcopus respon-
dit: Fac quod tibi præceps et. Tunc Paternus proconsul jussit beatum
p. 11, 12.
our religion forbids men to offer themselves to sufferings, and since it is contrary to your own laws, they cannot offer themselves; but they may be found if inquired after. Paternus the proconsul said; They shall be found by me. And he added; The emperors have also ordered, that no assemblies should be held in the cemeteries, and that none enter into those places. If therefore any one does not observe this wholesome command, he shall be put to death. Cyprian the bishop answered; Do as you are commanded. Then Paternus the proconsul ordered, that Cyprian the bishop should be carried into exile.'

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

About the same time many others suffered in Africa, upon account of their profession of Christianity. For we have a letter of Cyprian, written during the time of his being at Curubis, which is inscribed to nine bishops by name, and beside them to others, presbyters, deacons, and the rest of the brethren in the mines, martyrs of God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ our Lord.'

Whilst Cyprian continued at Curubis, Galerius Maximus succeeded Paternus as proconsul of Africa. He recalled Cyprian from his banishment; who then went to his gardens or country-house near Carthage, by orders, as it seems, of the proconsul.

Moreover, as there were many uncertain reports in Africa, Cyprian* had sent to Rome, and received thence some in-

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2 Scis etiam eos venisse, quos ad Urbem propter hoc miseram, ut quomodocumque de nobis rescriptum fuisset, exploratam sibi veritatem ad nos referant. Multa enim varia et incerta opinionibus ventulantur. Quae autem sunt in vero, ita se habent. Rescrississe Valerianum ad senatum, ut episcopi, et presbyteri, et diaconi in continenti animadventurat; Senatores vero, et viri egregii, equites Romani, dignitate amissâ, etiam bonis spoliuntur, et, si ademtis facultatis christiani esse perseveraverint, capite quoque multentur; Matronae ademtis bonis in exilium relegentur; Cassariani, quicumque vel prius confessi fuerant, vel nunc confessi fuerint, confiscentur, et vincti in Cassarianas possessiones descripti mittantur. Subjeceit etiam Valerianus imperator orationi sue exemplum literarum, quas ad presides provinciarum de nobis fecit; quas literas quotidie speramus venire, stantres secundum fidem firmitatem ad passionis tolerantium, et expectantes de ope et indulgentiâ Domini vitâ æterna coronam. Xistum autem in cæmentorio animadversum sciatis, octavo idum Augustarum die et cum eodem Quartum. Set et huic persecutione quotidie ins.stunt praefecti in Urbe; ut, si qui sibi oblätâ fuerint, animadventurat, et bona eorum fisco vindicentur. Hec peto per vos ut collegis nostris innossquant, ut ubique hortatu eorum possit fraternitas corroyorari, et ad agonem spiritalem præparari, &c. Cyp. ep. 79. al. 80.
telligence which might be relied upon, and was to this
effect; 'that the emperor Valerian had ordered, by a re-
script sent to the senate, that bishops, presbyters, and
deacons, should be put to death without delay; that sena-
tors, and persons of quality, and Roman knights, should
be deprived of their dignity and their goods; if after that
they persist in being christians, they should be beheaded;
that ladies of quality should be deprived of their goods,
and sent into exile; that the emperor's freedmen, who
have confessed, or shall hereafter confess, shall lose their
goods, which are to be seized by the treasury; and that
they be sent chained to the emperor's estate, and that they
be put in the list of slaves to work there. To his own re-
script the emperor Valerian has subjoined copies of letters
to be sent to the presidents of the provinces; which letters
we daily expect, standing prepared for the trial, and
hoping to obtain, through the divine aid and goodness,
the crown of eternal life.' We are also assured, that Xistus
[the bishop of Rome] was put to death in the cemetry
on the sixth day of August, and with him Quartus. We
also learn, that the prefects in the city are intent to exe-
cute the emperor's orders; and if any are brought before
them, they are punished, and their goods confiscated. These
things, says Cyprian in his letter to Successus, I am de-
sirous should be made known by you to my brethren, that
all may be prepared for the combat that now lies before us.'

When those orders for the governors of the provinces
arrived at Carthage is not certain; but very probably be-
fore the end of August.

Galerius w Maximus the proconsul, who had succeeded

w Cumque diu ibidem moraretur, successit Aspasio Paterno proconsuli
Galericus Maximus proconsul, qui sanctum Cyprianum episcopum ab exilio
revocationem sibi jussit præsentari. Cumque Cyprianus sanctus—de civitate
Cucurbitanâ, in quâ exilio praecipit Aspasii Paterni tunc proconsulis datus
fuaret, regressus esset, ex sacro præscripto in hortis suis manebat.—Et cum
illic demoraretur, repente Idbibus Septembris, Tusco et Basso consulibus, venu-
runt ad eum principes duo,—qui et in curriculum eum levaverunt, in medio-
quem posuerunt, et in Sexti perduxerunt, ubi idem Galericus Maximus proconsul,
bene valetudinis recuperandae gratiâ, secesserat.—Cumque oblatus fuisse
Galericus Maximus proconsul dixit: Tu Papam te sacrilege mensis hominibus
dixit: Non facio. Galericus Maximus ait: Consule tibi. Cyprianus episcopus
respondit: Fac quod tibi præceptum est. In re tam justæ nulla est con-
sultatio. Galericus Maximus, collocatus cum consilio, sententiam vix agre
dixit verbis huysmodi: Diu sacrilegà mente vixisti, et plurimos nefarior tibi
conspirationis homines aggregasti.—Et his dictis, decretum ex tabellâ recita-
vit; Thasicum Cyprianum gladio animadverti placet. Cyprianus episcopus
dixit; Deo gratias. Apost. p. 12, 13.
Paternus, was at Sexti, a place about six miles from Carthage, for the sake of his health. 'On the 13th day of September, [A. C. 258.] an officer with soldiers was sent by the proconsul to Cyprian's gardens, where he had been some while, to bring him before him. Cyprian's cause was deferred for that day. The next morning, the 14th of September, he was led to the proconsul's palace, surrounded by a mixed multitude of people, and a strong guard of soldiers. After some time the proconsul came out into the hall, and Cyprian being set before him, he said; Are you Thascius Cyprian? Cyprian the bishop answered; I am. Galerius Maximus the proconsul said; The most sacred emperors have commanded you to sacrifice. Cyprian the bishop answered; I do not sacrifice. Galerius Maximus said; Be well advised. Cyprian the bishop answered; Do as thou art commanded. In so just a cause there needs no consultation. The proconsul having advised with his council, spoke to Cyprian in angry terms, as being an enemy to the gods, and a seducer of the people. And then read his sentence out of a tablet; It is decreed, that Thascius Cyprian be beheaded. Cyprian the bishop said; God be praised.'

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

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

'In\(^z\) the mean time,' says Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, 'when peace had been restored to all the churches every where, Marinus, a military man, and eminent upon account of his birth and riches, suffered martyrdom for Christ at Cæsarea in Palestine. A centurion's place was vacant; he put up for that office, to which he had a claim by the order of his promotions. When he was about to receive that honour, another appeared before the tribunal, asserting, that according to the ancient laws of the

\(^x\) S. Cyprian. Vit. p. 9, 10.

\(^y\) If any are desirous to see the history of this bishop of Carthage more at large, they may consult vol. iii. p. 1—15.

\(^z\) L. vii. cap. 15.
Romans, Marinus could not be admitted into that office, forasmuch as he was a christian, and did not sacrifice to the emperors; and that the office did of right belong to him. Achæus the judge, being much moved, asked Marinus what were his sentiments. Perceiving that he confidently affirmed he was a christian, he allowed him the space of three hours to consider of the matter. When the three hours were expired, he returned to the tribunal. And when called upon again to deliver his sentiments, he made a profession of the faith with greater cheerfulness than before. Whereupon he was immediately had out to be put to death, and so was perfected.

Eusebius adds, 'Then Asturius, who is still celebrated for religious zeal and courage, a Roman senator, and in esteem with the emperors, who was present at the death of the martyr, taking up the body, laid it upon his shoulders, and covering it with a rich cloth carried it off, and interred him in a decent manner.'

Mr. Mosheim's observations upon this remarkable history are to this purpose. 'Marinus was not condemned by the edict of Valerian, which had been abrogated by Gallienus, but by the ancient law of Trajan; for an accuser was received. The man who confessed himself to be a christian was required to renounce the faith: when he would not, he was without delay led out to punishment. In this instance therefore it is apparent, that the ancient laws of the emperors against the christians still retained their force, though milder had been enacted; And therefore under merciful emperors, who were lovers of peace, the presidents might punish christians, who were accused, and confessed themselves such. The body of Marinus was carried off by Asturius, a Roman senator, and buried; nor did he suffer for it; the reason is, that by Trajan's law the judge had no right to punish any but such as were accused; and there was nobody who was willing, or who dared, to accuse so considerable and honourable a man as Asturius was.'
AMIELIUS.

1. His history and time. II. His testimony to St. John's gospel, with remarks.

1. THE next testimony will be the noted passage of Amelius, a Platonic philosopher, fellow-disciple of Porphyry, who wrote against the christians. Amelius, as Suidas says, was of Apamea. Porphyry in the Life of Plotinus calls him a Tuscan; but then he expressly says, that when Plotinus died, Amelius was at Apamea in Syria; which may give occasion to think, that he was originally of that place, though perhaps he was born in Tuscany. Moreover Porphyry mentions a book of his inscribed to Hesychius of Apamea, whom he had adopted for his son. His proper name, as we also learn from Porphyry, was Gentilian; and he chose to have his surname written with an r, Amerius, as indeed it is in Eunapius, and not Amelius; the last in Greek denoting negligence, the former integrity. According to Porphyry's account, he was the most studious and laborious of all the disciples of Plotinus, with whom he spent twenty-four years at Rome, from the third year of Philip to the first of Claudius, that is, from the year of Christ 246, to the beginning of the year 269. Amelius was a diligent ob-

 b Amelios, Αμελίος, φιλοσόφος, μαθήτης Πορφύριος, ἐδάσκαλος Πορφύριου, συγγραφέας Αμ-
 μόνιφ καὶ Ὄργυνος. Suid.
 c Εὐχε ήδε ἀκροατάς μέν πλείον ζηλωτὰς έδέ καὶ δια φιλοσοφίαν συνόντος, Αμελιον τε ἀπο της Τούκαις, κα το ονομα ἡν Πεντέλιαν το κυριον αυτον έδαι της Αμεριον αυτον κάλεσ, απο της Αμεριας η της Αμελιας προσευχην αυτον κα-
 d Τελευτατί έδε αυτον, εγω μεν ο Πορφύριος ενυχανον εν Λυβιαν διατρι-
 βων, Αμέλιος εδε εν Αμαξίας της Συρίας. Ib. cap. 2. p. 95.
 e —— ο Ιωσίων Ησυχος την Αμαξα, ον νυν έθεο, κεχωρισα. Ib. cap. 3. p 98.
 f ——φιλοσοφια έδε υπερβαλλομενος, των κατ' αυτον παυντων. Ib. cap. 3. p. 98.
 g Προηλθε ήδε αυτον ο Αμελιος, τριτων ευς αγοντι ευ Ρωμ κατα το τριτον της 
 Φιλεπτον βασλιας ευς, και αχρι τη πρωτη της Κλαυδιας βασλιας πα-
 ραιμενας, ετη ὅλα συγγεγονεν έκωσι καὶ τεσσαρα. Ibid.
 h Φιλοτητα έδε γεγονοτος τη Αμελιν, και τα έρα κατα νομεναν, και τας 
 ἐφτας εκπριημονοσ και ποτε αξιοντος τουν Πολυτινων σιν αυτω παραβαλλειν, 
 ερημενοις έδε προς εμε ερχεθαν, εκεμε προς εκεινης. κ. Λ. Ib. cap. x. 111, 112.
server of the sacred rites, which his master Plotinus regarded very little. I have placed Amelius at the year 263, because Porphyry intimates, that he published little or nothing before the tenth year of Gallienus, when he had been eighteen years with Plotinus. This will suffice for his history.

II. 'Moreover,' says Eusebius, in his Evangelical Preparation, 'Amelius, a celebrated philosopher among the moderns, and a great admirer of the Platonic philosophy, though he has not mentioned the evangelist's name, bears testimony to his doctrine, saying, in these very words; And this plainly was the Word, by whom, he being himself eternal, made all things that are, as Heraclitus also would say; and by Jove the same, whom the barbarian affirmns to have been in the place and dignity of a principal, and to be with God, and to be God; by whom all things were made, and in whom every thing that was made has its life and being. Who descending into body, and putting on flesh, took the form of man; though even then he gave proof of the majesty of his nature; nay, and after his dissolution he was deified again, and is God, the same he was before he descended into body, and flesh, and man.'

I suppose that all will agree with Eusebius, and other ancient christian writers, that by 'the barbarian' Amelius intended the evangelist John, and that he here refers to his gospel. He calls him 'barbarian,' because, though he wrote in Greek, that was not his native language, and he was of Jewish or Hebrew extraction; or, as Cyril expresses it, he was a Hebrew of Hebrews, and not a Greek.

This passage of Amelius is a testimony to St. John's whole gospel, which, I think, he had read.

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1 Ibid. cap. 4. p. 99. Et conf. cap. 3. p. 98.
2 Eiκοτοις δήτα καὶ τον γενόν φιλόσοφον διαφανὴς γεγονός Αμελίος, ει καὶ μη επισκόμενος ήξεως τω ειςαγωγής Ιωάννη μνημήν ποιήσασθαι, επιμαρτυρεῖ ὡς εν ὧν όμος τως αυτω φυσικος, αυτα δε ταυτα προς ἴμα τον γραφών. Καὶ ουτος αρα ην ὁ Δογμος, καθ' όν αισ αυτα τα γενομενα εγενοτο, ως αν καὶ ὁ Ἰρακλειος αξιωσιε' καὶ νη Δι' ὁν ὁ βασιλος αξιοι εν τη της αρχης ταξιν τε και αξια καθενκοτα προς Θεον ειναι ει τω ναοντων απλως γεγοναθαι εν τω γενομενον νοην και ζωην, και εν πένθοις και εις σωματα πιστων, και σοροι ενδυσαμενοι, φανταζομαι ανθρωπων μετα και την κακταν διευκολυνην της φως το μεγαλουν ομελει και αναλιθειαν παλαι αναθεισια και Θεον ειναι νοιν προ το ες σωμα, και την σοροι, και του ανθρωπου καταχείναι. Euseb. Pr. Ev. L. xi. cap. 19. p. 540.

1. That he refers to the beginning of St. John's gospel is manifest. See ch. i. 1—4, and ver. 14.

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

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

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

This same passage is also quoted at length by Cyril of Alexandria, in his answer to the emperor Julian.

It is likewise quoted by Theodoret in his work against the gentiles; he introduceth it in this manner; 'Plutarch' also and Plotinus had heard of the sacred gospels. This is apparent from Amelius, who presided in the school of Porphyry; for he greatly admires the proem to John's theology, saying, in these very words: "And this plainly was the Word."

Here is some inaccuracy. Amelius did not preside in the school of Porphyry; but he was an eminent man of the school of Plotinus, where Porphyry was also in great repute.

Theodoret from this passage of Amelius concluded, that Plutarch and Plotinus were acquainted with our gospels. It is, I suppose, no more than a probable supposition. Theodoret might be hence led to think as much of Plutarch; but we cannot affirm it. We see no proofs of it in his works; nor can we certainly say, that Plotinus was acquainted with our gospels, or had read them. But I suppose it may be reckoned certain, that he had heard of the christians, and had some knowledge of them. It is manifest from a passage of Porphyry, in his life of Plotinus, which will be alleged in the chapter of Porphyry.


* Porphyry. de Vita Plotin. cap. xvi. p. 118. ubi supra.
And it may be reckoned somewhat remarkable, that from the school of Plotinus we have so many testimonies to Christianity. One of his disciples was Porphyry, who wrote so learnedly and so bitterly against the Christians. Amelius, just quoted, who had read St. John's gospel, was another of the same school. And Longinus, from whom we shall also have a testimony, was well acquainted with those two disciples, and their master Plotinus. I think it may be hence concluded, that the learned men of that time had some knowledge of the Christians. Their reading and considering the sacred books of the Christians, depended upon their inquisitiveness, and openness to conviction, in things of religion.

Augustine speaks of a Platonic philosopher, who greatly admired the beginning of St. John's gospel, and said, "It deserved to be written in letters of gold, and to be set up in the most conspicuous place in every church." Whether that Platonic philosopher was Amelius, or another, we cannot say certainly.

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

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Quod initium sancti evangelii, cui nomen est Secundum Joannem, quidam Platonicus, sicut a sancto seni Simpliciano, qui postea Mediolanensis ecclesie presedit episcopus, solebanus audire, aureis literis conscribendum, et per omnes ecclesias in locis eminientes proponendum esse dicebat. De Civ. Dei, l. x. cap. 29.

I. His time and character.  II. His testimony to the scriptures, with a curious observation upon a fragment ascribed to him.

I. SAYS Suidas; 'Longinus a Cassius, a philosopher,master of Porphyry the philosopher, a man of great learning and exact judgment in things of literature. He flourished in the time of the emperor Aurelian, by whom he was put to death, as an accomplice with Zenobia wife of Odunatus.' After which Suidas mentions the titles of several of his works, and says, he wrote many others.

Longinus Cassius. He is generally called Dionysius Longinus.

Suidas says, he lived in the time of Aurelian, who did not begin to reign before the year of Christ 270, and by whom Longinus was put to death. Tanaquil Faber b says, that Suidas would have expressed himself more accurately if he had said, that Longinus flourished under Gordian, Decius, Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius.' For, indeed, the reigns of most of the Roman emperors about that time were very short. Tanaquil Faber adds; 'And therefore Longinus was contemporary with Origen;' which also is another just observation. Photius says, that Longinus flourished in the time of Claudius, whose reign began in the year 268. I place him at the year of Christ 264, the twelfth of Gallienus; for he did not die before the year 273; and he could not then be young, as may be concluded from the number of his works; and he is always reckoned one of Porphyry's masters.

His father's name is not known. His mother was Frontonis, sister of Fronto, of Emesa, the orator, who was at Rome in the time of the emperor Severus, and afterwards taught rhetoric at Athens; where he died when he was about sixty years of age, leaving Longinus the critic his heir. So says Suidas. Nevertheless Longinus did not lose his parents whilst very young; they accompanied him in his travels; as we learn from a letter of his to Marcellus, a part of which is preserved in Porphyry's Life of Plotinus; whom he saw, and continued some while with Ammonius and Origen, probably meaning Ammonius Saccus, and our Origen, called Adamantius.

Learned men are not agreed about the place of his nativity. Some think he was an Athenian; others think it more likely, that he was born at Emesa in Syria, the place of his uncle's, and probably of his mother's nativity. His connexions with Zoeobia, to whom he was master in the Greek language, and privy-counsellor, are proofs of his being in that part of the world in the latter part of his life; and there is a letter of his written to Porphyry, when in Sicily, desiring him to come to him in Phœnicia. In his excellent remaining work, Of the Sublime, he reckons himself among the Greeks; and so he might do, and be born in Syria; the people of that country being often called Greeks by ancient writers.

Eunapius says, that Longinus was esteemed a living library, and walking museum. He had a kind of established authority to judge of ancient authors. If any man presumed to remark upon an ancient author, his sentence was not allowed of till the judgment of Longinus was known. Porphyry and Zosimus extol Longinus in the like manner.

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Longinus. A. D. 264.

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I must add, that Longinus is quoted by Eusebius in his Evangelical Preparation, where he calls him a writer of our time. By Photius, in the place before referred to, he is called Longinus the critic. He is also mentioned by Jerom and Theophylact; and with a view to his distinguishing excellence, his critical skill, upon whose judgment the sentences of all others depended. Not now to repeat any thing of Suidas, I take notice of this as a proof of the taste and candour of our christian ancestors; among whom, as well as among others, a judgment according to Longinus was a proverbial expression, denoting a right judgment.

Zenobia queen of the Palmyrens, who also called herself 'queen of the east,' contended with the Roman emperors after the death of her husband Odenatus, which happened in the year 267. In the end she was overcome, Palmyra was taken, and she also was taken prisoner; Aurelian then sat in judgment upon her and her people in a place near the city Emesa; when he determined to give Zenobia her life, and reserve her to do honour to his triumph. Many of her officers and counsellors were condemned to suffer death, and among them Longinus, who was supposed to have dictated a letter of Zenobia to Aurelian, written, as the emperor thought, in a haughty strain. It is manifest from Vopiscus, that this judgment of Aurelian was disliked by many. However, at this time Longinus showed himself to be not a philologer only, but a philosopher, and so died as to comfort those who bewailed his fate.


10 On to prooimion Logywnos mev o kritikon agwvetikon nymi. Cod. 265. p. 1470.


12 Mq mou ev tay Logywn krisis periastpi, me kai dezhis tisai autos ge v kata Logywnon kraniv. Theophyl. ep. xvii.

13 ——epaneldwn eis the Eysan, eis krisiain genage Zemobian tay kai tis tautis svarbainves. Zos. l. i. p. 659. in.


16 Zos. l. i. p. 659.
II. I now proceed to observe some testimonies in the writings of this great critic.

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

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

From this passage Casaubon, in his notes upon Vopiscus, argues, that Longinus was a christian, or much inclined to be so. But that does not appear; for Longinus swears by the gods as other heathens did; we have proofs of it in some of his fragments undoubtedly genuine.

2. Beside this, there is a fragment of a work ascribed to him, which was first published by Dr. Hudson, and has been since repeated in the bishop of Rochester's edition of Longinus. It is to this purpose.

'And for a conclusion of this whole discourse concerning Greek orators, and their manner of writing; I now just mention Demosthenes, Lysias, Ἀσχινῆς, Aristides, Ἰσκεύς, Τιμαρχὸς, Ἰσοκράτης, Δημοσθένης, and Χερσοφόν, to whom must be added Paul of Tarsus, of whom I may say, that he first excelled in an argument which is not of the demonstrative kind.'

This fragment was received by Dr. Hudson from L. A.

3 Ταυτὰ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰδεών Θεομάθης, εἰς ὅ τινος αὐτῷ, επείθη τὴν τῆς Θεωσ θεύματιν κατὰ τὴν αἰειν εἰγνωσθὲν, κατεβάλλον, εὐθὺς εν τῷ ἑαυτῷ γράφας τῶν νόμων. Εἰσεν ὁ θεὸς, φήσε. Τὶ, Γενεσίδω φῶς, καὶ εἰγενέτο γενεσίδω γῆς, καὶ εἰγενέτο. De Sublim. cap. 9. p. 60. Toll.


1 Κοροφῶς δ' εἰς ὑδαν παντὸς καὶ φρουρηματος Ἑλληνικὸς Δημοσθένης, Λύσιας, Λυσίαν, Ἀσχινῆς, Ἀριστίδης, Ισκεύς, Τιμαρχὸς, Ἰσοκράτης, Δημοσθένης ὁ καὶ Κρήτης. Σεναφῶς, πρὸς τῶν Παύλου ὁ Ἀποστόλου, ὁν τινα καὶ πρῶτων φήμων προτάσης θεοματος ἀκαταδέχεται. Longini Fragm. 1. apud Pearce. p. 259.

Zacagni, who transcribed it from a very good manuscript of the gospels preserved in the Vatican library. But Fabricius\(^d\) plainly declares his opinion concerning this last clause relating to Paul of Tarsus, that it is not genuine; nor have I any thing to say in favour of its genuineness; probably it was added by a Christian.

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

'I transmit to you,' says Mr. Merrick, 'an observation communicated to me in conversation some years since by a very ingenious friend, which may deserve to be considered in any future disquisition concerning the authenticity of the fragment. \(\Delta_\eta\mu_\omega_\sigma_\theta_\epsilon_\nu_\eta_\sigma_\varphi_\epsilon_\nu_\varsigma_\;\sigma_\omega_\varsigma_\;\kappa_\alpha_\iota_\iota_\theta_\iota_\varsigma_\varsigma_\nu_\sigma_\varsigma_\;\kappa_\rho_\iota_\iota_\iota_\iota_\) is one of the orators mentioned in it; by which person my friend understood Dinarchus to be meant, alleging, that a Commentator on Hermogenes (Syrianus, if I rightly remember) affirms, that Dinarchus was called \(\Delta_\eta\mu_\omega_\sigma_\theta_\epsilon_\nu_\sigma_\varsigma_\;\kappa_\rho_\iota_\iota_\iota_\iota_\), which name, as the above-mentioned gentleman supposed, was designed to intimate, that the eloquence of Dinarchus bore the same proportion to that of Demosthenes, that barley bears to wheat. From this curious discovery, (for such it seems,) made by my learned friend, who also added, that hordeaceus rhetor occurs in Suetonius de Illustr. Rhetor. cap. 2. I am inclined to draw this conclusion, That we owe the words, \(\Delta_\eta\mu_\omega_\sigma_\theta_\epsilon_\nu_\sigma_\varsigma_\;\sigma_\omega_\varsigma_\;\kappa_\rho_\iota_\iota_\iota_\iota_\), if they originally stood in the fragment, of which I am speaking, not to Longinus, but to some less knowing critic, who having somewhere met with \(\Delta_\eta\mu_\omega_\sigma_\theta_\epsilon_\nu_\sigma_\varsigma_\;\kappa_\rho_\iota_\iota_\iota_\iota_\), was not aware, that it was a name given to Dinarchus, but thought that it had belonged to an orator whose real name was Demosthenes, and who was also called \(\kappa_\rho_\iota_\iota_\iota_\iota_\), in order to distinguish him from the more celebrated orator of that name. If, therefore, we admit the fragment as genuine, we should, I imagine, read \(\Delta_\epsilon_\iota_\nu_\alpha_\rho_\chi_\omicron_\omicron_\varsigma_\;\sigma_\omega_\varsigma_\;\kappa_\rho_\iota_\iota_\iota_\iota_\).'

P. S. Not having an opportunity of consulting the com-

ments on Hermogenes, I have looked into Fabricius's Bibliotheca Græca, and find there, Vol. iv. p. 434, Dinarchus mentioned in the Index of Authors quoted by Hermogenes, and styled Hordeaceus Demosthenes. Again, in the same volume, p. 467, I find him mentioned in the Index of Authors taken notice of in the Comments of Hermogenes, (but placed by mistake after Diodorus,) by the title of Κριδωνος Demosthenes.'

Whether this fragment be rightly ascribed to Longinus or not, these observations will be allowed to be curious.

CHAP. XXXV.

NUMENIUS.

His testimony to the scriptures of the Old Testament.

NUMENIUS," of Apamea in Syria," says Suidas, " a Pythagorean philosopher. This is the man who charged Plato with stealing from the writings of Moses his sentiments concerning God, and the original of the world, saying: "What is Plato, but Moses in Greek?"

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

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

Eusebius presently afterwards quotes the first and the third book of Numenius concerning What is Good; Where Numenius speaks of the rites and institutions of several nations, particularly the Brachmans, the Jews, the Magians, and the Egyptians; and mentions Jannes and Jambres, two sacred Egyptian scribes, who, when the Jews were expelled Egypt, being reckoned very skilful in the magical art, were by common consent chosen to

a Νεμηνος, Απαμεως, απο Συριας, φιλοσοφος Πυθαγορειος. Όπως εσιν ό την τθ Πλατωνος εξελεγκας ειπαιναι, ως εξ Μοσαικων τα περι Θεω και κοσμω γενεσιως αποσυλθοναι, και δια του θρης ια γαρ ει Πλατων, η Θισις αποκεισων; Suid. V. Νεμηνος.


e Μασαιρ γενι, τη Ιαδαιων εζηγησαμενη, ανιργενομενη, Θηω ενδαισαν ενατωτοι. Ib.


Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

' oppose Museus, [meaning Moses,] who was very powerful in his prayers with God, that they might remove the calamities brought by him upon that country.'

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

From Macrobius we learn, that Numenius was reproached by some with having divulged or exposed the Eleusinian mysteries, and to be avenged of him, Ceres and Proserpine appeared to him in a very strange manner.

We now return to Origen; who quotes the first book of Numenius the Pythagorean, concerning What is Good, or Concerning the Good; and a book of his concerning the Immortality of the Soul. And still once more after this manner: I know also that Numenius, a skilful commentator upon Plato, and well acquainted with the Pythagorean doctrines, in many places of his writings has quoted the

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2. De Nymphis et o tertio et effecto Crons.
6. Ibid. l. v. p. 269. sect. 57.
7. Ego δ' οἶδα καὶ Νεμηνιὸν τὴν Πυθαγορεῖον—πολλαχιων συγγραμματων αυτὴ εκτεθεμένον τα Μοίσεως καὶ των προφητων, καὶ συς αποθέντας αυτα τροπολογεμένα, ὡσπερ εν τῷ καλλιμενῷ, ἔποιη, καὶ εν τοις περὶ Ἀρέθων, καὶ εν τοις περὶ Τοπα. Ἐν δὲ τριῳ περὶ τ' αγάθη εκτέθηται καὶ περὶ τα Ἰησοῦ ἱστορίαν τα, τὸ ονομα αυτὴ τ' λεγων, καὶ τροπολογεμένα ως ποτέρον δ' επιτετευγμένως, ἡ αποτετευγμένως, ἀλλα καφε στιν εἰσεν. ἀλλ' ἣ εν εκείνη συμμετοιχίας αποκεφαλήθη δ' αυτὸν μαλλον Κίλιην καὶ αλλω Ἑλληνων, βιοθετητα φιλομαθως καὶ τα ὡμετα ἔχεται, καὶ εισθητα ὡςπερ τροπολογεμένως, καὶ καὶ ομορν συγγραμματων. Ib. l. iv. p. 198. sect. 51.
books of Moses and the prophets, and has allegorized them in no improbable manner; as in his book called the Epops, and in his books concerning Numbers, and those concerning Place. And in his third book concerning What is Good, he relates a history concerning Jesus without mentioning his name, and allegorizeth it; whether rightly or not, I do not now stay to inquire. He also relates a history concerning Moses, and Jannes and Jambres. Not that I think this a matter to be much boasted of; nevertheless, we have more reason to be pleased with him, than with Celsus and other Greeks; forasmuch as he had read our scriptures, and candidly paid a regard to them as no contemptible writings, and worthy to be allegorized.

To this passage of Origen there is a reference in Grotius, Of the Truth of the Christian Religion, or in the Notes upon him; where it is said, 'that divers heathen authors have made mention of Jesus, as Suetonius, Tacitus, the younger Pliny, and many others. And Origen, in his fourth book against Celsus, lets us know, that in Numenius the Pythagorean there was a history concerning Jesus.'

Having now, as I think, paid a due regard to the quotations of Numenius, which are in our early christian writers, I must take the liberty to say, that the time of Numenius is uncertain. And I cannot but doubt, whether he lived after the coming of our Saviour. Says Tillemont: 'It is thought, that we ought to place about the time of Marcus Aurelius the celebrated philosopher Numenius, of whom Eusebius and Theodoret have made great use in their arguments with the heathens. Theodoret does in effect say 'that he lived after Christ.' Nevertheless that manner of speaking seems to show that Tillemont hesitated; for Theodoret speaks plainly enough, if we could rely upon him, as accurate and well informed. Having quoted Plutinus, he says: 'And many other like things are said by him, and Plutarch, and Numenius, and others of that sect. For these men living after the coming of our Saviour, have joined many parts of the christian theology with their own doctrines.' And Origen likewise, in the place before referred to, speaks in this manner. First he quotes Chry-

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sippus, and then adds: 'The\(^{5}\) like things may be seen in the
latter philosophers who lived not long ago, as Plutarch, and Numenius, in his second book of the Immortality of
the Soul.'

J. Tollius, in his notes upon a fragment of Longinus, where Numenius is mentioned, supposeth he lived in the
times of the\(^{1}\) Antonines; and Jonsius likewise thought it probable, that\(^{a}\) Numenius flourished in the time of Anto-
ninus the pious. And indeed it is easy to show, as Jonsius has done, that Numenius lived before Origen, and some
others, who read him, or have quoted him; but I do not perceive any marks of his real time alleged from any.

I therefore am still in suspense. It is, I think, remark-
able, that Suidas, who tells us in whose reigns lived
Plutarch, and Dion Cassius, and Dion Chrysostom, and
Aristides, and Numenius the orator, and many others, says
nothing of that kind of Numenius the philosopher. He
knew that he was of Apamea in Syria, but does not mention
the name of the emperor in whose time he lived. And
Numenius, as we have seen, is often joined with Plato and
Cronius: but the time of Cronius is uncertain, so far as I
know. Nor have I observed any thing in the quotations of
the works of Numenius, made by Eusebius, or others, that
can determine his age; for any thing that is observable in
those quotations, he might live when gentilism was at its
height, and in all its splendour. He was acquainted with
the writings of Moses and the prophets; but I discern not
any references to the scriptures of the New Testament.
That history concerning Jesus, which Numenius has allego-
rized, as Origen says, 'without naming him,' may have been
somewhat different from what has been generally appre-
hended. Perhaps it related to Joshua, successor of Moses
in the government of the people of Israel. For if that his-
tory had related to the Lord Jesus, it might be expected
that we should see it repeated over again in Eusebius or
Theodoret, or some other writer since Origen. After all,
as I apprehend, such a reference as that in Origen is of
little importance; he has not quoted the passage; nor so
much as hinted what was the subject of the history.

\(^{5}\) η ἐγι καὶ παρὰ τινὶ τὸν νεωτέρων, καὶ χριστὶ καὶ πρωὴν γεγενημενὼν. Ut
supr. l. v. sect. 57.

\(^{1}\) Floruit sub Antonino et Vero, Apamea Syria oriundus——Hujus dicerat-
tur Plotinus scripta compilasse. Defendit autem Plotinum Amelius libro De
Differentiis Doctrinæ Plotini et Numanii, quem Porphyrius inscripsit; ut est

\(^{a}\) Si conjectura haec res committenda, sub Antonino Pio Numenium floru-
isce dixerim J. Jons. de Scriptoribus Hist. Philosoph. i. iii. cap. 10. p. 264.
I could not omit Numenius, as he has quoted Moses and the prophets, and allegorized some part of their writings; but I know not when he lived. I put him down here, being desirous to join him with Amelius and Longinus, two learned critics and philosophers. Numenius, as we learn from Origen, made use of 'Moses and the prophets,' and allegorized some part of their writings; but I know not when he lived. I put him down here, being desirous to join him with Amelins and Longinus, two learned critics and philosophers.

Numenius, as we learn from Origen, made use of 'Moses and the prophets,' and allegorized some parts of them. If he had lived after the publication of the books of the New Testament, it is reasonable to believe that he would have made use of them likewise. As it does not appear that he took any notice of them, it seems to me probable that he lived before the rise of the Christian religion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE EMPEROR AURELIAN.

I. His time and character. II. How the Christians are mentioned by him in a letter to the Senate of Rome. III. His conduct toward Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch. IV. His persecution of the Christians.

I. AURELIAN, a man of mean original, but of a severe disposition, and a great captain, having performed good services in the times of Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius the second, was, after the death of this last, proclaimed emperor in the year 270, and died in 275. Some have ascribed to him a reign of six years; but now it is the opinion of the best chronologers that he did not complete his fifth year, and died after he had reigned four years and four months and some days.

II. Flavius Vopiscus of Syracuse is the sixth and last of the Augustan writers, but not the worst of them; for he is generally reckoned as learned a man and as regular an historian as any of them.

In his Life of the Emperor Aurelian, he makes mention of a letter of his to the Senate of Rome, written, probably, in the beginning of his reign, in the year 270 or 271, upon

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b Vid. Pagi ann. 275. num. ii. iii. Basn. ann. 270. num. vi.

c Vid. Basnag. ann. 291. num. ii.
occasion of an incursion made into Italy by some people of Germany.

'There is,' says Vopiscus, 'a letter of Aurelian concerning the Sibylline books, which I insert here to confirm the account which I have given. "I wonder that you, holy fathers, have so long hesitated about opening the Sibylline books; just as if your consultations were held in some church of the christians, and not in the temple of all the gods.'"

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

This passage affords a good argument that the true Sibylline books which were in the hands of the Romans, and were still made use of by them, were full of heathen superstition, and not agreeable to the christian doctrine or worship, as some have supposed. This is manifest from the whole context before and after this letter of Aurelian. There are divers other proofs of it, occurring in the Lives of the Roman Emperors, written by these Augustan historians, particularly in the Life of Gordian the third, written by Julius Capitolinus, and in the Life of Gallienus, written by Trebellius Pollio.

But that is not now our principal concern. The design of alleging this passage is to show, that Vopiscus the

e Vid. Annot. in Vopisci, loc. et Basnag. ann. 271, num. ii. et ante Dom. 4. num. x. xi.
Augustan writer, and the emperor Aurelian, were not unacquainted with the christians and their principles.

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

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

Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, was deposed by the second council held in that city upon his account in the year 269, and Domnus was appointed in his room; but Paul, being supported by Zenobia, kept his seat for some time after that, till near the end of the year 272, or the beginning of 273, when Aurelian was master of Antioch.

Paul, therefore, says Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, having fallen from the faith, and from the episcopate, Domnus took upon him the care of the church of Antioch.

But when Paul refused to leave the house of the church, a petition was presented to the emperor Aurelian, and he rightly determined the matter, giving orders that the house should be delivered to them to whom the bishops of the christian religion in Italy and Rome should write. Thus, as Eusebius adds, the fore-mentioned person was with great disgrace thrust out of the church by the secular power.

IV. Upon that history, and particularly upon that passage of Eusebius, divers remarks were made formerly which need not be repeated here. I proceed to the only

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k See vol. ii. p. 677, &c.

thing farther to be observed concerning Aurelian, that by divers christian authors he is reckoned among the persecutors of the church. Sulpicius Severus quite omits him in his catalogue. Nevertheless Eusebius, presently after the place just cited, adds: ‘Thus’ was Aurelian affected toward us at that time, but in the farther advances of his empire his mind was altered towards us, owing to the advices of some men about him, so that he raised a persecution against us. Much discourse there was every where about it. But the divine justice arrested him, when he was just signing the edicts against us; so, as it were, holding his hand, that he should not perform what he had designed; and thereby manifesting to all men, that the princes of this world can do nothing against the churches of Christ, but when God allows it for our correction and amendment.’

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

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

The author of the Deaths of Persecutors says, ‘that though Aurelian was not ignorant of Valerian’s captivity, yet as if he had forgot his guilt and punishment, he provoked the anger of God by his cruel proceedings. However, he was not able to finish what he designed, but perished in the beginnings of his fury. And before his cruel edicts had reached the more distant provinces, he was slain at a place in Thrace.’

Augustine expressly mentions this among the other heathen persecutions of the christians, and reckons it the ninth.

a H. E. l. vii. cap. 30. p. 283. B.  Aurelianus quem adversum nos persecutionem movisset, fulmen juxta eum comitesque ejus ruit; ac non multo post inter Constantinopolim et Heracleam in Coenophurium vitae veteris occiditur. Chr. p. 177.

p Novissime, cum persecutionem adversus christianos agi nonus a Nerone decernetur, fulmen ante eum magnum pavore circumstantium ruit; ac non multo post in itinere occasus est. Oros. l. vii. cap. 23.


—Ab Aureliano nonum. De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. cap. 52.
Mr. Dodwell supposeth that Aurelian's persecution was only intended, and not put in execution; and indeed Eusebius has so expressed himself about this matter in his Ecclesiastical History, as has occasioned some learned men to hesitate about it. But upon more carefully examining his words, and observing the accounts of other authors, learned men have generally, and, as I think, very judiciously determined, that Aurelian not only intended but did actually persecute; but his persecution was short, he having died soon after the publication of his edicts.

Mr. Mosheim is of opinion, that many christians did not suffer at this time; but considering Aurelian's cruel temper, and how much he was addicted to the superstitions of Gentilism, he thinks that if he had lived, his persecution would have exceeded all the former persecutions in severity.

The author of the Deaths of Persecutors before cited, says, that Aurelian provoked God by his 'cruel proceedings,' and calls his 'edict cruel, or bloody, cruenta scripta.' Possibly that author, who did not live very long after Aurelian, had seen some copies of his edicts; if so, I wish he had inserted in his volume one of them, or only the substance of them; it would have been esteemed very curious by some in our times. By such neglects, and such want of accuracy, we suffer greatly.

a Intentata enim duntaxat erat ab Aureliano, non item executioni mandata. De Paucitate M. sect. lxiv. in.


I. I HAVE already observed several things relating to Porphyry in the introduction to the chapter of Celsus; where is a general account of all such heathen authors as had written against the christians.

Porphyry's history may be collected from his Life written by Eunapius, and from the Life of Plotinus written by himself; however, I refer also to divers learned moderns, who ought to be consulted by such as are inquisitive.

Porphyry was born at Tyre in Phœnia, as we are assured by himself, and by Libanius and Eunapius, who also say, that he was descended from honourable ancestors. It


c Πορφύριον Τυριον μεν ην πατρις η πρωτη των αρχαιων Φωνικων η πολις και πατρις δε κε ασημι. Eunap. p. 16.

Porphyry. *His Works and Time.* A. D. 270. 391

is computed, that he was born in the twelfth year of Alexander Severus, of Christ 233.

His original name was Meleck, which in the Syriac language signifies King; and with a Latin termination is Malchus; and sometimes he was called in Greek βασιλεὺς, King. Longinus, under whom he studied some time, changed his name into Porphyry, signifying in Greek, Purple, which was usually worn by kings and princes.

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

How long he staid in Sicily is not certain; but Eunapius says, he afterwards returned to Rome, where he acquired great fame for his learning and eloquence. Eunapius says likewise, that he lived to a great age. And Porphyry himself, in his Life of Plotinus, mentions something which happened to him in the sixty-eighth year of his age; at which time, probably, he was about seventy years old. There can therefore be no reason to doubt, that he reached to the latter part of the reign of Diocletian, and died, as may be supposed, in the year of Christ 302, or 303. Eunapius supposeth, that he ended his days at Rome. Suidas says truly, but without much accuracy, that he

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\( ^{a} \) Μάλχος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Συμφωνίαν τόλμην ὁ Πορφύριος ἐκαλεῖτο τα πρῶτα. Ταύτῳ δὲ δύναται βασιλεύς λεγίναι. Πορφύριον ἐν αὐτὸν ὕπομνασε Ἀγγέλιος, εἰς τὸ βασιλείου τῆς εὐθυγράμτευσεν τῆς προσηγορίαν ἐπιτρέψας. Eunap. ib. p. 16.

\( ^{b} \) Vid. Plotin. cap. 4. p. 99.

\( ^{c} \) Cap. 5. p. 101.

\( ^{d} \) Ib. cap. 11. p. 113. Conf. Eunap. p. 17.

\( ^{e} \) Porph. de Vitā Plotini, cap. 2. 6. 7.


\( ^{g} \) Φανερεῖται ἐν αἰσχρομένου εἰς γερας βαθύν. p. 21.

\( ^{h} \) De Vitā Plotini, cap. 23.

\( ^{i} \) Εὐ ρωμῆ ὡς λόγεται μεταλλαττεῖν τὸν βίον. Eun. ib.

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\( ^{a} \) —γεγονός ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἀυρηλίαν, καὶ παρατεθήκε ἐως Δοκλητίαν τὸ βασιλεία. Suid. V. Porphyros.
lived in the time of Aurelian, and reached to the emperor Dioclesian. Nor is Eunapius much more exact, who, speaking of Porphyry, and some others, says, they "flourished in the times of Gallienus, Claudius, Tacitus, Aurelian, and Probus.

Porphyry, as Eunapius assures us, had a wife named Marcella, a widow with five children, to whom he inscribed one of his books; in which he says, he married her, not for the sake of having children by her himself, but that he might educate the children which she had by her former husband, who was his friend; which showed a virtuous and generous disposition; nor indeed do we meet with any reflections made upon his conduct of life. Cyril of Alexandria, in his answer to Julian, makes honourable mention of Marcella, as a woman of a philosophical turn of mind, and for that reason esteemed by Porphyry.

Porphyry is called Bataneotes by Jerom and Chrysostom. Baronius hence argued, that Porphyry was a Jew, and was so called from Batanea, a city in Palestine; which opinion is rejected by his learned annotator. Porphyry certainly was a Syrian, as was shown above from unquestioned authority. Fabricius suspects that Porphyry was born at Batanea, a town in Syria, which might be a colony of the Tyrians. Heuman thought, that Porphyry did not put his own name to the work against the christians, but published it under the borrowed and fictitious name of Bataneotes. There are divers other conjectures concerning the original of this appellation, which may be seen in Lucas Holstenius, and Tanaquil Faber, and other learned men. Which of them is right, or whether any one of them be so, I cannot say.

Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical History, represents Por-


\( ^{t} \) Οἱ περὶ Κέλσον καὶ τὸν Βατανεοτήν τὸν μετ' εἰκών. In 1 Cor. hom. 6. p. 47. T. x.


y De Vitæ Porph. cap 4.  \( ^{z} \) Fab. Ep. 1. ep. 64.

\( ^{a} \) Eκεινος μὲν γαρ πληγας εν Καισαρείᾳ της Παλαιστίνης ὑπο τῶν χριστιανῶν εἰληφὼς, καὶ μὴ ενεγκώπη την φρονήν, εκ μελαγχόλιας τῶν μεν χριστιανών.
Phry as originally a christian; but having been beaten by some christians at Cæsarea in Palestine, out of resentment and melancholy he was induced to renounce christianity; and afterwards out of hatred against those by whom he had been beaten, he wrote against the christians; and he seems to intimate, that Eusebius had said as much. But nothing of that kind is now to be found in Eusebius; nor do the words of Socrates clearly import that Eusebius had said so. Augustine too has been referred to as confirming this account; but, as Tillemont has observed, the connection of the discourse shows, that Augustine intended no more, than that this philosopher was too proud to embrace christianity. Heuman also has considered this story, and rejects it as a mere fable.

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

Phry, as cited by Eusebius, speaks of his having in his youth seen Origen. Some have hence argued, that Phry went to Alexandria to see Origen; and it is expressly said by Vincentius Lirinensis. But it must be a mistake; for Origen left Alexandria before Phry was born, having removed thence in the year 231. But Phry may have seen Origen at Cæsarea, or Tyre, where he resided a good while after he had left Alexandria.

Mill, in his Prolegomena, a work which one would not suspect to have been written in haste, calls Phry Origen’s schoolfellow. Indeed Eunapius makes mention of an Origen whom he so calls; but it is not our Origen. That Origen published but two books only, as we learn

\[ \text{apōlaēs. Mιςι δὲ τῶν τυπτησαντων αυτοῦ, ὡς τὸ βλασφήμου κατὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν γράφων ἀξιεπεὶ, ὡς αὐτὸν Εὐσεβίου ὁ Πορφύριος εξελεγέν, ανασκεύασας τῆς λογίας αὐτῆς. Socr. l. iii. c. 23. p. 200.} \]

\[ b \quad \text{Quam [sapientiam] si vere ac fideler amásse, Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam cognovisses, nec ab ejus saluberrima humilitate, tumore infatitus vana scientia, resiliisses. De Civ. Dei, l. x. cap. 28.} \]

\[ c \quad \text{Disc.} \]

\[ d \quad \text{Dioec.}\]

\[ e \quad \text{I. E. l. vi. c. 19. p. 219. C.} \]

\[ f \quad \text{Namque impius ille Porphyrius excitum se fænā ipsius Alexandriam fere peraum perexisse, ibique eum vidisse, jam senem, sed plane talum tantumque, qui arcem totius scientiae condidisset. Vinc. Lit. Comm. cap. 23. p. 343. Balk. 1669.} \]

\[ g \quad \text{See vol. ii. p. 475.} \]

\[ h \quad \text{Sub hoc tempore, seu etiam aliquote post, Origenis condiscipulus, Porphyrius, libros quosdam adversus christianos edidit. Prol. num. 702.} \]

\[ i \quad \text{Συμφορεῖται μεν ως (ώς αὐτὸς αναγράφει) κρατίστω τινες υπηρέτου, Ὀργενεὶς τε, καὶ Ἀμελίος, καὶ Ακυλινος. Eunap. Vit. Porph. p. 19.} \]
from Porphyry himself in the Life of Plotinus; which cannot suit so voluminous an author as our Origen. Moreover Porphyry, in the place where he speaks of his having seen Origen, acknowledgeth, that he was then in great repute among the Christians.\(^1\)

Divers other erroneous and groundless opinions concerning Porphyry have been entertained by some learned moderns; which may be seen confuted in Pagi, and other authors, referred to by me at the beginning of this chapter.

Porphyry’s works were very numerous; there is a large catalogue of them in Suidas, though not complete; his defects are supplied by Fabricius and Lucas Holstenius. I shall mention but a few of them.

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

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

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

Against the Christians, in fifteen books: but there is nothing of this work remaining excepting some fragments, which it is incumbent on me to collect out of several authors in which they are to be found. He was answered by Methodius, Eusebius of Cesarœa, and Apollinarius of Laodicea in Syria. All which confutations of this adversary of the christians are entirely lost.

They were all very prolix, as appears from Jerom’s accounts of them. That of Methodius\(^a\) consisted of ten thou-

\(^k\) Vit. Plotin. cap. 2.

\(^1\) Concerning this point may be seen Vales. Ann. in Euseb. l. vi. c. 19. p. 120. et Fabr. de Vit. Plotini, Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 97. in notis.

\(^m\) Περὶ αποψεις ἔμφρων, ἐ. Suid.

\(^n\) Πορφύριος μὲν γαρ τὴν κοροφαίατα τῶν φιλοσοφῶν Ἐόσκρατες τὸν βιον ἔνταξεν εν τῷ γεγραμµενῷ αὐτῷ φιλοσοφῷ ἑσθρων. Socr. l. iii. c. 23. p. 197. D.

\(^o\) Τὴν φιλοσοφὸν ἐστορά, καὶ τὰς τῶν φιλοσοφῶν αναγών βιας, ὥστε Πορφύριος καὶ Σωτῆρος ανεξηλεύοντο αλλ’ ὥς μὲν Πορφύριος, ὥστε συμβανί, εἰς Ματθαίων εὐτελικαὶ, καὶ τὰς ικών χρονικα. Eunap. Pr. p. 10.

\(^a\) Κατὰ χρησιανών λογές ἐ. Suid.

\(^q\) See a passage before cited from Jerom, in the general account of the early adversaries of the Christians, p. 206, to which I now add here some others. — et contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scribavit in Siciliâ, ut quidam putant, libri triginta; de quibus ad me viginti tantum pervenerunt. Hieron. de V. I. cap. 81.

Extant ejus [Apollinar. Laod.] adversus Porphyrium triginta libri, qui inter cætera opera ejus vel maxime probantur. Id. de V. I. cap. 104.
sand lines; Eusebius's of twenty books, or more; Apollinaris's thirty books; and the twenty-sixth book, which was taken up in answering Porphyry's objections against the book of Daniel, was very long.

It is generally supposed, that Porphyry's work against the christians was written in Sicily, as is intimated by Eusebius, and Jerom. And by Cave, Porphyry is placed as flourishing in the year 270, where I also place him; and I do so partly out of regard to Suidas, who, as before seen, says he flourished in the time of Aurelian; whose reign commenced before the end of the year 270. Porphyry was then almost forty years of age; at that time he was in Sicily; but I do not recollect any thing that should determine the exact time when he published his work against the christians; for he might reside in Sicily some while; nor is there any remaining evidence, that immediately after coming into that island he set about this work. But we know that it was answered by Methodius, who is supposed to have suffered martyrdom in the year of Christ 311 or 312, near the end of Dioclesian's persecution, if not sooner. Eusebius flourished from the year 315, and after; but when his confutation of Porphyry was published cannot be said exactly; I think it was one of his first works, and might be published before he was bishop. Porphyry's long stay in Sicily was so well known, or so much talked of, that Augustine seems to have thought it to be his native country.

Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, has preserved a letter of Constantine, written soon after the council of Nice, which was held in 325. It is to this purpose: 'As Arius has imitated the impious and profane, it is but just, that he should undergo the same infamy with them. As before Porphyry, that enemy of true piety, has received a fit reward for his impious writings against religion; so that he is made infamous to all future times, and covered with reproach, and his impious writings have been destroyed; so now it is decreed, that Arius and his followers should


1 H. E. I. vi. cap. 19. p. 219. 2 De V. I. cap. 81.

1 See vol. iii. p. 184. 2 See vol. iv. p. 73, 74.

3 ——quia quidam philosophi eorum, sicut in libris suis Porphyrivm Siculum prodidit, &c. De Consensu Evang. l. i. cap. 15. T. iii. p. 2.

4 ——presertim qui nonnullas earum a Porphyrivm philosopho propositas dixit. Sed non eum esse arbitror Porphyrivm Siculum illum, cuius celeberrima est fama. Retract. l. ii. cap. 31. Tom. i.

1 Socr. l. i. cap. ix. p. 32.
be called Porphyrians, that they may bear the denomina-
tion of those whom they have imitated. And if any 
writing of Arius is found, it should be burnt.' And what follows.

From which I think it may be concluded, that before that 
time there had been an order for destroying all the books 
of Porphyry against the christian religion. But that edict 
had not its full effect; for Apollinaris, who wrote so 
voluminous a confutation of Porphyry, did not flourish till 
after the middle of the fourth century; and Libanius, who 
lived at the same time, was pleased to give a preference 
to Julian's work against the christians to that of Porphyry, 
the Tyrian old man,' as he calls him. Which implies a sup-
position, that he had read what Porphyry had written upon 
that subject, or at least that it was then extant. And Jerom, 
in his works written in the latter part of the fourth and the 
beginning of the fifth century, has made large extracts out 
of some parts of that work of Porphyry. Finally, there 
was a new edict of Theodosius the younger in 449, for 
abolishing the works of Porphyry; which affords reason to 
believe, that they subsisted, and were in being, till that 
time.

There is another work which is now generally ascribed 
to Porphyry, and is quoted as his by Eusebius in his 
Evangelical Preparation and Demonstration. It is entitled, 
'Of the Philosophy from Oracles.' I formerly declared 
my opinion concerning it, that it is not genuine; before 
we conclude this chapter we shall have occasion to speak 
more distinctly about that work.

II. The first passage of Porphyry which I shall trans-
scribe, will be taken from Eusebius; who, in the sixth book 
of his Ecclesiastical History, speaking of Origen, says, that 
many of the Greek philosophers, who were his contemporar-
ies, had made honourable mention of him, and some had 
dedicated books to him. 'But,' as he adds, 'what need I 
to insist on them, when Porphyry, who in our time, whilst 
he was in Sicily, wrote against us, and endeavoured to 
disparage our scriptures, speaking of those who had inter-
preted them, for want of arguments betakes himself to 
railing, and reviles those interpreters, and among them 
especially Origen; whom, as he says, when he was young, 
he was acquainted with. But let us hear his own words,

\[\text{Vid. Socrat. H. E. l. iii. cap. 33. in.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{y} See before, p. 206.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{x} Pερι της εκλογῆς φιλοσοφίας.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{a} Vol. iv. p. 81.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{b} ὅτε καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἱκελαμα κατατας, Πόρφυρος, συγγραμματα καθ' ἐμᾶς εὐπράμενος. κ. λ. H. E. l. vi. c. 19. p. 219}\]
which are these: "Some," says he, "determined not to see the depravity of the Jewish scriptures, but to find out a solution of objections that may be brought against them, have adopted forced interpretations, inconsistent in themselves, and unsuitable to those writings, and such as should not only be a vindication of those absurdities, but afford likewise a recommendation of their own particular opinions. For having given out, that the things delivered plainly by Moses are types and allegories, and pretending that those writings are inspired, and to be looked upon as oracles full of hidden mysteries; and having by this means captivated the judgments of men, they with a critical pride and vanity set forth their expositions." And afterwards as he goes on: "An example of this absurd method may be observed in a man, whom I saw when I was very young, who was then in great esteem, and is so still, for the writings which he has left behind him; I mean Origen, whose authority is very great with the teachers of this doctrine. For he being a hearer of Ammonius, who was so eminent in our time for skill in philosophy, in point of learning made great improvements by the instructions of that master, but with regard to the right way of life took a quite different course from him. For Ammonius, a christian by birth, and brought up by christian parents, as soon as he was arrived to maturity of age, and had gained a taste of philosophy, returned to the way of life prescribed by the laws. But Origen, a Greek, and educated in the Greek sentiment, went over to the barbarian temerity; to which he devoted himself, and corrupted himself, and the principles of literature which he had received; as to his life, living as a christian, and contrary to the laws; with regard to his sentiments concerning things, and the Deity, a Greek, and joining Greek senti-

c Theς ης μαθηρος των ευαίκων γραφων εκ αποσαίνων, λυσα τινες εφεύραι προμομηντες, ετ' εξήγησις εγραφατον ανυγκλων και αναριμως τως γεγραμμενους εκ απολογιαν μαλλον ύπερ των οθεναιν, παραδοξοι ει και επαινον τας οκεας φερασας. Ανεγιματα γαρ τοις φαινοσι παρα Μωαιτος λεγομενα εις καπασαντες και επεθυμαντες δος θεσποματα πληρη κρυφων μυηματων, έι τε τα τυφα το κρατικοτης φυχης καιαγοιναντες, επαγων εξηγησης. Ib. p. 219, 220.

d Ακρατης γαρ κης Αμμονε- ες μεν την των λογων εμπειρων, πολλην πορα την εισπαλαυ την ωφελαν εκαθορο πε ει την ορθην τη βιον προαιρεντην εναντιαν εκεινη τη βιον ποραν εαποισατο. Αμμονεος μεν γαρ - ενθες προς την κατα νομες πολιτειαν μετεβιλε ο λογος. Ο λογεις δε, έλλην εν έλληνι, παιδευεσ λογως προς το βαρβαραν εικους τολμηων εις εφενναι αυτον τε και την εν των λογων ειν εκκατλονες κατα μεν τον βιον, χρησιμων έρωτ, και παρανομως κατα εις τας περι των πραγματων, και τη θεον οδοι, ελληνων τε και τα 'Ελληνων των οθεας υποβαλλομενος μοθος. Ib. p. 220.
ments with their absurd fables; for he was very conversant with Plato, and Numenius, and Cronius, as well as with the writings of Apolophanes and Longinus, as also of Moderatus and Nicomachus, and other learned Pythagoreans. He also read the works of the Stoic Chæremon, and of Cornutus. When he had learned from them the allegorical method of explaining the Greek mysteries, he applied it to the Jewish scriptures." So writes Porphyry in the third book of his work against the christians.

Upon this passage we may make a few remarks.

1. Eusebius supposeth, that Porphyry's book against the christians was written in Sicily. The same is intimated by Jerom.

2. Porphyry speaks of his having in his youth seen Origen; some have hence concluded, that Porphyry went to Alexandria on purpose to see Origen; but that must be a mistake, as was shown just now.

3. Porphyry calls Origen a Greek, and says he was educated in the 'Greek sentiments,' but afterwards, when grown up, he embraced the christian religion; all which Eusebius, who must have well known Origen's history, shows to be false. Origen's father, Leonidas, was a christian, and a martyr for the christian religion. Certainly, I think, our ecclesiastical historian's account may be relied upon, as was formerly observed. This mistake of Porphyry, in my opinion, affords a good argument to believe that he was not originally a christian: if he had, he could not have been so strangely ignorant about christian affairs.

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

5. None can forbear to observe Porphyry's manner of speaking of the christians, and the christian religion; this he calls the 'barbarian temerity;' they who embraced it, acted 'contrary to the laws;' they who forsook it, 'returned to the way of life prescribed by the laws.' This way of speaking seems not so very becoming a philosopher, who should follow the dictates of reason, whether they have the encouragement of human authority or not. However, we hence perceive, that christianity was not so encouraged at that time, though perhaps it was not openly persecuted. And I humbly conceive, that they who then embraced a life

--- et contra Porphyrium, qui eodem tempore scriebat in Sicilia. De V. I. cap. 81.

Vid. Vales. in loc.

See vol. ii. p. 470.
contrary to the laws, may be reasonably supposed to have been as honest and understanding men, as they who in all things complied with the laws; they who lived a life contrary to the laws must have practised some self-denial, which they would not have done without some reason for it.

III. I shall now allege Porphyry's objections against the book of Daniel, which was in the twelfth book of his work against the christians.

1. In the first place I shall transcribe a part of St. Jerom's preface to his Commentary upon the prophet Daniel, written about the year 410, or sooner.

"The 1. twelfth book of Porphyry, says Jerom, 'was

1 Contra prophetam Danielem duodecimum librum scripsit Porphyrius, nolens eum ab ipso, causas inscriptus est nomine, esse composuit, sed a quo dam, qui temporibus Antiochi, qui appellatus est Epiphanes, fuerit in Judea ; et non tam Danielem ventura dixisse, quam illum narrasse praeterita. Denique quiequid usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiam continere; si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescieret, esse mentitum. Cui solertissime responderunt Caesariensis episcopus tribus voluminibus, id est, octavo decimo, et nono decimo, et vicesimo; Apollinarius quoque uno grandi libro, hoc est vicesimo sexto; et ante hos, ex parte, Methodius. Verum, quia nobis propositionem, est non adversarii calumniis respondere, quae longo sermone indigent; sed ea quae a prophetâ dicta sunt, nostris disserere; id est, christianis; illud in prestatione commoneo, nullum prophetarum tam aperte dixisse de Christo. Non enim solum scribit eum venturum, quod est commune eum eateris; sed etiam quo tempore venitur sit, docet, et reges per ordinem digerit, et annos enumerat, ac manifestissima signa prenuntiat. Quae quia vidit Porphyrius universa completa, et transacta negare non poterat, superatas historie veritate, in hanc prorupit calumniam, ut ea, quae in consumptione mundi de antichristo futura dicaret, propter gestorum in quibusdam similidinem, sub Antiocho Epiphanie impleta contendit. Cujus impugnatio testimonium veritatis est. Tanta enim dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse, praeterita. Et tamen sicubi se occasio in explanatione ejusdem voluminis dederit, calumniæ illius strictum respondere conabor— Sed et hoc nósse debemus inter eatera, Porphyrium de Danielis libro nobis objicere, idcirco illum appareat confictum, nec haberí apud Hebraeos, sed Graeci sermonis esse commentum, quia in Susanna fabulâ continueatur, dicente Daniele ad presbyteros, quo te solum, et a quo te fuerit, verum, quam etymologia magis Graeco sermoni convenire, quam Hebraeo. Cui et Eusebii et Apollinaris pari sententia responderunt, Susannæ, Belisque, ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraico, sed partem esse prophetice Abacuc, filii Jesu de tribu Levi; sicut juxta lx. interpretés in titulo ejusdem Belis fabulâ ponitur: 'Homo quidam erat sacerdos nomine Daniel, filius Abda, convivâ regis Babylonis: quum Daniel et tres pueros de tribu Juda fuisse.' Sanctorum scriptura testetur— EcCHRÆV.'
written against the book of the prophet Daniel; in which he says, that it was not written by him whose name it bears, but by another, who lived in Judea in the time of Antiochus, suruamed Epiphanes: and that the book of Daniel does not foretell things to come, but relates what had already happened. In a word, whatever it contains to the time of Antiochus is true history; if there is any thing relating to after times, it is all falsehood; forasmuch as the writer could not see things future, but at the most only make some conjectures about them. To him several of our authors have written answers with great labour and diligence, in particular Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, in three volumes, the 18th, the 19th, and the 20th. Apollinaris also in one large book, that is, the 26th, and before them, in part, Methodius. As it is not my design to confute the objections of the adversary, which would require a long discourse, but only to explain the prophet to our own people, that is, christians; I shall just observe, that none of the prophets have spoken so clearly of Christ as Daniel; for he not only foretells his coming, as do the others likewise, but he also teaches the time when he will come, and mentions in order the princes of the intermediate space, and the number of the years, and the signs of his appearance. And because Porphyry saw all these things to have been fulfilled, and could not deny that they had actually come to pass, being overcome by the power of truth, he was compelled to say as he did; and because of some similitude of circumstances, he asserted, that the things foretold as to be fulfilled in Antichrist at the end of the world, happened in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Which kind of opposition is a testimony of truth; for such is the plain interpretation of the words, that to incredulous men the prophet seems not to foretell things to come, but to relate things already past. And though, as before said, it is not my intention to confute all his objections, I shall, as occasion offers, take notice of some of eronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii, Theonis, et Adronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius esse secutum se dicit; Josephi quoque, et eorum quos ponit Josephus, præcipeque nostri Livii et Pompeii Trogi, atque Justini, qui omnem extremæ visionis narrat historiam; et post Alexandrum usque ad Cæsarem Augustum, Syriæ, et Ægypti, id est, Seleuci, et Antiochi, et Ptolemaorum bella describunt. Et si quando cogimur literarum secularum recordari, et aliqua ex his dicere quæ olim omisimus, non nostre est voluntatis, sed ut, ita dicam gravissimæ necessitatis; ut probemus ea quæ a sanctis prophetis ante secula multa predicta sunt, tam Grecorum, quam Latinorum, et aliarum gentium literis contineri. Hieron. Pr. ad Explan. in Daniel. ad Pammach. et Marcellam. Tom. iii. p. 1071, &c.
his weak arguments—And it may be proper for us, among other things, to observe now, that Porphyry argued, that the book of Daniel was not genuine, because it was written in Greek, and therefore certainly was not the work of any Jew, but the forgery of some Greek writer. This he argued from some Greek words which are in the fable of Susanna; to which both Eusebius and Apollinaris returned the same answer; That the fabulous stories of Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon, are not in the Hebrew, and are said to have been composed by a person of the tribe of Levi; whereas the sacred scripture assures us, that Daniel and the three children his companions were of the tribe of Judah. And they said, they were not accountable for what was not received by the Jews, nor was a part of the sacred scriptures—It ought to be farther observed, that in order to understand the latter parts of the book of Daniel, an acquaintance with many Greek historians is absolutely necessary, such as Suctorius, Callinicus, Diodorus, Hieronymus, Polybius, Possidonius, Claudius, Theon, and Andronicus, surnamed Alipius, whom also Porphyry says he had followed; as likewise Josephus, and Livy, and Pompeius Trogus, and Justin, who all relate the history of the last vision, and wrote the history of the wars of Syria and Egypt, that is, of Seleucus, and Antiochus, and the Ptolemies, from the time of Alexander to the Roman emperor Augustus. And if I also consult these profane authors, it is out of mere necessity, that I may show the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies, from the writings of Greek, and Latin, and other authors.

From all which we perceive, that Porphyry's work against the christians was much laboured, and that in this argument he displayed all his learning, which was very considerable. Hence also we can perceive the difficulty of undertaking an answer to him; for which very few were fully qualified; in which none of the apologists for christianity seem to have answered expectations. The preface of Jerom to his Commentary upon Daniel, which I have now so largely quoted, is supposed to have been written about the year 407, as before said. In the preface to his Latin translation of Daniel from Hebrew, computed to have been made in 392, or sooner, he says: 'The objections of Porphyry against this book are well known from Methodius,

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Eusebius, and Apollinarius, who have written profuxi answers to him. I cannot say whether they have satisfied the curious reader.

Thus writes Jerom, with great freedom, as may be supposed. In short, Porphyry was a formidable adversary. The public was satisfied with Origen's one answer to Celsus; for we hear not of any other attempted afterwards. But against Porphyry, after Methodius wrote Eusebius, and after him Apollinarius, these two last especially very large volumes; and yet altogether seem not to have made out a complete answer.

I now intend to transcribe several articles of Jerom's Commentary upon Daniel, in which some notice is taken of Porphyry.

2. Dan. ii. 40, "And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things." 'Which,' as Jerom observes, plainly denotes the Romans. And afterwards: 'But in the end of all these kingdoms, of gold, silver, brass, and iron, "was cut out" [see ver. 34 and 45] "a stone," which denotes our Lord and Saviour, "cut out without hands," that is, born of a virgin without the concurrence of man. Which, breaking in pieces all the other kingdoms, became a great mountain, and filled all the earth; which the Jews and the impious Porphyry refer to the people of Israel, who in the end of the world, as they will have it, shall be very powerful, and break in pieces all other kingdoms, and reign for ever.'

* Jerom in one place intimates, that very many had written against Celsus and Porphyry. Adversum impissimos Celsum atque Porphyrum, quanti scripsero nostrorum? Advers. Rufin. i. iii. T. iv. p. 472. But that may be principally intended of Porphyry, against whom several had written, as we have seen. And many christian writers may have, in their works, occasionally confuted Celsus: but it does not appear that any, beside Origen, had written against him on set purpose: nor did Jerom know of any other; as is evident from the manner of his expressions in divers places. Origines, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, multis versuum millibus scribunt, adversus Celsum et Porphyrum. Adv. Jovinian. ep. 30. [al. 50.] p. 236. Scripserunt contra nos Celsus atque Porphyrius. Priori Origenes, alteri Methodius, Eusebius, et Apollinaris fortissime responderunt. Âd Magnum, ep. 83. [al. 84.] p. 655.

* Regnum autem quartum, quod perspicue refertur ad Romanos, ferrum est, quod comminuet et domat omnia—In fine autem horum omnium regnorum, auri, argenti, âris, et ferris, abscissus est lapis Dominus atque Salvator, sine manibus, id est, absque coitu et humano semine, de utero virginali; et, contra omnibus regnis, factus est mons magus, et implievit universum terram. Quod Judæi et impius Porphyrius male ad populum referunt Israël, quem in fine seculorum voluit esse fortissimum, et omnia regna conterere, et regnare in æternum. Hieron. Tom. iii. p. 1081.
3. Ver. 46, 47, “Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell on his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation, and sweet odours unto him.”

Upon this place\textsuperscript{m} Porphyry says, it is not reasonable to believe, that a proud king should worship a captive: as if, says Jerom, it were not true that the Lycoanians tended to offer sacrifices to Paul and Barnabas, when they were surprised at the greatness of the miracles which they had seen. [Acts xiv.] The fault lies in the heathen people, who reckon every being above them to be a god. The scriptures are not to be blamed, which only relate things truly as they happened. And it may be said, that the king himself sufficiently explains the grounds of his worship, and his offering sacrifices and incense, in his own words which follow. Ver. 47, “The king answered unto Daniel, and said; Of a truth it is, that your God is a God of gods, and a Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets; seeing thou couldst reveal this secret.” Therefore the king did not so much worship Daniel as God in Daniel, who had revealed those secrets.

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

4.—ver. 48, “Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts.” ‘Here,’ says Jerom, the reviler of the church, (probably meaning Porphyry, the same that had been mentioned before,) takes upon him to blame the prophet for not refusing those gifts, and for readily accepting Babylonish honours; not considering, as Jerom adds, that therefore the king had the dream, and the secrets of it had been revealed to Daniel, that he might

\textsuperscript{m} Hunc locum calumniatur Porphyrius, quod nunquam superbissimus rex captivum adoraverit: quasi non et Lycaones ob signorum magnitudinem Paulo et Barnabae voluerint hostias immolare. Error ergo est Gentilium, qui omne quod supra se est deos putant. Scriptura non debet imputari, quae simpliciter reffert universa quae gesta sunt. Sed et hoc possimus dicere, quod causas adorandi et immolandarum victimarum, et incensii et sacrificii, ipse rex exposerit, dicens ad Danielem, ‘Vere Deus vester Deus deorum est, et Dominus regum’—Ergo non tam Danielem, quam in Daniele adorat Deum, qui mysteria revelavit. Quod si displicet hoc, dicendum est—lb. p. 1081, 1082.

\textsuperscript{n} Et in hoc calumniator ecclesiæ, prophetam reprehendere nimitur, quare non recusavit munera, et honorum Babylonium libenter susceperit; non considerans, idea regem vidisse somnum, et interpretationis mysteria per puerum revelata, ut Daniel cresceret, et in loco captivitatis princeps omnium fieret Chaldaeorum, et Dei omnipotentia nosceretur. Quod quidem et in Joseph apud Pharaonem et Egyptum factum legimus; et in Mardochoæ apud Assurum; ut in utraque gente haberent captivi et peregrinantes Judæi solatia, videntes hominem gentis sue Agyptiorum esse principem vel Chaldaeorum, p. 1082.
5. Having recited the first three verses of the fourth chapter, Jerom says: 'The o letter of Nebuchadnezzar is inserted in the volume of the prophets, that the book might not be afterwards thought to be a forgery, as a certain sycophant pretends, but might be known to be the book of Daniel himself.'

6. Ch. v. ver. 10, "Now the queen, by reason of the words of the king; and his lords, came into the banqueting-house." 'Her, p Josephus reckons the grandmother of Belshazzar; Origen calls her his mother. She therefore was acquainted with the things past in former times, which the king was ignorant of. Let Porphyry then awake, who dreams that she was Belshazzar's wife; and ridicules her for knowing more than her husband.'

7. Ch. vii. ver. 7, "After this I saw in the night-visions, and behold, a fourth beast——and it had ten horns." 'Porphyry,' says q Jerom, 'puts the two last beasts, that of the Macedonians and Romans, in the one kingdom of the Macedonians; and then divides it in this manner. By the leopard he understands Alexander himself, and the beast "diverse from the others," he supposes to mean the four successors of Alexander; and then he computes ten kings, till the time of Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, who were exceeding cruel: and those kings he reckons not of one and the same kingdom, for instance, Macedonia, Syria,

o Epistola Nebuchodonosor in prophetæ volumine ponitur; ut non fictus alio postea liber, sicut sycophanta mentitur, sed ipsius Danielis esse credatur, p. 1087.


q Porphyrius duas posteriores bestias, Macedonum et Romanorum, in uno Macedonum regno ponit, et dividit; paradum volens intelligi ipsum Alexandrum; bestiam autem dissimilem catenis bestiam, quatuor Alexandri successores; et deinde usque ad Antiochum, cognomento Epiphanen, decem reges enumerat, qui fuerunt sevissimi: ipsoque reges non unius ponit regni, verbi gratia, Macedonie, Syrie, Asie, et Egypti: sed de diversis regnis unum efficit regum ordinem; ut videlicet ea quæ scripta sunt, "Os loquens ingentia," non de antichristo, sed de Antiocho, dicta credantur. p. 1100, 1101.
Asia, or Egypt; but out of divers kingdoms he forms one
succession of kings; this he does, that those words, "a
mouth speaking great things," may be understood to re-
late, not to Antichrist, but to Antiochus.'

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

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

'In' vain does Porphyry imagine, that the little horn
which came up after the ten horns denotes Antiochus
Epiphanes. Therefore let us say, as all the writers of the
church have delivered it to us, that in the end of the world,
when the Roman empire is to be destroyed, there shall be
ten kings, who will divide the Roman government among
themselves.'—And what follows. Upon this place
likewise Grotius might be consulted by such as are
curious.

9.—ver. 14, "And there was given him a kingdom,
that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him.
His dominion is an everlasting dominion—and his kingdom
that which shall not be destroyed."

'Let' Porphyry answer, to whom among men this can
agree; or, who is so powerful as to break in pieces and
trample upon the little horn, which he takes to be Anti-
ochus? If he answers, that the generals of Antiochus were
overcome by Judas Maccabæus, he ought to show, "how
he came with the clouds of heaven as the Son of man;
and how he was brought before the Ancient of days; and
power, and a kingdom was given unto him, so that all
people, and nations, and language, should serve him:"
and his kingdom should be everlasting, and without end."

Frustra Porphyrius cornu parvulum, quod post decem cornua ortum est,
Epiphanem Antiochum suspicatur—Ergo dicamus quod omnes scriptores
ecclesiastici tradiderunt: in consummatione mundi, quando regnum destructu-
dum est Romanorum, decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanum inter se
divident.—&c. p. 1101.

Hoc cui potest hominum convenire, respondeat Porphyrius: aut quis tam
totens sit, qui cornua parvulum, quem Antiochum interpretatur, fregerit, atque
corriverit? Si responderit, Antiochi principes a Juda Maccabæo fuisse supe-
ratos, docere debet, quomodo vex civili nubibus veniat, quasi filius hominis;
et offeratur vetusto dierum, et detur potestas, et regnum, et omnes populis,
tribus, ac lingues serviant illi; et potestas ejus æterna sit, quæ nullo fine
claudatur. p. 1103.
10. Ch. ix. 1, "In the first year of Darius the son of Abasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldaëans." Ver. 2, "In the first year of his reign, I Daniel understood by books."

'This is Darius, who together with Cyrus overcame the Chaldaëans and Babylonians, and not that Darius, in whose second year the temple was built, as Porphyry pretends, that he may bring down the times of Daniel the lower; or he, who was overcome by Alexander the Macedonian.'

This Darius, as learned moderns observe, is the same who by heathen historians is called Cyaxares, the son of Astyages. Porphyry is here much blamed by Grotius, for his insinuation to the prejudice of the real time of Daniel, writer of this book.

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

'He intends Seleucus, surnamed Philopater, son of Antiochus the Great, who did nothing worthy of his father, or the kingdom of Syria, and died ingloriously. Porphyry will have this person not to be Seleucus, but Ptolemy Epiphanes—against which Jerom proceeds to argue.' For this likewise Porphyry is corrected by Grotius.

12. Upon ch. xi. 21—24, Jerom remarks. 'Such is

1 Hic est Darius, qui cum Cyro Chaldaeos Babyloniosque superavit, ne putemus illum Dariun, cujus secundo anno templum edificatum est, (quod Porphyrius suspicatur, ut annos Danielis extendat) vel eum, qui ab Alexandro, Macedonum regem, superatus est. p. 1107.

See Prideaux, Connexion, at the year before Christ, 612. vol. i. p. 48. and Lowth upon Dan. ix. 1.

2 'In anno primo Darii:'] id est, Nabonnedi, ut supra dictum. Improbe Porphyrius, ut Danielem serius vivisse imperitis persuadat, hunc Dariun eum vult esse, ab quo templum est restitutum. Gr. in Dan. ix. 1.

Seleucum dicit, cognomento Philopatorem, filium magni Antiochi, qui nihil dignum Syriæ et patris gessit imperio, et absque ullis præliis inglorios perit. Porro Porphyrius non vult hunc esse Seleucum, sed Ptolemæum Epiphanem—p. 1126.

3 Illud, ‘staba in loco ejus,’ et Porphyrium refutat, qui haec ad Ptolemæum Epiphanem Aegypti regem trahebat, et Hebraeos, qui ad Tryphonem, Antiochi Sedete tutorem. Gr. ad cap. xi. 20.

4 Hucuseque ordo historiæ sequitur, et inter Porphyrium ac nostros nulla contentio est. Cætera, quæ sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis, ille interpretatur super personam Antiochi, qui cognominatus est Epiphanes, filius Antiochi Magni, qui post Seleucum undecim annos regnavit in Syriâ, obtinuitque Judæam; sub quo légis persecutio, et Maccabæorum bella narrantur. Noster autem haec omnia de antichristo prophetari arbitrantur, qui ultimo tempore
the order of the history; nor is there here any difference
between Porphyry and our people. The rest, which fol-

lows to the end of the volume, he interprets of Antiochus
Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus, son of Antiochus the
Great, who after Seleucus reigned eleven years in Syria,
who subdued Judea; in whose time happened the perse-
cution of the Jewish laws, and the wars of the Maccabees.
Our people suppose, that all these things are prophetical
of Antichrist, who will appear in the last days of the
world. As many things in the following part of this
book agree to Antiochus, they say, he was a type of Anti-
christ; and that those things which were partly verified
in him, will be more fully accomplished in Antichrist.
This, as Jerom says, 'is the manner of scripture, which be-
forehand represents in types what will be more completely
fulfilled afterwards. So what is said in the 72d Psalm of
Solomon cannot all agree to him; in part, and as in a
shadow and figures, they are said of him, but are more
completely fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour. As there-
fore our Saviour had for types Solomon and other saints,
so Antichrist is to be thought to have had a type of him-
self in that bad prince Antiochus, who persecuted the
saints, and profaned the temple. However,' says Jerom,
'let us observe Porphyry's exposition as well as our own.
In the room of Seleucus, as he and his followers say, came
up his brother Antiochus Epiphanes, who did such and
such things.—All these things which I have thus re-
hearsed compendiously, Porphyry, following the guidance
of Suctorius, has drawn out with great prolixity in an
insinuating manner; but our people more truly and justly

futurus est. Quumque multa, quæ postea lecturi et exposituri sumus, super
Antiochi persona conveniunt, typum eum volunt antichristi habere; et quæ
in illo ex parte præcesserint, in antichristo ex toto esse complenda. Et hunc
esse morem scripturae sanctæ, ut futurorum veritatem premissit in typis, juxta
illud, quod, in Domino Salvatore, in septuagesimo primo psalmo dicitur, qui
prænotatur Salomonis; et omnia quæ de eo dicas, Salomoni non valent
convenire.——Ex parte autem, et quasi in umbræ et imagine veritatis in
Salomone premissa sunt, ut in Domino Salvatore perfectus implearentur.
Sicut igitur Salvator habet, et Salomonem, et ceteros sanctos in typum ad-
ventus sui; sic et antichristus pessimum regem Antiochum, qui sanctos perse-
cutus est, et templum violavit, recte typum sui habuisse credendus est. Se-
quamur igitur expositionis ordinem, et juxta utramque explanationem, quid
adversariis, quid nostris videatur breviter annotatum. Stabit, inquitunt, in
loco Seleuci frater ejus Antiochus Epiphanes.—Hæc Porphyrius sequens
Suctorium sermonem laciosissimo prosecutus est, quæ nos brevi compendio
diximus. Nosti autem et melius interpretantur, et rectius: quod in fine
mundi hæc sit facturus antichristus, p. 1127, 1128.
'explain this of Antichrist, who shall appear in the end of 'the world.'

In his annotations upon ver. 21st, Grotius\(^a\) expresseth an earnest wish for Suctorius, and other writers, made use of by Porphyry, for explaining what follows. In the mean time, he says, we must do the best we can with what we have.

13. Upon ver. 25th and 26th of the same xith ch. Jerom goes on: 'These\(^a\) things Porphyry explains of Antiochus

—But our people, according to the fore-mentioned sense

—interpret all of Antichrist.'

14. I forbear to take any thing from Jerom's comment upon ver. 27—33.

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

'By" "the little help" Porphyry supposes to be intended

'Mattathias, of the town of Modin, who rebelled against the generals of Antiochus, and endeavoured to uphold the worship of God. He calls it,' he says, "a little help," because Mattathias was killed in battle, and afterwards his son Judas, called Maccabæus, fell also; and his brothers were imposed upon by the treachery of their adversaries.

'Read the books of the Maccabees. All these things, as he says, were therefore done, that the pious might be tried, and purified, and made white, to a certain time; because the victory was deferred to another time. But our people explain the little help under Antichrist after the following manner.' See 1 Mac. ii. 1—5.

\(^a\) Magno velim, ad explicanda qua sequuntur, Suctorium mihi dari, quo usus olim Porphyrius. Eum multisque alios cum non habeamus, utendum nobis iis scriptoribus qui restant, et iis que ex Porphyrio nobis dedit Hieronymus. Gr. in Dan. xi. 21.

\(^a\) Hæc Porphyrius interpretatur de Antiocho, qui adversus Ptolemæum, sororis suæ filium, profectus est cum exercitu magno.—Nostri autem, secundum priorem sententiam, interpretantur omnia de antichristo. p. 1128.

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

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

17. Afterwards, in his comment upon ver. 44, 45, Jerom again observes what Porphyry said concerning the death of Antiochus, which he had collected out of divers authors:

"Quod quidem et nos de antichristo intelligimus. Porphyrius autem, et caeteri qui sequuntur eum, de Antiocho Epiphanide Interpretantur, quod erectus sit contra cultum Dei, et in tantam superbiae veneri, ut in templo Hierosolymis simulacrum suum ponit jussit. Quodque sequitur, 'et diriget, donec compleatur ira, quia in ipso erit consummatio,' sic intelligunt, tam diu eum posse, donec irascatur ei Deus, et ipsum interfici jubeat. Siquidem Polybius et Diodorus, qui Bibliothecarum scribunt historias, narrant eum non solum contra Deum facisse Judæae, sed avaritiae facibus accensum, etiam templum Dianæ in Elimais, quod erat ditissimum, spoliare conatum; oppressumque a custodibus templi et vicinis circum gentibus, et quibusdam phantasia atque terroribus, versum in amentiam, ac postremum morbo interisse. Et hoc ei accidisse commemorant, quia templum Dianæ violare conatus est. Nos autem dicimus, etiam si accidisset ei, idem accidisse, quia in sanctos Dei mul- tum exerceretur crudelitatem, et polluerit templum ejus. Non enim pro eo quod conatus est facere, et acta pennientiâ desvivt implere, sed pro eo quod fecit, punitus esse credendus est. p. 1131."
"Which is, \(^d\) that having gone into the east, when he came into the province of Elimais, the remotest country of the Persians lying that way; when he attempted to plunder the temple of Diana, which had in it abundance of rich offerings, he was put to flight by the barbarians, who greatly respected that temple, and died overwhelmed with grief in Tabes, a city of Persia. This he writes by way of argument against us in a very artful manner; and if he could show that those things are said, not of antichrist, but of Antiochus, what is that to us, who do not attempt to prove the coming of Christ, nor of his opposite, antichrist, out of every text of scripture? Allowing these things to be said of Antiochus, what prejudice is that to our cause? Rather let him set aside doubtful things, and keep to such as are clear. Let him say, who is "that stone, which being cut out of the mountain without hands," should increase to a great mountain, and was to fill the whole earth, and to break in pieces the fourfold image; and who is that Son of man who is to come with the clouds, and to be brought before the Ancient of days, to whom was to be given a kingdom that has no end; and whom all people and nations and tongues should serve? These things, which are manifest, he passeth over, and affirms they relate to the Jews, whom nevertheless we know to be still in bondage; and he likewise says, that

\(^d\) Et in hoc loco Porphyrius tale nescio quid de Antiocho somniat. Pugnans, inquit, contra \(\text{Egyptios, et Libyas \text{Ethiopasque pertransiens, audiet sibi ab Aquilone, et ab Oriente praecisa concitari: unde et regrediens capiet Aradios resistentes.}\) Et veniet, inquit, \(\text{usque ad summitatem ipsius montis, in Elimaiade provinci\ae, que est ultima Persarum ad Orientem regio: ibique volens templum Dianae spoliare, quod infinita donaria habebat, fugatus a barbaris est, qui mira veneratione fanum illud suspiciebant, et mortuos est manuere consumtus in Tabes, oppido Persidis. Hac ille, in suggestionem nostr\ae, artificiosissimo sermones composit. Quae etiam si potuerit approbare, non de antichristo dicta, sed de Antiocho; quid ad nos, qui non ex omnibus scripturarum locis Christi probamus adventum, et antichristi mendacium? Pone enim hae dici de Antiocho, quid nocet religioni nostrae? Cumque et in superiori visione, ubi in Antiocho prophetia consummata est, aliquid de antichristo dicitur? Dimittat itaque dubia, et in manifestis haeceat: dicatque, quis sit ille lapsis, qui, de mente absconsus sine manibus, creverit in montem magnum, et orbe impulserit, et quadriformem imaginem contriverit: qui sit ille filius hominis, qui eum nubibus venturus sit, et staturus ante vetustum dierum et dandum ei regnum, quod nullo fine claudatur; omnesque populi, tribus, ac lingueri ipsi servituri sunt. Hae, que manifesta sunt, preterit, et de Judaeis asserit prophetari, quos usque hodie servire cognoscimus. Et dicit eum, qui sub nomine Danielis scriptum librum, ad refocillatoram spem suorum fuisse mentitum; non quo ommem histori\ae futuram nosse potuerit, sed quo facta memoraret. Nostri autem extremum visionis hujus capitulum super antichristo sic exponunt. p. 1133."
he who wrote the book in the name of Daniel, told lies to please and comfort his own people; he pretended to prophecy, but indeed only wrote history. Jerom then proceeds to show how our people, as he says, explain the last paragraph of this vision concerning antichrist; and then he concludes his observations upon this chapter. This, he says, I have now shown with some prolixity, that I might expose the folly of Porphyry, who either was ignorant of these things, or pretended not to know them; and likewise to show the difficulty of the sacred scriptures, which many people, and even such as are very unskillful, pretend to understand, without the grace of God, or an acquaintance with the doctrine of our ancestors.

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

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

Hitherto, says Jerom, Porphyry has written with

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* Hactenus Porphyrius utcumque se tenuit, et tam nostrorum imperitis, quam suorum male eruditis, imposuit. De hoc capitulo quid dicturus est, in quo mortuorum describatur resurrectio, aliis suscittatis in vitam aeternam, et aliis in opprobrium sempiternum? Sed quid non faciat pertinacia? --- Et hoc, inquit, de Antiocho scriptum est, qui vadens in Persidem, Lysias, qui Antiochiae et Phæaciae praerat, reliquit exercitum, ut adversus Judæos pugnaret, urbemque eorum Jerusalem subverteret; quae omnia narrat Josephus, historiae auctor Hebrææ; quod talis fuerit tribulatio, quis nuncquam; et tempus adveniret, quale non fuist, ex quo gentes esse ceciperunt usque ad illud tempus. Redditā autem victoriam, et causis Antiochi ducibus, ipsoque Antiocho in Perside mortuo, salvatus est.
some sort of reserve and modesty, and has imposed upon
unskilful people among us, and the ill-instructed on his
own side; but what can he say upon this paragraph, in
which the resurrection of the dead is spoken of?—
There is nothing which the perverseness of men may not
do. His explication is this: And this also is written of
Antiochus, who when he went into Persia, he left an army
with Lysias, who was governor of Antioch and Phœnicia,
that he might fight with the Jews, and destroy their city
Jerusalem; all which things are related by Josephus, the
Jewish historian, showing, that there was then such dis-
tress as never had been before. But the Jews overcoming,
and the generals of Antiochus being slain, and himself
having died in Persia, the people of Israel were delivered;
even "all they who were written in the book of God,"
that is, who had valiantly stood up for the law. On the
contrary, they were "blotted out of the book," who had
apostatized from the law, and joined the interest of Anti-
ochus. Then, says he, they who, as it were, "slept in the
dust of the earth," and were covered over with the weight
of affliction, and were, as it were, buried in sepulchres, rose
out of the "dust of the earth" to unexpected victory.
The keepers of the law lifted up their heads out of the
ground, rising to eternal life; and the apostates from it to
"everlasting contempt." The masters and teachers who
understood the law, "will shine as the firmament," and
they who had exhortcd the lower orders of the people to
keep God's ordinances, "will shine as the stars for ever
and ever." He also allegeth the history of the Maccabees,
in which it is said, that many of the Jews fled into the
deserts, and hid themselves in caves and holes of the
rocks, and after the victory came out. This, he says, is

populus Israël; omnes qui scripti in libro Dei, hoc est, qui legem fortissime
defenderunt, et e contrario, qui deleti sunt de libro, hoc est, qui prævaricatores
exitierunt legis et Antiochi fuerunt partium. Tunc, ait, hi qui quasi in terræ
pulvere dormiebant, et operti erant malorum pondere, et quasi in sepulcris
miseriarum reconditi, ad insperatam victoriam de terræ pulvere resurrexerunt:
et de humo elevaverunt caput custodes legis, resurgentes in vitam æternam, et
prævaricatores in opprobrium sempiternum. Magistri autem et doctores, qui
legis notitiam habuerunt, fulgebunt quasi caelestia; et qui inferiores populos
exhortati sunt ad custodiendas ceremonias Dei, ad instar astrorum fulgebunt in
perpetuas æternitates. Ponit quoque historiam de Macchabæis, in quâ dicitur,
multos Judæorum sub Mattathia et Judâ Macchabæo ad eumen confugiæ,
et latuisset in speluncis, et in cavernis petrarum, ac post victoriam processisset:
et hoc μεταφοράς, quasi de resurrectione mortuorum esse predicta. Tempore
autem antichristi talem tribulationem fore, qualis nunquam fuit ex quo gentes
esse coeperunt, melius intelligitur. p. 1135.
expressed metaphorically, as if it were a resurrection from the dead.' 1 Macc. ii. 28, 29; 2 Macc. viii. 1.

But Jerom says, that the tribulations here spoken of are better understood of the times of antichrist.

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

19.——Ver. 7, “And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand, and his left hand to heaven, and swear by him that liveth for ever and ever, that it shall be for time, times, and a half.”

Upon which Jerom observes: ‘This time, and times, and half a time,’ Porphyry interprets, as meaning three years and a half; nor do we deny this to be agreeable to the style of scripture. And Porphyry, referring this to Antiochus, says, that by his means the temple was deserted for three years and a half; but,’ says Jerom, ‘Josephus and the book of Maccabees mention no more than three years, during which space the temple was defiled, and the image of Jupiter stood there by the order of Antiochus Epiphanes. Therefore,’ as Jerom adds, ‘that space of three years and a half relates not to Antiochus, but to antichrist.’ Of this I may take some further notice hereafter; at present we proceed.

20. Same ver. 7, “And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.”

‘That is,’ says Jerom, ‘When the people of God shall

k ‘Et multi, de his qui dormiunt in terrae pulvere, evigilabunt.’] Bene vertas: ‘Et multi, qui cubarunt in pulverulentâ humo, exsurgent; id est, qui ob religionem ejecti urbe, oppidis, vicis, et villis, non habuerunt ubi caput reponerent, (ut Christus de se loquitur, Lucæ ix. 58.) redibunt in urbem, et alia loca habitata. Reddeendum est Porphyrio quod ei debetur testimonium: est enim hunc locum optime interpretatus de iis qui ob legis cultum diu extortes ad sua redire; sic tamen ut voces mirâ arte ita sint temperata, ut resurrectionis mysterium, quod aperte ante evangelium revelari non debuit, innuant magis quam expliciunt. Nihil potuit dici verius.


m Quando, inquit, populus Dei dispersus fuerit, vel Antiocho persequente,
be dispersed in the persecution of Antiochus, as Porphyry
will have it; or in the time of antichrist, as our people
truly show, then all these things shall be fulfilled."

21. Ver. 11, "And from the time that the daily sacrifice
shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh de-
solate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and
ninety days."

"These\(^9\) thousand two hundred and ninety days, Por-
phyry says, were fulfilled in the time of Antiochus, and
in the desolation of the temple; whereas Josephus and the
book of Maccabees, as before said, mention three years
only. Whence it is manifest, that the three years and a
half are to be understood of the times of antichrist, who
will persecute the saints for three years and a half, that is,
a thousand two hundred and ninety days."

So writes Jerom, not considering that three years and a
half, computing 360 days to a year, make no more than
twelve hundred and sixty days. To which are added thirty
days in the number one thousand two hundred and ninety
days; which, possibly, might be accounted for without any
very great difficulty.\(^p\)

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

"Porphyry\(^a\) says, that the five and forty days over and
above the one thousand two hundred and ninety, show the
time of the victory gained over the generals of Antiochus;
when Judas the Maccabee fought valiantly, and cleansed

\(\text{ut vult Porphyrius, vel antichristo, ut nostri verius probant, tunc haec omnia complebuntur. p. 1133. bis.}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize a Et cum completa fuerit dispersio manús populi sancti.}\) Id est, cum
maxime extra urbes et vicos per agros sparsi erunt pii Judaei. Vide 1 Maccab. ii. 29; 2 Macc. viii. 1. Grot. in loc.

\(\text{\footnotesize o Hos mille, ducentos, nonaginta dies, Porphyrius in tempore Antiochi, et}
\text{in desolatione templi dicit completos: quem et Josephus et Macchabaeorum (ut diximus) liber, tribus tantum annis fuisse commemorant. Ex quo perspi-
\text{cuum est tres ipsos, et semis annos, de antichristi dixi temporibus, qui tribus et}
\text{semis annis, hoc est, mille ducentis nonaginta diebus sanctos persecuturus est——p. 1133. bis.}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize p ——dies mille ducenti nonaginta.}\) Jam designatus ostendit dies ali-
\text{quot excursuros ultra triennium et semestre tempus, port quod totum tempus, et}
\text{non diutius, cessabit \(\epsilon vεeλευγιον\), sacrificium juge.\) In eo tempore
\text{comprehenditur etiam collocatio idoli vastantis in templo. Vide quae diximus,}
\text{vii. 25. Grot. in loc.}\)

\(\text{\footnotesize q Porphyrius hunc locum ita edisserit, ut quadraginta quinque dies, qui}
super mille ducentos nonaginta sunt, victoriam contra duces Antiochi tempus
\text{significat; quando Judas Macchabeus fortitum dimicavit, et emundavit tem-
\text{plum, idolumque contrivit, et victimas obtulit in templo Dei. Quod recte}
diceret, si Macchabaeorum liber tribus et semis annis templum scriberet esse}
pollutum, et non tribus. p. 1134. bis.}\)
the temple, broke the idol in pieces, and offered sacrifices in the temple; which might be rightly said, if the book of Maccabees had related that the temple was polluted three years and a half, and not three years. 2

So writes Jerom. But this additional number of 'five and forty days' may be understood to reach to the time of the death of Antiochus, when the deliverance of the Jewish people would be completed, and their tranquility further secured. 5

Jerom, as we have seen, insists upon the term of 'three years,' mentioned by Josephus and the book of the Maccabees; and indeed Josephus in one place computes the time of the desolation of the temple, as said by Jerom, at 'three years.' In other places he mentions 'three years and a half.' According to different computations of the beginning and ending of the troubles of the Jewish people, the numbers may vary a little without any detriment to the true history. Prideaux has shown largely, as well from the books of the Maccabees as from Josephus, that the desolation of the temple happened just three years and six months before it was again restored by Judas Maccabæus. And therefore that restoration having been made on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of the Jews, called Cisleu, in the 148th year of the era of the Seleucidæ; it follows, that the time of this desolation must have been inor about the twenty-fifth day of their third month, called Sivan, in the era of the Seleucidæ 145, which answers to the year before Christ 168; then it was, that by the command of Antiochus, and the wicked agency of Apollonius, the daily sacrifices, whereby God was honoured every morning and evening at Jerusalem, were made to cease, and the temple turned into desolation.

At the end of that period of three years and a half the temple was cleansed and dedicated by Judas Maccabæus; and an annual feast of eight days was appointed in memory

4 Ad dies mille trecentos triginta quinque.] Ad mortem usque Antiochii, indicatam supra, xi. 45, quo tempore Judæi non mals tantum, sed et omni malorum metu levabantur. Grot. in loc.

5 Antiq. l. xii. cap. x. [al. cap. 7.] sect. 6.

οική και καταστροφὰς ἔτη τρια καὶ μηνὺς Ιουαὶ. De B. Jud. Pr. sect. 7.

οική καὶ των ναῶν εὑρίσκει, καὶ των εὐδελεχῶν τῶν καθ' ἡμέρας ἐναγάγασαν ἐπάνεν ἐπ᾽ ἑτή τρια καὶ μηναὶς Ιουαί. De B. J. l. i. cap. l in.

Quorum omnium facilis est conciliatio. Stetit enim in templo idolum tribus annis non amplius. Ab urbe vero captâ et interdictis ritibus sex preterea menses effuxerant, cum diebus paucis, qui numeri rotundi gratiâ negligentur. Aldrich, ad Joseph. De B. J. l. i. cap. i. sect. i.


w 1 Mac. i. 59; iv. 52, 54; 2 Mac. x. 5.
of that deliverance, as related, 1 Macc. iv. 36—to the end, and 2 Macc. ch. x. and by Josephus. Which feast was still observed by the Jews at Jerusalem in our Saviour's time, as we learn from the gospels.

IV. I shall now make some observations upon the preceding objections, and the answers made to them.

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

Says Dr. Prideaux: 'The prophecies of Daniel concerning the Persian kings, and the Macedonians, that reigned as well in Asia, having been all, according to the best historians, exactly fulfilled, Porphyry could not disprove them by denying their completion: and therefore for overthrowing their authority he took the quite contrary course, and laboured to prove their truth: and from hence alleged, that being so exactly true in all particulars, they could not therefore be written by Daniel so many years before the facts were done, but by some one else under his name, who lived after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; for which purpose he made use of the best Greek historians then extant. Such were Callinicus Sutorina, Diodorus Siculus,—and from them made evident proof, that all that is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel was truly, in every particular, acted and done in the order as there related. And from this exactness of completion endeavoured to infer the assertion mentioned; that these prophecies were written after the facts were done; and therefore are rather historical narratives, relating things past, than prophetical predictions, foreshowing things afterwards to come.'—Jerom and Porphyry exactly agree in their explication of the eleventh chapter of Daniel till they come to the 21st verse. But what follows thence to the end of the chapter, was all explained by Porphyry to belong to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to have been all transacted in the time of his reign. But Jerom here differs from him, and saith, that most of this, as well as some parts of the viii. and xii. chapters of the same book, relate principally to antichrist; that though some particulars in these prophecies had a typical completion in Antiochus Epiphanes, yet they were all of them wholly and ultimately fulfilled only in antichrist. And

x Antiq. l. xii. c. 10. [al. 7.] sub fin. y John x. 22. a Connection. p. 2. B. 3, year before Christ 164. p. 206. a lb. p. 207, 208.
this, he saith, was the general sense of the fathers of the
Christian church in his time.'

But what need was there to bring in antichrist, in any
answers to Porphyry or other heathen adversaries? Some,
as Grotius did, may think this one defect in our ancient
apologists. Those prophecies of Daniel relating to Anti-
chus, and the state of the Jews in his time, were punctually
fulfilled. Porphyry himself showed, that all recorded re-
ating to him was actually true; he proved it from the best
authors extant at that time. The Christians might thank
him for it, and stand to their point, that all this was not
history, but prophecy formerly delivered; and history had
shown the accomplishment. The predictions were so clear,
and the fulfilment so manifest, that, as Jerom well said in
his preface to his Commentary upon this book, 'a deter-
mined adversary was compelled to say, that the book of
Daniel was not a prophecy of things to come, but a narra-
tive of what had already happened. Which kind of op-
position,' as he added, 'was a confession of truth, and
'testimony to it.' And as all things foretold concerning
Antiochus were fulfilled, so likewise were the prophecies
of the same book concerning the coming of the Messiah.
And if there were in it predictions of things after his ap-
pearance, and in late ages of the world, the fulfilment might
be safely expected and relied upon.

2. Porphyry was in the wrong to deny the genuineness
of the book of Daniel; which had been always received by
the Jews; as we perceive from the books of Maccabees,
and Josephus, and from our evangelists; not now to men-

b Inter Graecos autem ad sensum horum vaticiniorum proxime accessit
Polychronius, Porphyrii lector diligens, et Chrysostomus. Bene autem in-
telligi haec vaticinia refert plurimum: primum ut eo lucidius apparet Dei
providentia et prescientia: deinde ne prava interpretatio, tempora confundens,
impediat Judaeos Messiae tempora agnoscer. Quod vel maxime ii faciunt,
qui quae de Antiocho Illustri dicta sensum habent manifestum, ad antichristum
trahunt, ut Hippolytus, multique alii. Grot. Pr. ad Daniel.

c ——cujus ille auctoritatem ut eluderet, scriptos dixit libros post eventum.
Quod quam sit impudens, alibi diximus. Grot. Pr. ad Daniel.

A Daniele vero translatio imperit ab Assyris ad Medos ac Persas, (significata,)
inde ad Alexandrum Macedenem; cujus deinde ex parte successores forent
Lagidæ, et Seleucidœ: quœque mala populus Hebræus ab his omnibus maxime
vero ab Antiocho Illustri, accepturus esset, adeo perspicue, ut Porphyrius, qui
historias Graecas suo adhuc tempore extantes, cum vaticinis istis contulit,
aliter se expediere non potentur, quam ut diccret ea, quæ Danieli tribuebantur,
post eventum fuisset scripta. Quod perinde est, quasi quis neget, quæ sub
Virgilii nomine extant, et pro Virgilianis habita sunt semper, ab ipso scripta
Augusti revo. Non enim de isto, quod dicens, magis unquam dubitatum
inter Hebræos fuit, quam de hoc apud Romanos. Grot. de V. R. C. l. l.
cap. 18.

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tion any later writers. To dispute the real age of Daniel, and the genuineness of his book, is arbitrary and unreasonable; as if a man should deny that Virgil and Horace lived in the time of Augustus, or wrote those works which with general consent are ascribed to them, and received as theirs. The book of Daniel is as genuine as any of those histories which Porphyry made use of in his work against the christians.

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

Upon this argument I must say, first, that it is a very weak argument, because those stories of Susanna, Bel, and the Dragon, never were received by the Jews, nor by learned men among christians. If Porphyry did not know this, it shows great ignorance. But, secondly, I imagine he did know this, and that, according to the tradition of Jews and christians before his time, the book of Daniel was written in Hebrew, excepting some parts of it in Chaldee; consequently this argument was unfair, and was owing to want of candour; and formed only to impose upon ignorant and uninstructed men; this indeed I take to be the case.

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

This then is an error at the best; but I do not think it to be an innocent error; I rather think it to have been a designed and wilful misrepresentation. "When the queen came into the banquet-house, she said to Belshazzar; O king, live for ever. Let not thy thoughts trouble thee—There is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the

\[\text{Connexion, P. i. B. 2. vol. i. p. 122. year before Christ, 539. See likewise Grotius, and Lowth upon the place.}\]

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did not please Porphyry; it afforded an argument for the real age, and peculiar wisdom, and prophetic character of Daniel. The real truth, therefore, did not suit Porphyry. This therefore I consider as an unfair argument, and another instance of want of candour. We may be the more confirmed in this supposition, in that, as Jerom says, 'Porphyry ridiculed the queen for pretending 'to know more than her husband.' There is no foundation for ridicule in the history itself.

5. Ch. ii. ver. 48, "Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts." Here, as we before learned from Jerom, 'Porphyry took upon him to blame 'Daniel for not refusing those gifts, and for readily accept-
ing Babylonish honours.' But there is no ground for such a censure; Daniel was guilty of no mean compliances; he ascribed all his wisdom to God; and upon every occasion preserved his integrity without blemish, and openly pro-
tessed his zeal for true religion, and the worship of God according to the directions of the law of Moses. It was not decent for him to refuse the honours bestowed by a great king, when no sinful compliances were exacted; and when he might, in the high station to which he was ad-
vanced, both promote the interest of true religion, and the welfare of his people in a strange country. Daniel does not appear to have been fond of worldly honours. When Belshazzar made him great promises, he answered: "Let thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another," ch. v.

17. That remark, therefore, I consider as an instance of Porphyry's malignant temper toward Daniel, and in him toward christians.

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

7. Dan. xi. 38, "But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces, or munitions."

In his commentary upon the 30th chapter of Isaiah,
Jerom\(^e\) blames Porphyry for rendering this the god of the town of Modim,' meaning the god who was worshipped there. However, curious readers should consult Grotius, as well as Lowth, upon that text.

8. Jerom seems to say elsewhere, that\(^f\) Porphyry had written largely about Daniel's seventy weeks; if he intends any thing beside what I have already taken notice of, I know nothing of it.

V. Having made such large extracts out of Jerom's Commentary on the book of Daniel, for showing the nature of that part of Porphyry's work, I now proceed to other things.

In the first book of his Evangelical Preparation,\(^5\) Eusebius exposing the absurdity of the heathen polytheism, which had long prevailed in the world; which, as he says, having been first introduced among the Phoenicians and Egyptians, had been propagated among the Greeks and other nations: This, he says, he will show, beginning with the Phoenicians.

Their affairs are written by Sanchoniathon, an ancient author, older, as is said, than the Trojan times; who, they say, has written the Phoenician history, with great exactness and fidelity. Philo, not the Jew, but Biblius, has translated the whole work into Greek out of the Phoenician language. He\(^h\) is quoted by that person, who in our time wrote against us, in the fourth book of his work, in these very words. "Sanchoniathon of Berytus writes the history of the Jews very exactly, and mentions times and places; taking his accounts from the Memoirs of Jerombal,

\(^e\) Hoc annotativus, ut quod in Danielis extrema legitimus Visione Deum Maozim, non ut Porphyrius nominat 'Deum viculi Modim,' sed robustum Deum et fortem intelligamus. In Is. cap. xxx. T. iii. p. 252, m.

\(^f\) Sin autem supraddictos viros magistros ecclesiæ nominavi, illud intelligent, me non omnium probare fidem, qui certe inter se contrarii sunt; sed et distinctionem Josephi, Porphyriique dixisse, qui de hac questione plurima disputarunt. Praef. in libr. xi. Comment. in Is. T. iii. p. 283.

\(^5\) Pr. Ev. i. i. cap. 9. p. 30, 31.

\(^h\) Meumtai petnov o kal' ήμας των καθ' ήμων πεποιημενος συσκευη, εν τηταργη την προς ήμας ἀποθεσεως οδε τω ανέρα μαρτυρων προς λειειν. Ιστορι dē tē peri Ισθαίων ἀληθετατα, ὡτι καὶ τους τοπους καὶ τους ονομασιν αυτων τα συμφωνοντα, Σαγκχανηναον o Βηρωτος, εἰληφσο τα ὑπομνηματα παρα Ιερου-βαλια τα ἱερας την Ιωαν ας εβιβαζον τη βασιλει Βεροιων την ἱεραιαν ἀναθης ὡτ' εκειναι καὶ των κατ' αυτον εξεστον της ἀληθειας παρεξεθαι. Οι dē των χρονων καὶ προ των Τροικων ἐπιταθ χρονων, καὶ σχεδον τους Μωυσεως πλησιαζους ὡτ' αι των Φαινεως βασιλεως μηνιας ειναικαι. Σαγκχανηναον δε κατα την Φαινηκην ειδελκτω, φαιληθων την παλαιαν Ιστοριαν εκ των κατα παλιν ὑπομνηματω, καὶ των εν τως ἱερος ἀναγραφων συναιγαιων καὶ συγγραφας, επι Σιμμαρως γεγονε της Λασπιως βασιλεις, ὡ προ των Ιλαιων, η κατ' αυτες γε χρονος γενεσθαι αναγεγραπται. κ. λ. Praep. Ev. i. i. p. 30, 31.
Porphyry acknowledgeth the Antiquity of Moses. A. D. 270. 421

...priest of the god Jevo; who dedicated his history to Abibal king of Berytus, by whom, as well as by others his contemporaries, capable judges of the truth, it was approved. Their age was before the Trojan times, and approaches near to the times of Moses, as is evident from the succession of the kings of Phoenicia. Sanchoniathon, who with great fidelity wrote their ancient history in the Phoenician language, collecting it partly from the registers of cities, and partly from the records kept in temples, lived in the time of Semiramis, queen of the Assyrians, who is computed to have reigned before the times of Troy, or about them. The work of Sanchoniathon was translated into Greek by Philo Biblius." So writes that person, bearing testimony to the veracity and antiquity of that historian.'

But, as Eusebius adds: 'That ancient writer, in the progress of his work, does not recommend the worship of God who is over all, nor of the heavenly bodies, but of mortal men and women; who, so far from being respectable for the probity of their manners, or the excellence of their virtues, or their great wisdom, which might recommend them to esteem and imitation, that their characters are blemished with the most foul and flagitious vices; and they appear to be the very same that are now worshipped as gods in all cities and countries.'

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

His subject in that place is the antiquity of Moses and the Jewish prophets. He first refers to his Chronical Canous, where he had already showed the same thing. Now, says he, to what was then said, I would add here the testimony of the most bitter enemy to the Jews and us that

1 O de προῖσι η τον επὶ παντὸς θεον, ηδι μην της κατ’ ορανον, Σουτες δε ανθρας και γυναικας, ηδι τον τρόπον αυτος αιως δε αρετην αξιων ειναι αποδεικνυμαι, η ζηλωσαι της φιλοσοφιας, φανορετος δε και μοχθροπος άπασις καιαν περιβλημενος ηθοποιευς. Και μαρτυρει γι τατοις αυτης εκεινης ειναι, της ευεστης δόξης παρα τοις πασι νεομομενους κατα της πολεις και τας χωρας. 10. p. 31.

1 Ταυτα μεν ην αποδεικτικις εν τοις ποληθειαιν ημιν χρονιοις κανοιν ετως εχοντα σωνη. Επι δε τη παροντος, προς τοις ερημενοις, μαρτυρη της Μοσης αρχοντητος χρησαμοι τον παντον δυσμυρετατο και ποιημενωτατο Εβραων τε και ιμων φυμε δε τω καθ’ ιμας φιλοσοφω, η την καθ’ ιμας συσκευην υπερβαλματας, και μονης ιμας, αλλα και Εβραως, αυτου της Μωσης, και της μετ’ αυτον προφθης τας ιδιας υπηγαγες βλαβεριματις. Δια γαρ της των εχθρων ωμολογιας αναμοριωτας ήγομαι την επαγγελιαν πνευματικαν. Pr. Ev. l. x. p. 484, 485.
ever was; I mean that philosopher of our time, who, in the
abundance of his enmity against us, published a work, in
which he reviles not us only; but also the Jews, and
Moses, and the prophets after him, and all in the like man-
er; for the confession of enemies is always reckoned
credible. Porphyry then, in the fourth book of his work
against us, says in these very words: "Sanchoniathon of
Berytus writes the history of the Jews very exactly."
So quoting the passage before transcribed by me at length.
After which Eusebius proceeds: "Upon which we may
argue in this manner. If Sanchoniathon flourished in the
time of Semiramis, and she lived long before the times of
Troy, it follows, that Sanchoniathon was older than the
same times. But he is said to have taken his memoirs
from others, who were before his times; and who were not
contemporaries with Moses, but only lived near his times.
It follows, that Sanchoniathon is still so much later than
Moses, as he is later than those of greater antiquity, who
only lived near the times of Moses."

This passage of Porphyry is also cited by m Theodore in
his books against the gentiles, and as from his work written
against us. He likewise quotes it in proof of the antiquity
of Moses, and that he lived before the times of Troy.

And Eusebius, in his introduction to the second book of
his Chronical Canon, as we now have it in Jerom's Latin
translation, says: "The o antiquity of Moses is asserted by
many of our own writers, and among the Jews by Jose-
phus and Justus; and among the Greeks [or Gentiles], the
impious Porphyry in the fourth book of his work, which
with fruitless labour he composed against us, affirns, that
Moses was older than Semiramis."

VI. Severian, bishop of Gatala in Syria, at the beginning
of the fifth century, in his sixth homily upon the Creation
of the World, having quoted Gen. iii. 5, "For God doth
know, that in the day ye eat thereof ye shall be as gods,
knowing good and evil," goes on: "Many" say, and especi-
ally they who follow that enemy of God, Porphyry, who
wrote against the christians, and has perverted many from
the truth; Why did God forbid the knowledge of good

1 Ib. p. 485.


n ——— ex Judais Josephus et Justus veteris historicœ monumenta repli-
cantes. Ex ethiniscs vero impius ille Porphyrius, in quarto Operis sui
libro, quod adversum nos casso labore contextuit, post Moysem Semiramim

O Λεγοντι πολλοι, και μοιχεια ει τω Θεοτυγιε Πορφυριο ακολουθησαντες, το
κατα χριστιανων συγγραφαντι, και τα των δυσμων πολλους αποτησαντες. ε. λ.
and evil? He might forbid evil; but why should he forbid good?" Severian answers, that God did not forbid the knowledge of good, and that Adam had that knowledge before he tasted of the forbidden fruit.

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

Mill, in his Prolegomena to the New Testament, has taken notice of several texts in the gospels, to which Porphyry made exceptions.

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

Here, as it seems, one and the same person, Jechonias, ends the second fourteen, and begins the third class of fourteen; consequently one generation was supposed to be wanting. Porphyry therefore, as we learn from Jerom, charged St. Matthew with a mistake. But Jerom says, that Porphyry herein betrayed his own ignorance and unskilfulness.

It is not needful that I should attempt the solution of this difficulty; it is sufficient, that I refer to some learned editors of the New Testament, or commentators upon this text.

But we can hence clearly argue, that in Porphyry's time, the genealogy in St. Matthew was generally received by christians; otherwise there had been no reason, why he should make any remark upon it; for, as Jerom observes, Porphyry mentioned this supposed error of the evangelist as a reflection upon the church.

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

Here, says Jerom, Porphyry and the emperor Julian

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1 Vid. Prolegom. num. 702, 703.
3 Mill, in loc. et Prolegom. num. 702. et Wetsten. et Bez. in loc.
4 Arguit in hoc loco Porphyrius et Julianus Augustus vel imperitiam historici mentientis, vel stultitiam eorum, qui statim seculi sunt Salvatorum, quasi irrationabiler que millet vocantem hominem seculi; quam tanta virtutes, tantaque signa præcesserint, quæ apostolos, antequam crederent, vidisse, non dubium est. Hier. in loc. T. iv. P. i. p. 30.
pretend, that either the historian has told a lie; or else
people were very silly to follow Jesus at his call; acting as
if they were ready to follow any man that beckoned to
them. Not considering, says Jerom, 'that before this time
many great miracles and signs had been done by Jesus;
of which the apostles were witnesses before they believed.'

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

That is a reference to Ps. Ixxviii. 2, which is entitled a
Psalm of Asaph. In some copies of St. Matthew, where
we have by the prophet, was read by the prophet Isaiah.
This gave an occasion to an objection of Porphyry, which
we meet with in the Breviarum upon the Psalter, generally
ascribed to Jerom, but not reckoned his by the Benedictine
editors. 'It is not Isaiah that says this, but Asaph, says
that writer. Therefore the impious Porphyry allegeth
this against us, and says; Your evangelist Matthew was
so ignorant as to say; Which was written by the prophet
Isaiah: "I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter
things kept secret from the foundation of the world."

This various reading was observed by Jerom in his com-
ment upon Matt. xiii. 35, who has considered the difficulty,
though he does not mention Porphyry. He thinks the
original reading was thus: "That it might be fulfilled
which was spoken by the prophet Asaph," by whom that
Psalm was composed. But some transcriber of St. Matthew,
not recollecting Asaph to have been a prophet, and
imagining therefore that it was a mistake, inserted the
name of Isaiah, who was better known, in his room.

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

4. Upon Gen. i. 10, Jerom says: 'It is to be noted,

1 Hoc Isæas non loquitur, sed Asaph. Denique, et impius Porphyrius
proponit adversum nos hoc ipsum, et dicit; Evangelista vester Matthæus
tam imperitus fuit, ut diceret, quod scriptum est per Isaiam prophetam.—

2 Sed mihi videtur a principio ita editum; 'Quod scriptum est per Asaph
prophetam, dicentem.' Septuagesimus enim septimus Psalmus, de quo hoc
suntum est testimonium, Asaph prophetæ titulo inscribatur: et primum scrip-
torem non intellexisse Asaph, et putasse scripsisse vitium, atque emendasse
nomen Isææ, cujus vocabulum manifestus est. Hieron. in Matt. xiii. T.
iv. p. 58.

3 Notandum, quod omnis congregatio aquærum, sive falsæ sint, sive dulces,
juxta idiomà lingue Hebrewæ, maria nuncupantur. Frusta igitur Porphyrius
evangelistas ad faciendum ignorantibus miraculum, eo quod Dominus super-
that all collections of waters, whether they are salt or sweet, are called seas, according to the Hebrew language. Porphyry therefore without ground insinuates, that the evangelists, the better to impose a miracle upon ignorant people, say, “Our Lord walked upon the sea,” meaning only the lake of Gennesareth; for all lakes, or collection of waters, are called seas.’

This is related, Matt. xiv. 25, “Jesus went unto them walking on the sea.” The same expression is also used on the same occasion, Mark vi. 48, and John vi. 19. Jerom says, that Porphyry upon this account calumniated the evangelists. Whether he referred to more than one of them I do not determine; but we shall soon find that Porphyry had read St. Mark’s and St. John’s gospels, as well as St. Matthew’s.

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

Here St. Jerom says: ‘The dogs of the Gentiles bark against us in the volumes which they have left as monuments of their own impiety, saying; It is plain the apostles had not faith, forasmuch as they never removed mountains.’

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

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

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

Jerom in his Commentary upon St. Matthew lets us


* De hoc loco, id est, de abominatione desolationis, quæ dicit est, a Daniele prophetæ stante in loco sancto, multa Porphyrius tertio decimo operis sui volumine contra nos blaspheavit. Hieron. in Matt. T. iv. p. 115.
know, that Porphyry, in the 13th volume of his work against the christians, poured out many blasphemies upon that text.

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

Upon which text Jerom observes: 'They who have written against the gospels suspect, that the disciples of Christ, in their account of our Lord's resurrection, have mistaken this darkness, which was only an eclipse of the sun, that happens at certain seasons in the ordinary course of things; Whereas,' says Jerom, 'an eclipse of the sun can never happen but at the time of new moon; and all the world knows that at the passover it is full moon; and that there might be no pretence for saying, that this darkness was owing to the shadow of the earth, or to an interposition of the moon between us and the sun, it is recorded to have continued for the space of three hours.'

Here also, it is not unlikely that Jerom intends the same writers before mentioned, Porphyry and Julian.

8. Upon Matt. iii. 3, "This is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying; The voice of one crying in the wilderness; Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight."

Here Jerom observes to this purpose: 'Porphyry compares this place with the beginning of St. Mark's gospel, in which it is written: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God. As it is written in the prophets; Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness; Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight." For since this quotation is composed out of Malachi [iii. 1.] and Isaiah, [xl. 3.] he asks, how it comes to pass, that it is all said to be taken from Isaiah? To which question,' says Jerom, 'ecclesiastical writers have answered largely; but I am of opinion,

7 Qui scripsistunt contra evangelia, suspicantur, deliquium solis, quod certis statutisque temporibus accidere solet, discipulos Christi ob imperitiam super resurrectione Domini interpretato; quum defectus solis nunquam nisi ortu lunae fieri solet. Nulli autem dubium est, Paschae tempore lunam fuisse plenissimam. Et ne forsitan videretur umbra terrae, vel orbis lunae soli oppositus, breves et ferrugineas facies tenebras, trium horarum spatium ponitur, ut omnis causantium occasio tolleretur. Ib. p. 139.

Porphyry. His Testimony to the Books of the N. T. A. D. 270. 427

't that the name of Isaiah has been added through the fault of the transcribers of the gospels.'

Hence, I think, it appears, that Porphyry had read the gospels with care, and that he did not overlook any advantage against them.

Jerome has considered this point elsewhere. We hence perceive, that at that time the name of Esaias was read in St. Mark as well as in St. Matthew; whereas now in St. Mark it is in the prophets. Concerning this various reading divers learned moderns may be consulted.

Once more. It appears from the homily of an ancient anonymous writer, that this objection of Porphyry was in the fourteenth book of his work against the christians.

9. Jerome, writing against Vigilantius, who disliked the excessive veneration then paid to the martyrs, and did not give credit to every miracle said to be wrought by their reliques, useth these expressions: 'Unless, says he, after the manner of the Gentiles, and the impious Porphyry and Eunomius, you pretend that these are only artifices of the daemons, and that the daemons do not complain, but only feign themselves to be tormented.'

It is likely that Jerome here refers to some disagreeable reflections, which Porphyry had made upon our Lord's cure of the daemons in the country of the Gadarenes, or elsewhere. See Matt. viii. 29; Mark v. 7; Luke viii. 28; and Mark i. 23, 24; Luke iv. 33, 34.

10. Theophylact, in his Commentary upon the beginning of St. John's gospel, has these expressions: 'So that the sophism of that Gentile writer, Porphyry, falls to the ground. He, endeavouring to overthrow the gospel, makes use of these divisions. "If," says he, "the Son


b Mill. et Wetst. et Bez. in loc.

c Incertus auctor homiliae de principio evangelii secundum Marcum inter opera Chrysostomi, Locum istum, inquit, impius ille Porphyrius in quarto decimo volumine disputat, et dicit: evangelistae tam imperiti fuerunt homines, non solum in secularibus, sed etiam in scripturis divinis, ut testimonium, quod alibi scriptum est, de alio ponerent prophetam. Citat. ap. Wetsten. in loc. Vid. et Bez. in loc.


e Ουτε διαπετασκε τε ἑλληνος Πορφυριος το σοφισμα. Εκεινος γαρ ανατρεπειν πιθομενος το ευαγγελιον, τοναυτας εχρηται διαπετασκεν. Ει γαρ λογος, φησιν, δι τις τε θεος, ην προφορικος εστιν, η ενδυματος αλλα μην εστε τεστο, εστε εκεινοι. Ουκ αρα ηδι λογος εστιν. Theoph. p. 558 A.
of God be Word, he must be either outward word, or
'inward word.' [That is, reason, thought, or speech.]
‘But he is neither this, nor that. Therefore he is not
‘Word.’"

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

11. In a work of Jerom against the Pelagians we find
this passage. ‘Our Lord says to his brethren, that he
‘should not go up to the feast of tabernacles. John vii. 8.
‘And yet afterwards it is written: “But when his brethren
‘went up, then went he up also to the feast, not openly,
‘but as it were in secret,” ver. 10. He said he would not
‘go; and yet he went. Here Porphyry barks, charging
‘our Lord with fickleness and inconstancy.’

We now read in ver. 8, “I go not yet up to the feast.”
But from this place of Jerom, as well as from the quotations
of other ancient authors, it appears, that the common read-
ing then was: “I go not up to the feast.” Upon which
divers learned men8 may be consulted. Supposing that to
be the true reading, I see not any reason for the charge of
inconstancy, or of our Lord’s altering his intention. The
context shows, that he had spoke of deferring his journey
to Jerusalem for a short time; not that he had resolved not
to go at all to the feast. He went to the feast; and he
always intended so to do; but he went not up to that feast
so soon, nor so publicly, as he did at some other seasons;
and he assigns the reason of that conduct, which may be
seen ver. 6, and 7.

12. In his Commentary upon Joel ii. 28—31. Which
words are quoted by St. Peter, Acts ii. 16—20. Jerom
speaking of the apostles’ way of arguing: ‘Not,’ saysb he,
‘that they abused the simplicity and ignorance of their
‘hearers, as the impious Porphyry insinuates.’

However, I do not affirm, that Porphyry referred to this
place of the Acts; he might refer to some other; and pos-
sibly, often said such things of the apostles, or some of
them.

13. In another place Jerom, speaking of the charity of
the first believers at Jerusalem, and of the behaviour of

f Negat fratribus et propinquis, ire se ad Sceneopagiam. Et postea scriptum
est: ut autem ascenderunt fratres ejus, tum et ipse ascendit.—Iturum se
negavit, et fecit quod prius negaverat. Latrat Porphyrius: inconstantiae ac


b Non quod abuterentur audientium simplicitate et imperitia, ut impius
Ananias and his wife Sapphira, Acts v. 1—14, has this observation; 'Lastly, the apostle Peter by no means imprecates death to them, as the foolish Porphyry [or, as in some MSS. philosopher] calumniates; but by the prophetic spirit declares the judgment of God, that the punishment of two persons might be an instruction to many.'

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

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

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

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

In the preface to his Commentary upon the epistle to the Galatians, Jerom speaks thus of this matter. 'The wicked


² Scio, plerisque de apostolis hoc dictum arbitrari. Nam et Porphyrius obijict, quod post revelationem Christi non fuerit dignatus ire ad homines, et cum iis conferre sermonem; ne, post doctrinam videlicet Dei, a carne et sanguine instrueretur. Sed abisset, ut ego Petrum et Jacobum et Johannem carnis et sanguinem putem. In ep. ad Gal. cap. i. p. 223.

¹ Quod nequaquam intelligens Bataneotes, et sceleratus ille Porphyrius in primo operis sui adversus nos libro, Petrum a Paulo objecit esse reprehensum, quod non recto pede incenderit ad evangelizandum; volens et illi maculam erroris inurere, et huic proccacitatis; et in commune ficti dogmatis accusare
Porphyry not understanding this, in the first book of his work against us, objects, that Peter was reproofed by Paul; that he did not proceed uprightly in preaching the gospel; aiming thereby to affix the blot of a mistake upon the one, and of peevishness upon the other. And hence he argues the falsehood of the whole doctrine, as if it were a mere invention, since the heads of the churches disagreed.

In his Commentary upon the words above quoted, Jerom says, that some think Cephas, whom Paul withstood to the face, was not the apostle Peter, but another of the same name, possibly, one of the seventy disciples. They argued, that Peter could not withdraw from conversation with the Gentiles, who had baptized Cornelius. They argued likewise from the defence he made of what he had done at the house of Cornelius, when "they of the circumcision at Jerusalem contended with him," as recorded Acts xi. 1—18. They also said, that St. Luke in the Acts makes not any mention of this dissension; nor that Peter and Paul ever were together at Antioch. They also insisted, that there would be an advantage given to Porphyry, if it were allowed, either that Peter erred, or that Paul peevishly confuted the chief of the apostles. To all which Jerom answers, that he knows not of any Cephas, but him who is mentioned in the gospels, and in other epistles of Paul, and in this same epistle, and is sometimes called Cephas, sometimes Peter. And after considering the other just-mentioned arguments, he concludes; Finally, if because of Porphyry's blasphemy, another Cephas must be invented, lest Peter should be thought to have erred, innumerable passages must be struck out of the divine scriptures; which he finds fault with, because he does not understand them.'

m Sunt qui Cephan, cui hic in faciem Paulus restitisse se scribit, non putent apostolum Petrum, sed alium de septuaginta discipulos, isto vocabulo nuncupatum. Et dicunt, nequaquam Petram a convicto Gentium se potuisse subtrahere, qui et centurionem Cornelium baptizaret — et locum dari Porphyrio blasphemanti, si aut Petrus errasse, aut Paulus procaciter apostolorum principem confutasse creaturam. Qubus primum respondendum, alterius nescio cujus Cephi nescire nos nomen, nisi ejus qui in evangelio, et in alis Pauli epistolis, et in hac quoque ipsa modo Cephas modo Petrus scribitur — Ad extremum, si propter Porphyrii blasphemiai alius nobis fingendus est Cephas, ne Petrus putetur errasse, infinita de scripturis radenda divinis, quae ille, quia non intelligit, criminatur. Sed adversum Porphyrium in alio, si Christus jusserit, omere pugnabimus. Nunc reliqua prosequamur. In ep. ad Gal. ib. p. 244.
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Jerom occasionally refers to this objection of Porphyry in his Commentary upon the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah.

In a letter to Augustine upon this subject, Jerom tells him, "how he and others had asserted the prudence of the apostles, and restrained the impudence of the blaspheming Porphyry, who says, that Peter and Paul had a childish quarrel with one another; and that Paul burned with envy at the virtues of Peter, and had written in a boasting manner of things, which either he never did, or if he did, it was mere peevishness to blame that in another which he had been guilty of himself?"

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

Jerom had before spoken of this matter in another place of the same epistle to Augustine; telling him, "that others before him had explained the conduct of the two apostles in the same manner that he had done, in answer to the blasphemous Porphyry, who charged Paul with peevish-

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Ex quo, qui dispensatoriam inter Petrum et Paulum contentionem vere dicunt iurium fuise atque certam, ut blasphemanti Porphyrio satisfaciant, et veteris legis ceremonias in ecclesia Christi a stirpe credentis Israel asservant esse servandas, debent et aeream in mille anni exspectare Jerusalem.——In Is. cap. liii. T. iii. p. 388.

Ego, homo ali ante me existuerunt causam quam putaverant, non officium mendacium defendentes, sicut tu scribis, sed ostendentes honestam dispersionem, ut et apostolorum prudentiam demonstrarent, et blasphemantis Porphyrii impudentiam coererrerunt, qui Paulum et Petrum puellis dicit inter se pugnasse certamine; improvesse Paulum in invidiam virtutum Petri, et ea scripsisse jactanter, que vel non fecerit, vel, si fecerit, procaciter fecerit, id in alio reprehendens quod ipse commiserit. Ad Augustin. ep. 74. [al. 89.] T. iv. P. ii. p. 622.

Hanc autem explicationem, quam primus Origenes in decimo Stromateon libro, ubi epistolam Pauli ad Galatas interpretatur, et easteri deceased interpretes sunt securi, illâ vel maxime causa introducunt, ut Porphyrio respondant blasphemanti, qui Pauli arguit procacitatem, quod principem apostolorum Petrum ausus est reprehendere, et arguerre in facie, ac ratione constrin gere, quod male fecerit, id est, in errore fucrit; in quo fuit ipse, qui alium arguit delinquentem. Ibid. p. 619.
ness, in that he presumed to reprove the chief of the apostles, and dispute with him to the face, and tell him, that he was to be blamed, that is, was in an error; when he who reproved the other was as guilty himself.

By all which, I think, we may perceive the force of Porphyry's argument upon this point. He supposed Peter to have taught, for a while at least, a different doctrine from Paul; and thence argued, that the religion taught by them could not be a revelation from heaven. Or, if Peter did not for a while teach a doctrine different from what himself had taught at other times, and different from that generally taught by Paul, he was guilty of some improper compliance, for which he was blamed by Paul. But that Paul, if indeed he did reprove Peter at Antioch, as he boastingly says to the Galatians, ch. ii. he showed therein pride, and envy, and peevishness; and was a very unfit reprover of another, when he had himself been guilty of the same fault, and had often complied in a like manner.

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

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

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

St. Paul’s doctrine was always the same; and his conduct was ever uniform and consistent. He always said, that circumcision was not necessary, or available, in any, to justification and salvation. He never said, that it was sinful or unlawful in any.

To the Galatians he writes, ch. v. 2, 3, 4, “Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify unto every man that is circumcised, that he is debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you. Whosoever of you are justified by the law, ye are fallen from grace.” It is plain, that he is here speaking of such as expected to be justified by the law; who embraced circumcision, as necessary to acceptance with God and eternal salvation. Such men departed from the grace of the gospel, and could have no benefit by it; they came under an obligation to observe all

9 Ti τα ἐθνη αναγκάζεις ἵνα Ἰουδαίζειν; That word is explained in vol. vi. chap. xviii. sect. iii. near the end. To which I would now add Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. cap. 10. 


Proinde, si, post hoc apostolorum decretum, Petrus habuit illam in Antiochía simulationem, quì gentes cogerat judaizare, quod nec ipse cogeratur, quamvis propter commendanda elogia Dei, quæ Judæis sunt credita, non prohibebatur; quid mirum, si constringeret eum Paulus libere asserere, quod cum eatis apostolis se Jerosolymis decrevisse memoraret.


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the rituals of the Mosaic law; and if they did not obey the law in all things, they exposed themselves to a curse, as he shows, ch. iii. 10.

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

That was St. Paul's doctrine; and his conduct was agreeable to it. The same was the doctrine of Peter, and of all the apostles, though Peter once deviated from it in his conduct, as we have seen. What was Peter's doctrine we learn (not now to argue from his epistles, as we might) from his speech at Jerusalem, Acts xv.; wherein he plainly declares, as Paul does, that the works of the law are of no avail either to Jews, or Gentiles, in point of justification with God; for with these words he concludes that speech; ver. 11, "But we believe, that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we Jews shall be saved, even as they," the Gentiles. And see before, ver. 8, 9, 10; and ch. x. 34, 35; and xi. 1—18. And compare this with words of St. Paul, Gal. ii. 15, 16.

Though St. Paul may be thought to have yielded to some Jewish prejudices in the several actions above mentioned, it had no such bad tendency as the behaviour of St. Peter at Antioch had; as has been well shown by Augustine in explaining 1 Cor. xi. 20. He says, 'that Paul practised some rites of the law, for showing that it was not sinful, even under the gospel, for Jews to observe the ordinances which they had received from their ancestors by means of the law. At the same time he taught them, 'that they should not place their hopes of salvation in obe-

5 Sed ideo susceperat ea celebranda, quum jam Christi esset apostolus, ut doceret non esse perniciosa his qui ea vellent, sicut a parentibus per legem acceptant, custodire, etiam cum in Christo credidissent; non tamen in eius iam constituerunt spern salutis, quoniam per Dominum Jesum salus ipsa quae ipsis sacramentis significabatur, adverterat, ideoque Gentibus, quod insuetus a fide revocaret onere gravi et non necessario, nullo modo imponenda esse carebat. August. ap. Hieron. ep. 67. [al. 87.] T. iv. p. 605.
\[\text{Porphyry. His Testimony to the Books of the N. T. A. D. 270. 435}\]

dience to such ordinances; nor impose that yoke upon the
\[
\text{Gentiles, as necessary to their salvation.}'
\]

Augustine has particularly considered all those actions of
Paul, which have been looked upon by some as unwarrant-
able compliances; to which also Porphyry may be sup-
posed to have referred; his circumcising Timothy, his vow
at Cenchrea, his conduct at Jerusalem. And he well
shows, how \(\text{t}^\) they differed from Peter's behaviour at Anti-
occh. What Peter did, implied the necessity of circumcison
in order to salvation, which Paul constantly and earnestly
opposed. By all his several compliances just mentioned,
he only showed, that he did not think the Jewish rites evil
and sinful.

I shall now observe only upon the last of those compli-
ances, particularly related, Acts xxii. 17—28, "And when
we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received us
gladly. And the day following Paul went in with us unto
James; and the elders were present. And when he had
saluted them, he declared particularly what things God
had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry." And
what follows.

For it had been said at Jerusalem, that Paul, in all coun-
tries where he had been, "had taught, that the Jews ought
not to circumcise their children:" that is, that it was sinful
and unlawful for them so to do. This Paul had never done;
and \(\text{u}^\) James, and the elders with him, were persuaded it
was a false report; but for giving satisfaction to all, they
advised him to join himself with some others then at Jeru-
salem, "who had a vow on them. Them take," say they,
"and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with
them, that they may shave their heads, and all may know
that those things whereof they were informed concerning
thee are nothing."

\(\text{t}^\) Ego quidem illud Petrum egisse credo, ut gentes cogeret judaizare. Hoc
enim lego scripsisse Paulum, quem mentitum esse non credo: et ideo non recte
agebat hoc Petrus. Erat enim contra evangelii veritatem, ut putarent, qui
credebant in Christum, sine ills victibus sacramentis salvos esse non posse.
Hoc enim contendebant Antiochiae, qui ex circumciscione crediderant. Contra
quos Paulus perseveranter acriterque configit. Ipsum vero Paulum non ad
hoc egisse, quod vel Timotheum circumcident, vel Cenchreis votum persolvit,
vell Jerusolymis a Jacobo admonitus, cum eis qui voverant, legitima illa cele-
branda suscepit, ut putari videretur per ea sacramenta etiam christianam
salutem dari: sed ne illa, quae prioribus ut congruebant tamporibus, in umbris
rerum futurarum Deus fieri jussaret, tanquam idololatraum Gentilium damnum

\(\text{u}^\) Non, ut opinor, obscurum est, et Jacobum hoc ideo monuisse, ut scirent
With that advice Paul complied; nor could it be of any bad consequence after what had passed, as related by St. Luke: 'that James and the elders rejoiced, and praised God for the apostle’s success among the Gentiles; and declared, that no legal services were expected of the Gentiles that believed.' After that, what Paul did only showed, that it was not sinful for Jews to practise the rites and ceremonies of the law. Nothing then done by him was any prejudice to the doctrine, always and every where taught by him, that the observation of those rites was not necessary to salvation, nor at all available to any, whether Jews or Gentiles, to justification in the sight of God. As Augustine says: 'The apostles in their council at Jerusalem had agreed, that no man ought to compel the Gentiles to judaize. They did not decree, that any man should forbid the Jews to judaize; though the christian doctrine did not require that even of them.'

Augustine says again very well: 'There was no better way for Paul to confute the false report that had been raised, than for him to perform those things which he was thought to condemn as sinful; and thus to show, that neither the Jews were to be forbidden them, as evil, nor the Gentiles to be compelled to do them, as necessary.'

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

This point has detained us rather too long; but I do not see how it could be passed by without notice, or without clearing up a difficulty which came in our way, and has


* Et ideo illi invidiam et persecutionem molientes concitare, tanquam inimicum legis mandatorumque divisorum criminalabantur: eujus falsae criminatis invidiam congruentius devitare non posset, quam ut ea ipsa celebraret, quæ damnare tanquam sacralega putabantur; atque ita ostenderet, nec Judæos tunc ab eis tanquam nefaris prohibendos, nec Gentiles ad ea tanquam necessaria compellendos. Id. ib. p. 632.

* See vol. iv. chap. cxvii. init.
been supposed to affect the credit of two of Christ's apostles, and in them also the christian cause.'

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

IX. I now proceed to observe some other passages of Porphyry, concerning the christian religion, or the professors of it, and their affairs; where also there may be some references to our scriptures.

1. Eusebius, in his Evangelical Preparation, has these words: 'And evil demons have had no power of doing any thing, since our Saviour's dwelling among men, the advocate of demons in our time somewhere testifies in his work against us in this manner: 'And now people wonder, that this distemper has oppressed the city so many

1 This difficulty is largely considered in the Remarks upon Dr. Ward's Dissertations. See vol. x. p. 336.


3 Peri de tov mpetov denvosbai ti kai isynegi fawlois daamonia, metan ton te Sowteros hymwv ev anbropwv paradoS, kai autous o kath' hymos ton daamwv pr Oregon, ev taj kath' hymov swstev, tis ton te legwv merpteta ton trrop. Novi de evamagias ev toswv evwv katalepsi thn polin hy nosos, Aeliajtwv mn npoiwmwv kai ton avlwv evwv mevet yse. Ipet yap ytopwrv, anemes tis evwv oymwv ophelwv hpyhto. k. L. Pr. Ev. i. v. cap. i. p. 181. D.
years, Æsculapius and the other gods no longer conversing with men. For since Jesus has been honoured, none have received any public benefit from the gods." So says Porphyry, in those very words.'

Here is proof, that the christians were then very numerous in the Roman empire. It likewise shows, that Porphyry adopted the common cant, and was willing to expose them to popular reproach, by insinuating, that they were the causes of the calamities that befell the empire.

This passage is also quoted by Theodoret, in the same terms, in his work against the Gentiles. And then he subjoins: ' So b says our greatest enemy Porphyry.' But he does not say, any more than Eusebius, in which book of his work against the christians it was found.

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

3. Jerom, in his letter to Ctesiphon against the Pelagians, having mentioned divers events and proceedings hard to be accounted for, goes on: ' And finally, (which your good friend Porphyry useth to object to us,) how came it to pass, that the gracious and merciful God should suffer all nations, from Adam to Moses, and from Moses to the coming of Christ, to perish through ignorance of his laws and commands? Forasmuch as neither Britain, fruitful of tyrants, nor the Scottish nations, nor the barbarous people all around, were acquainted with Moses and the prophets. What necessity therefore was there, that he should come


c Caveamus ergo et nos, ne exactores simus in populo; ne, juxta impium Porphyrium, matronae et mulieres sint noster senatus; quaie dominatur in ecclesia; et de sacerdotali gradu favor judicat seminaria. In Is. cap. iii. T. iii. p. 38.

in the end of the world, and not till after an innumerable multitude of men had perished.'

4. I shall now make some extracts out of a book or letter of Augustine, in answer to six questions or difficulties, as taken from Porphyry, proposed by a pagan at Carthage, and sent to him by a presbyter named Deogratias.

They are a proof of the esteem which heathen people then had for Porphyry's work against the christians. However, of these six questions three only appear to be taken from Porphyry. I may therefore for the present confine myself to them, without taking particular notice of the rest. This letter of Augustine is supposed to have been written in the year 408.

5. The second question, and as taken from Porphyry, and supposed to be of great weight, was concerning the time of the christian revelation.

' If Christ, as he says, be the way of salvation, the truth, and the life, [John xiv. 6.] and they only who believe in him can be saved, what became of the men which lived before his coming?' which difficulty is there enlarged upon.

Augustine, beside other things, says in the way of solution, 'that there were revelations made to men from the beginning of the world, such as were suited to the circumstances of things; and that all good men, in every part of the world, were accepted and saved. In the sacred

* Inter hac missae sunt mihi a Carthagine Quaestiones sex, quas propositae amicus quidam, quem cupiebam fieri christianum, ut contra paganos solventur, præsertim qui nonnullas earum a Porphyrio philosopho propositas dixit:—Harum questionum disputationes in unum librum contulit, non proluxim, cuius titulus est, Sex Quaestiones contra Paganos expositae—Retr. i. ii. cap. 31.


'Et tamen ab initio generis humani, alias occultus, alias evidentius, sicut congruere temporibus divinis visum est: nec prophetari destitut, nec qui in eum crederent defuerant, ab Adam usque ad Móysen, et in ipso populo Israel, quæ speciali quodam mysterio gens prophetica fuit, et in aliis gentibus, antequam venisset in carne. Cum enim nonnulli commemoratur in sanctis Hebraicis libros jam ex tempore Abraham, nec ex stirpe carnis ejus, nec ex populo Israel, nec ex adventitià societate in populo Israel, qui tamen hujus sacrament participes fuerunt; cur non credamus etiam in ceteris hac atque illac gentibus alias aliosuisse, quumvis cos commemoratos in eisdem auctoritiatibus non legamus? Its salus religionis hujus, per quam solam veram salutem vera veraciter proponitur, nulli unquam defuit, qui dignus fuit. Ib. n. 15.
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Hebrew volumes, down from the time of Abraham, some are mentioned who had the knowledge of the true religion, who neither were descended from him, nor were of the people of Israel, nor ingrafted in among them. The like may be supposed of some in other nations, who also would obtain salvation.

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

This\(^i\) difficulty, as Augustine observes, was founded on what is written in our scriptures, where it is said, Gen. iv. 3, 4, "That Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel brought of the firstlings of the flock." Which, as Augustine allows, shows, that sacrifices were appointed of old, which were to be offered to God alone; and that they were designed for the good of men, not of God, who needed not any thing, as is plainly declared, Ps. xvi. 2, "I have said unto the Lord; Thou art my God, thou needest not my goods:" or in our version, "my goodness extendeth not to thee." Nor, as he goes on, do christians blame pagans for their temples and sacrifices, but because they offer them to idols and demons.

7. The fourth of the six questions is to this purpose:

Christ\(^k\) threatens everlasting punishment to those who do not believe in him. And yet in another place he says:

"With what measure you mete, it shall be meted to you

\(^h\) Jam videamus cam, quae sequitur, questionem. Accusant, inquit, ritus sacrorum, hostias, thura, et cetera, quae templorum cultus exercerit; cum idem cultus ab ipsis, inquit, vel a Deo quem colunt exortus est temporibus priscis, cum inductur Deus primitius egisset. Ib. n. 16.

\(^i\) Huic respondetur, quoniam ex illo scripturarum nostrarum loco haec quasio proposito agnoscitur, ubi scriptum est, Caen in fructibus terrae, Abel autem ex primitis ovium obtulisse manus Deo. Hinc potius est intelligendum, quam sit res antiqua sacrificium, quod non nisi un Deo vero offerri oportere veraces et sacra literae monent; non quod illo egeat Deus cum in eisdem ipsis literis apertissime sit scriptum, Dixi Domino: Deus meus es tu, quoniam bonorum meorum non eges.—an. 17. —Qua propter qui christianas literas utriusque Testamenti sciant, non hoc culpant in sacrilegis ritibus paganorum, quod construant templum, et instituant sacerdotoia, sed quod haec idolis et demoniis exhibeant. Ib. n. 18.

\(^k\) Jam nunc deinde videamus, quale sit, quod de mensurâ peccati atque supplicii proposuit, sic evangelio calamniiatus. Minatur, inquit, Christus sibi non credentibus aeterna supplicia. Et alibi ait: In qua mensurâ mensurâ fueritis, remictetur vobis. Satis, inquit, ridicule atque contrarie. Nam si ad mensuram redditorum est ponam, et omnes mensura circumscripta est fine temporis, quid sibi volunt minæ infiniti supplicii? Ib. n. 22.
'again.' Which is absurd and contradictory; for all measure must be limited to time.

Augustine\(^1\) thinks this a trifling argument, not becoming a philosopher. However, he says, it\(^m\) may be depended upon, that the judgment of Christ will be equitable, and that none shall be punished beyond the demerit of their offences.

If these difficulties are indeed taken out of Porphyry's work against the christians, they serve to assure us, that his objections were very much levelled at our scriptures, which he knew were in great esteem; and to overthrow them would be overthrowing the faith built upon them.

8. The\(^n\) fifth and sixth questions contain also pagan objections; but as they do not appear to be taken from Porphyry, I omit them now; nor do I intend to take them at all, they\(^o\) being trifling.

9. Ps. lxxxii. 8, "Arise, O God, judge the earth; for thou shalt inherit all nations."

Here Jerom, or whoever is the author of the Breviary upon the Psalter, in a style and manner somewhat resembling Jerom's, extols the success of Peter and Paul in preaching the gospel. \(^p\) God\(^q\) sent Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah,

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\(^1\) Istam questionem a qualicumque philosopho esse objectam atque propositam, difficile est credere. n. 23.

\(^m\) Nunc tamen arbitrator, satis esse monstratum, non esse contrarium aeternitati suppliciorum, quod in eadem mensura redduntur, in quâ peccata commissa sunt. Ib. num. 27.

\(^n\) Qu. V. Post hanc questionem, qui eas ex Porphyrio propositu, hoc adjunct.——Ib. n. 28.

\(^o\) The sixth Question or difficulty relates to the history of Jonah; which, as Augustine observes, afforded laughter in conversation among pagans. Hoc enim genus questionis multo cachinno a paganis graviter irrisione animadvertit. Ibid. num. 30.

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and other prophets. And "in Judah was God known, his name was great in Israel," a small tract of land only. He sent Peter, no philosopher nor orator, but an illiterate fisherman, who went from Jerusalem to Rome, and converted Rome, which the most eloquent men were not able to do. Again, he sent out the apostle Paul, and he preached the gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum. [Rom. xv. 19.] Alexander the Great, king of the Macedonians, with a powerful army did not conquer so many nations as they did. This Paul, who once was a persecutor, who says of himself, that he "was rude in speech, though not in knowledge," who made solecisms in his speech, subdued the whole world. Some one may say, all this was done for the sake of gain; so says Porphyry. Ignorant and indigent men, because they had nothing, performed some signs by magical art; which is no great matter; for the magicians in Egypt, and many others, have wrought signs. Let it be granted; and, as you say, the apostles wrought signs, that they might enrich themselves with the treasures of rich women whom they perverted. But then, why did they die? Why were they crucified? Others have wrought signs by magical arts, but they did not die for a dead man; they were not crucified for a man that had been crucified. They knew him to be dead; and did they die without any reason? Our victory is completed in the blood of the apostles; our faith is ratified in their blood. Let us therefore praise God, to whom be glory for ever and ever.

If Porphyry did indeed cast that reflection upon the apostles, saying they were deceivers, who were influenced by worldly views; (of which I think no doubt can be made;) we have here another proof of his malevolence; and we see the reason why his work was so offensive to the christians.

10. Porphyry, in his Life of Plotinus, written in his old
Porphyry, *Passages concerning Christians.* A. D. 270. 443

age and still extant, says: 'There were at that time many christians, and others, heretics, who had sprung from the ancient philosophy, followers of Adelphius and Acylinus, who, deceiving others and being deceived, pretend, that Plato had not gone to the bottom of the intelligible essence. Against them Plotinus often argued in his disputations, and also wrote a little book, to which we gave this title, *Against the Gnostics.*'

Porphyry says, 'he gave it that title,' because he was the editor of that and other works of Plotinus. That little book, treatise, or chapter, is still extant among the works of Plotinus; but there is not in it any express mention either of Gnostics or christians. It was written whilst Porphyry was with Plotinus; therefore between the year 263 and 268.

11. Porphyry's four books, Of Abstinence from Animals, are inscribed to his friend Firmus Castricius, who had forsaken the Pythagorean institution, and had begun to eat the flesh of animals. In his introduction to that work, near the beginning of the first book, are these words: 'For,' says Porphyry, 'I do not ascribe this defection of yours to intemperance or gluttony; nor do I think your disposition to be worse than that of some mean people; who having embraced rules different from their former way of life, will endure to be torn limb from limb rather than return to their old course; and now abstain from some animals, which they once ate greedily, with more care than from human flesh.'

(1.) This cannot relate to Jews, who always were under a strict rule of diet. (2.) Therefore, probably, it relates to christians, who had departed from their former way of living, and were then generally mean people, or so esteemed by Porphyry. They did not abstain from any kinds of animals, but they generally forbore to eat blood, and refused to eat animals that were strangled, from which the blood had not

\[ *\text{Γεγονας ε\'εκατ\'αυτων των χριστιανων πολλα μεν, και αλλως αφοτικ\'}\ de ek t\'s\ ταλαισ ϕιλοσοφιας ανηγ\'\γενον, οι πε\'\ρι Αδελφου και Ακυλινου—πολλας εξηπατων, και αυτα \'ηπατ\'\μενους κ. λ. \Vit. \Plotin. \cap. 16.\]

**[3]** *Est Enneades secundae liber nonus, licet in illo ne semel quidem vel Gnosticorum nomen vel ejusquam ex his Porphyrii nominatis, mentio occurrit. Fabr. annot. in \Vit. \Plotin. Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 219.\]

**[4]** *Ων γαρ \'εκ\' ape\'\riv\'\cov κα\'\cnu\'\cov την \'\οφ\'\u00f3\'\an\'\cov \\'\α\'\riv\'\cov, καταφρουσαν των \'\πατρων, \'\υ\'\\'\α\'\riv\'\cnu\'\cov \\'\α\'\riv\'\cnu\'\cov, φα\'\u00f3\'\a\'\cnu\'\cov αι \'\ε\'\cnu\'\pad\'\l\'\ap\'\l\'\a\'\cnu\'\cov την \'\φυσιν των \'\πατρων \'\ε\'\cnu\'\pad\'\l\'\a\'\cnu\'\cov ειναι \'\α\'\riv\'\cnu\'\cov \'\κα\'\riv\'\cnu\'\cov, \'\δι \'\ε\'\cnu\'\pad\'\l\'\a\'\cnu\'\cov προτερων, καταδε\'\riv\'\ap\'\l\'\a\'\cnu\'\cov, \'\ν\'\\'\α\'\riv\'\cnu\'\cov \'\μ\'\'\u00f3\'\a\'\l\'\a\'\cnu\'\cov, \'\τ\'\g\'\a\'\l\'\a\'\cnu\'\cov προτερων, \'\kα\'\riv\'\cnu\'\cov, \'\δι \'\ε\'\cnu\'\pad\'\l\'\a\'\cnu\'\cov, \'\ν\'\\'\\'\a\'\cnu\'\l\'\a\'\l\'\a\'\cnu\'\cov. De \Abst. ab \Esu Animal. \lib. i. \cap. 2. p. 3.*
been fairly drained. (3.) And they were resolute in adhering to the principles which they had received. (4.) If this reflection relates to christians, (as I think it does,) it shows great resentment and bitterness of spirit. (5.) And it ought to be observed, that it is brought in without any necessity, in a work of Porphyry unquestionably genuine. The design of the observation, I suppose, is to recommend to his friend openness to conviction; he hoped he could not be so obstinate and inflexible in his new opinion as the mean people here spoken of.

12. Thus I have now alleged all such passages of Porphyry’s work against the christians, as I have met with quoted by christian writers, the work itself not being now extant. I may have overlooked some; but I have omitted none which occur to my memory. I have also just now alleged a short passage concerning the christians from Porphyry’s Life of Plotinus, still extant; and another from his work of Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals, which is also still extant, and unquestionably genuine.

X. There is another work ascribed to Porphyry, and often quoted by Eusebius, entitled, The Philosophy of Oracles. Lucas Holstenius, in his Life of Porphyry, has given an account of all his works, and of this in particular, without any suspicion of its being spurious. Fabricius likewise still thinks it genuine, notwithstanding the objections of Fontenelle. Another learned man says: ‘Some have suspected, but without sufficient reason, this book of Porphyry to be forged.’ Dr. Gregory Sharpe also makes use of this work in his ‘Argument for Christianity, taken from the Concessions of the most ancient Adversaries.’ He seems not to have had any doubt of its genuineness; for after having quoted a good deal from it, he says: ‘I will

u Dr. Macknight, in The Truth of the Gospel History, p. 319, 320, says, ‘Porphyry blames Jesus, as giving encouragement to fraud by the parable of the steward, who wasted his Lord’s goods.’ The same observation is also in his Harmony of the Four Gospels, p. 404, 2d edition. Not having in my papers any reference to such a passage of Porphyry, I have written to Dr. Macknight, entreating him to refer me to the place intended by him, where that observation might be found. Nevertheless I have not received from him any such reference. I must therefore conclude, that by some means or other, that learned and laborious writer has been led into a mistake. However, I still wish the place might be found, if there is any such.

v De Vitâ et Scriptis Porphyrii, cap. x. al. ix.


x See Fontenelle’s History of Oracles, Diss. i. ch. iv.

y Dr. Jortin. Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 301. See what there follows the above quotation.

z P. 71, 72.
only make this one observation upon this long quotation from Eusebius: That it contains not only the opinion of Porphyry, but the testimony of their gods, or, if you please, of their priests, who did not dare to deny the excellence of the character of Jesus. These oracles cannot be called the forgeries of Christians. And whatever may be justly said against those of the Sibyl, these must have their weight with all who regard the authority of Porphyry, or the testimony of our adversaries.

This work is also approved by Mr. Mosheim and Dr. Chapman.

It is also much approved by Colonia, who, beside other things, says: 'Porphyry declares, and makes our greatest mysteries to be declared by the oracles of Apollo.' Again: 'He makes the goddess Hecate say, and he acknowledged himself, that Jesus Christ is a man illustrious for piety, and that he is more powerful than Æsculapius, and all the other gods.'

This work is quoted with approbation by many other learned men.

This work, as I said just now, is approved by the late

* See his Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, p. 10. and p. 76, &c.

* Porphyry announce, et fait annoncer nos plus grands mystères par les Oracles d'Apollon. La Religion Chrétienne autorisée par le Témoignage des anciens Pères. P. i. ch. ix. sect. vi. p. 342.

* Porphyry fait dire à la Déesse Hécate, et il reconoit lui-même, que Jésus Christ est un homme illustre par sa piété, et qu'il est plus fort qu'Esculape, et que tous les autres dieux. Ib. sect. vii. p. 345.

* Says Dr. Doddridge, Course of Lectures, &c. p. 252. 'Porphyry also, though an inverteate enemy to christianity, not only allowed there was such a man as Christ, but honoured him as a most wise and pious man, translated into heaven, as being approved by the gods, and accordingly quotes some oracles referring to his sufferings and virtues, with their subsequent rewards.'

* And Dr. Macknight, Truth of the Gospel-History, p. 328. 'The same Porphyry gives a most honourable testimony to the character of Jesus, which must not be omitted here. It is preserved by Eusebius in his De monstr. Evangel. p 134.—This now is what Porphyry has said. The respectful manner in which Porphyry here writes of our Lord, plainly shows us, that the bitter speeches, which in the passage of Cyril before cited, p. 317, he is said to have uttered, were levelled only against the christians, and not against their Master.' So then, this justly suspected and paltry book has at length gained such authority, as to be superior to the indisputable testimony of an ancient christian writer. And 'Porphyry, it seems, did not write against Jesus Christ, but only against christians.' However, we have been assured, that Porphyry reflected upon Jesus for what is said, John vii. 8—10, charging him with fickleness and unsteadiness, first saying, 'he should not go up to the feast, and yet going afterwards.' Was this pert remark levelled against Christ, or against those who called themselves his followers?
Mr. Mosheim. It is the consequence of a scheme formed by him concerning the disturbance caused in the Church by the later Platonic Philosophers. I presume it will not be disallowed, that I have a great regard for Mr. Mosheim, and have oftentimes expressed myself concerning him with great respect; but I do not adopt this scheme; I think it a chimerical and visionary notion. According to which, there is little or no difference between a heathen and a Christian, or between Origen, a sincere and zealous Christian, if ever there was such an one, and an excellent defender of the Christian doctrine, and an indefatigable preacher and commentator; and Porphyry, a mere heathen, as is manifest from his Lives of Pythagoras and Plotinus, and a bitter enemy of the Christians and Christianity, as we are assured by many ancient Christian authors, and as his own long work against the Christians testifies. If that opinion of Mr. Mosheim should prevail, it would indeed occasion great disorder in ecclesiastical history, and much confusion in the characters of many ancient Christian writers of great eminence. It may also create much confusion in the characters of divers men of great eminence among the heathens; who will no longer be allowed to have been what they really were, throughout Gentiles; but for the future must be reckoned in a sense Christians, or at least, half heathens, and half Christians. But upon that I enlarge no farther now; another occasion may offer to clear up their characters.

As this disturbance, this confusion and mixture of gentilism and Christianity, is all ascribed to Ammonius Saccas,

De turbata per recentiores Platonicos Ecclesià. Diss. ii. inter Dissertationes ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes. p. 85, &c.

Quantum vero detrimenti Sophistis hic, aut Philosophi, scientiae suae opinione, odioque christiani nominis inflati, rei Christianae, compararent, cum multa ex hoc aevi exempla, tum Julianus potissimum ostendit, qui ab hoc genere deceptus est. Ex his, qui sapientiores videri volebant, et temperationem quandam consecutati, multi disputationibus et interpretationibus eorum adduci sese sinebant, ut medium sibi quandam religionem inter veterem ac recentiorem effingerent, Christumque id ipsum precepisse, sibi persuaderent, quod sub ceremoniarum involucris diu a sacerdotibus Deorum reconditum fuisse. Sic animo affecti fuerunt Ammianus Marcellinus, vir in primis consideratus, Chalcidius, philosophus, Themistius, orator nobilissimus, et alii, qui utramque religionem in rebus praecipuis, modo recte capiantur, amice consentire, idioque nec Christum spernendum, nec cum contemptione Deorum colendum esse, arbitratio sunt. Moshem. Instit. p. 149, 150.

Christianam religionem, quae et novae philosophiae suae et antiquae religioni consentaneam faceret, [Ammonius] fabeatur, Christum, magnum et sapientem virum, Deique numine ac consilio plenum, admirabilem praeterea. Theurgum, et daemonibus amicum, sanctissimam proposuisse disciplinam, miraculisque emi firmasse: eundem vero negabant aliquid sententiis suis ad-
I must say somewhat farther concerning him, though I formerly said as much as I could then think to be needful.

It is to be observed then, that from Eusebius we learn, that Porphyry in his work against the christians says of Ammonius, the celebrated philosopher of Alexandria, master of Plotinus and other learned men: 'That having been educated a christian by christian parents, as soon as he came to years of understanding, and had a taste of philosophy, he presently betook himself to a life agreeable to the laws.' To which Eusebius says: 'It is a downright falsehood, to say he exchanged christianity for gentilism; for Ammonius maintained sincere and uncorrupted the doctrine of the divine philosophy to the end of his life; as his works which he left behind him still testify, and for which he is in great repute; such as the treatise entitled, Of the Consent of Moses and Jesus, and many others, which may be found with the curious.'

From Eusebius, and agreeably to him, Jerom, in his book of Ecclesiastical Writers, says of Ammonius of Alexandria: 'Among many excellent monuments of his wit, he composed also an elegant work of the Consent of Moses and Jesus, and invented the Evangelical Canons, which Eusebius of Caesarea afterwards followed. This person is falsely reproached by Porphyry, that of a christian he became a heathen; whereas it is certain, he continued a christian to the end of his life.'

Accordingly, it has been of late the general opinion of learned men, that Ammonius, sometimes called Saccas, was a christian. But Fabricius has contradicted it, and well observed and plainly shown, that Eusebius has confounded two authors, and has ascribed the works of Ammonius, a christian writer, to Ammonius master of Plotinus.

Many learned men have been well satisfied with the reasons assigned by Fabricius. Mr. Mosheim himself was well satisfied with them when he wrote the above-mentioned Dissertation. He then made no doubt that Eusebius was versum docuiisse, veteraque populorum sacra, daemonique populis et nature divinitus prepositorum cultum abrogare voluisse. Moschem. De Reb. Christian. p. 293. Conf. p. 283. et alibi.


Negat quidem Eusebius haec ita se habere, et Ammonium ad extremum usque spiritum immotum in religione christianæ perstitisse, perhibet: cui credendum esse potius, quam Porphyrio, maximi nominis viri censent: quos in-
mistaken, and confounded two of the name Ammonius, ‘one a philosopher, the other a christian writer. Ammonius,’ he says, ‘was better known to Porphyry, who had heard Plotinus, one of the principal disciples of Ammonius, than to Eusebius, who lived a good while afterwards.’ He there adds other reasons for the same opinion.

Nevertheless, undoubtedly, it would be more commodious for the support of the notion advanced by him, to suppose, that Ammonius, from whom all that disturbance proceeded, was a christian, or a half-christian, or somewhat like it. Accordingly, Mr. Mosheim has since altered his opinion concerning that great man. I do not allege his reasons, which appear to me to be of no weight, and tend only to form a character which never existed any where, and was never heard of before; and is indeed mere invention without evidence.

Eusebius must have been mistaken; Ammonius, master of Plotinus, could not be the author of the christian books mentioned by him; they must have been written by another of that name, which, probably, was not uncommon among the Egyptians. Porphyry may have been mistaken about his early life; he must have known what was his character, when he taught philosophy, in the latter part of his life. And it is agreeable to what is said of Ammonius by Longitar Henr. Valesius, Petr. Baylius, et Jac. Basnagius eminent. Ego vero Eusebium errasse, atque duos inter se Ammonios, alterum philosophum, alterum christianum scriptorem confusisse, nullus dubito: quam sententiam praeclare confirmavit Jo. Alb. Fabricius. Notior certe Porphyrio esse debuit Ammonius, qui Plotinum audiverat, praecipuum Ammonii discipulum, quam Eusebio, qui a temporibus ejus longo intervallo remotus est. Moshem. Diss. de turbata Ecclesiæ, sect. vii. p. 101.


Thus last opinion, as I suppose, Mosheim continued to maintain: and at p. 78, of Institutiones Historice Eccles. sect. vii. has these words. Hæc philosophandi ratio mutatatur quem Ammonius Saceas, occidente jam seculo, [secundo,] scholam Alexandriae magno cum plausu apерet, et sectæ illius, quæ recentior Platonica dicitur, fundamenta jaceret. Homo hic christianus, et fortassì ad obitum usque christianæ religiosi simlator——&c. And at p. 126, of the same work he says: ‘Ammonius Harmoniam Evangeliorum composit.’ See Mr. Maclain's Version, p. 143. But I must take the liberty to say, it appears to me very strange, that any learned man should be able to persuade himself, that the ‘Harmony of the Gospels’ was composed by Ammonius, master of Plotinus.
Porphyry. Of the Philosophy of Oracles. A. D. 270. 449

Aramonius and Ammianus Marcellinus; who is also called the divine Ammonius by Hierocles, another celebrated philosopher of Alexandria in the fifth century.

Whence it came to pass that Eusebius was so mistaken about Ammonius, cannot be said now; but I am persuaded, that he did not learn it from Origen. The contrary may be perceived from a part of a letter of Origen preserved in Eusebius; and which, I think, is decisive, and may fully satisfy us, that Ammonius was a heathen philosopher. I therefore transcribe it largely; and it follows in course immediately after his remarks upon Porphyry. 'All this I have said for convicting that liar, and for showing Origen's great skill in the Greek learning. Concerning which Origen himself speaks also in a letter, in which he makes an apology for himself, to those who blamed him for his so much attending to that sort of literature. "When," says he, "I was wholly employed in reading and explaining the word of God, the reputation of my progress being spread abroad every where, there came to me some heretics, and also some others, studious of Greek literature, and particularly of philosophy. I therefore thought it expedient for me to make inquiries into the opinions of heretics, and likewise the sentiments of the philosophers, who boast much of their teaching the truth. This we did, in imitation of Pantaenus, who before us excelled in that knowledge; as also of Heraclas, who is now presbyter in the church of Alexandria; whom I found with a master of philosophical learning, under whom he had studied five years, before I began to be an auditor of those discourses, who, though before he had worn the common habit, put on that of a philosopher, which he still wears; and to this time continues diligently to read the writings of Greek authors." Thus, he speaks, apologizing for his study of the Greek learning.'

So writes Eusebius. The 'master of philosophical learning, on whom Heraclas attended five years, is not named;' but he can be no other than Ammonius, of whom


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we are speaking; as is allowed by Valesius," and cannot be contested by any. And I think, the coherence leads us to suppose him, without hesitation, to have been a heathen philosopher; in proof of which therefore I shall say nothing more.

Upon the whole, it appears to me very evident, that Ammonius, master of Plotinus and other great men of whom Porphyry speaks, was a heathen philosopher. Ammonius, author of divers christian writings, of whom Eusebius speaks, was a genuine christian, without any exceptions ever made to his christianity, that we know of; nor does it appear from antiquity, that his faith was corrupted with any mixtures of heathenish doctrines.

The design of all these observations is to show, that Ammonius, called Saccas, was a heathen, and that from any other character groundlessly imputed to him, no argument can be formed in favour of the genuineness of the work entitled, the Philosophy of Oracles, ascribed to Porphyry.

Many learned men, as just seen, have received it, and quoted it as his. But Vandale* considers it as a spurious

* Est his verbis colligere est, Origenem codem magistro, quo Heraclam, usum esse in philosophia. Vocabatur autem ille Ammonius, ut Porphyrius supra dixit. Vir fuit sui temporis philosophorum celeberrimus. Vales. ad Eusebii locum.

* Mr. Mosbein, as seems to me, is so intent upon his notion of a late, or 'modern sect of Platonic Philosophers,' as to forget himself sometimes. In his Institutions he says, that 'Celsus, who wrote against the christians, was 'not, as Origen thought, an Epicurean, but a Platonic Philosopher, of the 'sect of Ammonius.' Libro ex instituto christianos oppugnavit Celsus phi-'losophus, quem Origenes, a quo confutatus est, Epicureum facit, nos fir-'mioribus argumentis ducti, Platonicum fuisse, ex Ammonii secta putamus. 'Instit. H. E. Sec. 2. P. 1. cap. 2. p. 75. And to the like purpose in his 'work, De Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 255, 256. But how could that be? 'How should Celsus be a follower of Ammonius, who lived a good while 'before Celsus lived and wrote in the second century; Ammonius did not 'flourish before the third century. Plotinus, as we know from Porphyry, 'came to study under Ammonius, at Alexandria, in the 28th year of his 'age, in the year of Christ 232, and staid with him eleven years, leaving 'him in the 38th or 39th year of his age, in the year of Christ 242. Vide 'Porphyry. de Vitâ Plotini, cap. 3. et Conspectus Vitæ Plotini, ap. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. iv. p. 88, 89. 'Which plainly shows, that Ammonius did not flourish before the beginning of 'the third century. Moreover, Origen was a hearer of Ammonius. If Celsus 'also had studied under him, he and Origen might have been fellow-disciples. 'Or, suppose that Celsus was a little older, and had preceded him in the 'same school, Origen could not have been altogether unacquainted with him. 'Whereas, we have learned from Origen himself; that he knew of two only of 'that name, one who lived in the time of Nero, the other in the time of Adrian, 'and afterwards. See p. 210.

* Circa hanc rem tamen, non tam mihi oboritur admiratio,—Barionum, 'alosque, etiam magni nominis viros, fede satis lapsos—quam magnum 'illum, immo maximum.—Hugonem Grotium, ex Porphyrio (in notis suis
work; and as it is now a good while since he delivered his opinion about it, I cannot but wonder, that none of the learned men above mentioned have attended to his argument. I likewise many years ago expressed my suspicions about the genuineness of it; and still it appears to me to have in it plain marks of forgery. I shall now give my reasons at length, and in such a manner, as to allege those passages of it which are favourable to christianity, and ought to be alleged as Porphyry's, if this work could be allowed to be genuine.

1. The first mark of forgery is in the introduction, in which the author makes professions of veracity in terms so strong, as to raise a suspicion of some bad design.

Eusebius, proceeding to quote this book, says, 'he will not insist on the testimony of friends, which might be of little value, but those of strangers, not of our body. And of all the Greek historians and philosophers that ever were, none can be more fitly alleged here, than that very friend of demons, who in our time has gained so much reputation by the falsehoods which he has published against us. In the work which he has written of the Philosophy from Oracles, he has made a collection of the oracles of Apollo, and the other gods, and good demons.'

'And,' says Eusebius, 'it will be worth the while, in the first place, to observe, how the forementioned person begins his work, confirming the truth of what he says by an oath, in these very words. "For," says he, "I call the gods to witness, that I have added nothing to the sense of what has been delivered by oracle; nor have I taken any thing from it. I have only corrected some literal mistakes, or supplied the metre when it was defective, or have left out some things not material. But whatever alterations of this kind I have made, I have preserved the sense entire; being more afraid of committing such an impiety, than of undergoing the penalty of sacrilege.'


* ——Τὸν ἀφανῶν φόλον αὐτὸν εκεῖνον, ὃς ἐν καθ' ἴμας γεγονὼς, τοὺς καθ' ἴμους ἑλλαμπρύνεται φευγόμενος——Οὕτως τοιονισθὲν, εν ως ἐπεγραφεὶ περὶ τῆς εἰς λογίων φιλοσοφίας, συναγωγὴν ἐποιήσατο χρησιμον τῆς Λασόλλων, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ζέων τε καὶ αγαθῶν χαμονίων. a Ib. cap. vii. p. 143.
This asseveration of veracity is abundantly too strong; an honest man can seldom have occasion for such solemnity in his writings; nor do I perceive any reason that Porphyry should have, to prefix such an introduction to any thing he had to say about philosophy, or theology.

2. Another mark of forgery is the strict injunction of silence, contained also in this author's introduction to his work.

Eusebius goes on in the same place: 'After that preface to his work, he earnestly requires, and enjoins, that what he is about to say should not be divulged; and in these very words. "Thou therefore above all take care not to publish these things, nor to mention them before the profane, neither for the sake of glory, or of gain, or any other low advantage; for thereby will accrue danger, not only to thyself for transgressing this precept, but to me also, who have too easily confided in a person not able to conceal such benefits. But they may be communicated to such as order the course of their life with a view to the salvation of the soul." And afterwards he adds: "Thou art to conceal these things as the greatest of secrets; for neither have the gods spoke plainly of themselves in their oracles, but obscurely."

This strict injunction of silence is another just ground of suspicion; it affords reason to believe, that this work could not bear the examination of the public. Moreover here is a christian phrase: it may be communicated to such as order the course of their life with a view to the salvation of the soul. A like phrase, hopes of salvation, occurs in what Eusebius calls the preface, of which, for the sake of brevity, I have omitted a part, and have taken only the oath of veracity.

It is hence plain, that this work was to be communicated to christians only. But why so, provided these oracles were genuine? For if they had really been delivered by the gods, they must have been of as much advantage to heathens as to christians; or rather more to the former, who, as one might think, should have greater regard to what their gods said than christians, who believed those gods to be no other than evil demons.

3. This book is not Porphyry's, because it often notori-
ously contradicts the sentiments which Porphyry has delivered in those writings which are certainly his.

In his work of Abstinence from Animals he starts an objection: 'If animals are not to be killed, we shall be deprived of the benefits of divination, which depends upon searching their entrails. To which he answers, that a philosopher abstracted from the world, seldom has occasion to go to demons, or priests, and diviners, and the entrails of animals. He rarely wants advice about marriage, a lost servant, commerce; and as for things of religion, he consults his own breast, and goes to God dwelling in him. Concerning such things as he is most desirous to know, no certain information can be had from diviners and the entrails of animals.'

After such a declaration, it seems improbable, that Porphyry should consult oracles concerning any point, especially about the Christian religion, concerning which he had long ago formed his judgment, and had published it to the world in books written with great diligence and earnestness.

But passing over that, there is an instance of contradiction in the first quotation, which Eusebius makes after the preface to this work; it contains a long oracle in verse, and then the writer's explication and observations in prose, according to the usual method of this work.

In this oracle Apollo himself reckons up the several kinds of deities, heavenly, aerial, earthly, subterraneous; and teaches what animals, and of what colours, ought to be offered to those several deities, and in what manner. After producing that passage, now, says Eusebius, compare this discourse with what the same author has said in his books, which he entitles, Of Abstinence from Animals. For there he very rationally teaches, that sacrifices and incense are not to be offered to the God over all, nor to the divine and heavenly powers next after him; and proceeds so far as to say, that they deserve not to be accounted gods who delight in such sacrifices. For the killing of animals is a great and detestable impiety, and therefore not acceptable to the gods. Whence it appears, adds Eusebius, that his god is condemned; for, as he says, the oracle commanded animals to be sacrificed, not only to the subterraneous deities, but also to the aerial, and heavenly, and aetheral. Thus Apollo directs here.

But he, in the other work,] citing also Theophrastus to

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\(^{a}\) Abstinentia, &c. l. ii. cap. 51, 52. \(^{b}\) Περὶ ὁν ἐν ζητεῖ, μακρὸς μὲν κεῖται, μὲν σπαγγύα ζωνων μηνους το σαφες. Ib. cap. 52.

\(^{b}\) Pr. Evang. l. iv. cap. 9. p. 145—147.
the same purpose, says, that sacrifices of animals ought not to be offered to gods, but only to demons. So that, according to himself and Theophrastus, Apollo is no god, but a demon. Nor are the other, who are called gods, any better, who are every where worshipped with animals by princes and people, in cities and villages.' Very right.

Nevertheless, the present argumentation is of no weight. There ought first of all to be good proof of the genuineness of a writing, that contradicts the sentiments which an author has advanced in another work, evidently his, and that not by the by only, but on set purpose, and in a long series of arguments, of which he appears to be fully persuaded.

If the books De Abstinentiâ, &c. are Porphyry's, (as they undoubtedly are,) and if the sentiments therein taught contradict those of the Philosophy of Oracles, this last is not genuine. Indeed, this appears to be the work of some christian, who intended to decry the heathen worship, and all the whole system of heathen theology.

I forbear to allege passages of these oracles at length, in which the gods are reviled in a manner very agreeable to the christian notions of them at that time. But I ought not to omit to observe, that they are here represented, as acknowledging themselves compelled to answer the questions put to them. 'One says, Hear! me speaking unwillingly what necessity obliges me to say.' In another of these oracles Apollo says: 'This is a powerful and hard necessity laid upon me.' When they have been brought down from heaven to answer the inquiries made of them, they earnestly solicit a return, and to be let go away. The gods of this work likewise are made to teach the art of magic.

But it is time to have done with these absurdities. If Porphyry was not a christian, but a heathen philosopher, and an enemy to the christians, this work is not his.

4. In this work are many things very favourable to the christian religion; therefore it cannot be Porphyry's, who wrote against the christians, and long afterwards lay under great reproach upon that account, as the worst and most abusive enemy they ever had.

Here I shall produce those passages which ought to have

1 Και παλιν ἀλλος, αναγκαζόμενος εἴρη Κλελθε μεν ἐκ εὑδοντος, εἰπε μ' επεθρασαν αναγκα. Pr. Ev. l. v. sect. 8. p. 194. B.
2 Οὖν μὴ αναγκασθῇ τό de κατεργαν, ἡδ' ἐτί βραδον. Ib. C.
3 Λυπε λοιπον ανακτή—c. 9. p. 195.
4 Cap. 14.
been alleged before, if it could with good reason be supposed, that this work was composed by Porphyry.

In his Evangelic Preparation Eusebius writes thus: "Porphyry, in the first book of the Philosophy taught by Oracles, brings in his own god bearing witness to the wisdom of the Hebrews, together with other people, who were renowned for their learning and knowledge. It is Apollo," says Eusebius, "that speaks in this oracle, and it follows what had been before delivered concerning sacrifices; and he demands especial attention, as to words full of divine wisdom. "The way leading to the gods is difficult and rough, and the entrance shut with brazen doors. "The Phoenicians, the Assyrians, the Lydians, and Hebrews, have found out many ways to the seat of the blessed." [All that in verse.] To which the author subjoins; "The way leading to the gods is shut with brazen bolts, and is rugged and difficult. The barbarians have found out many paths; but the Greeks have quite wandered out of the way; and they who now prevail have corrupted it. But the god declared, that the finding it out was owing to the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, the Chaldaeans, the Lydians, and the Hebrews."

This passage of the author, subjoined to the oracle by way of explication, is also cited at length by Theodoret as Porphyry's, and from the same work, the Philosophy of Oracles.

It follows in Eusebius, immediately after what has been just quoted. "And moreover, in another oracle Apollo says: "The Chaldaeans only, and the Hebrews, have attained to wisdom, chastely worshipping the self-existent king and god."

Upon the foregoing quotations I now make these remarks.

(1.) It is very strange that Apollo should say, "The Hebrews had found out some of the ways to the gods, and to happiness;" and that, when going to deliver such an observation, he should demand especial attention. It is as strange that Apollo should say, as he is afterwards made to

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a O ὁ Πορφύριος εν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς εἰς λογιῶν φιλοσοφίας αὐτὸν ἱσαγον τον ἐκείνῳ Ἰσα, τῷ ἱεραρχῷ γενει, μετὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῶν ἐπί συνέχει βαπτισμῶν ἔλθειν σφιακά εἰς προτερήματα. κ. Λ. Πρ. Ἐν. Ι. τ. Ι. ς. ς. 412, 413.

b O εἰς κρατικάς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐστηθηραν. ς. 412. Β.

c Gr. Περιστ. η. η. ς. 471, 472.

d Εἰς ὃ Πρός τιτᾶσας εἰς ἱερον χρησμῷ ὑπέρ τοῦ Ἀπολλών. Μενον Χαλδαίων σφιακά λογιῶν, ἢ εἰς ἱεραρχών, Ἀυτογενέθλου ἀνακτό σεβαζόμενοι οὗν ἰδίᾳς.

ib. ς. 413.
do, that the Chaldaeans only, and the Hebrews, had attained ed to wisdom, chastely worshipping the eternal king and god. And is this the work of Porphyry? Is Porphyry become so fond of the Jews, who, as Eusebius assured us not long ago, in his work against the christians, equally reviled us, and the Hebrews, and Moses himself, and the prophets after him? Or rather, is Porphyry, who wrote against the christians, and, as is generally said, with great virulence, become himself a convert, and concerned to make converts to christianity? For to recommend the Hebrews, and their principles, is at least preparatory to christianity. Theodoret therefore having made that quotation, as above observed, and as Porphyry's, goes on very rationally: If our greatest enemy chargeth the Greeks as in error, and ascribes the knowledge of truth to the Hebrews, and the Phoenicians, and Egyptians, and Chaldaeans, and says that Apollo has so taught, why do you not hearken to your own philosopher, and receive the oracle of the Delphic tripod, and learn of the Hebrew prophets and apostles? and what follows. Very just reasoning!

Surely it is altogether incongruous to suppose, that Porphyry should place the Greeks the lowest of all nations in the search of wisdom, and say, that the barbarians had found out many paths to it, whilst the Greeks had wandered quite out of the way. It is as improbable, that Apollo should give the honour of this invention to the Hebrews, and others, rather than to the Greeks.

(2.) This book was written after the establishment of christianity by Constantine; for the author, as we have just seen, speaks of the christian as the prevailing religion. They who now prevail, have corrupted it: or, according to a different pointing, they who prevail, have already corrupted it. There is no reason to believe, that Porphyry lived to the time of Constantine's conversion to christianity. The composer of this work here forgot the character which he had assumed; he pretended to be Porphyry; but did not now consider, that Porphyry had died before the christian could be called the prevailing religion, or the christians the men that prevailed. However, it must be owned, that in what the author here says, he is upon his guard, and he casts a reflection upon these men as having corrupted philosophy, or the knowledge of wisdom; but it is a thin disguise, easily seen through.

I make no more remarks upon what is already transcribed, but proceed to another passage of this work.

5. In his Evangelic Demonstration, Eusebius expresseth himself in this pompous manner.

'But if none of these things will convince you, hearken to your demons and gods speaking in their oracles, who impute to our Saviour, not imposture, as you do, but piety and wisdom, and ascent to heaven. What more credible assurance can you have of this than the testimony of our enemy, who in the third book of his work, entitled, Of the Philosophy taught by Oracles, speaks in these very words: "It will perhaps seem strange to some which we are about to say. For the gods declared Christ to be most pious, and to be made immortal, and they spoke honourably of him." And presently after he says: "When we inquired concerning Christ, whether he be a god, the answer was; That the soul is immortal after the death of the body, knows every body who is favoured with wisdom. But the soul of that man is most eminent for piety. Him therefore he declared to be most pious, and his soul, like the souls of others, after death made immortal, which the ignorant christians worship. Then, when we asked, why he was put to death, the oracular answer was; The body is always liable to slight torments; but the soul of the pious escapes to the heavenly country." And after the oracle he adds: "He therefore is pious, and is gone to Heaven, as the pious do. Him therefore you are not to blaspheme, but to pity the ignorance of men." Thus writes Porphyry.'

Here the composer of this work was upon his guard; but not so Eusebius, who receives all without hesitation. The author was aware, that what he was about to say was very unlikely; he therefore introduceth it with that preface: 'It may seem strange which we are going to say.' And he afterwards throws in a reflection upon the christians, as if they carried their respect for Christ too far. However, he and his god bear an honourable testimony to Jesus, as we have seen.

Porphyry, in this work, and his gods, as Eusebius says, impute not to our Saviour imposture, but piety and wis-
'dom, and ascent to heaven.' But who can believe that, when Porphyry had written a large work, the great design of which, in his remarks upon the book of Daniel, and elsewhere, was to prove Jesus an impostor? And is Porphyry now become an apostle, preaching to the world Christ's resurrection and ascension?

Eunapius indeed, in his Life of Porphyry, says, 'that he lived to a great age. Whence it came to pass, that he has left many sentiments different from those which he had delivered in works formerly written.' But that may relate to some lesser matters only. We still have his Life of Plotinus, written when he was seventy years old, or thereabout; where he appears a true heathen philosopher.

To me it seems very strange, that any christian, especially a learned christian, should call upon heathen people, as Eusebius here does, 'to hearken to their demons and gods speaking in their oracles:' who might know, from the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as well as from reason, that heathen deities were nothing, and had neither power nor wisdom; if they were any thing they were evil spirits, and their testimonies were of no value. Our Lord never received the testimony of men who were supposed to be acted by demons. St. Paul did not value the testimony of the young woman at Philippi, who was said to have a spirit of Python, Acts xvi. 16. And I am persuaded, that our Saviour will never thank any of his followers for bringing in demons, or heathen deities in their oracles, speaking in his favour. May I not here adopt the language of St. Paul upon another occasion, and say: "What communion has light with darkness? And what concord has Christ with Belial? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?" 2 Cor. vi. 14—16.

6. Once more; this work, of the Philosophy of Oracles, is rarely mentioned by christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries: therefore it was little known, or not known


w Christians sometimes speak very justly, agreeable to the doctrine of the ancient prophets, that all the gods of the heathens were vanity, or senseless idols. It is a pity, that they are not always consistent with themselves. Et idola quidem omni sensu carere, quis dubitet? Verum tamen cum his locantur sedibus, honorabili sublimitate, ut a precantibus atque immolantibus atendentur, ipsa similitudine animatorum membrorum atque sensuum, quamvis insensata et exanima, afficient infirmos animos, ut vivere et spirare videantur; accedente praestim veneratione multitudinis, quia tanti eis cultus impeditur. August. ep. 102. [ad. 49.] n. 18. An excellent observation of that great and eminent ancient.
to be written by so considerable a man as Porphyry, who had written against the christians.

It is often quoted by Eusebius, as we have seen; it was also known, as it seems, to Julius Firmicius Maternus, about the middle of the fourth century; it is also quoted by Theodoret, about 420, as we have seen; but not very often; it is likewise quoted by Augustine in the fifth century; I shall transcribe him presently with remarks; but these are very few only. I forbear to enumerate here the names of the many writers of the fourth and fifth centuries who have taken no notice of this work; but it appears to me a great objection against its genuineness, that it is never mentioned in any of the numerous works of Jerom, or Cyril of Alexandria. Jerom wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries, and has often taken notice of Porphyry, but says nothing of this work; Cyril lived in the fifth century, and published a work against the emperor Julian in ten books; in that work he has quoted divers of Porphyry's writings, and made good use of them; his Philosophic History, Of Abstinence from Animals, and some others. These Cyril quotes often, and largely: but has not once quoted or named this work, Of the Philosophy taught by Oracles.

He has, it is true, the verses before quoted from Eusebius, which are likewise partly in Augustine; but not as taken from any writing of Porphyry, nor as a certain thing, but in this manner. 'When,' says Cyril, 'somebody came to the Pythoness at the temple of Apollo, and inquired which nations were wisest; it is said, the demon there gave this answer: The Chaldeans only have obtained wisdom; but the Hebrews worship the self-existent King, God himself. And Porphyry makes mention of the Essenes of Judea in these words.' Where Cyril proceeds to quote a passage of the fourth book of his Abstinence from Animals, cap. 13, though without saying from what work of Porphyry he takes it. It is plain, that Cyril does not quote that oracle from any work of Porphyry.

It is likely, that in Cyril's time it was a common story, that the Pythian oracle had some time delivered such an answer as this: but he would not vouch for the truth of the


\(^{y}\) Ἀφείκομεν γὰρ τοιοῦ Πυθοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἄπαλλονος νεών, ἐρωμένα τε καὶ ναμαθέων εὐθύτης, τινς αὐτοὶ ἥναν ὥστε μαλιστὰ σοφὸν τῶν εὐθύων; 

Μὲνὶ Χαλδαῖοι σοφῆς λαχαν, οἱ δὲ ἐρούσαν ἐξήραινοι,

Ἀναγεννησιν αὐτίκα συμβαζόμενοι θεὸν αὐτῶν.

relation. The same is in Justin Martyr’s Cohortatio ad Graecos, if it be his; and it is brought in much after the same manner as in Cyril. ‘When one, as you say, asked your oracle that had been religious men, the oracle, as you say, gave this answer:

“The Chaldaeans only have obtained wisdom, and the Hebrews worship the self-existent King, God himself.’”

7. We will now see what Augustine says of this work.

He is showing, that the God whom the Christians worship is the true God. ‘Lastly,’ says he, ‘He is God, whom Porphyry, the most learned of the philosophers, though a bitter enemy of the Christians, and also the oracles whom he thinks to be gods, acknowledge to be the great God.’ For in his books, which he calls the Philosophy of

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2 ἔργωμεν γαρ τινες, ὡς αυτοί φατι, τι παρ’ ἐμοι χρητημεν, τινας συνεβη ὡσιβις ανέφας γεγενησαι ποτε, ἦτο το χρητημεν ειρηκείαι φατι

Μανων Χάλκαιοι σοφήν λαχων, ἡ’ αἳ ἑθραοι,

Αὐτογενήτων αὐτάκτα σεβαζόμενοι θεον αὐτον.


a Postremo ipse est Deus, quem doctissimus philosophorum, quamvis christianorum acerrimus inimicus, etiam per eorum oracula, quos Deos putat, Deum magnum Porphyrius confiteatur. De Civ. Dei, l. xix. cap. 22.

Oracles, and writes of things pertaining to Philosophy, as delivered in answers from the gods, he speaks to this purpose. And I shall put down his very words, as they have been translated out of the Greek tongue into Latin. He says, when he inquired what god he should appease in order to reduce his wife from christianity, Apollo answered in verse: "Possibly you may more easily write in water, or fly in the air like a bird, than convert your wife once polluted with impiety." Let him go on as he will, singing with his fallacious lamentations the dead god, whom the judges rightly condemned, and the worst death destroyed. Then, after these verses of Apollo, which are not translated into good Latin metre, he subjoins, and says; Hereby he [the god] "expressed their incurable obstinacy. For the Jews may sooner acknowledge God than they." Observe, how to disparage Christ he prefers the Jews before christians, confessing that the Jews acknowledge God; for so he explained the verses of Apollo, where he says, that Christ was put to death by judges thinking right things, as if they had passed a just judg-


ment, and he had been deservedly punished. Let him see to it, what the lying priest of Apollo said of Christ, and he believed; or, perhaps, he himself pretended, the priest had said what he did not say. But how he is consistent with himself, or how he makes the oracles to agree, we shall see hereafter. However, here he says, the Jews as worshippers of God, judged rightly concerning Christ, when they condemned him to suffer the worst death; therefore the God of the Jews, to whom he bears this testimony, ought to be heard, who says: "He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, shall be destroyed," Ex. xxii. 20. But let us proceed to plainer things, and let us hear how great a God, he says, the God of the Jews is; and therefore let us observe the question he put to Apollo, Which is the best instructor, reason or law? He says, he made the answer in verse, saying these things. Then he puts down Apollo's verses, in which are these, that I may take what is sufficient; "You must worship the God creator, king, before all things, before whom the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and things hidden in the deep tremble, and whom the gods themselves dread; whose law is the Father, whom the pious Hebrews adore." In that oracle of his god Apollo, Porphyry declares the God of the Hebrews to be so great, that the gods themselves dread him. When therefore that God has said, "he that sacrificeth to other gods shall be destroyed," I wonder that Porphyry himself did not dread him, and did not fear to be destroyed when he sacrificed to other gods.

This philosopher also says good things of Christ, as if he had forgot the reproach before mentioned; or, as if his gods blasphemed Christ in their sleep, and when they awoke acknowledged his merit, and gave him due praises. Finally, then as if he was about to say something wonderful and incredible, he says: "It may indeed appear strange which we are going to say. For the gods declared Christ to be most pious, and made immortal, and spoke honourably of him:" but, as he says, they said, "the Christians were polluted and corrupted, and involved in error." And many such reproaches they cast upon them. Then he subjoins oracles of the gods reproaching the christians; afterwards he says, "when we inquired concerning Christ, whether he be a god, Hecate answered; That the soul after separation from the body becometh immortal thou knowest. A soul void of wisdom always wanders; but that is the soul of a man most eminent for piety. This they worship not rightly." Then, after the words of the
oracle, he adds himself: "Therefore," says he, "the oracle declared him to be a most pious man, and his soul, like the souls of other pious men, after death favoured with immortality; and that the mistaken christians worship this. And," says he, "when we asked, why then was he condemned? The goddess answered; The body indeed is ever liable to debilitating torments; but the soul of the pious dwells in the heavenly mansion. But that soul has fatally been the occasion to many other souls to be involved in error, to whom it has not been given to acknowledge the immortal Jove. But himself is pious, and gone to heaven as other pious men do. Him therefore thou shalt not blaspheme, but pity the folly of men because of the danger they are in."

Who is so weak,' says Augustine, "as not to perceive, that these oracles were contrived by a cunning man, and an enemy to the christians? or at least that those answers were given by impure demons, with this view, that because they commend Christ, they may be thought to speak truly when they blame the christians? and thereby, if possible, shut up the way of salvation in which all christians are."

Augustine has afterwards another quotation from this work, which I shall not transcribe. I only observe, that Jesus is there spoken of as one of the Hebrew wise men, as had been before declared in the oracles of Apollo."

That whole quotation is taken from Augustine's large work, Of the City of God, supposed to have been written by him between the years 413 and 426. He has also referred to this book, as Porphyry's, in his work of the Consent of the Evangelists, written about the year 400, where

"Quis ita stultus est, ut non intelligat, aut ab homine callido, coque christians inimicissimo, hec oracula fuise conficta, aut consilio simili, ab impuris demonibus ista fuise responsa; ut, scilicet, quoniam laudant Christum, propertia credantur veraciter vituperare christians; atque ita, si possint, intercludant viam salutis aeternae, in qua sit quique christians. Ib. n. 3.

A Ab his sapientes Hebraeorum, quorum iste etiam Jesus unus fuit, sicut audisti divina Apollinis, quae superius dieta sunt. n. 4. ib.

Quid quod isti vani Christi laudatores, et christianae religionis obliqui obtructatores, propertia non audent blasphemenare Christum, quia quidam philosophorum corum, sicut in libris suis Porphyrius Siculus proeditit, consulerunt deos suos, quid de Christo responderent, illi autem oraculis suis Christum laudare compulsi sunt. Nec mirum, cum et in evangelio legamus eum damones fuise confessos—Ac per hoc isti ne contra deorum suorum responsa conentur; continent blasphemas a Christo, et eas in discipulos ejus effundunt. Mihi autem videtur, quod illi dixentium, quos philosophi Paganorum consulte potuerunt, etiam si de discipulis Christi interrogarentur, ipso quoque laudare cogerentur. De Consensu Evangelist, l. i. cap. 15. Tom. iii. P. 2."
he speaks too favourably of it. I shall not translate it; but I have transcribed the passage below in Augustine's own words.

I shall now make remarks.

(1.) Augustine's quotations of this work are somewhat different from those in Eusebius; which, perhaps, is owing to the translation; for Augustine intimates, that the Latin translation which he made use of was not very exact.

(2.) The quotations of this book in Eusebius and Augustine agree in the main; for in both the worship of the God of the Jews is recommended, and honourable mention is made of Christ, as a most excellent man, and gone to heaven.

(3.) Therefore this is not a work of Porphyry: for in his work against the christians, as Eusebius says, he had 'equally reviled the Jewish people, and us, Moses, and the 'Jewish prophets.'

(4.) Here is a story concerning Porphyry's wife which we have not found in Eusebius; it is very likely to be a fiction of the writer of this work, for we do not meet with it elsewhere; nor is the character of this work such, as alone, without any other voucher, to give it much credit. However, agreeably enough to the general design of this work, here is an honourable testimony given to the christians, that they were very steady in the belief and profession of their principles.

(5.) In this book, as cited by Augustine and also by Eusebius before, are some reflections upon christians; they are spoken of as 'in error, corrupted, and polluted.' These reflections were inserted, as seems to me, for a disguise; that the author might cover his real intention; his design was to recommend christianity: but he had assumed the character of a heathen and enemy; the better to keep up that appearance, he casts out reflections upon the followers of Jesus. However, he does not blame them for believing in Jesus: he recommends him to all as 'most pious, and 'excellent, and gone to heaven.' His reflections upon the christians therefore, as 'in error and corrupted,' relate not to the general scheme of christianity, which was right, but to some opinions maintained by some of its professors: and indeed all these reflections upon christians, as erroneous and ignorant, I consider as arguments of the late original of this work; and that it was not composed till some while after the conversion of Constantine. I am not positive what opinions the author intends, but he may have an eye to the disputes concerning the Arian and other Trinitarian
doctrines, which must have been controverted in the year 315 or sooner, before which time Porphyry had died.

(6.) The conclusion to be made from the whole is, that this is not a work of Porphyry, a heathen philosopher and enemy to Christianity, but of a Christian and patron of Christianity.

Augustine himself doubted of the genuineness of this work, and of the oracles contained in it; though he shows it rather too much respect, when he proceeds to allege it as an argument in behalf of the true Deity, saying, as above, 'He is God, whom Porphyry the most learned of the philosophers, and the oracles alleged by him, acknowledge to be the true God.'

Augustine says very truly, 'It is plain, that it is the work of some cunning man.' The self-contradictions, or the seeming self-contradictions and inconsistences, are plain proofs of insincerity, design, and artifice.

It is the artifice or forgery of some Christian, designed and contrived to serve the interests of Christianity in general, and possibly likewise of some particular notions of the author himself. Augustine, though he suspects it to be a contrivance, imagines it may be the contrivance, not of a Christian, but of an enemy to Christians; but, so far as can be judged from what we have remaining of this work, it is not the work of an enemy, but of a friend to Christianity. Undoubtedly, it was needful to cover the forgery of these oracles, and the real character of the writer, by some things that had the appearance of heathenism; for the assumed character of the writer is that of an heathen, and an enemy to Christianity; there is no doubt of that. He must therefore say some things to the disadvantage of Christianity itself, or of the professors of it; accordingly, he has here and there blamed the Christians with some freedom and seeming sharpness; and now and then, as it should seem from Augustine's account, (though that does not appear in Eusebius,) he did also, in an obscure manner, speak disrespectfully of Christ himself. But, that the writer held Christian notions, and designed to favour the cause of Christianity, is evident from his commendations of the Jews, from his recommending the worship of the God of the Jews as the true and great God; and in that, when he said any thing to the disadvantage of Jesus he spoke obscurely, when to his advantage he spoke clearly. So this appears in Augustine's own account. Having shown what the author had said of the justice of the death of Christ, in ambiguous terms, he adds: 'But let us proceed to clearer

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things:’ Where the oracle and the writer plainly commend Christ; and the difference between these passages, in which Christ is reproached, from those in which he is commended, is thus represented by Augustine; the former things were spoken by the gods ‘when asleep, these when they awaked.’

How favourable to the christian cause this work was understood to be by Theodoret, manifestly appears from what we quoted from him some while ago, where he calls upon the heathen people, and asks them: ‘Why do you not hearken to your own philosopher, and receive the oracle of the Delphic tripod, and learn of the Hebrew prophets and apostles?’

Add to all this the many quotations of this work in Eusebius’s Evangelical Preparation, all, some way or other, on the side of christianity, and directly, or indirectly, reviling the heathen deities and their worship; and it can be no longer doubted, that the design of this work was to favour christianity, and weaken heathenism; therefore it was not composed by Porphyry.

Eusebius, as may be remembered, introduceth his first quotation of this work in his Preparation in this manner: ‘But I shall not now insist upon the testimonies of friends, which might be reckoned of little value, but of strangers: and who of all the Greek historians or philosophers can be more fitly alleged, than he who in our time gained so much reputation by writing against us?’ And again, in his Demonstration, addressing himself to heathen people, he says: ‘What more credible assurance can you have of this than the testimony of our enemy?’

The composer of this work, (whoever he was,) had the same thought. Having formed a design to exhibit a covert testimony in behalf of christianity in the name of some learned heathen, and to bring it into oracular answers of heathen deities, he supposed, that no fitter name could be taken than that of Porphyry’s; who was in great repute for learning, and had not long since published the bitterest invectives against Jews and christians, and the strongest arguments that had ever been alleged against their scriptures; and he hoped by this work to overthrow Porphyry’s long work against the christians, which had done so much mischief.

But it is wonderful that Eusebius should be so easily deceived, and adopt the same thought, and be pleased with it.

Ⅰ Pr. Ev. i. iv. p. 142. Ⅱ Dem. Ev. i. iii. p. 134. A.
Upon the whole, this work is the artifice of some cunning but not wise Christian.

I presume I have now said enough to justify my not alleging any passages from this work, as testimonies of Porphyry, or of any other heathen writer, in favour of Christianity.

And though this argument has detained us a great while, perhaps the length of it may be excused, when it is considered, how long the genuineness of this work has been admitted by learned men with great unanimity, and has been suspected by a very few only. If the several reasons here alleged are not impertinent, but to the purpose, the whole argument ought not to be charged with prolixity; learned men, as well as others, are oftentimes hard to be convinced of the falsehood of an opinion once embraced by them; nor will they yield till they are overwhelmed by a heap of reasons.

This argument is not very honourable to our ecclesiastical historian; I acknowledge it, but I cannot help it; truth must be asserted. So\(^{h}\) says the learned and generous Heumann, arguing against such as were unwilling to allow a fault in Socrates, when he recorded the story of Porphyry's having deserted Christianity.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

SIX WRITERS OF THE AUGUSTAN HISTORY.

I. A general account of these authors. II. Passages of Spartan concerning Septimius Severus and Caracalla. III. Passages of Lampridius concerning Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus. IV. Passages of Flavius Vopiscus concerning Adrian and Aurelian.

I. THERE are six authors, called writers of the Augustan History, who have written the history, or rather the lives of the Roman emperors from Adrian to Carinus. Their names are Ἀλίου Σπαρτιανοῦ, Julius Capitolinus, Αἰλίου Λαμπρίδιος, Vulcatus Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus, who lived in the times of Dioclesian, Constantius Chlorus, and his son Constantine the Great. Some of these Lives are inscribed to Dioclesian, others to the fore-mentioned Constantius, others to Constantine; some are without an inscription, nor does it appear to whom they are addressed; nor is it absolutely certain to which author every life belongs; for those which are generally ascribed to Lampridius, are by some ascribed to Spartan. They all lived much about the same time, under Dioclesian and his successors, near the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century. I place them all, as at a mean, in the year 306; but I bring them in here a little before the true order of their time, partly that we might not be interrupted in our accounts of Dioclesian’s persecution; and partly, because the testimonies of these several authors relate to things near the beginning of the third century, or however some good while before the end of it.

Most of their passages concerning the christians have been already alleged in this work, under the several emperors of whom they write; nevertheless, I have a mind to take here a general review of them all together in this place, adding now one or two which have not yet been taken notice of.

II. Spartan, in his Life of Septimius Severus, addressed

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to the emperor Dioclesian, says of Severus: 'He forbade under a severe penalty, that any should become Jews. A like edict was published by him against the christians.' Spartan intends the persecution of the christians begun in the tenth year of Severus, A. D. 202, mentioned by Eusebius and other ecclesiastical writers, and of which we gave a distinct account some while ago.

2. The same historian in the Life of Antoninus Caracalla, son and successor of Severus, says of him: 'At the age of seven years, when he heard that a boy his play-fellow had been grievously beaten, because he was of the Jewish religion, he would not for a good while after so much as look upon his own father, nor the father of the boy, nor those who had beaten him.'

It is probable, that by the Jewish is here intended the christian religion; forasmuch as Tertullian, who lived at that time, says, that Caracalla was nursed by a christian woman. Of this likewise we took notice formerly.

III. Lampridius, in his Life of Antoninus Heliogabalus, [who succeeded Macrinus, and reigned from 218 to 222.] addressed to Dioclesian, says: 'He erected a temple upon Mount Palatine, near the imperial palace, to the god Heliogabalus, intending to bring into that temple the image of the mother of the gods, and the fire of Vesta, and the Palladium, and the shields of Mars, and every object of the veneration of the Romans, that no god might be worshipped at Rome beside Heliogabalus. He said likewise, that the religion of the Jews and the Samaritans, and the devotion of the christians, must be transferred thither, that the priesthood of Heliogabalus might comprehend in it the mysteries of all religions.' This is the passage which I promised some while ago.


\[\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\] See before, p. 309, &c.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{d}}\] It is not certainly known to whom that Life is addressed. Septennis puer, quem collusorem suum puerum, ob judæicam religionem gravius verberatum audisset, neque patrem suum, neque patrem pucri, vel auctores verberum diu respetit. Spartan. Carac. cap. i.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{e}}\] Ad. Scap. cap. 4. See p. 309.


\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\] See before, p. 330.
This mad emperor, remarkable for the worst follies and vices, was a native of Emesa in Syria, where the sun was worshipped under the appellation of Heliogabalus, or Elagabalus, to whom this emperor himself was priest.

There is no need to make many remarks upon this story of Lampridius. It shows, however, that the Christian religion, though mentioned last here as being of the latest original, was then well known in the world, and was so considerable, as not to be omitted in this emperor’s design of uniting the devotions of all men in the worship of the god to whom he was priest.

They who are desirous to inform themselves concerning the origin of the name Heliogabalus may consult divers learned men, whose works are in every body's hands. 

2. The same writer, in his Life of Alexander Severus, successor of Heliogabalus, has several passages relating to the Christians, which have been already transcribed with remarks; to which therefore the reader is now referred.

IV. Flavius Vopiscus of Syracuse is the sixth and last of the Augustan writers, but not the worst of them; for he is generally reckoned as learned a man, and as regular an historian, as any of them; as was observed before.

I have already taken from him a large article in the chapter of the emperor Adrian, to which the reader is referred. It is taken out of his Life of Saturninus, who was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers at Alexandria in the time of Probus; and after a short reign, or rebellion and tyranny, was put to death; and, as Eusebius says, at Apamea.

k Vitam Heliogabali Antonini impurissimam, qui Varios etiam dictus est, nunc quam in literas misissem, ne quis fuisse Romanorum principem sciret, nisi ante Caligulas, et Nerones, et Vitellios, hoc idem habuisset imperium. Lambrid, ibid. cap. i. p. 790.


m See before, p. 331—333, &c. See p. 385.

n See this vol. p. 94, &c. See this vol. p. 94, &c.

p See this vol. p. 94, &c.

q Fl. Vopisc. Saturninus. cap. 7, 8.

r Et, ne longius progrederi, dicendum est quod praecipue ad hunc pertinet. Errare quosdam scio, et putare hunc esse Saturninum, qui Gallieni temporibus imperium occupavit: quum hic longe alius fuerit, et Probo pene nolente sit occisus.—Obssessum denique in castro quodam ab iis, quos Probus miserat, invito Probo esse jugulatum. Id. ib. cap. xi. p. 734.

2. The same writer, in his Life of the emperor Aurelian, speaking of a letter of his to the senate of Rome, written probably in the beginning of his reign, in the year 270 or 271, where the christians are mentioned; the passage was transcribed formerly with remarks; to which therefore I now refer my readers.

CHAP. XXXIX.

TWO AUTHORS WHO WROTE AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS IN THE TIME OF DIOCLESIAN'S PERSECUTION, ONE ANONYMOUS, THE OTHER SUPPOSED TO BE HIEROCLES.

WHERE ALSO OF APOLLONIUS TYANÆUS, AND THE TWO LIVES OF PYTHAGORAS, WRITTEN BY PORPHYRY AND JAMBLICHUS.

I. An anonymous author against the christians. II. Hierocles, with a large account of his work from Lactantius and Eusebius. III. A great cruelty of Hierocles, in the time of Dioclesian's persecution, when he was prefect of Alexandria. IV. Remarks upon the accounts of his work, as given by Lactantius and Eusebius. V. That Apollonius was not so considerable as many learned men of late times have supposed. VI. A large account of the Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus written by Philostratus, with remarks upon it, showing that it was not written with a design to oppose the miracles of our Saviour. VII. An account of the Lives of Pythagoras, written by Porphyry and Jamblichus, with remarks upon them, showing, that in those works there was not any intention to oppose the christian religion. VIII. Another work of Jamblichus, concerning the images of the gods.

I. LACTANTIUS speaks of two professed adversaries of the christian religion, at the beginning of Dioclesian's persecution. 'I forbear,' says he, to take notice of those

* Vopisc. Aurelii, cap. 20, p. 463, &c.  
* Omitto eos, qui priornibus cam temporibus necquicquam laceressent. Ego cum in Bithynia oratorias literas accitus docerem, contigissetque, ut eodem tempore Dei templum overtearetur; duo extiterunt, qui jacenti atque abjectae verhali, nescio utrum superbus an importunius, insultarent. Quorum alter antistitem se philosophice profitebatur. Verum ita vitiosus, ut continentiae
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who in former times in vain opposed our religion. When
I taught rhetoric at Nicomedia, having been invited thither
for that purpose, and at the same time the temple of God
was demolished, there were two men who with great pride
unseasonably insulted the injured truth; one of whom
professed himself to be a master of philosophy, but was
extremely vicious.—This man, who overthrew his dis-
courses by his manners, or condemned his manners by his
discourses, and thus was a severe censor and bitter re-
prover of himself, at that very time when good men were
unrighteously abused, published three books against our
religion, and the christian name; professing likewise to
act therein the part of a philosopher, in delivering men
from their errors, and bringing them back to the way of
truth, that is, to the worship of the gods, by whose power
and providence, as he said, the world is governed; and
not to suffer ignorant and unskilful men to be misled by
magister, non minus avaritiam quam libidinibus arderet, in victu tam sumptuosus,
Ut in schola virtutis assertor, parsimoniae, paupertatisque laudator, in palatio
pejus coenerat quam domi: tamen vita sua capillus, et palio, et (quo max-
imum est velamentum) divitis prestequiabat; quas ut augeret, ad amicitias judi-
cum miro ambitu penetrabat.——Hic vero, qui suas dispositiones moribus
destruerat, vel mores suas disputationibus arguerat, ipsa adversus se gravis
censor, et accusator acerrimus, eodem ipso tempore, quo justus populus nefarie
lacerabatur, tres libros evomuit contra religionem nomenque christianum.
Professus ante omnia, philosophi officium esse, erroribus hominum subvenire,
atque illos ad veram viam revocare, id est, ad cultus deorum, quorum numine
ac majestate, ut ille dicebat, mundus gubernetur: nec pati homines imperitos
quorumdam fraudibus illici; ne simplicitas eorum praedae ac publius sit
hominibus astutis. Itaque se suspicissis hoc minus philosophi dignum, ut
praeterret non videntibus homen sapientiae, non modo, ut susceptis deorum
cultibus resonarant, sed etiam ut pertinaci obstigatione deposita, corporis
cruciamenta devivit, nec ssevas membrorum lacerationes frustra perpeti velint.
Ut autem appareret, cujus rei gratiam opus illud elaborasset, effusus est in prin-
cipum laudes, quorum pietas et providentia (ut quidem ipse dicebat) cum in
cesteris rebus humanis, tum precipue in defendendis deorum religionibus cla-
risset: consultum esse tandem rebus humanis, ut, cohiberi impiat et anili
superstitione, universi homines legiminis sacrus vacarent, ac propios sibi deos
experientur. Ubi autem religiosis ejus, contra quam perorabat, infamare
voluit rationem, ineptus, varius ridiculus apparuit, quia gravis ille consultor
utilitatis alienae, non modo quid oppugnaret, sed etiam quid loqueretur,
nesciebat. Nam si qui nostrorum aituerent, quanvis temporum gratia con-
niverent, animo tamen derisere; utpote cum viderent hominem profitetem se
illum inutilitatem alios, cum ipse cecus esset, redacturum alios ab errore, cum
ipse ignoraret ubi pedes suos poneret: eruditum alias ad veritatem, cujus
ille ne scintillam quidem unam vidisset aliquando; quippe cum sapientiae
professor profugare sapientiam niteretur. Omnes tamen id arguerant, quod
illo potissimum tempore id opus esset aggressus, quo forebat odioha crudelitas.
O philosophum adulatorum ac tempori servientem! Verum hic sua inanitate
contentus est; qui et gratiam, quam sperabat, non est adeptus, et gloria, quam
captavit, in culpam, reprehensionemque conversa est. Lactant. Inst. l. v.
ep. 2.
the frauds of others, and that their simplicity might no longer be the prey and food of cunning men. Therefore he had undertaken this office, well becoming a philoso-
pher, not only to hold out the light of wisdom to those who do not discern it, but also to persuade them, laying aside all perverse obstinacy, to avoid heavy sufferings, and not give up themselves to torments without reason. And that it might appear with what views this work of his was composed, he enlarged in the praises of the emperors, whose wisdom and piety, he said, were conspicuous, not only in the affairs of the state, but also, and chiefly, in upholding the religion of the gods; and had taken due care of the welfare of mankind, in restraining an impious and foolish superstition, that all men performing the legal rites might enjoy the favour and protection of the gods. But when he came to confute the religion against which he was arguing, he appeared very contemptible, not knowing what he opposed, nor what to say; so that our people in general, though upon account of the times they might think it best to say little, could not but despise him, and look upon him as a man who attempted to enlighten others when he was blind himself, and to bring others back from error when he was himself ignorant, and knew not where to set his feet, and to teach others the truth, of which he never had a glimpse himself. All thought it strange, that at this very time he should engage in such a work, when the most cruel measures were taken. Be-
hold then a flattering philosopher and a server of the times. However, this man was despised for his emptiness; nor did he obtain the favour he hoped for; and instead of the glory which he aimed at, he met with reproach and censure.

Upon which I shall make only two or three remarks, and then proceed.

1. This writer is anonymous; nor do we know that he is mentioned by any one beside Lactantius in this place. Some have imagined that he is the same as Porphyry, but altogether without reason. Porphyry is older, and his character very different from that of the person here described; Porphyry was a man of virtue, and his work against the christians, so far from being contemptible, was perhaps the most formidable of all the arguments written against them by any of their ancient heathen adversaries.

And we may therefore hence infer, that many books were written against the christians in the first ages of which we now know nothing. They have been buried in oblivion;
but they may have given the Christians a good deal of trouble at the time when they were published.

2. Though we have not the work of this anonymous writer, we perceive what was in it. Lactantius, who was perfectly honest, as well as zealous for his religion, may be relied upon for having given a true and just account of the character of the author, and the design and contents of his work; and therefore I have judged it highly proper to transcribe him at length.

This author, by profession a philosopher, and a teacher of philosophy, represented Christianity to be 'superstition, foolish,' and also 'impious, neglecting the deities,' by whom, as said, the world was governed: 'contrary' likewise to the 'established laws,' and 'prejudicial to the 'interests of mankind,' as exposing men to the displeasure of the gods. To cure men therefore of this superstition, (no matter how,) was to recommend them to the favour and blessing of those deities. He was also a flatterer, and he expatiated in the praises of the emperor; but his arguments were very inconsiderable.

3. I must be allowed to transcribe here a paragraph of Mr. Bayle, who was a witness of the persecution of the Protestants in his own country in the time of Lewis the XIVth.

'The preface of this philosopher,' says he, 'may enable us to discern the great conformity of pagan and Christian persecutions. A self-interested and flattering author never fails to take up the pen against the persecuted party; it appears a fine opportunity to praise his prince; he lays hold of it, and enlarges upon the importance of the service done for God, and the charity of adding instruction to the authority of the laws; that enlightening the erroneous, they may be delivered from the pain to which their obstinacy might expose them. The voluptuous philosopher of Nicomedia forgot none of these common-places. It may be said, that he was the original to many French authors, who wrote during the sufferings of the Protestants. It is easier to depart from the method of Dioclesian's persecution than from that of his panegyrists.'

II. Of the other writer Lactantius speaks after this manner: 'The other,' says he, 'treated the same subject more

\[b \text{ See his Dictionary in Hierocles, note (C.)} \]
\[c \text{ Allus eandem materiam mordaciis scriptis; qui erat tum e numero judicium, et qui auctor in primis faciendae persecutionis fuit; quo scelere non contentus etiam scriptis cos, quos afflexerat, inscitius est. Composuit enim libellos duos, non contra christianos, ne inimice insectari videretur, sed ad christianos, ut humane ac} \]
accurately; he was then one of the judges, and a principal adviser of the persecution; and not contented with that piece of wickedness, he also pursued those with his writings whom he had brought into trouble. For he composed two books, not entitled, Against the Christians, lest he should seem to bear hard upon them, but 'To the Christians,' that he might be thought to advise them in a kind and friendly manner: in which books he endeavoured to show, that the sacred scriptures overthrow themselves by the contradictions with which they abound; he particularly insisted upon several texts as inconsistent with each other; and indeed on so many, and so distinctly, that one might suspect he had some time professed the religion which he now exposed. However, the sacred scriptures may have by some accident or other fallen into his hands; but the scriptures are as far from inconsistencies as he was from the truth.—But he chiefly reviled Paul and Peter, and the other disciples, as propagators of falsehood; who nevertheless, as he says, were ignorant and illiterate, and some of them got their livelihood by fishing; as if he was displeased, that some Aristophanes or Aristarchus had not handled the subject.'

But it hence follows, that they were not cunning and designing men, being entirely unacquainted with the arts of deceit. And how should unlearned men, of their own heads, contrive a plausible story in every part, and throughout consistent, when the most learned philosophers, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno, have delivered inconsistencies and contradictions? For this is the nature of falsehood, that it cannot hold together; but the doctrine of Christ's disciples being true, it is all of a piece and consistent throughout; and therefore it satisfies and gains followers, because it is built upon solid reason. Nor did benigne consulere putaretur. In quibus ita falsitatem scripturae sacrae arguere conatus est, tansquam sibi esset tota contraria. Nam quaedam capita, quae repugnare sibi videbantur, exposuit; adeo multa, adeo intima enumerans, ut aliquando ex eadem disciplinâuisse videatur nisi forte casu in manus ejus divinâ litterâ inciderunt.—Tantum enim abest a divinis litteris repugnantia, quantum ille abhuit a veritate. Precipue tamen Paulum Petrumque laceravit, ceterosque discipulos, tansquam fallacie seminatores; quos eosdem tamen rudes et indoctosuisse testatus est. Nam quosdam corum piscatorio artificio fecisse quastum: quasi aegre ferret, quod illam rem non Aristophanes aliquis, aut Aristarchus commentatus sit. ib. cap. 2.

Abhuit ergo ab his fingendi voluntas, et astutia, quoniam rudes fuerunt. Aut quis possit indoctus apta inter se et cohaerentia fingere; cum philosophi doctissimi, Plato, et Aristoteles, et Epicurus, et Zeno, ipsi sibi repugnantia et contraria dixerint. Hae est enim mendaciorum natura, ut cohaerere non possint. Illorum autem traditio, quia vera est, quadrat undique, ac sibi tota con-
they invent this religion for the sake of any worldly profit whatever; for the precepts of it give no encouragement to voluptuousness, and in their whole conduct they showed a contempt of those things which are most valued. Nor did they only lay down their lives for the truth, but knew beforehand that they should do so, and also foretold it; and plainly declared to all others who embraced the same doctrine, that they must expect the like sufferings. But he says, that Christ was banished by the Jews, and after that got together nine hundred men, and committed robbery. Who can withstand such an authority? By all means let us believe him; for perhaps some Apollo told it him in his sleep. Many robbers have been executed in all times, and are executed daily. You have condemned a great many; but who of them after crucifixion has been esteemed as a god, or even as a man? But possibly you have the more easily believed this, because your people have defied the murderer Mars; which however you would not have done if he had been crucified by order of the court of Areopagus. Moreover, as Lactantius goes on to say, 'this writer endeavours to overthrow Christ's miracles, though he does not deny the truth of them; he aims to show, that like things, or even greater, were done by Apollonius. It is somewhat strange that he omitted Apuleius, of whom many wonderful things are commonly said.—-Christ, it seems, must be reckoned a magician, because he did many wonderful things; but Apollonius is more able, because, as you say, when Domitian would have put him to death, he escaped; whereas Christ was apprehended and crucified.'
More follows concerning Apollonius, but I think I need not proceed any farther.

Lactantius has not told us the name of this writer; but from the author of the book of the Docti of Persecutors, different from Lactantius, but contemporary with him, we learn, that he was Hierocles, at first vicar, afterwards presiding in Bithynia, of whom he expressly says, that he was a persecutor, and an adviser of the persecution.

Hierocles is also mentioned by Epiphanius, as prefector at Alexandria in the time of Dioclesian’s persecution.

Against his work Eusebius of Cæsarea wrote an answer, still extant, of which I shall now give an account; by which it will farther appear, that Lactantius and Eusebius speak of the same author, and the same work.

Eusebius at the beginning tells his friend, to whom he addresseth himself, that Hierocles had made a comparison of our Saviour and Master with Apollonius of Tyana, giving the preference to the latter. To this part he intended to confine himself; for, says he, as for the rest of his work, which he calls Philalethes, or Lover of Truth, I do not think it needful to take much notice of it; it not being his own, but shamefully borrowed from others, and had been already fully answered by Origen in his answer to the work of Celsus, called “The true Word.”

‘Referring therefore,’ says Eusebius, ‘to that work of Origen, such as are desirous to inform themselves more particularly of our religion, we shall at this time examine the comparison made of Jesus Christ and Apollonius by this Philalethes.’

He admired, then, and extols this man, as if by some

d That he is different from Lactantius, I argued largely some while ago; Vol. ii. p. 295—300. At the end of that argument are mentioned several learned men, who have been of the same opinion. To them ought to be added Dr. Chapman, in his Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sulbury, p. 125.

c Nam cum incidisses in Flaccinum Prefectum, non pusillum homicidam, deinde in Hieroclem ex Vicario Præsidenti, qui auctor et consiliarius ad faciendam persecutionem fuit, postremo in Priscillianum successorem ejus, documentum omnibus invicem fortitudinis prebuisse. De Mortib. Persecut. cap. 16.


h Θαυμάζω μν καὶ αποδείχεται θεία τιν καὶ αρρητώσης σωφρ. γέ γε γοραίος συχίσατι τιθαματηρηκήν καυσικτες αυτον—Δακε ν’ εν α’ φησαι αυτας συλλα-
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'Divine and hidden wisdom, and not by magical arts, he had performed great wonders, saying in these very words: "They are continually crying up Jesus for opening the eyes of the blind, and other like works." And presently after he adds: "But it ought to be considered upon how much better grounds we receive such things, and how much more reasonably we judge of divers excellent men." After which, passing over Aristeas of Proconnesus, and Pythagoras, and other ancients, he goes on. "In the time of our ancestors, in the reign of Nero, flourished Apollonius of Tyana, who, having when very young sacrificed at Aegis in Cilicia to that good god Esculapius, wrought many and wonderful works: some of which I shall mention, omitting others." Then he recites his extraordinary works from the beginning: [It were to be wished that Eusebius had not abridged as he does here: it would certainly have been a great curiosity to have had that passage at length, to see what works Hierocles ascribed to Apollonius.] 'And afterwards says, in these very words: "To what purpose have I mentioned these things? That all may perceive our just and reasonable judgment, and the levity of the christians: forasmuch as we do not esteem him who did these things a god, but a man favoured by the gods:" [as if the heathen people were very scrupulous of giving the title of deity to none but such as well deserved it, when they had such a rabble of paltry deities, young and old, males and females, good and bad. Moreover, if Philostratus may be relied upon, Apollonius himself was called a god by many, and in his life-time: and he accepted the title, saying, that every good man is honoured.
with it. Πάλειν ἡρετο, τι χαριν οἱ ανθρωποὶ Θεον σε ονομαζον· 'Οτι πας, εἰσεν, ανθρωπον, αγαθον νομιζομενον, ους επεμνην τιμα- 
ται. Apoll. Vit. I. viii. cap. 5. p. 325. in. “Whereas they 
for the sake of a few tricks call Jesus God.” [The works 
of Jesus were not a few, but numerous, great, truly won-
derful, and conspicuous beyond all contradiction.] "It is 
also reasonable to think, that the actions of Jesus have been 
magnified by Peter and Paul, and others like them, igno-
rant men, liars and impostors. But the things of Apollonius 
have been written by Maximus of Ægis, and Damis a phi-
losopher, who conversed with him, and Philostratus the 
Athenian, men of great learning: and being lovers of truth, 
and friends to mankind, they were unwilling that the actions 
of so great a man, dear to the gods, should lie hid." So 
writes Hierocles in his work against us, entitled by him 
Philalethes. The case is this: Damis, who was very con-
versant with Apollonius, was a native of Assyria: there 
he became acquainted with Apollonius, upon his travelling 
to that country, and afterwards wrote the history of what 
happened after his acquaintance with him. The history of 
Maximus is very short and imperfect: but Philostratus of 
Athens having met with these and some other histories of 
Apollonius, as he says, composed a history of his life from 
his birth to his death."

That Eusebius there gives a true account of the work of 
Philostratus, may be perceived by any who will look into 
the introduction to it: and yet he omits one particular in 
that introduction, which may be justly reckoned to render 
the truth of Philostratus’s history suspected. For having 
mentioned Maximus and Damis, as observed by Eusebius, 
he adds: ‘For there is no regard to be had to Mœragenes, 
who wrote four books concerning Apollonius, but was 
unacquainted with many things concerning him.’ Which 
may induce us to conclude, that in those books were some 
things not very much to the honour of Apollonius: and 
Philostratus does himself afterwards quote Mœragenes for 
an account of the writings of Apollonius. Therefore Phi-
lostratus, as it seems, put together what he thought to be 
to the advantage of his hero, and omitted other things.

‘However, omitting other things,’ says Eusebius, ‘we 
shall confine ourselves to the history written by Philo-
stratus, by which we shall clearly show, that Apollonius

k Philost. de Vit. Apol. I. 1. c. 3.
1 Ου γαρ Μωραγενες τε προσεκτων, βιβλια μεν ένυνθεντι ες άπολλονων 
teptaμα, πολλα δε περιτον ανθρα αγνοημαιτι· Ibid.

m Vid. ib. I. iii. cap. 41.
was far from deserving to be compared with our Saviour Jesus Christ, as is pretended by the author of Philalethes.' Whereupon he proceeds to examine the Life of Apollonius, written by Philostratus, in eight books, upon each of which he makes remarks.

And though this answer of Eusebius to Hierocles is short, I suppose it was sufficient, and such as was suited to the circumstances of things at that time. The greatest part of the objections in this work of Hierocles were trifling and stale, and such as had been already answered by Origen, and other learned apologists, and which all christians in general were able to confute. All that was new in Hierocles was a comparison of our Saviour with Apollonius: this had never been attempted by any before: to that therefore Eusebius confined himself, as before said.

III. Eusebius has recorded a great cruelty of this Hierocles, when prefect of Alexandria, though he has not expressly named him. It is in his book of the Martyrs of Palestine, where he writes of the sufferings of christians in that country. But having in the fourth chapter of that book related the grievous sufferings of Apphianus at Caesarea, a young man about twenty years of age, of a good family and a liberal education, he is led in the following chapter to relate the martyrdom of Edesius at Alexandria, though it did not happen till some while afterwards. For Edesius was brother of Apphianus, not only in a religious sense, but also by nature, as he had the same father: and he had made greater progress in learning than his brother. He also led a philosophical life, and wore their cloak. He being at Alexandria, and beholding the judge insulting the christians, who were brought before him in the most opprobrious manner, though they were men of great gravity; and also delivering women, some of which were devoted to virginity, into the hands of bawds, to be abused by them, he was exceedingly provoked, and going up to the judge, reproved him in word and deed: for which he was condemned to the severest torments, and then thrown into the sea.

It is supposed, that Edesius struck the judge; for which

Μονα δὲ εκτος γυνα τα περι Απολλωνιου εποφομεθα επι και μονο περι
tes πωτετα εαυθ' ημων γεγραφασ, οειριτος καιν' τισιν γινονη χη τωι προς
tov ημιτετρον Σωμα παραθεσε τε, και συγκρασης. Euseb. ibid. p. 512. A.

De Mart. Palæst. cap. v. p. 326. A.

Λογος τε και οργας τον ηκατην αισχυνη και ατμια περιβαλον—De
Mart. Pal. cap. v. p. 326. B.

Hujus loci explicatio ex

Menzio Graecorum petenda est: in quo Edesius Hieroclem, prefectum
Egypti, in christianos saevientem, pugno dicitur percussisse, &c. Vales. in loc.
he has been censured by some; but I think it must be acknowledged, that the provocation was very great. And when a magistrate departs from his dignity, and reviles prisoners at his bar, and condemns virtuous and modest women to the stews for prostitution, and thus acts contrary to all the laws of decency and good manners, as well as of strict justice, he forfeits the respect that would be otherwise due to him.

For certain these are strange things in a man of letters, as Hierocles was; whose learning is readily acknowledged by Eusebius in his confutation of him. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that a man of an honourable family, and a liberal education, as Ædesius was, should think he had a right to expose a magistrate whose proceedings were so extraordinary.

There was another of this name, a Platonic philosopher, who taught at Alexandria in the fifth century, and wrote of Providence and Fate, and likewise a Commentary upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, as they are called. These two were confounded by many learned men for some time. But that mistake has been since corrected, and it is now universally allowed, that Hierocles governor of Bithynia and prefect of Alexandria, who wrote against the christians, and was answered by Eusebius of Cesarea, and Hierocles the Platonic philosopher of Alexandria, were two different persons.

IV. It is now high time that we should make remarks upon the accounts of the work of Hierocles, which we have seen in Lactantius and Eusebius,

1. Hierocles had read the scriptures of the New Testament, if not of the Old likewise. He observed particularly upon a great many passages of the books of the New Testament, endeavouring to show them inconsistent with each other. This shows that those books were now well known, and that they were greatly respected by christians. If, therefore, the credit of these books was overthrown, the christian religion must fall with it. In the imperial edict for Dioclesian's persecution in 303, it was expressly ordered, not only that the christian churches should be demolished, but also that their scriptures should be burned: and this was the first time that any such order was published by any of the heathen persecuting emperors. And it is a proof, as was before observed, that the heathen people were


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See vol. iii. p. 549—552.
then sensible of the importance of those scriptures, which the christians made use of as the ground of their religion, the rule of their conduct, and the great support of their steadiness and zeal.

2. Hierocles bears testimony to the existence of the several parts of the New Testament, the gospels and the epistles: for, as Lactantius says, 'he reviled Peter and Paul, and the other disciples; who, as he says, were ignorant and illiterate, and some of them got their livelihood by fishing.' And, as quoted from Eusebius, he says: 'It is also reasonable to think, that the works of Jesus have been magnified by Peter and Paul, and the others like them, ignorant men, liars and impostors.' By the other disciples, and the others, like Peter and Paul; plainly meaning our evangelists: as we also learn from Eusebius, who says: 'He gives the preference to Philostratus above our divine evangelists, not only upon account of his superior learning, but likewise upon account of his superior regard to truth.'

Here is a testimony to the genuineness of the scriptures now received by us; here are references to six at least of the eight writers of the books of the New Testament; Peter and Paul are expressly named; and there are references to the gospels of the four evangelists. The books now received by us therefore are the same which were received by the christians of that time; and were received by them from their ancestors, and were respected by them as genuine and authentic.

3. Hierocles did not dispute the genuineness or antiquity of the writings of our apostles and evangelists; but he endeavoured to disparage them, calling them 'illiterate, liars and impostors.' This last charge is manifestly false, their writings having in them all the marks of truth and credibility that can be wished for or desired. But some of the writers, as we own, were 'unlearned;' but Paul was learned both in Jewish and Greek learning, and knew the world; nor was Luke altogether illiterate. Barnabas, who joined the apostles soon after our Saviour's resurrection, was a Levite, and a man of good understanding, and very remarkable for his generosity. Jesus, in the time of his abode on this earth, notwithstanding the meanness of his outward circumstances, had some affectionate and respectful friends and followers of great distinction, attracted solely

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---των ἡμετέρων ἔτεινον εὐαγγελιστῶν προκρίνων τον Φιλοστατον, ως μη μονον παίδειας επι πλευτον ἡκουτα, αλλα και αληθειας επιμελημένων. Adv Hier. i. iii. p. 523. B.
by the excellence of his words, the greatness of his works, and the amiableness of his conduct. Such were Jairus, Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathea: And "among the rulers many believed on him, but because of the pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue," John xii. 42. And there were men of lower rank, of very good understanding, who were open and undaunted in their profession, notwithstanding discouragements. See John v. 1—16, and ixth throughout. And among women, "Joanna, wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and divers others:" one of whom was Mary of Magdala, usually mentioned in precedence before all the rest, Luke viii. 1—3. And soon after our Lord's resurrection, there were great accessions made to him and his apostles of persons of all characters, too many to be here enumerated. These are things that must assure us of the truth of the history of Jesus, as written by his apostles and evangelists; things which cannot be said of Apollonius, or any other.

4. Hierocles did not deny the truth of our Saviour's miracles, such as "giving sight to the blind," and other like works recorded by the just-mentioned writers: but he endeavoured to disparage and depreciate them by ascribing them to magical arts; which is altogether unreasonable, because the works are such as could be done by the power of God only, to which they are always ascribed by the historians. He likewise insinuated, that there might be reason to suspect, that the evangelists had magnified our Saviour's works beyond the truth and reality. Which insinuation is also unreasonable: forasmuch as the historians of the Lord Jesus have not particularly recorded all the great works done by him, but have quite omitted very many, and contented themselves with a general mention or reference to others.

There is another great advantage which the historians of the Lord Jesus have over Philostratus, on whom Hierocles relied for the accounts of Apollonius, that they were all contemporary with Jesus, and most of them his hearers and eye-witnesses: whereas Philostratus did not write till more than an hundred years after the death of Apollonius: but of that more hereafter.

5. By Lactantius we are told, that this writer, meaning Hierocles, gave out, that Jesus had been expelled from Judea, and after that committed robbery, accompanied by a band of nine hundred men. If this be true, (nor is there any reason to doubt it,) it shows, that heathen people at
that time made no scruple of inventing lies to the disparagement of our Saviour: and though those stories were quite groundless and very improbable, they might be regarded by many ignorant and prejudiced people, who had never read the scriptures, and had heard that about our Saviour's time, and before the destruction of Jerusalem, there were many robbers in Judea.

6. Beside other just observations in Lactantius, one is this, that the respect shown to Jesus by vast numbers of men, though he was crucified, is a demonstration, that he was not a man of a bad character. Robbers, and other malefactors, who suffer for their crimes, are never deified, nor much respected after their death.

7. We are assured both by Lactantius and Eusebius, that there was in Hierocles a comparison made of our Saviour and Apollonius, with a preference of this latter: and by Eusebius we are expressly assured, that Hierocles was the first who had formed such a comparison. This ought to be particularly attended to by us, and will engage us in some farther observations, which shall be reserved for another section, that I may not too much prolong this.

V. Says Cudworth, \(^v\) in his Intellectual System: 'It is a thing highly probable, if not unquestionable, that Apollonius Tyanaeus, shortly after the publication of the gospel to the world, was a person made choice of by the policy, and assisted by the powers of the kingdom of darkness, for the doing some things extraordinary, merely out of design to derogate from the miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and to enable paganism the better to bear up against the attacks of christianity.'

So Cudworth: and I suppose that many learned men of late times may have expressed themselves in a like manner; but I cannot assent to them. With due submission, I do not think, that Apollonius was a man of so great importance as is here supposed: for it does not appear, that any adversaries of the christians, either Celsus or Porphyry, or any other, before Hierocles, at the beginning of the fourth century, under Dioclesian's persecution, ever took any notice of him in any of their arguments. Nor do I know, that he has been once mentioned by any christian writers of the first two centuries.

When I first met with the observation of Cudworth I was very much surprised, considering the silence of all early antiquity. If this observation were right, I should have expected to find frequent mention of Apollonius in the history

\(^v\) B. i. ch. iv. p. 265, 266. ed. 1678.
of St. John, and the other apostles of Christ; but there is none. We had in that space of time divers learned men, some of them as eminent for extensive literature as any men that ever lived: as Justin, Tatian, Bardesanes the Syrian, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus. Julius, Africanus, Tertullian, Minucius Felix: not to insist upon Clement of Rome, Ignatius, or Polycarp, or the histories of them. Of all these we have some remains: they lived in the first two centuries, or at the beginning of the third; but of Apollonius they have not taken any the least notice.

The first Christian writer who has mentioned him, so far as I can recollect, is Origen, in his books against Celsus, written not long before the middle of the third century. Where he says: 'He who would know whether magic has any power over philosophers, may read the memoirs of Moeragenes, concerning Apollonius of Tyana, both a magician and a philosopher. In which Moeragenes, who was not a Christian, but a philosopher, says, that some, and no inconsiderable philosophers, were taken by the magical art of Apollonius, and came to him as to a magician. [

Among them, I suppose, he means Euphrates, and a certain Epicurean. But we can affirm upon the ground of our own experience, that they who worship the God over all through Jesus Christ, and live according to the gospel, and pray as they ought to do day and night, have no reason to fear any thing from magic or daemons.' So Origen is led to speak in answer to some things in Celsus; but it does not appear that Celsus had at all mentioned either Apollonius, or his historian.

Apollonius is mentioned by Lucian, but what he says of him is far from being to his advantage. He is also mentioned by Apuleius, who was contemporary with Lucian: nor is there any older author now extant where he is mentioned; which must be reckoned an argument of his great obscurity, till he was set up by Philostratus.

After that time Apollonius is taken notice of by many; as Arnobius, and Lactantius, and Eusebius, who were led to observe upon Hierocles, whose whole book against the Christians was founded upon the memoirs of Philostratus. He is afterwards mentioned by Augustine, and other chris-

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* Contr. Cels. i. vii. sect. 41. p. 302.  
* μαγικος και φιλοσοφος. Ibid.  
* Arnob. l. i. p. 31.
tian writers; and he is mentioned several times by the writers of the Augustan History, who flourished in the time of Dioclesian, or soon afterwards, and by Dion Cassius, and by Eunapius, who commends the history of Philostratus, but says, that instead of entitling it the 'Life of Apollonius,' he might have called it the 'Peregrination of a God among Men.'

I must stay here to add, that we have a kind of positive evidence, that Celsus took no notice of Apollonius, though he did speak of several others of a like character. 'There were miracles wrought everywhere, or however in many places, says Origen. Celsus himself presently afterwards instancest in Aesculapius, who performed cures, and delivered out oracles in all cities consecrated to him, Epidaurus, Cosis, Pergamus; and Aristaeus of Proconnesus, and Clazomenius and Cleomedes. But among the Jews, who esteemed themselves consecrated to the God of the universe, there was, it seems, no miracle, no prodigy, to establish their faith in the Creator of all things.' For certain, Apollonius was not mentioned by Celsus here: probably therefore he was not brought in by him any where.

The silence of Celsus about Apollonius must be reckoned good proof, that in the middle of the second century Apollonius was not a man of much consideration among the heathen people.

VI. Since therefore Apollonius is very much, if not entirely, indebted to the memoirs of Philostratus, for his great reputation in the world, it is very fit that we should consider that work distinctly.

I propose then to consider these several things.

1. The time and occasion of writing it. 2. Its veracity, or credibility. 3. Its importance.

1. The time and occasion of it.

It was composed about the year of Christ 210, at the desire of the empress Julia, wife of Septimius Severus. Says Philostratus himself, in the third chapter of his first book: 'There was one Damis, a man not unskilful in philosophy, a native of the ancient Nineveh. He was much conversant with Apollonius, and attended him in his


d Dion. in Domino. l. 6. p. 1116. Reimar. Et in Caracalla. l. 77. p. 1304.

e Αλλα το μεν ες την ο αμυνος επιτελεις Φιλοστρατος, ουν επιγραφας Απολλωνια τα βιβλια, δεον επιευςυνον ες ανθρωπος θει καιειν. Eunap. Pr. p. 11.


travels, and wrote down his sentiments, and sayings, and
divinations. A friend of Damis brought his memoirs,
hitherto unknown, to the empress Julia. She was herself
a friend to literature; and as I was in her family, she com-
mended me to digest these materials into proper order. I
also met with the book of Maximus of Ægis, which con-
tained an account of what happened to Apollonius at
Ægis. There is also extant the last will and testament of
Apollonius, whence it may be learned, that he philoso-
phized under a divine impulse. Mæragenes composed
four books concerning Apollonius; but no regard is to be
had to him, forasmuch as he was ignorant of many things
relating to him. Thus I have shown whence these col-
lections were made, and how I have digested them: and I
cannot but wish, that this work of mine may be honoura-
table to him of whom I write, and useful to such as are lovers
of good letters: for, certainly, they may hence learn things
which they knew not before.

That may suffice for showing the time and occasion of
this work of Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius.

2. Hence we may be able to judge of the truth or credi-
bility of what is here related. It must be all uncertain,
and deserving of very little credit. Philostratus's prin-
cipal author Damis, is an obscure person; his memoirs were
unknown till brought to the empress Julia; his friend who
is said to have brought them to her is not named. Though

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Alius certe dixerit, quis qualisve, ater an albus fuerit [Apollonius]. Mihi, omnibus solitudo ponderatissima, collatisque pro quâvis sententia argumentis, id unum perspicuum esse feore, talem, quem Philostratus fingit, nonuisse. Id. ib. sect. i.

Si Mæraginis de vitæ ejus narratio extaret, quanti apud multos vivus suisset habitus, curatius enarrari possit. Perit ea, quam Origenes suâ adhuc tempore legit, eorum sine dubio, qui famæ hominis consultum cupiebant, studio—Unicus igitur nobis hodie Philostratus restat, ex quo quæ ad vitam ejus pertinunt, haurienda sunt. Id. ib. sect. 2.
Mœragenes had published four books concerning Apollonius, Philostratus determined to pay no regard to them; very probably, because they were not favourable to his hero; and he concludes with saying, 'That the curious may hence learn what they knew nothing of before.' But how can things be received, which were not known till more than an hundred years after the death of the person spoken of.

That Philostratus's history is not written with impartiality, and that he forbore to insert things not favourable to Apollonius, is manifest upon divers occasions. According to Philostratus, Vespasian met with Apollonius, Euphrates, and other philosophers, at Alexandria, in his way to Rome, after he had been proclaimed emperor. At his desire Apollonius gave him good advice for the right management of himself in his high station. Vespasian then asked the advice of Euphrates also: 'Who declared his assent to what had been already said by Apollonius. Nevertheless,' says he, 'O emperor, I may add this: Approve and cherish the philosophy which is agreeable to nature; and avoid that which boasts of commerce with the deity.' Which, as Philostratus says, was designed against Apollonius, and was the result of envy.

When Vespasian was gone from Egypt, Apollonius and Euphrates quarrelled more openly. 'But,' says Philostratus, I must dismiss that affair; it is not my design to blame Euphrates, but to write the life of Apollonius, for the sake of those who are as yet unacquainted with it.'

Euphrates is several times mentioned by Philostratus: but it has been observed by learned men, that Euphrates has a good character from the younger Pliny, and from Epictetus, who have never mentioned Apollonius, and from Eunapius. Eusebius has made good remarks upon the differences between Apollonius and Euphrates, and fails not to observe, that Euphrates was in his time a very celebrated philosopher, and was still in great esteem.

3. From what has been already said, we may be able to judge of the importance of this work. A history that is false or uncertain, and not to be depended upon, cannot be of much value. Nevertheless, we must bestow some observations upon this point, out of deference to the opinions of some learned moderns.

i De Vit. Apol. l. v. cap. 36.

k ——φιλοσοφιαν δε, ου βασιλευ (τετο γαρ λοιπων προσειρησται) την μεν κατα φυσιν επηναι και ασπαζετε την δε Μοεραγενες φασιν ηπιους παραιτε, ε. λ. Cap. 37.

m Plin. Ep. l. i. x.

n Arian. Epict. l. iv. c. 8.

o De Vit. Sophist. in 1r.

Dr. Cudworth, as before cited, goes on at p. 268: 'For among the many writers of this philosopher's life, some, and particularly Philostratus, seem to have had no other aim in their undertaking, than only to dress up Apollonius in such a garb and manner, as might make him best seem to be a fit corral with our Saviour Jesus Christ, both in respect of sanctity and miracles.——And it is well known that Hierocles, to whom Eusebius gives the character of a very learned man, wrote a book against the christians, the chief design of which was to compare this Apollonius Tyaneus with, and to prefer him before, our Saviour: and that this was the use commonly made by the pagans of this history of Philostratus, appears sundry ways. Marcellinus, in an epistle of his to St. Augustine, declares this as the grand objection of the pagans against christianity, and therefore he desires St. Augustine to answer the same: Nihil aliud Dominum, quam alii homines facere potuerunt, fecisse mentiuntur. Apollonium siquidem suum nobis, et Apuleium, aliosque magicæ artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt exitissæ miracula.' So Cudworth, and in like manner many other learned men.

But whereas Cudworth supposeth, that 'among the many writers of this philosopher's life, some,' beside Philostratus, 'wrote with that view,' it is said without ground. There were not many writers of this man's life; nor are any of them come down to us: Hierocles, in his comparison of our Saviour with Apollonius, made use of Philostratus only.

The question is, whether Philostratus designed to set up Apollonius as a corral with our Saviour: it has been the opinion of Cudworth, and of divers other learned men of late times: nevertheless I do not think that to be clear. My late learned friend Mr. Michael de la Roche used to say, 'that Philostratus said nothing more in the Life of Apollonius, than he would have said if there had been no christians in the world.' Whether he any where published this his opinion in any of his Literary Memoirs I cannot say: but I had this thought from him in our correspond-

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Videtur nobis quoque, ut viris doctissimis visum est, fabula eæ esse a Philostrato centum post annis, ea de causâ conscripta, ut habereant Ethnici, quem Jesu Christo, cujus doctrinam et discipulos invalescere in dies, non sine invidiâ, videbant, opponerent. Cleric. ib. Ann. 85. n. i. et ii.
8 Since writing what is above, (and indeed a good while since,) I have accidentally observed this paragraph in Mr. La Roche's New Memoirs of Literature,
conce together. At first it appeared strange to me; but upon farther consideration, and upon reading Philostratus again, I have embraced the same opinion, and am now confirmed in it. Hierocles made use of the work of Philostratus in forming his comparison of Christ and Apollonius; and many heathen people afterwards were willing enough to set up Apollonius against our Saviour: but it does not clearly appear that Philostratus had any such thing in view.

Huet specifies several ends and views which Philostratus might have in composing that work. He allows, 'that it has no foundation in truth: his chief design in writing was to please Julia and Caracalla. Julia was a lady of a philosophical temper of mind; she was desirous to know the history of the ancient philosophers, and particularly of Apollonius; and for that end she furnished Philostratus with the memoirs of Damis. In pursuit of this design he also gratified his own vanity, and laid hold of every opportunity for showing his learning, making digressions concerning a great variety of subjects not at all appertaining to the history of Apollonius. He also aimed,' Huet says, and thinks that to have been his principal design, 'to obstruct the progress of the christian religion, by drawing the character of a man of great knowledge, sanctity, and miraculous power. Therefore he formed Apollonius after the ex-

It is commonly believed, that Philostratus wrote the Life of Apollonius, to draw up a parallel between his miracles and those of Jesus Christ. I read that author long ago, that I might be able to judge whether that opinion was well grounded. But, after reading of Philostratus, I was fully persuaded, that he never designed to draw up such a parallel. 'It is no difficult thing to prove it, and to show what gave occasion to the mistake just now mentioned.' That is the whole of what he says.

ample of Christ, and accommodated many things in the his-
tory of our Lord to Apollonius.'

The several views and ends first mentioned are very con-
spicuous in this work: but I cannot clearly discern the last:
and I shall assign my reasons. Philostratus was a Pytha-
gorean, or however assumed that character upon this occa-
sion; and he designed to extol Apollonius, and recommend
him to esteem, as a wonderful man and a follower of Pytha-
goras. Philostratus, as other writers generally do, declares
his design at the beginning of his work, and to this purpose:
They who admire Pythagoras of Samos say of him, that
he wore no clothing taken from animals, and that he for-
bore the use of animals in food and sacrifice, offering up
only cakes with honey, and frankincense and hymns. And
they say that he conversed with the gods, and from them-
selves knew what things were most acceptable to them,
and what were displeasing. And many other things are
said of him by those who philosophize after the institution
of Pythagoras: which I must forbear to relate, as I must
hasten to the history which I have undertaken.

For Apollonius, who lived not very long ago, nor yet
very lately, attempted the like things in a more perfect
manner than Pythagoras.

Huet has in one place expressed himself after the same
manner that I have done, upon a view of this work of Phi-
lostratus: his words, which I have placed below, are very
remarkable.

And Eunapius, who was as likely to understand the design
of Philostratus as any modern, speaks also to the same pur-
pose. In the preface to his work, speaking of such as had
written the lives of sophists and philosophers: 'And Apol-
lonius of Tyana,' says he, 'was a philosopher indeed, but
more than a philosopher, being somewhat between the gods

u De Vit. Apoll. l. i. cap. 1. v Αδελφα γαρ τινως επιπεδευσαντα
Απόλλωνιος, και Πυθαγορας τη σωφρια προσεδενταν. κ. ι. Cap. 1.

w Mihi vero rem intuspicienti Pythagoricae philosophiae penitus videtur
addictusuisse Philostratus. Ex quâ disciplinâ quicumque proderunt, quod
jam supra monui, in Σωματοτοιας κας παραδεξιος fuerunt proniissini,
nihil non et fingere promt et credere. Testis aureum Pythagore femur, testis
et Abaridis sagittà, et quacumque de Epimenide, et Empedocle, alisque ex
Italica schola profectis memorantur. Vel primum legatur Philostrati caput, ex
quò, velut ex unger, leonem, hominis propensum in Pythagore deliramenta

x Aπόλλωνιος τε ὁ εκ Τυανων, ισιος φιλοσοφος, αλλ' ην τε θεων τε και
ανθρωπων μεσων. Τυρ γαρ Πυθαγορεων φιλοσοφων ξιλοων, πολυ τε Επιστορων
και ενεργοτερων κατ' αυτων επειξατο. Αλλα το μεν ες τετων ο λημνος
επετελεσε Φιλοστρατος μιον επηγαγας Απολλωνιον τα βιβλια, έσον επιομανα ες
ανθρωπος θεω καλευ. Eunap. Pr. p. 11.
and man: for following the philosophy of Pythagoras, he raised the reputation of it as truly divine and excellent; Philostratus of Lemnus has written his history in several books, calling his work, The Life of Apollonius; which might have been more properly entitled, The Peregrination of God among Men.

Apollonius is drawn by Philostratus in resemblance of Pythagoras, not of Jesus Christ. When he was sixteen years of age, he determined to follow the institution of Pythagoras, higher powers instigating him thereto. From that time he forbore the food of animals, and wore linen garments, not admitting such as were made of wool taken from animals, and wore long hair. How strictly he professed to observe the Pythagorean discipline, every where, and in all things, may be seen, l. i. cap. 32, if Damis may be relied upon. Pythagoras was a great traveller: according to Philostratus, Apollonius visited many parts of the then known world, Europe, Asia, and Africa. He observed the Pythagorean five years' silence, notwithstanding the great difficulty with which it was attended. A plague broke out at Ephesus; Apollonius was at Smyrna; the Ephesians sent to Apollonius to come to them, expecting help from him; he said to those about him, Let us not delay the journey. And he was at Ephesus: therein imitating, as I think, says Philostratus, Pythagoras, who was at the same time with the Thurians and at Metapontus. Porphyry's account in his life of Pythagoras is to this purpose: That in one and the same day Pythagoras was at Metapontus in Italy, and at Tauromenium in Sicily, and conversed with his friends in both places. Almost all agree in asserting this. Διαβεβαιωται σχεδον ἄπαντες, Another like story is afterwards told of Apollonius by Philostratus.

It is manifest therefore, that Philostratus compared Apollonius and Pythagoras; but I do not see, that he endeavoured to make him a rival with Jesus Christ. Philostratus has never once mentioned our Saviour, or the Christians his followers, neither in this long work, nor in the Lives of the Sophists, if it be his, as several learned men of the best judgment suppose: nor is there any hint, that Apollonius any where in his wide travels met with any followers of

\[ y \quad \text{De Vit. Ap. l. i. cap. 7, 8. p. 9, 10.} \]
\[ \text{I. i. cap. 14. p. 16.} \]
\[ a \quad \text{O ὁ εὐ φατο ἐνα αὐτικὴ ἐκφύων αὐτὸν ἀλλ' εὔπων, εἶμεν, ἦν ἐν Ἐφεσῷ, τῇ Πυθαγορείᾳ, ομοιῷ, εἰς δὲ πράξεις, τὸ τῷ Ἑρμοῦ ἂμα καὶ Μεταποντίως ἐναι. l. iv. c. 10. p. 147.} \]
\[ b \quad \text{De Vit. Pyth. num. 27. p. 34. al. p. 192.} \]
\[ c \quad \text{De Vit. Ap. l. viii. c. 10—12.} \]
\[ d \quad \text{Vid. Fabr. B, Gr. i. iv. cap. 24. T. iv. p. 49. et Gothofr. Olear. Pr. in Philost. p. 3, &c.} \]
Jesus. There is not so much as an obscure or general description of any men met with by him, whom any can suspect to be christians of any denomination, either catholics or heretics. Whereas I think, that if Philostratus had written with a mind averse to Jesus Christ, he would have laid hold of some occasion to describe and disparage his followers, as enemies to the gods, and contemners of their mysteries and solemnities, and different from all other men:

'Nor is there any resemblance between Jesus and Apollonius. Apollonius travelled from Spain to the Indies, a Gadibus ad Gangem. Our Lord never travelled abroad: he never was out of the small tract of the land of Israel, excepting when he was carried into Egypt to avoid the design of Herod upon his life: and he ate and drank and dressed like other men, without any affectation of austerities like those of the Pythagoreans. Nor was John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus, like them: there was somewhat austere in his character, but he likewise ate animal food, and wore animal clothing. "He had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins: and his meat was locusts and wild honey," Matt. iii. 4. Nor has Philostratus told any such wonderful works of Apollonius, as should make out any tolerable resemblance between Jesus and him in that respect.

Huet is the person who has taken the most pains to show this. He affirms, that Philostratus transferred many things from the history of Christ into his life of Apollonius: and he has alleged a great number of particulars; but to me they appear so slight, and so inadequate to the purpose, as to deserve little regard.

For instance, of our Lord it is said, Luke ii. 52, "that he increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men." 'And Philostratus says, that Apollonius in early life, as he grew up, gave proof of great ingenuity, and a strong memory, and was much taken notice of.'

But, first of all, what is there extraordinary in this? Has not the like been said of innumerable men who have afterwards made a figure in the world? And, secondly, here is an imitation of Pythagoras, of whom the same is said by the writers of his life.
Again: 'Jesus \( ^{\text{h}} \) ascended to heaven:' nor would Philostratus, says Huet, 'have his Apollonius inferior to him in that respect.'

Nevertheless here is no resemblance at all; nor can there be any. According to all the gospels, Jesus was publicly crucified at Jerusalem: and it was in all the ancient creeds received by all catholic christians in general, 'that Jesus \(^{1}\) suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and \(^{1}\) buried: the third day he rose again from the dead, and \(^{1}\) ascended into heaven.' But Philostratus did not know, when, or where, or how Apollonius died, nor at what age: how is it possible then that there should be here any resemblance? 'Concerning the manner of his death, if indeed \(^{1}\) he died, there are various reports. But Damis says nothing —Nor does Damis inform us of his age: but some say \(^{1}\) he lived to be eighty years old, others more than ninety, \(^{1}\) some more than an hundred. Some say he died at Ephesus, others say he died at Lindus, others at Crete, and that \(^{1}\) having gone into the temple there, he disappeared in a wonderful manner: and that there were heard virgins singing this ode: "Come from the earth, Come to heaven, come."' So writes Philostratus.

Surely this is all uncertainty, and nothing to be depended upon; as \(^{k}\) Huet himself, and \(^{l}\) other learned men of the best note, have acknowledged.

But though this is all uncertainty, and here is no resemblance of Jesus Christ, here is an imitation of the writers of the life of Pythagoras; who either give no account of his death, or say, there \(^{m}\) are different accounts in several authors of the manner of his death. And some said he \(^{n}\) died in the eightieth year of his age, others in the ninetieth year;...
and some said he lived to be almost an hundred, others, that he reached to the hundred and fifth year of his age.

Upon the whole, I do not see any reason to believe, that Philostratus had read any of our gospels, or any other of the books of the New Testament, or that he any where makes any references to the history of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Before I proceed any farther, I would just observe here, that Photius has two articles concerning this work of Philostratus, entitled, The Life of Apollonius Tyræus; one of which is a general account of the work; the other is a copious abridgment of all the eight books of it; but I do not recollect, that he any where hints it to have been his design to oppose Apollonius to Jesus. However, in the first article he gives the true character of it, representing it to be extremely fabulous.

Jerome likewise has given a particular account of Philostratus’s eight books of the Life of Apollonius, whom, as he says, the vulgar called a magician, the Pythagoreans a philosopher; but he gives not any hint, that Philostratus had designed to set up Apollonius in opposition to our Saviour.

And beside that everything is uncertain, and nothing related in a credible manner and upon good authority, as was formerly shown, the things ascribed to Apollonius by Philostratus are not so extraordinary as some imagine. Some cures of demoniacs, and others, are inserted after a sort in this history of Apollonius, but not one instance of a miraculous resurrection is asserted by him. Something of


Phot. Cod. 44. p. 29. et 241. p. 996.

Tanta mev peri ianv apanapatia. p. 29. lin. 51.—Parapliurma tisous anousis, kai itera pluta, perastusameno. En okto de Iogos y paisa autw ths matiostouas spedh kataanalwta. p. 32. in.


L. iii. cap. 38. 39. l. iv. c. 20.
this kind he attempts in one place; but after all it was not certain to those who were present that the young woman was dead; nor does Philostratus affirm it: for there were, it seems, some signs of life in the person who had been supposed by some to be dead. Upon which story Eusebius has made good remarks: who says, 'As it was not credited by Philostratus himself, we need not much mind it: for in reasoning about it he supposeth, that there were some remains of life, the maid still breathing, and having a dew of sweat upon her face: moreover, as this is said to have happened at Rome, if it had been true, it would undoubtedly have come to the knowledge of the emperor Domitian and his courtiers, and to the philosopher Euphrates, then at Rome, and would have been particularly taken notice of, either in favour of Apollonius, or to his disadvant-age: neither of which happened.'

Of this Eusebius takes notice again afterwards, saying: 'As for the young woman brought to life from the dead, or rather still breathing, having in her symptoms of life, according to the historian himself, it cannot be reckoned a miracle: nor, as before said, would so great a work have been buried in silence, if it had been performed at Rome itself, where the emperor then was.'

Some will ask here, how then it came to pass, that many heathen people were disposed to equal Apollonius to Jesus, or even to prefer him before our Lord? I answer, the reason was, that they were willing to lay hold of any thing that offered to save the sinking cause of polytheism, and the rites belonging to it: as shipwrecked men catch at every twig or straw that comes in their way to save themselves from drowning.

This observation may be illustrated and confirmed by an argument of Origen with Celsus.

'Now,' says Origen, 'let us observe some of the strange

a L. iv. cap. 45.

v To ην μεν επὶ τῆς Ἑρμοῦν πολεώς μετὰ ταύτα κορον, ὅτι δὴ μετὰ Εἰαντοῦν επὶ δευτερὰν ζωὴν παγέειν, σπανιότατην καὶ αὐτῷ δόξαν τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ παρατίθειν. Εὐν ἐπιστήμη μεντοι αμφίβαλλει, μή αρα σπεύδῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ενυπαρχον τῇ παιδί, τῆς δεμασεωτονός εληθῆ. Λεγεσθαν γὰρ φθονὸς ὡς ψεκαζόν μεν ὁ ζωῦς η δὲ αμφιδὶ απὸ τὸ προσώπη. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν αἰθέρῳ αὐτοῦ τον καὶ επὶ τῆς Ἐρμῆς επιστρέψαν, καὶ αὐτῷ εἰδούταν βασιλεῖα τῷ πρωτοῦ καὶ τῆς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπάντατον ὑπάρχειν, μαλλὰ δὲ τὸν φιλοσοφόν Εὐφρατίνην εὐχαριστοῦσα κατ' έκκινω καίρε, καὶ επὶ Ἐρμῆς διατραβοῦσα. Αντ. Hieroc. p. 530.

w Τὸ γὰρ τῆς αναβίωσασθες κορος, εἰ τεμπέως ὑπηρχε, σπανιότατης ψυχῆς κατα τὸν συγγραφέα, καὶ εὐμάκα επὶ τὸ προσώπη ψευδας, περιαριστοῦ τῆς Ἰαματο- ποίας. Οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν ὡς καὶ προσθεν εἴρημ, σωτηρὶ τὸ τῇλικανόν παρέσωθι επὶ αὐτῆς Ἐρμῆς, βασιλείως επὶ παροντος γεγενημένως. Μετ. p. 534. D.

x Ἰδὼμεν δὲ καὶ δὲ μετὰ ταύτα λεγεί ο Κέλσος παρατάθεμεν απὸ ἤτοι Ῥωμησ.
things alleged by Celsus, which, though in themselves incredible, are believed by him, if we may credit his word. Such are the stories which he alleges, first concerning "Aristaeas" of Proconnesus, who, after he had wonderfully disappeared from the eyes of men, was afterwards seen again, and visited many parts of the world, and related the wonderful things he had seen." Afterwards he insists upon the history of Clazomenius, "of which it is said, that his soul often left the body, and wandered about without the body." He also speaks of Cleomedes of Astypalea, letting us thereby know, that he was not unacquainted with the Grecian histories. "Who," as he says, "when he was shut up in a chest held it fast; nevertheless, when it was opened he was not found in it, having escaped by some divine power."

If Celsus, an Epicurean, when arguing against the christians, could lay hold of such things, and speak of them as true, what might not other prejudiced and ignorant men do? For these things must have been looked upon as fabulous by all wise men, when they had no particular interest to serve. Plutarch having related how Proculus said and swore, that he had seen Romulus after he was dead, goes on: "This is like some of the Grecian fables of Aristeas the Proconnesian, and Cleomedes the Astypaleian. For they say that Aristeas died in a fuller's work-house; and his friends coming to him, his body vanished; and that some presently after coming from a journey, said they met him travelling to Croton. And that Cleomedes, being an extraordinary strong man, and withal crazed, committed many desperate freaks. At last, in a certain school-house, striking a pillar that sustained the roof with his fist, broke it in the middle, so the house fell and destroyed the children in it, and being pursued he fled into a great chest, and shutting to the lid, held so fast, that many men with all their strength could not force it open. Afterwards breaking the chest to pieces, they found no man in it——" Many such improbabilities do your fabulous writers relate."

So says Plutarch.

As Celsus, and possibly some others, for want of better, laid hold of old Greek stories to oppose to the miracles of Jesus, and the Jewish prophets; so many heathens in latter παραδόξα, και καθ' αυτα μεν αποικις εικοσα, υπ' αυτη υκ απιστημενα, δοσον γε επι τη λειτυ αυτη. Contr. Cels. i. iii. n. 26. p. 125.
  * 1b. num. 32. p. 129.
  * 1b. num. 33. p. 130.
  * Εικε μεν ταυτα τους υφ 'Ελληνων, περι τα Αριστεια, τη προκοινησια, και Κλεομηδος την Αστυπαλαιως μυθολογιμανως. Plutarch. sub fin. Vit. Rom. VOL. VII. 2 K

\[ Hierocles. A. D. 303. \]
times might endeavour to improve the history of Apollonius in opposition to Jesus and his followers: though Philostratus had no such thing in view, no more than the first inventors of the old fabulous stories among the Greeks.

One thing here offers itself to our observation, for showing the temper of the heathen people in this point, which therefore cannot be omitted.

For in the time of Augustine many heathen people, and those of no small consideration, ascribed not only to Apollonius, but to Apuleius of Madaura likewise, many miracles. Says b Mr. Bayle, 'Nothing can more sensibly demonstrate the absurd credulity of the pagans, than their saying that Apuleius had done so great a number of miracles, that they equalled, or even surpassed those of Jesus Christ. Un-doubtedly there were many people who took for true history all that he relates in his Golden Ass; though himself published that book as a Romance, or a Milesian fable, as he calls it in the introduction.' And as the same author goes on: 'It d could not be easily believed that any had formed such a notion, were it not that it is attested by men of good credit: and that the great e prelate Augustine was earnestly entreated to confute it. Nay,' says Bayle, 'these pretended miracles were talked of long before Augustine: for Lactantius f wonders, that the author of whom he is speaking did not join Apuleius with Apollonius of Tyana; for of him also many wonderful things are related.' So Mr. Bayle.

And I think it does appear from Lactantius, that in his time many wonderful things were ascribed to Apuleius, and believed by some; but, as it seems, they were mean and vulgar people only. For which reason Hierocles, of whom he speaks, did not bring them into his argument against the christians; he was wiser than to do it. But things were altered before the time of Augustine: the christian religion had made farther progress in the world, and the necessities of the heathen people were increased; and they now added the miracles of Apuleius to those of Apollonius to strengthen

b Apulée.  
c Ut ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conferem. Apul. in Proli. Asini Aurei.  
d Apulée, note (L).  
their cause, though there was no ground for either. It is manifest from the letter of Marcellinus to Augustine, that the works then ascribed to Apuleius and others, were a real and weighty objection against Christianity in the minds of some heathen people of note, and who were well disposed to it: with how little reason we can now easily discern. But such cases as these are continually happening in this world of ours, owing to want of careful and impartial examination, the great source of ignorance and error in all sorts of people in all ages.

We have now finished our digression, and return to Philostratus.

Apollonius pretended to know the thoughts of men, and to foresee futurities: nevertheless as Tillemont observes, he composed a very long apology for himself with a design to deliver it to Domitian; but his pretended prophetic spirit did not advertise him, that Domitian would not give him time to pronounce it, and that the pains he was at in composing it would be useless.'

A man who had lost an eye came to a temple of Æsculapius, where also Apollonius was, hoping to have his eye restored to him; but understanding that his affliction was the punishment of his intemperance, the priest and Apollonius agreed to dismiss him as a profane wretch unworthy of cure. May it not be reasonably suspected, that the cure was above their ability?

We are indebted to Eusebius for his account of the work of Hierocles, and for his remarks upon Philostratus; nevertheless it is somewhat unhappy for us, that he did not transcribe at length that passage of Hierocles, where he enumerated the wonderful works ascribed to Apollonius; that passage might have enabled us to judge better for ourselves, and to form a distinct notion of Hierocles's argument, and what were the actions of Apollonius upon which he chiefly relied. However, as we still have the work of Philostratus, we can be assured, that nothing more than human was credibly related of him; and I have endeavoured to supply the above-mentioned defect by divers quotations and observations; to which I shall add a few more, though to some they may appear unnecessary.

'A plague broke out at Ephesus; and no remedy offering,' says Philostratus, 'they sent messengers to Apollo-


Vit. Apoll. l. i. cap. 10.

nius at Smyrna, who presently came to them: and gathering together all the Ephesians in general, he bid them be easy, for he would stop the plague that very day. Having thus said, he invited the people of every age to the theatre, where now stands the statue in memory of their deliverance. Here was seen an old man in the shape of a beggar, winking with his eyes, and a scrip by his side, where he put pieces of bread, with ragged clothes, and sorrowful face. He bid the Ephesians to surround him, and to throw stones at that enemy of the gods. The Ephesians wondered at what he said, and thought it inhuman to kill a stranger who earnestly importuned their mercy. But he renewed his orders to the Ephesians, and that they should not let him escape. Some then began to attack him. Whereupon he, who before seemed to wink, looked fierce, with eyes full of fire; whereby the Ephesians perceived it to be a daemon. They therefore went on casting stones at him, till they had raised a great heap upon him. Soon after Apollonius directed them to remove the stones, that they might discern the wild beast which they had killed. When that was done, the person whom they thought they had killed was vanished: but a dog, in shape like to a mastiff, in size equal to a very great lion, appeared overwhemed with stones, and foaming after the manner of mad dogs: which is the form of the averting statue. Moreover, a statue of Hercules stands in the place where this spectre was stoned.'

There is no need of remarks upon so silly a story of our great rhetorician: justly does Eusebius say, that Philostratus's accounts of Apollonius's miracles are inconsistent, ασυστατα, and therefore altogether incredible.

But it was necessary that some miracle of this kind should be ascribed to Apollonius, in order to make out a resemblance with Pythagoras, of whom, among other things, are mentioned the sudden removals of plagues.

However, I shall observe a few more passages in this work of Philostratus.

When Damis first met Apollonius in Assyria, he said, he believed he could be of use to him, as he knew the road to Babylon, and understood the languages of those barbarians, the Armenians, the Medes, the Persians, the Cadusians. Apollonius answered, "My friend, I understand them all, though I have learned none of them." At which Damis was much surprised. But Apollonius


proceeded: "Do not wonder at that, my friend, that I know all the languages of men: for I know their secret thoughts." Damis then worshipped him, considering him as a daemon, and continued with him improving in wisdom.'

Upon which Eusebius observes, 'that according to Philostratus, Apollonius was a very forward child, taking learning very well, and having a good memory; and that at the fourteenth year of his age he was carried by his father to Tarsus, to be there instructed by Euthydemos the Pheenician, who was a good rhetorician. Where he was also instructed in the philosophy of Plato, and Chrysippus, and the Peripatetics, not neglecting entirely that of Epicurus: but the Pythagorean doctrine he most approved. In all these things,' says Eusebius, 'this man was instructed, who is said to have learned no language, and to have known the thoughts of men by a divine power.'

A just observation.

I shall now take another passage from the first book of the Life of Apollonius. 'That my history might be the more complete,' says Philostratus, 'I once intended to omit nothing related by Damis, and to give a particular account of what passed among the barbarians: but my design leads me to higher and more wonderful things. Two things, however, there are which cannot be omitted: one is the fortitude of Apollonius in travelling among barbarous people, whose country abounds with robbers, as having never been under the Roman government: the other is his wisdom, whereby, after the manner of the Arabians, he attained to the knowledge of the languages of brute animals. This he learned among the Arabians; for this science is common among the Arabians: and they attend to the voices of birds with the same respect as they do to oracles.'

But what is there wonderful in all this? The celebrated fortitude is merely human; and the interpretation of the languages of brutes is all conjecture; and any man who undertakes it may ascribe what meaning he pleases to their sounds, without being confuted by any. Nevertheless, such pretensions can expose men to laughter only.

Upon which Eusebius remarks after this manner: 'So that to all the fore-mentioned masters must be added the wise men of Arabia, who taught him the art of divination, and enabled him to understand, that sparrows by chirping

0 Contr. Hieroc. p. 518.
1 L. i. cap. 20.
2 Vid. Philost. l. iv. c. 3.
'call others to partake of food with them; an observation
delivered by him with the admiration of many. And in'
like manner, when in his journey to Assyria he espied a
lioness just dying with eight whelps, by the same learning
he understood how long he should stay with the Persians.'

I shall here refer such readers as are curious, and have
leisure, to some chapters of Porphyry 1 in his work con-
cerning Abstinence from the flesh of animals; where he speaks
of some men having attained to the skill of understanding
the languages of animals, and then of animals understanding
each others' languages.

The story of the lioness to which Eusebius refers, as it
stands in Philostratus, is to this purpose: 'As 2 Apollonius
and Damis were travelling, a lioness was killed near them
in hunting, which was of an uncommon size, and when
opened had eight whelps. Apollonius therefore, after
observing the wild beast, and after having meditated a
good while, said: "O Damis, the time of our stay with
the king will be a year and eight months: for he will not
let us go sooner; nor will it be easy for us to leave him
before that time. From the whelps the number of the
months is to be concluded, as the lioness herself denotes a
year."' Wonderful mystery, truly!

This story brings to my mind what is said by Laertius 3
of Empedocles, 'an ancient Pythagorean philosopher; who,
when the Etesian winds were very violent at Agrigentum,
so as to destroy the fruits of the earth, he ordered some
asses to be flayed: and having made bottles of their skins,
they were placed at the tops of the hills for stopping the
winds: and the effect being answerable, he obtained the
name of Averter of winds.'

Menage, in his notes, says, 'nothing 4 more silly could
possibly be invented.' But yet it is mentioned with tokens
of approbation and credit by Porphyry 5 and Jamblichus 6
in their Lives of Pythagoras, and by Philostratus 7 in his
Life of Apollonius: and, indeed, I think it as likely a me-
method for stopping a plague, as that taken by Apollonius at
Ephesus before mentioned.

Upon the whole, this work of Philostratus appears to me
throughout Pythagorean; as Jamblichus himself says in

1 De Abstin. &c. l. iii. sect. 3, 4, 5, &c.
2 De Vit. Ap. i. i. cap. 22.
3 Diog. l. viii. sect. 60.
4 Nihil ineptius fingi potest eo quod refert hic Laertius, Empedoclem ex-
   coriatis compluribus asinis, et eorum pellibus oppositus austro, exclusisse ven-
   tum, et simul pestem, quam perniciosi isti status Agrigentinis inducibant.
   Menag. in loc. p. 379.
5 —num. 29, 90.
6 Cap. 28. num. 136.
his Life of Pythagoras: 'Hence' it comes to pass, that all
'Pythagoræans in general readily assent to such things as
'related of Aristeas the Proconnesian, and Abaris the
'Hyperborean, and all other such like things. They assent
'to all these stories, and they invent many others themselves,
'as thinking nothing incredible which is said of the deity.
'——Nor do they think, that they therefore are weak and
'silly, but others are so who disbelief them. For to say,
some things are possible to the gods, others impossible, is
the principle not of wise men, but of ignorant pretenders
to science.' A very fair and honest confession!

My advice, therefore, with which I would conclude this sec-
tion, is, that they who are desirous to understand the history
which Philostratus has left us of Apollonius Tyanaeus,
should read the Life of Pythagoras written by Diogenes
Laërtius, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and the anonymous author
in Photius, and the lives of Empedocles, and other Pytha-
goræans in Laërtius; observing likewise the stories relating
to these men found in Plutarch, Ælian, and other ancient
authors.

Let me however add an observation from Chrysostom:
'Jesus Christ,' b says he, 'not only prescribed a rule of life,
'but also planted it every where throughout the whole
'world. How many things have been said of Apollonius
'Tyanaeus! but that you might be satisfied they are all false-
'hood and fiction, and nothing true, they are extinct, and
'come to an end.'

I have now enlarged upon this point, and have said a
great deal of Apollonius, and the history of Philostratus,
and some things very different from the general apprehen-
sions of learned men in our time: nevertheless, if I am not
mistaken, I have said little more than was said long ago by
Dr. S. Parker, bishop of Oxford, in his Demonstration of
the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature, and of the
Christian Religion: and I therefore intend to transcribe
his observations upon this subject, as an appendix to this
chapter.

VII. As I have been led to say so much about the Life
of Apollonius, written by Philostratus, I shall take this op-
portunity to consider two Lives of Pythagoras, written, one
by Porphyry, whom we have placed at the year of Christ

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b 'Ο δὲ Χριστος κα έγραψε πολλαμα μονον, αλλα κα ταυταχα της οικομενης
αυτης κατανυσμενως. Ποσα λεγεται Απολλωνιος ο εκ Τηνων πετουκεναι;
Αλλ' ια μαθης οτι ψευδος παινα εκνα ην, κα κανταια, και αληθες εδειν
εισβεται, και τιλος ελαβειν. Chrys. ad Judæos, Or. v. T. i. p. 631. A.
270, the other by Jamblichus of Chalcis, a disciple of Porphyry: who, as Fabricius says, lived in the time of Constantine, and probably died before the year 333: I therefore place him at the year 313. I speak of these writings together, and in this place, for the sake of brevity, that I may not be obliged to make distinct articles of works that are of little importance to us.

Here I shall transcribe at length the observations of Mr. La Roche referred to before: I am by no means,' says he, of Mr. Kuster’s opinion in his note upon Jamblichus. I think, he did not design to oppose the pretended miracles of Pythagoras to those of Jesus Christ: nor do Rittersius or Lucas Holstenius in their notes say, that Jamblichus or Porphyry had any such intention. There is nothing in Jamblichus, or in what remains of Porphyry’s Life of Pythagoras, but what they would have said if there had been no christians in the world: the same may be said of Philostratus in the Life of Apollonius. I wonder the learned Dr. Gale should suspect, in his notes upon Jamblichus de Mysteriis, p. 244, that Jamblichus did indirectly reflect upon the incarnation of the Θεάνθρωπον.

I am of opinion, that this last observation, as well as the others, is very right: but what I add farther shall relate to the two Lives of Pythagoras, written by Porphyry and Jamblichus; and that they had no intention to oppose Pythagoras.

c Vid. Eunap. de Vit. Philosoph. p. 21, &c. I think it best to transcribe here entire the article of Jamblichus in Suikas. ίαμβιλίχος ἡμοίος. Χαλκίδας της Σεραμ, φιλοσόφος, μαθητής Πορφύρων τε φιλοσόφω τε Πλάτωνος ακέτε, γεγονός, κατα της χρονίας Κωνσταντίνου τα βασιλεία της γραφής μελετών. See above, p. 489, 490.


e See above, p. 489, 490.


g Suspicor interim Jamblichum per hac jandum oblique notasse ευσαρκωσιν Θεανθρωπε. Gale.

h Since writing that is above, and indeed, since finishing this whole chapter, as I was revising it, I have observed, that Mr. Mosheim also went into the common opinion concerning these two Lives of Pythagoras. I shall therefore here transcribe what he says; but I do not think it needful to add one syllable to my argument as already finished. Pythagore vitam hoc seculo Porphyrius, sequenti Jamblichus, uteque eo sine dubio consilio examavit, ut par Christo rebus omnibus maxime miraculis et preceptorum sapientiâ, philosophos ille videretur. Demonstratum hoc dedit in adnotationibus ad Jamblichi vitam a se editam Ludolphus Kusterus; et videbit facile, cui placebit cum Servatoris nostri historiâ utramque vitam conferre. Non àgnum agno similior esset, quam Christo Pythagoras, si vera foret que de hoc duemiviri illi scripta reliquerunt, Mosheim. de Reb. Christian. ante C. M. p. 562.
Lives of Pythagoras, by Porphyry and Jamblichus.

Pythagoras to the Lord Jesus Christ, appears to me very evident for these two reasons.

First of all, they have said nothing new of Pythagoras, nothing but what had been often said of him before the appearance of the Christian religion in the world. As Josephus says, 'many' authors have written the history of 'Pythagoras:' so it appears from the two writers of his Life above mentioned, and from Diogenes Laertius, who expressly quote many authors by name for what they say, and seem also sometimes to refer to traditionary accounts.

And Origen observes, 'that many strange things were said of Pythagoras, who showed his ivory thigh at the assembled of the Greeks, and pretended to know the shield (hung up at Mycenae) with which he had fought when he was Euphorbus, and is said to have been seen on one and the same day in two cities.' So writes Origen; and they were old stories long before his time.

Kuster was of opinion, that in his Life of Pythagoras Jamblichus borrowed from Porphyry without naming him; and he wonders at it. Vossius was of the same opinion; and other learned men, I suppose, have formed the same judgment: nevertheless I must take the liberty to say, that I cannot see any good ground for the supposition: and I am of opinion, that they both found the same stories in writers more ancient than themselves; whom they both transcribed, and sometimes almost word for word.

Secondly, most of the things related by those two authors are so trifling, and so manifestly fabulous, that I cannot believe they intended to oppose them to the miracles of Jesus Christ.

The golden or ivory thigh of Pythagoras comes over again and again in Jamblichus; nor is it omitted by Porphyry: and his solicitous concern to dissuade men from eating beans; which they endeavour to justify by saying, that by their food he endeavoured to lead men to virtue.

3—Cum Jamblichus, ob argumenti et materiae similitudinem conjunximus Porphyriun de Vitā Pythagorā; cujus scrinia noster (quamvis tacito, quod miror, ejus nomine) identidem compilavit. Kust. Praef in Jambl.
4—Tractārat hoc argumentum antea præceperat ejus Malchus, sive Porphyrius; ex cujus de Pythagorā libro multa, vel isdem vel leviter immutatis verbis scripsit Jamblichus, Voss. de Hist. Gr. l. ii. cap. 18.
5—Jambl. cap. 19. n. 92, cap. 22. n. 135. Vid. et num. 140.
Abaris the Scythian, or Hyperborean, they say, travelled with great ease and expedition over seas and rivers upon an arrow: 'Which,' as they also say, some supposed to have been the case of Pythagoras, when he was in one and the same day in Metapontus and Tauromenium.' This is both in Jamblichus and Porphyry in the places above referred to: and says Porphyry, 'if credit is to be given to his historians, and those ancient and of unquestioned authority, he extended his instructions to brute animals. He laid hold of the Daunian bear, which had done abundance of mischief, and having stroked it a long while, and given it bread and acorns, he adjured it no more to eat flesh, and let it go: after which it lived quietly in the woods and on the mountains, and never more attacked so much as a brute animal. And when he saw the ox at Tarentum straying at will in the fields, and eating green beans, he went to the herdsman, and desired him to speak to the ox, 'not to eat beans:' but he said he did not understand the language of oxen. Pythagoras then went to the ox himself, and whispered it in the ear: whereupon the ox not only left the field in which the beans were, but never more eat any.' So writes that great philosopher Porphyry; and to the like purpose Jamblichus.

The miracles of our Saviour are all great and awful, related by credible witnesses, with all the circumstances of credibility: the trifling and fabulous accounts of Pythagoras cannot be set in competition with them. It is sufficient disparagement to those proud and learned philosophers, that they give credit to the Pythagorean fables: we need not reproach them with an intention to oppose them to the miracles of Jesus Christ.

I therefore allege no testimonies out of these two works; I see not in them any references to our Saviour's miracles, or the evangelical history: they are all over Pythagorean, like the Life of Apollonius written by Philostratus; upon which I have expatiated so much that there can be no need for me to enlarge any farther upon these.

VIII. As I have been obliged to take some notice of these two Lives of Pythagoras, I shall also observe upon another work of Jamblichus not now extant, entitled, Of Images, or as

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Fabricius calls it, Of the Divinity of Images, of which there is some account in Photius.

Says Photius: 'We a read the treatise of John Philoponus against the work of Jamblichus, which he inscribed, Of Images. The design of Jamblichus is to show the divinity of idols, (for so he calls images,) and that they are filled with the divine presence, and not only such as having been formed by a secret art, and therefore are said to have fallen down from Jupiter; for these being of an heavenly nature, and having fallen down thence to this earth, are always so called; but also such as have been formed by the skill of the founder, or engraver, or smith. All these, Jamblichus says, are supernatural works, and surpass the common opinion of men about them. In support of this, he tells a great many incredible stories; some things he ascribes to occult causes: nor is he ashamed to assert things contradictory to what is obvious to human sight. The whole work is divided into two parts, one called the greater, the other the less; both which are confuted by Philoponus.'

A wonderful work truly! Another instance of Pythagorean credulity, and in that respect exactly resembling the Lives of Pythagoras before mentioned. So writes Jamblichus, himself a philosopher and a disciple of Porphyry, also a renowned philosopher and hearer of Plotinus.

Lucas Holstenius was of opinion, that Porphyry likewise published a work with this same title, Of Images.

Such were the philosophers of that time: they did little or nothing to improve the sentiments of mankind: they confirmed the prejudices of the common people, and made

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3. See before, p. 504, note c.

them still worse than they otherwise would have been. If any others have since resembled them therein, they are far from deserving commendation.

AN APPENDIX TO CHAP. XXXIX.

I SHALL now, according to my promise at p. 503, transcribe the observations of Dr. S. Parker* upon the character of Apollonius Tyanaeus, and the history of him written by Philostratus.

His observations, I believe, will be generally allowed to be right and pertinent. They are particularly remarkable upon two accounts: First, he considers Apollonius as a professed and conceited Pythagorean philosopher, or, as his terms are, ‘a mere fanatic and pedantic Pythagorean.’ Secondly, he rejects the parallelisms of Huet, and shows their futility. Consequently he did not embrace the opinion of Dr. Cudworth, and divers other learned men, who have supposed, that ‘Philostratus intended to set up Apollonius as a corrrival with our Saviour.’ I thought I had been singular in the opinion which I received from Mr. La Roche, but here is a learned man who wrote almost an hundred years ago, and thought in the same manner.

His words are these: ‘But the man of wonders is Apollonius Tyanaeus, of whom they boast and insult as the true heathen Messias: in that he wrought not, as Vespasian did, one or two chance miracles, but his whole life was all prodigy, and equal to our Saviour’s both for the number and the wonder of his works. But here, first, we have in part shown what undoubted records we have of the life of Jesus: whereas all the credit of Apollonius his history depends upon the authority of one single man, who, beside that he lived an hundred years after him, ventured nothing, as the apostles did, in confirmation of the truth, but only composed it in his study: thereby, as appears from his frequent digressions, to take occasion of commu-

nicating to the world all the learning which he had raked together. Nay, so far was he from incurring any loss by the work, that he was set upon it by a great empress, whose religious zeal in the cause would be sure to see him well rewarded. And though he made use of the Commentaries of Damis, the inseparable companion of Apollonius, yet he confesses, that Damis himself never published his own Commentaries, but that a friend of Damis communicated them to the empress, which himself might probably have forged (as is common in courts) to pick her pocket. However, as for Damis himself, it is evident from Philostratus his whole story, that he was a very simple man, and that Apollonius only picked him up as a fit Sancho Pancha to exercise his wit upon; so that upon all occasions we find him not only baffling the esquire in disputes, but breaking jests upon him, which he always takes with much thankfulness, and more humility, still admiring his master's wisdom, but much more his wit.

But after all, what the story of Damis was, or whether there were ever any such story, we have no account, unless from Philostratus himself; and therefore we must resolve it all into his authority alone. And there it is evident, that Apollonius was neither a god nor a divine man, as his friends boasted, nor a magician or conjuror, as his enemies imagined, but a mere fanatic and pedantic Pythagorean: who for the honour of his sect travelled, as many others have done, into all parts of the world: and when he returned home told his countrymen, that all men renowned for wisdom all the world over were of the sect of the Pythagoreans; and then for advancement of their authority told strange and prodigious tales of their wonder-working power. Though here either he, or his historian, has acquitted himself so awkwardly, as utterly to spoil the tale and defeat the design. This Eusebius has shown at large in his book against Hierocles, by taking to pieces all parts of the story, and discovering all its flaws and incoherences.

But I shall content myself with proving the vanity of the whole from the notorious falsehood of one particular narration, upon which depends all that extraordinary power which he pretends to; and that is his conversation with the Indian Brachmans, from whom, if we may believe his account of himself, he learned all that he could do more than the common philosophers of Greece. And if this prove a romance, all the rest of his history must unavoidably follow its fortune. And for this little proof will serve,
when most of the stories are so very mean and childish, as to be more contemptible than those little tales wherewith nurses are wont to quiet their children.

For what could be contrived more unphilosophically, than the Brachmans keeping tubs of rain, wind, and thunder by them, which they bestow upon their friends as their necessities required? L. iii. c. 3. And the swelling of the earth like the waves of the sea, only with the stroke of a Brachman's wand? c. 5. Though the most pleasant scene of the whole comedy was their feast, in which there was no need of any attendants; but the chairs and the stools, the pots and the cups, the dishes and the plates, understood every one their own offices: and so served in the entertainment themselves, and ran hither and thither as the guests commanded, or their attendance required.’ c. 8.

But of all lies the geographical lie is the most unhappy: for the matter of them being perpetual, and not, as the actions of men are, transient, they may be confuted in any age. And yet in this very thing he has outdone Sir John Mandevil himself, for incredible monsters and fables, describing men and beasts of strange shapes, that were never seen by any man but himself; as a sort of women half black, half white, a nation of pigmies, living under ground, c. 14; griffins, apes as big as men, beasts with the faces of men, and bodies of lions, wool growing like grass out of the earth, and dragons almost as common as sheep in other countries, c. 2. All which being so vulgarly known at this day to be mere fables, they cannot but overthrow the credit of the whole story. For either he wandered as far as the Indies, or not: if not, then his saying that he did is one lie for all: if he did, then it is evident from these particulars that he made no conscience of truth or falsehood, but designed only to amuse the world with strange and prodigious reports of the power of Pythagorism.

And that is the most that I can make of the story; though I know that Huetius is of opinion, that all the substantial miracles are stolen out of the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and that, for the most part, in the words and phrases of St. Luke. And this he has endeavoured to make good by a great variety of parallel instances; and then thinks it a manifest discovery both of

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e L. iii. cap. 47. p. 133. f L. iii. cap. 6, 7, 8.

Demonstr. Evang. c. 147. sect. 4.
the vanity of Philostratus, and the imposture of Apollonius, when he is only adorned with borrowed feathers, but a great accession to the credit of our Saviour, that when his enemies would frame the idea of a divine man, they were forced to steal their best feathers from his picture. So that, he says, it was no wonder, that Hierocles should so confidently compare the miracles of Apollonius to those of Jesus, when those of Jesus were with so little disguise clapped upon Apollonius.

This were a pretty discovery if it stood upon good grounds: but, alas! most of the parallelisms are so forced, or so slender, or so far fetched, that it were easy to make as many, and as probable, between any other histories whatever. And indeed, in such a design as this of Philostratus, viz. to make up a story as full of strange things as he could contrive, it is scarce possible not to have hit upon some things like some of those miracles which are recorded in the gospels; so that in some few of them there may be some resemblance, as particularly there seems to be in that of the Gadarene daemoniac and the Corecyrean youth; yet it is very obvious to apprehend, that this might happen not by design but by chance. Propos. i. sect. 5.

And whereas Huetius will needs have it, that Philostratus has stolen not only the stories but the very words of St. Luke, I find no instance of it but only in this one relation, where they both, it seems, use the word βασανίζεων; and this they might easily do without theft or imitation, it being the common Greek word that signifies to torment: so that they could no more avoid that in Greek, than we could this in rendering it into English. Nay, setting aside this one story, I find so little resemblance between the history of Philostratus and that of the gospels, that I scarce know any two histories more unlike: for it is obvious to any man that reads Philostratus, that his whole design was to follow the train of the old heathen mythology; and that is the bottom of his folly, by his story to gain historical credit to the fables of the poets. So that it is a very true and just censure which Ludovicus Vives has given of him, that as he had endeavoured to imitate Homer, so he had abundantly out-lied him. For there is scarce any thing extraordinary reported in the whole history, in which he does not apparently design either to verify or to rectify some of that blind ballad-singer’s tales: but especially in conjuring Achilles out of his tomb, and dis-coursing with him about the old stories that were told of the Trojan war,
‘And yet after all, few of Apollonius his miracles are sufficiently vouched, even in his own history: v. g. the last that I mentioned, of the apparition of Achilles; which had no other testimony but of Apollonius himself, who stubbornly refused to have any companion or witness of the fact: beside many other absurdities in the story itself; as his rising out of the tomb five foot long, and then swelling to twice the length; his being forced to vanish away at cock-crowing; and the nymphs constantly visiting him.’

‘And so again, he pretended to understand all languages without learning any: and yet, when he came to the Indian king, he was forced to converse with him by an interpreter. And whereas the story tells us of the devil’s being cast out of a young man by a mandate from the Brahmans, yet it gives us no account of the event of it, only they pretended to do it: but whether it was effectually done we do not find that either Apollonius or Damis ever inquired.’

‘But the great faculty which he pretended to was the understanding of the languages of birds and beasts; which he says he learned from the Arabians, and the citizens of Parea in India, who acquired it by eating dragon’s hearts. Now all stories of dragons are hard of belief, but especially of his Indian dragons; which he says were as commonly hunted by the inhabitants as hares in other countries. But granting that there were so great numbers of them in his time, though since that they were never seen by any man, it is very hard to believe, that the mere eating a piece of their hearts should inspire men with such an odd and singular faculty.’

‘But the great miracle of all was his vanishing away at his trial before Domitian in the presence of all the great men of Rome. But then, though our historian be very desirous we should believe it, yet he falters afterwards, like a guilty liar, in his confidence. For whereas at first he positively affirms ηφανισσε ὑπὸ δικαστηρίως, that he quite vanished away; at last he only says, ἀπηλθε, that he went away, i. viii. c. 4. And this, though he would seem to affirm that it was after a wonderful manner, and

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i L. ii. cap. 26. p. 77. et conf. l. i. c. 27. et l. ii. cap. 23.
k L. iii. cap. 38. p. 128.
m See the references at note f.
n L. viii. cap. 5. p. 336
nobody knows how, is a pitiful abatement to the bigness of his former expression "vanishing away." Though the truth is, if he had stood to it, it must unavoidably have proved itself a lie; for it is utterly incredible, that so strange a thing as that should have been done in so great a presence, and yet never any notice be taken of it.

But in the last place, the historian would fain bid at something of his hero's appearing after death: yet he does it so faintly, that in the conclusion of all it comes to nothing, especially when he tells us, that the time of his death was altogether unknown, and that the uncertainty of it took in no less than the compass of thirty years.

And then, they that were so utterly at a loss as to the time of his decease, and that for so long a space, were very likely to give a very wise account of the certain time of any thing that he did after it.

But how, or to whom did he appear? Why, to a young man, one of his followers, that doubted of the immortality of the soul, for ten months together after his death, 1. viii. c. 13. But how, or where? Why, the young man being tired with watching, and praying to Apollonius, that he would appear to him only to satisfy him in this point, one day fell into a dead sleep in the school, where the young men were performing their several exercises: and on the sudden he starts up in a great fright, and a great sweat, crying out, πενόρημαι σου, I believe thee, O Tyaneus. And being asked by his companions the meaning of his transport: Why, says he, do you not see Apollonius? They answer him, No; but they would be glad to give all the world if they could. It is true, says he; for he only appears to me, and for my satisfaction, and he is invisible to all others. And then he tells them what he had said to him in his sleep concerning the state of souls. This poor account of a dream and vision of an over-watched boy, is all that this great story affords to vie with our Saviour's resurrection.

And now, upon the review of this whole history, it seems evident to me, that this man was so far from being endowed with any extraordinary divine power, that he does not deserve the reputation of an ordinary conjurer: for though Huetius has taken some pains to prove him so, yet he gives no evidence of it beside the opinion of the common people; and if that were enough to make a conjurer, there is no man of an odd and singular humour (as Apollonius affected to be) who is not so thought of by...
'the common people. And therefore, when he was ac-
cused for it before Domitian, the emperor, upon coming to
hear the cause, slighted both him and his accusers, and
dismissed him from the court for an idle and fantastic
fellow.'

'And it is manifest from the whole series of his history,
that he was a very vain man, and affected to be thought
something extraordinary; and so wandered all the world
over in an odd garb to be gazed at and admired, and made
himself considerable in that age by wit, impudence, and
flattery; of all which he had a competent share. And for
his wonder-working faculty which he would needs pre-
tend to, he fetched that as far off as the East Indies, that
is, the farthest off, as he thought, from confutation: and
yet the account which he has given of those parts is so
grossly a fabulous, that that alone convicts his whole life
of imposture and impudence.'

'And this may suffice to make good this part of the de-
monstration of our Saviour's divine authority, from the
certain evidence both of his own and his apostles' miracles,
and to set it above the reach of all manner either of ob-
jection or competition.'

That is the whole of the article of Dr. Parker concerning
Apollonius: whence it appears, that the history of him in
Philostratus is fabulous, and not to be relied upon: and
that Apollonius was not so considerable a person as some
have imagined. And I hope I may say, that these observa-
tions of Dr. Parker do in a great measure confirm those
which have been before proposed by me.

a That is a just and valuable observation, and is fully verified by the second
and third books of Philostratus's Life of Apollonius.
CHAP. XL.

DIOCLESIAN'S PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS.

I. An introduction to the history of this persecution. II. The civil state of the empire at that time. III. General accounts of this persecution taken from ancient authors. IV. The date of it, and the several edicts then published against the christians. V. The sufferings of the christians at that time. VI. The edict of Maximian Galerius in their favour in the year 311. VII. How the persecution was still carried on by Maximin in the East. VIII. How Constantine overcame Maxentius at Rome in 312, and he and Licinius in the same year published their first edict in favour of the christians. IX. Maximian's letter to Sabinus in favour of the christians in 312. X. The second edict of Constantine and Licinius in favour of the christians. XI. Maximin is overcome by Licinius, publisheth a new edict in favour of the christians, and dies. XII. Two ancient inscriptions concerning Dioclesian's persecution. XIII. Concluding observations upon this persecution.

I. It is not my intention to write at length a history of the persecution which began in the reign of Dioclesian, or to give an account of all who suffered at that time; but I shall refer to several ancient authors who have given a general account of it, and shall take some remarkable events from Eusebius, and from Lactantius or Cæcilius, and whoever is the author of the book concerning the Deaths of Persecutors. I shall likewise take particular notice of the several edicts which were then published against the christians, and the edicts published in their favour by Constantine and Licinius, and others: to all which may be added some remarks.

Eusebius begins the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical History in this manner: 'It is beyond our abilities fully to declare how great credit the doctrine concerning the worship of the God over all, which had been published to the world by Christ, was in with all men, both Greeks and barbarians, before the persecution which happened in our

time. However there are these evidences of it; for such was the favour of the emperors toward our people, that some of them were intrusted by them with the government of provinces, at the same time excusing them from the necessity of offering sacrifices, out of respect to our religion. What need have I to mention the many who were in the palaces of the emperors? by whom not only they, but likewise their wives, and children, and servants, were allowed to live openly according to the principles of their religion; and who were preferred to others for their fidelity. Among these I may particularly mention Dorotheus, who was advanced above the most honourable magistrates and governors of provinces: to whom I might add the excellent Gorgonius, and divers others, who attained to the like glory, and who, like them, strictly adhered to the doctrine of the word of God. And great respect was shown to the presidents of the churches, not only by private persons, but also by procurators and governors of provinces. Great multitudes of men daily embraced the faith of Christ: assemblies in the places of prayer were numerous: and not contented with the old edifices, they erected from the foundation in every city spacious buildings. Thus they went on continually increasing till they had provoked the divine displeasure. For, as he goes on to acknowledge, this liberty and prosperity had produced looseness of manners and carelessness about their conduct; and there were contentions among the presidents of the churches, and the people were divided into factions.

Thus writes Eusebius, somewhat oratorically as must be owned: nevertheless, I believe, very truly. And I have thought fit to take this his preface for my Introduction to the account of this persecution: for it is a testimony to the great progress of the christian religion, and shows what was at that time the state of things among the professors of it.

II. And as it is needful to have some notion of the civil state of the empire at that time, I shall here briefly rehearse some things, which were formerly shown more at large in another place.

Dioclesian, born at Dioclea, an obscure town in Dalmatia, was proclaimed emperor on the 17th day of September, in the year of Christ 284. On the first day of April, in 286,

b Those two great men had the honour to suffer martyrdom in the beginning of this persecution, being put to death by strangling. Euseb. H. E. I. viii, cap. 6. p. 297.

Maximian, called Herculius, born near Sirmium in Pannonia, who had been Caesar some while before, was declared Augustus, and joint emperor with Dioclesian.

On the first day of March 292, Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian were created Caesars by the two forementioned emperors; and the better to secure the fidelity of the Caesars, new marriages were concluded for them. Constantius, dismissing Helena, mother of Constantine, married Claudia Theodora, daughter-in-law of Maximian Herculius; and Galerius Maximian married Valeria, daughter of Dioclesian.

Constantius, the first of the two Caesars, is highly commended by Eusebius; and has likewise a good character in heathen authors. By Claudia Theodora, whom he now married, he had several sons and daughters.

Under those two emperors and their two Caesars, in the year 303, began what is called Dioclesian’s persecution, which lasted ten years or more, in some parts of the empire, before it was extinguished.

In the year 305 Dioclesian and Maximian Herculius resigned the empire, both on the same day, the first of May; the former at a place near Nicomedia, the other at Milan. At the same time Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian were declared august and emperors, and Maximin and Severus Caesars. Dioclesian after that spent the remainder of his days near Salonae in Dalmatia, and died in 313. Maximin Herculius retired for the present into that part of Italy which was called Lucania.

The empire was then divided between Constantius and Galerius and their Caesars: Constantius had for his part Italy, Gaul, Britain, Africa, and the other provinces of the western part of the empire: Galerius had Illyricum, Thrace, Asia, and the East, with Egypt. Constantius soon quitted Italy, and the other provinces belonging to him, and gave them to Severus, contenting himself with Gaul and Britain. Galerius too kept only Illyricum, Thrace, and Asia, yielding to Maximin the East, that is, Syria, with the provinces depending upon it, together with Egypt.

Constantius died at York in Britain on July 25, in the year 306: and upon his death-bed appointed his son Constantine, who was with him, his heir and successor, with the

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^Uterque unà die privato habuit imperii insigne mutavit, Nicomediae Dio-
cletianus, Herculius Mediolani. Concesserunt autem Salonas unus, alter in
Lucaniâ. Diocletianus in villâ, quá haud procul a Salonis est, praecario
style and title, as it seems, of emperor and Augustus. Immediately upon the death of his father, Constantine was so proclaimed by the soldiers in Britain: but Galerius Maximin would allow him no higher title than that of Caesar: which Constantine accepted of for the present. So, as Eusebius says in his Chronicle, Constantine began to reign in the fourth year of the persecution.

On the 27th day of October in 306, Maxentius, son of Maximian Herculius, who had married the daughter of Galerius, assumed the title of emperor and Augustus at Rome: and being sensible that this would displease Galerius, he sends for his father Maximian Herculius, who thereupon resumed the purple. And in this year, or the following; 307, Severus, who, as Caesar, had for his share Italy and Africa, was overcome and put to death.

Maximian and his son Maxentius did not long agree together; Maximian therefore, the better to strengthen his interest, and carry on his own views, goes to Constantine in Gaul: and some time in this year, 307, gives to him in marriage his daughter Fausta: Minervina his former wife, by whom he had his eldest son Crispus, being dead, as is supposed: and now, as it seems, Constantine receives the title of Augustus from Maximian.

About this time Galerius makes Licinius, his old acquaintance, a man of mean extraction, Augustus: and now there were in effect six emperors; Maximian, who, as before said, had resumed the purple, Galerius, Constantine, Maximin, Maxentius, and Licinius.

Maximian Herculius, after a base and unsteady conduct, was condemned and put to death by Constantine's order in 310. Galerius died in 311, of a long and grievous distemper, supposed to have been inflicted upon him as a judgment from heaven for his inhuman treatment of the christians. Maxentius was overcome by Constantine, and drowned in the river Tiber on the 27th day of October in 312. Maximin died in 313: the manner of his death is particularly described in the 6 book of the Deaths of Persecutors, and in 7 Eusebius. I just add here, though it was mentioned before, that Dioclesian also died in the year 313.

But before the death of Maximin in the same year 313, Constantine married his sister Constantia to Licinius: and, as from that time their interests were united, so, upon the death of Maximin the whole empire was in their power, and was divided between them.

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6 Quarto persecution is anno Constantinus regnare coepit. Chr. p. 180.
7 De M. P. cap. 49. 8 H. E. l. ix. cap. 10. p. 363. C. D. 364. A
But their friendship did not long subsist without interruption: for in the year 314 the animosity between them broke out into an open war, and two battles were fought: after the last of which, peace was concluded, and a new partition was made of the empire.

A second war between them began in 323, and was concluded in 324, with the entire defeat of Licinius, who was then reduced to a private condition: and though his life was then given him, at the intercession of Constantia, he was put to death in the year 324 or 325.

That was the end of those civil wars in the empire; and Constantine now became sole emperor of the East and the West: and having reigned above thirty years from the death of his father Constantius, he died on the day of Pentecost, May 22, 337.

III. I shall now observe some general accounts of this persecution, which are to be found in divers ancient authors.

Says Orosius: 'The tenth persecution was ordered by Dioclesian and Maximian Herculus, the one ruling in the East and the other in the West: which persecution was longer and more grievous than any of the former: it was carried on for ten years without ceasing, with burning down the churches, proscriptions of innocent men, and slaughters of martyrs.' But he presently after says, that in the second year of the persecution Dioclesian and Herculus resigned the empire, leaving the government to Galerius and Constantius.

Sulpicius Severus says, 'that in the reigns of Dioclesian

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h Interea Diocletianus in Oriente, Maximianus Herculus in Occidente vastari ecclesias, adfugi interficisque christianos, decimo post Neronem loco, praeceperunt. Quae persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diiuturnior et immanior fuit. Nam per decem annos incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptiones innocens, cadibus martyrum, incessabiler acta est. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 25.

Per annos decem eversae sunt ecclesiae vestae, ut etiam tu fateris: dilacerati cruciatis, exinaniti mortibus toto orbe christiani. Tenemus evidens testimonium tum, nullam superiorem persecutionem adeo vel gravem vel diiuturnam fuisse. Id. lib. vii. cap. 26.

i Secundo persecutionis anno Diocletianus ab invito exigit Maximiano, ut simul purpuram imperiumque deponerent——&c. Id. ibid.

k Post eum [Valerianum] interjectis annis fere quinquaginta, Diocletiano et Maximiano imperantibus, acerbissima persecutione exorta, qua per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata est: quia tempestate omnis fere sacro martyrum eroure orbis infectus est: quippe certatim gloriosa in certamina rueratur, multoque avidius tum martyria gloriae mortibus queebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus adpetuntur. Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhaustus est; neque majore unquam triumpho vicimus, quam cum decem annorum stragibus vincit non potimus. Sed finis persecutionis illius fuit abhinc annos ix. et lxxx. A quo tempore christiani imperatores esse coeperunt. Namque tum Constantinus rerum potiebatur, qui primus om-
Theodoret\textsuperscript{1} says, this persecution lasted nine years: the
author of The Deaths of Persecutors\textsuperscript{m} says, ten years and
about four months, making his computation from the first
beginning of it at Nicomedia, to the edicts of Constantine
and Licinius, which restored full peace to the churches.

IV. These are only general accounts of this persecution:
the particulars of it, the time, the events and circumstances
of it, and the several edicts then published against the
Christians, or in their favour, may be seen in Eusebius,
and in the Author of The Deaths of Persecutors, who by
many has been supposed to be Firmianus Lactantius, but I
rather think to be Lucius Cæcilius, as was formerly\textsuperscript{u} shown
at large, and has often been hinted again in several places.

There had been before a persecution in the army, which
began, as some think,\textsuperscript{o} in the year 298, others\textsuperscript{p} in the year
301. It is taken notice of by Eusebius\textsuperscript{q} in his Chronicle,
and by the Author of The Deaths of Persecutors. In his
Ecclesiastical History\textsuperscript{s} Eusebius says, that many military
men embraced a private life, rather than renounce the wor-
ship of the great Creator of all: and that some of them not
only resigned their honours, but also suffered death for their
resolution in professing the truth.

In the year 303\textsuperscript{t} the persecution became general; for on

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\textsuperscript{1} Theod. H. E. l. viii. cap. 39. p. 248. B.
\textsuperscript{m} Sic ab eversâ ecclesiâ usque ad restitutam fuerunt anni decem, menses
plus minus quatuor. De M. P. cap. 48. ad fin.
\textsuperscript{o} See Vol. iv. p. 495—499.
\textsuperscript{p} Pagi 298. num. ii. et ann. 302. iii.
\textsuperscript{q} Itaque ab anno 298, particularis militiae vexatio incipere potuit. Ab
anno 301, generalis exorsa est. Basnag. ann. 301. num. ii.
\textsuperscript{s} Veturius, magister militiae, Christianos milites persequitur, paulatim ex
illo jam tempore persecutione adversum nos incipiente. Chr. p. 179. Et conf.
\textsuperscript{t} —datisque ad Præpositos litteris, etiam milites cogi ad nefanda sacrificia
precepit, ut qui non paruissent, militiâ solvereuntur. De M. P. cap. 10.
\textsuperscript{u} L. viii. cap. iv.
\textsuperscript{v} Vide Pagni 302. num. iii. v. Basnag. 303. num. v.
\textsuperscript{w} Terminalia deliguntur, quæ sunt ad septimum Kalendas Martias; ut
the 23rd day of February in that year, the church of the christians at Nicomedia in Bithynia was demolished, Dioclesian and Galerius being then both in that city: on the next day, Feb. 24th, the edict against the christians was published. According to the author of The Deaths of Persecutors, and Eusebius likewise, Galerius was the chief author of this persecution. When the edict had been published at Nicomedia, it was sent to Herculius and Constantius, to be put in execution by them in those parts of the empire which were particularly under their care. Maximian Herculius in Italy readily complied; but Constantius, though he did not dare openly to oppose his colleagues, moderated the persecution within the extent of his government.

When the pretorian and other soldiers, who were appointed to demolish the church at Nicomedia, had broken open the doors, they searched for the image of the God of the christians, but found none: however, they found their scriptures, which they burnt.

When the edict was set up the next day, a christian of uncommon zeal took it down, and tore it to pieces, not rightly, as Cæcilius acknowledgeth; for which he was put to death, after having suffered great torments; all which he endured with great fortitude. This particular is mentioned both by Cæcilius and Eusebius.

By that edict, as Cæcilius says, whom I consider as quasi terminus imponetur huic religioni—Qui dies cum illuxisset—ad ecclesiam profectum cum duciis, et tribunis, et rationalibus venit—Veniebant igitur pretoriani, acie structa, cum securibus—et immisii undique, tamen illud editissimum paucis horis solo adequantur. De M. P. cap. 12.


Euseb. H. E. l. viii. c. 16. p. 314. D.

F et jam literae ad Maximianum et Constantium commenverant, ut eadem facerent. Eorum sententia in tantis rebus non expectata erat. De M. P. cap. 15.

Et quidem senex Maximianus libens per Italiam paruit, homo non adeo clemens. Id. ib.

Nam Constantius, ne dissentire a majorum præceptis videretur, conveniicula, id est, parietes, qui residuis poterant, diui passus est; verum autem Dei templum, quod est in hominibus, incolumse servavit. De M. P. cap. 16.


Quod edictum quidam, etsi non recte, magno tamen animo, diripuit et conscidit.—Statimque productus, non modo extortus, sed etiam legitime coactus, cum admirabili patientiâ postremo exustus. De M. P. cap. 13.

Postridie propositum est edictum, quo cavebatur, ut religionis illius homines carerent omni honore et dignitate, tormentis subjecti essent ex
author of the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, it was ordained, that all men of the christian religion should be deprived of all honours and dignities; that of whatever rank or degree they were should be liable to torture; that any action might be received against them; and that they, on the other hand, should have no right to bring an action against any, for any violence done to them, or for any goods taken from them; and finally, that they should lose all privileges, and the right of voting.'

Eusebius says, 'that in the nineteenth year of the reign of Dioclesian, in the month of March, were set up every where imperial edicts, "apointing, that the churches should be demolished to the foundation, that the scriptures should be burnt; that they who enjoyed any honours should lose them, and that men of private condition should be deprived of their liberty if they persisted in the profession of christianity." Such was the first edict that was published against us. Soon after which, by other edicts, it was ordered, "that all presidents of the churches every where should be put into prison, and then that they should by all ways imaginable be compelled to sacrifice."'

He afterwards speaks of a third edict, to this purpose: "The former edicts were followed by another, in which it was ordained, that they who were in prison should be set at liberty upon their having sacrificed; but that they who refused should be subjected to all kinds of torments." Whereupon,' he says, 'it is scarcely possible to reckon up the numbers of martyrs who after that suffered in every province, especially in Africa, Mauritania, Thebais, and Egypt: from which [last] many went to other cities and provinces, where they were honoured with martyrdom.'

In the third chapter of his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, Eusebius has these words: 'Afterwards, in the second year of this terrible war waged against us, imperial edicts were first brought to Urbanus governor of quocumque ordine aut gradu venirent, adversus eos omnis actio valeret: ipsi non de injurià, non de adulterio, non de rebus ablatis agere possent, libertatem denique ac vocem non haberent. De M. P. cap. 13.


8 Αυθις δ' ἐτέρων τα πρωτα γραμματα επικατεληφθων, εν αις τις κατακλητις, ζυσαντας μεν, εαιν βαδιζον επ' ἐλευθεριας ενταμενας ες μνιας κατακληνον προτετακτο βασανος. Ib. cap. 6. p. 298. C.

1 Deutere δ' ετος διαλαβοντος, και ἐν σφοδρουτον επιπλευντος τε καθ' ἴημων πολεμιν, της επαρχιας ἠγηγαν την κατα κυκλων περιφημον, εν αις καθολικω προταγματι παντας πανημει της κατα τοιω θειν τε και σπειδειν τοις εὐώλοις εκελευντο. De Mart. Pal. cap. 3. p. 321. A.
Dioclesian's Persecution. A. D. 303—313.

this province, in which by a general precept it was ordered, that all people in every city should be required to offer sacrifice and incense to idols.'

This must be a fourth edict; for there were three before this, all set forth in the first year of the persecution. When Eusebius says, that this edict was now, in the second year, first brought to Urbanus: he must not be understood, that no edict against the christians had been brought to Urbanus before: but no such edict.

This edict Eusebius supposeth to have been more general than any of the former: and indeed he expressly says at the end of the preceding chapter, 'that the first year of the persecution affected the presidents of the churches only.' I do not think that to be exactly true: for Eusebius himself has related martyrdoms of divers others in the first year of the persecution. But we must conclude, from what he here says, that the edict in the second year was expressed in more general and comprehensive terms than any of the foregoing: which is a proof of the increasing rage of the persecutors.

We have now settled the date of this persecution, and have seen the everal edicts which were published at the beginning of it: and in all these four edicts Dioclesian must have joined with Maximian Galerius, for they were published before his resignation in 305, the third year of the persecution.

V. I should now give some account of the many and grievous sufferings of the professors of christianity at this time; but it must be a summary account only: however, we cannot pass over in silence this affecting scene, in which we behold the grievous sufferings of many innocent and excellent men, and their heroical patience and fortitude under them.

1. At the beginning of his history of the calamities of this time, Eusebius with great grief says, 'he had with his own eyes seen the houses of prayer demolished to the foundation, and the divinely inspired and sacred scriptures burnt in the market-places.'

2. After having mentioned the edict before taken notice of by us, which ordered, that all presidents of churches

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k Ταύτα μεν ετι πρωτη την απειληθη τον τροπον κατα μας των της εκκλησιας προερουν επηργημεν τα εωμε. De Mart. Pal. cap. 2. p. 320. D.

1 — ὁτηνηκα των μεν προσυνετημον τας οικις ως ιερας αυτως ζητηλως καταφθαρθησιν, τας δε ενθωσ και μας γραφας κατα μας αγορας πυρι παραδιδομενας αυτως επιειδομεν ὀφθαλμο. H. E. I. viii. cap. 2. p. 293. C.
should be bound, and imprisoned, he says: 'There followed a spectacle, which no words can sufficiently express. Great multitudes were thereupon confined every where; and in every place, the prisons, which used to be filled with murderers, and robbers of sepulchres, were then filled with bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, and readers, and exorcists, so that there was no room left for such as were condemned for crimes.'

3. In the thirteenth chapter of the eighth book of his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius rehearseth in a summary manner the martyrdoms of divers presidents of the churches: of which he gives a more particular account in some other chapters of the same book, or of his book concerning the martyrs of Palestine.

As the titles of the chapters are supposed to have been drawn up by Eusebius himself, I also transcribe the title of this chapter, which is in these words: 'Of the presidents of the church, who demonstrated the truth of the religion which they preached, by the effusion of their own blood.'

Among those presidents of the churches who suffered martyrdom in the most noted cities, the first to be recorded by us in the monuments of the pious, as a witness of the kingdom of Christ, is Anthimius bishop in the city of Nicomedia, who was beheaded. Of Antioch, Lucian a presbyter of that church, a man of an unblemished character throughout his whole life. He also suffered at Nicomedia, where, in the presence of the emperor, he first apologized for the heavenly kingdom of Christ in words, and afterwards farther recommended it by deeds. The most eminent martyrs in Phœnicia, and most acceptable to God, were those pastors of the flock of Christ, Tyrannio bishop of the church at Tyre; Zenobius presbyter of the church at Sidon; Silvanus bishop of the church at Emesa, who, with several others, was given to be food to the wild beasts at Emesa itself, and in that way was numbered among the martyrs. The other two suffered at Antioch, where they glorified the word of God by patience unto death. The bishop Tyrannio was drowned in the sea. Zenobius, a most excellent physician, whose sides were cruelly racked, died courageously under those tortures. Among the martyrs of Palestine, Silvanus, bishop of the churches at Gaza, was beheaded, together with nine and thirty others, at the mines of brass which are in Phœno. Peleus and Nilus, Egyptian bishops, with divers others, were burnt to

\[\text{Ibid. cap. 6. p. 298. B.}\]

\[\text{Cap. 13. p. 307, &c.}\]
death in the same place. Nor can Pamphilus be omitted here, a presbyter, who was the great ornament of the church of Caesarea, the most admirable man of our age, whose virtues we have also celebrated elsewhere. Of those who were perfected by a glorious martyrdom at Alexandria, and throughout all Egypt and Thebais, the first to be mentioned is Peter bishop of Alexandria, a most excellent preacher of the Christian religion: and of the presbyters, who were with him, Faustus, and Dius, and Ammonius, were perfect martyrs of Christ. Phileas likewise, and Hesychius, and Pachumius, and Theodorus, bishops of the churches in Egypt. And beside these, many others, eminent men, who have an honourable mention among the churches, which are in those places and countries.

4. The eighth chapter of the same book not being very long, I shall transcribe it entire, as it represents a variety of sufferings, endured by the Christians at that time. Such was the combat of those Egyptians, who gloriously contended for the faith at Tyre. They also are justly admirable, who suffered martyrdom in their own country; where innumerable men, [μεριοι τον αρδονον ανδρες] with their wives and children, despising this temporal life for the sake of our Saviour's doctrine, underwent various sorts of death. Some of them, after their flesh had been torn off by torturing irons, after having been racked and cruelly scourged, and a great variety of other tortures frightful to hear of, were committed to the flames, or thrown into the sea. Some cheerfully offered their heads to be cut off by the executioners: some expired under their tortures: some died by famine; some were crucified; some of them after the usual manner of inflicting that punishment upon malefactors, others after a more cruel manner, being nailed to the cross with their heads downward, and kept alive, till they died by famine on the crosses.

5. Eusebius still goes on in the next chapter, of which also I shall take a part. But the pains and tortures endured by the martyrs at Thebais exceed all expression; for they were torn all over their bodies with sharp shells, instead of torturing irons, till they expired. Women were tied by one of their feet, and drawn up on high into the air by certain machines, with their heads downwards; and their bodies

A more particular account of Pamphilus, who, with eleven others, suffered martyrdom at Caesarea, may be seen, De Mart. Palæst. cap. 11. p. 336. The history of this excellent man, and remarks upon it, may be seen, Vol. iii. p. 216—233. L. viii. cap. 8. p. 300. Cap. 9. p. 300.
being naked and wholly uncovered, they were made a shameful as well as inhuman spectacle to all beholders. Others were bound to the boughs of trees, and so killed; for by certain engines they drew together the strongest boughs, and having fastened the legs of the martyrs to each of them, they let the boughs return to their usual situation, that the members of the persons, against whom they had invented that torture, might be presently pulled asunder. Such things were done, not for a few days, nor a small space of time, but for whole years together; when sometimes more than ten, at other times above twenty in number, were destroyed; at some times not less than thirty, at other times almost sixty, and at other times an hundred men together, with many little children and women, were killed in one day; they having been condemned to various and interchangeable punishments. We ourselves also, when in that country, have seen many suffer in one day; when some were beheaded, others were consumed by fire; insomuch that the swords of the executioners were blunted, and being useless were broken to pieces; and the executioners being tired, they succeeded each other by turns.

6. In a following chapter: 'But what need can there be that I should mention any more by name, or recount the vast number of the persons, or describe the various torments of the admirable martyrs of Christ? But some were beheaded, as it happened to those in Arabia; others had their legs broken, as it happened to those in Cappadocia. Some were hung up on high with their heads downwards, and a slow fire being put under them, they were suffocated by the smoke of that combustible matter; which was the case of those in Mesopotamia. Others had their noses or their ears and their hands cut off, and the other members and parts of their bodies mangled, as it happened to those in Alexandria. What need I to revive the remembrance of what was done at Antioch; where some were broiled on gridirons, not to kill them outright, but to prolong the pains of their sufferings?'

These things were done at Antioch; but to hear what was done at Pontus must fill the mind with horror. Some had sharp reeds thrust up the fingers of both their hands from the tops of their nails; others had melted lead poured upon their backs, whilst it was boiling, which ran down and scalded the most necessary parts of the body: others, without commiseration, were made to endure obscene tortures in their bowels, and those members of the body which

Cap. 12. p. 305.
modesty forbids to mention; by all which these noble and legal judges manifested their wonderful acuteness; as if they had thought it a part of wisdom and virtue to exceed each other in contriving new ways of torture; and as if such inventions were entitled to signal rewards. Nor was there an end put to these calamities, till, despairing to add any thing new to those already practised, wearied with slaughters, and satiated with the effusion of blood, they betook themselves to what was esteemed by them clemency and humanity, that they might seem no longer to practise severity toward us. Nor was it fit, they said, that the cities should be polluted by the blood of their inhabitants; nor that the government of the emperors, who were benign and merciful to all, should be blemished by any excessive cruelties: but it was reasonable, that the imperial benevolence should be extended to all, and that Christians should not suffer capital punishments; forasmuch as we were now exempted from it by the indulgence of the emperors.

From that time, therefore, it was enjoined, that their eyes should be plucked out, and that one of their legs should be debilitated. Such was their humanity, and that the most gentle punishment that could be inflicted upon us!

And henceforward, upon account of this lenity of those impious wretches, it is impossible to reckon up the number of those, who had their right eyes first thrust out with a sword, and then seared with red-hot irons; and of those who had the flexures of their left legs seared with irons; after which they were sent to the brass mines in the province, not so much for the sake of the service they could do there, as with a view to increase their miseries.

7. In his book of the Martyrs of Palestine, Eusebius again makes mention of this, and says, that Firmilian, president of the province after Urbanus, inflicted this punishment upon many, and as by express order from the emperor Maximin. Nor has Caecilius, in his book of the Deaths of Persecutors, omitted to take notice of this cruelty.

8. And in another place Eusebius has particularly mentioned an excellent man, named John, of whom he says,

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He had before lost his sight; nevertheless, in the confessions which he had made, when the flexures of one of his feet were seared, as those of others were, his eyes likewise, though already deprived of sight, were burnt with the searing irons. 9. Once more under this article, Eusebius assures us, that armed soldiers invested a town in Phrygia, and set fire to it, and consumed all the people therein, men, women, and children: because all the inhabitants of the place, the curator, the duumvir, and the rest of the magistrates, and all the common people, professed themselves Christians, and would not obey those who commanded them to sacrifice. Lactantius, in his Institutions, representing the great cruelty of this persecution, and the number of sufferers in it, has referred to this among other severities of the governors of provinces, at that time.

VI. In the year 309 Galerius Maximian was seized with a grievous distemper, the symptoms of which are described very particularly and at large, both in Eusebius and Cæcilius. It continued above a year. And when he was near expiring, in 311, he published an edict in favour of the Christians. It is still extant in Latin in Cæcilius, and in Eusebius in Greek, with the inscription, which is omitted by Cæcilius. I intend to translate it from the Greek of Eusebius, and to put the Latin of Cæcilius at the bottom of the page.

Having long struggled with his disease, says Eusebius, he in the end, seriously recollecting things within himself, became sensible of the injuries he had done to pious men; and having first made confession to the God of the universe, he called to him the chief officers of his court, and ordered, that they should cause the persecution against the Christians to cease immediately, without any delay. And by an im-

x H. E. l. viii. cap. 11. p. 304.
y Quæ autem per to tum orbem singuli gesserint, enarrare impossibile est. Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita, tam varia genera crudelitatis? Accepta enim potestate pro moribus suis quisque savivit. Alii, nee nimià timiditate, plus ausi sunt, quam jubebatur; alii suo proprio adversus justos odio; quidam naturali mentis feritate; nonnulli, ut placerent, et hoc officio viam sibi ad altiora munirent; alii ad occidendum precipitabat existitierunt, sicut unus in Phrygìa, qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo conceramavit. Lact. Inst. l. v. cap. 11. p. 490.

z H. E. l. viii. cap. 16.

a De M. P. cap. 33.

b Et hæc facta sunt per annum perpetum, cum tandem, malis domitius, Deum coactus est confiteri, novi doloris urgentis per intervalla exclamat, se restitutum Dei templum, satisque pro scelere facturum. Et jam deficiens edictum misit hujusmodi. De M. P. cap. 33. fin.

perial edict he directed, that the churches of the christians
should be rebuilt, that they might there perform their usual
worship, and make supplications to God for the emperor.
Whereupon edicts were without delay set up in all the
cities, containing a retractation of what had been done
against us, and conceived in the form following:
"The emperor Caesar Galerius Valerius Maximian, In-
vincible, August, High-Priest—to the people of the
province. Among other things which we have ordered,
with a view to the benefit and prosperity of the public, we
did indeed formerly strive to correct all things according to
the ancient laws, and established constitution of the Ro-
mans. And, among other things, that the christians, who
had forsaken the religion of their ancestors, should return
to a right mind: forasmuch as by some means such an
obstination had seized them, and such was their folly, that
they followed not the institutions of the ancients, which,
possibly, some of their own ancestors had appointed; but,
according to their own fancy, and just as they pleased,
they made laws for themselves, to be observed and followed
by them: and in many places they drew over multitudes
of people to follow their customs. Wherefore, when after
we had published our edict, that they should return to the
institutions of the ancients, many have been exposed to dan-
ger, and many have been greatly afflicted, and have un-
gone various kinds of deaths: and forasmuch as great
multitudes persist in their opinions, and we have perceived
that they give not due worship and reverence to the im-
mortal gods, nor yet worship the God of the christians:
we duly considering our accustomed mildness and hu-
manity, with which we are wont to dispense pardon to all
men, we have thought proper readily to hold forth to
them our indulgence that they may at length be christians,

\[\text{\textit{Vol. VII.}}\]
' and that they may rebuild the houses in which they had been used to assemble, provided they do nothing contrary to good government. By another letter we shall make known our pleasure to the judges, for the direction of their conduct: wherefore, agreeably to this our indulgence, they ought to pray to their God for our welfare, and for that of the public, and for their own, that on all sides the public may be preserved in safety, and they may live securely in their own habitations.'

This edict, as Cæcilius says, was published at Nicomedia, on the last day of the month of April, in the year 311. It was of benefit to many; Donatus in particular, to whom Cæcilius addresseth his book, Of the Deaths of Persecutors, was set at liberty, after having endured an imprisonment of six years. During which time he had made divers confessions before several governors of the province, and undergone various tortures. And, to his great honour, he continued steady to the persuasion of his own mind, showing an example of invincible fortitude.

It is obvious to all to observe, that this edict bears testimony to the great progress of the christian religion. There were many christians in the Roman empire, and they were continually making new converts, and increasing their numbers. Some were unsteady; but many others persisted, notwithstanding the sufferings they were exposed to. We seem also to see here a very bad effect of persecution. Some became desperate, and cast off all religion: neither worshipping with due reverence the established, nor any other deities. We have here also evident proof of the strong and prevailing prejudice in favour of antiquity. As the christians had departed from the ancient customs, they were judged to deserve the severest treatment upon that account, till they returned to them. This alone was reckoned sufficient to cast and condemn them; without weighing the reasons which they might allege for their innovation.


C Hoc edictum proponitur Nicomediis pridie Kalendas Maias, ipso octies et Maximino iterum consulibus. Cap. 35.

Tune aperitis carceribus, Donate carissime, cum ceteris confessoribus et custodià liberatus es; cum tibi carcer sex annis pro domicilio fuerit. Id. ib. Novies enim tormentis cruciatibusque variis subjectus, novies adversarium gloriosà confessione vicisti, &c. Id. cap. 16.

Documentum omnibus invicè fortitudinis praebuisti. Ibid.
There are still other remarks which might be made, and have been made upon this edict, and the accounts given of it by our ecclesiastical historians.

Says Mr. Mosheim: 'Eusebius and the author of the book, Of the Deaths of Persecutors, say, "that Maximian, before he published this edict, confessed his offence to God, and amidst the pains of his distemper, cried out, that he would make satisfaction for the injuries he had done to the christians." If that be true, he must have acknowledged, that the distemper under which he laboured, was a just punishment from God for his cruelties against the christians. But so far is he from doing so, that, on the contrary, the edict shows, that the emperor is so far from confessing that he had acted unjustly, that he declares that all his sanctions against the christians were well and wisely ordered. "His aim," he says, "had been, to effect by his laws, that the christians, who had forsaken the religion of their ancestors, should return to a right mind." In this last act of his life, therefore, he considered the christians as labouring under distraction, and did not at all doubt, that the religion of the Romans was much better and sounder than the christian. A little lower he expressly chargeth the christians with folly. Nor does one word drop from him, whereby we should be induced to suppose, that he believed the christian religion to be true. He assigns a twofold reason of the change of his mind toward the christians. First of all, he had observed, that the christians who had been compelled by force to sacrifice, had thrown off all religion, and worshipped neither Christ nor the gods. And he thought that any religion, though bad,

1 Eusebius et Lactantius tradunt, Maximianum, antequam hoc edictum ferret, 'Deo errorem sumum confessum esse, atque exclamasse inter dolores, se pro seelere satisfacturum.' Quod si ita sese haberet, profecus esset, se christianorum Deo justas crudelitatis adversus christianos poenas dare, atque ultionem ejus sentire. Sed ne hoc verum esse putemus, obsistit ipsum imperatoris, quod nobis hi scriptores exhibent, edictum. Tantum enim abest, ut Maximianus in eo fataetur, se male ac injuste egisse, ut potius bene ac sapienter acta esse omnia, que in christianos sanxerat, contendat. Nempe ait, voluisse se legibus suis efficiere, 'ut christiani, qui parentum suorum reliquerant sectam, ad bonas mentes redirent.' Amentes ergo christianos etiam in ultimo vitae suae acto judicabat, et Romanorum religionem meliorem longe et sanoerem christianan non esse dubitabat. Paullo post disertae christianos stultitiae arguit, neque vocula ipsi excidit, ex qua cogi possit penitentiam factorum animum ejus subisse, aut christianam religionem ipsi sanctum et unice veram esse visam. Duplicem vero causam affert animi sui erga christianos mutati: primum animadvertisse se, christianos vi et periculo ad sacrificandum coactos omnis religionis expertes vivere, atque nec Christum nec Deos colere. 'Cum plurimi in proposito perseverarent, ac videremus, nec diis eosdem cultum ac religionem debitam exhibere, nec christianorum Deum observare' Qualem-
was better than none; and he had rather that the christians
should follow their own religion, than be without religion.
To this reason he adds another, which is his own clemency:
for he had been accustomed to hold forth pardon to all
men. Therefore Maximian would not be thought to yield
to right and justice, but he would display his own clem-
ency. He gave pardon to men, whom he had called
"fools," and "destitute of a sound mind:" but he did not
show himself just to innocent and good men. I can easily
believe, says Mr. Mosheim, that these reasons were sug-
gested to the emperor by his friends and counsellors, who
were about him. But the last words of the edict, no doubt,
open the true reason which drew it from him, and at the
same time declare his mind concerning the religion of the
christians. "Wherefore, agreeably to this our indulgence,
the christians ought to pray to their God for our welfare,
and for that of the public, and for their own, that on all
sides the public interest may be safe, and they may live
securely in their own habitations." From these words it
appears, 1. That Maximian believed the christians had
some God. 2. That this God was not the supreme God,
maker of all things, whom all ought to worship, but the
God of the christians only, that is, the God of some certain
people, as many of the gods were supposed to be. For
at that time the Greeks and Romans, and all other people,
believed that there were gods proper and peculiar to
every nation. 3. He believed, that this God of one nation
had great power, and was able to bestow health, and de-
cunque igitur et pravam etiam religionem meliorem esse ducebat nullà reli-
gione, christianosque malebat sua sacra seque, quam sine religione vivere.
Causes hic aliam addit, clementiam nempe suam: 'Contemplationem mitis-
simae clementiae nostrae intuentes, et consuetudinem sempiternam, quà sole-
mus cunctis hominibus veniam indulgere, promptissimam in his quoque in-
dulgentiam nostram credidimus porrigendam, ut denno sint christiani.'
Non ergo juri et justitiae, verum clementiae suae videri volebat Maximianus
obtenerare: veniam, ut ait, hominibus, quos stultos esse dixerat, et bonæ
mentis inopes, indulgebant; non innocentibus et bonis justum esse prebebat.
Credam facile, has rationes imperatori amicos et consiliarios suspicissus, quibus
utebatur. Sed ultima edicti verba veram sine dubio causam aperiunt, quæ ipsi
hoc edictum expressit, et mentem simul ejus de religione christianorum decla-
rant: 'Unde juxta hanc indulgentiam nostram decebunt Deum sumum orare
pro salute nostrà et reipublice, ac suà, ut undiqueversum respublica restet
incolumis, et securi vivere in sedibus suis possint.' Ex his verbis manifestum
est, 1. Maximianum credidisse, haberechristianos Deum quendam. Atqui, 2.
Deum hunc non esse supremum rerum omnium conditionem, quem omnes
hominis colere debent, sed Deum tantum christianorum, id est, certæ cujusdam
gentis Deum quales multi dii videbantur esse. Suos enim cuique genti Deos
esse proprios et peculiares, Romani Graecique, omnesque illæ etate populi
arbitrabantur. 3. Huic certæ gentis Deo magnam esse potentiàm, ut bonam
liver the public from many evils. 4. That this God did not bestow such benefits upon any, unless they who wor-
shipped him asked them of him. Without doubt, there-
fore, some of those who attended on Maximian in his deplorable sickness, had informed him that the God of the
Christians, when he dwelt on this earth, had given life to
the dead, and health to the sick: and that his beneficence
had not yet ceased; and that there were many instances
of men who had been healed in a wonderful manner by
the prayers of Christians. It was not impossible, therefore,
but that he also might obtain deliverance from his grievous
malady, if he gave peace to his worshippers, and asked
their prayers for him. The emperor, earnestly desirous of
life, had a regard to this adviser, and thereupon, when
prayers and sacrifices to the gods of the Romans had failed
of success, he at length fled to the God of the Christians,
whom, nevertheless, he himself would not worship. Fear
of death, therefore, and the force of superstition, produced
this edict; not anguish of conscience for the sins which
he had been guilty of. However, upon the promulgation
of this edict, the persecution against the Christians ceased,
the prisoners were set at liberty, the exiles were recalled.
These observations of Mr. Mosheim are uncommon, and,
as seems to me, curious. I therefore have transcribed them
here, supposing that my readers may be willing to see them.

VII. At the beginning of the ninth book of his Ecclesi-
astical History, Eusebius says: 'The revocation k contained
in the foresaid imperial edict was published throughout
Asia, and in all its provinces. But Maximin, who ruled
in the provinces of the East, an impious man, if ever there
was one, and a bitter enemy to the worship of the God of
the universe, being much displeased with it, instead of

valetudinem largiri, periculaque a reipublicâ depellere posse. 4. Beneficia vero
haec sua non erogare Deum illum, nisi a cultoribus suis exoretur. Sine dubio
igitur aliquis eorum, qui misere ægrotanti Maximiano aderant, subjecerat,
Deum christianorum, his in terris agentem, mortuis vitam, ægrotantibus san-
tatem reddidisse; hanc ejus beneficentiam non desisse: multa exempla estare
hominum christianorum precibus mirabilis modo suavourum. Fieri ergo posse,
ut ipse quoque ejus ope atrocent illum morbum, a quo consumo batur, supera-
ret, si cultoribus illius pacem daret, precesque eorum expectaret. Fidem impe-
rator, vitæ cupidissimus, monitori huic habebat, et ea re, quem omnia desperata
esset, frustraque dii Romanorum precibus et sacrificiis fatigati essent, posse
ad christianorum Deum, quem tamen ipsa colere nollet, confugiebat. Mutus
ergo mortis, visque superstitionis, non vero anger conscientiae admissa scelera
detestans, edictum illud pariebat. Promulgato vero co, statim ubique bullam
in christianos cessaret; captivi dimitteabantur; exules revocabantur; conventus
p. 956—958.

k II. E. l. ix. cap. l. p. 346, &c.
publishing the edict itself, only\(^1\) sent orders by word of
mouth to the governors, directing, that they should forbear
to give us any disturbance, and no longer persecute us:
which ordinance the governors of provinces were to com-
 municate to each other. And Sabinus, who had the pre-
fecture of the praetorium, which is the highest office in the
empire, made known the emperor’s mind to the governors
of the several provinces in a letter written in the Roman
language, which we have translated into Greek, and is to
this purpose: “The majesty of our most sacred lords the
emperors, influenced by the pious and devout principle
with which their minds are filled, have long since designed
to bring all men to the true and right way of living; and
that they who have embraced different usages from the
Romans, should be induced to give due reverence to the
immortal gods. But such is the obstinacy and pervers-
ess of some men, that neither the justice of the imperial
edicts, nor the imminent danger of punishment, could pre-
 vail upon them. Forasmuch, therefore, as by this means
it has happened, that many have brought themselves into
great dangers, our most sacred and powerful lords the
emperors, agreeably to their innate piety and clemency,
considering it to be far from their intention, that upon this
account many should be exposed to danger; have com-
manded us to write this letter to you, and to direct you,
that if any of the christians should be found practising the
worship of their sect, you should not bring him into any
danger, nor give him any trouble, nor appoint any punish-
ment to him upon that account. Forasmuch as it has
been manifestly found, by the experience of a long course
of time, that they cannot by any means whatever be in-
duced to depart from this obstinacy of disposition, you are
therefore to write to the curators, and other magistrates,
and to the governors of the villages of every city, that
they are no longer to concern themselves in this affair.”

Here is a remarkable testimony, from enemies, to the pa-
tience and fortitude of the christians at that time: they
were not induced to renounce their religion through fear of
sufferings: if some yielded, as undoubtedly some did,
many persevered, and were faithful to death.

Eusebius goes on: ‘Hereupon the presidents of pro-
vinces thought that to be the real mind of the emperor,
which had been communicated to them in the letter of
\(^1\) — λόγῳ προτάσσω τοις ἐπ’ αὐτού ἀρχαῖοι τον καθ‘ ἤμων αὐτων τόλμεν
—αγαθῷ προτάσσωμεν τοις ἐπ’ αὐτού ἀρχαῖοι τον καθ‘ ἤμων ἀντιγνωσμα αὐτών
προτάσσω τοις. Ἱβ. p. 347. A. B.
Sabinus. And they accordingly wrote to the officers and magistrates in country places; nor did they only write these things in their letters, but by their actions also they endeavoured to secure a regard to those orders of the emperor. They, therefore, presently set at liberty all whom they had confined in prisons for the confession of their faith in God. A like liberty was granted to such as had been condemned to the mines: for they really thought that to be the mind of their prince, though it was quite otherwise. However, upon this occasion our places of worship were opened, and the congregations of the faithful were numerous—And many were seen returning to their habitations, singing hymns of praise to God as they travelled along the roads.

But,' says Eusebius, 'that enemy of good men, and of all goodness, who ruled in the East, could not endure this, nor suffer this state of things to last more than six months: and trying all manner of ways to subvert the peace, upon some pretence or other he forbade our meeting in the cemeteries. Then he took care to send embassies to himself from the Antiochians, and the people of other cities, in which they ask it of him as the greatest benefit, that no christians might be allowed to live in their cities. The author of this contrivance at Antioch was Theotecnus, a subtle and wicked impostor, who then had the office of Curator in that city.'

This man forged against us many injurious reports and calumnies, that we might be treated as thieves and the worst of malefactors. At length he erected an image to Jupiter Philius, and consecrated it with magic charms; and in honour of it instituted many vain and impure ceremonies of initiation, and detestable rites of expiation; and sent some of the oracles of his god to the emperor himself: and the better to flatter and please the emperor, he stirred up his daemon against the christians; and gave out, "that the god commanded, that the christians should be expelled out of the city and the territories belonging to it, as being enemies to him."

In the next chapter Eusebius says, that the like things were practised in some other places; and the magistrates and people in general, in the countries subject to this emperor, behaved very uncivilly and injuriously to the christians.

\( m \) καὶ τοὺς καὶ αγροὺς επισταγμένους. p. 348. A.

\( n \) Π. Ε. i. ix. cap. 2. p. 349.

\( o \) —ἐπὶ δὲ τινὰ πονηρῶν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἤμοιον πρεσβίτευσεν. p. 349, B.

\( p \) Ibid. cap. 3. p. 349.

\( q \) Cap. 4. p. 350.
Then having composed some Acts and Memoirs of Pilate and our Saviour, filled with all manner of blasphemy against Christ, by the authority of the emperor they were sent abroad every where into cities and country places, and published all over the empire: and it was commanded, that they should be set up every where in country places and cities to be read by all men; and that they should be delivered by schoolmasters to the boys to get them by heart, and to declaim upon them instead of other themes. Whilst these things were doing, a military officer, whom the Romans call Dux, at Damascus in Phœnicia, fetched some infamous women from the market-place, whom by threatenings he compelled to declare, and testify in writing, that they formerly had been christians, and that they were acquainted with their worship, and that in their places of worship they practised obscene actions, and every thing else which he required them to say for defaming our religion. Having inserted the testimonies of those women into the Acts, he sent them to the emperor; and by his command, those Acts were published in every city, and other place.

In another place Eusebius has observed, that the falsehood of those pretended Acts of Pilate was manifest from the date of them; for they placed the sufferings of our Saviour under Pilate in the seventh year of the reign of Tiberius: whereas, says he, it is certain from Josephus, that Pilate was not then come into Judea, and that he was made procurator of Judea in the twelfth year of that emperor’s reign.

Moreover, says Eusebius, in the midst of the cities, which never was done before, decrees of cities and imperial rescripts against us were set up to public view, engraven on tables of brass: and the boys in the schools had nothing in their mouths all the day long, but Jesus and Pilate, and the Acts which had been forged to our prejudice. I think it proper for me here to insert the very rescript of Maximin, which was engraven on tables of brass. It was conceived in these very words; “A copy of the translation of Maximin’s rescript in answer to the decrees of the cities against us, transcribed from the brass table set up at Tyre. Now at length,” says he, “the impudent confidence of men, having once shaken off the dark mists of error and ignorance, which for a while blinded the minds of men rather miserable than wicked,

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Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

* H. E. l. ix. cap. 5.  
+ H. E. l. i. cap. 9. p. 27.  
H. E. l. ix. cap. 7. p. 352.
may discern, that the world is governed by the indulgent
providence of the immortal gods. It is impossible to say,
how grateful, how delightful, how acceptable, your pious
resolution for the honour of the gods has been to us: nor
was it before unknown to any, how great is your respect
and veneration for the gods, which have been manifested
not by vain words only, but also by great works: upon
which account your city may be deservedly styled the
seat and habitation of the immortal gods. And it is evi-
dent by many proofs, that she flourisheth by the advent
and the presence of the heavenly deities. And now your
city, negligent of your own particular interests, and no
longer sending to me the requests which you formerly
were wont to send, conducive to your own prosperity,
when it perceived, that the promoters of the detestable
vanity began to creep abroad again; and like fire care-
lessly raked up, it broke out again with redoubled vio-
ience: immediately, without delay, you had recourse to
our piety, as the metropolis of all religion, requesting re-
dress and assistance. Nor can it be doubted, that this
wholesome design has been put into your minds by the
immortal gods, for the sake of your pious regard for them.
The most high and most mighty Jupiter has suggested
this petition to you, who presides in your famous city:
who preserveth your country gods, your wives, your chil-
dren, your families and houses, from destruction. He it
is who has breathed into your minds this salutary resolu-
tion; evidently showing, how excellent, and noble, and
profitable it is to worship him, and to perform the sacred
rites and ceremonies of the immortal gods with due venera-
tion. Who can be so void of all sense and reason as not
to know, that it is owing to the propitious favour and
bounty of the gods towards us, that the earth does not
neglect to restore to us the seeds committed to it, and that
the hope of the husbandman is not disappointed; and that
the aspect of destructive war is not immovably fixed on
the earth; and that our bodies are not destroyed by the
intemperance of the air, and that the sea is not perpetually
tossed, and made to overflow with stormy winds; and that
the earth, the mother and nurse of all things, is not rent
asunder by agitations within its own bowels, and mountains
swallowed up by vast and unexpected scissures? There
is no man that does not know, that all these and worse
calamities have heretofore often happened: and they have
befallen us, because of the pernicious error and empty
vanity of those execrable men, which has so spread as
to cover almost the whole earth with shame and dishonour." Then after some other things he adds: "Let men now look into the open fields, and see the flourishing corn waving its full ears: let them see the meadows decked with plants and flowers, they having been watered with seasonable rain: let them observe the calm and agreeable temperance of the air. Let all men therefore henceforth rejoice, that by your piety and respect for the sacred rites of religion, the deity of the most valiant and most potent Mars has been appeased; and that they may now securely enjoy the benefits of a profound and delightful peace. And as many as have forsaken that blind error, and intricate maze of vanity, and are returned to a right and sound mind, let them rejoice abundantly, as men delivered from a dangerous tempest, or a grievous disease, and have now before them the prospect of a pleasant and comfortable life for time to come. But if any still persist in their vain and detestable folly, let them be expelled far away from your city and country as you have desired; that thus, conformably to your laudable care in this matter, your city being purged from all defilement and wickedness, you may, according to your own genuine disposition, with all due veneration and solemnity, perform the sacred rites of the immortal gods. And that you may know how grateful this your petition has been to me, and that without decrees, and without petitions, I am of myself forward to encourage well disposed minds; we permit you to ask the greatest benefit you can ask, as a reward of so religious a purpose. Take care that you ask immediately, and that you receive what you ask, for you shall obtain it without delay. Which benefit bestowed upon your city, shall be henceforward throughout all time a monument of your devout piety for the immortal gods, and shall declare to your children and posterity, that you have received from our hands a recompense of your love and virtue."

These petitions from the cities to Maximin, Eusebius, in a place before quoted, elegantly calls 'embassies to himself,' they having been solicited by his agents in those cities. Caecilius also has taken notice of these petitions, and expressed himself much after the same manner, saying, that these petitions from the cities were procured by himself.

Eusebius, having exhibited the above rescript taken from

In primis indulgentiam christianis communi tutelā datam tollit, subordinatis legationibus civitatum, que peterent, ne intra civitates suas christianis conventicula extruere liceret, ut quasi coactus et impulsus facere videretur quod erat sponte facturus. De M. P. cap. 36.
the tables at Tyre, goes on: 'This rescript against us was set up on pillars in every province, and as far as it was in the power of man, shut us out of all comfortable hopes; so that according to that divine oracle, "if it were possible, even the elect themselves would be offended."'

These and other things do certainly show the bitter spirit of heathenism at that time: and these edicts, and the hard usage which the christians met with in consequence of them, are sufficient to satisfy us, that the heathen people did their utmost to extirpate christianity; and if it had been in the power of man, they would have actually destroyed it.

The sufferings of christians at that time, in that part of the empire which was subject to Maximin, were then very grievous. Deliverance was very desirable, and it was near at hand.

VIII. Constantine overcame Maxentius at Rome on the 28th day of October, in the year 312. 'And,' as Eusebius says, 'soon after that, Constantine, and Licinius, who was colleague in the empire with him, having first adored and praised God, who had been the author of these successes and of all the good that had happened, did with one mind and consent enact a full and comprehensive edict in favour of the christians; and then sent it to Maximin, who ruled in the eastern parts of the empire, and who pretended friendship for them. Though Maximin was extremely uneasy about it, he could not refuse it: and now first,' as Eusebius says, 'he sent an edict to the presidents in favour of the christians, and as of his own proper motion, though really out of necessity and against his will.'

IX. That edict of Constantine and Licinius, which Eusebius calls a 'full and complete law,' is not now extant. It was published, as may be supposed, at Rome, in the month of November, 312, and then sent to Maximin, who then immediately published a Letter to Sabinus in favour of the christians, which now follows in Eusebius.

A* copy of the Translation of the letter of the Emperor Maximin.

'Jovius Maximin Augustus to Sabinus. It is, I am persuaded, well known to yourself, and to all men, how that

* Ubi supra. p. 354. C.
our lords and fathers Dioclesian and Maximian, when
they saw that almost all mankind were forsaking the wor-
ship of the gods, and going over to the sect of the christ-
ians, did rightly ordain, that all men who had forsaken
the worship of their immortal gods, should be called back
again to the worship of the gods by public pains and
penalties. But when I first of all happily came into the
East, and perceived that great numbers of men who might
be useful to the public, were for the fore-mentioned cause
banished by the judges into several places, I gave orders,
that for the future none of them should be severe toward
the people of their province, but rather endeavour to re-
duce them to the worship of the gods by fair words and
good usage. So long therefore as my orders were obeyed
by the judges, no men in the eastern parts were banished
or otherwise ill treated: and by reason of the mildness of
the treatment given to them, they were the more disposed
to return to the worship of the gods. But after that, when
I the last year happily entered into Nicomedia, the citi-
zens of that place came to me with the images of the gods,
earnestly entreating me, that by all means none of that
sect might be at all permitted to dwell in their country.
But as I knew that a great many of that religion were in
those parts, I returned them this answer: That I willingly
granted their petition, but I did not perceive that the
thing was desired by all: if therefore there were any who
persisted in their superstition, every one should, according
to his own discretion, choose as he saw fit; and if they
would embrace the worship of the gods they might. At
the same time I was under a necessity to give a favourable
answer to the citizens of Nicomedia, and to the other cities,
who also had presented to me the like petitions, that none
of the christians might live in their cities, the rather be-
cause this had never been allowed by the former empe-
rors; and moreover it was pleasing to the gods them-
works, by whom all men and the public weal subsist.
Upon all these accounts, I was under a necessity to grant
their request in behalf of the worship of the gods. Where-
fore, though I have often before, both by letters, and by
word of mouth, recommended to you, that nothing griev-
ous should be done to this sect in the provinces, but that
they should be treated with mildness and gentleness: yet
that no injury may be done to them by any of the inferior

\[p. 360. C\]
officers, I have thought it needful now by these letters
to again remind you, that by fair words and good usage,
you should induce the people of our government to ac-
knowledge the providence of the gods. Therefore if any
of their own accord embrace the worship of the gods, they
ought to be cheerfully received; but if any will still ad-
here to their own religion, you are to leave them in their
own power. You are therefore carefully to observe these
orders; nor let any one be permitted to oppress the peo-
ple of our government by fines, or other hardships: and
that this our edict may be known to all men in the pro-
vinces, you are to publish it with a decree also set forth
by yourself.

This edict of Maximin is supposed to have been pub-
lished before the end of the year 312.

Eusebius having alleged this edict goes on to say:
These orders being published by him from a kind of
compulsion, and not according to the sense of his own mind,
he was not reckoned to be sincere or worthy to be trusted;
and the rather, because after publishing a like indulgence,
had he showed himself to be deceitful and perfidious.
Therefore none of our people dared to assemble together
for worship, nor to show themselves abroad openly. Nor
indeed did the edict in express terms allow of this, but
only that we might be secure from violence and bad treat-
ment: it did not empower us to meet together, nor to build
houses for our worship, nor to perform any of those solemn
acts of religion which are customary among us; though
Constantine and Licinius, those patrons of peace and re-
ligion, had particularly signified in their letters to him,
that such things had been granted by them, and they were
expressed in the laws set forth to the view of all men. But
that wicked wretch would not yield yet; nor till at last,
when, pursued by the divine vengeance, he was compelled
to do it against his will.

X. Constantine did not stay long at home after his vic-
tory over Maxentius, but before the end of the year 312, or
in the beginning of 313, he went thence to Milan, where he
gave his sister Constantia in marriage to Licinius: and there
these two emperors now set forth a second edict in favour
of the christians; which is preserved in Eusebius in Greek,
and is in Caecilius in Latin, excepting that he has omitted

2 Postea refert Eusebius epistolam quam Maximinus ad Sabinum Praefectum Praetorii sui scriptam, quamque currenti anno datam esse, non vero anno insequenti, ut multi eruditi credidere, ex dictis iquiet. Pagi ann. 312. xv.

the introduction, or preamble. I shall, as I did in another instance, translate the Greek of Eusebius, and place the Latin from Cæcilius at the bottom of the pages.

'Now,' says Eusebius, 'I shall allege the imperial constitutions of Constantine and Licinius, translated from the Latin.'

"Having been long since convinced, that the freedom of religion ought not to be restrained, but that leave should be given to every one to follow the sense of his own mind in things of religion, we have ordained, that as well all others, as the christians, should adhere to that sect and way of worship which they approve. But because in that rescript where this liberty was granted, many and divers sects are expressly named, some possibly have desisted from such worship. Wherefore, when I Constantine Au-

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\[d\] Fere de locutio et tantos basilicosis epistolas Constantinum et Licinius, ut eis Romano graecis metatypibus, ib. p. 388. A.

\[e\] Cum feliciter tam ego Constantinus Augustus, quam etiam Licinius Augustus apud Mediolanum convenissimus, atque universa, quae ad commoda et securitatem publicam pertinent, in tractu habemus, hoc inter cetera, quae videbamus pluribus hominibus profutura, vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus divinitatis reverentia continebatur, ut daremus et christianis, et omnibus, liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quique voluisset: quod quidem divinitas in sede coelesti, nobis atque omnibus, qui sub potestate nostrae sunt constituti, placatum ac propitium positit existere. Itaque hoc consilio salubri, ac rectissimam ratione inueniendum esse credidimus, ut nulli omnino facultatem abnegandum putaretur, qui vel observationi christianorum, vel et religioni mentem suam dederat, quam ipse aptissimam esse sentiret; ut posset nobis summa divinitas, cujus religione liberis mentibus obsequiur, in omnibus solitum favorem suum benevolentiamque praestaret. Quare scire dictionem tuam convenit, placuisse nobis, at amotis omnibus conditionibus, quae prae scriptis ad officium tuum datis, super christianorum nomine videbantur, nunc cavere, ac simpliciter unusquisque corum, qui eandem observantse religionem christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem ac molestiam sui idipsum observare contendant. Quae solicitudine tua plenissime significanda esse credidimus, quo scires, nos liberam atque absolutam coelestu religione suae facultatem hidem christianis dedisse. Quod cum hidem a nobis indulem esse pervideas, intelligit dicatio tua etiam aliis religionibus suae vel observantse potestatem similitur apertam et liberam pro quieta temporibus nostri esse concessam: ut in coelestu quod quisque diligenter, habeat liberam facultatem, quas--honor neque cuquam religionis aut aliquid a nobis. Atque hoc ipsum in persona christianorum statuendum esse censuimus, quod si eadem loca, ad quae antea convenire consueverant, de quibus etiam datis ad officium litteris certa antehac forma fuerat comprehensa, priore tempore aliquid vel fisco nostro, vel ab alio quocumque videntur esse mercati, eadem christianis, sine pecunia, et sine ullâ pretio petizione, propositâ omni frustratione atque ambiguitate restituantur. Qui etiam dono fuerant consecuti, eadem similitur hidem christianis quantocytus reddant etiam vel tui qui emerunt, vel qui done erant consecuti, si putaverint de nostrâ benevolentia aliquid, Vicarium postulent, quo et ipsis per nostram elementam consultatur. Quae omnin corpori christianorum profinus per intercessio nem tuam, ac sine inorâ tradi opertet. Et quoniam idem christiani non in ea loca tantum, ad quae convenire consueverunt,
Augustus, and I Licinius Augustus, happily met at Milan, and we consulted together what might be best and most conducive to the benefit of the public, among other things these following were resolved upon as beneficial for all. And in the first place it was resolved, that such constitutions should be ordained as might secure the worship and veneration of the Divine Being: that is, that we should grant both to the christians, and to all others, a free choice to follow that way of worship which they judge best; that so the Godhead, and whatever is divine and heavenly, may be propitious to us, and to all living under our dominion. We publish this therefore as our will and pleasure, and agreeable to sound and right reason, that leave shall not be denied to any man whatever to follow and choose the constitution and worship of the christians: and that leave be given to every one to betake himself to that religion which is most agreeable to him, that so the Divine Being [τὸ θεεον] may in all things display his usual favour and benignity toward us. Moreover it is now thought proper to signify to you, that all the restraints concerning the christians, which were in the former letter sent to you, should be left out, that whatever is unsuitable to our benignity may be omitted, and that now for the future every one who chooseth to adhere to the christian religion, may observe it freely, without any impediment or molestation. These things we have thought proper to signify to you, in order to your perceiving, that we have given free and full liberty to these same christians to follow their own religion. And you may perceive, that as we have granted this full liberty to them, so in like manner we have granted the
same liberty to others to observe their own institution and
religion: for, as is manifest, this is suitable to the tran-
quility of our times, that every one should have liberty to
choose and follow the worship of that deity which he ap-
news [ο πατιν άν θρη θεον]. This we have deter-
mined, that it may appear, we do not forbid or restrain
any religion or way of worship whatever. And farther,
with regard to the christians we ordain, that the places of
worship (concerning which in the letter formerly sent to
you there was another rule) in which they had been wont
to assemble, that if any of them have been adjudged to our
treasury or exchequer, or have been purchased by any, they
should be restored to the christians without price and with-
out delay: and if any by grant have obtained such places,
they are to be immediately restored to the christians: and
if any of those who have purchased such places, or have
obtained them by grant, are desirous to have an allowance
made to them by us, let them apply to the officer who
administers justice in the place where they reside, that a
proper regard may be had to them according to the bene-
volence of our disposition. You are to take care, that all
these things be restored to the body of the christians with-
out failure. And whereas the same christians, beside the
places where they assemble, are well known to have also
other possessions, and such as belong not to particular
persons separately, but to the community, you are to take
care, that such places also be restored to the body to which
they appertain, without any subterfuge or delay; upon this
condition however, that they who restore these things
without price, may expect indemnity from our liberality.
In all these things you are to exert yourself with the utmost
care and vigour, in behalf of the aforesaid body of the
christians, that our appointment may be performed with
all speed: that by this means, agreeably to our gracious
intention, provision may be made for the common and
public tranquillity without delay. Hereby, as before said,
the divine favour, of which we have already had great ex-
perience, will be secured to us for ever. And that the
design of this our law and our gracious indulgence may
come to the knowledge of all, you are to take care, that
this our letter be set up every where to public view, that
none may be ignorant of this appointment of our gracious
indulgence."

This 8 constitution or edict was signed and published at

8 Literæ de restituentâ Ecclesiâ ad Presidem missæ, die quidem Iduum
Juniarum Nicomedie propositæ, ut testatur Lactantius, sed datae fuerant Me-
Milan, in the former part of the year 313, in the mouth of March, as it seems, by the joint authority of Constantine and Licinius.

In the mean time Maximin, who had sided with Maxentius, took this opportunity, whilst Constantine and Licinius were at Milan, and in the depth of winter, marched with his army from Syria into Bithynia, and crossed the Hellespont into Thrace. Licinius left Milan, and went to meet him, and in a pitched battle overcame him, near Adrianople, on the 30th day of April, in the year 313, and pursued him into Bithynia. Maximin fled to mount Taurus, and thence to Tarsus, where he took poison, and died miserably, about the month of August in the same year, 313.

When Licinius came to Nicomedia, having offered up his thanksgivings to God for the victory vouchsafed to him, " as Caecilius says, he set up the fore-mentioned edict in favour of the christians at Nicomedia, on the 13th day of June. So that, as the same writer says, ' from the time of the edict which proclaimed the persecution, to the restoring of peace to the churches, was the space of ten years and about four months: ' or in other words, from the 23d day of February in the year 303, to the 13th day of the month of June in 313, was the space of ten years, three months, and nineteen days.

In the first edict published by Constantine and Licinius there were some defects or faults, which were supplied, or corrected and rectified, in the second edict. What those faults or defects were cannot be perceived with certainty,
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as the expressions in this new edict relating to that matter are obscure. Various things have been proposed by learned men in the way of conjecture; but I do not think it needful to take particular notice of them here.

It is, however, manifest, that this second edict is full and comprehensive, giving liberty to all men to worship God according to the best of their own judgment, and in the way that each one should choose. At the same time, as I apprehend, there is special regard had to Christians; and the places of worship, of which they had been deprived, are restored to them, and likewise some other possessions which belonged to their religious societies, in a body.

XI. Maximin, after his arrival at Tarsus, beside the shame and disappointment of his defeat by Licinius, was afflicted with a grievous distemper, and violent pains, described at large by Cæcilius; who also says, that now Maximin confessed his fault, and implored the forgiveness of Christ, and relief from him under his distemper: soon after which he expired.

Eusebius says, that after the fore-mentioned defeat Maximin gave glory to the God of the Christians, and enacted a full and complete law for their liberty; and then being struck with a mortal distemper, he expired, no longer respite being granted to him. The law issued by him is to this purpose:

'The copy of the edict of Maximin in favour of the Christians, translated out of the Roman into the Greek language.'

'The emperor Caesar Caius Valerius Maximin Germanicus Sarmaticus Pius Happy Invincible Augustus. It is notorious to all, that by all means, and at all times, we


m Εὐτὰ δὴ ὅτι δοξάν τῷ τῶν χριστιανῶν Θεῷ, γομόν τε τὸν ὑπὲρ οἰκονομίας αὐτῶν τιμητατα καὶ πληρεστα ἐπιταχυμένας, δυσθανατής αὐτίκα, μὴ δὲ μιᾶς αὐτῶν χρονὶς δόξης προσθήμας, τελευτα τοῦ βασι. H. E. l. ix. cap. 10. p. 363. D.

have consulted the welfare of our subjects in the provinces, and have endeavoured to procure for them what might be most for the good and benefit of the public in general, and for the comfort and satisfaction of every one in particular; and we trust that all who shall look back upon our past proceedings and administration of affairs, will be convinced in their own minds of this. For when formerly it came to our knowledge, that upon occasion of the law enacted by our deified fathers, Dioclesian and Maximian, which forbade the assemblies of christians, many injuries and ex-tortions have been committed by the officers, and that these mischiefs increased among our people, and the goods and estates of our subjects were wasted, for whose welfare we are always earnestly concerned: we the last year sent letters to the governors of every province, by which it was enacted, that if any one would adhere to such custom, and the observance of their own religion, he should be at liberty to follow his own judgment and inclination, without obstruction or hinderance from any man: and that they should be permitted freely to do, without fear or distrust, whatever in this manner they approved of. Nevertheless, at the same time, it could not be concealed from our knowledge, that some of the judges have misunderstood our orders, and have endeavoured to make our people distrust the sincerity of our intentions, and have made them afraid to perform the worship agreeable to them. Wherefore, that for the time to come, all fear and suspicion of ambiguity may be removed, we have ordered this edict to be published, that it may be known to all, that by this our grant, it is lawful for those who choose this religion and worship, to act therein as they see best, and to perform worship in the way to which they have been accustomed. And it is granted to them that they may repair their domini-cal houses. And that our beneficence may be the more con-spicuous, we have thought fit farther to enact, that if any buildings or lands, aforesaid belonging to the christians, have by virtue of the edict of our fathers been confiscated, and brought into our treasury, or have been seized and occupied by any city, or have been sold, or given in grant to any, we have ordered, that all these should be returned to the former right and possession of the christians; that

° Upon this place Valesius rightly observes: 'He intends his epistle sent to Sabinus, Prefect of the Prætorium, which Eusebius had alleged before. Maximin here says, he had written that letter in the preceding year, meaning the year of Christ 312. It follows, therefore, that this last edict of Maximin was written in the year of Christ 313.' And see Pagi ann. 314. num. viii.
all men may be fully persuaded of our piety and provident concern in this matter.'

Eusebius said, as quoted above, that now Maximin 'gave full and complete liberty to the christians.' And, indeed, this edict, so far as it relates to the christians, is conformable to the edict of Constantine and Licinius, before exhibited.

I have nothing farther to add here, but that, according to the computation of learned critics, Maximin died, as already hinted, in the month of August, in the year 313.

XII. I have now recited at length all the edicts concerning the persecution of Dioclesian.

There are two inscriptions in Gruter, relating to it, in which it is intimated, that in the times of Dioclesian, and Maximian Herculius, and Galerius, the name of the christians, who had overthrown the republic, was extirpated.' And again, 'that the superstition of the christians was everywhere extirpated, and the worship of the gods restored.'

I shall put down those two inscriptions at length, in the Latin original. They are said to have been found in Spain, at a place called Clunia, which was a Roman colony.

*Cluniae in Hisp. in pulchra columna.*

**DIOCLETIANUS. JOVIUS. ET**

**MAXIMIAN. HERCULIUS**

**CAES. AUGG**

**AMPLIFICATO. PER. ORIEN**

**TEM. ET OCCIDENTEM**

**IMP. ROM**

**ET**

**NOMINE. CHRISTIANORUM**

**DELETEO. QUI. REMP. EVER**

**TEBANT.**

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XIII. I think it may not be improper to add some concluding observations upon this persecution. Mr. Mosheim will furnish me with some; after which I may subjoin others of my own.

Obs. 1. This persecution might as properly, or more properly, be called Maximian's as Dioclesian's. It is evident from Cæcilius, and from Eusebius, that Maximian Galerius was the first mover in this design. He seems to own as much himself, at the beginning of the edict published by him in favour of the christians, a short time before his death. Cæcilius, in his book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, has largely related, how Galerius urged Dioclesian to it: who for some while objected to it, alleging the great disturbances which it might occasion in the empire. And it is allowed, that the persecution did not begin till the 19th year of Dioclesian's reign, before which time many christians were admitted to posts of honour, near the emperor's person, and in the provinces. Moreover, in the third year of the persecution, Dioclesian resigned, and concerned himself no longer in the affairs of the empire. However, it must be acknowledged, that he joined and concurred in the several edicts against the christians, which were published in the

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1 De M. P. cap. 10, 11, 12.

2 Vid. De M. P. cap. 34. in Euseb. H. E. i. viii. cap. 17. p. 316.

w Deinde, interjacto aliquanto tempore in Bithyniam venit hiematum [Diocletianus:] eodemque tempore Maximianus quoque Caesar inflammatus scelere adventit, ut ad persequendos Christianos instigaret senem vanum, qui jam principium fecerat. De M. P. cap. 10.

x Ergo habito inter se per totam hiemem consilio, cum nemo admitteretur —dui senex furori ejus repugnavit, ostendens, quam perriciosem esset inquietari orbem terre, fundi sanguinem multorum; illos libenter mori solere; satis esse, si palatinos tantum et milites ab eis religionem prohiberet. Nec tamen deflectere potuit præcipitis hominis insaniam. Ibid. cap. 11.
first two years of the persecution. Nor do we aim to acquit him of all guilt in this affair: but only to mitigate the reflections which have been cast upon him both in former and later times. Dioclesian was timorous and superstitious; but it does not appear that he delighted in cruelty.

Obs. 2. In the first edict for the persecution, as we learn from Eusebius, the sacred scriptures were ordered to be burnt; and so far as we know, this is the first imperial edict of that kind. Mr. Mosheim suspects, that Hierocles, or some other learned men, were the contrivers of this malignant order, and suggested it to the emperors. Mr. Mosheim is also of opinion, that ecclesiastical history has greatly suffered by it. The precept in the edict might speak only of sacred books, or scriptures. But the officers employed in the execution, when they searched for sacred books, would lay hold of any writings, which they found in the places of Christian worship, or in the habitations of bishops or other Christians. The copies of the sacred books of the Old and the New Testament were now so numerous, that they could not be all found and destroyed. But of some Acts of Martyrs, Registers of Church-affairs, Epistles of Bishops to each other, there might be few copies only, or perhaps one alone. If such papers were seized and thrown into the flames, they were irrecoverably lost.

Those observations are from Mr. Mosheim. I shall now add two or three others.

Obs. 3. Dioclesian’s persecution was very grievous: indeed, it was the longest and the worst that the Christians had ever endured. This may appear from the particulars alleged above from Eusebius, though my accounts have

Quocirca multum, meo quidem judicio, de contumeliis et querimoniiis detrahi debet, quibus et veteres et recentiores imperatorem hunc obruunt. Peccabat fatoer, levitate, superstitione, timiditate: at multo tamen, quam vulgaris opinio fert, tolerabilius peccabat. Moshem. ubi supr. p. 922. M.

H. E. l. viii. cap. 2. p. 294. B.

Non dubito vero, malignam hanc voluntatem libros Christianorum delendi, Hieroclem, de quo diximus, Augustis injicisse. Certe, non hominum rudium, et rei Christianae ignororum, quales Maximianus ejusque socer erant, sed eruditorum, et sacri codicis peritorum, qui quid in illis traderetur, et quantum vim haberent ad Christianorum animos contra deorum cultum et superstitionem muniendos, ex lectione eorum ipsi percepissent. Id. ib. p. 925.

been designedly brief, and therefore defective. Sulpicius Severus, as may be remembered, said, 'Never was the world more wasted by any war.' That observation is verified by the eighth and ninth books of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, together with his book Of the Martyrs of Palestine: containing the authentic accounts of a learned and eminent man, who was a contemporary, and an eye-witness of many of the cruelties related by him. I say, that observation may be verified by those authentic histories, without having recourse to spurious acts of martyrs, or any other legendary writings.

Sulpicius Severus adds: 'Nor ever had we a greater victory, than when we were not overcome by the slaughters of ten years.' Another true and just observation! For the patience and fortitude of the christians of that time were invincible and admirable. Some of all orders, pastors of churches, and others, were presently terrified, and fell away; but many were faithful to death. They patiently endured calumnies, stripes, imprisonments, maiming of members, exquisite tortures of every kind, and still persevered; and though many were taken off by cruel deaths of every kind, the number of the faithful was not diminished, but increased and multiplied under that heavy weight of afflictions.

Obs. 4. The revolution made in the Roman empire, in favour of the christians, upon the conversion of Constantine, was a gracious dispensation of divine providence; it put an end to scenes of cruelty which are shocking to think of, and were disgraceful to human nature. The professors of the religion of Jesus had now endured many severe trials, and had approved their zeal and fidelity under them. They had been tried, and were "found faithful, and loved not their lives unto the death," Rev. ii. 10; xii. 11. And thereby they had done great and lasting honour to the principles of their religion. Now, therefore, God appointed them rest from those troubles. "For," as it is said, Ps. cxxv. 3, "the rod of the wicked shall not" always "rest upon the lot of the righteous, lest the righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity."

Obs. 5. And lastly, the cruelties of Dioclesian's and other heathen persecutions, which have been endured by christian people, may fill our minds with horror for persecution, and every degree of it.

Never let us be persecutors: never let us encourage or give countenance to persecution: never let the cruelties of heathen persecutions be practised in christian countries.

If we would effectually secure ourselves from temptations
to persecution, let us take care to derive our religion from the books of the Old and New Testament, without adding other doctrines, not found in them, as important parts of religion. Where transubstantiation, or other like absurdities, are taught as articles of religion, there will be persecution. Ancient gentilism could not stand before the light of the gospel. It was absurd, and could not be maintained by reason and argument. The christians, therefore, were continually gaining ground. They drew men off from the temples, from sacrifices, from the religious solemnities, from public sports and entertainments. This was a provocation to heathen people, which they could not endure; they had recourse, therefore, to violence, and tried every possible way to discourage the progress of the christian religion; and in the space of about two hundred and fifty years, from the emperor Nero to Maximin, there were ten or more heathen persecutions of the christians: the last of which was the longest, and the worst of all; at the end of which christianity prevailed. But if gentilism had been revived, heathen persecutions would have been repeated, and the cruelties of former times would have been practised over again, with equal, or, if possible, with redoubled rage and violence. The emperor Julian, when he became a heathen, though he was a man of wit and learning, and though he dressed up his scheme of gentilism in as plausible a form as he was able, to recommend it to the judgments of men, could not help being a persecutor, like his admired Marcus Antoninus, and many others, his heathen ancestors and predecessors. So it will be always. An absurd religion cannot maintain itself by reason and argument: it needs, and will have recourse to, force and violence for its support. But true religion, which is throughout reasonable, can rely upon its own intrinsic excellence, and those testimonials, which God, in his good providence, has been pleased to afford it, as the proper evidences of its high original.
A review of the foregoing period, from the beginning of the third century to the conversion of Constantine: with some general observations upon the state of Christianity under heathen emperors.

I. I HAVE now given an account of the heathen writers of the third century, who have taken notice of the Christians, and I have made large extracts out of them, and transcribed many passages at length. It may be worth the while to recollect here what we have met with.

In Dion Cassius's noble work, The History of the Romans, published about the year 230, we have seen another testimony to that important event, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people in Judea by Vespasian and Titus. In him also we have seen another testimony to Domitian's persecution of the Christians. From him also we learn Nerva's favourable regard to them.

In Amelius, a Platonic philosopher, disciple of Plotinus, about the year 263, we have seen a very distinct and honourable testimony to St. John's Gospel.

That eminent critic Longinus, about the year 264, in his work, Of the Sublime, has made very honourable mention of Moses, the Jewish lawgiver, and commends the style, in which he represents the creation of the world. There is also a Fragment ascribed to him, where the apostle Paul is mentioned to advantage.

And we have met with a passage in Diogenes Laërtius about the year 210, which gives great light to St. Paul's discourse at Athens, where he puts the Athenians in mind of an "altar" of theirs, "with an inscription to the Unknown God."

The saying of Numenius, "what is Plato, but Moses in Greek?" is well known, and recorded in divers ancient writers. But the time of Numenius appears to me uncertain. Nor is it clear, that he has at all referred to the affairs of Christians, or their scriptures.

The emperor Alexander Severus, whose reign began in the year 222, as we learn from Lampridius, one of the

\[ \text{In this volume, p. 339—342.} \]
\[ \text{P. 342—345.} \]
\[ \text{P. 345.} \]
\[ \text{P. 373—375.} \]
\[ \text{P. 379.} \]
\[ \text{P. 379, 380.} \]
\[ \text{P. 319, 320.} \]
\[ \text{P. 381.} \]
\[ \text{P. 330—333.} \]
Augustan writers, was favourable both to Jews and Christians, and had a respect for the Lord Jesus Christ. He had two private chapels, one more honourable than the other. In the first were placed the deified emperors, and also some eminently good men, and among them Christ, and Abraham, and Orpheus. Some other things of a like kind may be seen in his chapter, which need not be recollected here; but they are of use to show that the Christians were then well known, and that their innocence, or freedom from licentious principles and great crimes, was manifest. And this emperor deserves to be commended for his moderation, and for the justness of his sentiments.

The emperor Philip, whose reign began in 244, and ended in 249, has been by some supposed to be a Christian. We have examined that question, and now refer our readers to what has been said upon it by divers learned \(^{k}\) men.

The emperor Aurelian reigned from 270 to 275. Flavius Vopiscus, one of the Augustan writers, has preserved a part of a letter written by him to the senate at the beginning of his reign, in which the Christians are expressly \(^{1}\) mentioned: which shows that the Christians were then well known to the Roman emperors, and to the Roman senate, and to all men.

A like observation may be made upon a story told by the same writer \(^{m}\) concerning Heliogabalus, whose reign began in 218.

In this period were several learned men, who wrote against the Christians, and the Christian religion: one of whom is \(^{n}\) Porphyry. He was born about the year 233. We have placed him as flourishing in the year 270. He was disciple of the celebrated Plotinus, and was himself a learned man, and a philosopher of the first rank. He published many books, some of which are still extant. His work against the Christians consisted of fifteen books, and seems to have been prolix, and carefully studied, and filled with a great deal of learning; and the quotations of divers authors not now extant. Rufinus \(^{o}\) calls him a determined

\(^{k}\) P. 349—356. \(^{1}\) P. 386, 387. \(^{m}\) P. 470. \(^{n}\) See his chapter, p. 390, &c.

\(^{o}\) Si nihil aliud est, vel de Porphyrio silere debuerat, qui specialis hostis Christi est, qui religionem christianam, quantum in se fut, penitus subvertere conatus est scriptis suis. Rufin. in Hieron. Invectiv. lib. ii. ap. Hieron. T. 4. p. 418.


———ipsam Porphyrium sequendo, qui adversum Christum, et adversus Deum libros impios ac sacrilegos scripsit. Id. ib. p. 422.
enemy of Christ, and says he did his utmost to overthrow the christian religion by his writings. His objections against christianity were in esteem with heathen people for a great while, as we learn from Augustine and others; and his memory was in abhorrence with christians, for the bitterness with which he had opposed them. His work was a violent attack upon our scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testament; as we can perceive by the fragments of his work still remaining in christian writers, who have quoted him; at the same time they are a testimony to them; they bear witness to their antiquity, and to the great esteem which they were in with christians; and if his work were still extant, it might be of farther use to us in that respect, and upon some other accounts. I have made a large collection of the remaining fragments of his work, to which I refer my readers, without adding any more observations here. But the work called The Philosophy of Oracles, which has been quoted by some as his, I take to be a forgery; and I have assigned my reasons at large for that opinion.

At the beginning of Dioclesian’s persecution, about the year 303, another published a work against the christians. We do not know his name, but he likewise was by profession a philosopher. His work was written in an insinuating manner, making fair pretences of good-will to the christians, that he might recover them from error, and deliver them from the sufferings to which they were exposed by a worship contrary to the laws. It seems to have been a large volume, for it consisted of three books; Lactantius slightst it; but this philosopher’s objections may have been sufficient to affect many of the common people among the Gentiles, and if it were now extant, it would be a great curiosity.

About the same time another work was written against the christians by Hierocles, a man of learning, and a person of authority and influence, as he was a magistrate; it was in two books. Nor did he take upon him the character of an enemy to the christians; he aimed rather to be esteemed a kind and friendly counsellor and adviser. He was well acquainted with our scriptures, and made many objections against them; thereby bearing testimony to their antiquity, and to the great respect which was shown to them by the christians: for he has referred to both parts of the New Testament, the gospels and the epistles.

And by Dioclesian’s edict, the christian scriptures were ordered to be burnt when their temples were demolished:

\[ P. 444, \&c. \quad \text{a} \quad P. 471, \&c. \quad \text{b} \quad P. 474, \&c. \]
it was the first order of the kind; it shows, that our scriptures were then well known, and that the Gentile people were sensible of their importance: whether Hierocles was the adviser of that order we cannot say.

He did not deny the truth of our Saviour’s miracles; but in order to weaken the argument which the christians formed from them, in proof of our Saviour’s divine authority and mission, he set up Apollonius Tyanaeus as a rival, or superior to him: but it was a vain effort. We still have the Life of Apollonius, which Hierocles made use of, written by Philostratus; we are therefore able to pass a judgment upon his argument, and we can discern it to be very weak: for the works there ascribed to Apollonius are not equal to our Saviour’s miracles, nor comparable with them: nor are the things ascribed to Apollonius written in a credible manner. And moreover, the history of him which Hierocles made use of, was not written till more than an hundred years after his death.

By Lactantius we are informed, that the famous lawyer Domitian Ulpian, about the year 222, in his book Of the Duty of Proconsul, made a collection of all the edicts of former emperors against the christians.

And we have now in this volume seen an account of all the persecutions endured by the christians, from the year of our Lord 202, when the emperor Severus published his edict against the christians, to the year 312, or 313, when Constantine and Licinius put an end to the persecution begun by Dioclesian.

The progress of the christian religion in this period is abundantly attested: every thing bears witness to it. Porphyry says, that there were many christians and others who censured Plato, against whom Plotinus [about the year 260 and before] often argued in his disputations, and also wrote a little book, which was entitled, Against the Gnostics. Porphyry complained also, that since Jesus had been honoured, none had received any public benefit from the gods. I presume, it could not be a very small number of christians, in some obscure place, which so disgusted the gods, as to induce them to withhold their gracious influences from the whole Roman empire. From his reflections upon Origen, who, as he says, had many admirers and followers, it appears, that the christians were then a numerous body of men.

If the number of the professors of the christian religion had not been increased and multiplied, there would have

\* P. 334.  
\* P. 443.  
\* P. 439.  
\* P. 396, &c.
been no persecutions, nor any adversary writers: those learned men and philosophers would have spared the labour of composing voluminous works against the christian religion if it had few or no votaries. Persecutions likewise bear witness to the growing number of the christians. Says the Author of the book of the Deaths of Persecutors, near the beginning of his work: 'In the time of Nero, Peter came to Rome, and having wrought divers miracles by the power of God, he converted many to righteousness. Nero being informed of this, and hearing, likewise, that not only at Rome, but every where else, many forsook the worship of idols, and, slighting antiquity, went over to the new religion, he resolved to extirpate that doctrine, and was the first who persecuted the servants of God. At which time, by his order, Peter was crucified and Paul beheaded.'

Sulpicius Severus has expressed himself much after the same manner: I shall place a part of what he says below, without translating him.

And Maximin, one of the last persecuting emperors, in his letter to Sabinus above quoted, speaks to this purpose: 'It is, I am persuaded, well known to yourself, and to all men, how that our lords and fathers, Dioclesian and Maximian, when they saw that almost all mankind were forsaking the worship of the gods, and going over to the sect of the christians, did wisely ordain, that all men, who had forsaken the worship of their immortal gods, should be brought back to the worship of the gods by public pains and penalties.' Where the great increase of men professing christianity is expressly assigned as the reason of inflicting pains and penalties upon them at that time: 'that they might be brought back to the old religion.' And what is here so clearly owned, must be supposed to have always been the real occasion of those violent methods, which

Cunque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, et editis quibusdam miraculis, qua virtute ipsius Dei, datà sibi ab eo potestate, faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam, Deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Quà ad Neronem delatà, cum animadvertet, non modo Rome, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficiere a cultu idolorum, et ad religionem novam, damnatà vetustate, transire, ut erat exsecrabilis ac nocens tyrannis, proslivit ad excidendum cæleste templum, delendamque justitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecti, &c. De Mortib. Persec. cap. 2.


See p. 340, 341.
had been so often made use of to check the increase of the number of christians, and to root them out, if possible, and all traces and footsteps of their religion. And the several edicts of all the persecuting emperors are proofs, that the christian religion was continually making progress, and gaining ground.

Let this suffice for a review of the argument of this volume.

II. I now proceed to make some observations upon the state of christianity under heathen emperors; and they shall be these three.

It was all along in a state of persecution:
Nevertheless it prevailed greatly.
Which is honourable to the religion of Jesus, and to the professors of it at that time.

I. Christianity, from the time of its first appearance in the world, was all along in a state of persecution till the conversion of Constantine.

I forbear to show here, how it was opposed and persecut-ed, after the resurrection of Jesus, by the Jewish rulers at Jerusalem, and in Judea, and then by Herod Agrippa when king of Israel, and afterwards by other Jews in Judea, and out of it. Upon these things I do not now insist, which may be seen in the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of the New Testament, and also in the second chapter of the sixth volume of this work, where was shown 'the treatment given to the first christians by the unbelieving Jews.' I am now only to consider the state of christianity in Gentile coun-tries, and under heathen emperors, from the time that it began to be preached among the Gentiles, and to make some progress among them, from about the middle of the first century to the end of this period, when Constantine embraced the christian religion, and by edicts gave leave to christians to worship God according to their own judgment and con-viction.

St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, has taken notice of some difficulties which St. Paul met with in preaching the gospel in Gentile cities; particularly at Lystra in Lycaonia, ch. xiv. 19, 20, at Philippi, ch. xvi. 19—24. St. Paul him-self speaks of some of his sufferings, 2 Cor. xi. 23—26, par-ticularly at 25, "thrice was I beaten with rods:" meaning, as I suppose, by Roman magistrates: though St. Luke has mentioned one instance only, which was at Philippi, as just mentioned, when both Paul and Silas underwent that hard usage. But there were no imperial edicts issued against the christians, before that of Nero in the year of Christ 64.
or 65; at which time the two apostles, Peter and Paul, were put to death.

It has now of a long time been a prevailing opinion, that Christians suffered ten persecutions under heathen emperors: nevertheless, there have been some exceptions made to this opinion by a learned writer, who is deservedly in great repute. If you speak,' he says, 'of heavy persecutions that prevailed every where, there were not so many; if of lesser troubles, there were more than ten. The number of ten general persecutions is no more than a popular error which arose in the fifth century, destitute of good foundation in history, and founded in a fanciful interpretation of some texts of the Old Testament, where the Christian persecutions have been thought to be foretold. Lactantius, in his book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, makes but six persecutions: Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History does not number the persecutions, though nine persecutions may be made out from it. Upon the whole, the notion of ten heathen persecutions had its rise in the fifth century.

Upon all which I must say, that in the book Of the Deaths of Persecutors, whether written by Lactantius, or another, we cannot expect to see an account of all the persecutions which Christians had suffered in former times. His book is entitled, Of the Deaths of Persecutors; his design therefore is to speak of such persecutors only as came to an untimely end: accordingly he writes of the persecution of Nero, Domitian, Decius, Valerian, and Aurelian, who suffered a violent death, Of their persecutions he


* That Lactantius is not the author of that little book, was shown, Vol. iii. p. 495—499.
gives a brief account in the first chapters of his book; and then he proceeds to Dioclesian's persecution, upon which he enlargeth. Here he computes four several persecutors, Dioclesian, Maximian Herculeus, Maximian Galerius, and Maximin. And according to his account Dioclesian\(^b\) met with great misfortunes; Maximian\(^c\) was strangled by order of Constantine for base treachery, and an attempt upon his life; Galerius\(^d\) and Maximin\(^e\) died miserably by grievous distempers, supposed to have been inflicted upon them by way of judgment from heaven, for their inhumanity to the christians. That is the design and substance of that book; and from it no argument can be formed for determining the number of persecutions which christians endured from heathen emperors.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical History, does not number the great afflictions which the christians had endured; but he has mentioned eleven persecutors, though the persecutions of some of them may have been of but short duration. The persecutors mentioned by Eusebius are these: Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Antoninus, Severus,\(^f\) Maximin the first, or the Thracian, Decius,\(^g\) Gallus,\(^h\) Valerian,\(^i\) Aurelian, Dioclesian, and his colleagues.

The several persecutions of heathen emperors did not come to an end before the beginning of the fourth century; they could not be numbered till they were all over. Orosius\(^k\) counts ten persecutions, and expressly calls Dioclesian the tenth and last. Augustine likewise reckons ten heathen persecutions: he numbers them in this manner: \(^1\) the first Nero's, the second Domitian's, the third Trajan's, the fourth Marcus Antoninus's, the fifth Severus's, the sixth Maximin's, the seventh Decius's, the eighth Valerian's, the ninth Aurelian's, the tenth Dioclesian's. These two learned writers lived partly in the fourth and partly in the fifth century: and it may be thence argued, that this way of computing was in use before the end of the fourth century;

\(^{c}\) Ibid. cap. 30.
\(^{d}\) Cap. 33—35.
\(^{e}\) Cap. 49.
\(^{f}\) H. E. l. vi. c. 28.
\(^{g}\) L. vii. cap. 1.
\(^{h}\) L. vii. cap. 10.
\(^{i}\) L. vii. cap. 30. p. 283. B.
\(^{k}\) Interer Dioecletianus in Oriente, Maximianus Herculeus in occidente, vastari ecclesias, adfigi interficique christians, decimo post Neronem loco precoperunt, quae persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit, &c. Oros. l. vii. cap. 25. Vid. et cap. 27.

\(^{1}\) Primam quippe computat a Nerone quae facta est, secundam a Domitiano, a Traiano tertiam, quartam ab Antonino, a Severo quintam, sextam a Maximino, a Decio septimam, octavam a Valeriano, ab Aureliano nonam, decimam a Dioecletiano et Maximiano. De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. cap. 52.
and indeed we can prove it. Jerom’s book of Illustrious Men, or Ecclesiastical Writers, was published in the year 392, and he there sometimes numbers the persecutions. In the chapter of St. John he calls m Domitian’s the second persecution; in the chapter of Ignatius n he expressly mentions Trajan’s persecution, though without numbering it; in the chapter of Polycarp o he says, he suffered in the time of the fourth persecution under Marcus Antoninus. He expressly calls Decius’s p the seventh; and Cyprian’s martyrdom he placeth q in the eighth persecution, in the time of Valerian and Gallienus: and in his Latin edition of the Chronicle of Eusebius are ten persecutions, all expressly mentioned and numbered as in Augustine’s.

There may have been some affectation in numbering the persecutions. Orosius, r and some others, have found out a way to compare the ten persecutions of the Christians with the ten plagues of Egypt, which is trifling: but the number of persecutions has a foundation in history, as we have seen in the several chapters of this and the preceding volume. Some may compute nine, others ten, or eleven, but ten was a round number, and has generally prevailed: I think there were eleven; it seems to me that there is good reason to say so from Eusebius’s Ecclesiastical History.

The primitive Christians, I think, called those troubles persecutions, which were ordered by edicts of emperors. Sulpicius Severus, having given an account of Nero’s cruelty toward the Christians at Rome, under a pretence that the city had been set on fire by them, adds: ‘That was the beginning of the cruel proceedings against the Christians. Afterwards the Christian religion was forbidden by laws; and by public edicts it was declared, that no man might be a Christian.’ Of such edicts or rescripts there were ten, eleven: and I suppose, that all persecutions ordered by imperial edicts were general; they were intended for the whole Roman empire subject to their government, but possibly they did not all actually reach to every part of the

m De V. I. c. 9.  
^n De V. I. c. 16.  
^o Postea vero, regnante Marco Antonino, et L. Aurelio Commodo, quartâ post Neronem persecutione, Smyrnæ, sedente proconsule et universo populo, in amphitheatred versus eum personante, igni traditus est. Ib. cap. 17.  
^p Septimâ autem persecutione sub Decio, quo tempore Babylas Antiochiae passus est, Alexander ductus Cassarem, et clausus in carcere, ob confessionem Christi, martyrrio coronatur. Ib. cap. 62.  
^q Passus sub Valeriano et Gallieno principibus, persecutione octavâ. Ib. cap. 67.  
^r Oros. I. vii. cap. 27.  
empire. The edict of Maximin the Thracian\(^t\) is said to have been 'against the clergy only,' and his is sometimes called a local persecution: nevertheless, I think, it must have been general, and intended against the clergy every where. There is this proof of it: that Ambrose and Pro-\(t\)ectetus were then imprisoned: this last was presbyter at Cæsarea in Palestine, and Ambrose is supposed to have been deacon in that or some other church not far off: and Orosius says, that this persecution was particularly intended against the presbyter Origen. But all those eminent christians lived in Syria, at a great distance from the capital of the empire; the edict, therefore, may have been intended against the clergy every where.

I apprehend I need not say any thing more here, nor make any recapitulation of what we have seen: but I would refer my readers to the accounts of the heathen persecutions which have been given in this and the preceding volume; which, I hope I may say, are authentic, and will be allowed to be so: and we have seen genuine copies of divers of the imperial edicts which were sent by them to the pro-consuls, or other governors of provinces.

But it may be said, that all these ten persecutions will not prove, that christians were all along in a state of persecution till the conversion of Constantine: for the lives of some of those persecuting emperors were short, and when they were dead their edicts were little regarded; and then peace might be restored to the churches.

Undoubtedly there is some truth in what is here alleged; therefore I shall add some farther observations for clearing up this point, and for showing that they might still be in a state of persecution.

For Trajan's edict was never abrogated, but was still in being; and thereby the presidents were required to pronounce sentence of death upon all who were brought before them, and accused of christianity, unless they denied themselves to be christians, and made out the truth of what they said. And many might be accused by the spiteful and ignorant vulgar, as well as by other malicious people.

And some judges or governors of provinces might act without law, or contrary to it, as Pliny\(^u\) had done. According to the edict of Trajan, christians were 'not to be sought for:' but the president at Lyons, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, 'issued out public orders, that strict searches should be made for them.' And it is manifest, that many christians suffered in the time of Adrian and

\(^t\) See p. 348, 349. \(^u\) See p. 34, 35, 50, 51. \(^v\) P. 171.
Titus Antoninus, though there were then no laws against them except the edict of Trajan: and though there were some laws in their favour, particularly the \textsuperscript{v} Rescript of Adrian to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, which was also to be a rule to other governors of provinces, and the \textsuperscript{x} Letter of Titus Antoninus to the states of Asia, and other \textsuperscript{y} letters to the Larisseans, the Thessalonians, the Athenians, and all the Greeks.

We may do well to recollect here the history of Apollo-
nius, a Roman senator, who suffered martyrdom in the reign of Commodus, in the year of our Lord \textsuperscript{186}, or \textsuperscript{187}, or thereabout; of which I gave some account \textsuperscript{z} formerly, but shall now transcribe more distinctly that chapter of Euse-
bius in his Ecclesiastical History: where, after having given an account of the sufferings of christians in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, and then of the works of Irenæus, and some other christian writers, he says: 'At \textsuperscript{a} that time, in the reign of Commodus, there was a happy change in our affairs, and by the divine favour the churches enjoyed peace and tranquillity throughout the whole world.' And by the same word of the gospel, many of all ranks were converted to the worship of the God of the universe: so that at Rome itself, many who were eminent for their riches, and for their descent, did with their whole families, and their kindred, embrace the way of salvation. But that was a thing not to be borne by the evil daemon, envious of the happiness of men, and an enemy to all goodness. He therefore arms himself again, and sets his instruments to work against us; and he brings before the judgment-seat Apollonius, one of the faithful, a man celebrated for learning and philosophy. A wicked wretch, one of his ministers, well fitted for such a purpose, is stirred up to accuse him: but that miserable man having brought his accusation unseasonably, when there was an imperial edict \textsuperscript{b} appointing capital punishment for such things, had his legs broke, and was put to death by order of Perennis the judge. And the admirable man,\textsuperscript{c} the martyr of whom I am speaking, being desired by the judge to give an account of himself to the senate, complied, and delivered an elegant apology for the faith for which he suffered, before the senate: and then, as by decree of the senate, was con-
demned to die; there being, as it seems, an ancient law, that if any christian were accused in a court of justice he

\textsuperscript{w} P. 94, 95. \textsuperscript{x} P. 126, 127. \textsuperscript{y} P. 128. \textsuperscript{z} See Vol. ii. p. 323, 324. \textsuperscript{a} Euseb. H. E. i. v. cap. 21. p. 189. \textsuperscript{b} See before, p. 127. \textsuperscript{c} 'Ο δὲ γὰρ ἡφαῖστατος μάρτυρας
should be punished, unless he denied himself to be a \textit{christian}.' Eusebius then adds, 'that they who are de-
sirous to read what Apollonius said before the judge, and
his answers to the interrogatories of Perennis, [praefect of
the praetorium,] and his whole apology in the senate, they
might see them in the collection which he had made of
the ancient martyrdoms.' But that is entirely lost, to our
great grief; for those Acts of the martyrdom of Apollo-
nius, if they were extant, we may reasonably think, would
be instructive as well as entertaining.

This shows, that in times called times of 'peace and tran-
quility,' for the churches, some might suffer capital punish-
ment as christians.

The ancient law to which Eusebius here refers, probably
is Trajan's edict concerning the christians, and is so under-
stood by \textit{Valesius}.

The edict of Severus against the christians was not pub-
lished before the year of our Lord 202; but from Tertul-
lian's apology, published in the year 198, or thereabout, it
plainly appears, that the christians had suffered persecution
for some while before the publication of that edict. Indeed
it appears to have been a day of heavy affliction to the
christians, as may be seen in what we have already written
in this \textit{volume}.

And by \textit{Dionysius}, bishop of Alexandria, we are fully
assured, that \textit{there} was in that city a persecution under
the emperor Philip, and that for a whole year the christians
in that place underwent a great variety of heavy sufferings,
before the publication of the edict of \textit{Decius}.

And my readers will here recollect the remarkable history
of Marinus before related in this \textit{volume}, who suffered mar-
tyrdom at Cæsarea, after that Valerian's persecuting edict
had been revoked by his son Gallienus.

These things are sufficient to assure us, that the christians
in this period were generally in suffering circumstances, and
were always liable to suffer.

Nevertheless, after all, it is not to be supposed, that per-
secution was always violent and uninterrupted; there might
be some abatements of those troubles, and some seasons of
rest and peace; what they were, may be collected from
what we have seen in this and the preceding \textit{volume}; and
I shall here reckon them up in a summary manner. We

\textit{Legem igitur, seu rescriptum Trajani ad Plinium secundum intelligo, in
quo cavetur, christianos quidem inquirendos non esse, oblatos vero puniri
oportere. Vales. in loc.}

reckon, that Nerva was favourable to them, who, when he repealed the other acts of Domitian, repealed also his law against the christians. His successor Trajan published an edict against the christians, which, as has been often hinted already, never was abrogated, but continued in force as long as heathenism subsisted in the Roman empire. Nevertheless we can perceive, that in the reigns of Adrian and Titus Antoninus, there were some edicts, or rescripts, which were favourable to them; though during those very reigns many christians still suffered in almost every part of the empire. They also received some favour and indulgence from Alexander Severus and Philip. They might also enjoy peace and tranquillity in the reigns of Commodus and Caracalla, who did not much concern themselves about the affairs of religion. The first years of Valerian, and the reign of Gallienus, after Valerian's captivity, were favourable to them; as likewise the former part of the reign of Dioclesian, when the Roman empire was disturbed by enemies on every side.

In such seasons as these, it is reasonable to believe that the christians would exert themselves, and considerable accessions of new converts might be made to them. So it is said, Acts ix. 31, "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria:" occasioned by the consternation into which the Jewish people were thrown by Caligula's order to have his statue set up in the temple at Jerusalem: "and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied."

When therefore I say, that all this while christianity was in a state of persecution; I am willing that proposition should be understood in a mild and qualified sense: We now proceed.

2. 'Nevertheless it prevailed.'

Of this we have seen good evidence in heathen as well as in christian writers; which must be reckoned very wonderful, admitting all the softenings and qualifications in


the fore-mentioned proposition, that can be asked or desired. From small beginnings it had mightily prevailed and increased in a short\(^1\) time: and christians were very numerous, in every part of the empire, before the conversion of Constantine. Though they never had the princes of this world on their side, and from their first original they had endured a variety of difficulties, and several open persecutions, and now were under a severe persecution, which had raged with great violence for several years in most parts of the empire; some have imagined it a suspicion not altogether without foundation, that a great prince may have joined himself to them from considerations of\(^n\) interest. At least he perceived that he might do it, without dreading any bad consequences from the gentile people in the empire.

Nor were they considerable only for their numbers: they were also respectable for their quality. There now were among them, and always had been, men eminent for their skill in every part of literature, who wrote some in the Greek, others in the Roman language, and with uncommon purity and elegance: as appears from their works still remaining.

3, and lastly. 'This is honourable to the religion of Jesus, and to the professors of it at that time.'

The contention was between God and idols: and the cause of God prevailed. Many in every part of the empire "turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his son from heaven, even Jesus, who delivers us from the wrath to come," 1 Thess. i. 9, 10.

'The design of whose coming is to bring men to repentance, and reclaim them from idolatry, and all other evil practices, and thereby to deliver his faithful followers from the future misery, which will be the portion of all wicked and impenitent men, and to bestow upon them everlasting happiness and salvation.'

\(^1\) Now were fulfilled those prophetic parables of the first founder of this religion: Matt. xiii. 31—33, "The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard-seed, which a man took and hid in his field: which indeed is the least of all seeds; but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Anotherparable spake he unto them: The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened. Compare Mark iv. 30—32; Luke xiii. 18—21.

\(^n\) Avant que trois siècles se soient écoulées depuis la mort de J. C. le parti des chrétiens est déjà si fort, qu’un empereur l’embrasse sans craindre celui des payens. Il semble même, que, loin d’affoiblir par là sa puissance, il l’augmenta et la fortifia par ce moyen. Sermons de S. Werenfels. p. 27. 1723.

That passage is quoted, Vol. iv. p. 27, where are other like observations.
Many there were at that time who were inquisitive, and open to conviction, they therefore seriously attended to what was proposed to them, and impartially weighed the evidences of what was said. They forsook the error of their past way of worship; they embraced, and professed the christian doctrine, notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements, and then recommended it to others.

Our blessed Lord, in one of his beautiful parables, has expressed himself after this manner: “The kingdom of heaven,” the state of things under the gospel dispensation, “is like unto a certain king, who made a marriage for his son; and he sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding, and they would not come. Again he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them which are bidden, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready: come unto the marriage. But they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandise: and the remnant took his servants, and entreated them spitefully and slew them,” Matt. xxii. 1—6.

This parable may have been primarily intended to represent the conduct of the Jewish people in the time of our Saviour, and his apostles; but it is a just description of the temper and conduct of gentiles also, and of all men in general. The things of this world are preferred to those of another; and secular affairs are more minded than the things of religion. Few only are engaged in the search of truth: religious truth is the least regarded, and the most opposed of any. This truth may be hard to be found; when it is discerned, and obtained by impartial inquiries and serious meditation, it may be dangerous to own and profess it. The blessed Jesus therefore, our divine Master, says again, Matt. xiii. 44—46, “The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field: the which when a man has found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field. Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchantman seeking goodly pearls; who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it.”

In the first ages of christianity truth bore a high price; nevertheless there were those who bought it, and would not part with it upon any consideration whatever. Prov. xxiii. 23. Nor was this distraction or obstinacy, as through mistake it is called by the proprætor a Pliny, and the emperor Marcus Antoninus. It was a just and reasonable resolu-

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*a* See before, p. 23.  
*o* P. 135.
tion; it is agreeable to all sound philosophy, and the sentiments of all philosophers, who have considered the obligations of human conduct, that we ought to suffer death rather than deny the truth, of which we are persuaded. And our Lord has expressed himself clearly upon this point, and without reserve, Matt. x. 32, 33, "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father who is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father who is in heaven." And he has given us full assurance that none shall be losers by fidelity to him, or by any acts of self-denial for the sake of him and his gospel. And he said to his disciples, Luke xviii. 29, 30; Matt. xix. 29, "Verily I say unto you, there is no man, who has left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come everlasting life." Mark x. 29, 30. He has himself engaged in this warfare, and knows by experience what it may cost; and therefore he has sometimes expressed himself after this manner. John xvi. 33, "In the world ye will have tribulation: but be of good cheer: I have overcome the world." Again: Rev. iii. 21, "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcome, and am set down with my Father in his throne."

If any of the first christians were too forward, and needlessly exposed themselves to sufferings, they are not to be vindicated; for they acted contrary to repeated precepts of Jesus himself. "Behold," says he to his disciples, "I send you forth as sheep among wolves. Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves;" and "when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." Matt. x. 16, 23.

But I do not think that they often transgressed those rules. I am rather of opinion that they were generally mindful of them, and paid them due regard. We have seen examples of it in Polycarp and his people; in Cyprian, bishop of Carthage; in the christians at Alexandria, during the persecution of Valerian; and in the christians living in Pontus and Cappadocia, in the time of Maximin the Thracian. Other instances of their discretion might be alleged.

The christians of the first three centuries were not perfect nor infallible: they had their failings and their errors; nor were they altogether free from strife and contention; but

p P. 137.  
a P. 152.  
c See here in this volume, p. 365.  
d P. 348, 349.
there were among them many men of sincere and undissembled virtue, and some eminent therein, who were shining examples of every thing excellent and commendable in human life. They were quiet and peaceable, and obedient to magistrates in all things appertaining to their jurisdiction. They prayed for the Roman emperors, and for the officers under them, and for the prosperity of the empire. They were kind to each other, and to strangers. 'Our affair,' said the ancient apologists, Justin Martyr and Athenagoras, 'lies not in words, but in works.' And Lactantius, so low as the beginning of the fourth century, could say, 'The great concern of our people is to be holy and unblamable in their lives.' Pliny has borne an honourable and ample testimony to the good design of their religious assemblies; and they were remarkable for their patience and fortitude under sufferings for the principles which they had embraced: by all which they glorified God, edified each other, and were continually making converts from among their Gentile neighbours, and even from among such as hitherto had been their enemies.

If afterwards christians altered for the worse: if they departed from "the faith once delivered to the saints," Jude ver. 3: if they admitted into their belief and profession corrupt mixtures of human invention: if, instead of being persecuted themselves, they persecuted other men: or if they persecuted one another for difference in speculative opinions, of little importance: or if they did any thing else contrary to the purity of the doctrine of the gospel, we shall be obliged to acknowledge it without partiality, when we see the proofs of it.

And indeed Chrysostom has observed, 'that christianity rather declines under christian emperors; so far is it from being cherished by the honours and preferments of this world: but it thrives most when it is persecuted, and lies under worldly discouragements.' And said Sulpicius

u P. 43.

Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro mora finis. Tertull. ap. cap. 39. cited above, p. 49. And see p. 360, 364, 367.

w Instances of both those kinds of generosity to such as were in affliction, may be seen in the chapter of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, Vol. iii. p. 9, 10; and in the chapter of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, Vol. ii. p. 650, 651; and here at p. 365. See also the chapter of Lucian of Samosata, p. 279, 280.


y Nostro autem populo quid horum potest obijci, quibus omnis religio est, sine scelere et sine macula vivere? Inst. l. v. cap. 9. sub fin.

Severus not long ago, speaking of Dioclesian's persecution, "Glorious martyrdoms were then as earnestly contended for, as bishoprics have been since sought by ambitious men.'

We may do well therefore to emulate the best times and the sincerest disciples of Jesus Christ, whom we have taken for our master and guide in the things of religion: and we may sometimes recollect what our Lord said "before Pontius Pilate therein witnessing a good confession. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice," 1 Tim. vi. 13; John xviii. 37.

Let us then carefully attend to that word of the gospel which was first "preached every where," by men chosen and appointed, and fully qualified for that purpose, Mark xvi. 20, "the Lord" himself "working with them, and confirming it with signs following:" and has been since recorded by his faithful apostles and evangelists. Amen.

CHAP. XLII.

CHALCIDIUS.

I. His time, work, and character. II. His testimony to the appearance of an extraordinary star at the time of our Saviour's nativity, with remarks.

I. CHALCIDIUS translated into Latin the former part of the Timæus of Plato, and added a prolix commentary of his own upon it; in which he shows a great deal of learning, and good skill in the sentiments of the ancient philosophers. This work is inscribed to Osius, or Hosius, supposed to be the bishop of Corduba in Spain, and a principal member of the council of Nice in the year 325, but without any intimation of his character, as bishop, or ecclesiastic, or christian.

And the time and character of this author are uncertain. By some he has been supposed to be deacon or arch-deacon in the church of Carthage; others think he was an heathen.  

b P. 519.
According to Humphry Hody, he was a gentle, well-acquainted with christian writings. Beausobre calls him a christian philosopher, an intimate friend of Hosius: and, as he, joined christianity with Platonism. Cave is at an absolute uncertainty about his real character; he knows not whether he was a gentle or a christian. Fabricius, the last editor of Chalcidius, published him as a christian, who wrote near the beginning of the fourth century; and has endeavoured to answer objections. Nevertheless Mosheim still hesitates.

I shall, after others, take notice of some difficulties; for Chalcidius seems to approve of the divisions of gentilism, and to allow them to be of use for discovering futurities. He quotes Moses as a wise man, and 'as said' to have divine inspiration, as well as human knowledge. However, that expression 'as said, ut ferunt,' Fabricius thinks need not to be understood to denote any uncertainty in the author's mind.

It ought to be observed by us likewise, that he has quoted


b Chalcidius done, philosophus chretien, et intime ami d'Osius, n'admettoit pas seulement l'eternite de la matiere, mais—Hist. de Manich. Tom. 2. p. 238.


d De hac re pridem me monuit Sellerus noster. Et cum in hanc quidem sententiam viros quosdam non indecto propendere video, locum ei inter scriptores ecclesiasticos non denegavimus. Me certe etiam fator; neque enim satis constat, philosophus solum Platonicum fueritne, an etiam christianus, &c. Cav. H. L. p. 199.


j Verba, ut ferunt, non dubitantis sunt, sed Hebreorum sententiam exponentes. Fabric. not. (d') p. 380.

k Tum initii multas esse significationes, ut 'Initium sapientiae timorem Domini esse,' Salomon dixit. [Prov. i. 7.—Atque etiam in præconio sapientiae celestis auctor: 'Initium vitæ panis et aqua, et tuncia,' inquit, 'et domus idonea velandis pudendi.' [Sirach. xxix. 21.]—Est tamen unum
Solomon's Book of Proverbs once or twice, and also the words of Ecclesiasticus. ch. xxix. 21.

I think it must be allowed that there is some difficulty in determining this writer's true character; Fabricius himself has acknowledged as much, and that he may be compared to another author mentioned by Photius, whose character was doubtful: his manner of writing not clearly showing what was his religion, whether christianity or gentilism.

I dare not be positive; but to me it seems that he was a polite Platonic philosopher, who was willing to be on good terms with christians, whose religion prevailed at that time; and I place him, with Cave, as flourishing about the year 330.

II. I now proceed to quote the passage of this commentary of Chalcidius, for the sake of which I produce him among other authors in this work. 'There is likewise,' says he, 'another more sacred and more venerable history, which relates, that the appearance of a certain star declared not diseases and deaths, but the descent of a venerable God, for the salvation of mankind, and the good of the world. When this star had been seen upon a journey in the night-time, by some truly wise men of the Chaldaeans, who were well versed in the contemplation of the heavenly bodies, they are said to have made inquiry concerning the late birth of a God; and when they had found the young majesty, they paid him the worship and homage


which was worthy of so great a God. But to none are these things so well known as to yourself.'

It is manifest that the author here refers to the history in St. Matthew, ch. ii. 1. "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, ver. 2. Saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him. Ver. 9. When they had heard the king [Herod] they departed, and lo the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was. 10. And when they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy. 11. And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child, with Mary his mother, and they fell down and worshipped him. And when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh." Comp. Matt. i. 21—23.

Fabricius p thinks this paragraph to be a good proof of the writer’s christianity. And from the compliment at the end made by him to the person to whom the work is inscribed, we may be induced to allow his episcopal character.

Whether this writer was a christian or a heathen, this passage is a valuable testimony to St. Matthew’s gospel, and to this remarkable history. And if this commentary upon Plato’s Timaeus be reckoned the work of a gentile philosopher, the several quotations of the Old Testament, which we before saw, and now this of the New, afford proof, that the sacred scriptures were then well known in the world. To me it seems, that the style of the paragraph just cited, is the style of a gentile, not of a christian writer. Cave a seems to have made the same judgment upon it.

p Hoc loco satis perspicue christianum se prodit Chalcidius. Fabric, p. 325. not. (c).

CHAP. XLIII.

ALEXANDER OF LYCOPOLIS IN EGYPT.

I. His work, time, and character. II. Extracts out of his work, containing many references to the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and to the christian doctrine.

I. ALEXANDER of Lycopolis, in Egypt, was mentioned by me long ago, in the History of the Manichees, among those authors a who had written against them: but learned men are not agreed about his character, as was also observed formerly. Some think he was a christian: others suppose him to have been a heathen. If this last be his character, he comes in properly to be mentioned here among such writers; we must therefore now more distinctly consider that point.

Fabricius b thinks, he was at first a heathen, then a Manichee, and afterwards a good catholic christian, when he wrote this work; and he placeth him in the fourth century.

All which is agreeable to the sentiments of our c Cave; who also supposeth him to have been acquainted with some of the first followers and disciples of Mani himself. If so, he must have lived not far from the beginning of the fourth century.

Photius, d in his work against the Manichees, calls Alexander archbishop of Nicopolis.

Tillemont e says, that by his book he appears to have been a pagan philosopher; who, observing that some of his fellow-disciples embraced the opinion of the Manichees,

and thinking it to be very absurd, composed that book to
confute it by natural and philosophical reasons. He speaks
with respect of Jesus Christ, and prefers the doctrine of
the churches (those are his terms) to that of Mani. But
we can perceive from those very places that he was not
at all a Christian. Combesis, his editor, thinks him to be
very ancient, because he had learned the doctrine of the
Manichees from the disciples of the author of the sect;
but the place upon which he relies, may denote no more
than that Egypt knew Mani by his disciples, without ne-
cessarily implying that Alexander himself knew any of
them.'

Beausobre is of the same opinion. He calls Alexander
a pagan philosopher. He argues after this manner: 'First,
he never alleges the scriptures in his dispute with the Ma-
ichees, which a Christian would not have failed to do,
since the Manichees admitted the authority of the books of
the New Testament. 2. He speaks of the souls of Nymphs,
which is not the style of a Christian. 3. He speaks of
the deluge of Deucalion, and Phoronæus, without men-
tioning that of Noah. 4. He expresseth himself altogether
like a pagan, saying; that of all the gods, the Manichees
honoured only the sun and the moon. He manifestly placeth
himself in the number of pagans; for, after having observed,
that the Manichees endeavoured to confirm their error by
the history, or fable of Bacchus, and the attempt of the
giants, he adds: the more learned among them, says he,
who have some knowledge of the Greek literature, remind
us of our own ceremonies, and our own mysteries.' These
arguments Beausobre thinks decisive; and Mosheim has
declared his approbation of them.

I shall presently make large extracts out of this writer;
whereby all my readers will be qualified to judge for them-
selves concerning his character.

The time when he lived is uncertain; there is nothing in

See p. 18, to be cited in note r, p. 578.


—en Ἡλιος καὶ Ἐλπις, οὐς μονεῖς Θεων αἰδειαθαι φασν. Alex.
Lyceop. contr. Manich. p. 7. C.

But it should be observed, that Alexander elsewhere owns, that the Manichees
did not worship the sun and moon, as gods: but only as the way by which
they attain to God. Τυμωστ ἐς μαλατα Ἡλιος και Σεληνην, κα Ὡς Θεως, ἀλλ
ὡς ὁδον ἐς θεων προς τους αἰκεθαι. Ibid. p. 5. D.

Οἱ ἐς τετοιο χαρατερον, καὶ Ἐλπινικων ουκ ἀπειροι λογων, αναμιμησ-
κασιν ἡμας εκ των ὅκεων εκ μεν των τελεσων, κ. λ. Alex. p. 6. A.

Hujus philosophandi libellus exstat Graece contra Manicheos—De
religione ejus accurate eget Isaac de Beausobre. Mosheim. Institut. H. E.
p. 235.
his work to show clearly, that he wrote near the beginning of the fourth century. But it seems to me not improbable, that he wrote soon after the principles of Manichæism had gained some footing in Egypt: he might, therefore, compose this work about the middle of the fourth century, or even before it; I therefore place him at the year of Christ 350.

II. The work of Alexander begins in this manner: 'The \(^m\) philosophy of the christians is called simple; for its principal concern is to regulate the manners of men, having first intimated the right doctrine concerning the Deity, as the one efficient cause of all things. It forbears obscure questions and nice arguments about the reason of things; nor does it labour to describe particularly the grounds and nature of every virtue; but holdeth forth in a general way the precepts of all virtue. By attending to which, as experience shows, the common people are much influenced, and gradually allured to the love and practice of piety.'

'But \(^n\) this simplicity being disliked, some have moved difficult and abstruse questions; and delighting in contention, have formed sects. Such an one was Manichee, who was of the country of Persia. One Papus, and after him Thomas, teachers of that doctrine, brought it in among us. He lived, as it is said, in the time of Valerian; and accompanying Sapor in his wars, he offended him, and so lost his life. Such \(^o\) is said to have been the origin of this doctrine, which has been brought in among us by his disciples. They hold two principles, God and matter:' and what follows, giving an account of the Manichaean notions.

I have transcribed below a large part of the introduction, of which I have made only a loose translation. But Alexander here gives a very honourable character of the genuine christian philosophy, as 'simple, and intended by plain precepts, without nice disquisitions, and intricate reasonings, to promote virtue among all sorts of men, and even among


\(^n\) Ibid. p. 3. 4.

\(^o\) Τοια δὲ ην τις φήμη τῆς εκείνω δοξῆς απο τῶν γνωριμῶν τι αὐτοφ αφικτο προς ἡμᾶς. Αρχας εἰσήκει Θεὸν καὶ Ὄλην. P. 4. B.
the lower ranks, and common people,' which, indeed, are the bulk of mankind. We shall see this character of the Christian religion repeated again by and by; but let me proceed to take other passages as they lie in the book itself.

2. For, soon afterward, in his representation of the Manichaean doctrine, he says: 'They suppose man to be an image of the divine power, and that Christ is Mind; and that having descended from above, he sent back to God a large part of this power: at length he was crucified, and by that means afforded knowledge.' And what follows.

I do not stay to explain these Manichaean absurdities; I only produce this passage to show that Alexander was not silent about Christ. We go on.

3. 'But it would be much better for them to say, that wisdom had been given to men by God, that by the exercise of reason they might be gradually delivered from the love of pleasure, and other vicious affections; and they who profess to be teachers of virtue, might be examples of it to others. In this way, it might be hoped, that evil might cease, when all were become wise. This seems to me to have been the design of Jesus: and that husbandmen, and carpenters, and masons, and other artificers, might not want this help to goodness, he appointed a common council of all together; and by plain and easy discourses he aimed to bring them, both to the knowledge of God, and the love of virtue.'

This appears very honourable to our Saviour. Alexander, I think, must have read the books of the New Testament, the gospels at least. What he means by the 'common council of all together,' may be doubtful; but it seems to me not unlikely, that he intends the college of Christ's
apostles, among whom were a publican and several fishermen, and, if we take in Paul, a tentmaker.

4. 'They' speak of Christ, though they do not know him; and they call him Mind; and they would appear to speak agreeably to the doctrines of the churches; but if so, why do they reject that which is called the ancient history?'

It is hence evident, that Alexander had some knowledge of the received doctrine of the churches, or the reputed orthodox christians. Accordingly, he here seems to blame the Manichees, for not receiving the scriptures of the Old Testament.

5. Presently afterwards, in an obscure manner, he argues against their opinion, that Christ was Mind.

6. Again, a little lower, he argues against their notion, that Christ was crucified, but without suffering. 'But,' says he, 'it would be more reasonable to say, agreeably to the ecclesiastical doctrine, that he gave himself for the remission of sins. And it is agreeable to the sentiments of others, and even of the Greek histories, which speak of some who gave themselves for the welfare of their countries. Of which also the Jewish history has an example; for it tells us, that Abraham prepared his son for a sacrifice to God.'

7. He seems to refer to the history of Cain's killing his brother Abel, Gen. ch. iv.

8. He plainly refers to Gen. vi. 1, 2; and says, that the Jewish History speaks allegorically, when it says, that angels fell in love with the daughters of men.

9. This I think to be all which is needful to be taken from this writer. I am not able to determine, with certainty, whether he was a christian or a gentile; but I am rather inclined to think he was a gentile. He must have had good knowledge of the Manichees and other christians; and he

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"Τον έλ Χριστόν κατά γινώσκοντες, αλλά Χριστόν αυτόν προσαγαγόντες,

Ναίν εἰσαί ψασιν.——Εἰ μὲν το γνώσττον, καί το γιγνώσκον, καί τὴν σοφίαν αυτὴν

λέγοντες ὁμοφωνα, οὕτως τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰκλησίων περὶ αὐτὴν λεγομένον, οὕτω γε ἀλώσονται ποὺς τὴν λεγομένην παλαιὰν ἄπασιν ἱστοριαν εξακλη

λέσαι p. 18. D.

" P. 19. A.

"Το μὲν κατά τὸν εἰκλησιακὸν λογόν εὐπέπι, εἰς λοιπὸν ἀμαρτῆσαι ἑαυτὸν

εἰπεῖν, εἵπερ πιστῶν τινα πρὸς τὶς πόλεις, κἂν τῶν ἱστοριῶν τῶν καθ’

Ἐλληνας, ὥς αὐτὰ φησίν, τινὰς ἕπερ εἰσράμας πολὲν ἑαυτὸν εἰπεῖν εἰπεῖν καὶ

παράδειγμα τῷ λόγῳ έχει καὶ ἡ Ἰδεαίων ἱστορια, τὸν τῷ Αρβρααμ παῖδα εἰς τὸν

τῷ Θεῷ παρακεντήσαι. p. 19. C. D.

" P. 11. B. C.

"Οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἑικλησίων ἐισαγόντες εἰς ἀληθείας τὰ τοιαῦτα προφέρον
tαι, τὸ σήμεν τῷ λόγῳ ἀποκριστάντων τῷ τῇ μιθῇ ἐδίκ. Ὅν τὸν ἣ ἡ Ἰδεαίων ἱστορία φη, τὴς αὐγής ταῖς ἑναγαρσεὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀφοβείςαν

συνεληφθεῖνα μέν, p. 20. A."
appears to be not unacquainted with the scriptures of the Old and New Testament. He evidently was a learned and rational man.

His observations concerning the christian philosophy, 'as plain and simple, and designed to reform the manners of men of all ranks,' deserve particular notice. To me this work of Alexander appears very curious.

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**CHAP. XLIV.**

**PRAXAGORAS.**

PRAXAGORAS of Athens,’ says Photius, ‘wrote the ‘History of Constantine the Great, in two books.’ Having made an abridgment of the work, ‘containing an account of Constantine’s early life, his succeeding to his father, his wars in Gaul and Germany, and then his wars with Maxentius and Licinius, of both which he gives a bad character, as vicious and tyrannical,’ he adds: ‘Praxagoras, though he was of the gentile religion, says, that the emperor Constantine had surpassed all the preceding emperors in every virtue, and in every kind of felicity: and so concludes his history.’ That must be reckoned honourable to Constantine.

Photius adds: ‘Praxagoras, as he says, was of the age of two and twenty years when he wrote that history. He also wrote two other books of the History of the Kings of Athens, when he was nineteen years of age. He likewise composed six other books, containing the History of Alexander, king of the Macedonians, when he was one and thirty years of age. His style,’ says Photius, ‘is clear and agreeable, but somewhat unequal. He wrote in the Ionic dialect.’

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\[\text{\textsuperscript{a} Ανεγνωσθη Πραξαγορας τε Αθηναις της κατα τον μεγαν Κωνσταντινον ἱστορας βιβλια δύο. Phot. Cod. 6. p. 64.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b} Ibid.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{c} Φθεσιν γιν ο Πραξαγορας, κατοι την δριθησεαν Ελλην ων, ότι παρη αρετη και κολακαγαθεα, και παντι ενυχματε παντας της προ αυτη βεβαιωθεκατα το βασιλεις Κωνσταντινως απεκρεσσα, κ. λ. Ibid. p. 65. in.} \]

of Constantius; I place him, therefore, at the year 350; though the exact time of his writing cannot be known.

CHAP. XLV.

BEMARCHIUS.

IN the next place I take Bemarchius, who also follows next after Praxagoras in Vossius's work of the Greek historians. 'Bemarchius, a of Caesarea in Cappadocia, sophist,' says Suidas, 'wrote the history of the emperor Constantine, in ten books: he also wrote several declamations and orations.'

He also is supposed to have written in the time of Constantius: and Tillemont b therefore, beside what is in Vossius, observes, 'that c Libanius speaks of one Bemarchius, 'a pagan sophist, who was much in favour with Constantius.' There is nothing of him remaining: nevertheless I cannot forbear to wish, that his history of Constantine was in being. His work was in ten books, and therefore must have been large and copious: and, as may be supposed, it was favourable to Constantine. This may be argued from Libanius, whose words imply that Bemarchius had a great respect for Constantius, and was his admirer.

Tillemont observes in the same place, 'that Eunapius d also 'wrote the history of Constantine: but undoubtedly,' as he says, 'it was in the body of his Universal History, which he 'had made of the emperors from the death of Severus.' This also, if extant, I believe would be very curious: and I heartily wish that Universal History of Eunapius may be found in some library.

a Βημαρχιος, Καισαριος, εκ Καππαδοκιας, σοφιτας. Ουτος εγραψε τας Κωνσταντινων τω βασιλεως πραξεις εις βιβλιοις ἕκαστας τε και λογις ἐιςφορες. Suid.

b L'Emp. Constantin. art. 90.

c Ομωσυνι δη των ωδε πεπραγμενων ερεξα Βημαρχιος συμμαχος μην ιβδομω, μαλα δη των Κωνσταντινων γυρηκων ανηρ, κ. λ. Liban. Vit. p. 15, 16

CHAP. XLVI.

THE EMPEROR JULIAN.

I. His time, history, and character, and his behaviour toward the christians. II. His works, particularly his work against the christians. III. His regard to the Jewish people, and his design to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. IV. Extracts out of his work against the christians. V. Extracts out of his Orations and Epistles.

I. JULIUS CONSTANTIUS, brother of Constantine the Great, had two wives: Galla, by whom he had Gallus and several other children; and Basilina, a lady of an illustrious family, by whom he had Flavius Claudius Julianus, or Julian, who was her only child, she dying soon after his birth.a

Julian b was born at Constantinople on the sixth day of November, in the year of Christ 331, and died the 26th day of June, in the year of our Lord 363, in the 32d year of his age, which was not complete.

As I have not room to write the history of Julian at length, I refer to several learned moderns, c where more particulars may be found, and my mistakes, if I should make any, may be corrected.

Julian was about six years of age when Constantine died, in 337: soon after which, in the year 339, when Julian d was in the eighth year of his age, several of Constantine’s e family were put to death, and among them the father of Julian, and his eldest brother. The infirmities and weak constitution of Gallus, another brother of Julian, saved his life, it being thence concluded, that he could not live long; and Julian’s tender age was a security to him.

a epotà gelidà aquà quam petit medio noctis horrore vitã facilius est absolutus, anno ætatis altero et tricesimo: natus apud Constantinopolim; a puerità usque parentis obitu destitutus Constantii, quem post fratris Constantini excessum inter complures alios turba consumpsit Imperii successorum, et Basilinã matre, jam inde a majoribus nobili. Am. M. I. xxv. cap. 3. fin.

b Vid. Pagi in Baron. ann. 337. num. ix. et 363. iv. v.


d Pagi ann. 337. num. ix.

Constantius took care that they should be educated by Christian masters. When Julian was about fourteen or fifteen years of age, he and his brother Gallus were sent to a palace in Cappadocia, where they lived at ease, but were well guarded; so that, as Julian says, they were shut up as in a prison. Here they spent about six years, till the year 351, when Gallus was made Cæsar. At that time Julian was permitted to come to Constantinople; but his fine parts making him to be much taken notice of, he was sent away to Nicomedia, where Libanius then taught rhetoric. But Julian had been particularly charged not to converse with him, nor learn any thing of him. However, he had here a good deal of liberty, and was acquainted with divers heathen philosophers; some of whom came hither on purpose to pay their respects to him. Here Julian, at about the age of twenty, took a liking to Hellenism: and it is said, that some of these philosophers did then give him hopes of being emperor. Constantius had informations concerning him: and Julian, for preventing disagreeable suspicions, as Socrates says, was shaved, and made profession of being a monk. He privately studied philosophy, and publicly read the scriptures: and he was ordained reader in the church of Nicomedia.

In 354, Gallus was killed, and Julian was suspected of disaffection; he was sent for therefore to come to Milan, where the emperor then was, and a guard was set upon him. In this danger Julian's life was saved by the intercession of the empress Eusebia, who also obtained leave for him to travel into Greece: which was very agreeable to Julian, who wanted nothing more than to complete his studies at Athens; and the emperor likewise was willing he should employ his time in matters of literature rather than politics. In the year 355 Julian arrived at Athens; where also Basil and Gregory Nazianzen were studying eloquence, and other parts of polite literature. But Julian made no long stay there; for in the same year he was sent for by Constantius to Milan, and on the sixth day of November, 355, he was declared Cæsar, that he might go into Gaul, and take the command of the army there: and Britain and Spain were also put under his government. A few days after that, Constantius gave him in marriage his sister Helena.

Julian left Milan on the first day of December, and before the end of the year came to Vienne in Gaul. In the

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\(^f\) Ad Athenienses, p. 271. B. C.

\(^g\) Socrat. l. iii. cap. 1. p. 166. A. Conf. Theod. H. E. l. iii. cap. 2. Gregor. Naz. Invectiv. i. seu Or. 3. p. 58. D.

\(^h\) Pagi ann. 355. num. iv.
wars with the Franks and Germans who had made incursions into the country, he was very successful, and gained a great deal of honour and reputation there, and all over the empire.

In the year 360, about the month of March or April, in the 29th year of his age, he was against his will declared Augustus by the soldiers at Paris; who in a manner compelled him to accept the title, and to take upon him the government, no longer in the quality of Cæsar, but of emperor.

Julian thereupon sent some of his officers with a letter to Constantius, who was then in the East preparing for the war with the Persians, giving him an account of what had been done, desiring him to yield to him the title of Augustus, and promising all the submission that could be expected from a second and a partner in the empire. Julian's officers found Constantius at Cæsarea in Cappadocia; who resented the conduct of Julian, and sent him a letter, requiring him to be content with the title of Cæsar. That letter was received by Julian at Paris, and was read in the presence of the people and the soldiers. Julian offered to submit to the proposal of Constantius if the soldiers approved of it; but with loud acclamations they confirmed to him the title of Augustus. Of this likewise Julian sent an account to Constantius; and afterwards several letters passed between them.

Julian came to Vienne near the end of the year 360, about which time he lost his wife Helena. He was still at Vienne on the 6th day of January in 361: soon after which he went forward into Illyricum, and took possession of Sirmium the chief city. Constantius died in Cilicia the third day of November in 361: on the 11th day of December following Julian made his entrance into Constantinople, with the general acclamations of the people, attended by the senate, by whom he was proclaimed emperor.

Here he stayed about eight months: and having settled matters, and conferred many favours upon that city, the place of his nativity, he set out for Antioch in Syria, where

2 Ammian. l. xxi. cap. 2.  id. ib. cap. 2.
4 Ammian. l. xxii. cap. 2.
he arrived in July 362. And having completed his prepara-
tions for the war with the Persians, he set out with his
army from Antioch in the beginning of March 363. In an
action with the Persians he received a wound with a dart
on the 26th day of June; and being carried to his tent, he
expired there in the night of the 26th day of June 363, in a
calm and composed manner, entertaining his friends with
philosophical discourses.

Thus died Julian, in the 32d year of his age, having been
Cæsar about seven years and a half, Augustus, after his
proclamation by the soldiers in Gaul, about three years,
and sole emperor, after the death of Constantius, a year
and almost eight months.

From whom that dart came was always uncertain; whether from the Persians, or from some of Julian’s own men. His death was charged upon the christians by Libanius, because, as he argued, they were the only men who had an interest in it: and no Persian was rewarded for it; nor did any of them claim any honour upon that account. But there never was any proof brought of that charge; nor have other heathen writers joined with Libanius in it, but rather suppose, that the dart came from the enemies.

There are reported some blasphemous expressions to have been spoken by him at that time, of which Theodoret writes in this manner: ‘It is said, that when he was wounded he took a handful of his blood, and threw it up into the air, saying at the same time: O thou Galilean, thou hast got the better of me.’ Sozomen tells the same story a little differently, and then adds: ‘But some say, he was displeased with the sun, who had sided with the Persians and deserted him: and that holding up his hand, and showing his blood to the sun, he threw it up into the air.’ The same is also related by Philostorgius.

Theodoret says, ‘that a man of good understanding, who taught children at Antioch, was in company with Libanius the celebrated sophist, who asked that person what the carpenter’s son was doing. He replied: The maker of the

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\( r \) Vid. Socrat. l. iii. cap. 21. Sozom. l. vi. cap. 2. Theod. l. iii. cap. 25.

\( s \) ——dum se inconsultius preliis inserit, hostili manu interfactus est. Evetrop. l. x. cap. 16. Et conf. Ammian. l. xxv. c. 3.

\( t \) Εκεῖνον δὲ γε φανεῖ, ἔδειχμεν τὴν πληγήν, ενάντις πλησαί τὴν χιμα αἵματος, καὶ τε τὸ ψέφοι εἰς τον αἰεα, καὶ φανεῖ, Ἀννηκέας, Γαλλίας. Theod. l. iii. c. 25. p. 147.

\( u \) Soz. l. vi. cap. 2. p. 638. C. D.

\( v \) I. vii. cap. 15.

\( w \) Theod. l. iii. cap. 23.
world whom you jeeringly call the carpenter's son is
making a coffin. And in a few days after tidings came of
Julian's death.'

If Libanius was pleased to talk in that rude manner, I
think such an answer might be made without a spirit of
prophecy. Some other like things may be found in our
ecclesiastical historians, which I forbear to take notice of.

Nevertheless, I think it not improper to observe a short
story told by Jerom, in his comment upon the third chapter
of the prophet Habakkuk: who says, 'When x he was yet
very young, and at a grammar-school, when all the cities
were polluted with the blood of victims, on a sudden, in
the heat of the persecution, came news of the death of
Julian. Whereupon one of the heathen people said, not
much amiss: How comes it, says he, that the christians
style their God patient and long-suffering? For none can
be more hasty and passionate; he was not able to defer
his indignation for the shortest space. So said that person
in a jesting way: but the church of Christ sang with exul-
tation: 'Thou didst strike through the heads of the
powerful with astonishment.'" Habakkuk iii. 14, accord-
ing to the reading of the Seventy.

It is not needful that I should draw the character of Julian
at full length, but I shall observe some things. Ammianus
Marcellinus was well acquainted with him, and was his
great admirer, and was present with him in the Persian ex-
pedition: he has twice touched upon the lines of his charac-
ter: First, entering upon the history of his conduct in Gaul,
after Julian had been declared Cæsar, where he says in the
way of panegyric, 'that' he might be compared to Titus son
of Vespasian for prudence, to Trajan for valour, to Titus
Antoninus for clemency, and for strong reasoning to Marcus
Antoninus, whom he took for his great model of imitation
in all his actions.'

Again, after Julian's death he draws his character more

x Dum adhuc esset puer, et in grammatico ludo exercebatur, omnesque urbes
victimarum sanguine polluerentur, ac subito in ipso persecutionis ardore,
Juliani mutatus est interitus, eleganter unus de ethnicis, Quomodo, inquit,
christiani dicunt Deum suum esse patientem, et αὐξήκασσις? Nihil iracundius,
nihil hoc furore praesentius; nec modico quidem spatio indignationem suam
differre potuit. Hoc ille ludens dixerat. Cæterum ecclesia Christi cum exul-
tatione cantavit: Divisisti cum stupore capita potentium. Hieron. in Hab.
T. iii. p. 1636.

y Namque incrementis velocibus ita domi forisque colluxit, ut prudentia
Vespasiani filius Titus alter æstumaretur, bellorum gloriosissimus cursibus Trajani
simillimus, clemens ut Antoninus, rectæ perfectæque rationis indagine con-
gruens Marcus, ad ejusæimulationem actus suas effingebat et mores, &c. &c.
Ammian. l. xvi. cap. 1. Vid. et cap. v.
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at length, describing his person, his temper, and manners:

1 He was extremely temperate in eating and drinking, and slept little: his chastity is represented as exemplary and inviolate: his skill in every branch of science was very great for his age.

2 His genius for learning is highly applauded by heathen authors; nor is it disowned by christians; and his remaining works are proofs of it. His great ability, and his facility in writing, appear in the several works composed by him in the space of those twenty months in which he was sole emperor; and that amidst the hurries of a joyful accession, and the diligent administration of justice, beside all the ordinary affairs of so vast an empire, and the preparations of a hazardous war with the Persians. As Libanius says, he has left behind him works in all kinds of writing, in all of them excelling all other men, and in his epistles himself.” His valour likewise is undisputed; though his prudence, especially in the Persian expedition, has been often called in question: which, as has been said, was rashly undertaken, resolutely pursued against many discouragements, and carried on, attended with several instances of mismanagement and bad conduct.

After all, he had his faults, as is acknowledged by his best friends. He had a certain levity of mind, was a great talker,
and very fond of fame: superstitious rather than properly religious; so addicted to sacrificing, that it was said the race of bulls would be destroyed if he returned victorious from Persia. And such was the multitude of his victims, that his soldiers, who partook of them, were often much disordered by excess in eating and drinking. So Ammianus. It would be tedious to rehearse all the instances of excessive and even ridiculous superstition, which may be found in heathen writers. Says Libanius: 'He received the rising sun with blood, and attended him again with blood at his setting.' 'And because he could not go abroad so often as he would, he made a temple of his palace, and placed altars in his garden, which was purer than most chapels.' 

By frequent devotions he engaged the gods to be his auxiliaries in war, worshipping Mercury, Ceres, Mars, Calliope, Apollo, and Jove; whom he worshipped in his temple upon the hill, and in the city,' meaning Antioch—'And complaining of the gods who had deserted him: Whom shall we blame, says Libanius? not one, but all: for none were neglected by him, neither gods nor godesses. And is this the return,' says he, 'for all his victims, for all his vows, for all the incense, and all the blood offered up to them, by day and by night.' Again, says the same writer: 'Wherever there was a temple, whether in the city, or on the hill, or the tops of the mountains; no place so rough, or so difficult of access, but he ran to it, as if the way had been smooth and pleasant, if it had a temple, or ever had one.' 

But though Julian was so devout and religious in his way, when disappointed he could be displeased, and even angry, with his gods, like other heathen people, especially the

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8 Inter hec expeditionem pars in Persas—Hostiarum tamen sanguine plurimo aras erubitate nimia perfundebat, tauros aliquotis immolando centenos, et innumeratas varii pecoris greges, avesso candidas terrā quesitas et mari: adeo ut in dies pene singulos milites carnis distentore saginā victitantes incultius, potāsque aviditate currit, humerus impositi transeuntium per plateas ex publicis ædibus—ad sua diversoria portarentur, &c. &c. Id. I. xxii. cap. 12.

9 Liban. Or. 8. p. 245. D.

* Ετει μη τρεξαν ως ιερον παρ' ημεραν ενευ, ιερον ποιει τα βασιλεια, και των ενητον καθαρωτερον των παρ' ενας αευτων, &c. &c. Ibid.


1 Liban. Or. 9. in Julian. Necem, p. 252. A. B.

m Δρεμοι τε εις τεμενην τα μεν εν τη πολει, τα δε εν ακρας οριστο. Και οδιων ετω χαλεπον, ηδε δευτεραν, ο μη λιων ειδοκε, νεων εγων, η δεπερεν γε εσυρκ. Or. 9. p. 255. A.

n Tamen longe majora et firmiora de eo [Germanico] judicata in morte ac post mortem existitare. Quo defunctus est die, lapidata sunt templum, subversae Deum areae, Luces a quibusdam familiares in publicum abjecti, partus conjugum expositi, Sueton. Calig. cap. 5.
vulgar among them. In the Persian war, having had some advantages, and expecting more, he prepared a grand sacrifice for Mars: but the omens not being favourable, he was exceedingly moved, and called Jupiter to witness, that he would never more offer a sacrifice to Mars.

This excess of superstition, it seems to me, is an argument of want of judgment: which defect appeared upon divers occasions, and in many actions, not altogether becoming the dignity of an emperor.

Ammianus Marcellinus, though very favourable to Julian, makes no scruple to blame him upon some occasions.

After he had been declared Augustus, and when he was in the way to the East to meet Constantius, he sent a letter, or oration, to the senate of Rome, in which were many reflections upon Constantius. 'When Tertullus, who was then praefect of the city, read the letter in the senate, they manifested their generosity and gratitude: for with one voice, and directing themselves as to Julian himself, they cried out aloud: We beseech you, Sir, show more respect to him, to whom you are indebted for what you are.'

Constantine, in the necessity of his affairs, had advanced some men of low rank to high posts in the republic: with that Julian reproached Constantine in the just-mentioned letter, or oration, to the senate: and yet he himself made Nevita, a man of mean original, consul in the year 362. But, says Ammianus, a man should not do what he had blamed in others.


⁷ Et cum die quodam ei causas ibi spectanti, venisse nuntiatus esset ex Asiâ philosophus Maximus, exsiliuit indecorè: et qui esset oblivus, effuso cursu a vestibulo longe progressus, exosculatum suspense rum reverenter secum induxit, per ostentationem intempestivam nimius captator inanis glorìae visus——


⁷ Tunc et memoram Constantini, ut novatoris turbatorisque priscarum le gum et moris antiquitatis recepti, vexavit, eum aperte incusans, quod barbaros omnium primus adusque fasces auxerat, et trabes consulares; insulse nimium et leviter: qui cum vitare deberet id quod infestus obturgavit, brevi
He moreover censures some of the executions made at the beginning of his reign soon after the death of Constantius: he says, "It seems to him, that justice itself wept for the death of Ursulus, superintendent of the treasury, to whom Julian was under many obligations: and when many were offended with the emperor upon that account, he pretended that it was done without his knowledge, and was entirely owing to the resentments of the soldiery." So Ammianus.

I need not enlarge any farther here: these several particulars now mentioned may be sufficient to satisfy us, that in the conduct of Julian there might be many things liable to exception; and that, like other great men, he was upon some occasions guilty of indiscretion, and even of injustice: and if the friends of Constantine were so disposed, they might make reprisals upon the panegyrists of Julian.

Before we pass on to other things, it may be requisite to take notice of some exceptions that have been made to Julian's virtue.

The first relates to his chastity. Mamertinus, in his panegyric, says, 'That Julian's bed was as pure as that of any vestal.' Libanius likewise ascribes to Julian complete purity. But no one has so enlarged upon this point as the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, whose testimony must be allowed to be as satisfactory as that of any man: he not postea Mamertino in consultatu junxit Nevitam, nec splendore nec gloriam satis similis, quibus magistratuum amplissimam detulerat Constantinus; contra inconsummatum, et subagrestem, et, quod minus serendum, celsa in potestate crudem. Ammian. ibid.

5 Ursuli vero necem Largitionum Comitis ipsa mihi videtur fuisse Justitia, imperatorem arguens ut ingratum—Quo extincto, cum maledictis executionibusque multorum se Julianus sentiret expositum, impurabatur crimen excusari possesse existimabant, absque conscientia sua hominem affirmabant occisum, praetendens, quod eum militari ira delevit, memori quae dixerat, ut ante retulimus, cum Amidam vidisset excisam. • Ammian. l. xxii. cap. 3.


6 Oudev gav eparrteov tis vuktoros tov toivov yroovvov anavjov. Liban. Or. x. p. 292. B.

Ow σωφρονετος μεν 'Ιππολυτε; Ibid. p. 225. C.

only ascribes to Julian inviolate chastity after the death of his wife, but also says, that this virtue was always in high esteem with him. He likewise mentions some considerations by which Julian supports his resolution, and says, that none of those who were most intimate with him, ever suspected him of liberties contrary to that branch of temperance in any time of his life.

Nevertheless, exceptions have been made to this part of Julian's character by some of late times, who say: 'As to his chastity, we are not fully convinced that it deserved those mighty encomiums which Mamertinus, Libanius, and Ammiatus Marcellinus have been pleased to bestow upon it: for on one side it is certain, that by Helena, his only wife, he had but one son, whom the midwife, bribed by the empress Eusebia, destroyed as soon as born: on the other side, Julian himself, in a letter which he wrote in 363, that is, three years after the death of Helena, mentions his children, and the person who was charged with the care of their education.'

1. To which I answer, That the testimony of the forementioned writers ought to be relied upon: the truth of what they say ought not to be contested. If Julian's chastity had not been real and well known, heathen historians and panegyrists might and would have been silent, and have said nothing about it.

2. There is a remarkable instance of his self-government in this respect recorded in the Persian expedition, and which ought to be mentioned to his honour. The city Maogamalcha was taken after a difficult siege: when they came to divide the spoil, the Persian women being then renowned for beauty, it was proposed, that some of those beautiful captives should be allotted to the emperor and general: but Julian would not so much as see any of them. Which shows, that he was upon his guard against every thing that should endanger the steadiness of his resolution.

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*y* Divisâ itaque perennis meritis et laboribus prœclâ, ipse, ut erat parvo contentus, mutum puerum oblatum sibi suscipit gesticulârium, multa quæ callebat nutibus venustissimis explicantem, et tribus aureis numinis parte vicorize præmium juvendum ut existimabat et gratum. Ex virginibus autem quæ speciosae sunt capte ut in Perside, ubi feminarum pulchritudo excelsit, nec contractare aliquam voluit, nec videre; Alexandrum imitatus et Africanum, qui hæc declinabant, ne frangerentur cupiditate, qui se invictos a laboribus ubique præstiterant. Ammian. l. xxiv. cap. 4. p. 436.
3. When Julian speaks of 'the tutor of his children,' who is not named, the expression must be understood figuratively; for Julian had no children, legitimate or illegitimate. Historians are quite silent about them, excepting that one which he had by his wife Helena above mentioned, who was not suffered to live. If Julian had any children out of lawful marriage, and therefore illegitimate, can it be supposed, that christian writers would have been silent about it? By no means. Eumenius, in his Panegyric, recommends \(^2\) to Constantine not only his five children, of whom he was the parent, but his other children likewise, as he calls them, whom he had educated for the bar, or the court. In some such figurative sense Julian must be understood: he intends some young persons under his special care.

4. Upon the whole, therefore, the accounts of Julian's inviolate chastity ought not to be reckoned unlikely. Ammianus has mentioned divers considerations by which Julian supported his resolution—And he adds, that he was assisted therein by his great and constant temperance in food and sleep. Moreover, Julian's ardent thirst of fame may have been another preservative of this virtue. When Mamertinus says, that Julian was free from every vice incident to human nature, it is not improbable, that he has a regard to incontinence. His expressions are to this purpose: 'To\(^a\) some, says he, 'your justice, your humanity, your freedom from every vice incident to human nature, may appear wonderful and even incredible: but not to me, who know that you aim at immortality; and that in all your designs and actions you have an eye to the impartial judgment of posterity. He can do nothing mean and abject, who expects to be in the mouths of all men in all time.'

Secondly, it is objected from Chrysostom, \(^b\) that on festivals to the honour of Venus, or on some other like occasions, Julian walked in procession with lewd women, and others of the worst characters, followed by his horse


\(^a\) Sed sint, sanctissime imperator, ea quæ tu juste, moderate, civiliiter facias, alius fortasse miraculo: mihi esse non possunt; qui te, omnibus humanis vitis absolutum et liberum, sciam solo immortalitatis amore flagrare, dirigere omnes opes et cogitationes tuas ad memoriam posteriæ æternam, atque his maxime servire judicibus, qui de rebus gestis tuis sine odio et gratia venturis seculis judicabunt. Non potest quidquam abjectum et humile cogitare, qui scit de se semper loquendum. Mamert. cap. 31. p. 303.

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"and guards." Which is too true, though very strange; Ammianus\(^c\) acknowledges it, and intimates that he was ridi-
culed by some upon that account.

Still, it should be observed, that Chrysostom, and \(^d\) other ecclesiastical writers, who mention these and the like things, do not charge him with being guilty of debauch. In the style and language of \(^e\) Bletterie: "All this was done in public, and from a principle of religion. Thus making a monstrous mixture of folly and wisdom, he honoured the 'debauch as a pagan, and abstained himself as a philosopher.' Indeed, I am of opinion, that though Julian, in the excess of his zeal for Hellenism, was willing to bear a part in all its rites and solemnities, yet he scorned all debauch, and was entirely above it.

Once more, thirdly, it is said, that \(^f\) he practised necro-
manacy, and ripped up the bellies of women and children, and searched their entrails for discovering future events.

But I must confess, that I do not think these stories suf-
ciently attested; they are to be found in christian writers
only, who were his enemies, and therefore their testimony
may be suspected. I might add; that \(^g\) Gregory Nazianzen's accounts are extravagant, and improbable, and incredible; for he affirms, \(^h\) that the course of the river Orontes was choked by the heaps of dead bodies thrown into it in the 'night-time, some of them children, and virgins, sacrificed
in the way of divination, beside all the rest, that were hid
in pits and caverns, and other private places, in and near
'the palace.' A man who talks in that manner, minds not
what he says, and cannot be supposed to regard truth in his
words. Or, as Bletterie says, more respectfully, "St. It's Gregory not to be understood literally.'

\(^c\) —-et culpabatur hinc opportune, cum ostentationis gratiâ vehens licen-
ter pro sacerdotibus sacra stipatusque mulierculis lâetabatur. Amm. l. xxii.

\(^d\) Tâs òe propositâs te kai filotēsias, òe ðimotia taís pórniai prōtine te
kai antιπρωτείνειν, ùpokleptâs τὸ σέλγης μυθήμ προσχματι, πως θαυμα-
ζων αζιο;; Gr. Naz. Or. 4. p. 121. C.

\(^e\) Vie de L'Emp. Julien, p. 348.

\(^f\) Ti an tis logoi tais νεκρομαντιας, tais twn paideon σφαγai;; Chrys. Adv.

\(^g\) Σωτηρομαί τον Οροντην, και της νεκτημας νεκρης, οις τω βασιλει
συνεκρυπτεν όντως τεινομενους νεκρας, και κτυπων αϊδως; ενταθα γαι τα τε
επιτ ευπε οκειοτερου παραδομαι και των βασιλεων τα κολα και απωται,
ὅσα τε εν λακκοσ, και φιάρας και διωρης, κακων γεμοντα Νησαρων τ ει και μυσ-
τρωι των μονων των ανατιμωμενων παιδων ται και παρθενων ὑπτ ψυχωγως και
μαντιες, και θυσιας ου νεκτιματικας, αλα και των ὑπερ ευσβας καινυνευνο-

\(^h\) Ce qu'on ne doit pas sans doute prendre à la lettre. Vie de Julien, p. 349.
Theodoret says, 'that' when Julian, in his march into Persia, came to Carrhae, where was a celebrated temple of the moon, he performed sacrifices privately, unknown to almost every body; and having done so, he had the temple closely shut up and sealed, forbidding it to be opened till he returned, and leaving also a guard of soldiers to secure it: but upon the news of his death, the temple being opened, they found there a woman hanging by the hair of her head, her arms stretched out, with her belly dissected.'

But the circumstances of this relation are so improbable, as to lessen the credibility of it; for it is altogether unlikely, that so horrible a sacrifice, if it had been performed, should be left in that shameful posture, and hanging by the hair of the head; or that Julian should leave soldiers to guard it, when he had none to spare. It is much more reasonable to suppose, that some person invented this story, and others received it, at a time when Julian's memory was infamous, and his enemies were at liberty to say of him what they pleased.

We have briefly gone over the history of Julian from his birth to his death; and thereby have been led to take in also his character: but it will be fit that we should enlarge upon some transactions and events.

The two consuls in the year 362, were Claudius Mamertinus and Flavius Nevitta; and on the first day of January, Mamertinus pronounced in the senate at Constantinople a panegyric upon the emperor, by way of thanks for the honour of the consulship bestowed upon him. Early in the morning of that day, when they entered on their office, the two consuls went out to wait on the emperor at his palace, fearing he should be before-hand with them. As soon as Julian knew they were coming, he rose up suddenly, and went out to meet them, with tokens of concern in his countenance, as if he had been wanting in respect, and came forward and saluted them with the greatest possible regard: and when the consuls were carried to the senate in their...
chairs, he attended them on foot with their friends in the crowd. These things are in the panegyric itself, where they may have been inserted, after it was pronounced. The same is in Ammianus, who says, that \textsuperscript{m} some applauded this humble behaviour of Julian, whilst others disliked it, as mean, affected, and below his dignity. It was customary for the emperor to accompany the new consuls, when they entered on their office; but, as it seems, not on foot, or in the crowd.

A few days after, as we also learn from Ammianus, \textsuperscript{n} when Mamertinus exhibited the sports of the circus, a number of slaves were brought forth, according to custom, to be manumitted by him; and Julian being present, and not mind- ing what he did, or unacquainted with the prerogative of the several magistrates, declared them free himself; and being put in mind that he therein intrenched upon the jurisdiction of the consuls, he condemned himself in a fine of ten pounds weight of gold.

Julian appears to have renounced christianity, and to have embraced Hellenism, about the twentieth year of his age; but it was kept very secret, and was known to a very few only, who were his intimate friends, until after he was declared Augustus by the soldiers in Gaul; and even after that he was upon the reserve: for, as Ammianus has observed, \textsuperscript{t} when \textsuperscript{o} he was at Vienne, in his way to Constanti- nople, he still pretended to follow the christian rite, from which he had departed a good while before; and private- ly with his friends he practised augury and divination, and all other things customary with the Greeks: and in the month of January, \textsuperscript{v} [in the year 361,] on the festival called 'Epiphany, he went to the church of the christians.'

\textsuperscript{m} Allapso itaque Calendarum Januariarum die cum Mamertini et Nevitiae nomina suscepissent pagine consulares, humilior princeps visus est, in officio pedibus gradiendo cum honoratis; quod laudabant alii; quidam, ut affectaturn et vile, carpebant. Amm. l. xxii. cap. 8. p. 329.

\textsuperscript{n} Dein Mamertino ludos edente Circenses, manumittendis ex more inductis per admissionem proximum, ipse lege agi dixerat, ut solebat: statisque admonitus, jurisdictionem eo die ad alterum pertinent, ut errato obnuxiondecem libris auri semet ipse multavit. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{t} Utque omnes, nullo impediente, ad sui favorem illiceret, adherere cultui christiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occulte desciverat, arcanorurn participibus paucis, Haruspicis: augurisque intentus, et ceteris quae Deorum semper secere cultores. Et ut haec interim celementur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januario christianis Epiphaniam dictabant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solenniter numine orato discessit. Ammian. l. xxi. cap. 2.
But upon his being declared sole emperor, all reserve was laid aside. As the same historian says: 'Though * he had long dissembled his respect for the gods, to which he had been inclined from his youth, now finding himself at liberty to act as he saw good, he made express edicts for opening the temples, erecting altars, and performing sacrifices.'

And I think it appears from * Libanius, that the temples had been opened at Athens before the death of Constantius. Socrates* evidently supposeth, that the temples were opened, and sacrifices performed by Julian's authority in several cities, whilst Constantius was still living.

And in a letter to the philosopher Maximinus, written after he had been proclaimed emperor by the soldiers, but, as I apprehend, before * the end of the year 361, and whilst he was in Illyricum, he tells him: * You * will be glad to hear what I am going to say: we worship the gods publicly; the soldiers with me are become pious; we sacrifice bulls openly, and have given thanks to the gods in many catacombs. * However, as just seen, there were no edicts to this purpose, till after Julian was sole emperor.

And now he gave orders for the return of the bishops, who had been banished by Constantius, and for restoring their estates, which had been * confiscated. Jerom* has taken notice of this indulgence, and mentions the names of several catholic bishops, who now returned to their sees. This order, and the edict for opening the temples, according * to Socrates, were of the same date, soon after Julian's coming to Constantinople. Ammianus* likewise joins these

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* Et quamquam a rudimentis pueritiae primis inclinatione erat erga numinum cultum, paulatimque adolescentes desiderio rei flagratabat, multa metuens tamen agitabat quedam ad id pertinentia, quantum fieri poterat, occultissime. Ubi vero, abolisque verebatur, addess' libera tempus faciendi que vellet, advertit, sui pectoris patefecit arcana; et planis absolutisque decretis aperiri templina, arsque hostias admovei ad Deorum statuit cultum. Amm. l. xxii. cap. 5.

* Liban. Or. p. 288. C.

* Socrat. i. iii. cap. 1. p. 167. C. D.

* Bletterie allows, that this letter was written in the year 361, whilst Julian was yet in Illyricum, as indeed I think the letter itself shows. See his Lettres Choisies de L'Emp. Julien, p. 200, et 205. So likewise Tillemont. L'Emp. Julien, art. x. et note 4. et la Persecution par Julien, art. 1.


* Socrat. l. iii. cap. 1. p. 168. C. D.


* Loc. cit.

* Uteque dispositorum roboraret effectum, dissidentes christianorum antiques cum plebe discissâ in Palatium intrinimosso monebat, ut, civilibus discordis
things together; but he supposeth, that the liberty given
to the bishops to return home, was not done with any good
intention; but with a view of increasing divisions and con-
tentions among them: as \(^7\) Sozomen also expressly says.
The Donatists had their share in this indulgence; but it
seems not to have been pleasing to \(^7\) Augustine, and some
other catholics. At this time, undoubtedly, Julian openly
declared, that they might all worship God in their own way,
without molestation from him. As Ammianus says in the
place just cited: 'Ut quisque nullo vetante religioni sua
serviret intrepidus.'

Having given orders for restoring all the bishops in-
general, he wrote a letter to \(^a\) Aetius, a learned Arian writer,
inviting him to come to court. The \(^b\) letter is still extant.
\(^*\) Julian to the bishop Aetius. I have restored all others,
who were banished by the emperor Constantius, upon ac-
count of the madness of the Galileans. I not only forgive
you, but in regard to our friendship and acquaintance, I
desire you to come to me. I allow you the use of a public
chariot and a horseman for your journey.'

And it is reasonable to believe, that at this time Hellenism
was established by some edict, or edicts. Among Julian's
letters there is one to Artabius: who he was is not certainly
known; nor is the letter entire; but it may be considered
as an edict, published at the commencement of Julian's sole
empire. \(^*\) By \(^c\) the gods,' says he, 'I will not have the Gal-
ileans put to death, nor beaten unjustly, nor suffer any evil;
but I am by all means for preferring the worshippers of the
gods before them; for, by the madness of the Galileans, all
things were brought to the brink of ruin, and now we are
all safe by the goodness of the gods; therefore we ought
to honour the gods, and those pious men and cities that
worship them.'

That edict sufficiently indicates what treatment the chris-
tians were to expect under his reign. Socrates says, \(^\d\)
that \(^d\) he ordered that none should have any military offices at

consopitis, quisque nullo vetante religioni sua serviret intrepidus. Quod
agebat ideo obstinate, ut dissensiones augente licentia non timerest unanim-
tem postea plebem; nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales
plerique christianorum, expertus. Ammian. l. xxii. cap. 5.

\(^7\) Legentiae de me reusit τη περι αυτωυ ταυτα προσεαξαν αλλως τι υπο της προς
αλληλες ερως εμφανω μαχη πολεμεωθαι την εκκληςιαν, και των οικειων δια-

\(^a\) Denique tunc reddidit basilissas haereticis, quando templas demoniis. Aug.

\(^b\) See Vol. iii. p. 586.

\(^c\) Ep. 7. p. 376.

\(^d\) Socrat. l. iii. cap. 13.
court who would not renounce christianity, and offer sacrifices to images. Nor would he give the government of provinces to christians, because, as he said, their law forbids the use of the sword for the punishment of such as deserved death. Many he gained by flatteries and presents: others resigned their offices, being willing to part with the honours of this world, rather than deny Christ: among whom were Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens, who afterwards were emperors. Sozomen not only confirms this account, but likewise says, 'Julian not only deprived the christians of magistracy, and all honours and dignities, but likewise of equal rights of citizenship.' Which may have been true in some instances. But I do not suppose that there were any edicts, depriving all christians who would not sacrifice to the gods, of the privileges of citizens in the places where they lived.

However, Libanius says: 'He beheld with pleasure, and favoured those cities which had preserved the temples of the gods; but other cities, in which they had been all or most of them destroyed, he looked upon as abominable; and though he allowed them the privileges of subjects, it was not without some indignation and ill-will.' And Ammianus acknowledgeth, 'that sometimes when he was hearing causes, he would very unseasonably inquire into the religion of the parties; but he affirms, that Julian never passed an unjust or partial sentence upon account of religion, or any other account whatever.'

I need not enlarge upon this subject. Some of those who suffered in this reign, and have been called martyrs, may not deserve that title. Socrates says, 'that Julian avoided the excessive cruelties of Dioclesian's persecution; nevertheless he did not forbear to persecute, for I call that persecution,' says he, 'when men who live peaceably are molested. He molested the christians in this manner; he

---paraietmenos Thein, isopodiias erathin, kai synalloyn kai agorow metexyn kai ta evkathen, a orchein, a axiowmatow koinwvou h meteidi. Soz. l. v. cap. 18. p. 623. B.


Et quamquam in disciplando aliquoties erat intempestivus, quid quisque jurgantium coleret, tempore aliendo interrogans; tamen nulla ejus definitio litas a vero dissonans repertur: nec argui unquam potuit, ob religionem, vel quodcumque alium, ab sequitatis recto tranite deviasset. Amm. l. xxii. cap. x. in.

Socrat. l. iii. cap. 12.

--- Vide Basnag. ann. 362. num. xi.
Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

forbade that they should partake of human literature; lest, as he said, when they have whet their tongue, they should be more ready in answering the Greek disputants. Sozomen says, he would not allow the children of the christians to be instructed in the Greek poets, or orators, nor to frequent the schools of such as explained those writers. To the like purpose Theodoret. Augustine says, that Julian forbade the christians both to teach and learn polite literature. Gregory Nazianzen has not failed to take notice of this restraint, and to ridicule Julian for it.

Ammianus has twice mentioned it, and always with dislike, as a great hardship. Julian's edict is still extant: if it had not been long I should have alleged it here, but I shall remember it hereafter. Orosius says, that when Julian published his edict, forbidding the christian professors of rhetoric to teach the liberal arts, they all in general chose rather to resign their chairs than deny the faith: and Jerom, in his Chronicle, assures us, that when Julian published his law, that no christian should teach the liberal arts, Proeresius, the Athenian sophist, shut up his school, though the emperor had granted him a special licence to teach. Augustine records the like steadiness of Victorinus, who had long taught rhetoric with great applause at Rome. But Ecebolius, a christian sophist at Constantinople, who had been Julian's master in rhetoric, was overcome by the

k Soz. i. v. cap. 18.

1 Theod. l. iii. cap. 8. m An ipse non est ecclesiam persecutus, qui christianos liberales literas docere ac discere vetuit? De Civit. Dei, l. xviii. cap. 52.

n Greg. Or. 3. p. 51.

o Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos, ritus christiani cultores. Ammian. l. xxi. cap. x.

Namque et jura condidit non molesta—preter paucu. Inter quae erat illud inclemens, quod docere vetuit magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos christianos, ni transissent ad numinum cultum. Id. l. xxv. cap. 4. p. 463.

p Ep. 42. p. 422.


r Proeresius, sophista Atheniensis, lege latu, ne christiani liberalium artium doctores essent, et sibi specialiter Julianus concederet, ut christianos doceret, scholam sponte desceruit. Chr. p. 185.

s _______et illud addidit, [Simplicianus,] quod imperatoris Juliani tempore legem datae prohibitus sunt christiani docere litteraturam et oratoriam: quam legem ille amplexus loquaces scholam deserere maluit, quam verbum tuum, quo linguas infantum facis disertas. Aug. Confess. l. viii. cap. 5. num. 10. And see in this work, Vol. iv. p. 255, 256.

t Socr. l. iii. cap. 1. p. 165. A. B.
temptations of the times, and \(^u\) openly professed Hellenism: however, when Julian was dead he recovered himself, and with great humiliations entreated to be reconciled to the church.

It was his fancy to call the christians Galileans: it is taken notice of by divers ecclesiastical writers, \(^v\) who have made good remarks upon it: and some of them say, that he ordered by edicts that they should be so called. In this appellation there was no reason nor argument; but it might answer Julian's purpose, to make the christians appear contemptible in the esteem of weak people.

That was no late thought of Julian: we find him using this style at the beginning of his sole empire, before he left Constantinople. He there offered sacrifices to the genius of that city: after which, as Socrates says, Maris, the Arian bishop of Chalcedon, was brought to him, who was an old man, and had lost his sight. He \(^x\) reproached Julian, calling him impious, apostate, and atheist: who returning reproach for reproach, called Maris blind: nor, says he, is your Galilean God able to cure you. For he was wont to call Christ the Galilean, and the christians Galileans. Maris replied: I thank God who has made me blind, that I might not see the face of a man who has so fallen into impiety as you have done. To which Julian made no farther answer. Sozomen, who tells the same story, adds: 'For he thought he should better advance the cause of Hellenism, by showing himself beyond expectation mild and patient toward the christians.' And I also think, that the christians would have acted more agreeably to the doctrine of the gospel, and more for its honour, if they had avoided abusive and indecent reproaches of an emperor.\(^y\)

It cannot be denied that Julian was a persecutor. Am-

\(^u\) επι δε Ιουλιανος γοργος Ελλην εραιντο. κ. λ. Socr. l. iii. cap. 13. p. 194. D.


\(^x\) Πέλλα τον βασιλεα προσελθων περιβραισ, τον ασβη καλων, τον αποστατην, και αθεων. 'Ο δε λογος τας άθρας ημειδετο, τοινον καλεσα. Και κε αν, φησιν, ο Γαλαλαιως σε θεος θεραπευσε σε' Γαλαλαιων γαρ ειμωει ο Ιουλιανος καλων των Χριστων, και τως χρησαντως Γαλαλαιως. Socrat. l. iii. c. 12. p. 183. D.

\(^y\) Kai o βασιλευς μην αποκριμενος παρεδραμεν φασε γαρ ταυτη μαλλον 'Ελληνισμον κρατυναι ανεξακακον και προφω αδοκην των μαθητων των χριστιανων αυτων επιδεικνυς. Soz. l. v. cap. 4. p. 599. D.
mianus thought his prohibiting the christians to have a liberal education a rigorous proceeding. Eutropius also, another heathen, and contemporary, says, that Julian bore hard upon the christians, though without putting them to death. Socrates, as we have already seen, says he avoided the excessive cruelty of Dioclesian’s persecution: and other christian writers say, that he envied christians the honour of martyrdom. Jerom, in his Chronicle, gives this character of Julian’s persecution, that it was mild, and enticing rather than compelling men to sacrifice; but he acknowledged, that many were drawn aside. Orosius speaks to the like purpose. Gregory Nazianzen, near the end of his second invective against Julian, remarking upon his Mispogon, or Satyr against the people of Antioch, expresseth himself after this manner: ‘You boast mightily of your never eating to excess, as a wonderful thing; but say not, how you have oppressed the christians, an innocent and a numerous body of men. Not considering, that whether some particular person is troubled with crudities, or not, is a thing of little consequence to the public: whereas by the persecution which you have raised, the whole Roman empire has been disturbed.’

No ancient christian writer, perhaps, has drawn Julian’s character to greater advantage than Prudentius, who ascribes to him great fortitude: and not only says, that he was a fine speaker and writer, but also that he made good laws, and was a good emperor; but he was an enemy to the true religion: he was faithful to the interests of the state, but was unfaithful to God, and worshipped innumerable deities, which he shows largely.

And I would take this opportunity to refer curious and

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* Nimius religionis christianæ insectator, perinde tamen ut cruore abstine·rit. Eutrop. l. x. cap. 16.
  a Vide Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 72. &c.
  b Juliano ad idolorum cultum converso, blanda persecutio fuit, illiciens magis, quam impellens ad sacrificandum: in quia multi ex nostris voluntate proprià corruerunt. Chr. p. 185.
  d Gregor. Or. 4. p. 133, 134.
  e Principibus tamen e cunctis non defuit unus, Me puero, ut memini, ductor fortissimis armis, Conditor et legum, celeberrimus ore manuque, Consultor patriæ, sed non consultor habendæ Religionis, amans ter centum millia divīm. Perfidus ille Deo, quamvis non perfidus orbi. Prudcnt. Apoth. ver. 450, &c.
inquisitive readers to several learned moderns, who have made remarks upon Julian's writings, and upon his conduct as an emperor, and are not unfavourable in their judgments concerning him.

And it has been observed, that there was such a mixture of good and bad qualities in this prince, that it is easy to praise and blame him at the same time, without deviating from the truth.\[h\]

II. It cannot be necessary, that I should take notice of all Julian's works; but there is one which cannot be omitted. For at length, in his great zeal, in the midst of his preparations for the Persian war, and when he was almost ready to set out upon that expedition, he was at the pains to compose an argument against the Christian religion. Jerom\[i\] says, it consisted of seven books; and in another place he has quoted the seventh book of that work: but Cyril of Alexandria, in the preface to his confutation of it, mentions only three books, written by Julian against the holy gospels, and the venerable religion of the christians. Cyril, who dedicates this defence of our religion, in ten books, to Theodosius the younger, did not write, as is supposed, before the year 432: whether any part of Julian's work was lost between the time of Jerom and Cyril, or whether it was differently divided, I cannot say. But that Cyril mentions three books only, because he intended to answer a part only of the work, I cannot believe. When he says, that Julian had written three books against the Christian religion, I suppose he intends the whole of the work which he had before him.

Philip Sidetes, who flourished about the year 418, published a confutation of Julian's work, as we learn from


\[h\] It may not be improperto insert here a part of Julian's character, as given by Cave in his Introduction, p. xlvii. A prince truly of great virtues, prudent, considerative, impartial, strictly just, chaste, and temperate, patient of hardships, unwearied in his labours, valorous in his attempts, even to rashness and precipitancy — — In short, to give him his due, had not his memory been stained with an apostasy from the best religion that ever was, and so bitter and incurable a spleen against the christians, he might have passed for one of the best princes that ever managed the Roman empire.


\[k\] In Osee, cap. 11. T. iii. p. 1311. fin.

\[1\] Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν συγγεραθέων βιβλίων κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων εὐαγγέλων, καὶ κατὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἤρηκεν. Cyril. contr. Julian. l. i. p. 3. D.
Socrates; but it was never much valued, and has been long since lost: we therefore can have no information from him.

Jerom seems to say, that Julian's work was composed in the Persian expedition, 'in expeditione Parthicâ.' But I do not think it needful to suppose, as some have done, that he intended to say, it was written after Julian was set out from Antioch, in his march toward Persia. I think, we may rely upon Libanius for the time of this work; who, as cited by Socrates, says: 'In the winter season, during the long nights, the emperor set himself to confute those books which make the man of Palestine a God, and the Son of God: and in a long and unanswerable argument he showed, how trifling and absurd those things are which are admired by them. In which work he excelled the Tyrian old man: let the Tyrian forgive me, that I say, he was exceeded by his son.' But, says Socrates, I am of opinion, that if Porphyry had been an emperor, he would have preferred his work above Julian's. Cave likewise speaks very slightly of this performance. Indeed, I apprehend, there could not be much in it that was new, and had not been said before: but Julian's work might be more sprisingly for the manner, and might have some satirical strokes against the followers of Jesus peculiar to himself. And I am apt to think, that he oftener quoted the writers of the New Testament by name, and more distinctly, than any of his predecessors in this argument: and therefore he will afford us good evidence of their genuineness and antiquity. Some have imagined, that in this design Julian was assisted by Libanius, and other philosophers who accompanied him: but I believe, that he needed not their assistance, and that he was better qualified to write upon this argument than any of those sophists or philosophers. According to our account then, this work was composed by Julian near the end of the year 362, or in the beginning of the year 363.

Libanius calls it a long work: indeed I believe it was prolix. Cyril transcribes many passages from it at length: afterwards he abridges, and plainly omits some tedious quotations from the scriptures, especially from the Old Tes-

\[m\] L. vii. cap. 27.  
\[n\] Τω χειμώνιοι, φησι, τας νυκτας εκτινοντος, επιθεμένος ὁ βασιλεύς τας βιβλίας, οἱ τον εκ Παλαιστίνης ανθρώπον θεον καὶ θεον πανεῖ πιστοί, κ. λ. Socrat. l. iii. cap. 23. p. 196. D.  
\[o\] II. L. T. i. p. 345. in Libanio.  
\[p\] On peut juger, que ce n'est, que les philosophes qui accompagnaient Julien, eurent part aux livres contre la religion chrétienne, que ce prince compoit pendant les longues nuits de l'hiver. Bletterie, Vie de Julien, p. 383.
Julian, His Design to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. A. D. 361. 603
tament. And at a the beginning he complains, that Julian's
work was very immethodical, and had many repetitions,
saying the same thing again and again.
In Cyril's Confutation are many large fragments of Ju-
lian's work, in which he argues against the Old and the
New Testament, against Moses and the Jews, as well as
against Jesus and his apostles, and followers. Cyril pro-
miseth to b cite Julian in his own words; but he declares,
that c he omits some of his blasphemous reflections upon our
Saviour. However, he has taken a good many things that
are free and offensive: and in Julian and Libanius we may
see what was the language of those times.
Cyril's answer to Julian, as before said, was not written
before d the year 432. Theodoret e had read it, and says he
admired it. Du Pin f considers it as one of the principal
of Cyril's works: he says it is clear and learned, and more
solid than the work of Julian; though it is far from being
so elegant and agreeable.
III. I intend to give a particular account of that work:
after which I shall make extracts out of some of Julian's
epistles and edicts. But before I proceed to those things,
it is needful that I consider what is said of Julian's regard
for the Jews, of which as yet I have taken no notice.
We are informed by some, g or all our ecclesiastical his-
torians, who write of Julian, that he sent for some of the
chief men of the Jewish nation, and inquired of them why
they did not now sacrifice as the law of Moses directed.
They told him, that they were not to sacrifice at any place
except Jerusalem; and the temple being destroyed, they
were obliged to forbear that part of worship. He thereupon
promised to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. And we still
have a h letter of Julian inscribed to i the Community of the
Jews: j in which he boasts of his having abolished some
taxes which had been laid upon them, and calls k their
venerable patriarch lilus his brother. He also entreats
their prayers for him, l that m when he shall be returned

aContr. Julian. l. ii. p. 38. C. D.
b—επιθετειμονε δε των πτεχεις επι λειεως αυτης. Ib. l. ii. p. 38. C.
cIbid. D.
eΚαι αναγινοντες θεαμασαμεν. Theod. ep. 83. p. 960. B.
fS. Cyril d'Alex. Tom. iii. Part. ii. p. 48. Amst.
iτον αδελφον Ιωλαν τον αδελφωματον πατρωρχην παρρεσα. p. 397.
j—ινα καγω τον των Περσων πολεμον διωθυσαμενος, την εκ πολλων
ετων επιθυμμενην παρ' υμιν εις εικεμενν πολω άγιαν Ισραηλημ εμως
καματως ανουκοδομησας οικησω, και εν αυτη δοξαν δωσω μεθ' υμων τη Καινησιν.
kp. 398.
victorious from the Persian war, he may rebuild the holy city Jerusalem, which for a long time they had earnestly desired to see inhabited, and that he might come and dwell there himself, and together with them offer up prayers to the supreme Deity.

This letter, however extraordinary, must be reckoned genuine: for Sozomen expressly says, 'that Julian wrote to the patriarchs and rulers of the Jews, and to their whole nation, desiring them to pray for him and the prosperity of his reign.' That is an exact description of the letter we have, which is inscribed to the Community of the Jews.

It was written in the year 362, as Bletterie supposeth: in the beginning of that year, say Tillemont and the bishop of Gloucester.

And we are informed by many ancient writers, that Julian did actually give orders for rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, and that the attempt was defeated by divine interposition. It is mentioned by three contemporary writers, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Ambrose bishop of Milan, all Christians, and also Ammianus Marcellinus, a learned heathen, and afterwards by Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Philostorgius, as well as by later writers. Let us begin with the contemporaries.

'Julian,' says Gregory Nazianzen, 'having sent for the Jews, assured them, that he had discovered from their own books, that now the time was come when they were to return to their own country, when their temple was to be rebuilt, and they were to live again according to the laws of their ancestors. They were easily persuaded to believe what was so desirable to them; and immediately great numbers of them, with the utmost alacrity, set about the work. And it is said by those who are their good friends, that their women not only resigned all their valuable ornaments with great readiness, but also joined in the work, carrying earth in their bosoms, and in their richest garments, not thinking anything too much to promote so pious a design. But being interrupted by a hurricane, and an earthquake, they ran to a church not far off, either to pray or for shelter: and there are who say, that the

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a Και πατριαρχας και αρχιστόλος οὐν, και αυτῷ δὲ πληθεὶς εγραφέν, εγκε-θαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. Σοζ. Ι. ν. καπ. 22. τιν.  
b Lettres choisies du Julien, p. 236.  
c Persecution par Julien, art. 35. M. E. Tom. vii.  
d See his Julian, p. 65.  
e Ruf. H. E. i. καπ. 37, et 38.  
φασι γε τοι τας γυναικας αυτους, οι τα εκατων δειναζονται — κ. λ. p. 111. B.  
h Ετοι μεν, οι λεγοντις, ως ελε το ιερον αυτως προσεβελετο. Ib. D.
church would not admit them; and that though they found
the doors open, they were presently shut again, and bolted
by an invisible power—However it is said by all, and
universally believed, that as they were using their utmost
efforts to get into the church, a flame issued out from it
which entirely destroyed and consumed some of, and
scorched and maimed others in their members; so that
they were living monuments of the justice and vengeance
of God upon sinners—And moreover,' as he goes on,
there was 'a light in the heaven, exhibiting a cross with
a circle round it—And when there were such signs in
earth and in heaven, were there not also some in the air?
Was not that also sanctified with the signs of our Lord's
passion? Let them who were spectators of this wonderful
event, and partakers in it, now show their garments which
were then marked with the prints of the cross. For at
that time, as any one spoke of it, or heard it related, whether
he was one of our own people, or a stranger, each one pre-
sently observed the wonder either upon himself, or upon
his neighbour; discerning manifestly a radiant mark upon
his body, or in his garments, surpassing the finest em-
broidery or painting. Which so affected the minds of
those who saw them, that almost all, as with one consent,
were induced to acknowledge the God of the christians,
and endeavoured to appease him by prayers and praises:
and they came to our priests, humbly entreatting the favour
of baptism.

So writes Nazianzen in his invective against Julian, written
soon after that emperor's death. It is not yet time for me
to make remarks; but surely, no attentive reader can forbear
to make some observations upon so strange a relation; in
which a contemporary, representing a matter of so great
importance, more than once refers to hearsays and common
reports, instead of appealing to his own sight and know-
ledge.

Chrysostom has several times spoken of this thing, and
deserves to be taken notice of as well as any.

And 1 in our time the emperor, who exceeded all men in

1 —τη φως εν τιν πραγμ τον ταυρον περγυμον — p. 112. B.

P. 113.

1 Καὶ γαρ επι της γενες της ἡμετερος, ὃ παντας με αοβειαν νυκηςα βασι-
λευς, και εχουκ εξουαν τοτε, και συνεπραβε, και τι ἐργη ἡματο, και ὥθε μουρον
προσδειν ενυπημαν αλλα και πυρ απ των ζημελων εκπήρησαν παντας
αυτης απηλασεν. 'Οτι δε ἠματησαν, και των ἐφιμα εσεν ιως την γυμνη
γυμνωθενη, ινα εδος, ὅτι επεχηραν διακαπτην, ουκοδομησαι δε με σιγμαν,
580. E.
impiety, gave them leave to build their temple, and assisted them in it. And they began the work, but could not proceed at all; for a fire rising up from the foundation drove them all away. And that they had a mind to it, appears from the foundations which still lie open: whereby it may be discerned, that they began to dig, but were not able to build, they having met with an obstruction.'

In another place, the same great orator, and fine writer, having largely related the conversation of Julian with the Jews, and his proposal to them that they should sacrifice, he goes on: 'Nevertheless, still blinded against all means of conviction, they entreated him to join with them in rebuilding the temple: and he furnished them with money, and appointed officers of great distinction to superintend the work, and sent for artificers from all parts. He attempted every thing; he omitted nothing that could be done; hoping, that if he could bring them to sacrifice, he should also persuade them to the worship of images; hoping likewise, in his great perverseness, to confute the declaration of Christ, that the temple should not be rebuilt. But he who "taketh the wise in their own craftiness," soon showed by the effects, that the decrees of God are more powerful than all things, and that his word is firmly established. For as soon as they began their impious attempt, and were removing the foundations, and had dug away a good deal of earth, and were ready to set about the building, fire bursting from the foundations burnt many of them, and cast away many stones from the place, and interrupted the vain attempt. And not only they who were employed in the work, but many Jews likewise, when they saw what had happened, were confounded and ashamed. And the emperor Julian having been informed of these things, though he was to distraction intent upon the design, fearing lest he should bring down the fire upon his own head, desisted, being overcome, together with the whole nation. And now, if you should go to Jerusalem, you may see the foundations open: and if you inquire the reason, you will hear no other than that just mentioned. And we are witnesses of it; for it happened in our time, not long ago. And observe the splendour of this victory; for it happened not in the time of pious emperors, lest some should say, they were the christians who obstructed the work: it happened when we were in affliction, when all were in fear for their lives, when our liberty was gone, when Hellenism flourished; and the faithful were some of them shut up

in their houses, fearing to stir abroad, others were retired into deserts, and fled from cities. Then these things happened, that the most impudent might have no pretence to deny them.'

Again, having observed the declaration made to Julian by the Jews, that they could not now offer sacrifices, the temple being in ruins: 'He ordered money to be allowed them out of the public treasury, and every thing necessary to carry on the building, and then bid them go and repair the temple, and offer sacrifices according to the ancient custom. And they who were blind from the womb, and even to old age, went away and set about the work under the emperor's favour: but as soon as they began to remove the earth, fire issuing from the foundations consumed them all. When these things were related to the emperor, he dared not to proceed any farther, being restrained by fear: nevertheless he did not forsake the worship of demons, to whom he was subject.'

Once more, where he says, that after the christian religion had been established, there were not so frequent miracles as at the beginning; 'Yet in our time,' says he, 'in the reign of Julian, who surpassed all men in impiety, there were many miracles. And when the Jews attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, fire issuing out from the foundations of the temple restrained them.'

This may suffice for showing the testimony of Chrysostom in this point.

Ambrose, bishop of Milan, in a letter to the emperor Theodosius, supposed to have been written in the year 388, says: 'Have you not heard, Sir, that when Julian gave command to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, the workmen were destroyed by fire sent from God?'

There still remains one contemporary writer to be quoted, who is Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen, and a good historian, and well acquainted with the emperor.

'Julian,' says he, 'who had been already thrice consul,

\[\text{m} \text{De S. Babyl. contr. Julian. et Gentil. Tom. ii. p. 547. C. D.}\]

\[\text{n} \text{Kai ὃς αὐτῶν τε ὅμω τον χων ηδαντο κενω, και πυρ τῶν θεμελίων εκπηδησαν αδρον απαντας αυτας καταναλωσαν.} \text{Ib. p. 574. C.}\]

\[\text{o} \text{In Matt. hom. 4. Tom. 7. p. 47. A.}\]

\[\text{p} \text{Non audisti, imperator, quia cum jussisset Julianus reparari templum Hierosolymis, divino, qui faciebant repurgium, igne flagrarunt? Ambr. Ep. 40. Cl. i. T. ii. p. 494.}\]

\[\text{q} \text{Julianus vero, jam ter Consul, adscito in collegium trabee Sallustio prefecto per Gallias, quartum ipse amplissimum inverat magistratum; et videbatur novum adjunctum esse Augusto privatum, quod post Diocletianum et Aristobulum nullus meminerat gestum. Et licet accidensium varietatem}\]
taking for his colleague Sallust, praefect of the Gauls,
entered for the fourth time on that high office: and
although he was not without a solicitous concern for fi-
tility, considering the various events which this year was
likely to produce, he carried on his preparations for the
war with the utmost diligence. And still enlarging his
views, and being desirous to perpetuate the memory of his
reign by some great works, he resolved to rebuild at a vast
expense the magnificent temple at Jerusalem; which
after a long and obstinate siege, begun by Vespasian,
and carried on by Titus, had been with great difficulty
taken and destroyed. The conduct of this affair was com-
mitted by him to Alypius of Antioch, who formerly had
been lieutenant in Britain, with orders to forward it as
much as possible. When therefore Alypius had set him-
self to the work with the greatest resolution, and was
also assisted by the governor of the province, frightful balls
of fire broke out near the foundations: and those eruptions
being repeated, they rendered the place inaccessible to the
workmen, who were scorched and burnt several times
before they left off. But the element continuing to repel
them, the enterprise was laid aside.

So writes Ammianus: according to whom, therefore, this
attempt was made in the beginning of the year 363, when
Julian was setting out from Antioch on his Persian expedi-
tion.

So likewise says Socrates, whom I shall allege next. Hav-
ing mentioned Julian’s conference with the Jews, who told
him, that they could sacrifice no where but at Jerusalem, he
says, ‘Julian’ immediately gave orders for rebuilding
Solomon’s temple: and then he went away against the
Persians. But the Jews, who had long been desirous to
see the temple rebuilt, set about the work with great di-
ligence—And as the emperor had directed that the ex-
pense should be borne out of the public treasury, materials
solicita mente praepiciens, multiplicatos expeditionis apparatus flagranti studio
perurgeret; diligentiam tamen ubique dividens, imperiere sui memoriam
magnitudine operum gestiens propagare, ambitiosum quondam apud Hiero-
solymas templum, quod post multa et interiecva certamina, obsidente Ves-
pasiano, posteaque Tito, aegre est expugnatum, instaurare sumatibus cogitabat
immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dedit Antiocheni, qui olim
Britannias curaverat pro praefectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret
Alypius, juvaretque provinciae rector, metuendi globi flammarum propo
fundamenta crebis assulibus crumpentes, fecere locum, exustis aliquoties operanti-
bus, inaccessum. Hocque modo elemento destinatus repellente, cessavit in-

καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους κτίσεοι καὶ τὸν Σολομωνος ναὸν. Και αυτος ετι Περσας
ηλασε. Ib. p. 192. D.
were soon provided; timber, stones, burnt-brick, clay, lime, and all other things needful for a building. At that time Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, mindful of the prophecy of Daniel, and of what Christ had said in the gospels, predicted before many people, that the time was now come, that one stone would not be left upon another in that temple, and our Saviour's word would be fulfilled. So said that bishop. And in the night there was an earthquake, which tore up the stones of the old foundations, and dispersed them, with the adjacent edifices: and by that accident the Jews were much terrified; and the fame of it brought many to the place from distant parts. When therefore many were gathered together, another prodigy happened; for there came down from heaven a fire which consumed all the workmen's tools; and you might see mallets, irons for polishing stones, saws, axes, spades, and all such instruments which are made use of in building, consumed by the flames: the fire preyed upon these things for a whole day together. The Jews thereupon being terrified, acknowledged, though unwillingly, Christ to be God. However, they obeyed not his will, but still remained prepossessed in favour of Judaism. Nor did the third miracle, which afterwards happened, induce them to the belief of the truth: for in the night following, radiant marks of the cross were impressed on their garments. When they saw them the next day they endeavoured to

1 Πολλοις τε προελευνήσαν, ὡς ἀρα νῦν ἢκεῖ ὁ καιρὸς, ὅτε λόθος επὶ λίθον κε αὐτόν εἰς τὸν ναὸν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ Σωτήρος λόγια πληρωθέντα. p. 193. B.

2 It is very absurd for any Christians to talk in that manner. Christ's words had been fulfilled almost 500 years before that time. Matt. xxiv. 34. "Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." And so it came to pass, as we know from Josephus and others. There is, in my opinion, a much better sense in Rufinus. "Cyril was then bishop of Jerusalem; and when the Jews were about to lay the foundations of a new temple, he, considering the prophecies of Daniel, and the words of our Lord recorded in the gospels, confidently asserted, that it could not be, that the Jews should be able to lay there one stone upon another." His words are these: Cyrilus post maximum confessorem Hierosolymis episcopus habebatur. Apertis igitur fundamentis, calce caementoque adhibitis, nihil omnino deearat, quin die posterā veteribus turbātis, nova jacentem fundamenta; cum tamen episcopus, diligenti consideratione habitā, vel ex illis quae in Danielis prophētia de temporibus legerat, vel quae in evangelīs Dominus praeedium, persistērunt, nullo genere fieri posse, ut ibi a Judaeis lapis super lapidem ponērur. Rufin. l. i. cap. 37. So writes Rufinus. And, perhaps, the sense which we have in Socrates's History is owing to his misinterpretation of Rufinus, and not rightly understanding him; for I suppose that Socrates here borrowed from Rufinus. However, undoubtedly the learned reader will consult the Annotations of Valesius upon Socrates.
rub and wash them out, but in vain: to so great a degree 'were they blinded.'

The same story is told at length by Sozomen, * Theodoret, w Philostorgius, x and other Christian writers, though with somewhat different circumstances. Theodoret in particular tells us, it y was said, that upon this occasion the Jews had shovels, mallets, and baskets, made of silver.

Some Jewish writers also have been alleged as bearing testimony to this event: I shall also allege z them here as cited by Wagenseil, to whom divers learned men have referred.

That is the history of this affair, which is generally credited; and indeed it seems hard to deny or dispute the truth of a relation, attested by several contemporaries, beside many others who lived not very long after them. Accordingly the truth of this history is maintained by Fabricius, a Witsius, b the learned and laborious Dr. Warburton, now bishop of Gloucester, c and others, men of the highest reputation in the republic of letters.

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* Soz. l. v. cap. 22. 
* Philost. l. vii. sect. 9. p. 566. 
* Fab. de aevus et sect. aevi, \( \varepsilon \delta \mu \alpha \rho \gamma \nu \varphi \kappa \alpha \mu \alpha \varsigma \alpha \varsigma \) et \( \kappa \alpha \sigma \sigma \nu \iota \varsigma \alpha \varsigma \). Ut supra, p. 142. C.
* Miscellanea Sacra, Tom. ii. p. 374, &c.
* Julian, &c. It is a handsome octavo of 320 pages, beside an Introduction. The late Mr. Mosheim, who had seen the first edition of that work, seems to have thought his lordship had overdone it. His words are: Nuper ex instituto, sed interdum ingeniosius, quam necessa erat, pro veritate miraculi disputavit Guil. Warburton. Julian, or a Discourse, &c. Lond. 1750. in 8vo. Moshem. Inst. H. E. p. 148.
Julian. His Regard for the Jewish People. A.D. 361. 611

Basnage d made some objections to the truth of this history, which have been considered by e divers learned men, and particularly and largely by f the bishop of Gloucester in the work before referred to: I also have had many thoughts upon this subject, which I desire now to propose with due deference to the judgment of others: I shall not transcribe Basnage; but I have been led to argue in this manner.

I. Julian's own writings may dispose us to think that he never attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. He designed it, but it is not so clear that he attempted it, or actually set about it, or gave orders for it. In his Letter to the Community of the Jews, before taken notice of, he desires their prayers for the prosperity of his reign, 'and the rather, forasmuch as if he succeeded in his war with the Persians, he would rebuild their holy city of Jerusalem.' But he did not succeed in the war, and he never returned from Persia, therefore he never set about rebuilding Jerusalem, or the temple there: nor did he, at the time of writing that letter, intend to set about it, unless he first succeeded in the war with the Persians. He seems to have supposed it to be a work which he should not be able to undertake till after the Persian war was over, and had a good issue.

In the fragment of some oration or epistle, having taken notice how often the Jewish temple had been destroyed, and was not yet restored, he adds: 'I h say not this by way of reproach; for I also have designed, [or have had a design,] to raise that temple, which has been so long in ruins, to the honour of the God who is there worshipped.' Therefore, when that letter was written, this design was laid aside; or, he did not think that to be a proper time and season to set about it. The present circumstances of his affairs did not admit of such an undertaking, nor allow him to give orders about it.

When that letter or oration was written is not clear. Dr. Warburton thinks it was written in the spring of the year 363; his words are these [at p. 73]: 'Where Julian, speaking of the customary honours paid to the gods, says:

"Which not three years, nor three thousand have esta-

e Vid Fabric. Lux Evangelii, p. 130. in notis.
f See his Lordship's Julian, B. ii. ch. 4. p. 174, &c. the second edition, in 1751.
g Julian. Ep. 397. D. See the words cited above at p. 604. note d.
h ἢ ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκείνων ἐκεί

D 2 R 2
Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

"blished, but all past ages among all nations upon earth."

By the three years he evidently alludes to his restoration of idolatry; which at any time sooner than the Persian expedition, was not entitled to so high a date. For he was first saluted Augustus in the spring of the year 360, and the Persian expedition was in the spring 363; at this time, therefore, he had well digested his defeat at Jerusalem.

That is an ingenious conjecture, but not decisive. It is not clear, that Julian here refers to his own restoration of the heathen rites: the phrase, 'three years,' need not to refer to any determinate period; it may denote no more than this: 'which not a few years, nor several thousand years have established, but all past ages.' Secondly, it cannot refer or allude to Julian's restoration of idolatry; for that had not been done 'three years,' nor two years, by a great deal. In the spring of the year 363, it was not more than three years since he had been declared Augustus by the soldiers in Gaul: not yet quite a year and half since his being sole Augustus; and not more than two years since he had at all made an open profession of Hellenism, allowing him to have begun to make it when he was in Illyricum, before the death of Constantius. Julian in this place, as I think, useth a definite for an indefinite number, by 'three,' meaning a few only. So in his work against the Christians, he says, the law of Moses was designed to be everlasting.

And this he says, he will demonstrate not from ten only, but from ten thousand passages of Moses himself.' Which answers to the place under consideration, and may show, that by 'three years,' no certain space of time was intended: consequently this argument of his lordship for the date of this epistle must fall to the ground. And there can be no reason to believe, that this letter was written in the beginning of the year 363, or that Julian here refers to any extraordinary defeat which had been given to his design of rebuilding the temple: and whenever that letter was written, it affords reason to believe, that Julian had not yet given any orders for rebuilding the temple.

Once more, I argue from some things said by Julian in his work against the Christians, where he observes, that the Jews might offer sacrifices at other places beside Jerusalem. We know, that work was not composed long before he set out upon the Persian expedition. If that was his mind

then, it seems, that he was grown more indifferent about rebuilding the Jewish temple than he had formerly been.

The words to which I refer stand thus: 'But* this person,' says Cyril, 'I know not how, sometimes approves of the Jewish customs; at other times he blames them, as separate from all other men; and as having most unreasonably given over sacrificing, though Elias, as he says, sacrificed in Carmel, and not in the holy city Jerusalem.' It appears to me very unlikely, that Julian should be disposed to gratify the Jews at a vast, and then unseasonable, and inconvenient expense, in what he reckoned an unreason-

able fancy.

If Julian's work against the christians, as Libanius says, was composed 'in the winter-season, during the long nights,' that is, near the end of the year 362, and the beginning of 363, it is not at all likely, that he should in the beginning of the same year 363, issue out orders for rebuilding the Jewish temple at Jerusalem.

In that oration, or epistle, to which we have referred several times, at p. 295, are these expressions:—' What will the Jews say to their own temple, which has been thrice demolished, and is not raised again to this day? Ti περὶ τε νεω φησιν, τε παρ' αυτοις, τριτων ανασταπεντοις, εγειρομεν δε εδε νυν. Some learned men have supposed, that here is a reference to the defeat of Julian's attempt to rebuild the temple, and that Julian himself here acknowledgeth it. But the bishop of Gloucester, p. 74, in the notes, has candidly and judiciously shown that to be a mistake. For, 1. 'De-

* feating an attempt to rebuild cannot, in any known figure of speech, be called the overthrow of a building. 2. And is not raised again to this day, cannot be said of a building that had been destroyed but two months before.' And by the three subversions here spoken of, his lordship supposes may be meant that by the Assyrians, and that by the Romans: and by the third may be meant the profanation of the temple by Antiochus.

If I should allow myself to represent this a little differ-

ently, it would be after this manner: The case was this; the temple was then in ruins, and had been so for a long time; it had been demolished more than once; Julian did


1 So Bletterie, Vie de Julien, l. v. p. 398, and Dr. Chapman in his Euse-
bius, against the Moral Philosopher, Tom. i. p. 403, 409.
not think himself obliged to say how often; and it was to his purpose to augment, rather than diminish the number of its subversions. Indeed, it had been demolished but twice; that is, by the Assyrians, and then by the Romans; the emperor says thrice, not being careful to be exact.

Or, if it be needful to understand Julian literally, we may suppose, that he refers to the subversion of Jerusalem, and the Jewish people, in the time of Adrian, spoken of by Eusebius in his History,\(^m\) and in his Chronicle,\(^n\) and by other writers elsewhere.\(^o\) This Julian might compute for the third.

2. That Julian should give orders for building the temple, and allotted money for it out of the public treasury, when he was setting out for Persia, is very unlikely. It is not easily credible, that he could at that time do anything that might at all impede the expedition against the Persians, upon which he had been so long intent. We may reasonably suppose, that when he wrote his letter to the Community of the Jews, and told them\(^p\) he would rebuild their temple, if he returned victorious;\(^q\) he was then sensible he could not attempt it sooner; and that he should want all the resources of money and treasure for that one design: which seems actually to have been the case. And when Marcellinus speaks of Julian's attempt, he appears to have been very sensible that the emperor's hands were full, and that there was at that time no room for any other expensive undertaking, beside the Persian war.

3. Great weight is laid upon the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, who was a heathen, and an impartial historian.

But then, it has been said by some, that he had his account from the Christians, and took it up without examination. To which I would add, that he was credulous, as appears from many things in his history;\(^p\) he might, therefore, without scruple, record a miraculous interposition, which had been reported to him. Indeed, he appears very ready to receive the reports of extraordinary things.

\(^m\) Eus. H. E. l. iv. cap. 6.

\(^n\) Bellum judaicum, quod in Palæstinâ gerebatur, finem accipit, rebus Jüdæorum penitus oppressis; ex quo tempore etiam introeundi eis Jerosolymam licentia ablata, &c. Chron. p. 167.

\(^o\) Vid. Vales. in Euseb. H. E. and see here in this work, Vol. vi. p. 510—513.

\(^p\) Nocte tamen, quem declarationis Augustæ præcesserat diem, junctoribus proximis retulerat imperator, per quietem aliquem visum, ut formari Genius publicus solet, hac objurgando dixisse.—Ammian. l. xx. cap. 5. fin.

— vidit squalidius, ut confessus est proximis, speciem illam Genii publici, quam, cum ad Augustum surgeret culmen, conspexit in Galliâ. Id. l. xxv. cap. 2. p. 451.
things are mentioned by him which we cannot but wonder to see related by a man of gravity, and with plain marks of assent.

4. The history of this event, as related by Christian writers, is loaded with miracles, or pretended miracles, which appear to be incredible. For it is not easy to believe that by divine interposition crosses were formed in the air, and impressed with a 'fine embroidery or painting' upon men's bodies or garments. Not now to mention any other of the strange things, most of them silly and trifling, inserted in the accounts of this affair, and which the reader doubtless well remem bers. But all God's works have a dignity becoming himself.

Mr. Mosheim having largely considered the story of the cross appearing to Constantine in the air, or in a dream, with a direction from Christ, that he should make use of that sign in his wars, and assuring him of victory thereby, concludes that it is not a thing worthy of Christ; and says, that 'it could be nothing more than the natural dream of a general and an emperor, who fell asleep, as he was thinking of the impending war, and the best method of overcoming his enemies. Let us take heed, says he, lest by too stiffly defending the narratives of the ancient Christians, concerning the miracles of their time, we should offend against the majesty of God himself, and against our most holy religion, which teacheth us, not to overcome our enemies, but ourselves.' A sage observation! which may be justly applied

9 Ne sit hoc mirum, homines profutura discernere et nocentia, quorum mentes cognatas celestibus arbitramur, animalia ratione carentia salutem suam interdum alto tueri silentio solent; ut exemplum est hoc perquam notum. Linquentes Orientem anseres ob calorem, plagamque petentes occiduum, cum montem penetrare ceperint Taurum aquilis abundantam, timentes fortissimae volucres, rostra lapillis occcludunt, ne eis eliciat vel necessitas extrema clangorem: isdemque collibus agilicore volatu transcurris projiciunt calculos, atque ita securius pergunt. Amm. l. xviii. cap. 3. p. 209.

upon divers occasions, and upon this in particular, as I apprehend.

5. There was at that time no occasion for such miraculous interpositions. Undoubtedly, the Jewish temple was not to be rebuilt; it is not to be thought, that Divine Providence would permit it to be done at that time; that there was no need of such miracles to hinder it; Julian did not live long; supposing the Jews to have begun in his reign to erect the temple at Jerusalem, the christian emperors, who succeeded him, would take care, that they should not proceed. The rebuilding the temple was not a work of a few weeks, or months, nor years. Supposing they had set about the work at the beginning of the year 363, they could not have done a great deal before Julian died, and then their work would be effectually obstructed.

6. Once more. There are several christian writers, who have said nothing about this affair, who were very likely to mention it, if any thing of this kind had been done. I shall instance in three: Jerom, Prudentius, and Orosius.

Jerom was a contemporary; he was a young man when Julian died; a great part of his time he lived at Bethlehem, and he had travelled over the land of Israel or Palestine; but never takes notice of this uncommon event. Dan. xi. 34, “Now when they shall fall they shall be holpen with a little help.” In his comment upon that verse, he mentions several, to whom that prophecy had been applied. Some, he says, understood thereby the emperor Julian, who pretended to love the Jews, and promised to offer sacrifices in their temple. It is allowed by all that Julian favoured the Jews, and pretended to love them, though he bore them no good-will, and that he likewise talked of rebuilding their temple, and sacrificing there. But Jerom says nothing here (though there was so fit an occasion) nor elsewhere, of his attempting it, and then, being defeated by such miraculous interpositions, as those related by some above-quoted. He has often spoken of the overthrow of the temple by Vespasian and Titus, which he calls the last. He has often mentioned Julian as an adversary to the christians, and has quoted his work against them. He has


† Quae Hebraei in ultimâ eversionsi templi, quae sub Vespasiano et Tito accidit, interpretantur.—In Dan. cap. xi. ver. 33. Tom. 3. p. 1130.

* Vid. Prol. in libr. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, Tom. 4. p. 98. et alibi.
likewise often appealed to Josephus’s history of the Jewish War; but says nothing of any attempt to rebuild Jerusalem, and the temple there, in his own time. It is inconceivable that he should omit it, though he insists, as he does more than once, on the ruinous condition in which the temple had been to that time, ever since the days of Titus and Adrian.

Prudentius was another contemporary of Julian; for he was born in the year 348; and did not write till a good while after the death of that emperor. He has gone over the history of Julian’s reign; he has also insisted upon the ruin of Solomon’s temple; the long captivity of the Jewish people ever since the time of Titus; and with him he mentions Pompey, who first brought the Jewish people into subjection to the Romans. But he says nothing of any attempt made in his time by Julian to rebuild Jerusalem, or the temple there. If he had known of it, and had been acquainted with credible accounts of miraculous interpositions to defeat it, I do not see how he could omit to mention it.

Orosius was an historian, who lived not far below the be—


Scribit plenus Josephus, septem voluminibus Vespasiani et Titii narrans triumphos. Elia quoque Adriani contra Judeos expeditionem legimus, qui ita Jerusalem murosque subvertit, ut de urbis reliquis et favillis sui nominis Eliam conderet civitatem. Id. in Joel, cap. i. Tom. 3. p. 1340.

w — Me puero, ut memini, docteur fortissimus armis.

Perfidus ille Deo——— Apoth. ver. 450, &c.


y — Quid mereare, Titus docuit: docuere rapinis Pompeianæ acies: quibus extirpata per omnes Terrarum pelagiæ plagas tua membra feruntur. Ex illis vagus huc illuc fluviantis errat Judæus.—Ibid. ver. 538, &c.
ginnning of the fifth century. He \(^2\) has an article for Julian; but does not say that he attempted to build the temple at Jerusalem, and was wonderfully defeated. He was greatly offended with Julian, and seems to aim to hint at all his incivilities to the christians,\(^a\) of which the attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem has been generally reckoned one; but yet says nothing of it.\(^b\) If Julian had attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, and had been defeated by a miraculous interposition, it was an event much to his purpose, and altogether suited to the great design of his history, and could not have been omitted by him.

To me the silence of these three writers appears very remarkable. I do not know how others may be affected by it; but I acknowledge that I was much struck with it when I first observed it in my inquiries into this transaction.

And I must now add farther, that I do not recollect, that Cyril of Alexandria, in his books against Julian, or in any other of his works elsewhere, has at all spoken of an attempt of that emperor to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, and that he was miraculously defeated.

What Zonaras says, in the 12th century, may likewise deserve notice. \(^c\) He \(^c\) gave leave to the Jews to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem; and they having begun to build with great labour, and at much expense, when they endeavoured to dig up the earth in order to lay the foundation, it is said, that flames of fire burst out, and consumed the workmen, so that they were obliged to desist from the building.'

Let not any be offended, that I hesitate about this point; I think we ought not too easily to receive accounts of miraculous interpositions, which are not becoming the Divine Being. There are many things said of Julian, which all wise and good men do not believe.

Julian, and his elder brother Gallus, as is said, while they were young, undertook to build a church over the sepulchre of a martyr, named Mamas, who had suffered at Cæsarea,

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\(^a\) Oros. l. vii. cap. 30.

\(^b\) Dr. Warburton, in his Julian, p. 118, mentions Orosius among other ancient writers who have borne testimony to this attempt. If that be right, I have overlooked the place.

\(^c\) Οὔτος καὶ τὸν εἰς Ἱεροσολύματα ἀνεγείραυ καὶν τόι Ἰουδαῖοι εὑτρέψαν \(\text{καὶ κατ' άλλουν ἐ挝 τρόπον ὅ βασιλεὺς τῆς χριστιανῆς βασιλείας \(\text{σπάνες} \) \(\text{αὐτὸς} \) \(\text{οὐκ} \) \(\text{καὶ φοβοῦμαι} \) \(\text{τὴν} \) \(\text{γῆν} \), \(\text{εἰς} \) \(\text{καταβοῦν} \) \(\text{τῶν} \) \(\text{γειτονίων} \) \(\text{αἰτίας} \), \(\text{καταλεγέον τῆς} \) \(\text{σκέπης} \) \(\text{ὅς} \) \(\text{ἀναγιαλθήσῃ} \) \(\text{αὐτῶς} \) \(\text{τῆς} \) \(\text{οἰκοδομῆς} \) \(\text{αὐτοῦ} \). \(\text{Zonar.} \) \(\text{Tομ.} \) \(3. \) \(21, 22. \)
in Cappadocia. They divided the work between them, and both carried on their parts severally with great diligence. That part of the building which was the care of Gallus advanced prosperously; but some invisible power obstructed Julian’s attempt; there was no fixing the foundations, the earth throwing up the stones again; or if any part of the building was raised up to some height, it was presently shattered and tumbled down to the ground. This is related by Gregory Nazianzen as a miracle, and with great parade; and for the truth of it, he appeals to eye-witnesses. The same story is told by Sozomen; who says, ‘there were many still living, who received the account from those who saw it.’ It is also briefly related by Theodoret.

Again, it is said, that when Julian was sacrificing, a cross within a circle was found impressed upon the entrails of the victim. This also is related by Gregory Nazianzen, and Sozomen. Both these accounts are scornfully rejected as monkish fables, by the truly learned and right reverend the lord bishop of Gloucester; though, as he owns, ‘church history informs us of them.’ And very unfortunately, those observations are in the conclusion of a volume composed with great labour and zeal, in which divers other accounts are received, which are not more probable in their own nature, nor supported by better authority.

The truth of history is not all affected by rejecting improbable relations; nor is the cause of christianity at all hurt by our refusing to assent to some things which christian writers have said of Julian. That he pretended favour for the Jews, and sometimes talked of rebuilding their city and their temple, is allowed; but that he actually attempted it, and ordered money for the work out of the public treasury, when he was setting out upon the Persian expedition, and that his attempt was frustrated by many miraculous interpositions, is not so certain. Though these things should be contested or denied, it can be of no bad consequence. Other histories, which are void of the like improbabilities, are not affected by it; and the evangelical history remains firm and inviolate, having in it all possible marks of truth and credibility. At the beginning of his discourse on the attempt of Julian to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, his lordship says, that the evidence of the miracles recorded in

b Soz. l. v. cap. 2. p. 594. A.  
c Theod. l. iii. cap. 2.  
d Gr. Naz. Or. 3. p. 70—77.  
e Sozom. l. v. cap. 2. p. 592. B. C.  
f See his Lordship’s Julian, p. 319, 320.  
g Julian, p. 1.
church history, doth not stand on the same foot of credit
with the miracles recorded in gospel history.'

As for the testimony of the two Jewish writers, upon
which some insist, I have above put it down from Wagen-
seil's Tela Ignea Satane; but I do not think the testimony
of writers in the fifteenth or sixteenth century to be of much
value. They appear to have borrowed from christian
writers: therefore one of them calls the emperor Julian, the
apostate. However, though they relied chiefly upon chris-
tian authors, they may have in part altered and perverted
the christian accounts, to abate the reproach which this story,
as told by them, casts upon the Jewish people.

Nevertheless, that it may not be said I affect to slight
what others reckon material, I shall now be a little more
particular in my remarks upon those two Jewish testimo-
nies.

Rabbi David Gaus, in the sixteenth century, says: 'The
emperor Julian ¹ ordered, that the most holy temple should
be rebuilt with great beauty and magnificence, at his own
expense; but by interposition from heaven an impediment
was thrown in the way, so that the building could not be
finished; for the emperor died in the Persian war.'

This is very agreeable to what I have said; and may be
thought to confirm my argument; but, indeed, I am not
disposed to set much value upon so late a testimony.

Rabbi Gadaliah, in the fifteenth century, says: 'In the
days of R. Channan, ² and his brethren, about the year
of the world 4349, our annals tell us, that there was a
great earthquake over all the world; by which the temple,
which the Jews had raised at Jerusalem, with vast expense,
at the command of the emperor Julian the apostate, was
thrown down. The next day after the earthquake, a dread-
ful fire fell from heaven, by which all the iron-work of the
building [or "perhaps all the iron tools employed about
the work"] were melted, and many, yea, innumerable Jews
were consumed.'

Upon this account it appears to me very obvious to ob-
serve: First, this testimony is too late to be of any considera-
ble value. Secondly, the author had his account from
christian writers; therefore he calls Julian the apostate.
Thirdly, in some things, and as I suppose at will, and of
his own invention, he differs from ancient christian writers.
Fourthly, the account is confused, and in some respects

¹ Apud Wagenseil, p. 231. The words are cited above at note *, p. 610.
² For the time of writing that work, and of Cyril's answer to it, see above,
p. 601, 602.
manifestly false. He seems to say, that the temple ' had been built' at a great expense, and that after it had been built, it fell down, occasioned by an earthquake. Here he differs from christians, who speak only of an ' attempt' to raise the temple. And it is a falsehood; for it certainly was not rebuilt; or raised up in Julian's time. He also speaks of an earthquake 'over all the world;' which is his own invention, without any ground. Upon the whole, this account appears to me confused and absurd, as well as very late, and therefore of no authority; but, as I said before, let others judge. However I am of opinion, that if the christian testimonies fail, we are not to expect any thing relating to this event of much importance from the Jews.

Finally, to put an end to these critical observations; Julian's favourable regards for the Jewish people, and his intention (or desire at least) to rebuild the city of Jerusalem and the temple there, are manifest, and fully attested by contemporary witnesses, and by his own writings: it is as manifest, that his design to rebuild Jerusalem and the Jewish temple was never accomplished, but was frustrated and defeated. Whether it was owing to miraculous interpositions, or to his expensive preparations for the Persian war, and other circumstances of his affairs, and to his death and defeat in that war; the overruling providence of God ought to be acknowledged in the event: and the argument for the truth of the christian religion, taken from the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people by Vespasian and Titus, and their continued dispersion, remains in all its force.

It is an argument which I never intended to weaken; it is, I think, a demonstrative argument for the truth of the christian religion; and, as I have often hinted in this work, deserving the attentive regard and serious consideration of all mankind.

IV. I have now written the history of Julian, so far as I can suppose to be needful; I therefore proceed to a more particular account of his work against the christians, and to make extracts out of it.

1. Cyril's answer to it consists of ten books; the first of which is an introduction of his own. In the second book he begins to make quotations from Julian's work; and from the many passages quoted from it by Cyril in his several books, it may be concluded, that Julian's performance was intended to be a laboured confutation both of judaism and christianity.

2. Julian's preface or introduction to his work, as we learn
from Cyril, was in these words: 'I n think it right for me to show to all men the reasons, by which I have been convinced, that the religion of the Galileans is a human contrivance, badly put together, having in it nothing divine; but abusing the childish, irrational part of the soul, which delights in fable, they have introduced a heap of wonderful works, to give it the appearance of truth.'

3. Afterwards, and near the beginning of the work: 'It will be worth the while,' he says, 'to compare together the things said of the Deity by the Greeks and the Hebrews; and then we shall inquire of those, who are neither Greeks nor Jews, but of the sect of the Galileans, why they have preferred their notions to ours; and then, why they have not stood to them neither, but forsaking them also, they have taken to a way peculiar to themselves; holding nothing good and valuable taught by us Greeks, or by the Hebrews, the disciples of Moses; but collecting what is bad in both, they have taken atheism from the Jewish absurdity, and a wicked dissolute life from our carelessness and indifference. And this they call a most excellent religion.'

4. 'That Moses says, God was the God of Israel only, and of Judea, and that they were his chosen people, I shall demonstrate presently; and that not only he, but the prophets after him, and Jesus the Nazarene, say the same; yea, and Paul also, who exceeded all the jugglers and impostors that ever were.' For this, he presently after allegeth, Exod. iv. 22, 23; v. 3; vii. 1.

5. Soon afterwards, Julian proceeds in this manner: 'But that God from the beginning took care of the Jews only, and that they were his chosen lot, appears not only from Moses, and Jesus, but from Paul also; though this may be justly thought strange in Paul: but upon every occasion, like a polypus upon the rocks, he changeth his notions of God: at one time affirming, that the Jews only are God's heritage; at another time, to persuade the Greeks, and gain them over to his side, saying: "Is he the God of

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o Ibid. i. ii. p. 42, 43.

p Plhn oti te Ioseph auton mouj Theon, kai tis Ideias, kai thn, eklektos fign avrav, autous te, kai oi met' ekoun profruta, kai Ioseph o Naxaratos, epitheis alla kai ton pantas pantaxh tous povote ygenous kai apatiounas uperbolismenon Paulon. Contr. Jul. i. iii. p. 100. A.

q Lib. iii. p. 106. B—D.

r ——kai elparios auton ygenonev ontye eisarctos. B.
the Jews only? ——Yes, of the Gentiles also." It is reasonable therefore, to ask Paul, If he was not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles, why did he, for the most part at least, send to the Jews the prophetic spirit, and Moses, and the anointing; and the prophets, and the law, and miracles, and prodigies of fables? And you hear them saying, "man did eat angels' food." At length he sent Jesus also to them: not a prophet, not the anointing, not a master, not a preacher of the late mercy of God to us. However, he overlooked us for myriads, or, if you please, for thousands of years, and left us in such ignorance, as to worship idols, as you say, from east to west, and from north to south, excepting only a small nation about two thousand years ago, planted in a part of Palestine. But if he be the God of all, and the Creator of all, why did he neglect us?'

Here is a quotation of Rom. iii. 29, and Ps. lxxviii. 35, and a reference to Rom. ix. 4, 5.

And notwithstanding Julian's cavils, it is the doctrine of the Old and the New Testament, that God is the creator of the whole world, and directs and overrules all things in heaven and on earth, with unerring wisdom, and uncontrolable power. Nor did he at any time neglect any part of mankind. He taught all by the light of nature, and the visible works of his hand, and the various methods of his providence, tempering mercy and judgment. Acts xiv. 16, 17; Rom. i. 18——21. But for wise reasons, and great ends and purposes, he chose the Jewish people, the seed of Abraham, to be a peculiar people, and made some special manifestations of himself among them, thereby setting them up for a light amidst the nations. At length, in the fulness of time, at the most proper season, and according to his most gracious promise, he sent Jesus the Messiah.

The light of reason is common to all. A particular revelation is a special favour, which God may vouchsafe where, and when, and to whom he pleaseth. Whenever he has made a revelation, he has given evident proofs of its divine original. But unthinking and careless, proud and perverse men, have not diligently improved the one, nor thankfully accepted the other.

6. Julian objects against the Mosaic account of the crea-

\textsuperscript{6} ——τε χαριν εις τε Ιωδαίως μεν, πολυ το προφητικον επεμψε πνεύμα, και τον Μωσέα, και το χρισμα, και της προφητικος, και του νομον, και τα παραδόξα, και τα τερατα των μυθων. C.

\textsuperscript{1} Ἐν τελε ἐκ και του Ἰσραίχ εκεΐνου επεμψεν, ου προφητήματος, ου χρίσματος, ου διάσκεψιον, ου θρησκεία της μελλόσθα πρέπει ἀρχαγοιγον εις ἡμᾶς της ἡμων φιλανθρωπίας. Ib. C.
tion of the world, the fall of man, and the confusion of lan-
guages. He finds fault also with the decalogue of Moses; which, as he says, contained no precepts, that are not equally regarded by all nations, excepting these two:

"Thou shalt worship no other gods," and, "Remember the sabbath-day." He prefers Lycurgus and Solon to Moses. He reflects upon David and Samson, Cyril says, as not very remarkable for valour, and exceeded by many Greeks and Egyptians: and all their power was confined within the narrow limits of Judea. He says, the Jews never had any general equal to Alexander or Cæsar. The wise Solomon is not to be compared with some eminent men among the Greeks: such as Phocylides, Theognis, Isocrates. Moreover, as he adds, Solomon is said to have been over-
come by women, and therefore does not deserve to be reck-
oned a wise man.

7. These things I mention but slightly, and quite pass over some other objections to the books of Moses, and the Old Testament: supposing it to be rather incumbent upon me to enlarge upon those objections which more immedi-
ately relate to christianity, and the books of the New Tes-
tament.

8. Julian cavils at several prophecies of the Old Testa-
ment, which were applied to Jesus by his followers. To this purpose, I shall allege a passage here, though it be somewhat prolix. 'Since therefore they differ from the Jews of the present time, and say that they are the true Israelites, and that they highly respect Moses and the other prophets after him; let us see wherein they agree with them; and we shall begin with Moses, who, as they say, foretold the future nativity of Jesus. Moses, then, not once, nor twice, nor thrice, but often, taught the wor-
ship of one God only; others he calls angels, or lords: but he never teacheth any other second God, neither like, nor unlike, as you do. If you have one word in Moses, favou-
ing such expressions, you should produce it. What he says is: "For the Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me. Unto him shall ye hearken." Deut. xviii.

15. This cannot be spoken concerning the son of Mary.

\(\text{a}\) Ποιον ενθος ἐτι, προς των Ἑσων, εξω τε, ὅν προσκυνήσεις Ἑσως ἐτεροις, καὶ τε, Μην ἐν τοις σαββάτοις, ὅ μη τας ἀλλας ουσία χρήσαι φελατεν πιτολας; L. v. p. 152. C. 
\(\text{b}\) L. v. p. 176. C. 
\(\text{c}\) L. vii. p. 218. B. C. 
\(\text{d}\) 'Ο σοφωτάτος Σαλομών παρομοίως ετι τῷ παρ᾽ Ἑλληνι Φωκίλην, ἡ Θεογ-
νικα, ἡ Ισοκρατεῖ, τοῦτοι; k. α. L. vii. p. 224. C. D. 
\(\text{e}\) Lib. viii. p. 253. B—E.
But, if we grant you that, he would be like unto Moses, not unto God: meaning a prophet like himself, and from men, not from God. That text also, Gen. xlix. 10, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet:" is not said of him, but of David's kingdom, which appears to have ended in king Zede-kiah—But that none of these things belong to Jesus is manifest: for neither is he of Judah: and how should he be so, when, according to you he was not born of Joseph, but of the Holy Ghost? When you reckon up the genealogy of Joseph, you carry it up to Judah: but you have not been able to contrive this dexterously; for Matthew and Luke have been shown to differ with one another about the genealogy.' Matt. i. Luke iii.

Upon this passage some remarks may be proper.

(1.) Julian here and elsewhere insinuates, that the doctrine of christians concerning the Deity was different from that of Moses: but I apprehend, that the divine unity is as clearly taught in the New as in the Old Testament. "When one of the scribes came to Jesus, and asked him, Which is the first commandment of all: Jesus answered him: The first of all the commandments is: Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord," and what follows. Mark xii. 28, 29, 30. To another, who came to our Lord with a like question, and called him, "good Master, Jesus said: Why call-est thou me good? None is good, save one, that is God." Luke xviii. 18, 19. Again: "And this is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." John xvii. 3; see Matt. iv. 10. And says St. Paul, I Tim. ii. 5, "There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." The doctrine therefore of more gods than one, or of inferior deities, if it was held by any christians in Julian's time, is not the doctrine of the New Testament.

(2.) Julian insinuates, that christians did not consider Jesus as a prophet like unto Moses: but however some christians in Julian's time might express themselves, it is certain, that the apostles did esteem Jesus a prophet like unto Moses; as appears from Acts iii. 22, vii. 37, though he was greater than Moses, and was "counted worthy of more glory than Moses," Heb. iii. 3.

(3.) Julian insinuates, that Jesus, "son of Mary," could not be of the tribe of Judah, or descended from Judah, because he is said by the evangelists, not to have been born of Joseph, but of the Holy Ghost, Matt. ch. 1. But those things are not inconsistent. Jesus was the son of Joseph, as he
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was born of Mary, who was espoused to him. But he was not conceived in the ordinary way, but by the immediate agency and interposition of God: therefore he is said to have been "conceived of the Holy Ghost," Matt. i. 18, 20; and on that account was also called the "Son of God," Luke i. 35.

(4.) Julian acknowledgeth the genuineness of the two genealogies in St. Matthew and St. Luke: and though he says they differ, they have been reconciled by learned christians, both ancient and modern.

Jerom, in particular, has taken notice of Julian's objections to the two genealogies; and has made answers to them too long to be transcribed in this place.

9. It will not be improper for me to allege here a passage of Jerom in his commentary upon Hos. xi. 1, "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my Son out of Egypt." He there informs us, that Julian, in his work against the christians, found fault with St. Matthew for applying that to Christ, ch. ii. 15, which belonged to Israel. And he says, that the evangelists did it with a design to impose upon ignorant gentiles; which charge Jerom there considers and confutes.

10. And upon Matt. ix. 9, where it is said, that our Lord called Matthew, and "he followed him:" Jerom observes, that both Porphyry and Julian had reflected upon the apostles, as ready to follow any man without sufficient reason; which may induce us to think, that Julian sometimes borrowed from Porphyry. This has been already taken notice of by us in the chapter of Porphyry. Jerom here says very well, as we also observed formerly, that before the disciples became stated followers of Jesus, they had seen many miracles done by him.

11. 'Jesus,' says Julian, as quoted by Cyril, 'whom you


b Hunc locum in septimo volumine Julianus Augustus, quod adversum nos, id est, christianos, evomuit, calumniatur, et dicit, quod de Israel scriptum est Matthaeus evangelista ad Christum transtulit, ut simplicitati eorum, qui de Gentibus crediderant, illuderet. In Osee. cap. 11. Tom. iii. p. 1311.


celebrate, was one of Cæsar’s subjects. If you dispute it, I will prove it by and by; but it may be as well done now. For yourselves allow, that he was enrolled with his father and mother in the time of Cyrenius; but after he was born, what good did he do to his relations? For “they would not,” as it is said, “believe on him.” And yet, that stiff-necked and hard-hearted people believed Moses. But Jesus, who “rebuked the winds, and walked on the seas, and cast out daemons,” and, as you will have it, made the heaven and the earth, (though none of his disciples presumed to say this of him, except John only, nor he clearly and distinctly: however, let it be allowed that he said so:) could not order his designs so as to save his friends and relations.’ Luke ii, John vii. 5; Matt. xiv. 25; Mark vi. 48; John i.

Upon this it may be observed: (1.) Julian does not contest the account of our Saviour’s nativity, which is in St. Luke’s gospel, but confirms it. (2.) I believe St. John’s doctrine concerning the person of Jesus Christ, is not different from that of the other evangelists. (3.) Julian acknowledged, that many great and wonderful works are ascribed to Jesus by the historians of his life, the evangelists: nor does he deny the truth of them. (4.) He confirms the truth of what is said of some of our Lord’s relations, or “brethren,” that “they did not believe in him,” at least not rightly, or for a while, though they might do so afterwards, and probably did so. However if they never did believe in him, it need not be reckoned at all dishonourable to Jesus: for he made no offers of special advantages to his own kindred or family; they were to be saved in no other way than other men, by “hearing the word of God and doing it,” or by “doing the will of his Father, who is in heaven.” See Matt. xii. 50, Mark iii. 35, and Luke viii. 21. If among them were sensual and worldly men, they might as well reject his spiritual doctrine as any others.

12. ‘But Jesus having persuaded a few among you, and those the worst of men, has now been celebrated about three hundred years; having done nothing in his life-time worthy of remembrance; unless any one thinks it a mighty matter to heal lame and blind people, and exorcise daemons in the villages of Bethsaida and Bethany.’


2 s 2
(1.) This is plainly acknowledging the truth of the evangelical history, though he does not refer to the whole of it, nor specify all the great works that Jesus did, nor all the places in which they were performed. (2.) He acknowledged, that for three hundred years, or more, Jesus had been celebrated: which regard for him was founded upon the works done by him in his life-time; which works had been recorded by his disciples, eye-witnesses of those works: and the tradition had been handed down from the beginning to the time in which Julian lived. (3.) Why should not healing lame and blind men, and such as were afflicted with other distempers generally ascribed to daemons,' be reckoned great works? All judicious and impartial men must esteem them great works when performed on the sudden, and completely, as all our Lord's works of healing were: greater works than founding cities, erecting an extensive monarchy, or subduing whole nations by slaughter, and the common methods of conquest; though such things have been often thought more worthy to be remembered and recorded by historians. (4.) If there were but a few only persuaded by Jesus during his abode on this earth, it was not for want of sufficient evidence: there was enough, it seems, to persuade some bad men, called in the gospels "publicans and sinners," the 'worst men,' as you say. But there were also some serious and pious men, thoughtful and inquisitive, as Nathaniel, Nicodemus, and others, who were persuaded, and fully satisfied, though for awhile they had been averse and prejudiced. And there were worse men than those whom you call 'the worst,' even scribes and pharisees, proud, covetous, ambitious men, whom no rational evidence, however clear and strong, could persuade to receive religious principles, contrary to their present worldly interests.

13. But you are so unhappy, as not to adhere to the things delivered to you by the apostles: but they have been altered by you for the worse, and carried on to yet greater impiety. For neither Paul, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark, have dared to call Jesus God. But honest John, understanding that a great multitude of men in the cities of Greece and Italy, were seized with this distemper; and hearing likewise, as I suppose, that the tombs of Peter and

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h Οὗτος ἐστιν ἐντυγχανός, ὡς οὖς τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν αποστόλων ἦμαι παραδεδομενος εκμετάλλευσεν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ χειρον καὶ ἀνεπαφερόμενον, ὑπὸ τῶν επισκεπτών ἐξηγήσαθη. Τοὺς γὰρ Ἰσραήλ οἴον καὶ Παύλου εὐολόμησεν ἐπειδὴ ὢνεν, νῦν Ματθαίος, καὶ Λουκᾶς, καὶ Μαρκός: αλλ' ὁ χριστὸς Ἰωάννης, εὐθυμομένος ἦν πολὺ πλήθος ἡλικίας ἐν πολλαῖς τοῖς Ἑλληνίδοις καὶ Ἰταλοτητίς πολεον ὑπὸ ταυτής τῆς νοσεμ, ι. θ. Κομψ. Ι. ξ. p. 327. Α. B.
Paul were respected, and frequented, though as yet privately only, however, having heard of it, he then first presumed to advance that doctrine.

In answer to this I must, (1.) say again, as I have already said several times, that the doctrine of St. John, concerning our Saviour’s person, is not different from that of the other apostles and evangelists, but the same. (2.) Julian here acknowledging many things extremely prejudicial to his cause, and more so than he was aware of. For he here acknowledged the genuineness and authority of most of the books of the New Testament; the writings of Paul, the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and that these books contain the doctrine of Christ’s apostles, the persons who accompanied him, and were the witnesses of his preaching, works, death, resurrection, and taught in his name afterwards. (3.) He acknowledged the early and wonderful progress of the gospel; for he supposeth, that there were in ‘many cities of Greece and Italy,’ multitudes of believers in Jesus before John wrote his gospel; which as he computes, was published soon after the death of Peter and Paul. (4.) Therefore the antiquity of the first three gospels is here evidently acknowledged: they were written and published before the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, that is, about the time now supposed by all Christians in general. (5.) And in what he says of the time of John’s writing his gospel, he speaks not disagreeably to the general opinion of Christians at that time, and since. For it has been generally supposed, and indeed is manifest, that he did not write till after the other three evangelists, because he appears to have seen and read their gospels, and to have designed to make some additions to them in the way of a supplement. I think it highly probable, that though he did not write till after the other evangelists, his gospel was published before the destruction of Jerusalem, about the year of Christ 68, as was at large argued formerly.

14. ‘They say they agree with Isaiah, who prophesieth: “Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and shall bear a son,” ch. vii. 14. Let this be said of God, though it is not: for she was not a virgin, who was married, and cohabited with her husband before she brought forth. However, grant that this also is said of him: does he say, that God should be born of a virgin? But you are continually calling Mary mother of God.’ Θεοτόκον ἐν Μαρίαν καλοῦντες.’ Matt. i. 18—25.

We are not to be surprised, that the adversaries to chris-

\(^{i}\) See Vol. v. ch. ix. sect. 9.  
\(^{k}\) Contr. Julian. I. viii. p. 262. D.
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tianity did contest, or deny the virginity of Mary. They who withstood the evidences of our Saviour's divine mission recorded in the gospels, might also dispute his miraculous conception and birth. But for the truth of it I have already said enough in the remarks upon \(^1\) Celsus.

In another place\(^m\) also Julian argues again upon that title given to Mary, 'mother of God'; and upon that expression 'God of God.' But I have no reason to say any thing in defence of either, as they are not scripture phrases.

15. 'But you miserable people,' says Julian, 'at the same time that ye refuse to worship the shield that fell down from Jupiter, and is preserved by us, which was sent down to us by the great Jupiter, or our father Mars, as a certain pledge of the perpetual government of our city: you worship the wood of the cross, and make signs of it upon your foreheads, and fix it upon your doors. Shall we for this most hate the understanding, or most pity the simple and ignorant among you, who \(^o\) are so very unhappy, as to leave the immortal gods, and go over to a dead Jew?'

By a 'dead Jew,' it is likely that Julian means still dead; but though Jesus died, and was buried, he rose again, and ascended to heaven: and of this there are other evidences than the heathen people had of the shield's coming down from heaven. Nor was it certain, it seems, whether it came from Jupiter or from Mars. Here is an instance of Julian's credulity and superstition.

As for the extraordinary respect shown by some christians to the 'wood,' or the 'sign' of the cross, I have no reason to defend it: the New Testament gives no encouragement to it that I know of.

Julian blames christians for having destroyed temples and altars; and then goes on: 'You \(^p\) have killed not only our people who persisted in the ancient religion, but likewise heretics, equally deceived with yourselves; but who did not mourn the dead man exactly in the same manner that you do. But these are your own inventions: for Jesus has no where directed you to do such things; nor yet Paul. The reason is, that they never expected you would arrive at such power. They were contented with deceiving maid-servants and slaves, and by them some men and women, such as Cornelius and Sergius. If there were then any other men

\(^1\) See before, p. 225, 226.  
\(^m\) Contr. Julian. i. viii. p. 276. E.  
\(^n\) Estā, ὦ ἑπτάχρως ἀνθρώπως, σώζωμεν το πᾶς ἡμιν ὀλη Διοτέρας, ὁ κατενεμιζέν ὁ μεγας Ζεὺς, ἵνα πάντω Αρης—κ. λ.  
\(^o\) ῦως τις αἰωνιας προφητες Θεου, επι τον Ἰοδανιον μεταβιναι νεκρων.  
\(^p\) Contr. Julian. i. vi. p. 206. A. B.
of eminence brought over to you, I mean in the times of Tiberius and Claudius when these things happened, let me pass for a liar in every thing I say."

This is another very important passage. (1.) Julian acknowledgeth, that persecution and cruelty were the inventions of later christians: that neither Jesus, nor Paul, nor any other of the first preachers of the gospel, had taught men to kill others for being of a different religion, or for differing about lesser matters among themselves. (2.) But he is mistaken about the reason of this: for Jesus foresaw the vast success and speedy propagation of his doctrine, [Matt. viii. 11, xvi. 18, xxviii. 19, and many other places,] though it would be opposed, and his apostles would be ill treated by many. [Matt. x. 16—26; xiii. 34; xxiv. 9; John xx. 18, 19.] But the reason is, that his doctrine is a doctrine of universal virtue and goodness, and he "came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them," Luke ix. 56. And the apostles knew this very well, when they began to preach publicly in his name, after his ascension, and after the effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them. So that the followers of Jesus Christ, who killed men for dissenting from them in things of religion, acted not only without orders from Christ or his apostles, but contrary to the commandment delivered by them. (3.) Julian does strongly confirm the evangelical history: for he owns, that the beginnings of Christianity were in the times of the emperors Tiberius and Claudius. He speaks of the conversions of maid-servants and slaves; probably meaning the "maid possessed with a spirit of divination," Acts xvi. 16, and Onesimus, servant to Philemon. He likewise speaks of the conversion of other men and women, particularly the conversion of Cornelius and Sergius Paulus, mentioned Acts x. and xiii. (4.) Julian is very cautious here, when he limits his exceptions to the times of those two emperors, the latter of whom died in the year of Christ 54. Moreover, he is to be understood to speak of heathen people only. But it should be observed, that for some considerable time after the ascension of Jesus, the apostles confined their preaching to native Jews and proselytes. And among them were converted some priests and pharisees, as well as meaner people, and also the chamberlain and treasurer of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, a very eminent, and probably a very understanding and inquisitive man, Acts viii. 26—40. Whom I suppose to have been a Jewish proselyte; and, undoubtedly, Julian also considered him as a man of the Jewish religion, otherwise he would have named him. It is therefore to be reckoned
very considerable success, if by the end of the reign of Claudius, or if you please, somewhat later, were converted from among the gentiles Cornelius and his family, and many of his friends; and Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus. If they are not now renowned in profane history for any great exploits, it may nevertheless be inferred from their station and character, that they were able to judge of things done before their eyes, and of the truth of principles proposed to them, and of facts related to them to have been done a few days or years before, in a country not far distant from the places of their own residence. (5.) This passage does wonderfully confirm the genuineness of the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and the truth of the history contained in it. Julian challengeth the christians, after he had excepted the two above mentioned, to produce the names of any more eminent men converted [from the gentiles] to christianity in the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius. Which is a proof that Julian did not, and could not contest the truth of the history in the Acts of the Apostles; and likewise, that he was well satisfied the christians had no other authentic history of things done at that time. He knew they relied upon the accounts given in that book, and that they did not pretend to have any other authentic accounts of them. (6.) Once more, since the accounts given in the New Testament, and particularly in the Acts of the Apostles, of the conversions of 'slaves and maid-servants, and of Cornelius and Sergius Paulus,' are allowed to be true, it is reasonable to believe also, that the grounds and reasons of their conversion to the christian faith are truly and faithfully related; and consequently, that they were not deceived or imposed upon, but were convinced, and persuaded upon sufficient and undeniable evidence, such as ought to sway and satisfy wise and good men.

17. 'But why do you not observe a pure diet as well as the Jews? but eat all things like herbs of the field, believing Peter, because he said: "What God has cleansed, that call not thou common," Acts. x. 15. What does that mean, unless that God formerly declared them to be impure, but now has made them clean? For Moses speaking of four-footed beasts, says: "Whatsoever divideth the hoof, and cheweth the cud, is clean: but whatsoever does not do so, that is unclean," [Lev. xi. 4, Deut. xiv. 6.] If then, since the vision of Peter, the swine has chewed the cud, let us believe him: for that would be truly wonderful, if since Peter's vision it has got that faculty: but if he feigned that

* Lib. ix. p. 314. B. C.
vision, or to use your phrase, the revelation at the tanner's, why should you believe him in a thing of that nature?'

This is really trifling; but it serves to show, that the books of the Acts was generally received by christians. It also shows what was Julian's manner of reasoning: he wanted to form an objection here, but knew not how.

18. 'We are also expressly assured by Cyril, that Julian quoted the epistle of the apostles, which they wrote to the converted from among the gentiles who had lately embraced christianity. "It has seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us, to impose upon you no other burden than these necessary things——" Acts xv. 23—29.

19. Cyril, toward the end of his work, where he abridged, has these words: 'And moreover this daring gentle-man reviles the chief of the apostles, Peter, and says he was a hypocrite, and was reproved by Paul, for living some times after the manner of the Greeks, and at other times after the manner of the Jews:' referring to what is written in the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians.

We might wish that Cyril had here transcribed Julian more distinctly. However, this is an old objection, which had been made before by Porphyry, and has been also carefully considered by us: and therefore I do not now enlarge any farther upon this point.

20. 'But omitting many other things,' says Julian, 'by which I might show the law of Moses to be perpetual, do you show me some place where that is said, which is affirmed by Paul with so much assurance: "that Christ is the end of the law,"' Rom. x. 4.

21. 'But now I must again return to them. Why then are you not circumcised? To which they answer: Paul says, it is "the circumcision of the heart," which was required, not "that of the flesh."' Rom. ii. 28, 29.

22. 'To which he adds,' says Cyril, 'that Christ also has said, that the law ought to be kept, saying at one time, "I came not to destroy the law, but to fulfil it." And again: "Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven,"' Matt. v. 17, 19.

23. 'We cannot, say they, keep the feast of unleavened

1 Διαμεμνηται δὲ και της των ἁγιων αποστόλων επιστολής, ὡν γεγραφασαν—
  τως εκ Εβραίων εκκλημένους. L. ix. p. 324. E.
2 Κατασκευᾶς δὲ προς της των ἀποστόλων εκκλημον Πετρον ὁ γεννάδας,
  και υπόκειται ειναι φήσι, και εἰληφθεῖσαι εἰκε τῇ Παλαι, κ. λ. Ibid. p. 325. C. D.
3 See p. 432, 433.
4 L. ix. p. 320. A.
5 L. x. p. 351. A.
6 Ibid. C.
7 L. x. p. 354. A.
bread, or the passover, "because Christ has been once sacrificed for us," 1 Cor. v. 7.

24. 'Since you have forsaken us, why do you not adhere to the Jews—? And why do you not sacrifice? The Jews indeed are hindered, because they have no temple or altar; but you, who have a new sacrifice, have no need of Jerusalem. But it is superfluous for me now to enlarge upon this, having before spoken of this matter: when I undertook to show, that the Jews agree with the Greeks, except that they think that there is but one God only. That is peculiar to them, and in that they differ from us: but as to other things, they are, in a manner, all common to us both; temples, shrines, altars, purifications, certain ritual observances. In all which things there is little or no difference between them and us.'

(1.) Here seems to be a reference to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, in that phrase, 'a new sacrifice.' (2.) In this passage is a general and just description of christianity: it is a plain, simple worship, without sacrifices of animals, without external purifications, and other ritual observations. It is a character of the christian religion which is very honourable to it. It is truly rational and philosophical, consisting in the practice of virtue, and the spiritual sacrifices of prayer and praise, and other good works. (3.) Here is a popular argument against the christians, taken from their singularity, and their difference from all other people: it was, indeed, a popular prejudice, and had been of great force in former times; but there were men who withstood it, and professed the just sentiments of religion, whilst the greatest numbers rejected them, and were much incensed against men upon that account. But in Julian's time the force of it was much abated, though he was willing to set it up again.

25. 'And that not only they of this time, but that some of those who at the beginning received the word from Paul, were such, is apparent from what Paul himself says, writing to them. For I presume he was not so void of shame, as to send them such reproaches in his letter to them, if he had not known them to be just. These are the things which he writes of his disciples, and to themselves: "Be not deceived: neither idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminates, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the

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* 'Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ τὴν καὶνὴν Ἑσσιαν ἔφοροι, οὐδὲν ἑσομαι τῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, αὐτή τινος καὶ θεωτε; p. 306. A.  
* Vid. I. viii. p. 238.  
* L. viii. p. 245.
kingdom of God. And you are not ignorant, brethren, that such were you also. But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, in the name of Jesus Christ," I Cor. vi. 9—11. You see, he says, 'they were such; but they had been sanctified, and washed, having been cleansed and scour'd with water, which penetrates even to the soul. And baptism, which cannot heal the leprosy, nor the gout, nor the dysentery, nor any other distemper of the body, takes away adulteries, ex-tortions, and all other sins of the soul.'

So writes Julian, and with great assurance: nevertheless it is not very easy to say upon what this argument is founded: perhaps it is built upon some extravagant assertions of christians of that time concerning the value and efficacy of baptism: for I see no ground for it in the New Testament. Jesus, and his forerunner, preached, that men should 'repent, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance.' After his resurrection, when his apostles were to go abroad in the world, he told them, 'that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations,' Luke xxiv. 47. And says St. Peter, Acts ii. 38, "Repent, and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." See also ch. iii. 26, and likewise ch. xx. 21, and xxvi. 20, and elsewhere: and St. Peter says, I ep. iii. 21, "that putting away the filth of the flesh does not save, but the answer of a good conscience toward God."

In the text quoted by Julian from the first epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul speaks of a real change made in those converts. It is not certain that baptism is there at all referred to; if it is, it is not the only, nor the principal thing. They had been some of them such sinners as are there mentioned, but they were now changed and reformed: and if they were not, neither baptism, nor the profession of christianity, nor any external privileges, would be of advantage to them. For he there says to them, and with great seriousness and earnestness: "Know ye not, that unrighteous men shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived," and what there follows.

If men were turned from error and vice by the preaching of the gospel, it was the greatest honour to it that could be: the great design of Christ's coming was "to save men from their sins," Matt. i. 21, from the practice of them, and from the misery to which they had been exposed by them. When that end is obtained, his joy and the joy of the faithful preachers of the gospel are fulfilled.

ο ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἱερατῶν όποίοις ἥκιντος—St. Paul's words are, "such were some of you," καὶ ταῦτα ταῦτα ἵνα.
26. There is another like passage of Julian in his Cæsars, which may not be quite omitted; and it may be as well taken now as hereafter. In his satire upon Constantine, he brings in his son Constantius, in the presence of his father, proclaiming to all in this manner: 'Whosoever is a ravisher, a murderer, guilty of sacrilege, or any other abomination, let him come boldly. For when I have washed him with this water, I will immediately make him clean and innocent; and if he commits the same crimes again, I will make him, after he has thumped his breast, and beat his head, as clean as before.'

Upon this I need not say any thing myself, after all that has been said just now. I may answer it in the words of Dr. Bentley, whose remarks upon it, in the borrowed name of Phileleutherus Lipsiensis, are to this purpose. 'A ridiculous and stale banter, used by Celsus and others before Julian, upon the christian doctrines of baptism, and repentance, and remission of sins. Baptism is rallied, as "mere washing," and repentance, as "thumping the breast," and other outward grimace: the inward grace, and the intrinsic change of mind, are left out of the character. And whom are we to believe? these pagans, or our own selves? Are we to fetch our notions of the sacraments from scraps of Julian and Celsus? or from the scripture, the pure fountain, and from what we read, know, and profess? And yet the banter came more decently out of Celsus, an Epicurean's mouth, than out of Julian's, the most bigoted creature in the world. He to laugh at expiation by baptism, whose whole life, after his apostasy, was a continued course of καθαρποι, washings, purgations, expiations, with the most absurd ceremonies! addicted to the whole train of superstitions, omens, presages, prodigies, spectres, dreams, visions, auguries, oracles, magic, theurgic, psychomantic: whose whole court in a manner consisted of haruspices, and sacrificiuli, and philosophers as silly as they: who was always poring in the entrails of cattle, to find futurities there: who, if he had returned victor out of Persia, (as his very pagan friends jested on him,) would have extinguished the whole species of bulls and cows by the number of his sacrifices? I have drawn this character of him from his own writings, and the heathens his contemporaries, that I might not bring suspected testimonies from christian authors.' So that learned man.

27. 'That evil had its rise from John. But who can

e See Remarks upon a late discourse of Free-thinking, sect. 43.  
f Lib. x. p. 335. B. C.
sufficiently express his indignation against all your follow-
ing inventions, in adding many more dead men to him who
died so long ago? So that you have filled all places with
sepulchres and monuments; though it has been no where
commanded you to wallow in sepulchres, and worship
there. But you are arrived at such perverseness, as to
think, that in this matter you need not regard the words
of Jesus of Nazareth. Hear, therefore, what he says of
monuments: “Woe unto you scribes and pharisees, hy-
porites. For ye are like unto whitened sepulchres. The
sepulchre appears beautiful outward, but within it is full
of dead men’s bones, and all uncleanness.” If then Jesus
has said, that sepulchres are “full of uncleanness,” why
do you pray to God over them? Matt. xxiii. 27.
To this, says Cyril, he adds: ‘That when a certain dis-
ciple said, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father;
his answer was: Follow thou me, and let the dead bury their
Julian might be justly offended at that superstitious custom
of the christians which he here censures, and which we do
not justify. However he here cites our Lord’s words from
our gospels, in a manner that puts their genuineness out of
question: and he bears witness, that our Lord, Jesus of Na-
zareth, taught and said the things there recorded.
13, “Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him only shalt
thou serve,” he goes on: ‘How then is Jesus said in the
gospels to command; “Go, teach all nations, baptizing them
into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
Ghost,” ’ Matt. xxxviii. 19.
To which I think I may say, though christians have
formed different interpretations of this text, it cannot be
reasonably supposed, that our Lord would command his
apostles to begin with teaching any mysterious doctrine to
their converts. Nor does any thing of that kind appear in
the book of the Acts, where we have the history of their
preaching in many places, in obedience to their Lord and
Master, to all sorts of men, Jews, Samaritans, and gen-
tiles.
The design of the words is this: ‘That they should teach
men to receive and profess the doctrine which Jesus had
taught with authority from God the Father, and confirmed
by miracles done by the finger, the power, or the Spirit of

\[P\] 335. D.

\[I\] IIς ως ὃ Ἰησος ἐν τοις εὐαγγελιοις παραδείσωσαι προστατῶν Πορευόμενης μακαρισματικῶς, κ. λ. L. ix. p. 291. A.
God.” Accordingly, we are assured in the book of the Acts, that men were baptized “in the name of Jesus Christ,” or “into his name,” Acts ii. 38; viii. 16; xix. 5. Which imports the same as being baptized into the belief that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God: or that he taught by divine authority, and that there had been full assurance given to men of this by his many miracles, and by his resurrection from the dead.

29. ‘Why do you meddle with the Greek learning, since the reading of your own scriptures is sufficient for you? And indeed, it might be of more importance to restrain men from reading the Greek authors, than from eating things “sacrificed to idols.” For by that, as Paul also says, “he that eats is not hurt. But the conscience of the brother who sees it is offended,” according to you,’ 1 Cor. viii. 7—10.

More there follows which I forbear to transcribe: and there seems to be somewhat wanting, lost out of the text. However, he there insinuates, that whenever a man of good sense gains but a smattering of Greek learning, he forsakes what Julian is pleased to call ‘impiety.’ But if he had really thought so, I suppose, he would have filled the christians with Greek learning, instead of doing all he could to prevent their having a taste of it.

My readers cannot but observe, that this is taken from Julian’s work against the christians, which shows, how intent he was upon doing all in his power to make the christians ignorant and unlearned. It was a strange design, and could proceed from nothing but malice and envy.

30. We will now take a summary view of what we have seen in Julian’s work against the christians.

He argues against the Jews as well as against them: but we have supposed it expedient to take more especial notice of what he writes relating to Jesus Christ and his followers. And he has borne a valuable testimony to the history, and to the books of the New Testament, as all must acknowledge who have read the extracts just made from his work. He allows, that Jesus was born in the reign of Augustus, at the time of the taxing made in Judea by Cyrenius: that the christian religion had its rise, and began to be propagated, in the times of the emperors Tiberius and Claudius. He bears witness to the genuineness and authenticity of the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the Acts of the Apostles: and he so quotes them, as to intimate, that these were the only historical books received by christians

1 L. vii. p. 229.
as of authority, and the only authentic memoirs of Jesus Christ and his apostles, and the doctrine preached by them. He allows their early date, and even argues for it. He also quotes, or plainly refers to the Acts of the Apostles, to St. Paul’s epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians. He does not deny the miracles of Jesus Christ, but allows him to have ‘healed the blind, and the lame, and demons,’ and ‘to have rebuked the winds, and walked upon the waves of the sea.’ He endeavours indeed to diminish these works; but in vain. The consequence is undeniable: such works are good proofs of a divine mission. He endeavours also to lessen the number of the early believers in Jesus, and yeth the acknowledgeth, that there were ‘multitudes of such men in Greece and Italy,’ before St. John wrote his gospel. He likewise affects to diminish the quality of the early believers; and yet acknowledgeth, that beside ‘men servants, and maid servants,’ Cornelius, a Roman centurion at Caesarea, and Sergius Paulus, pro-consul of Cyprus, were converted to the faith of Jesus before the end of the reign of Claudius. And he often speaks with great indignation of Peter and Paul, those two great apostles of Jesus, and successful preachers of his gospel. So that, upon the whole, he has undesignedly borne witness to the truth of many things recorded in the books of the New Testament: he aimed to overthrow the christian religion, but has confirmed it: his arguments against it are perfectly harmless, and insufficient to unsettle the weakest christian. He justly excepts to some things introduced into the christian profession by the late professors of it, in his own time, or sooner; but has not made one objection of moment against the christian religion, as contained in the genuine and authentic books of the New Testament.

V. I now intend to make some extracts out of Julian’s Orations and Epistles; this is fit to be done, because divers of them relate to christianity, and the affairs of christians in Julian’s time.

1. I have already transcribed that which is the seventh epistle in the order of Spanheim’s edition, containing a kind of establishment of Hellenism. I now proceed.

2. And the first to be now taken, is, the law or edict prohibiting christians to teach rhetoric, and other parts of polite literature: I need not transcribe the whole, but I shall take a large part of it.

1 He says, Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates, Lysias, were guided by the gods, and esteemed themselves consecrated, some to Mercury, others

k See before, p. 596.  
1 Ep. 42. p. 422, 423, 424.
to the Muses. It is absurd, therefore, for such as explain their works, to neglect the gods whom they worshipped: but though I think that to be absurd, I do not desire that they should change their sentiments for the sake of instructing youth. I give them their choice: either not to teach what they do not approve of; or, if they will teach, that they first inform and persuade their scholars, that neither Homer, nor Hesiod, nor any one of those whom they have explained, and had condemned for impiety, and ignorance, and error concerning the gods, is such: for otherwise, since they are maintained by teaching their works, they must not deny, that they are lovers of filthy lucre, and can do any thing for a small profit. There were many things to hinder their frequenting the temples; and they might be afraid to profess the right sentiments concerning the gods. But now, since by the favour of the gods we have obtained liberty, it appears to me absurd for any man to teach what they do not think to be right. But if they think there is any wisdom in the authors' works, of which they are interpreters, let them first learn to imitate their piety towards the gods. But if they judge that those authors are in an error about the gods, let them go to the churches of the Galileans, and there explain Matthew and Luke—I desire, to use your own terms, that your ears and your tongue might be regenerated, as to those things which I esteem, and which I wish that I and all that love me, may always partake of. Let this be a common law to professors and masters: but if any youth should have a mind to go to school to learn the things, they are not prohibited; for it would not be at all reasonable to restrain children, who know not what course to take, from the right way; as it would not also be, to compel them to embrace the old religion. It might, indeed, be just to treat them as out of their senses, in order to cure them; but let all be forborne, who labour under this distemper; for I suppose, that ignorant people are rather to be taught than punished.'

By what was transcribed formerly we saw, that christians understood themselves to be prohibited by Julian to learn, as well as to teach the Greek literature. Some have doubted, whether that be the intention of the law just now recited; and therefore they have supposed there was another. The question is of no great importance; but even this law deprives young persons of the privilege of learning, unless they went to the schools of Greek masters. So that there was no necessity of another law for that purpose.

\[\text{m} \] Τοις µεν καθήγησοι καὶ διδασκάλους οὐτώς καὶ κοινοὶ κυνήγεις νομισµ. p. 423. D.

\[\text{n} \] See p. 597, 598.
I must add, that I think it may be concluded, from expressions in this letter, that whatever forbearance, or liberty, Julian allowed christians, it was done very grudgingly and unwillingly.

3. The next letter is to Hecebolus; and I shall take it now. 'As o for myself,' says Julian, 'I have determined to act with so much clemency and moderation toward all the Galileans, that none of them should any where suffer any violence, nor be compelled to the temples, nor be violently forced to any thing against their inclinations. But they of the Arian church, waxing wanton with riches, have insulted the followers of Valentinus, and have presumed to do such things at Edessa, as are never to be suffered in a well constituted city: therefore, since they are so commanded by their most wonderful law, that they may the more easily go to the kingdom of heaven, and that we may give them some assistance in their design, we have ordered all the money of the church of Edessa to be taken away, and given to the soldiers, and that their estates be united to our demesnes: that being poor, they may become wise, and may not fail of the kingdom of heaven, which they aim at.'

Doubtless, Julian refers to divers texts of the gospels: perhaps to Matt. v. 3; Luke vi. 20; Matt. xix. 21, or some other parallel places; but few will allow him to be a good interpreter of scripture, or that he deduces right conclusions from it.

Hecebolus, to whom this letter was sent, is supposed to have been the chief magistrate at Edessa.

4. The heathen people of Alexandria murdered George, the Arian bishop of that city, in a tumultuous manner. The letter, which Julian sent to the Alexandrians upon that occasion, is still p extant; and it was inserted by a Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical History; but, being long, I forbear to transcribe it.

Sozomen also has taken particular notice of that transaction, and of Julian's letter. His remarks are to this purpose.

Julian o wrote a letter to the Alexandrians, in which he seems to be very angry with them; but he reproved them by a letter only, remitting the punishment due to them, out of regard to their god Serapis their protector, and the great Alexander their founder, and from other considerations. That is sufficient to represent the substance and design of this letter.

5. George had a good library; and Julian wrote to Ec-

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Testimonies of Ancient Heathens.

didius, governor of Egypt, to procure it entire for him. 'Some,' says he, 'delight in horses, others in birds, others in wild beasts; from my childhood I have been always in love with books—Wherefore you must do for me this private piece of kindness, to get together all George's books. He had a large number of books, many philosophical and rhetorical, and also many concerning the doctrine of the impious Galileans; which I could wish to have utterly destroyed; but lest books of value should be destroyed with them, let these also be carefully sought for. George had a secretary; let him help you. If he serves you faithfully, let him be rewarded with freedom. If he endeavours to conceal any of his master's books, he may be put to the torture. I am not unacquainted with George's books; for when I was in Cappadocia, I borrowed some of them, though not all, in order to have them transcribed, and then returned them to him.'

But it was a mean thing in Julian, to wish that all christian writings might be destroyed. It was below a philosopher, as one would think, to entertain such a thought.

6. We have another letter of Julian to the like purpose, sent to Porphyry, treasurer of Egypt. 'George' has left a library, consisting of books of various sorts, philosophy and history, as also of the Galileans, in great number. You are to procure the whole library for me, and send it to Antioch. You are to make the most diligent inquiries after the books; otherwise you may expect to be severely punished. If you suspect any persons to have concealed any of them, you are to examine them upon oath: if they are slaves, they may be put to the torture. If you cannot persuade them by fair means, you must use force to make them bring all to you.'

7. I now take a letter to the Alexandrians, concerning Athanasius. 'It was certainly very fit, that a man, who had been banished by repeated edicts of several emperors, should wait at least for one imperial edict, before he returned home; and not audaciously insult the laws, as if they were all extinct; forasmuch as even now we have not granted to the Galileans banished by the blessed Constantius, a return to their churches, but to their countries; but I hear, that the audacious Athanasius, behaving with his usual insolence, has seized on the episcopal throne, as they call it; and that this is not a little grievous to the pious

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1 —— α βαλομην μεν ἡθανοθαι πανω το δε μη συν αυτως ασαρεθναι τα χρησμωτα, ζητεισθω κεκιμα μετ' ακρεμιας απαντα. p. 378, B.

people of Alexandria: wherefore we command him to depart from the city on the day he receives our letter. If he stays in the city, we warn him of a severer punishment.'

Athanasius had been once banished by Constantine, twice by Constantius; to which Julian here refers. Nor did he make use of the liberty to return granted by Julian, till after the death of George; when, as it seems, he was disagreeable to the heathen people of Alexandria, whom Julian calls pious. Julian here says, that he had not given leave to the banished bishops to return to their sees, or churches, but only to their countries. I should have thought, that his edict had included a return to both. And this explication seems to be evasive, and, perhaps, now first thought of from particular enmity to Athanasius.

8. The catholic christians at Alexandria wrote to Julian as in the name of the city, requesting him to revoke his order against Athanasius, by a new edict; which he answered in the following letter to the Alexandrians. 'He says, the distempered part of them had taken upon themselves the name of the city. By the gods, ye men of Alexandria, I am ashamed that any Alexandrian should acknowledge himself to be a Galilean. He tells them, that Alexander, the Ptolemies, and other princes, their founders and patrons, were worshippers of the gods: and had not raised their city and constitution to its grandeur by the words of Jesus, nor by the doctrine of the hateful Galileans.—None of those gods do you worship; but Jesus, whom neither you nor your fathers have seen, him you think to be God the Word,' John i. 'Him you prefer to the great sun, who has so long enlightened and blessed the world. You may do well to hearken to me, who, till I was twenty years of age, went in the same way; but now for twelve years I have been a worshipper of the gods. If you hearken to my admonitions, it will be for your benefit: however, if you will still follow the instruction and superstition of knavish men, agree among yourselves, and no longer desire Athanasius: there are disciples enough of his to please "your itching ears," who want such impious discourses,' 2 Tim. iv. 3. I wish this wickedness were confined to Athanasius and his impious school; but you have among you a multitude of such people.—And you may take notice, that whereas before I banished Athanasius out of Alexandria, I now banish him out of all Egypt.'

9. In a letter to Ecditus, præfect of Egypt, he says:

Though x you write to me about no other matters, you

should, however, have written to me about that enemy of the gods, Athanasius: especially, when you know what I have rightly determined. I swear by the great Serapis, if Athanasius does not depart from the city, or rather from all Egypt, before the first day of December next, the cohort under you shall be fined a hundred pounds of gold. You know how backward I am to condemn, and that I am still more backward to forgive those who have been once condemned. [And in his own hand και τῇ αυτῇ χειρὶ.] It concerns me extremely, that all the gods are despised. I desire not to hear so much of any service of yours, as that you have expelled the wicked Athanasius out of Egypt, who, under my government, has been so audacious as to persuade Greek women, wives of illustrious men, to receive baptism.'

10. Surely this, and the other letters, relating to Athanasius, show that Julian did not practise that indulgence and moderation toward the christians which he sometimes boasted of; for no fault is alleged to Athanasius, except that he was an 'enemy of the gods,' and made converts to christianity from among the gentiles.

11. However, there is another letter of Julian, which seems to be written with better temper. It is inscribed to the people of Byzantium, or Constantinople. But Bletterie supposes the inscription to be false, and that he was not sent to the people of Byzantium, but of some other place, whose name had some resemblance, and has been mistaken by the transcriber.

'Ve have restored to you all your senators and patricians, whether they are Galileans, or otherwise exempted from that charge.' However, perhaps that was not a privilege, but rather a burdensome office; the terms of the letter seem to lead to that sense; and Bletterie may be again consulted.

12. We have a letter of Julian to Arsacius, high-priest of Galatia; which is also inserted by Sozomen at length in his Ecclesiastical History. I take a good part of it.

'If Hellenism does not prosper according to our wish, it is the fault of those who profess it.—Why do we not look to that which has been the principal cause of the aug-

\* Sozom. l. v. c. 16.

'Ελληνισμος επω πρατει κατα λογον ημων, ενερα των μετοντων αυτων. If Hellenism does not prosper, &c. That was the style at that time. Hellenism is Heathenism, or Gentilism. And Heathens are called Hellenes, and Hellenists, by our ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, especially in their history of Julian's reign.
mentation of impiety, humanity to strangers, care in burying the dead, and that sanctity of life, of which they make such a show; all which things I will have to be really practised by our people. It is not sufficient that you are unblamable yourself; all the priests in Galatia ought to be so likewise. I will therefore that you persuade, and even compel, all the priests in Galatia to live soberly; otherwise do you depose them from the priestly office, unless they and their wives, and children, and servants, do religiously worship the gods; and also forbear to converse with the servants, children, and wives of the Galileans, who are impious toward the gods, and prefer impiety to religion. You are likewise to order them, not to frequent the theatre, nor to drink in taverns, nor to exercise any mean and sordid employments. Such as hearken to your directions you are to encourage; others you are to reject. You are also to erect hospitals in every city, that strangers also may share in our humanity: and not only those of our religion, but others likewise, if they are necessitous. 'He then tells him what allowances he had made for that purpose.—For, says he, it is a shame, when there are no beggars among the Jews, and the impious Galileans relieve not only their own people, but ours also, that our poor should be neglected by us, and be left helpless and destitute.'

13. There is a long fragment of some oration or epistle, in which Julian gives many directions for regulating the behaviour and studies of heathen priests, and recommends humanity, and near the end, particularly, a regard to the poor, where he says: 'This ought to be carefully attended to, as what may be a good remedy for the present disorder. For it having so happened, as I suppose, that the poor were neglected by our priests, the impious Galileans, observing

\[a\] And also forbears to converse with, &c. ἀλλὰ αὐτόν ἑαυτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκίων, ἡ ἁμαρτία τῶν Ἐλληνῶν γομίζων, απεξεύρητον μὲν εἰς τὴν Δικήν, αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐκπομπῆς πρωτομνημῶν. I have attempted a new translation of this place, not being quite satisfied with any other, which I have met with. In Spanheim's edition the Latin version is: et ne patiantur servos, aut filios, aut conjuges Galileorum impie in Deos se gerere, et impietatem pietati preponere. And much to the same purpose is the Latin translation of this epistle in Sozomen, made by Valetius. Which would be commanding every heathen priest and his family to become persecutors; which cannot be supposed to be probable. Cave, in the Introduction to his History of the Fathers of the fourth century, p. 34, 'not suffering their servants, children, or wives, to be Galileans, who are despisers of the gods, and prefer impiety before religion.' Which cannot be right; for it is a tautology, saying over again the same thing which had been said just before. And yet Bletterie's translation is much to the same purpose: S'ils souffrent dans leur famille de ces impies de Galileens.

\[e\] Tom. i. p. 288, &c. \[f\] Ibid. p. 305.
this, have addicted themselves to this kind of humanity; and by the show of such good offices have recommended the worst of things. For beginning with their love-feasts, and the "ministry of tables," as they call it; Acts vi. 2: 'for not only the name, but the thing also is common among them,) they have drawn away the faithful to impiety.'

There ends the fragment; but it seems not to be the conclusion of the piece. As it is plainly defective at the beginning, it appears to be so likewise at the end; otherwise we might have had somewhat more, not unworthy of observation.

In that fragment, nearer the beginning, he says, 'he does not believe any man is the poorer for what he gives to the necessitous. I who have often relieved the poor, have been rewarded by the gods manifold: though riches is a thing which I never was intent upon.'

It may be hence argued, that the scandalous stories about the christian worship and manners, which were spread abroad at the first rise of christianity, were without foundation. Nor were the christians now charged with them; at least Julian never mentions them; and here he celebrates their virtue; however, still their religion was, with him, very bad. But it is somewhat strange that should be the worst impiety which had produced such exemplary humanity, as to be recommended to heathen priests for a pattern of imitation.

14. I may now take a passage or two of Julian, where he exposeth monkery.

In his seventh oration, which is addressed to Heracleas, a cynic philosopher, Julian tells him, that the cynics are like that sort of men, whom the impious Galileans call renouncers; many of whom quitting a small substance, scrape together a great deal, or rather every thing, from all quarters, and arrive at such dignity, as to secure a numerous attendance, and all kinds of respect.

15. In the fragment of the oration, or epistle, before quoted, he speaks of some people, who left cities, and re-

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8 Тон αυτον και αυτοι τροπον αξεσυρειν δια της λεγομενης παρ' αυτως αγαπης και υποδοχης και διακοινας τραπεζων, κ. λ. p. 305. C. D.

h Ibid. p. 288. C.

i —αποτακτισας τινας ονομαζοντας οι ευσεβεις Γαλαλεοι των οι πλους μικρα προεμονει, πολλα πανει, μελλον δε τα παντα πανταχοθεν συγκοινωναι και προσηναμενη τωι τιμαθαι, και ἐφερομηνονθα, και ἥσανανθα. Ibid. Or. vii. p. 224. B.

k —ηηγη γε και ἐσθημα, και κλοιος εξευρον οι πολλοι των. Ουτω πανταχοθεν αυτες ο κακος συνελευθεραι δαιμονι, ο ετοικισαν ικονις ικανης αποτανως των αιωνιων και σωτηριων ζωων, κ.λ. p. 288. B.
tired into deserts. 'Whereas,' says he, 'man is a social animal. Moreover,' as he adds, 'many of these lead themselves with chains and shackles.' The place is obscure; but I think he means Christians, forasmuch as he supposed them to be men, who had forsaken the immortal and good gods. And in his Misopogon he speaks of old women lurking about sepulchres.

16. In his letter to the people of Athens, he mentions Epictetus, m a bishop of Gaul, whom Constantius had sent to him. In a fragment n of an epistle, he speaks of bishops and presbyters of the Galileans.

17. In his Misopogon, o a satire upon the people of Antioch, in which he says what he pleaseth, both of himself and them, are these following things which may be taken notice of.

' I suppose,' p says he, 'you are very happy, because you have renounced all kinds of servitude, first to the gods, then to the laws, and lastly to me, who am the guardian of the laws.'

And soon after: 'But a it is said, that Chi and Kappa never did the city any harm: it is hard to know the meaning of this wise riddle of yours: but by some interpreters of your city, we have been informed they are initial letters of names, the one denoting Christ, the other Constantius.'

'But,' you love Christ, and esteem him the tutelar patron of your city, instead of Jupiter and Apollo of Daphne. Many of you, it seems, I have offended, in a manner all of you, the senate, the rich, the people. The greatest part of the people, or rather the whole of them, are offended with me because they are in love with impiety, and they see that I embrace and adhere to the religion of my ancestors.'

'You,' say, I wage war with Chi, and you admire Kappa.'

Omitting some other things, Julian t went on a feast day

1 Τοις περὶ τῆς ταφὸς καλανήκτονος γραφίδος συνεχορηγαν. Μισοπ. p. 344. A.
2 ΑΛΛ' Ἐπικτητὸν τινα τῶν Γαλλῶν επισκόπων ομοίων. Αδ. Ι. Ρ. 2. Αθην. p. 286. C.
3 Οἱ μὲν τῶν Γαλλαίων ἕνως επισκόπως καὶ πρεσβυτέρως συγκαθίζοντο τοις. Ep. Ικι. p. 450. C.
4 Ρ. 337, &c.
5 Ibid. p. 356. D.
6 To ΧΙ, ὁραν, ἔνει ἡδῶν τῆν πολιν, καὶ κατὰ Καππα, κ.λ. Ib. p. 357. A.
7 Χρίσων ἐκ αγαθωτικὰς εἰπεῖ πολιχνὸν αὐτῷ τῷ Δωρίου, καὶ τῷ Δαρμοινί.]
8 Εὐπερήτης ἐκ ἐγώ ——ὑμῶν μεντα πολλος, καὶ ολεθρον θανα πάντας, την βολην, την εὐπορίαν, την ἐμον. 6 ο μεν γὰρ ἐμὸν αὐτήτατο μοι τῷ πλῆσι τινὶ, πολλον ἐκ ἀπειρά τινα ἐκεύμενος, ὡς τοις πατριως Ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας θεο- ρος προσδέχομεν. Ibid. p. 357. C. D.
9 Καὶ ὅτι πολιχνῷ τῷ ΧΙ, τιθας ἐκ ὑμᾶς εὐσεβεία τοῦ Καππα. Ibid. p. 369. D.
10 Ibid. p. 362.
to pay his homage to the temple of Apollo at Daphne, in
the neighbourhood of Antioch, but there were neither people
nor sacrifices; the priest had only a small victim of his own
preparing. Of this Julian complains grievously, that so
large a city had not provided some bulls for a sacrifice on
that solemnity: 'You ought,' says he, 'to have sacrificed
both privately and publicly. But you let your wives
carry away every thing to the Galileans; and they maintain
the poor with your goods, and so bring their impiety into
esteem.'

It is hence apparent, that christianity was now the pre-
vailing religion at Antioch.

18. I am disposed to conclude my accounts and extracts
of Julian’s Orations and Epistles, with a translation of his
epistle to the people of Bostra, the chief city in Arabia, of
whom some notice was taken long ago: and before I do
that, I am led to recite an article of Sozomen, representing
the state of things in the time of that emperor. Sozomen,
though sometimes rather too credulous of miracles, was a
lawyer, and a man of good understanding and great modera-
tion; and therefore his testimony must deserve a good deal
of regard, he being less partial than some others. He was
born in Palestine, and wrote his Ecclesiastical History at
Constantinople about the year 440.

'This emperor,' says Sozomen, 'hearing that Athana-
sius held assemblies in the church of the Alexandrians, and
that he boldly taught the people, and brought over many
Greeks [or gentiles] to christianity, ordered him to leave
Alexandria: threatening him with a severe penalty if he
did not go away: pretending this as a crime, that whereas
he had been banished by former princes, he had without
his authority again taken possession of the episcopal chair;
forasmuch as he had not granted leave to the bishops,
who had been banished by Constantius, to return to their
churches, but only to their country. When in obedience
to this order of the emperor he left Alexandria, and the
people were in tears, he said: 'It is only a small cloud,
which will soon pass away.'—And,' says Sozomen,
though the emperor was determined by all means to restore
Hellenism, he judged it imprudent to compel men by
punishments to sacrifice against their will; for he knew
that compulsion was of no avail in things which depended
upon men’s free choice. Nevertheless, he would not per-

u Πρεπείν δ' ομως, τη πολει Θυειν ἐδε και δημοσίως, γνων συνε ἵμων ἰκατος
ἐπιτρέπει μην τη γυναικι παντα εκφερεν ενδοθεν εις τους Γαλαλαιους, κ. λ.
p. 363 Α.

v Vol. iii. p. 272.

Soz. I. v. cap. 15
mit them to meet together, and offer the usual prayers.

Therefore he took care to banish the clergy and presidents
out of cities, intending by their absence to abolish the
assemblies of the people, when there were none to teach
them, nor perform the accustomed rites, that in length of
time the memory of their worship should be lost. His
pretence for doing so was, that the clergy excited the peo-
ple to sedition. Under this pretence he banished Eleusius
and his friends from Cyzicium, though there was no sedi-
tion there, nor any reason to apprehend it: and he required,
that the people of Bostra should, by a public decree, send
away from their city Titus bishop of their church: for,
when he had threatened, that if any disturbance happened
there, he should impute it to the bishop and his clergy,
Titus thereupon sent a letter to the emperor, assuring him,
that the christians of Bostra were equal in number to the
Greeks, [or gentiles,] and that they were quiet, and that
paying a regard to his admonitions, they had no thought
of making any disturbance. From those words Julian
took occasion to write a letter to the people of Bostra, in
order to incense them against Titus, as having accused
them, saying: It was not owing to their own good temper,
but to his exhortations, that they were kept from sedition.
Thus exciting the people to expel him out of their city as
a public enemy. And it is likely, that there were many
such things, partly owing to the command of the emperor,
and partly to the violence and petulance of the people.
But the whole fault of all is to be ascribed to the emperor
himself, who neglected to punish, according to the laws,
those who out of hatred to our religion transgressed in these
respects; seemingly reproving them in words, but by his
actions really exciting them to such irregularities. There-
fore though he did not openly persecute, yet the christ-
ians were banished from cities and villages: of this, as
many others of my ancestors, so particularly my grand-
father was an instance. His father was a gentile; but he
and the whole family were converted to christianity by
Hilarion; and they were the first christians at Bethelia, a
populous village near Gaza.' So writes Sozomen, with
great discretion and judgment, as seems to me.

I now proceed to the letter or edict mentioned.

Julian to the people of Bostra.

'1 I imagined, that the presidents of the Galileans would

\* ο θεον και μη δωκοντος αυτη, κατα πολεις και και μεσις εφευγου ων χρησαν
ταυτης εις της φυγης μετεσυχω πολλοι των εμω πρωγουν, και δε εμος παπες,
κ. λ. p. 617. A.

\* Ep. 52. p. 495, &c.

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acknowledge themselves to be under greater obligations to me than to my predecessor: for in his reign many of them were banished, persecuted, imprisoned; and many of those who are called heretics were put to death, particularly at Samosata, and Cyzicum in Paphlagonia, in Bithynia, in Galatia, and other places, where many villages were plundered and utterly ruined. In my time it has been quite otherwise: for they who had been banished are permitted to return home; and all their goods that had been confiscated have been restored by a law of mine. Nevertheless, because they have now no longer power to tyrannize over any, nor to practise their usual violences upon one another, nor upon us the pious worshippers of the gods, they are become furious, and try every method to raise seditions and disturbances among the people. In which they show themselves void of fear toward the gods, and of respect to our edicts, though full of moderation and humanity: for we suffer not any of them to be dragged to the altars against their own choice. And we openly declare, that if any are desirous to partake in our worship, they must first of all offer sacrifices of expiation, and so reconcile themselves to the gods: so far are we from desiring, that any of the impious should communicate with us, till they have purified their souls by prayers to the gods, and their bodies by the appointed expiations. It is plain therefore, that the clergy mislead the people for no other reason, but because they are not suffered to lord it over others. For they who have been hitherto accustomed to tyrannize over others, are not satisfied that they have obtained forgiveness of past crimes; they would still, as formerly, act as judges, make testaments, and appropriate estates to their own use, and bring every thing to themselves: for this reason they blow up the fire of sedition among the people. Wherefore we by this edict declare, and make known to all people, that they join not the clergy in seditions, nor be persuaded by them to throw stones, nor to disobey the magistrates, but to be contented with saying their prayers among themselves in their own assemblies. This edict is particularly addressed to the city of the Bostrenes; because their bishop Titus, and his clergy, in a petition sent to me, have accused their people as ready to raise disturbances if not restrained by their admonitions. I insert here their own words: "Though the christians are equal in number to the gentiles, they are so restrained by our admonitions, that they are not at all inclined to make any disturbances." These are your bishop’s words concerning you: see, how he says, your good order proceeds not from
your own mind; and that you have been unwillingly restrained by his admonitions. Therefore do you willingly, and of your own accord, expel him out of your city as your accuser. Do you live in concord with each other: let no one be an enemy, or injurious to another. Let not them who are in error disturb those who rightly and justly worship the gods, according to the tradition handed down to us from ancient time. Nor let the servants of the gods disturb or pillage the houses of those, who err more through ignorance than choice. Men ought to be persuaded and taught by reason, not by blows, reproaches, and corporal punishments: I therefore again and again, and often exhort those who embrace the true religion, not to abuse nor insult the Galileans. We ought to pity rather than to hate men, who suffer the greatest calamity: for indeed true religion is the greatest good, and, on the contrary, impiety is the greatest of evils: which calamity they bring upon themselves, who forsaking the immortal gods, betake themselves to dead men and their relics. With those who are sick we sympathize: and we rejoice with them who obtain deliverance from the gods. 'Given at Antioch the first day of August.' That is, in the year of Christ 362.

From this edict, as well as from other things, it appears, that Julian was very fond of Hellenism, or heathenism: and Sozomen’s observations above mentioned appear to be very pertinent. Julian was very ready to lay hold of every pretence, and to improve every occasion, to rid himself of the presidents of christian churches, especially such as had an influence with the people. Here we see three instances of this, in Athanasius of Alexandria, Eleusius of Cyzicum, and Titus of Bostra; all of them men of great distinction.

Julian here makes repeated professions of moderation and equity toward the christians; but the letter bears witness against him. Titus was one of the most learned men of the age: his people were peaceable, and he had exhorted them to be so: and yet Julian commands his people to expel him out of their city; under a pretence, that his exhortations to a peaceable behaviour implied an accusation of an unpeaceable temper.

I add no more. The extracts now made are sufficient to cast some light upon the circumstances and state of things in the time of Julian; and to show the real temper of that emperor, and that he was intent upon extirpating christianity, and with the greatest despatch. He was a man of great ingenuity, sobriety of manners, and good natured in himself: but his zeal for the religion which he had embraced was
excessive, and degenerated into bigotry and superstition: insomuch, that with all his pretensions to right reason, and all his professions of humanity, moderation, tenderness, and equity, he has not escaped the just imputation of being a persecutor.

I cannot but think, that a review of the history of this person, of shining abilities and high station, may lead us to some serious reflections; particularly it holds out to us this humbling and useful admonition: "Let him that thinks he stands take heed lest he fall," 1 Cor. x. 12.