

intelligent of the Greekish Pagans, did frequently understand by *Zeus*, that *Supreme Unmade Deity*, who was the *Maker of the World*, and of all the *Inferiour Gods*. *Porphyrius* in *Eusebius* thus declares their sense, τὴ Δία, τὴ Νῆν κόσμος ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὅς τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐδημιούργησεν, ἔχων τὴν κόσμον. *By Zeus, the Greeks understand that Mind of the World which framed all things in it, and containeth the whole World.* Agreeable whereunto is that of *Maximus Tyrinus*, κάλει τὴν μὲν Δία, νῆν προσεῦδατον, καὶ ἀρχαίωτατον, ὧ πάντα ἐπέται καὶ πειθαρχεῖ. *By Jupiter you are to understand, that most Ancient and Princely Mind, which all things follow and obey.* And *Eusebius* himself, though not forward to grant any more than needs he must to Pagans, concludes with this acknowledgment hereof, ἔστω ὁ Ζεὺς μικρὸν ἢ περὶ αἰθέρος οὐρανόσφαιρα, ὡς ἄρ' τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐνομιζέτο, καὶ τὴν Πλάτωνα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνωτάτω Νῆς, ὁ τῆν ὅλων δημιουργός. *Let Jupiter therefore be no longer, that Fiery and Ethereal Substance, which the ancient Pagans according to Plutarch supposed him to be; but that Highest Mind, which was the Maker of all things.* But *Phornutus* by *Jupiter* understands the *Soul of the World*, he writing thus concerning him; ὡς ἄρ' ἡ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ ψυχῆς διοικόμεθα, ἔτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος ψυχὴν ἔχει πῶ συνέχουσαν αὐτὸν, καὶ αὐτὴ καλεῖται Ζεὺς, αἰτία ἔστω τοῖς ζῴοντι ζῶν, καὶ διὰ τῆτο βασιλεύει ὁ Ζεὺς λέγεται τῆν ὅλων. *As we our selves are governed by a Soul, so hath the World in like manner a Soul that containeth it; and this is called Zeus, being the Cause of Life to all things that live; and therefore Zeus or Jupiter, is said to reign over all things.* However, though these were two different Conceptions amongst the Pagans concerning God, some apprehending him to be an *Abstract Mind* separate from the *World* and *Matter*, but others to be a *Soul of the World* only, yet nevertheless they all agreed in this, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* was the *Supreme Moderator* or *Governour* of all. And accordingly *Plato* in his *Cratylus* taking these Two Words, *Ζῆνα* and *Δία*, both together, etymologizeth them as one, after this manner: συντιθέμεθα εἰς ἓν διλοῖ πῶ φύσιν τῆ θεῶ, ὅ καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, ὅς ἔστιν αἰτιῶν μάλιστα τῆ ζῶν, ἢ ὁ ἀρχὸν τε καὶ βασιλεύς τῆν πάντων. συμβαίνει ἔν ὁμοῦ ὀνομάζεσθαι ἔστω, τὰ θεῶς εἶναι δι' ὃν ζῆν ἀεὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ζῴοντι ὑπάρχει, διὰ τῆν αἰτίαν ἢ διὰ τῆν αἰτίαν (ὡς ἄρ' λέγω) ἐν ὃν τὸ ὄνομα, τὰ δι' ἢ Ζεὺς. *These Two words compounded together, declare the Nature of God; for there is nothing, which is more the Cause of Life both to our selves and all other Animals, than He who is the Prince and King of all things, so that God is rightly thus called; He being that by whom all things Live. And these are really but one Name of God, though divided into Two Words.* But because it was very obvious, then to object against this Position of *Plato's*, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* could not be the Prince of all things, and First Original of Life, from the *Theogonia* of *Hesiod* and other ancient Pagans, in which himself was made to have been the *Son of Κρόνον* or *Saturn*; therefore this Objection is thus preoccupied by *Plato*, τῆτον ἢ, Κρόνος υἱόν, ὑπερισπῶν μὲν ἂν τινι δόξειεν εἶναι ἀκόσμητον ἐξάλφιν. *Whosoever shall hear this, (saith he) will presently conclude it, to be contumelious to this Zeus or Jupiter (as he hath been described by us) to be accounted the Son of Cronos or Saturn.* And in answer hereunto, that *Philosopher* stretcheth his Wits, to salve that *Poetick Theogonia*, and reconcile it with his own *Theological Hypothesis*; and thereupon he interprets that *Hesiodian*

godian *zōs* or *Jupiter*, into a Compliance with the *Third Hypostasis* of his *Divine Triad*, so as properly to signify the *Superiour Soul* of the *World*; ἄλογον ὃ, μεγάλην τινὸς διανοίας ἐκγονὸν εἶναι ἢ Δία· κρόνον δὲ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄλογον καὶ ἀκίνητον τὸ νῦν· εἶσι δὲ ἑστὸ οὐρανὸς υἱὸς, ὡς λόγος· Nevertheless it is reasonable to suppose, *Zeus* or *Jupiter* to be the *Offspring* of some *Great Mind*: and *Chronos* or *Saturn* signifieth a *pure and Perfect Mind Eternal*; who again is said to be the *Son* of *Uranus* or *Cælius*. Where it is manifest, that *Plato* endeavours to accommodate this *Poetick Trinity* of *Gods*, *Uranus*, *Chronos* and *Zeus*; or *Cælius*, *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, to his own *Trinity* of *Divine Hypostases*, *τῶν ἀρχῶν, νῦν* and *Ψυχή*, the *First Good*, a *Perfect Intellect*, and the *Highest Soul*. Which *Accommodation*, is accordingly further pursued by *Plotinus* in several places, as *Enn.* 5. l. 1. c. 4. and *Enn.* 5. l. 8. c. 13. Nevertheless these *Three Archical Hypostases* of the *Platonick Trinity*, though look'd upon as *Substances* distinct from each other, and *Subordinate*; yet are they frequently taken all together by them for the *Whole Supreme Deity*. However the Word *zōs* is by *Plato* severally attributed, to each of them; which *Proclus* thus observed upon the *Timæus*: λέγωμεν ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν εἰσι τάξεις καὶ ἄλλα Πλάτωνι τῷ Δίῳ· ἄλλος γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς Ζεὺς, ὡς ἐν Κρατύλῳ γέγραπται, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ πρῶτος ἢ Κρονίους Τριάδος, ὡς ἐν Γοργίᾳ λέγεται, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ἀπόλυτος, ὡς ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ δίδεται, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ἑρμῆς, ἔπειτα ἔπι τῷ ἀπλανῶς ἔπειτα ὁ ἐν τῇ Σατύρῳ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ· We say therefore, that there are several Orders, Ranks or Degrees of *Zeus* or *Jupiter* in *Plato*; for sometimes he is taken for the *Demiurgus* or *Opificer* of the *World*, as in *Cratylus*, sometimes for the *First* of the *Saturnian Triad*, as in *Gorgias*, sometimes for the *Superiour Soul* of the *World*, as in *Phædrus*, and lastly sometimes for the *Lower Soul* of the *Heaven*. Though by *Proclus* his lieve, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* which is mentioned in *Plato's Cratylus* (being plainly the *Superiour Psyche* or *Soul* of the *World*) is not properly the *Demiurgus* or *Opificer*, according to him, that *Title* rather belonging to *νῦν* or *Intellect*, which is the *Second Hypostasis* in his *Trinity*.

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As for the *Vulgar* of the *Greekish Pagans*, whether they apprehended *God* to be *νῦν ἐξηγημένον τῷ κόσμῳ*, a *Mind* or *Intellect* separate from the *World*, or else to be a *soul of the World* only; it cannot be doubted, but that by the word *Zeus*, they commonly understood the *Supreme Deity* in one or other of those senses, the *Father* and *King* of *Gods*: he being frequently thus stiled in their solemn *Nuncupations* of *Vows*, *Ζεὺ πάτερ*, *Ζεὺ ἄνα*, *O Jupiter Father*, and *O Jupiter King*. As he was invoked also *Ζεὺ βασιλεῦ*, in that excellent *Prayer* of an ancient *Poet*, not without cause commended in *Plato's Alcibiades*.

Ζεὺ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλά καὶ δόξα καὶ ἀνεύτοις  
Ἄμμι δίδου, τὰ δὲ δεινά καὶ δόξα ἀπαλέξεν·

*O Jupiter King*, give us good things whether we pray or pray not for them, but withhold evil things from us, though we should pray never so earnestly for them. But the *Instances* of this kind being innumerable, we shall forbear to mention any more of them. Only we shall observe, that *Zeus Sabazius* was a name for the *Supreme God*, sometime introduced

duced amongst the Greeks, and derived in all probability, from the Hebrew *Sabaoth*, or *Adonai Tsebaoth*, the *Lord of Hosts*, (that is of the Heavenly Hosts) or the Supreme Governour of the World. Which therefore *Aristophanes* took notice of, as a strange and foreign God, lately crept in amongst them, that ought to be banish'd out of *Greece*: these several Names of God being then vulgarly spoken of, as so many distinct Deities; as shall be more fully declared afterwards. We shall likewise elsewhere show, that besides  $\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma, \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$  also was used by the Greeks, as a Name for that God, who is the supreme Moderator and Governour of the whole World.

That the Latins did in like manner, by *Jupiter* and *Jovis*, frequently denote the *Supreme Deity*, and *Monarch of the Universe*, is a thing unquestionable; and which does sufficiently appear from those Epithets that were commonly given to him, of *Optimus* and *Maximus*, the *Best* and the *Greatest*, as also of *Omnipotens* frequently bestowed upon him by *Virgil* and others. Which word *Jupiter* or *Jovis*, though *Cicero* etymologize it à *Juvando*, or from *Juvans Pater*, as not knowing how to do it otherwise, yet we may rather conclude it to have been of an Hebraical Extraction, and derived from that *Tetragrammaton* or Name of God, consisting of Four Consonants; whose Vowels (which it was to be pronounced with) though they be not now certainly known, yet must it needs have some such sound as this, either *Jovab*, or *Jahvoh*, or 'Iάω or 'Iάω, or the like: and the abbreviation of this Name was *Jah*. For as the Pagan Nations, had besides Appellatives, their several Proper Names for God, so also had the Hebrews theirs, and such as being given by God himself, was most expressive of his Nature, it signifying *Eternal and Necessary Existence*.

But in the next place we shall suggest, that the Pagans did not only signify the *Supreme God*, by these *Proper Names*, but also frequently by the *Appellatives* themselves, when used not for a *God* in General, but for *The God*, or God κατ' ἐξοχῶν, and by way of eminency. And thus ὁ θεός and θεός are often taken by the Greeks, not for θεῶν τις, a *God*, or one of the *Gods*, but for *God*, or the *Supreme Deity*. We have several Examples hereof, in Passages before-cited occasionally in this very Chapter, as in that of *Aristotle's*, τί ἐν ἅν κρείττον καὶ βεβαιώτερον πᾶσι θεοῖς; *What is there therefore, that can be better than Knowledge, but only God*: As also that other of his, that Happiness consisteth principally in Vertue, ἔστω συναμολογημένον ἡμῖν μάστιγι παρὰ θεῶν χρωμαίσι; *it is a thing that ought to be acknowledged by us from the Nature of God*. So likewise in that of *Thales*, πρεσβύτατον πάντων ὁ θεός, ἀγέννητον γάρ, *God is the oldest of all things, because he is Unmade*, and that of *Maximus Tyrius*, πολλοὶ θεοὶ παῖδες θεῶν καὶ συναρχαὶ θεῶν, *Many Gods the Sons of God and Co-reignors together with God*. Besides which, there have been others also mentioned, which we shall not here repeat. And innumerable more Instances of this kind might be added, as that of *Antiphanes*, θεός ἕθεν ἕοικεν, διόπερ αὐτὸν ἕως ἐμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνης δέναι, *God is like to nothing, for which cause he cannot be learnt by any, from an Image*: This of *Socrates*, εἰ ταύτη φίλον τὰ θεῶν, ταύτη γνώσθω, *If*  
God

God will have it so, let it be so. And that of *Epictetus*, οὐ μόνον μέμνησο καὶ καθολικῶν, τί ἐμὸν, τί ἔκ ἐμὸν; τί ἄλλὰ με ποιῆν ὁ θεὸς νῦν; Do thou only remember, these *Catholick and Universal Principles*; What is Mine and what is not Mine? What would God have me now to do? and what would he have me not to do? But we shall mention no more of these, because they occur so frequently in all manner of Greek Writers, both *Metrical and Prosaical*.

Wherefore we shall here only add, that as the Singular θεός, was thus often used by the Greeks for God κατ' ἐξοχήν or in way of *Eminency*, that is, for the *Supreme Deity*, so was likewise the Plural θεοὶ frequently used by them, for the *Inferiour Gods* by way of *Distinction* from the *Supreme*. As in that usual Form of Prayer and Exclamation ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, O *Jupiter and the Gods*, and that Form of *Obtestation*, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, *By Jupiter and the Gods*. So in this of *Euripides*,

Ἄμ' ὄζειν, ἔσι· κἂν τις ἐγγελαῖ λογῶν,  
Ζεὺς καὶ θεοὶ, βεβήτα λάσσαντες πάλῃ.

*Est, (sint licet qui rideant) est Jupiter,  
Superique; Casus qui vident Mortalium.*

In which Passages, as *Jupiter* is put for the *Supreme God*, so is θεοὶ likewise put, for the *Inferiour Gods*, in way of distinction from him. Thus also θεός and θεοὶ are taken both together, in *Plato's Phædo*, θεός for the *Supreme, Unmade and Incorruptible Deity*, and θεοὶ for the *Inferiour Gods only*, ὁ δὲ γὰρ θεός (οἶμαι) ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ζῶης εἶδος ὧδ' πάντων ἂν ὁμολογηθεῖν, μηδὲ ποτε ἀπόλλυθαι. Περὶ πάντων μάλιστα νῦν Δι' (ἔφη) ἀνθρώπων γὰρ; καὶ ἐπι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐγὼμαι, ὧδ' θεῶν. I suppose, said *Socrates*, that *God and the very Species, Essence or Idea of Life*, will be granted by all to be *Incorruptible*. Doubtless by all men (said *Cebes*) but much more as I conceive, by the *Gods*. But a further Instance will be propounded afterwards, of the word θεοὶ thus used by way of distinction, for the *Inferiour Gods only*; as it was before declared, that the *Theogonia* or *Generation of Gods* was accordingly understood by the Greeks universally, of the οἱ θεοὶ, that is, the *Inferiour Gods*.

P. 106

*Plato de Rep.*  
ἐχ' ἑαυτοῦ θεῶν πο-  
τε ἀπολείπας, ὅτι  
ἀν' ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἐ-  
στὶν δίκαιος γίνε-  
σθαι, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν  
ἀπίπτοι, εἰς ὅσον  
δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπων  
ὁμοιωθεῖσθαι θεῶν.  
He will never be  
neglected of the  
Gods, who endea-  
vours, as much as  
it is possible for a  
man, to be like to  
God. p. 613.

Moreover as the word θεός was taken κατ' ἐξοχήν, or by way of *eminency*, for the *Supreme God*, so was Δαίμων likewise. As for example, in this Passage of *Callimachus* before cited imperfectly,

Εἰ θεὸν οἶδα,  
ἴσθ' ὅτι καὶ ῥέξαι Δαίμονι πᾶν δυνατὸν.

*Si Deus est tibi notus,  
Hoc etiam noris, omnia posse Deum.*

Where θεός and Δαίμων are used both alike signanter, for the *Supreme God*. And thus also in that famous Passage of another Poet,

—Τοῖς

Τοῖς ἤδ' ἀλίτροις,  
Εἰν ἀλὶ καὶ γαίᾳ, κακὰ μύθια θήκατο Δαίμων.

*Homer* likewise, in one and the same place, seems to use θεός and Δαίμων both together, after the same manner, for the *Supreme God*,

"Ὅπποτ' ἀνή ἐδελεῖ πρὸς δαίμονα φῶτὶ μάχεσθαι,  
"Ὅν κε θεὸς τιμᾶ, τάχα οἱ μέγα πῆμα κωλύει."

*Quoties homo vult, adverso Numine, cum viro pugnare  
Quem Deus honorat, mox in eum magna clades devolvitur.*

Again we conceive, that *Jupiter* or the *Supreme God*, was sometimes signified amongst the Pagans, by that expression, θεός αὐτός *Deus Ipse*, as in that of *Homer's Ninth Iliad*,

οὐδ' ἔ κέν μοι ὑποσάιν θεός αὐτός,  
Γῆρας ἀποξύζας θῆσειν νέον ἠεῶντα.

*Neque si mihi promitteret Deus Ipse,  
Senectutem abradens, effecturum me juvenem pubescentem.*

*Contra Ful.  
L. 1.*

*So Justin.  
Mart. Ad Gra.  
cob. p. 22.*

And thus *St. Cyril of Alexandria* interprets *Homer* here, ἡ γὰρ περ φησὶν, εἰ καὶ θεῶν τις ὑπόχοιτό μοι τὸ μὲν γῆρας ἀπεμπολῶ, παλινάγειτον ἢ τὴν νεότητα, τετήρηκε ἢ τὸ χρεῖμα μόνω τῷ ἐπι πάντας θεῶν, &c. τὸ γὰρ τοι θεός αὐτός, ἐν ἐφ' ἓνα τῶν ἐν μύθοις πεπλασμένων τινῶν, αὐτὸν ἢ δὴ μόνον κατὰσημνύθεν ἂν τῷ ἀληθῆς ὄντι θεῶν. *Homer doth not say, If any of the Gods would promise me freedom from old Age and restitution of Youth, but he reserves the matter only to the Supreme God; neither doth he refer it to any of the Fictitious Poetick Gods, but to the true God alone.* The same Language was also spoken, in the Laws of the Twelve Tables; *Deos adeunto caste, Opes amovento: Si secus faxint, Deus ipse vindex erit: Let the Gods be worshipp'd chastely, superfluity of Riches and Pomp being removed: If men do otherwise, God Himself will be the Avenger.* Where though the word *Gods* be used generally, so as to comprehend both the *Supreme* and *Inferiour Gods* under it, yet *Deus Ipse, God himself*, denotes the *Supreme God* only. In like manner ὁ Δαίμων αὐτός also seems to be taken for the *Supreme God* in that of *Euripedes*,

ἀύσθ' με ὁ Δαίμων αὐτός, ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω,

Which was thus rendred by *Horace*,

— *Ipsē Deus, simulatque volet, me solvet.*

Notwithstanding which, Δαίμων and Δαίμονες, are often distinguished from θεός and θεοί, they being put for an *Inferiour* rank of Beings below the *Gods*, vulgarly called *Demons*, which word in a large sense

sence comprehends also *Heroes* under it. For though these *Dæmons* be sometimes called *Gods* too, yet were they rather accounted *Ἡμίθεοι*, *Demi-gods*, than *Gods*. And thus *θεοὶ ἢ δαίμονες*, *Gods and Demons*, are frequently joyned together, as things distinct from one another: which Notion of the word *Plato* refers to, when he concludes, *Love* not to be a *God*, but a *Demon* only. But of these *Demons* we are to speak more afterwards.

Furthermore, the Pagan Writers frequently understand the Supreme God by the τὸ θεῖον, when the word is used Substantively. As for example, in this of *Epicharmus*,

οὐδὲν διαφύγει τὸ θεῖον· τῆτο γινώσκων σε δ' αἰ·  
 αὐτὸς ἐστ' ἡμῶν ἐπόπτης. ἀδυνατεῖ δ' εἶδέν θεῶν.

*Res nulla est Deum quæ lateat, scire quod te convenit :  
 Ipse est nosster Introspector, tum Deus nil non potest.*

So likewise in this of *Plato's*, πῶς ἄν ἡδονῆς ἢ λύπης ἴδρυται τὸ θεῖον, *God is far removed both from Pleasure and Grief*. And *Plotinus* calls the Supreme God, τὸ ἐν τῷ παντί θεῖον, *The Divinity that is in the Universe*. But because the Instances hereof are also innumerable, we shall decline the mentioning of any more, and instead of them, only set down the Judgment of that diligent and impartial Observer of the Force of words, *Henricus Stephanus*, concerning it; *Redditur etiam τὸ θεῖον sæpe Deus, sed ita tamen ut intelligendum sit, non de quolibet Deo, ab ipsis etiam profanis Scriptoribus dici, verum de eo quem intelligerent, cum θεῶν dicebant quasi κατ' ἐξοχῶν, ad differentiam eorum, qui multi, appellatione θεῶν includebantur, summum videlicet Supremumque Numen, & quasi dicas θεῶν θεῶν ὑπάτων ἢ ἀριστων, ut loquitur de Jove Homerus.*

Lastly, as τὸ θεῖον so likewise was τὸ δαιμόνιον used by the Greeks, for the Supreme *Numen*, or that Divinity which governs the whole World. Thus whereas it was commonly said (according to *Herodotus*) ὅτι τὸ θεῖον φθόνεον, *That God was envious*; the meaning whereof was, that he did not commonly suffer any great Humane Prosperity, to continue long, without some check or counterbuff; the same Proverbial speech is expressed in *Aristotle*, φθόνεον τὸ δαιμόνιον. And in this sence the word seems to be used in *Isocrates ad Dæmonicum*, τίμα τὸ δαιμόνιον αἰεὶ μὲν, μάλιστα ἢ μετὰ τὴ πόλεως, *Worship God always, but especially with the City, in her Publick Sacrifices*. And doubtless it was thus taken by *Epictetus* in this Passage of his, μία ὁδὸς ἐπὶ εὐνοίας, τῆτο ἢ ὄρθρου, ἢ μετ' ἡμέραν ἢ νύκτας, ἔσω πρόχειρον, ἀπόστασις τῆ ἀπεραιρέτων, τὸ μηδὲν ἴδιον ἡγεῖσθαι, τὸ πάντα δέναι πάντα τὰ δαιμονίω, ἢ τῆ τύχῃ· *There is but one way to Tranquillity of Mind and Happiness, Let this therefore be always ready at hand with thee, both when thou wakest early in the morning, and all the day long, and when thou goest late to sleep; to account no external things thine own, but to commit all these to God and Fortune*. And there is a very remarkable Passage in *Demosthenes* (observed by *Budeus*) that must not be here omitted; in which we have οἱ θεοὶ plainly for the *Inferiour* or *Minor Gods* only, and τὸ δαιμόνιον for

*Arr. Lib. 4. c. 4.  
 p. 387.*

the Supreme God, both together ; ἔσονται οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἢ μὴ τὸ δίκαια Ἰμφοσύμβουον. *The Gods and the Deity will know or take notice of him that gives not a righteous sentence ; that is, both the Inferior Gods and the Supreme God himself.* Wherefore we see, that the word δαιμόνιον, as to its Grammatical Form, is not a Diminutive, as some have conceived, but an Adjective Substantiv'd ; as well as τὸ θεῖον is. Nevertheless in Pagan Writings, δαιμόνιον also, as well as δαίμων from whence it is derived, is often used for an Inferiour Rank of Beings below the Gods, though sometimes called Gods too ; and such was Socrates his δαιμόνιον so commonly known. But the Grammar of this Word, and its proper Signification in Pagan Writers, cannot better be manifested, than by citing that Passage of Socrates his own, in his Apology, as written by Plato ; who though generally supposed to have had a *Dæmon*, was notwithstanding by Melitus accused of Atheism ; ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων, ὡς μέλιτι, ἀνθρώπεια μὲν νομίζει πράγματα εἶναι, ἀνθρώπεος ἢ ὅστις νομίζει ; ἢ ὅστις ἵππου μὲν ἢ νομίζει, ἵππων ἢ πράγματα ; &c. ἐκ ἔστιν ὡς ἀεὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπι τῶν ἀπὸ μὲν, ἔσθ' ὅστις δαιμόνια μὲν νομίζει πράγματα εἶναι, δαίμονας ἢ ὅστις νομίζει ; ἐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ἐν δαιμόνια γε νομίζω καὶ ἢ σὺν λόγον. εἰ ἢ καὶ δαιμόνια νομίζω, καὶ δαίμονας δή τις πόλις ἀνάστη νομίζειν με εἶναι. τὸς ἢ δαίμονας ἔχει ἦτοι θεός γε ἠγόμεθα εἶναι, ἢ θεῶν παῖδας ; &c. *Is there any one, O Melitus, who acknowledging that there are Humane things, can yet deny that there are any Men ? or confessing that there are Equine things, can nevertheless deny that there are any Horses ? If this cannot be, then no man who acknowledges Demonical things, can deny Demons. Wherefore I being confessed to assert δαιμόνια, must needs be granted, to hold δαίμονας also. Now do we not all think, that Demons are either Gods, or at least Sons of the Gods. Wherefore for any one to conceive that there are Dæmons, and yet no Gods, is altogether as absurd, as if one should think that there are Mules, but yet neither Horses nor Asses.* However, in the New Testament, according to the Judgment of Origen, Eusebius, and others of the Ancient Fathers, both those words δαίμονες and δαιμόνια, are alike taken, always in a *Worser* sence, for Evil and Impure Spirits only.

But over and besides all this ; the Pagans do often characterize the Supreme God, by such Titles, Epithets, and Descriptions, as are Incommunicably proper to him : thereby plainly distinguishing him from all other Inferiour Gods. He being sometimes called by them, ὁ δημιουργός, the Opifex Architect or Maker of the World, ὁ Ἡγεμὼν τῆς παντὸς καὶ Ἀρχηγέτης, the Prince and chief Ruler of the Universe ; ὁ πρῶτος and ὁ πρῶτιστος θεός (by the Greeks) and (by the Latins) Primus Deus, the First God ; ὁ πρῶτος νῦς, the First Mind ; ὁ μέγας θεός, the Great God ; ὁ μέγιστος δαίμων, and ὁ μέγιστος θεῶν, the greatest God and the greatest of the Gods ; ὁ ὑψίστος, the Highest ; and ὁ ὑπάτος θεῶν, the Supreme of the Gods ; ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεός, the Uppermost, or most Transcendent God ; Princeps ille Deus, that Chief or Principal God ; θεός θεῶν, the God of Gods ; and Ἀρχὴ Ἀρχῶν, the Principle of Principles ; τὸ πρῶτον αἶτιον, the First Cause ; ὁ τὸ δε τὸ πᾶν γενήσας, He that Generated or Created this whole Universe ; ὁ κρατεῖων τῆς παντὸς, He that ruleth over the whole World ; Summus Rex or Dominus, The Supreme Governour and Lord of all ; ὁ ἐπι πάντων θεός, the God over all ; ὁ θεός ἀρχόντιος, αὐτοκρατορῆς, αὐτοκυ-

P. 27. Steph.

αὐτοῦ ἑσῶτος, *The Ingenerate or Unmade Self-originated and Self-subsisting Deity*; μονὰς a *Monad*; τὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀγαθόν, *Unity and Goodness it self*; τὸ ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, and τὸ ὑπερῶσιον, *that which is above Essence or Super-essential*; τὸ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ, *that which is above mind and Understanding*; *Summum illud & Æternum, neque mutabile neque interiturum, That Supreme and Eternal Being, which is Immutable and can never perish*; ἀρχὴ, καὶ τέλος, καὶ μέσον πάντων, *The Beginning, and End, and Middle of all things*; ἓν καὶ πάντα, *One and all things*; *Deus Unus & Omnes, One God and All Gods*; And Lastly, to name no more, ἡ Πρῶβουια, or *Providence*, as distinguished from φύσις *Nature*, is often used by them also, as a Name for the Supreme God, which because it is of the Feminine Gender, the Impious and Atheistical Epicureans, therefore took occasion, to call God ridiculously and jeeringly, *Anum fatidicam Pronœan*: Now all these, and other such like Expressions, being found in the Writings of Professed Pagans (as we are able to shew) and some of them very frequently, it cannot be denied, but that the Pagans did put a Manifest Difference betwixt the *Supreme God*, and all their other *Inferiour Gods*.

X V. What hath been now declared, might, as we conceive, be judged sufficient, in order to our present Undertaking; which is to prove, that the more Intelligent of the Ancient Pagans, notwithstanding that *Multiplicity of Gods* worshipped by them, did generally acknowledge, *One Supreme, Omnipotent, and Only Unmade Deity*. Nevertheless, since men are commonly so much prepossess'd with a contrary Perswasion; (the reason whereof seems to be no other than this, that because the *Notion* of the Word *God*, which is now generally received amongst us Christians, is such as does essentially include *Self-existence in it*, they are therefore apt to conceit, that it must needs do so likewise amongst the Pagans;) we shall endeavour to produce yet some further Evidence for the Truth of our Assertion. And first we conceive, This to be no small Confirmation thereof, because after the Publication of *Christianity*, and all along during that Tugging and Contest which was betwixt it and *Paganism*, none of the Professed Champions for *Paganism*, and Antagonists of *Christianity* (when occasion was now offered them) did ever assert any such thing, as a *Multiplicity of Understanding Deities Unmade* (or *Creators*) but on the contrary, they all generally disclaimed it, professing to acknowledge *One Supreme Self-existent Deity, the Maker of the whole Universe*.

It is a thing highly probable, if not unquestionable, that *Apollonius Tyanæus*, 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 of some things Extraordinary; merely out of design, to derogate from the *Miracles* of our Saviour *Christ*, and to enable *Paganism* the better, to bear up against the assaults of *Christianity*. For amongst the many Writers of this Philosophers Life; some, and particularly *Philostratus*, seem to have had no other aim in this their whole undertaking, then only to dress up *Apollonius*, in such a garb and manner, as might make him best seem



Ep. 4.

to be a fit Corival, with our Saviour Christ, both in respect of *Sanctity* and *Miracles*. *Eunapius* therefore telling us, that he mis-titled his Book, and that in stead of Ἀπολλωνίου βίβλος, *the Life of Apollonius*, he should have called it οὐδὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπους ὑπερδύμιαν, *The Coming down, and Converse of God with Men*; forasmuch as this *Apollonius* (saith he) was not a bare Philosopher or Man, ἀλλά τι θεῶν ἢ ἀνθρώπων μέσον, *but a certain middle thing betwixt the Gods and Men*. And that this was the use commonly made by the Pagans, of this History of *Apollonius*, namely to set him up in way of opposition and Rivalry to our Saviour Christ, appears sundry ways. *Marcellinus*, in an Epistle of his to *St. Austin*, declares this as the Grand Objection of the Pagans against Christianity, (therefore desiring *St. Austin's* answer to the same;) *Nihil aliud Dominum, quàm alii homines facere potuerunt, fecisse vel egisse mentiuntur*; *Apollonium siquidem suum nobis, & Apuleium, aliòsque Magicæ artis homines, in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt extitisse miracula*: *The Pagans pretend, That our Saviour Christ did no more, than what other men have been able to do, they producing their Apollonius and Apuleius, and other Magicians, whom they contend to have done greater miracles*. And it is well known that *Hierocles* to whom *Eusebius* gives the commendation of a very Learned man, wrote a Book against the Christians (entitled φιλαλήθεις, or λόγοι φιλαλήθεις) the chief design whereof was to compare this *Apollonius Tyanæus* with, and prefer him before our Saviour Christ: Ἄνω ἢ κάτω θεοῦ μύησις, στυμνύοντες τὸ ἱεῖον, ὡς τυφλοῖς ἀναβλέψαι τε ἰατρὰ ἁγία, καὶ τινὰ τοιαῦτα δ' ἑσάσθη δαυμάσια. they are *Hierocles* his own words in *Eusebius*; *The Christians* (saith he) *keep a great deal of stir, crying up of one Jesus, for restoring sight to the blind, and doing some such other Wonders*. And then mentioning the *Thaumaturgi* or *Wonder-workers* amongst the Pagans, but especially *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and insisting largely upon his *Miracles*, he adds in the close of all, τίνος ἔννεκα τέτων ἐμνήσθη; ἵνα ἐξῆ συγκρίνειν τῷ ἡμετέρον ἀκριβῆ ἢ βεβαίαν ἐφ' ἐκείνω κρείσσιν, ἢ τῷ τῆς κρείσσαν κροφότητα. ἔπερ ἡμεῖς μὴ τὸ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα, ἔθεον, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς καχεύομεθα ἄνδρα ἡγόμεθα. οἱ ἢ δι' ὀλίγας προτείας τινὰς τὸ ἱεῖον θεῶν ἀναγορεύομεν. *To what purpose now have we mentioned all these things? but only that the solid Judgement of us (Pagans) might be compared with the Levity of the Christians; forasmuch as we do not accompt him a God, who did all these Miracles, but only a Person beloved of the Gods; whilst they declare Jesus to be a God, merely for doing a few Wonders*. Where, because *Eusebius* is silent, we cannot but subjoyn an Answer out of *Lactantius* (which indeed he seems to have directed against those very words of *Hierocles*, though not naming of him) it being both pertinent and full; *Apparet nos sapientiores esse, qui mirabilibus factis, non statim fidem Divinitatis adjunximus, quàm vos, qui ob exigua portenta Deum credidistis* — *Disce igitur, si quid tibi cordis est, non solum idcirco à nobis Deum creditum Christum, quia mirabilia fecit, sed quia vidimus in eo facta esse omnia quæ nobis annunciata sunt, Vaticinia Prophetarum. Fecit mirabilia; Magum putassemus, ut & vos nuncupatis; & Judæi tunc putaverunt; si non illa ipsa facturum Christum, Propheta omnes uno spiritu prædicassent. Itaque Deum credimus, non magis ex factis, operibusque mirandis; quàm ex illa ipsa Cruce, quam vos sicut Canes lambitis; quoniam simul & illa prædicta est. Non igitur suo*

De Justit. l. 5, c. 3.

Testimo-

*Testimonio, (cui enim de se dicenti potest credi?) sed Prophetarum Testimonio, qui omnia quæ fecit ac passus est, multo antè cecinerunt; fidem Divinitatis accepit; quod neque Apollonio neque Apuleio, neque cuiquam Magorum potest aliquando contingere. It is manifest that we Christians are wiser than you Pagans, in that we do not presently attribute Divinity to a person, merely because of his Wonders; whereas a few Portentous things, or Extraordinary actions, will be enough with you, to make you Deifie the Doer of them; (and so indeed did some of them, however Hierocles denies it, Deifie Apollonius.) Let this writer against Christianity therefore learn, (if he have any Understanding or Sense in him) that Christ was not therefore believed to be a God by us Christians, merely because of his Miracles, but because we saw all those things done by, and accomplish'd in him, which were long before predicted to us, by the Prophets. He did miracles, and we should therefore have suspected him for a Magician (as you now call him, and as the Jews then supposed him to be;) had not all the Prophets, with one voice foretold, that he should do such things. We believe him therefore to be God, no more from his Miracles, than from that very Cross of his, which you so much quarrel with, because that was likewise foretold. So that our Belief of Christ's Divinity, is not founded upon his own Testimony (for who can be believed concerning himself?) but upon the Testimony of the Prophets, who sang long before of all those things, which he both did and suffered. Which is such a peculiar advantage and privilege of his, as that neither Apollonius nor Apuleius, nor any other Magician, could ever share therein. Now as for the Life and Morals of this Apollonius Tyanæus, as it was a thing absolutely necessary, for the carrying on of such a Diabolical Design, that the Person made use of for an Instrument, should have some colourable and plausible pretence to Vertue, so did Apollonius accordingly take upon him the profession of a Pythagorean; and indeed act that part externally so well, that even Sidonius Apollinaris, though a Christian, was so dazzled with the glittering show and lustre of his counterfeit Vertues, as if he had been enchanted by this Magician, so long after his death. Nevertheless whosoever is not very dim-sighted in such matters as these, or partially affected, may easily perceive, that this Apollonius was so far from having any thing of that Divine Spirit which manifested it self in our Saviour Christ (transcending all the Philosophers that ever were) that he fell far short of the better moralized Pagans, as for example Socrates, there being a plain appearance of much Pride and Vain-glory (besides other Foolery) discoverable both in his Words and Actions. And this Eusebius undertakes to evince from Philostratus his own History (though containing many Falshoods in it) ἔδ' ἐν ἑπιπέσει καὶ μετέοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν, ἔχ' ὅπως τὰ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν χεῖρῳ ᾤδατιθέναι ἢ Ἀπολλώνιον, That Apollonius was so far from deserving to be compared with our Saviour Christ, that he was not fit to be ranked amongst the moderately and indifferently Honest men. Wherefore as to his reputed Miracles, if credit be to be given to those Relations, and such things were really done by him, it must for this reason also be concluded, that they were done no otherwise than by Magick and Necromancy; and that this Apollonius was but an Archimago or grand Magician. Neither ought this to be suspected for a mere slander cast upon him, by partially affected Christians only, since, during his Life-*

time, he was generally reputed, even amongst the Pagans themselves, for no other than a γένος, or *Infamous Inchanter*, and accused of that very Crime before *Domitian the Emperour*; as he was also represented such, by one of the Pagan Writers of his Life, *Mæragenes*, senior to *Philostratus*; as we learn from *Origen*; *ὡς μαγείας φαρμῶν, ὅτι ὁ βελόριος ἐξετάσαι, πῶτε ἢ ποτε ἢ φιλόσοφοι ἀλωτοί εἰσαν αὐτῇ, εἰ μὴ ἀναγνώτω τὰ γεγραμμένα μοιραγγῶν τῆς Ἀπολλωνίως τῆς Τυανέως μάγος ἢ φιλόσοφος ἀπομνημονομάτων· ἐν οἷς ὁ μὴ χριστιανὸς ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος, ἔφισεν ἀλῶσαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγείας, ἐν ἀγγλῶν τινος φιλοσόφου, ὡς πρὸς γήνητα αὐτῶν εἰσελθούσας· ἐν οἷς, οἶμαι, ἢ ὡς εὐφράτης πάνυ διηγῆσατο, καὶ τινος Ἐπιπυρῆος·* *As concerning the Infamous and Diabolical Magick, he that would know whether or no a Philosopher be temptable by it, or illaqueable into it, let him read the Writings of Mæragenes, concerning the memorable things of Apollonius Tyanæus, the Magician and Philosopher; in which he that was no Christian, but a Pagan Philosopher himself, affirmeth, some not ignoble Philosophers to have been taken, with Apollonius his Magick, including (as I suppose) in that number Euphrates and a certain Epicurean. And no doubt but this was the reason why Philostratus derogates so much from the authority of this Mæragenes, affirming him to have been ignorant of many things concerning Apollonius (ὡς ὁ μοιραγγῶν τε προζεκτέον, &c.)* Because *Mæragenes* had thus represented *Apollonius* in his true colours, as a Magician; whereas *Philostratus* his whole business and design was, on the contrary, to vindicate him from that Imputation: the Truth whereof notwithstanding, may be sufficiently evinced, even from those very things that are recorded by *Philostratus* himself. And here by the way we shall observe, that it is reported by good Historians, that Miracles were also done by *Vespasian* at *Alexandria*, *Per eos menses* (they are the words of *Tacitus*) *multa miracula evenere, quæ cælestis favor, & quædam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. Ex plebe Alexandrinâ quidam, oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus advolvitur, remedium cæcitatæ exposcens gemitu; monitu Serapidis Dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit; precabaturque Principem, ut genas & oculorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento. Alius manu eger, eodem Deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio Cæsaris calcaretur orabat. At that time many Miracles happen'd at Alexandria, by which was manifested the Heavenly Favour, and Inclination of the Divine Powers towards Vespasian. A Plebeian Alexandrian, that had been known to be blind, casts himself at the feet of Vespasian, begging with tears from him a remedy for his sight (and that according to the suggestion of the God Serapis) that he would deign but to spit upon his Eyes and Face. Another having a Lame hand (directed by the same Oracle) beseeches him but to tread upon it with his foot. And after some debate concerning this business, both these things being done by Vespasian, statim conversa ad usum manus, & cæco reluxit dies, the Lame hand presently was restored to its former usefulness, and the Blind man recovered his sight: Both which things (saith the Historian) some who were Eye-witnesses, do to this very day testifie, when it can be no advantage to any one to lye concerning it. And that there seems to be some reason to suspect, that our Archimago *Apollonius Tyanæus*, might have some Finger in this business also, because he was not only familiarly and intimately acquainted with*

Con. Colf. L. 6.  
p. 302.

Hist. l. 4. p. 111.

with *Vespasian*, but also at that very time (as *Philostratus* informeth us) present with him at *Alexandria*, where he also did many Miracles himself. However we may here take notice of another Stratagem and Policy of the Devil in this, both to obscure the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, and to weaken mens Faith in the *Messiah*, and baffle the Notion of it; that whereas a Fame of Prophecies had gone abroad every where, that a King was to come out of *Judea*, and rule over the whole World (by which was understood no other than the *Messiah*) by reason of these Miracles done by *Vespasian*, this Oracle or Prediction might the rather seem to have its accomplishment in him, who was first proclaimed Emperour in *Judea*, and to whom *Josephus* himself basely and flatteringly had applied it. And since this business was started and suggested by the God *Serapis*, that is, by the Devil; (of whose Counsel probably *Apollonius* also was:) this makes it still more strongly suspicable, that it was really a Design or Policy of the Devil, by imitating the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, both in *Apollonius* and *Vespasian*, to counter-work God Almighty in the Plot of Christianity, and to keep up or conserve his own Usurped Tyranny in the Pagan World still. Nevertheless we shall here show *Apollonius* all the favour we can, and therefore suppose him, not to have been one of those more foul and black Magicians, of the common sort, such as are not only grossly sunk and debauched in their Lives, but also knowingly do Homage to Evil Spirits as such, for the gratification of their Lusts; but rather one of those more refined ones, who have been called by themselves *Theurgists*, such as being in some measure freed from the grosser Vices, and thinking to have to do only with good Spirits; nevertheless being Proud and Vainglorious, and affecting Wonders, and to transcend the Generality of Mankind, are by a Divine *Nemesis*, justly exposed to the illusions of the Devil or Evil Spirits, cunningly insinuating here, and aptly accommodating themselves to them. However concerning this *Apollonius*, it is undeniable, that he was a zealous Upholder of the *Pagan Polytheism*, and a stout Champion for *The Gods*, he professing to have been taught by the Samian *Pythagoras* his Ghost how to Worship these Gods, Invisible as well as Visible, and to have converse with them. For which cause he is stiled by *Vopiscus*, *Amicus verus Deorum*, *A true Friend of the Gods*, that is, a hearty and sincere Friend, to that old Pagan Religion, now assaulted by Christianity, in which not One only True God, but a *Multiplicity of Gods*, were Worshipped. But notwithstanding all this, *Apollonius* himself was a clear and undoubted Asserter of *One Supreme Deity*, as is evident from his Apologetick Oration in *Philostratus*, prepared for *Domitian*, in which he calls him  $\tau\ \tau\ \epsilon\ \sigma\ \lambda\ \omega\ \nu$ , and  $\tau\ \pi\ \alpha\ \nu\ \tau\ \omega\ \nu\ \delta\ \eta\ \mu\ \omega\ \sigma\ \epsilon\ \gamma\ \omicron\ \nu\ \theta\ \epsilon\ \omicron\ \nu$ , that God who is the Maker of the whole Universe, and of all things. And as he elsewhere in *Philostratus* declares both the Indians and Egyptians to have agreed in this Theology; insomuch that though the Egyptians condemn'd the Indians for many other of their Opinions, yet did they highly applaud this Doctrine of theirs,  $\tau\ \mu\ \epsilon\ \lambda\ \lambda\ \omega\ \nu\ \chi\ \rho\ \epsilon\ \sigma\ \tau\ \epsilon\ \kappa\ \epsilon\ \sigma\ \tau\ \iota\ \alpha\ \theta\ \epsilon\ \omicron\ \nu\ \delta\ \eta\ \mu\ \omega\ \sigma\ \epsilon\ \gamma\ \omicron\ \nu\ \epsilon\ \iota\ \nu\ \alpha\ \iota$ ,  $\tau\ \epsilon\ \delta\ \epsilon\ \epsilon\ \nu\ \theta\ \upsilon\ \mu\ \theta\ \eta\ \nu\ \alpha\ \iota\ \tau\ \alpha\ \upsilon\ \tau\ \alpha$ ,  $\alpha\ \lambda\ \tau\ \iota\ \omega\ \nu\ \tau\ \epsilon\ \alpha\ \gamma\ \alpha\ \theta\ \omicron\ \nu\ \epsilon\ \iota\ \nu\ \alpha\ \iota\ \omega\ \tau\ \omicron\ \nu$ , That God was the Maker both of the Generation and Essence of all things, and that the cause of his making them, was his Essential

Philos. P. 142.

*Essential Goodness*: So doth he himself very much commend this Philosophy of *Jarchas* the Indian *Brachman*, viz. That the whole World was but *One Great Animal*, and might be resembled to a *Vast Ship*, wherein there are many Inferiour subordinate Governours, under One Supreme, the Oldest and Wisest; as also expert Mariners of several sorts, some to attend upon the Deck, and others to climb the Masts and order the Sails, ἐν ἣ τῶ μὲν πρῶτῳ καὶ τελευτάτῳ ἕδραν ἀποδίδόντες θεῶν γένεσιν τὰς δὲ τῶ ζώου, τῶ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνη, θεοῖς οἱ τὰ μέρη αὐτῆς κυβερῶσι· καὶ τῶ ποιητῆ ἀποδεχόμεθα, ἐπιδόντες πολλὰς μὲν φάσκωσιν ἐν ταῖς ἑρηνῶν θεῶν εἶναι, πολλὰς δὲ ἐν θαλάσῃ, πολλὰς δὲ ἐν πῆλαις τε καὶ ῥάμμασι, πολλὰς δὲ ἐν ὄρεσιν γῆν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τινος· *In which the first and highest seat is to be given to That God, who is the Generatour or Creator of this great Animal, and the next under it, to those Gods that govern the several parts of it respectively; so that the Poets were to be approved of here, when they affirm, that there are Many Gods in the Heavens, Many in the Seas, Many in the Rivers and Fountains, Many also upon the Earth and some under the Earth.* Wherein we have a true representation of the old Paganick Theology, which both Indians, and Egyptians, and European Poets (Greek and Latin) all agreed in; That there is One Supreme God, the Maker of the Universe, and under him Many Inferiour Generated Gods, or Understanding Beings (Superiour to Men) appointed to govern and preside over the several parts thereof, who were also to be religiously honoured and worshipped by Men. And thus much for *Apollonius Tyanæus*.

Orig. p. 17, 18.

The first Pagan Writer against Christianity, was *Celsus*; who lived in the times of *Adrian*, and was so professed a Polytheist, that he taxes the Jews for having been seduced by the Frauds of *Moses* into this Opinion of One God, ὅτι τὰς ἡγασαμένους σφῶν ἐπόμφοι μαυρῶν αἰπόλοι καὶ ποιμένες, ἀγερίκοις ἀπάταις ψυχραγωγθέντες, ἕνα ἐνόμισαν εἶναι θεόν· *Those silly Shepherds and Herdsmen, following Moses their Leader, and being seduced by his Rustick frauds, came to entertain this Belief, that there was but One only God.* Nevertheless this *Celsus* himself plainly acknowledged, amongst his *Many Gods*, One Supreme, whom he sometimes calls τὸ πρῶτον θεόν, *the First God*; sometimes τὸ μέγιστον θεόν, *the Greatest God*; and sometimes τὸ ὑπερσφαινον θεόν, *the Supercelestial God*, and the like; and he doth so zealously assert the Divine Omnipotence, that he casts an imputation upon the Christians of derogating from the same, in that their *Hypothesis* of an Adversary Power,

Orig. l. 6. p. 303

σφάλλονται ἢ ἀσεβέστατα ἄλλα, καὶ ὅτι τῶδε τῶ μεγίστῳ ἀγνοοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἀπὸ θεῶν αἰνιγμάτων πεπλανημένῳ, ποιῶντες τὰς θεῶν ἐναντίον τινα, διάβολον τε καὶ γλάσῃ ἕρεσια Σατανᾶν ὀνομάζοντες τὸ αὐτόν. ἄλλως μὲν ἐν παιτελᾷς θνητῶν ταῦτα, καὶ ἕδ' ὅσα λέγειν, ὅτι ἢ ὁ μέγιστος θεός, βεβλημένος τι ἀνθρώποις ἀφελῆσαι, τὸ ἀντιπρῶτοντα ἔχει, καὶ ἀδυνατεῖ. *The Christians are erroneously led into most wicked Opinions concerning God, by reason of their great ignorance of the Divine Enigms; whilst they make a certain Adversary to God, whom they call the Devil, and in the Hebrew Language Satan: And affirm, contrary to all Piety, that the Greatest God, having a mind to do good to men, is disabled or withstood by an Adversary, resisting him.* Lastly where he pleads most for the worship of Demons, he concludes thus concerning the Supreme God, θεὸς δὲ ἑδραμῆ ἑδραμῆς ἀπο-

Orig. con. Cels. l. 8. p. 419.

ἀπο-

ἀποληπτέον; ἕτε μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἕτε νύκτωρ, ἕτε ἐς κοινόν, ἕτε ἰδίᾳ, λόγῳ τε ἢ  
 παντὶ ἢ ἔργῳ διηκεῖς, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τῆς δει, καὶ χαλῆς, ἢ ψυχῆ ἀεί τετα-  
 ῶ πρὸς τὸ θεόν. *But God is by no means, any where to be laid aside, or  
 left out; neither by Day nor by Night, neither in Publick nor in Private,  
 either in our Words or Actions; but in every thing our Mind ought  
 constantly to be directed towards God. A Saying that might very well  
 become a Christian.*

The next and greatest Champion for the Pagan Cause in Books and Writings, was that Famous Tyrian Philosopher, *Malchus*, called by the Greeks *Porphyrus*; who published a Voluminous and elaborate Treatise (containing Fifteen Books) against the Christians; and yet He notwithstanding was plainly as zealous an Assertor of *One Supreme Deity*, and One Onely ἀρμόνιον, *Unmade or Self-existent Principle* of all things; as any of the Christians themselves could be; he strenuously opposing that forementioned Doctrine of *Plutarch* and *Atticus*, concerning Three Unmade Principles, a *Good God*, an *Evil Soul* or *Demon*, and *the Matter*, and endeavouring to demonstrate, that all things whatsoever, even Matter it self, was derived from One Perfect Understanding Being, or Self-originated Deity. The Sum of whose Argumentation to which purpose, we have represented by *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*, Page 119.

After *Porphyrus*, the next eminent Antagonist of Christianity, and Champion for Paganism, was *Hierocles* the Writer of that Book entituled (in *Eusebius*) φιλαλήθης, or a *Lover of the Truth*; which is noted to have been a Modest Inscription, than that of *Celsus* his ἀληθῆς λόγος, or *True Oration*. For if *Eusebius Pamphili*, were the Writer of that Answer to this *Philalethes* now Extant, as we both read in our Copies, and as *Photius* also read; then must it needs be granted, that *Hierocles* the Author of it, was either contemporary with *Porphyrus*, or else but little his Junior. Moreover this *Hierocles* seems plainly to be the person intended by *Lactantius* in these following words, *De Fals. L. 2. c. 2.*  
*Alius eandem materiam mordacius scripsit; qui erat tum è numero Judicum, & qui auctor in primis faciendæ persecutionis fuit: quo scelere non contentus, etiam scriptis eos quos afflixerat, insecutus est. Composuit enim Libellos Duos, non Contrà Christianos, nè inimicè insectari videretur, sed Ad Christianos; ut humanè ac benignè consulere videretur. In quibus ita falsitatem Scripturæ Sacræ arguere conatus est, tanquam sibi esset tota contraria.— Præcipuè tamen Paulum Petrumque laceravit, ceterosque Discipulos, tanquam fallaciæ seminatores; quos eosdem tamen rudes & indoctos fuisse testatus est. Another hath handled the same matter more smartly; who was First himself one of the Judges and a chief Author of the Persecution; but being not contented with that wickedness, he added this afterwards, to persecute the Christians also with his Pen: He composing Two Books, not inscribed Against the Christians (lest he should seem plainly to act the part of an enemy) but To the Christians (that he might be thought to counsel them humanely and benignly:) in which he so charges the holy Scripture with Falshood, as if it were all nothing else but contradictions: but he chiefly lashes Paul and Peter, as divulgers of lyes and deceits, whom notwithstanding he declares to have*

have been rude and illiterate Persons. I say, though Hierocles for some cause or other be not named here by *Lactantius* in these Cited words, or that which follows, yet it cannot be doubted, but that he was the Person intended by him, for these Two Reasons: First, because he tells us afterward that the main business of that *Christiano-mastix*, was to compare *Apollonius* with our Saviour Christ. *Cum facta Christi mirabilia destrueret, nec tamen negaret, voluit ostendere, Apollonium vel paria, vel etiam majora fecisse. Mirum quod Apuleium pratermiserit, cujus solent & multa & mira memorari. Et ex hoc insolentiam Christi voluit arguere, quod Deum se constituerit: ut ille verecundior fuisse videretur, qui cum majora faceret (ut hic putat) tamen id sibi non arrogaverit: That he might obscure the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, which he could not deny, he would undertake to show that Equal or greater Miracles were done by Apollonius. And it was a wonder he did not mention Apuleius too: of whose many and wonderful things, the Pagans use to brag likewise. Moreover he condemns our Saviour Christ of Insolency, for making himself a God, affirming Apollonius to have been the modestest Person, who though he did (as he supposes) greater miracles, yet arrogated no such thing to himself.* The Second Reason is, because *Lactantius* also expressly mentions the very Title of Hierocles his Book, viz. *Philalethes*. *Cum talia ignorantia suae deliramenta fudisset, cumque Veritatem penitus excidere connixus est, ausus est Libros suos nefarios, ac Dei hostes, φιλαλήθεις annotare: Though pouring out so much folly and madness, professedly fighting against the Truth, yet he presumed to call these his wicked Books, and Enemies of God, Philaletheis or Friends to Truth.* From which words of *Lactantius* and those foregoing, where he affirms this *Christiano-mastix* to have written Two Books, the Learned Prefacer to the late Edition of *Hierocles*, probably concludes, that the whole Title of *Hierocles* his Book was this, *λόγοι φιλαλήθεις πρὸς χριστιανούς*. And I conceive that the First of those Two Books of *Hierocles* insisted upon such things as *Porphyrus* had before urged against the Christians; but then in the Second he added this *de novo* of his own, to compare *Apollonius* with our Saviour Christ: which *Eusebius* only takes notice of. Wherefore *Epiphanius* telling us, that there was one *Hierocles* a Prefect or Governour of *Alexandria*, in those persecuting times of *Diocletian*, we may probably conclude, that this was the very Person described in *Lactantius*, who is said to have been First, of the Number of the Judges, and a Principal Actor in the Persecution; and then afterwards to have written this *Philalethes* against the Christians, wherein, besides other things, he ventured to compare *Apollonius Tyaneus* with our Saviour Christ. Now if this *Hierocles* who wrote the *Philalethes* in defence of the Pagan Gods, against the Christians, were the Author of those two other Philosophick Books, the Commentary upon the Golden Verses, and that *De Fato & Providentia*, it might be easily evinced from both of them, that he was notwithstanding, an Asserter of One Supreme Deity. But *Photius* tells us that that *Hierocles* who wrote the Book concerning Fate and Providence, did therein make mention of *Jamblichus* and his Junior *Plutarchus Atheniensis*: from whence *Jonsius* taking it for granted, that it was one and the same *Hierocles*, who wrote against the Christians, and *de Fato*, infers, that it could not be *Eusebius Pamphili*

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phili who Answered the *Philalethes*, but that it must needs be some other *Eusebius* much Junior. But we finding *Hierocles* his *Philalethes* in *Lactantius*, must needs conclude on the contrary, that *Hierocles* the famous *Christiano-mastix*, was not the same with that *Hierocles* who wrote *de Fato*. Which is further evident, from *Æneas Gazeus* in his *Theophrastus*; where first he mentions one *Hierocles* an Alexandrian, that had been his Master, whom he highly extols, ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι, ἔτι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰσὶν οἱ φιλοσοφίας δεικνύσας τὰς τελευταίας, οἷον ἦν Ἱεροκλῆς ὁ διδάσκαλος, *P. 7.*  
*But tell me, I pray you, are there yet left amongst you in Ægypt, any such Expounders of the Arcane Mysteries of Philosophy as Hierocles our Master was?* And this we suppose to be that *Hierocles*, who wrote concerning Fate and Providence, (if not also upon the Golden Verses.) But afterward upon occasion of *Apollonius*, the Cappadocian, or Tyanæan, he mentions another *Hierocles* distinct from the former; namely him, who had so boasted of *Apollonius* his Miracles, in these words, ὁ Ἀπολλωνίου τὰ ψευδῆ λέγων ἐλέγχεται. Ἱεροκλῆς ὅτι ἐν ὁ διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὁ περιβαλλόμενος τὰ θαυμάσια, ἄπιστον ἢ τῶτο προσέειπεν, *P. 24.*  
*Thus Apollonius is convinced of falshood; but Hierocles (not our Master) but he that boasts of the Miracles (of Apollonius) adds another incredible thing.* And though it be probable, that one of these was the Author of that Commentary upon the Golden Verses, (for that it should be written by a Christian is but a dream) yet we cannot certainly determine which of them it was. However that this *Hierocles*, who was the *Mastix* of Christianity and Champion for The Gods, was notwithstanding, a professed asserter of one *Supreme Deity*, is clearly manifest also from *Lactantius*, in these following words, *Quam tandem nobis attulisti Veritatem? nisi quod Assertor Deorum, eos ipsos ad ultimum prodidisti: Prosecutus enim Summi Dei laudes, quem Regem, quem Maximum, quem Opificem rerum, quem Fontem bonorum, quem Parentem omnium, quem Factorem Altorumque viventium confessus es; ademisti Jovi tuo Regnum; eumque Summa potestate depulsum, in Ministrorum numerum redigisti. Epilogus ergo te tuus arguit Stultitiæ, Vanitatis, Erroris. Affirmas Deos esse; & illos tamen subicis & mancipas ei Deo, cujus Religionem conaris evertere.* Though you have entitled your Book *Philalethes*, yet what Truth have you brought us therein, unless only this, that being an Asserter of the Gods (contradicting your self) you have at last betrayed those very Gods. For in the close of your Book, prosecuting the praises of the Supreme God, and confessing him to be the King, the Greatest, the Opifex of the World, the Fountain of Good, the Parent of all things, the Maker and Conserver of all Living beings, you have by this means dethroned your Jupiter, and degrading him from his Sovereign Power, reduced him into the rank of Inferiour Ministers. Wherefore your Epilogue argues you guilty of Folly, Vanity and Error, in that you both assert Gods, and yet subject and mancipate them under that one God, whose Religion you endeavour to overthrow. Where we must confess we understand not well *Lactantius* his Logick; forasmuch as *Hierocles* his Zeus or Jupiter, was one and the same with his Supreme God (as is also here intimated) and though he acknowledged all the other Gods to be but his Inferiour Ministers yet nevertheless did he contend, that these ought to be Religiously Worshipped, which was the thing that *Lactantius* should have confuted. But that which we here take notice



tice of, is this, that *Hierocles* a grand Persecutor of the Christians, and the Author of that bitter Invective against them, called *Philalethes*, though he were so strenuous an asserter of Polytheism and Champion for The Gods, yet did he nevertheless at the same time, clearly acknowledge one Supreme Deity, calling him the King (that is the Monarch of the Universe) the Greatest, the *Opifex* of the World, the Fountain of Good, the Parent of all things, and the Maker and Conserver of all Life.

Cyrl. cont. Jul.  
4. p. 115.

But the greatest Opposer of Christianity every way, was *Julian* the Emperour; who cannot reasonably be suspected to have disguised or blanced Paganism, because he was an Emperour, and had so great an Animosity against Christianity, and was so superstitiously or bigotically zealous for the *Worship of the Gods*; and yet this very *Julian* notwithstanding, was an unquestionable Asseror of *One Supreme Deity*. In his Book written against the Christians, he declares the general sence of the Pagans, after this manner; οἱ γὰρ ἡμέτεροι φασιν, ὅτι δημοσεβὸν ἀπάντων μὲν εἶναι κοινὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα, νενομῆσθαι δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἔθνων ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐθνάρχαις καὶ πολιάρχαις θεοῖς, ὧν ἕκαστος ὑπερεπέδωκε τὴν ἐαυτοῦ λαοῦ οἰκίαν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν μὲν τῶν πατέρων πάντα τέλεια, καὶ ἐν παντί, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μερυστοῖς, ἄλλη παρ' ἄλλω κρατεῖ δύναμις, &c. Our Theologers affirm, the Maker of all to be a common Father, and King, but that the Nations, as to particular things, are distributed by him to other Inferiour Gods, that are appointed to be Governours over Countries and Cities, every one of which administers in his own Province agreeably to himself. For whereas in the Common Father, all things are Perfect, and One is All, in the Particular or Partial Deities, one excels in one Power, and another in another. Afterwards in the same Book he contends, that the Pagans did entertain righter Opinions concerning the Supreme God, than the Jews themselves; ὡς εἰ μὲν ὁ προσεχὴς εἰν τῶν νόμων δημοσεβὸς ὁ κενυτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν μωσῶν, ἡμεῖς ὑπερ' αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς ἔχοντες δόξας, οἱ κοινὸν μὲν ἐκείνον ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀπάντων δεσπότην, ἐθνάρχαις δὲ ἄλλοις, οἱ τυγχάνοντες μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, εἰς δὲ ἄσφαρ ὑπαρχοῦν βασιλέως, ἕκαστος τὴν ἐαυτοῦ διαφερόντως ἐπανορθούμενον φροντίδα, καὶ ἑκαδίστα μὲν αὐτῶν, εἰ δὲ ἀνιμερίτω τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεῶν καθισταμένων. If that God who is so much spoken of by Moses, be the Immediate Opificer of the whole World, we Pagans entertain better Opinions of him; who suppose him to be the common Lord of all; but that there are other Governours of Nations and Countries under him, as Prefects or Presidents appointed by a King; we not ranking him, amongst those Partial Governours of Particular Countries and Cities, as the Jews do. From both which places, it is evident, that according to *Julian's* Theology, all those other Gods, whose Worship he contended so much for, were but the Subordinate Ministers of that One Supreme God, the Maker of all.

P. 146.

P. 262.

The same thing might be further manifested from *Julian's* Oration made in praise of the Sun as a Great God in this visible World; he therein plainly acknowledging another far more Glorious Deity, which was the Cause of all things, εἰς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὅλων δημοσεβὸς, πάντων δὲ οἱ κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀπολλύμενοι δημοσεβητικοὶ θεοί. There is One God the Maker

ker of all things, but besides him there are many other Demiurgical Gods moving round the Heavens, in the midst of which is the Sun. Where we have a clear acknowledgement of *One Supreme God*, and of *Many Inferiour Deities* both together. Moreover in the same Oration, he declareth that the Ancient Poets, making the Sun to have been the Off-spring of *Hyperion*, did by this *Hyperion* understand nothing else, but the *Supreme Deity*, τὸ πάντων ἀσφύρα, πάντων ἐπέκονα, ὅστις ὄν πάντων, καὶ ὅτι ἐνεκεν πάντων ἔστιν, *Him who is above all things, and about whom, and for whose sake, are all things.* Which *Supreme Deity* is thus more largely described by him in the same Oration (where he calls him the *King of all things*;) ἔστι τοίνυν, ἔτε τὸ ἐπέκονα P. 248: τὸ νῦν καλεῖν αὐτὸν θεός. ἔτε ἰδέαν τῆς οὐρανῶν ὁ δὲ φησὶ τὸ νοητὸν σύμπαν. ἔτε, ἐν ἐπειδὴ πάντων τὸ ἐν δοκεῖ ὡς πρεσβύτατον. ἔτε ὁ Πλάτων εἰωθεν ὀνομάζειν τὸ ἀρχαῖον. αὐτὴ ἢ ἐν ἡ μονοειδῆς τῆς ὅλων αἰτία, πᾶσι τοῖς ἔστιν ἐξηγητικὴ κάλλος τε, καὶ τελειότητος, ἐνώσεως τε, καὶ δυνάμεως ἀμνησίου. καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ μένους προσηγόν ἔστιν ἡλίον θεὸν μέγιστον ἀνέφηεν, &c. *This God, whether he ought to be called, that which is above Mind and Understanding, or the Idea of all things, or The One (since Unity seems to be the oldest of all things;) or else as Plato was wont to call him, The Good; I say, this Uniform Cause of all things, which is the Original of all Pulchritude and Perfection, Unity and Power; produced from himself a certain Intelligible Sun, every way like himself, of which the Sensible Sun is but an Image.* For thus *Dionysius Petavius* rightly declares the sense of *Julian* in this Oration; *Vanissima hujus & loquacissima disputationis mysterium est; à Principe ac Primario Deo, νοητὸν quendam, & archetypum Solem editum fuisse; qui eandem prorsus χάριν & τάξιν in genere τῆς νοητῆς habeat, quam in αἰσθητοῖς ille quem videmus, Solaris Globus obtinet. Tria itaque discernenda sunt, Princeps ille Deus, qui τὰ ἀρχαῖα à Platone dicitur, ὁ νοητὸς ἡλίος, ὁ φαινόμενος δίσκος.* The mystery of this most vain and loquacious Disputation is this, That from the First and Chief Deity, was produced a certain Intelligible and Archetypal Sun, which hath the same place or order, in the rank of Intelligible Things, that the Sensible Sun hath in the rank of Sensibles. So that here are Three things to be distinguish'd from one another, First the supreme Deity which Plato calls, *The Good*, Secondly the Intelligible Sun or Eternal Intellect, and Lastly the Corporeal or Sensible Sun (*Animated.*) Where notwithstanding, we may take notice, how near this Pagan Philosopher and Emperour, *Julian*, approached to Christianity, though so much opposed by him; in that he also supposed an *Eternal Mind or Intellect*, as the Immediate Off-spring of the First Fountain of all things; which seems to differ but a little from the Christian λόγος. However it is plain that this devout Restorer of Paganism, and zealous Contender for the Worship of *The Gods*, asserted no Multiplicity of Independent, Self-existent Deities, but derived all his Gods from One.

As for those other Philosophers and Learned men, who in those latter times of the Declining of Paganism, after *Constantine*, still stood out in opposition against Christianity, such as *Jamblichus*, *Syrianus*, *Proclus*, *Simplicius*, and many others, it is unquestionably evident concerning them all, that they clearly acknowledged *One Supreme Deity*,

Ep. 43.

as the Original of all things. *Maximus Madaurensis*, a confident and resolved Pagan in *St. Austin's* time, expressed both his own and the general sense of Pagans after this manner; *Equidem Unum esse Deum Summum, sine initio, Naturæ ceu Patrem Magnum atque Magnificum, quis tam demens tam mente captus neget esse certissimum? Hujus nos virtutes per Mundanum opus diffusas, multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam nomen ejus cuncti proprium videlicet ignoramus. Ita fit, ut dum ejus quasi quædam Membra carptim, variis supplicationibus prosequimur, Totum colere profectò videamur.* Truly that there is One Supreme God, without beginning, as the Great and Magnificent Father of Nature; who is so mad or devoid of sense as not to acknowledge it to be most certain? His Vertues diffused throughout the whole World (because we know not what his proper name is) we invoke under many different names. Whence it comes to pass, that whilst we prosecute with our supplications, his as it were divided Members severally, we must needs be judged to worship the whole Deity. And then he concludes his Epistle thus; *Dii te servant, per quos & Eorum, atque cunctorum mortalium, Communem Patrem, universi mortales quos terra sustinet, mille modis, concordia venerantur: The Gods keep thee, by and through whom, we Pagans, dispersed over the whole World, do worship the common Father, both of those Gods, and all Mortals, after a thousand different manners, nevertheless with an agreeing discord.* *Longimanus* likewise, another more modest Pagan Philosopher, upon the request of the same *St. Austin*, declares his sense concerning the way of worshipping God and arriving to happiness to this purpose. *Per Minores Deos perveniri ad Summum Deum non sine Sacris Purificatoriis, That we are to come to the Supreme God, by the Minor or Inferior Gods, and that not without Purifying Rites and Expiations; he supposing that besides a vertuous and holy Life, certain Religious Rites and Purifications, were necessary to be observed, in order to that end. In which Epistle, the Supreme God is also stiled by him, Unus, Universus, Incomprehensibilis, Ineffabilis & Infatigabilis Creator.*

Ep. 21.

Moreover, that the Pagans generally disclaim'd this Opinion of Many Unmade Self-existent Deities, appeareth plainly from *Arnobius*, where he brings them in complaining, that they were falsely and maliciously accused by some Christians, as guilty thereof, after this manner; *Frustrà nos falso & calumnioso incessitis & appetitis crimine, tanquam inscias eamus Deum esse Majorem; cum à nobis & Jupiter nominetur, & Optimus habeatur & Maximus: cùmque illi augustissimas sedes, & Capitolia constituerimus immania; In vain do you Christians calumniate us, Pagans, and accuse us as if we denied, One Supreme Omnipotent God; though we both call him Jupiter, and account him the Best and the Greatest; having dedicated the most august seats to him, the vast Capitols.* Where *Arnobius* in way of opposition, shows first how perplexed and intangled a thing the Pagans Theology was, their Poetick Fables of the Gods, nonsensically confounding Herology together with Theology; and that it was impossible that that Jupiter of theirs, which had a Father and a Mother, a Grandfather and a Grandmother, should be the Omnipotent God. *Nam Deus*

Lib. 1. p. 19.

us

us Omnipotens, mente una omnium, & communi mortalitatis assensu, neque Genitus scitur, neque novam in lucem aliquando esse prolatus; nec ex aliquo tempore cœpisse esse, vel seculo. Ipse enim est Fons rerum, Sator seculorum ac temporum. Non enim ipsa per se sunt, sed ex ejus perpetuitate perpetua, & infinita semper continuatione procedunt. At verò Jupiter (ut vos fertis) & Patrem habet & Matrem, Avos & Avias, nunc nuper in utero matris suæ formatus, &c. You Pagans confound your selves with Contradictions; for the Omnipotent God, according to the natural sence of all mankind, was neither begotten or made, nor ever had a Beginning in time, he being the Fountain and Original of all things. But Jupiter (as you say) had both Father and Mother, Grandfathers and Grandmothers, and was but lately formed in the womb; and therefore he cannot be the Eternal Omnipotent God. Nevertheless Arnobius afterwards considering (as we suppose) that these Poetick Fables, were, by the wiser Pagans, either totally rejected, or else some way or other Allegorized, he candidly dismisseth this advantage which he had against them, and grants their Jupiter to be the true Omnipotent Deity, and consequently that same God which the Christians worshipped; but from thence infers, that the Pagans therefore must needs be highly guilty, whilst worshipping the same God with the Christians, they did hate and persecute them after that manner. *Sed sint, ut vultis, unum, nec in aliquo, vi numinis, & majestate distantes; ecquid ergo injustis persequimini nos odiis? Quid, ut ominis pessimi, nostri nominis inhorrescitis mentione, si, quem Deum colitis, eum & nos? aut quid in eadem causa vobis esse contenditis familiares Deos, inimicos atque infestissimos nobis? Etenim, si una religio est nobis vobisque communis, cessat ira cœlestium.* But let it be granted that (as you affirm) your Jupiter and the Eternal Omnipotent God, are one and the same; Why then do you persecute us with unjust hatreds? abominating the very mention of our names, if the same God that you worship be worshipped by us? or if your Religion and ours be the same, why do you pretend that the Gods are propitious to you, but most highly provoked and incensed against us? Where the Pagans defence and reply is, *Sed non idcirco Dii vobis infesti sunt, quòd Omnipotentem colatis Deum: sed quod hominem natum, & quod personis infame est vilibus, crucis supplicio interemptum, & Deum fuisse contenditis, & superesse adhuc creditis, & quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis:* But we do not say that the Gods are therefore displeased with you Christians, because you worship the Omnipotent God, but because you contend him to be a God, who was not only born a mortal man, but also died an ignominious death, suffering as a Malefactor; believing him still to survive, & adoring him with your dayly prayers. To which Arnobius retorts in this manner: Tell us, now I pray you, who these Gods are, who take it as so great an injury & indignity done to themselves, that Christ should be worshipped? Are they not Janus and Saturn, Æsculapius and Liber, Mercurius the son of Maia, and the Theban or Tyrian Hercules, Castor and Pollux, and the like? *Hic ergo Christum coli & à nobis accipi & existimari pro Numine, vulneratis accipiunt auribus? & obliti paulo ante sortis & conditionis suæ, id quod sibi concessum est, impertiri alteri nolunt? Hæc est Justitia Cœlitum? hoc Deorum judicium sanctum? Nonne istud livoris est & avaritiæ genus? non obtrectatio quedam sordens, suas eminere solummodo velle fortunas, aliorum res premi & in contempta humilitate calcari?*

Natum hominem colimus; Quid enim, Vos hominem nullum colitis natum? non unum & alium? non innumeros alios? quinimo non omnes quos jam templis habetis vestris, mortalium sustulistis ex numero, & cælo sideribusque donastis? Concedamus interdum manum vestris opinationibus dantes, unum Christum fuisse de nobis, mentis, animæ, corporis, fragilitatis & conditionis unius; nonne dignus à nobis est tantorum ob munerum gratiam, Deus dici Deusque sentiri? Si enim vos Liberum quod reperit usum vini; si quod panis, Cererem; si Æsculapium, quod herbarum; si Minervam, quod oleæ; si Triptolemum, quod aratri; si denique Herculem, quod feras, quod fures, quod multiplicium capitum superavit compescuitque natrices, divorum retulistis in cælum: honoribus quantis afficiendus est nobis, qui ab erroribus nos magnis insinuatâ veritate traduxit? &c. Are these the Gods who are so much offended, with Christ's being worshipped, and accounted a God by us? they who being forgetful of their former condition, would not have the same bestowed upon another, which hath been granted to themselves? Is this the Justice of the Heavenly Powers? This the righteous judgment of Gods? or is it not rather base Envy and Covetousness, for them thus to ingross all to themselves? We worship indeed one that was born a man, What then? Do you worship no such? not one, and another, and innumerable? And are not almost all your Gods, such as were taken from out of the rank of men, and placed among the Stars? And will you account that damnable in us, which you your selves practice? Let us for the present yield thus much to your Infidelity, and grant, that Christ was but an ordinary man, of the same rank and condition with other mortals, yet might we not for all that (according to your Principles) think him worthy, by reason of the great benefits we received from him to be accounted a God? For if you have advanced into the number of your Divi, Bacchus or Liber for inventing the use of Wine, Ceres of Corn, Æsculapius of Herbs, Minerva of the Olive, Triptolemus of the Plow, and Hercules for subduing Beasts, Thieves and Monsters; With how great honours ought he to be affected by us, who by the insinuation of divine truth hath delivered us from such grrreat Errors of mind, &c. Which Argumentation of Arnobius though it were good enough ad homines, to stop the mouths of the Pagans, there being more reason, that Christ should be made a God, for the Benefits that mankind receive from him, than that Bacchus or Ceres or Hercules should be so; yet as the same Arnobius himself seems to intimate, it is not sufficient without something else superadded to it, for the Justification of Christianity. Neither indeed was that the chief quarrel which the Pagans had with the Christians, That they had deified one who was crucified (though the Cross of Christ was also a great offence to them) but that they condemning the Pagans, for worshipping others besides the Supreme Omnipotent God, and decrying all those Gods of theirs, did themselves notwithstanding worship one Mortal man for a God. This Celsus urges in Origen, εἰ μὴ δὴ μὴ δένον ἄλλον ἐθεοποίησαν ἑστὶ πλὴν ἓνα θεόν, ὡς ἂν τις αὐτοῖς ἴσως πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἀπεινὸς λόγῳ. οὐκ ἔστι ἕνα ἕνα φανέντα τῶτον καθῆκεν χρυδασι, ἢ ὅμως ἕδεν πλημμελεῖν λαὸν νομίζουσι θεοῖ τῶ θεόν, εἰ ἢ ὑπερέτις αὐτῶ θεοαπειθῆσαι. If these Christians themselves worshipp'd no other but One God, or the pure Divinity, then might they perhaps seem to have some just pretense of censuring us; but now they themselves give divine Honour, to one that lately rose up and

Lib. 8. p. 385.

yet

they persuade themselves, that they do not at all offend God in worshipping that supposed Minister of his. Which as Origen makes there a reply to it, so shall it be further considered by us afterwards.

As for the Judgment of the Fathers in this Particular, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, was not only of this Opinion, that the Pagans (at least the Greekish) did worship the true God, and the same God with the Christians (though not after a right manner) but also endeavours to confirm it from the Authority of *St. Peter*: That the Greeks knew God Peter intimates in his Predication. There is One God, saith he, who made the Beginning of all things, and hath power over their End, &c. Worship this God, not as the Greeks do. Wherein he seemeth to suppose, the Greeks to worship the same God, with us, though not according to the right Tradition received by his Son. He does not enjoin us not to worship that God, which the Greeks worship; but to worship him otherwise than they do; altering only the manner of the worship, but not the Object, or preaching another God. And what that is, not to worship God as the Greeks do, the same Peter intimated in those words, They worship him in images of wood and stone, brass and Iron, gold and silver, and sacrifice to the Dead also, as to Gods. Where he adds further out of *St. Peter's* Predication, Neither worship God as the Jews do, &c. The one and only God (saith *Clemens*) is worshipped by the Greeks Paganically, by the Jews Judaically, but by Us newly and Spiritually. For the same God who gave the two Testaments to the Jews and Christians, gave Philosophy to the Greeks, δι' ἧς ὁ παντοκράτωρ πᾶσι ἑμμεσι δοξάζεται, by which the Omnipotent God, is glorified amongst the Greeks.

*Strom. 6. p. 635.*

*Lactantius Firmianus* also, in many places affirms, the Pagans to have acknowledged One Supreme Deity; *Summum Deum* & *Philosophi* & *Poetæ*, & ipsi denique qui Deos colunt, sæpè fatentur, That there is One Supreme Deity, both Philosophers and Poets, and even the vulgar Worshipers of the Gods themselves, frequently acknowledge. From whence he concludes, that all the other Pagan Gods, were nothing but the Ministers of this One Supreme, and Creatures made by him, (he then only blaming them, for calling them Gods, and giving them religious Worship) *Lib. I.* When he had declared that it was altogether as absurd to suppose, the World to be governed by many Independent Gods, as to suppose the Body of a man to be governed by many Minds or Souls Independent; he adds, *Quod quia intelligunt isti assertores Deorum, ita eos præesse singulis rebus ac partibus dicunt, ut tantum Unus sit Rector eximius. Jam ergo cæteri non Dii erunt, sed Satellites ac Ministri, Quos ille Unus, Maximus & Potens omnium, officiis his præfecit, ut ipsi ejus imperio & nutibus serviant. Si universi pares non sunt; non igitur Dii omnes sunt. Nec enim potest hoc idem esse, quod servit & quod dominatur. Nam si Deus est nomen summa potestatis, Incorruptibilis esse debet, Perfectus, Impassibilis, nulli rei subiectus. Ergo Dii non sunt quos parere Uni Maximo Deo necessitas cogit. Which because the Assertors of Gods well understand, they affirm these Gods of theirs so to preside over the several parts of the World, as that there is only One chief Rector or Governour. Whence it follows, that all their other Gods, can be no other thing than Ministers and Officers, which one Great-  
est*

*De J. D. p. 727.*

*Lib. I. p. 16.*

P. 28.

est God, who is Omnipotent, hath variously appointed and constituted, so as to serve his command and beck. Now if all the Pagan Gods be not equal, then can they not be all Gods; since that which ruleth, and that which serveth cannot be the same. God is a name of absolute Power, and implies Incorruptibility, Perfection, Impassibility and Subjection to nothing. Wherefore these ought not to be called Gods, whom necessity compels, to obey one Greatest God. Again in the same Book, *Nunc satis est, Demonstrare, summo ingenio viros attigisse veritatem ac prope tenuisse; nisi eos retrorsum infatuata pravis opinionibus consuetudo rapuisset, qua & Deos alios esse opinabantur, & ea quæ in usum hominis Deus fecit, tanquam sensu prædita essent, pro Diis habenda & colenda credebant.* It is now sufficient to have shown, that the more ingenious and intelligent Pagans, came very near to the truth, and would have fully reach'd it, had not a certain customary Infatuation of Evil Opinions, snatch'd them away, to an acknowledgment of other Gods; and to a belief that those things which God made for the use of men, as endued with sense (or animated) ought to be accounted Gods and Worshipped; namely, the Stars. And afterward, *Quod si Cultores Deorum, eos ipsos se colere putant, quos summi Dei Ministros appellamus, nihil est quod nobis faciant invidiam, qui Unum Deum dicamus, Multos negemus;* If the Worshipers of the Gods think that they worship no other than the Ministers of the one Supreme God, then there is no cause, why they should render us as hateful, who say, that there is one God and deny Many Gods.

P. 39.

Præp. Evang.  
Lib. 3. cap. 13.

Eusebius *Cæsariensis* likewise gives us this account of the Pagans Creed or the Tenour of their Theology, as it was then held forth by them, *ἓνα ὃν ὄντα θεόν, παντοίας δυνάμεσι, τὰ πάντα πληρῶν, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκειν, καὶ τοῖς παντα ἑπιπέσειν. ἀσωμάτως ἢ καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐν παντί ὄντα, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκουσα. καὶ τῶτον εἰκότως διὰ τῶν δηλωμένων σέβειν φάσι.* The Pagans declare themselves in this manner, That there is One God, who with his various Powers filleth all things, and passeth through all things, and presideth over all things; but being incorporeally and invisibly present in all things, and pervading them, he is reasonably worshipped By or In those things that are manifest and visible. Which Passage of Eusebius will be further considered afterward, when we come to give a more particular account of Paganism.

Hist. lib. 6. c. 1.

What St. *Austin's* sence was, concerning the Theology of the Pagans, hath been already declared, namely, That they had not so far degenerated as to have lost the knowledge of One Supreme God, from whom is all whatsoever Nature; and That they derived all their Gods from One. We shall now in the last place conclude with the Judgment of *Paulus Orosius*, who was his Contemporary, *Philosophi dum intento mentis studio quærunt scrutanturque omnia, Unum Deum, Authorem omnium repererunt, ad quem Unum omnia referrentur; unde etiam nunc Pagani, quos jam declarata Veritas de contumaciâ magis quàm de ignorantia convincit, cum à nobis discutiuntur, non se Plures sequi, sed sub Uno Deo Magno, Plures Ministros venerari fatentur. Restat igitur de intelligentia veri Dei, per multas intelligendi suspiciones, Confusa dissensio, quia de Uno Deo, omnium penè una est opinio.* The Philosophers of the Gentiles, whilst with intent study of mind, they enquired and searched after things, found that

that there was One God, the Author of all things, and to which One, all things should be referred. Whence also the Pagans at this very day, whom the declared truth rather convinceth of Contumacy, than of Ignorance; when they are urged by us, confess themselves, not to follow Many Gods, but only under One God to worship Many Ministers. So that there remaineth only a confused dissension concerning the manner of understanding the true God, because about One God, there is almost one and the same opinion of all.

And by this time we think it is sufficiently evident; that the Pagans (at least after Christianity) though they asserted *Many Gods*, they calling all *Understanding Beings Superiour* to men by that Name (according to that of St. Jerom, *Deum quicquid supra se esset, Gentiles putabant*;) yet they acknowledged *One Supreme Omnipotent and only Unmade Deity*.

XVI. But because its very possible, that some may still suspect, all this to have been nothing else but a *Refinement* and *Interpolation* of Paganism, after that Christianity had appeared upon the Stage; or a kind of *Mingonization* of it, to render it more vendible and plausible; the better able to defend it self, and bear up against the Assaults of Christianity; whilst in the mean time the Genuine Doctrine of the ancient Pagans was far otherwise: although the contrary hereunto might sufficiently appear from what hath been already declared, yet however, for the fuller satisfaction of the more strongly prejudiced, we shall by an Historical Deduction made, from the most ancient times all along downwards, demonstrate that the Doctrine of the Greatest *Pagan Polytheists*, as well before Christianity as after it, was always the same, That besides their *Many Gods*, there was *One Supreme, Omnipotent and Only Unmade Deity*.

And this we shall perform not as some have done, by laying the chief stress upon the *Sibylline Oracles*, and those reputed Writings of *Hermes Trismegist*, the Authority whereof hath been of late so much decried by Learned Men; nor yet upon such Oracles of the Pagan Deities, as may be suspected to have been counterfeited by Christians: but upon such Monuments of Pagan Antiquity, as are altogether unsuspected and indubitate. As for the *Sibylline Oracles*, there may (as we conceive) be Two *Extremes* concerning them: One, in swallowing down all that is now extant under that Title, as Genuine and Sincere; whereas nothing can be more manifest, than that there is much Counterfeit and Supposititious stuff, in this Sibylline *Farrago* which now we have. From whence, besides other Instances of the like kind, it appears too evidently to be denied, that some pretended Christians of former times, have been for *Pious and Religious Frauds*; and endeavoured to uphold the Truth of Christianity by Figments and Forgeries of their own devising. Which as it was a thing Ignoble and Unworthy in it self, and argued that those very Defenders of Christianity, did themselves distrust their own Cause; so may it well be thought, that there was a *Policy of the Devil* in it also, there being no other more Effectual way than this, to render all Christianity (at least



least in after-ages) to be suspected. Inſomuch that it might perhaps be queſtion'd, Whether the Truth and Divinity of Chriſtianity appear more, in having prevail'd againſt the open force and oppoſition of its profeſſed Enemies, or in not being at laſt ſmothered and oppreſſed, by theſe *Frauds* and *Forgeries* of its ſeeming Friends and Deſenders. The *Other Extreme* may be, in concluding the whole buſineſs of the *Sibylline Oracles* (as any ways relating to Chriſtianity) to have been a mere *Cheat* and *Figment*; and that there never was any thing in thoſe *Sibylline Books*, which were under the Cuſtody of the *Quindecimviri*, that did in the leaſt predict our Saviour Chriſt or the Times of Chriſtianity. For notwithstanding all that the Learned *Blundel* hath written, it ſeems to be undeniably evident, from *Virgil's Fourth Idyllium*, that the *Cumean Sibyl*, was then ſuppoſed to have predicted a *New Flouriſhing Kingdom* or *Monarchy*, together with a *Happy State of Juſtice* or *Righteouſneſs*, to ſuccede, in the *Latter Age* of the World.

*Ultima Cumæi venit jam Carminis ætas,  
Magnus ab integro Seclorum nascitur ordo.  
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia Regna,  
Jam nova progenies Cælo delabitur alto, &c.*

Moreover it is certain, that in *Cicero's* time, the *Sibylline Prophecies*, were interpreted by ſome in favour of *Cæſar*, as predicting a *Monarchy*; *Sibyllæ verſus obſervamus, quos illa furens fudiſſe dicitur. Quorum Interpres nuper falſa quadam hominum fama dicturus in Senatu putabatur, Eum, quem revera Regem habebamus, appellandum quoque eſſe Regem, ſi ſalvi eſſe vellemus.* We take notice of the *Verſes* of the *Sibyl*, which ſhe is ſaid to have powred out in a *Fury* or *Prophetick Frenzy*, the Interpreter whereof, was lately thought to have been about to declare in the *Senate-houſe*, That if we would be ſafe, we ſhould acknowledge him for a *King*, who really was ſo. Which Interpretation of the *Sibylline Oracles* (after *Cæſar's* Death) *Cicero* was ſo much offended with, (he alſo looking upon a *Roman Monarchy*, as a thing no neceſſary impoſſible than undeſirable) that upon this occaſion, he quarrels with thoſe very *Sibylline Oracles* themſelves, as well as the *Readers* and *Expounders* of them, after this manner; *Hoc ſi eſt in Libris, in quem Hominem, & in quod Tempus eſt? Callidè enim, qui illa composuit, perfecit, ut, quodcunque accidiſſet, prædictum videretur, Hominum & Temporum definitione ſublata. Adhibuit etiam latebram obſcuritatis, ut iidem verſus aliàs in aliam rem poſſe accommodari viderentur. Non eſſe autem illud Carmen furentis, tum ipſum Poema declarat, (eſt enim magis Artis & Diligentie quàm Incitationis & motus) tum verò ea quæ ἀνεργητὶς, dicitur, cum deinceps ex primis Verſuum literis aliquid connectitur. Quamobrem Sibyllam quidem ſepositam & conditam habeamus, ut, id, quod proditum eſt à Majoribus, injuſſu Senatùs nè legantur quidem Libri.* If there be any ſuch thing contained in the *Sibylline Books*, then we demand, concerning what *Man* is it ſpoken, and of what *Time*? For whoever framed thoſe *Sibylline Verſes*, he craftily contrived, that whatſoever ſhould come to paſs, might ſeem to have been predicted in them, by taking away all *Diſtinction* of *Persons* and *Times*. He alſo purpoſely affected *Obſcurity*, that  
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Cic. Div. l. 2.

L. Cotta Quindecimvir.

De Div. l. 2.

the same Verses might be accommodated sometime to one thing, and sometime to another. But that they proceeded not from Fury and Prophetick Rage, but rather from Art and Contrivance, doth no less appear otherwise, than from the Acrostick in them. Wherefore let us shut up the Sibyl and keep her close, that according to the Decree of our Ancestors, her Verses may not be read without the express command of the Senate. And lastly he addeth, *Cum Antistitibus agamus, ut quidvis potius ex illis libris, quàm Regem proferant, quem Romæ posthac nec Dii nec Homines esse patientur*; Let us also deal with the *Quindecimviri*, and Interpreters of these Sibylline Books, that they would rather produce any thing out of them, than a King; whom neither Gods nor Men will hereafter suffer at Rome. Where though *Cicero* were mistaken, as to the Event of the Roman Government, and there were doubtless some Predictions in these Sibylline Books, of a New Kingdom or Monarchy, to be set up in the World; yet that the Roman Empire was not the thing intended in them, doth manifestly appear from that Description in *Virgil's* forementioned Eclogue; wherein there is accordingly another Completion of them expected, though flatteringly applied to *Saloninus*. Wherefore we conclude that the Kingdom and Happy State or Golden Age, predicted in the *Sibylline Oracles*, was no other than that of the *Messiah*, or our Saviour *Christ*, and the times of *Christianity*. Lastly, in that other Passage of *Cicero's*, concerning the Sibylline Oracles, *Valeant ad deponendas potius quàm ad suscipiendas Religiones*; Let them be made use of rather for the extinguishing, than the begetting of Religions and Superstitions; there seems to be an Intimation, as if of themselves they rather tended, to the Lessening than Encreasing of the Pagan Superstitions; and therefore may probably be thought, to have predicted a Change of that Pagan Religion, by the Worship of one Sole Deity to be introduced. Neither ought it to seem a jot more strange, that our Saviour *Christ* should be foretold by the Pagan Sibyl, than that he was so clearly predicted, by *Balaam* the Aramitick Sorcerer. However those things in the Sibylline Verses, might have been derived some way or other, from the Scripture-prophecies; which there is indeed the more probability of, because that Sibylline Prophet made use of those very same Figures and Allegories, in describing the Future Happy State, that are found in the Scripture; as for Example,

— *Nec magnos metuent Armenta Leones;*  
*Occidet & Serpens, &c.*

Now as *Cicero* seems to complain, that in his time these Sibylline Oracles were too much exposed to view, so is it very probable, that notwithstanding they were to be kept under the Guard of the *Quindecimviri*, yet many of them might be copied out, and get abroad, and thereby an occasion be offered, to the ignorantly zealous Christians, who were for *Officious Eyes and Pious Frauds*, to add a great deal more of their own forging to them. Neither indeed is it imaginable, how any such Cheat as this, should either at first have been attempted, or afterwards have proved successful, had there not been some Foundation of Truth, to support

Origen. c. Cels.  
lib. 7. p. 368.

and countenance it. Besides which, it is observable, that *Celsus* who would have had the Christians rather to have made the *Sibyl* than our Saviour *Christ* a *God*; taking notice of their using of those *Sibylline Testimonies* against the Pagans, did not tax them, for counterfeiting the whole business of these *Sibylline Oracles*, but only for inserting many things of their own into them; *ὑμεῖς ἢ κὰν Σίβυλλαν, ἢ χερῶνται τινες ὑμῶν, εἰκότως ἂν μᾶλλον περὶ σέσωθε, ὡς τῆ θεῶ παῖδα, νῦν ἢ παρεργεσθῆεν μὲν εἰς τὰ ὀκείνως, πολλὰ ἢ βλάσφημα εἰκὴ δύνασθε.* *Tou Christians might much rather have acknowledged, even the Sibyl for the Off-spring of God; but now you can boldly insert into her Verses, Many, and those Maledicent things of your own.* Where *Origen*, that he might vindicate as well as he could the honour of Christians, pleads in their defence, that *Celsus* for all that, could not shew what they had foisted into those *Sibylline Verses*, because if he had been able to have produced more ancient and incorrupt Copies, in which such things were not found, he would certainly have done it. Notwithstanding which it is likely, that there were other ancient Copies then to be found, and that *Celsus* might have met with them too, and that from thence he took occasion to write as he did. However, this would not justify the present *Sibylline Books*, in which there are Forgeries, plainly discoverable, without Copies. Nevertheless it seems that all the ancient Christians did not agree in making use of these *Sibylline Testimonies*, thus much being intimated by *Celsus* himself, in the forecited words, *ἢ χερῶνται τινες ὑμῶν*, which some of you make use of; as they did not all acknowledge the *Sibyl* to have been a Prophetess neither, since upon *Celsus* mentioning a Sect of Christians called *Sibyllists*, *Origen* tells us, that these were such as using the *Sibylline Testimonies*, were called so in way of disgrace, by other Christians, who would not allow the *Sibyl* to have been a Prophetess; they perhaps conceiving it derogatory to the Scriptures. But though their may be some of the ancient *Sibylline Verses* still left, in that *Farrago* which we now have; yet it being impossible for us to prove which are such; we shall not insist upon any Testimonies at all from thence, to evince that the ancient Pagans acknowledged *One Supreme Deity*. Notwithstanding which we shall not omit one *Sibylline Passage*, which we find recorded in *Pausanias* (from whence by the way it appears also, that the *Sibylline Verses* were not kept up so close, but that some of them got abroad) he telling us, that the defeat of the Athenians at *Aegos Potamos*, was predicted by the *Sibyl* in these Words (amongst others;)

καὶ τὸτ' Ἀθηναῖοι βαρύνονα κήδεα θεῶ  
Ζῶς ὑψιθεμετέης, εἰς κρητὸν ἔτι μέγιστον, &c.

*Ac tum Cecropidis luctum gemitusque ciebit,  
Jupiter Altitonans, rerum cui Summa Potestas, &c.*

Whereto might be added also, that of another ancient *Peliadean Prophetess*, in the same Writer, wherein the Divine Eternity and Immutability, is plainly declared.

Ζῶς ἦν, Ζῶς ἔστι, Ζῶς ἔσεται, ἔ μερόνε Ζῶ.

Jupiter

*Jupiter Est, Fuit, atque Erit : O bone Jupiter alme.*

Besides these Sibylline Prophecies, there are also other Oracles of the Pagan Deities themselves, in which there was a clear acknowledgment of *One Supreme and Greatest God*. But as for such of them, as are said to have been delivered since the Times of Christianity, when the Pagan Oracles began to fail, and such as are now extant only in Christian Writings, however divers of them are cited out of *Porphyrius* his Book of Oracles; because they may be suspected, we shall not here mention any of them. Nevertheless we shall take notice of One Oracle of the Clarian *Apollo*, that is recorded by *Macrobius*, in which One Supreme Deity is not only asserted; but is also called by that Hebrew Name, (or *Tetragrammaton*) *Jao*,

Ἐρεχθεο ἢ πάντων ὑπέρτατον θεὸν ἔμμεν ἰδοῦ.

You are to call the *Highest and Supreme of all the Gods, Jao*: Though it be very true, that that *Clarian Devil* there, cunningly endeavoured to divert this to the Sun, as if that were the *Only Supreme Deity and True Jao*. To which might be added, another ancient Oracle (that now occurs) of the *Dodonean Jupiter*, together with the Interpretation of *Themistocles*, to whom it was delivered; wherein he was commanded πρὸς ἢ ὁμῶνυμον τῷ θεῷ βασιλεῖν, to repair to him who was called by the same Name with God; which *Themistocles* apprehended to be the *King of Persia*, μεγάλου ἢ ἀμφοτέρου εἶναι τε καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέως, because both he and God, were alike called (though in different respects and degrees) the *Great King or Monarch*.

But as for those Writings, commonly imputed to *Hermes Trismegist*, that have been generally condemned by the Learned of this Latter Age, as wholly Counterfeit and Supposititious, and yet on the contrary are asserted by *Athanasius Kircherus*, for sincere and Genuine; we shall have occasion to declare our sence, concerning them, more opportunely afterward.

The most Ancient Theologers, and most Eminent Assertors of *Polytheism* amongst the Pagans, were *Zoroaster* in the Eastern Parts, and *Orpheus* amongst the Greeks. The former of which, was of so great Antiquity, that Writers cannot well agree about his Age. But that he was a *Polytheist* is acknowledged by all, some affirming it to be signified in his very Name, as given him after his death; it being interpreted by them *A Worshipper of the Stars*. Neither is it to be doubted, but that *Ster* or *Ester* in the Persian Language did signify a *Star*, as it hath been observed also by Learned men, concerning sundry other Words, now familiar in these European Languages, that they derived their Original from the Persian. Notwithstanding which, it may be suspected that this was here but a *Greek Termination*: the Word being not only in the Oriental Languages, written *Zertoost* and *Zaradust*, but also in *Agathias*, *Zarades*. However *Zoroaster's Polytheism* is intimated by *Plato*;

De Ast. L. 4.  
P. 163.

where his *Magick* is defined, to have been nothing else, but θεῶν θεραπεία, *The Worship of the Gods*. Whence by the way we learn also, that the word μαγεία or *Magick*, was first taken in a good sense, which is confirmed by *Porphyrus* ὡς γὰρ μὴν τοῖς Πέρσαις, οἱ ὡς τὸ θεῖον σοφοὶ ἢ τῶν θεοῶν ποῦτες, μάγοι μὲν προσαγορεύουσι. *Amongst the Persians, those who were skilful in the knowledge of the Deity, and Religious Worshippers of the same, were called Magi.* And as *Magick* is commonly conceived to be founded in a certain *Vital Sympathy* that is in the Universe, so did these ancient Persian *Magi*, and Chaldeans (as *Pfellus* tells us) suppose συμπαθῆ εἶναι τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω, *that there was a Sympathy, betwixt the Superiour and Inferiour Beings*; but it seems, the only way at first by them approved, of attracting the Influence and Assistance of those Superior Invisible Powers, was by *Piety, Devotion, and Religious Rites*: Nevertheless their Devotion was not carried out only to *One Omnipotent God*, but also to *Many Gods*; neither is it to be questioned but that this *Divine Magick* of *Zoroaster*, shortly after degenerated in many of his Followers, into the *Theurgical Magick*, and at length into γοητεία, *downright Sorcery and Witchcraft*; the only thing which is now vulgarly called *Magick*. But how many Gods soever this *Zoroaster* worshipped, that he acknowledged notwithstanding *One Supreme Deity*, appeareth from the Testimony of *Eubulus*, cited by *Porphyrus* in his *De Antro Nympharum*, πρῶτα μὲν, ὡς ἐπι εὐεσλῶ, ζωογῶντες αὐτοφύεις σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλεῖστον ὄρεσι ἢ Περσίδῳ, ἀνδρῶν ἢ πηγῶν ἔχον ἀνιεράσαντος, εἰς τιμὴν τῶ πάντων ποιητῆς ἢ πατρὸς Μίθρα, εἰκόνα φέροισι αὐτῶ τῶ σπηλαίῳ τῶ κόσμου, ὃν ὁ Μίθρα εἰδημύργησε. *Zoroaster first of all, as Eubulus testifieth, in the Mountains adjoining to Persis, consecrated a Native Orbicular Cave, adorned with flowers and watered with fountains, to the honour of Mithras, the Maker and Father of all things; this Cave being an Image or Symbol to him, of the whole World, which was made by Mithras.* Which Testimony of *Eubulus*, is the more to be valued, because as *Porphyrus* elsewhere informeth us, he wrote the *History of Mithras at large, in many Books*, from whence it may be presumed, that he had thoroughly furnished himself with the knowledge of what belonged to the Persian Religion. Wherefore from the Authority of *Eubulus*, we may well conclude also, that notwithstanding the *Sun*, was generally worship'd by the Persians as a *God*, yet *Zoroaster* and the ancient *Magi*, who were best initiated in the *Mithraick Mysteries*, asserted \* another Deity, Superior to the Sun, for the True *Mithras*, such as was πάντων ποιητῆς ἢ πατρὸς, *the Maker and Father of all things, or of the whole World*, whereof the Sun is a part. However these also look'd upon the Sun as the most lively Image of this Deity, in which it was worshipped by them, as they likewise worship'd the same Deity Symbolically in *Fire*, as *Maximus Tyrius* informeth us; agreeable to which, is that in the *Magick Oracles*,

\* That *Mithras*, which was called ἀκρίβητος θεός, *The Hidden God*, was not the Visible Sun.

— πάντα πνεῦς ἐνὸς ἐκγεγάτω.

*All things are the Off-spring of one Fire*; that is, of *One Supreme Deity*. And *Julian* the Emperor was such a Devout Sun-worshipper as this, who acknowledged besides the Sun, another Incorporeal Deity, transcendent to it. Nevertheless we deny not, but that others amongst  
the

the Persians, who were not able to conceive of any thing Incorporeal, might, as well as *Heraclitus*, *Hippocrates*, and the Stoicks amongst the Greeks, look upon the Fiery Substance of the whole World (and especially the Sun) as *Animated* and *Intellectual*, to be the Supreme Deity, and the only *Mithras*, according to that Inscription, *Deo Soli Inviſto* Mithræ. However, *Mithras*, whether supposed to be *Corporeal* or *Incorporeal*, was unquestionably taken by the Persians for the Supreme Deity, according to that of *Hesychius*, *Μίθρας, ὁ πρῶτος ἐν Πέρσαις θεός*, *Mithras, The First God among the Persians*; who was therefore called in the Inscription *Omnipotent, Omnipotenti Deo* Mithræ. Which *First, Supreme* and *Omnipotent God* was acknowledged by *Artabanus* the Persian, in his Conference with *Themistocles*, in these words, *ἡμῖν ἢ πολλῶν νόμων ἢ καλῶν ὄντων, κάλλιστος ἕτος ἔστι, τὸ τιμᾶν βασιλέα, ἢ προσκυνεῖν εἰκόνα θεῶ τῶ τὰ πάντα σώζοντι*. *Amongst those many excellent Laws of ours, the most excellent is this, that the King is to be honoured and worshipped religiously, as the Image of that God, which conserveth all things.* *Scaliger* with some others (though we know not upon what certain grounds) affirm, that *Mithra* in the Persian Language signified *Great*, and *Mithra*, *Greater* or *Greatest*, according to which, *Mithras* would be all one, with *Deus Major* or *Maximus*, *The Greatest God*. Wherefore we conclude, that either *Herodotus* was mistaken, in making the Persian *Mithras* the same with *Mylitta* or *Venus*; (And perhaps such a mistake might be occasioned from hence, because the Word *Mader* or *Mether* in the Persian Language signified *Mother*, as *Mylitta* in the Syrian did;) or else rather, that this *Venus* of his, is to be understood of the *Ἀφροδίτη ὀραγία*, *the heavenly Venus or Love*; and thus indeed is she there called in *Herodotus*, *Urania*; by which though some would understand nothing else but the Moon, yet we conceive the *Supreme Deity, True Heavenly love* (the *Mother* and *Nurse of all things*) to have been primarily signified therein.

Plat. Themist.

Genitrix.

But *Zoroaster* and the ancient *Magi* are said to have called the *Supreme God* also by another name, *viz. Oromasdes* or *Ormisdas*; however *Oromasdes*, according to *Plato*, seems to have been the Father of *Zoroaster*. Thus, besides *Plutarch* and others, *Porphyrus*, in the *Life of Pythagoras*, *παρήγει μάλιτα δ' ἀλιθεύειν, τὸ το γὰ μόνον δυναδαί τες ἀνθρώπος ποιῶν θεῶ ἀποπλαστὸς, ἐπεὶ ἢ ἀπὸ τῶ θεῶ, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶ μάγων ἐπυνοδάνετο, ὃν ὀρομάζω καλῶσι ἑαῖνοι, εἰκέναι τὸ μὲν σῶμα φῶς τῶ ἢ ψυχῶ ἀλιθεία*. Which we would understand thus. *Pythagoras exhorted men chiefly to the Love of Truth, as being that alone which could make them resemble God, he having learn'd from the Magi that God, whom they call Oromasdes, was as to Corporeals most like to Light, and as to Incorporeals to Truth.* Though perhaps some would interpret these words otherwise, so as to signify *Oromasdes* to have been really compounded of *Soul* and *Body*, and therefore nothing else but the *Animated Sun*, as *Mithras* is commonly supposed also to have been. But the contrary hereunto, is plainly implied in those *Zoroastrian Traditions* or *Fables*, concerning *Oromasdes*, recorded in *Plutarch*, *ὅτι ἀπέστη τῶ ἡλίου τοσούτων, ὅσον ὁ ἡλίου τ' γῆς ἀπέστηκε*, *that Oromasdes was as far removed from the Sun, as the Sun was from the Earth.* Wherefore *Oromasdes* was according to the Persians, a Deity superior to the Sun; God

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God properly as the *Fountain of Light* and *Original of all Good*, and the same with *Plato's* τὰ γὰρ ἄρῳν or *First Good*. From whom the Persians, as *Scaliger* informs us, called the First Day of every Month *Oromasda*, probably because he was the Beginning of all things. And thus *Zoroaster* and the ancient *Magi*, acknowledged one and the same *Supreme Deity*, under the different names of *Mithras* and *Oromasdes*.

But it is here observable, that the Persian *Mithras* was commonly called τριπλάσιος, *Three-fold* or *Treble*. Thus *Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite, ἐν εἰσέτι μάγοι τὰ μνημόσυνα τῶν τριπλάσιος μίθρα τελευτήσιν. *The Persian Magi to this very day, celebrate a Festival Solemnity in honour of the Triplasian* (that is, the *Three-fold* or *Triplicated*) *Mithras*. And something very like to this, is recorded in *Plutarch*, concerning *Oromasdes* also, ὁ μὲν ὠρομάζης τρις ἑαυτὸν ἀξήσας, *Oromasdes Thrice augmented or Triplicated himself*; from whence it further appears that *Mithras* and *Oromasdes* were really one and the same *Numen*. Now the Scholiasts upon *Dionysius* pretend to give a reason of this Denomination of the Persian *Mithras*, *Triplasio*, or *Threefold*, from the Miracle done in *Hezekiah's* Time, when the Day was encreased, and almost Triplicated; as if the *Magi* then observing the same, had thereupon given the name of τριπλάσιος, or *Threefold*, to their God *Mithras*, that is, the *Sun*, and appointed an Anniversary Solemnity for a Memorial thereof. But Learned men have already shewed the Foolery of this Conceit; and therefore it cannot well be otherwise concluded, but that here is a manifest Indication of a *Higher Mystery*, viz. a *Trinity* in the Persian Theology; which *Gerardus J. Vossius* would willingly understand, according to the Christian Hypothesis, of a *Divine Triunity*, or *Three Hypostases* in one and the same Deity, whose Distinctive Characters, are *Goodness*, *Wisdom*, and *Power*. But the *Magical* or *Zoroastrian Oracles*, seem to represent this Persian Trinity, more agreeably to that *Pythagorick* or *Platonick Hypothesis*, of *Three Distinct Substances Subordinate* one to another, the *Two First* whereof, are thus expressed in the following Verses,

πάντα γὰρ ἔξετέλεισε πατὴρ, ἐν νῶν παρέδωκε  
 Δεύτερον, ὃν πρῶτον κληΐζειαι ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων.

To this Sence: *The Father or First Deity, perfected all things, and delivered them to the Second Mind, who is that, whom the Nations of men commonly take for the First.* Which Oracle *Psellus* thus glosseth upon; τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν δημιουργήσας ὁ τριτάτος πρῶτος πατὴρ, παρέδωκε ταύτην τῶν νῶν ὄντινα νῶν τὸ ἕξυμπαν γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγνοῦντες τὴν πατρικὴν ἰσχυρίαν, ὅθεν πρῶτον καλεῖται. *The First Father of the Trinity, having produced this whole Creation, delivered it to Mind or Intellect.* Which *Mind*, the whole Generation of Mankind being ignorant of the Paternal Transcendency, commonly call the *First God*. After which, *Psellus* takes notice of the difference here betwixt this *Magical* or *Chaldaick Theology*, and that of *Christians*: πλὴν τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν δόγμα ἐναντίας ἔχει, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ πρῶτος νῶν, ὁ υἱὸς τῶν μεγάλων πατέρων, τὴν κτίσιν πᾶσαν ἐδημιούργησεν, &c. *But our Christian Doctrine is contrary hereunto, namely thus; That the First Mind or Intellect, being the Son of the Great Father, made the whole*

whole

whole Creation. For the Father in the Mosaick Writings, speaks to his Son, the Idea of the Creation; but the Son is the immediate Opifex thereof. His meaning is, that according to this Persian or Chaldaick Theology, the First Hypostasis of the Divine Triad, was the *δημιουργός* or Immediate Architect of the World, whereas according to the Christian as well as Platonick Doctrine, he is the Second. For which cause, Pletho framed another Interpretation of that Magick Oracle, to render it more conformable both to the Christian and Platonick Doctrine, *ὁ γὰρ πατήρ ἀπαίτια ἕξετέλεισε, τὰ νοητὰ δηλαδὴ εἶδη (ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτελεσμένα τε καὶ τέλεια) καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτῶν δ' ἄλλοτερον θεῶν παρέδουκεν, ἀρχὴν δηλαδὴ καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῶν*, &c. The Father perfected all things, that is the Intelligible Ideas (for these are those things which are complete and perfect) and delivered them to the Second God, to rule over them. Wherefore whatsoever is produced by this God, according to its own Exemplar and the Intelligible Essence, must needs owe its Original also to the Highest Father. Which Second God, the Generations of men, commonly take for the First, they looking up no higher, than to the Immediate Architect of the World. According to which Interpretation of Pletho's (the more probable of the Two) the Second Hypostasis in the Magick (or Persian) Trinity, as well as in the Platonick and Christian, is the Immediate Opifex or Architect of the World; and this seems to be properly that which was called *Mithras* in *Eubulus*.

But besides these Two Hypostases, there is also a Third mentioned in a certain other Magick or Chaldaick Oracle, cited by *Proclus*, under the Name of *Psyche*, or the Mundane Soul;

————— μετὰ ὃ πατρικὸς διανοίας;  
 ψυχῆ ἐγὼ νοῶ \*

After (or next below) the Paternal Mind, I Psyche dwell. Now the Paternal Mind, as *Pfellus* informs us, is the Second Hypostasis before-mentioned; *ὁ πατρικὸς νῦς, ὁ δευτερός δηλαδὴ θεός, καὶ τῆ ψυχῆς προσεχῆς δημιουργός*, The Paternal Mind is the Second God, and the Immediate Demiurgus or Opifex of the Soul. Wherefore though both those Names *Oromasdes* and *Mithras*, were frequently used by the *Magi*, for the τὸ θεῖον, or whole Deity in General, yet this being *Triplasian* or *Threefold*, according to their Theology, as containing Three Hypostases in it; the First of those Three, seems to have been that, which was most properly called *Oromasdes*, and the Second *Mithras*. And this is not only confirmed by *Pletho*, but also with this further Superaddition to it, that the Third Hypostasis of that Persian Trinity, was that which they called *Arimanius*; he gathering as much even from *Plutarch* himself; *φασι δὲ τὴν ζωροάστρα, ὡς τριχῆ τὰ ὄντα διέλοι· καὶ τῆ μὲν πρώτη αὐτῶν μοίρα, ὀρομάζω ἐπίσταν· τῆτον δ' εἶναι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων πατέρων καλεόμενον· τῆδε ἐσχάτη ἀρειμάνω· μίθραον ὃ τῆ μέσῃ, καὶ τῆτον δ' ἂν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλοτερον νῦν καλεόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων*. They say that Zoroaster made a Threefold Distribution of Things, and that he assigned the First and Highest Rank of them, to *Oromasdes*, who in the Oracles, is called the Father; the lowest to *Arimanes*; and the Middle to *Mithras*, who in the same Oracles is likewise called the Second Mind. Whereupon he observes,

how



how great an Agreement there was, betwixt the *Zoroastrian* and the *Platonick Trinity*, they differing in a manner only in Words. And the Middle of these, namely the Eternal Intellect that contains the *Ideas* of all things, being, according to the *Platonick Hypothesis*, the Immediate Δημιουργος and Architect of the World, this probably was that *Mithras*, as we have already intimated, who is called in *Eubulus*, the *Demiurgus of the World*, and the *Maker and Father of all things*. Now if that *Third Hypostasis* of the *Magick or Chaldaick Oracles*, be the same with that, which the Persians call *Arimanius*, then must it be upon such an accompt as this, because this Lower World (wherein are Souls Vitally united to Bodies, and Lapsable) is the Region where all manner of *Evils, Wickedness, Pains, Corruption* and *Mortality* reign. And herewith *Hesychius* seemeth to agree: Ἀρειμάνιος (saith he) ὁ Ἄϊδης καὶ Πέροσσις, *Arimanius among the Persians, is Hades, that is, either Orcus or Pluto*; wherein he did but follow *Theopompus*, who in *Plutarch* calls *Arimanius* likewise *Hades* or *Pluto*: which it seems was as well the Third in the Persian, Trinity (or Triplastian Deity) as it was in the Homerican. And this was that *Arimanius*, whom the Persian King in *Plutarch*, upon *Themistocles* his flight, addressed his Devotion to, κατὰ ξάμην αἰεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοιαύτας φρένας διδόναι ἢ Ἀρειμάνιον, ὅπως ἐλαύνωσι τὸς ἀρεῖας τῶν ἐαυτῶν, *He prayed, that Arimanius would always give such a mind to his Enemies, as thus to banish and drive away their best men from them*. And indeed from that which *Plutarch* affirms, διὸ καὶ μίθρῳ Πέροσαι ἢ μεσσίτῳ ὀνομάζουσι, *That the Persians from their God Mithras, called any Mediator, or Middle betwixt two, Mithras*; it may be more reasonably concluded, that *Mithras*, according to the Persian Theology, was properly the *Middle Hypostasis* of that *Triplastian* or *Tripllicated Deity* of theirs, than that he should be a *Middle Self-existent God, or Mediator, betwixt Two Adversary Gods Unmade, one Good, and the other Evil*, as *Plutarch* would suppose.

Notwithstanding which, if that which the same *Plutarch* and others do so confidently affirm, should be true, that *Zoroaster* and the ancient *Magi*, made *Good* and *Evil, Light* and *Darkness*, the *Two Substantial Principles* of the Universe, that is, asserted an *Evil Demon Coeternal with God, and Independent on him*, in the very same manner that *Plutarch* himself and the *Manicheans* afterward did; yet however it is plain, that in this way also, *Zoroaster* and the *Magi*, acknowledged *One only Fountain and Original of all Good*, and nothing to be independent upon that *One Good Principle or God*, but only that which is so contrary to his Nature and Perfection, as that it could not proceed from him, namely *Evil*. But we have already discovered a suspicion, that the meaning of those ancient *Magi*, might possibly be otherwise; they philosophizing only concerning a certain *Mixture of Evil and Darkness*, together with *Good and Light*, that was in the Composition of this Lower World, and *Personating* the same; as also perhaps taking notice especially therein of *Evil Demons* (who are acknowledged likewise in the *Magick Oracles*, and called δίετες χθονός, *Beasts of the Earth*, and χθόνιοι κύνες, *Terrestrial Dogs*;) the Head of which might be sometimes called also Emphatically ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων Περοσῶν, *the Evil Demon of the Persians*, as being the very same with the Devil.

In vit. Them.

Devil : all which was under the immediate Presidency or Government of that God, called by them *Arimanius*, *Hades* or *Pluto*, the *Third Hypostasis* in the *Triplasan Deity* of the Persians. Which suspicion, may be yet further confirmed from hence, because the Persian Theologers, as appears by the Inscriptions, expressly acknowledged the *Divine Omnipotence*, which they could not possibly have done, had they admitted of a *Manichean Substantial Evil Principle*, *Coeternal* with *God*, and *Independent* on him. Besides which it is observable, that whereas the Gnosticks in *Plotinus* time, asserting this World to have been made, not so much from a *Principle Essentially Evil* and *Eternal*, as from a *Lapsed Soul*; to weigh down the Authority of *Plato* that was against them, did put *Zoroaster* in the other Scale, producing a Book entituled, ἀποκαλύψεις Ζωροάστρου, or the *Revelations of Zoroaster*, *Porphyrus* tells us, that himself wrote purposely, to disprove those *Zoroastrian Revelations*, as *New* and *Counterfeit*, and forged by those Gnosticks themselves; therein implying also the Doctrine of the ancient *Zoroaster*, no way to have countenanced or favoured that *Gnostick Heresie*. Moreover the Tenents of these ancient *Magi*, concerning that Duplicity of Principles, are by Writers represented with great Variety and Uncertainty. That Accompt which *Theodorus* in *Photius* (treating of the Persian Magick) gives thereof, as also that other of *Eudemus* in *Damascius*, are both of them so Nonsensical, that we shall not here trouble the Reader with them; however, neither of them suppose the Persian *Arimanius* or *Satanas*, to be an *Unmade Self-existing Demon*. But the Arabians, writing of this *Altanawiah*, or *Persian Duplicity of Good and Evil Principles*, affirm, That according to the most approved *Magi*, *Light*, was *Kadiman*, the *Most Ancient* and *First God*, and that *Darkness* was but a *Created God*; they expressly denying the Principle of *Evil* and *Darkness*, to be *Coeve* with *God*, or the Principle of *Good and Light*. And *Abulfeda* represents the *Zoroastrian Doctrine* (as the *Doctrine of the Magi Reformed*) after this manner; *That God was older than Darkness and Light, and the Creator of them, so that he was a Solitary Being, without Companion or Corrival; and that Good and Evil, Vertue and Vice did arise from a certain Commixture of Light and Darkness together, without which this lower World could never have been produced; which Mixture was still to continue in it, till at length Light should overcome Darkness: and then Light and Darkness shall each of them have their separate and distinct Worlds, apart from one another.*

Pocock Spec.  
Hist. Ar. p. 146;  
147, 148.

If it were now needful, we might still make it further evident that *Zoroaster*, notwithstanding the Multiplicity of Gods worship'd by him, was an Asserter of *One Supreme*, from his own Description of *God* extant in *Eusebius*. θεός ὅστις ὁ πρῶτος ἀφθαρτός, αἰδιός, ἀρχήν, ἀμεταίτητος, ἀνομοίωτος, ἡνίοχος παντὸς καλοῦ, ἀδωροδοκίτος, ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθώτατος, φρονίμων φρονιμώτατος, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πατὴρ δυνάμει καὶ δικαιοσύνης, αὐτοδίδακτος, τέλειος, καὶ ἑστὶς φυσικῶς μόνος ἀβεβητός. *God is the First Incorruptible, Eternal, Unmade, Indivisible, Most unlike to every thing, the Head or Leader of all Good, Unbribeable, the Best of the Good, the Wisest of the Wise; He is also the Father of Law and Justice, Self-taught, Perfect, and*

Præp. Ev. L. 12

the only Inventor of the Natural Holy. Which Eusebius tells us, that this Zoroastrian Description of God, was contained *verbatim*, in a Book entituled, *A Holy Collection of the Persian Monuments*; as also that *Ostanes* (himself a famous Magician, and admirer of *Zoroaster*) had recorded the very same of him, in his *Ostaneuchon*.

Now we having, in this Discourse concerning *Zoroaster* and the *Magi*, cited the Oracles, called by some *Magical*, and imputed to *Zoroaster*, but by others *Chaldaical*; we conceive it not improper to give some account of them here. And indeed if there could be any Assurance of the Antiquity and Sincerity of those *Reputed Oracles*, there would then need no other Testimony to prove, that either *Zoroaster* and the *Persian Magi*, or else at least the *Chaldeans*, asserted not only a *Divine Monarchy*, or One Supreme Deity the Original of all things; but also a *Trinity*, consistently with the same.

And it is certain that those Oracles are not such *Novel Things* as some would suspect, they being cited by *Synesius*, as then Venerable and of great Authority, under the name of ἱερὰ λόγια, *Holy Oracles*, and there being of this Number, some produced by him that are not to be found in the Copies of *Pfellus* and *Pletho*; from whence it may be concluded, that we have only some Fragments of these Oracles now left. And that they were not forged by Christians, as some of the Sibylline Oracles undoubtedly were, seems probable from hence, because so many Pagan Philosophers make use of their Testimonies, laying no small stress upon them. As for Example *Damascius*, out of whom *Patritius* hath made a Considerable Collection of such of these Oracles as are wanting in *Pfellus* and *Pletho's* Copies. And we learn from *Photius*, that whereas *Hierocles* his Book of Fate and Providence, was divided into Seven Parts, the Drift of the Fourth of them was this, τὰ λεγόμενα λόγια, εἰς συμφωνίαν συνάγειν, οἷς Πλάτων ἐδογμάτισε, *to reconcile the Reputed Oracles, with Plato's Doctrines*. Where it is not to be doubted, but that those *Reputed Oracles* of *Hierocles*, were the same with these *Magick* or *Chaldaick* Oracles; because these are frequently cited by Philosophers under that name of λόγια or *Oracles*. *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*, ὑπὸ τε Πλάτωνος, καὶ Ὀρφέως, καὶ Λογίων, ποιητῆς καὶ πατρὸς ὑμνεῖται τῷ παντὸς, πατρὸς ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. ἡλυσῶν μὲν τὰ πλήθη τῶν θεῶν, ψυχὰς δὲ πέμπων εἰς ἡμέρας ἀνδρῶν. *The Maker of the Universe, is celebrated both by Plato, and Orpheus, and The Oracles, as the Father of Gods and Men; who both produceth Multitudes of Gods, and sends down Souls for the Generations of Men*. And as there are other Fragments of these, cited by *Proclus* elsewhere under the name of λόγια or *Oracles*, so doth he sometimes give them that higher Title of θεοπαράδοτος θεολογία, and μυσταγωγία, *The Theology that was of Divine Tradition or Revelation*. Which magnificent Encomium, was bestowed in like manner upon *Pythagoras* his *Philosophy*, by *Jamblichus*, that being thought to have been derived in great part from the *Chaldeans* and the *Magi*; ἐκ θεῶν αὐτῆς ἁδωδέουσι τὸ κατ' ἀρχαίς. *This Philosophy of Pythagoras, having been first Divinely delivered, or revealed by the Gods, ought not to be handled by us without a Religious Invocation of them*. And that *Porphyrius* was not unacquainted with these

these Oracles neither, may be concluded from that Book of his, entituled *Ἐπι τῶν ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας*, concerning the Philosophy from Oracles; which consisting of more Parts, one of them was called, *τὰ τῶν χαλδαίων λόγια*, The Oracles of the Chaldeans: which that they were the very same with those we now speak of, shall be further proved afterward. Now though *Pfellus* affirm, that the Chaldean *Dogmata*, contained in those Oracles, were some of them admitted both by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, yet does he not pretend, these very Greek Verses themselves to have been so ancient. But it seems probable from *Suidas*, that *Juliane* a Chaldean and *Theurgist*, the Son of *Juliane* a Philosopher, (who wrote concerning *Demons* and *Teleurgicks*) was the First that turned those Chalday or Magick Oracles, into Greek Verse; *Ἰσλιανός, ἐπι Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου τῷ βασιλέως, ἔγραψε Θεουργικά, τελεστικά, λόγια δι' ἑπῶν*. *Juliane in the time of Marcus Antoninus the Emperor, wrote the Theurgick and Telestick Oracles, in Verse.* For that there is something of the *Theurgical Magick* mixed together with *Mystical Theology* in these Oracles, is a thing so manifest, from that Operation about the Hecatone Circle, and other passages in them, that it cannot be denied; which renders it still more unlikely, that they should have been forged by Christians. Nevertheless they carry along with them (as hath been already observed) a clear acknowledgment of a *Divine Monarchy*, or *One Supreme Deity*, the Original of all things; which is called in them *The Father*, and the *Paternal Principle*, and that *Intelligible*, *ὃ χεῖρ σε νοεῖν νόσ ἀνθεῖ*, that cannot be apprehended otherwise than by the Flower of the Mind; as also that *One Fire* from whence all things spring; *Pfellus* thus glossing upon that Oracle, *All things were the Offspring of one Fire*, *πάντα τὰ ὄντα τάτε νοητὰ, ἢ αἰσθητὰ, ἀπὸ μόνου θεοῦ τῷ ὑπόστασιν ἔλαβον, ἢ πρὸς μόνον θεὸν ἐπέστραψαν, &c. ἀπῆλθον ἔν τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ πλήρες τῷ ἡμετέροις δόγμασι*. *All things whether Intelligible or Sensible receive their Essence from God alone, and return back again only to him; so that this Oracle is irreprehensible, and full of our Doctrine.* And it is very observable, that these very same Oracles, expressly determined also, that *Matter* was not *ἀγέννητον*, *Unmade* or *Self-existent*, but derived in like manner, from the Deity. Which we learn from *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*; where when he had positively asserted, that there is *ἐν πάντων αἴτιον*, *One thing the Cause of all things*; and *τάχαθὲν πάντων αἴτιον ὄν, εἶναι ἢ ὕλης αἴτιον*, *That the Supreme Good, being the Cause of all things, is also the Cause of Matter*, he confirms this Assertion of his, from the Authority of the Oracles, *ἀπὸ ταύτης ἢ τῆς τάξεως ἢ τὰ λόγια ἠδ' ἄγ' ἰσχυρῶς πολυποικίλον ὕλῳ, ἐνθεν ἄρδην θράσυνά γένεσις πολυποικίλη ὕλης*. *From this Order also, do the Oracles deduce, the Generation of the Matter, in these words, From thence (that is, from One Supreme Deity) altogether proceeds the Genesis of the Multivarious Matter.* Which unquestionably was one of those very Magick or Chalday Oracles; and it may be further proved from hence, because it was by *Porphyrus* set down amongst them, as appears from *Aeneas Gazens* in his *Theophrastus*, *ἐστὶ ἀγέννητον ἢ ἀναρχον ἢ ὕλην, τῷ τὸ σε ἢ χαλδαίοι διδάσκουσιν, ἢ ὁ πορφύρειος ἐπιγράφει ἢ χαλδαῖοι τὸ βιβλίον ὃ εἰς μέτρον περιγράφει τῶν χαλδαίων τὰ λόγια, ἐν οἷς γεγονέναι τῷ ὕλῳ ἰσχυρίζεται*. *Neither was Matter void of Generation or Beginning, which the Chaldeans and Porphyrus teach thee; he making this the Title of a whole*

P. 118.

Book published by him, *The Oracles of the Chaldeans, in which it is confirmed, that Matter was Made.*

Moreover that there was also in these *Magick or Chalday Oracles*, a clear Signification of a *Divine Triad*, hath been already declared. But we shall here produce *Proclus* his Testimony for it too, *ἔτις ὁ καὶ ἡ θεοπραχθῆτος θεολογία, φησὶ συμπληρωθῆαι τὸ νόημα, ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν τριῶν λέγει γένεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸν διὸς ἐπέκεινα τῆς δημιουργήσαντες τὸ πᾶν.* Thus the *Divinely Delivered* (or *Inspired*) *Theology*, affirmeth the whole *World* to have been completed from these *Three*; *Psyche* or the *Mundane Soul*, therein speaking concerning that *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, who was above the *Maker of the World*, in this manner, &c. For we have already declared, that *Proclus* his *θεοπραχθῆτος θεολογία*, his *Theology of Divine Tradition* or *Revelation*, is one and the same thing with the *λόγια*, or *Oracles*. To which Testimony of *Proclus*, we might also superadd, that Oracle cited out of *Damascius*, by *Patritius*,

παντὶ γὰρ ἐν νόμῳ λάμπει τριάς ἢς μόνος ἄρχει.

*In the whole World shineth forth a Triad or Trinity, the Head whereof, is a Monad or Perfect Unity; Than which nothing can be plainer.*

XVII. And now we pass out of *Asia* into *Europe*, from *Zoroaster* to *Orpheus*. It is the Opinion of some Eminent Philologers of Latter times, That there never was any such Man as *Orpheus*, but only in *Fairy land*, and that the whole *History of Orpheus*, was nothing but a mere *Romantick Allegory*, utterly devoid of all Truth and Reality. But there is nothing alledged for this Opinion from Antiquity, save only this one Passage of *Cicero's* concerning *Aristotle*; *Orpheum Poetam docet Aristoteles nunquam fuisse, Aristotle teacheth that there never was any such man as Orpheus the Poet*; in which notwithstanding *Aristotle* seems to have meant no more than this, that there was no such Poet as *Orpheus*, Senior to *Homer*, or that the Verses vulgarly called *Orphical*, were not written by *Orpheus*. However, if it should be granted, that *Aristotle* had denied the Existence of such a man; there seems to be no reason at all, why his Single Testimony should here preponderate, against that Universal Consent of all Antiquity, which is for one *Orpheus* the Son of *Oeager*, by birth a *Thracian*, the Father or Chief Founder, of the *Mythical* and *Allegorical Theology* amongst the *Greeks*, and of all their most *Arcane Religious Rites* and *Mysteries*; who is commonly supposed to have lived before the *Trojan War*, (that is, in the time of the *Israelitish Judges*) or at least, to have been Senior both to *Hesiod* and *Homer*; and also to have died a Violent Death, most affirming him to have been torn in pieces by Women. For which cause in that Vision of *Herus Pamphylus* in *Plato*, *Orpheus* his Soul being to come down again, into another Body, is said to have chosen rather, that of a *Swan* (a reputed *Musical Animal*) than to be born again of a *Woman*, by reason of that great hatred, which he had conceived of all *Woman-kind*, for his suffering such a Violent Death from them. And the Historick Truth of *Orpheus*, was not only acknowledged by *Plato*, but also by *Isocrates*, Seniour to *Aristotle* likewise (in

G.I. Vossius D.  
Ar. Po. 6. 13.

De Nat. D. L.  
1. p. 211.

De Rep. L. 10.  
Lib. 4. p. 162.

(in his Oration in the praise of *Buſiris*;) and confirmed by that ſober Hiſtoriographer *Diodorus Siculus*, he giving this Accompt of *Orpheus*, That he was a man who diligently applied himſelf to Literature, and having learn'd τὰ μυθολογίμωρα, or the Mythical Part of Theology, travelled into Egypt, where he attain'd to further knowledge, and became the greateſt of all the Greeks, in the Myſterious Rites of Religion, Theological Skill and Poetry. To which *Pausanias* addeth, that he gained great authority, οἷα πικιδόμωρο δρηκέναι ἔργων ἀνοχίαν καθαριμῶς, νόσων τε ἰάματα, καὶ τροπὸς μνημότων θεῶν. *As being believed to have found out Expiations for wicked Actions, Remedies for Diſeaſes, and Appeaſements of the Divine Diſpleaſure.* Neither was this Hiſtory of *Orpheus* contradicted by *Origen*, when *Celfus* gave him ſo fit an occaſion, and ſo ſtrong a Provocation to do it, by his Preferring *Orpheus*, before our Saviour *Chriſt*. To all which may be added in the laſt place, that it being commonly concluded from the Greek word *Θρησκεία*, that the Greeks derived their *Teleta* and *Myſteries of Religion*, from the Thracians, it is not ſo reaſonable to think with the Learned *Voffius*, that *Xamolxis* was the Founder of them, (and not *Orpheus*) this *Xamolxis* being by moſt reported to have been *Pythagoras* his Servant, and conſequently too much a Junieur; and though *Herodotus* attribute more Antiquity to him, yet did he conceive him to have been no other than a *Demon*, who appearing to the Thracians, was worſhipped by them; whereas in the mean time, the General Tradition of the Greeks, derived the *Thracian Religious Rites* and *Myſteries*, from *Orpheus* and no other, according to this of *Suidas*; λέγεται ὡς ὀρφῶς θεοῦ, πρῶτοῦ ἐτεχνολόγητε τὰ Ἑλλήνων μυστήρια, ἐκ τῶν τιμῶν θεοῦ συβῆεν ἐκάλυπεν, ὡς θεομίας ἕως τῆς ἀρεσκείας. *It is commonly ſaid, that Orpheus the Thracian, was the Firſt Inventor of the Religious Myſteries of the Greeks, and that Religion was from thence called Threſcheia, as being a Thracian Invention.* Wherefore though it may well be granted, that by reaſon of *Orpheus* his great Antiquity, there have been many *Fabulous* and *Romantick* things intermingled with his *Hiſtory*; yet there appears no reaſon at all, why we ſhould diſbelieve the Exiſtence of ſuch a Man.

But though there were ſuch a man as *Orpheus*, yet may it very well be queſtion'd for all that, Whether any of thoſe Poems, commonly entitled to him, and called *Orphical*, were ſo ancient, and indeed written by him. And this the rather, becauſe *Herodotus* declares it as his own Opinion, that *Hefiod* and *Homer*, were the ancienteſt of all the Greek Poets, οἱ ἢ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τῶν τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ἕτερον ἐλθοῦτο, and that thoſe other Poets, ſaid to have been before them, were indeed Juniors to them; meaning hereby in all probability, *Orpheus*, *Mufeus* and *Linus*. As alſo becauſe *Ariſtotle* ſeems plainly to have followed *Herodotus* in this, he mentioning the *Orphick Poems* (in his Book Of the Soul) after this manner, τὰ ὀρφικὰ καλέμωρα ἔπη, *The Verſes that are called Orphical.* Beſides which *Cicero* tells us that ſome imputed all the *Orphick Poems* to *Cercops* a *Pythagorean*, and it is well known, that many have attributed the ſame to another of that School, *Onomacritus*, who lived in the times of the *Piſiſtratae*: Wherefore we read more than once in *Sextus Empiricus* of Ὀνομάκριτο ἐν τοῖς ὀρφικαῖς,

Proleg. in Flor.  
Stob.

De N. De. L. 1.  
p. 201. Lamb.

Ὀρφεῖος, Onomacritus in the Orphicks. Suidas also reports, that some of the Orphick Poems were anciently ascribed to Theognetus, others to Timocles, others to Zopyrus, &c. From all which Grotius seems to have made up this Conclusion; That the Pythagoricks entitled their own Books to Orpheus and Linus, just in the same manner, as Ancient Christians entitled theirs, some to the Sibyls, and others to Hermes Trismegist. Implying therein, that both the Orphick Poems and Doctrine, owed there very Being and First Original, only to the Pythagoreans. But on the other side, Clemens Alexandrinus affirmeth that Heraclitus the Philosopher borrowed many things from the Orphick Poems. And it is certain, that Plato does not only very much commend the Orphick Hymns, for their Suavity and Delicousness, but also produce some Verses out of them, without making any Scruple concerning their Author. Cicero himself, notwithstanding what he cites out of Aristotle to the contrary, seems to acknowledge Orpheus for the most ancient Poet, he writing thus of Cleanthes, In Secundo Libro De Natura Deorum, vult Orphei, Musæi, Hesiodi, Homerique Fabellas accommodare ad ea quæ ipse de Diis Immortalibus scripserat, ut etiam Veterrimi Poetæ qui hæc ne suspicati quidem sint, Stoici fuisse videantur; Cleanthes in his Second Book of the Nature of the Gods, endeavours to accommodate the Fables of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod and Homer, to those very things which himself had written concerning them; so that the most ancient Poets, who never dream'd of any such matter, are made by him to have been Stoicks. Diodorus Siculus affirmeth Orpheus to have been the Author of a most excellent Poem. And Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Athenagoras, and others, take it for granted, that Homer borrowed many Passages of his Poems from the Orphick Verses, and particularly that very Beginning of his Iliads,

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ.

De V. Pyth.  
6. 34.

Lastly, Jamblichus testifieth, that by Most Writers, Orpheus was represented as the *ancientest* of all the Poets, adding moreover, what *Dialect* he wrote in, αἱ πλείους τῶν ἰσοειῶν ἀποφαίνονται, κεχεῖνθαι τῇ δωρεμῇ διαλέκτῳ ἢ τῇ Ὀρφέα, περιεβύτηεν ὄντα τῶν ποιητῶν. Most of the Historiographers declare, that Orpheus, who was the *ancientest* of all the Poets, wrote in the Dorick Dialect. Which if it be true, then those Orphick Fragments, that now we have, (preserved in the Writings of such as did not Dorize) must have been transformed by them out of their Native Idiom. Now as concerning Herodotus, who supposing Homer and Hesiod to have been the *ancientest* of all the Greek Poets, seem'd therefore to conclude the Orphick Poems to have been Pseudepigraphous; himself intimates that this was but a Singular Opinion, and as it were, Paradox, of his own, the contrary thereunto being then generally received. However Aristotle probably, might therefore be the more inclinable to follow Herodotus in this, because he had no great kindness for the Pythagorick or Orphick Philosophy. But it is altogether Irrational and Absurd to think, that the Pythagoricks would entitle their Books to Orpheus, as designing to gain credit and authority to them thereby; had there been no such Doctrine before, either contained in some ancient Monument of Orpheus,

or

or at least transmitted down by Oral Tradition from him. Wherefore the Pythagoricks themselves constantly maintain, that before *Pythagoras* his time, there was not only an *Orphick Cabala* Extant, but also *Orphick Poems*. The Former was declared in that ancient Book called *Ἱερός Λόγος*, or *The Holy Oration*, if we may believe *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*. Πυθαγόρειος ἔν τῷ Τίμαιῳ, ἐπέειπε ταῖς Πυθαγορείων ἀρχαῖς· αὐταὶ ἢ εἰσὶν αἱ Ὀρφικαὶ ᾠδαὶ δόξας. Ἄ γὰρ Ὀρφεὺς δι' ἀπορρήτων λόγων μουσικῶς ᾠδαδέδωκε, ταῦτα Πυθαγόρεος ἐξέμαθεν ὀργασθεὶς ἐν Λεβήθεοις τοῖς Θρακίοις, Ἀγλαοφήμεν τελέσει μετὰ διδδύου. Ταῦτα γὰρ φησὶν ὁ Πυθαγόρεος ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ λόγῳ. *Timæus being a Pythagorean, follows the Pythagorick Principles, and these are the Orphick Traditions; for what things Orpheus deliver'd Mystically, (or in arcane Allegories) these Pythagoras learn'd when he was initiated by Aglaophemus in the Orphick Mysteries, Pythagoras himself affirming as much in his Book called, The Holy Oration.* Where *Proclus* without any doubt or scruple, entitles the Book inscribed *Ἱερός Λόγος* or *The Holy Oration*, to *Pythagoras* himself. Indeed several of the ancients have resolved, *Pythagoras* to have written nothing at all, as *Fla. Josephus*, *Plutarch*, *Lucian* and *Porphyrius*; and *Epigenes* in *Clemens Alex.* affirms that the *Ἱερός Λόγος* or *Holy Oration*, was written by *Cercops* a *Pythagorean*. Nevertheless *Diogenes Laertius* thinks them not to be in good earnest, who deny *Pythagoras* to have written any thing, and he tells us that *Heraclides* acknowledged this *Ἱερός Λόγος* or *Holy Oration* for a genuine and indubitate *Fætus* of *Pythagoras*. *Jamblichus* is also of the same opinion, as the most received; though confessing some to have attributed that Book, to *Telauges Pythagoras* his Son. But whoever was the Writer of this *Hieros Logos*, whether *Pythagoras* himself, or *Telauges*, or *Cercops*, it must needs be granted to be of great antiquity, according to the Testimony whereof, *Pythagoras* derived much of his *Theology*, from the *Orphick Traditions*. Moreover *Ion Chius* in his *Trigrammi* testified, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* informeth us, that *Pythagoras* himself referred some Poems to *Orpheus* as their Author; which is also the General sence of *Platonists* as well as *Pythagoreans*. Wherefore upon all accounts, it seems most probable, That either, *Orpheus* himself wrote some Philosophick or Theologick Poems, though certain other Poems might be also father'd on him, because written in the same strain, of *Mystical* and *Allegorical Theology*, and as it were in the same Spirit, with which this *Thracian Prophet* was inspired: Or else at least, that the *Orphick Doctrine*, was first conveyed down by *Oral Cabala* or *Tradition* from him, and afterwards for its better Preservation, expressed in Verses, that were imputed to *Orpheus*, after the same manner, as the *Golden Verses* written by *Lysis*, were to *Pythagoras*. And *Philoponus* intimates this Latter to have been *Aristotle's* Opinion concerning the *Orphick Verses*: He glossing thus upon those words of *Aristotle* before cited, καλεσμένοις εἶπε, ὅτι μὴ δοκεῖ Ὀρφέως τοῖς ἐπι, ὡς ἔχει αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ᾠδῆ: φιλοσοφίας λέγει. αὐτῶ γὰρ εἰσι τὰ δδγματά, ταῦτα δὲ φασιν ὀνομάσθαι εἶν ἐπι καὶ αἰθένας. *Aristotle calls them the Reputed Orphick Verses, because they seem not to have been written by Orpheus himself, as the same Aristotle affirmeth in his Book of Philosophy. The Doctrine and Opinions of them indeed were his, but Onomacritus is said to have put them into Verse.* However, there can be

P. 291.

Strom. L. 1: P. 333.



no doubt at all made, but that the *Orphick Verses*, by whomsoever Written, were some of them of great antiquity (they being much older than either *Aristotle*, *Plato* or *Herodotus*) as they were also had in great esteem amongst the Pagans; and therefore we may very well make a judgment of the *Theology* of the ancient Pagans, from them.

Now that *Orpheus*, the *Orphick Doctrine*, and *Poems*, were Polytheistical, is a thing acknowledged by all. *Justin Martyr* affirms that *Orpheus* asserted *Three Hundred and Sixty Gods*; he also bestows upon him, this Honourable Title (if it may be so accounted) of πολυθεϊτικὸς πατὴρ ἢ πρῶτος διδάσκαλος, *The Father and First Teacher of Polytheism amongst the Greeks*; he supposing that *Homer* derived his *Polytheism* from him; Ὅμηρος τὸ πολυθεϊτικὸς ὀρφέως ξηλώσας δόξαν, μυθωδῶς μὲν πλειόνων θεῶν μέμνηται, ἵνα μὴ δόξη τὸ ὀρφέως ἀπάσθην ποιήσεως. *Homer emulating Orpheus his Polytheism, did himself therefore fabulously write of many Gods, that he might not seem to dissent from his Poems, whom he had so great a Veneration for.* With which also agreeth the Testimony of *Athenagoras*, ὀρφῶς ἢ τὰ ὀνόματα θεῶν πρῶτος ἐξέδρεν ἢ τὰς γλώσσας διεξήλθε, ἢ ὅσα ἐκάστοις πέπερωμίαι εἶπε, ὅ ἢ Ὅμηρος τὰ πολλὰ ἢ ὠρεῖ θεῶν μάλιστ' ἐπέειπε. *Orpheus first invented the very names of the Gods, declaring their Generations, and what was done by each of them, and Homer for the most part follows him therein.* Indeed the whole *Mythical Theology*, or *Fables of the Gods* together with the *Religious Rites* amongst the Greeks, are commonly supposed to have owed their First Original to no other but *Orpheus*. In which *Orphick Fables*, not only the *Things of Nature*, and *Parts of the World* were all *Theologized*, but also all manner of *Humane Passions*, *Imperfections*, and *Vices* (according to the *Literal Sence*) attributed to the *Gods*. Infomuch that divers of the Pagans themselves, took great offence at them, as for Example *Isocrates*; who concludes that a *Divine Nemesis* or *Vengeance* was inflicted upon *Orpheus* for this *Impiety*, ὀρφῶς ὁ μάλιστ' ἢ τοῖστων λόγων ἀφάμνητος, διασπαοκίς τὸ βίον ἐτελεύτησε, *Orpheus who was most of all guilty in this kind, died a violent death.* Also *Diog. Laertius* for this Cause made a question, whether he should reckon *Orpheus* amongst the *Philosophers* or no: and others have Concluded that *Plato* ought to have banish'd *Orpheus* likewise out of his *Commonwealth*, for the same reason that he did *Homer*, which is thus expressed, *For not Lying well concerning the Gods.* And here we may take notice of the *Monstrosity* and *Extravagancy* of *Orpheus* his *Phancy*, from what *Diamascius* and others tell us, that he made one of his *Principles* to be δεινόμοινα κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα πρὸς πεφυκίας ταύρου ἢ λέοντος, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεῶν πρόσωπον, ἢ ἐπι ὤμων πτεροί, *A Dragon, having the Heads both of a Bull and a Lion, and in the midst the Face of a God, with Golden Wings upon his shoulders*; which forsooth must be an *Incorporeal Deity* and *Hercules*, with which *Nature* (called *Ananche* and *Adrastea*) was associated. Nevertheless the *Generality* of the *Greekish Pagans*, looking upon this *Orpheus*, not as a meer *Fanciful Poet* and *Fabulator*, but as a *Serious* and *Profound Philosopher*, or *Myistical Theologer*; a *Person* transcendently *Holy* and *Wise*; they supposed all his *Fables of the Gods*, to be deep *Mysteries* and *Allegories*

In Lau. Busir.

*Allegories* which had some *Arcane* and *Recondite* Sence under them, and therefore had a high Veneration for him, as one who did ἀλιθέ-  
 ερον θεολογῆν (as *Athenagoras* writes) *More truly Theologize than the*  
*rest*, and was indeed *Divinely Inspired*. Infomuch that *Celsus* would  
 rather have had the Christians to have taken *Orpheus* for a *God*, than  
 our *Saviour Christ*, ἀνδρα ὁμολογούμενως ὅτιω χρησιμῶρον πνεύματι, ἢ αὐ-  
 τῶν βίαιως ἀποθανόντα, as being a man unquestionably endowed with a holy  
 spirit, and one who also (as well as the Christians *Jesus*) died a violent  
 death.

C. Cels. L. 7.  
 P. 367.

But that *Orpheus*, notwithstanding all his *Polytheism* or *Multiplicity*  
 of *Gods*, acknowledged *One Supreme Unmade Deity*, as the Original  
 of all things, may be First Presumed from hence, because those Two  
 Most Religious Philosophick Sects, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, not  
 only had *Orpheus* in great esteem, he being commonly called by them  
 ὁ θεολόγος, *The Theologer*, but were also thought, in great measure to  
 have owed their Theology and Philosophy to him, as deriving the  
 same from his *Principles* and *Traditions*. This hath been already in-  
 timated and might be further proved. *Pythagoras*, as we are inform-  
 ed by *Porphyrius* and *Jamblichus*, learn'd something from all these Four,  
 from the *Egyptians*, from the *Persian Magi*, from the *Chaldeans*, and  
 from *Orpheus* or his *Followers*. Accordingly *Syrianus* makes ὀρφικαὶ καὶ  
 πυθαγορικαὶ ἀρχαί, *The Orphick and Pythagorick Principles to be one*  
*and the same*. And as we understand from *Suidas*, the same *Syrianus*  
 wrote a Book entituled, Συμφωνία ὀρφέως, πυθαγόρου καὶ πλατωνος, *The*  
*Harmony of Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato*. *Proclus*, besides the  
 place before cited, frequently insists upon this elsewhere, in his Com-  
 mentary upon the *Timæus*, as p. 289. Πυθαγορείον ἢ καὶ τὸ ταῖς ὀρφικαῖς  
 ἐπεδοὶ γρηναλογίας. Ἀνάθεν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρφικῆς παραδόσεως διὰ πυθαγόρου  
 καὶ εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἢ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑπισήμων περιήλθεν. *It is Pythagorick to follow*  
*the Orphick Genealogies. For from the Orphick Tradition downward by Py-*  
*thagoras, was the knowledge of the Gods derived to the Greeks*. And that  
 the *Orphick Philosophy* did really agree and symbolize with that which  
 afterward was called *Pythagorick* and *Platonick*, and was of the same  
 strain with it, may be gathered from that of *Plato* in his *Cratylus*,  
 where he speaks concerning the Etymology of the Greek Word  
 σώμα. δοκῶσι μάλιστα μοι μάλιστα δεσφαι οἱ ἀμφὶ ὀρφέα τῆτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς  
 δίκην δίδουσι τῆ ψυχῆς, τῆτον ἢ καὶ ἕλολον ἔχειν ἵνα σώζηται, δεσμοθεῖς εἰ-  
 κῶνα εἶναι ἐν τῆ ψυχῆς τῆτο αὐτὸ ἕως ἀν ἐκτίσῃ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τὸ σώμα.  
*Orpheus and his followers seem to me to have given the best Etymology*  
*of this word σώμα (from σώζειν) That the Soul is here in a state of*  
*Punishment, its Body being a Prison to it, wherein it is kept in custody,*  
*till its Debts or Faults be expiated, and is therefore called σώμα.* Now these  
 Three Philosophies, the *Platonick*, *Pythagorick*, and *Orphick*, symbo-  
 lizing so much together, it is probable that as the *Platonick* and *Py-*  
*thagorick*, so the *Orphick* likewise, derived all their *Gods* from *One*  
*Self-existent Deity*.

MS. Coll. Caj.  
 Cant. p. 14.

P. 400. Steph.

Which may be further manifested, from that *Epitome* of the *Orphick*  
*Doctrine*, made long since by *Timotheus the Chronographer* in his *Cosmo-*  
*pœia*, still extant in *Cedrenus* and *Eusebii Chronica*, and imperfectly set  
 D d down

down by *Suidas* (upon the Word *Orpheus*) as his own, or without mentioning the Authors Name:— Ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνεδείχθη τὰ κόσμῳ ὁ αἰθήρ, ὑπὸ τῆς θεῆς δημιουργηθείς. *First of all the Æther was made by God, and after the Æther a Chaos; a Dark and dreadful Night, then covering all under the whole Æther.* Σεμάλων τὴν νύκτα προσεδύειν, *Orpheus hereby signifying (saith Timotheus) that Night was Seniour to day, or that the World had a Beginning;* εἰρηκώς ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς ἀθέσῳ, ἀκατάλιπτον τινα καὶ πάντων ὑπέροιστον εἶναι, προσηλύσειρόν τε καὶ δημιουργὸν ἀπάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς αἰθέρος, καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς αἰθέρος. *He having declared also in his Explication, that there was a certain Incomprehensible Being, which was the Highest and Oldest of all things, and the Maker of every thing, even of the Æther it self, and all things under the Æther. But the Earth being then invisible by reason of the Darkneß, a Light breaking out through the Æther, illuminated the whole Creation: This Light being said by him, to be that Highest of all Beings (before mentioned) which is called also Counsel and Life.* ταῦτα τὰ τρία ὀνόματα (to use *Suidas* his words here) μίαν δύναμιν ἀπεφήνατο, καὶ ἐν κρείττῳ τῆς δημιουργοῦ πάντων θεῆς, τῆς πάντων ἑα τῆ μὴ οὐτῷ ἄλογα γούτῳ εἰς τὸ εἶναι. *These Three Names in Orpheus (Light, Counsel and Life) declaring one and the same Force and Power of that God, who is the Maker of all, and who produceth all out of Nothing into Being, whether Visible or Invisible. To conclude with Timotheus: Ὁ ἁγώτος Ὀρφῆος, ἐν τῇ αὐτῆ βίβλῳ συνέταξεν, ὅτι διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τριῶν ὀνομάτων μᾶς θεότητος, τὰ πάντα ἐγέρετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔστι τὰ πάντα. And the same Orpheus in his Book declared, that all things were made by one Godhead in Three Names, and that this God is all things.*

But that *Orpheus* asserted *One Supreme Deity*, as the Original of all things, is unquestionably evident from the *Orphick Verses* themselves; of which notwithstanding, before we mention any, in way of Proof, we shall premise this Observation, or rather Suspicion of our own; That there seem to be some *Orphick Verses* supposititious, as well as there were *Sibylline*; they being counterfeited either by Christians or Jews. For we must freely profess, for our own part, that we cannot believe all that to be genuine, which is produced by ancient Fathers as *Orphical*; that is, either to have been written by *Orpheus* himself, or else by *Onomacritus*, or any other Pagan of that Antiquity, according to the *Orphick Cabala* or Tradition.

As for example, this concerning *Moses*,

ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑδρογῶνις διέταξεν,  
Ἐκ θεοῦθεν γνώμοισι λαβῶν καὶ δίπλακα θεομῶν.

*Ut habet sermo antiquorum, ut Ex-aqua-ortus descripsit,  
Acceptâ divinitus Lege quæ Duplicita Præcepta continet.*

And this that is commonly understood of *Abraham*,

οὐ γὰρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνιτῆρ, μερόπων κελίνοια,  
εἰ μὴ μανογῶνις τις ἀπὲρῶξ φύλῃς ἀναθεν  
καλδαίων, ἴδεις γὰρ ἔην ἄσροιο πορείης.

*Non*

*Non enim quispiam mortalium videre posset eum qui hominibus imperat,  
Nisi Unigenitus quidam profectus ab antiqua origine Gentis Chaldeorum; sciebat enim astri cursum.*

The manifest Forgery of which, might make one suspect also some other Passages, such as this concerning the *Divine Logos*;

Εἰς ἃ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τότε προζέει δεικνύων κρεδίνης νοερέν κύτθ.

Wherefore it being not ingenuous, to lay stress upon that for the Proof of any thing, which our selves believe not to be sincere and genuine; we shall here cite no *Orphick Verses*, for the acknowledgment of *One Supreme Deity*, but only such as we find attested in Pagan Writings. As first of all that Copy produced by *Proclus* upon the *Timæus* :

P. 95.

Τῶνεκα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ Διὸς πάλιν εὐπὶς ἐτύχθη,  
Αἰθέροθ' ὕψους ἢ δ' ἔργων ἀγλαὸν ὑψοθ',  
Πόντος τ' ἀτρυγέτος, γαίης τ' ἐρικυδέθ' ὕψην·  
Ὠκεανὸς τε μέγας, ἢ νεώτατα τάρταρα γαίης,  
καὶ πύλαμος, ἢ πύλοθ' ἀπείροτος, ἀλλὰ τε πάντα,  
Πάντες τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοὶ, ἠδὲ δέαιναί,  
Ὅσα τ' ἐν γυνάωτα, ἢ ὑπερον ὀπώσο' ἐμελλεν  
ἔργετο· ζηνὸς δ' ἐπὶ γαστέρι σῆερα πεφύκει.

To this Sence: *Wherefore, together with the Universe, were made within Jupiter, the Height of the Ethereal Heaven, the Breadth of the Earth and Sea, the great Ocean, the Profound Tartara, the Rivers and Fountains, and all the other things; all the Immortal Gods, and Goddesses. Whatsoever hath been, or shall be, was at once contained in the Womb of Jupiter.*

*Proclus* understands this of the *Idea's* of all things, being in God, before the World was produced, that is, in order of Nature only, he supposing them in time Coeve. However it is plain, that all things are said to be contained in the *Womb and Fecundity* of *One Self-originated Deity*; not only all the other Gods and Goddesses, but every thing else whatsoever.

Again *Proclus* in the same place, ushers in another Copy of *Orphick Verses* (which are also found in the *Writer de Mundo*) after this manner: *τῷ ἢ ἰδεῶν πλήρης ὢν, διὰ τῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ ὅλα ἐξέλιπε, ὡς ἢ τῷ ἐνδαικνύμενος ὁ λόγος ἐπήγαγε.* *The Demiurgus or Maker of the World, being full of Ideas, did by these comprehend all things within himself, as that Theologer also declareth in these following Verses:*

Ζῶς πρώτος γέετο, Ζῶς ὑψαῖος ἀρχιμέρανος·  
Ζῶς κεφαλῆ, Ζῶς μέσσα· Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·  
Ζῶς ἀεζω γέετο, Ζῶς ἀμφοτος ἐπλετο ὑμφο·  
Ζῶς πῶμω γαίης τε ἢ ἔργων ἀσερέντος·

D d 2

z d s

Ζεὺς πνοίη πάντων • Ζεὺς ἀκαμάτης πρὸς ὀρέμῃ •  
 Ζεὺς πῦρ ἔριζα • Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη •  
 Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς • Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχὴ γένεθλο •  
 Ἐν κρητῷ, εἰς Δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων.

Which likewise in plain Prose is this : *The high-thundering Jove is both the First and the Last ; Jove is both the Head and Middle of all things ; All things were made out of Jupiter ; Jove is both a Man and an Immortal Maid ; Jove is the Profundity of the Earth and Starry Heaven ; Jove is the Breath of all things ; Jove is the Force of the untameable Fire ; Jove the Bottom of the Sea ; Jove is Sun, Moon and Stars ; Jove is both the Original, and King of all things : There is one Power, and One God, and one great Ruler over all.*

Where though there be many strange Expressions, yet this seems to be the strangest of them all, that *Jupiter* should be said to be, both a *Man, and an Immortal Maid*. But this is nothing but a *Poetick Description* of ἀρρενόθιλον, *Male and Female together*. And it was a thing very familiar with all the *Mystical Theologers* amongst the Pagans, to call God ἀρρενόθιλον, *Male and Female together* ; they signifying thereby *Emphatically, The Divine Fecundity, or the Generative and Creative Power of the Deity* ; that God was able from himself alone, to produce all things. Thus *Damascius* the Philosopher, writing of this very *Orphick Theology*, expounds it, ἀρρενόθιλον αὐτὴν ὑπερῆσαν, πρὸς ἐνδύξιν τῶν πάντων γυναικῆς ἔριζας • *The Orphick Theology calls the First Principle, Hermaphroditick, or Male and Female together ; thereby denoting that Essence, that is Generative or Productive of all things.* And that Learned and Pious Christian Bishop, *Synesius*, it seems thought the Expression so harmless, that he scrupled not himself to make use of it. in those elegant and devout Hymns of his to God Almighty.

Σὺ πατήρ, Σὺ δ' ἐσὶ μάτηρ,  
 Σὺ δ' ἀρρῶν, Σὺ ὃ θῆλυς.

Tu Pater, Tu es Mater,  
 Tu Mas, Tu Fœmina.

Besides these, there are also certain other *Orphick Verses*, scatter'd up and down in *Proclus*, but cited altogether in *Eusebius* out of *Porphyrinus*, in which the whole *World* is represented, as *One Great Animal, God* being the *Soul* thereof.

Ἐν ὃ δέμας βασιλεῖον ἐν ᾧ τὰδε πάντα κωλύεται,  
 Πῦρ καὶ ὕδαρ, καὶ γαῖα, καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα •  
 Καὶ μήτις, πρῶτον γένεταρ, καὶ ἔρωσ πολυτελής •  
 Πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ ζωὸς τὰδε σάματι κείται •  
 Τῶ δ' ἴητοι κεφαλῶν μὲν ἰδέειν, καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα,  
 οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις ὃν χεῦσται ἀμφὶς ἕθερα  
 Ἄστρον μαρμαρέων ὠκυκαλλέες ἠερέθουται, &c.

*Omnia*

*Omnia Regali sunt hæc in corpore clausa,  
 Ignis & Unda, & Terra, Æther cum Noctæ Dieque :  
 (Consilium, Primus Genitor, cum Numine Amoris : )  
 Juppiter immenso sub Corpore cuncta coerct :  
 En hujus Caput Eximium, Vultusque decoros  
 Undique resplendens Cælum, cui pendula circum  
 Aurea Cæsaries Astrorum lumina fundit :  
 Sunt oculi Phæbus, Phæboque adversa recurrens  
 Cynthia, &c.*

Where probably that one Verse,

Καὶ μήτις, πρῶτ' ἔγένετο, καὶ ἔργος πολυτελής.

though truly *Orphical*, and indeed *Divine* (it signifying that *Mind* and *Love* were the First Begetters and Original of all things) was notwithstanding, clap'd in udduly out of some other place. But from all these Citations, it plainly appears, that according to the *Orphick Theology*, though there were many *Ghds* and *Goddesses* too, admitted, yet there was *One Original and King of them all, One Supreme Deity* acknowledged. We are not ignorant, that some of the ancient and learned Fathers, conceiving it contradictious, for *Orpheus* at the same time, to assert both *Many Gods*, and *One God*, apprehended this to be a convenient *Salvo* for this Difficulty, to suppose that *Orpheus* had by *Fits* and *Turns*, been of different Humours and Perswasions; First a *Rank Polytheist*, asserting *Three Hundred Gods*, and more; and then afterwards a *Converted Monotheist*; they being the rather led into this Opinion, by reason of certain Counterfeit Orphick Verses in *Aristobulus*, made probably by some ignorant Jew; wherein *Orpheus* is made to sing a *Palinodia* or Recantation, for his former Error and *Polytheism*. But we must crave lieve with all due respect, to dissent from Reverend Antiquity in this, it plainly appearing from that First Orphick Exception in *Proclus*, that *Orpheus* at the same time acknowledged, both *One Unmade Deity* (the Original of all things) and *Many Generated Gods and Goddesses*, that were all contained in it.

See Just. Mart.  
and Clem. Al.  
Prot.

Having now made it sufficiently evident from such *Orphick Fragments*, as have been acknowledged by Pagan Writers and by them cited out of *Orpheus* his *Hymns* and *Rapsodies*; that the *Opinion of Monarchy* or *One Self-existent Deity*, the Original of all things, was an Essential Part of the *Orphick Theology* or *Cabala*; we shall here further observe, that besides this *Opinion of Monarchy* (but consistently with the same) a *Trinity* also of *Divine Hypostases* Subordinate, was another part of this *Orphick Cabala*. *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, making an Enquiry P. 93. into *Plato's Demiurgus* or *Opifex* of the World, gives us an account amongst other Platonists, of the Doctrine of *Amelius* (who was contemporary with *Plotinus*, and who is said to have taken notice of what *St. John* the Evangelist had written concerning the *Logos*, as agreeing with the *Platonick* and *Pythagorick Hypothesis*) after this manner: Ἀμέλιος ὁ τρίτον ποιεῖ, τὸ Ἀμιμαργόν, καὶ Νῆς τρεῖς, Βασιλεῖς τρεῖς, τὸ Ὀνία, τὸ Ἐχούια, τὸ Ὁρᾶντα· διαφέρει δὲ ἔτσι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Νῆς, ὄν-  
 τῶς

τως ἔστιν ὁ ἔστιν. ὁ ὃ δ' ἄπειρα, ἔστι μὲν τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ νοητὸν, ἔχει δὲ τὸ πρὸ  
 αὐτῆ, καὶ μετέχει πάντως ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ διὰ τῆτο δ' ἄπειρα. Ὁ ὃ τρίτος, ἔστι μὲν  
 τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔπος νοητὸν. (πᾶς γὰρ νῆς τῶν συζυγῶν νοητῶν ὁ αὐτὸς ἔστιν)  
 ἔχει δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ. καὶ ὁρᾷ τὸ πρῶτον. ὅσα γὰρ πλείω ἢ ἀπόστασις, το-  
 σῶτω τὸ ἔχον ἀμωδότερον. This Passage being very remarkable, we  
 thought fit to set it down at large, and shall here translate it. Ame-  
 lius makes a Threefold Demiurgus or Opifex of the World, Three Minds  
 and Three Kings: Him that Is, Him that Hath, and Him that Beholds.  
 Which Three Minds differ thus, in that the First is Essentially that  
 which he is (or all Perfection: ) The Second Is its own Intelligible,  
 but Hath the First (as something distinct from it) and indeed par-  
 takes thereof, and therefore is Second. The Third, Is also that Intelli-  
 gible of its own, (for every Mind is the same thing with its correspon-  
 dent Intelligible) but Hath that which is in the Second, and Beholds  
 the First. For how much soever every Being departs from the First, so  
 much the Obscurer is it. After which Proclus immediately subjoyns,  
 τῆτες ἐν τῶς τρεῖς νόας καὶ δημιουργοὺς ὑποθέσθαι, καὶ τῶς ὡς τῶν Πλάτωνι,  
 τρεῖς βασιλέας, καὶ τῶς παρ' Ὀρφέϊ τρεῖς, Φάνητα, καὶ Οὐρανὸν, καὶ Κρόνον. καὶ ὁ  
 μάλιστα παρ' αὐτῷ δημιουργὸς ὁ Φάνης ἔστιν. Amelius therefore supposeth These  
 three Minds and Demiurgick Principles of his, to be both the same with  
 Plato's Three Kings, and with Orpheus his Trinity, of Phanes, Ura-  
 nus, and Chronus; but Phanes is supposed by him to be principally the  
 Demiurgus. Where though Proclus (who had some Peculiar Phancies  
 and Whimsys of his own, and was indeed a Confounder of the Pla-  
 tonick Theology, and a Mingler of much Unintelligible Stuff with  
 it) does himself assert a *Monad* or *Unity*, Superior to this Whole  
*Trinity*, yet does he seem nevertheless, rightly to contend against  
*Amelius*, that it was not the *First Hypostasis* neither in the *Platonick*  
*nor Orphick Trinity*, that was chiefly and properly the *Demiurgus* or  
*Opifex* of the World, but the *Second*. And thus Proclus his Master  
*Syrianus* had before determined, that in the *Orphick Theology*, the Ti-  
 tle of *Opifex*, did properly belong to Orpheus his *πρωτόγονοῦ Θεοῦ*,  
*or First-begotten God*, which was the same with Plato's *Νῆς* or *Divine*  
*Intellect*. Agreeably whereunto Proclus his Conclusion is, τίς μὲν ἐν  
 ὁ δημιουργὸς ἔστι καὶ ὅτι Νῆς Θεός, ἢ ὅλις ποιήσεως αἴτιος, εἰρηθῶ διὰ τῶτων. καὶ ὅπως  
 ὑπὸ τῶ Ὀρφέως καὶ Πλάτωνος, ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνυμνῆται δημιουργὸς τῶς, ἀπὸ τῶτων ὑ-  
 πεμνήθῶ. Thus much may suffice to have declared, who is the Demiurgus of  
 the World, namely, that it is the Divine Intellect, which is the proper and im-  
 mediate Cause of the whole Creation, and that it is one and the same Demi-  
 urgical Jupiter, that is praised both by Orpheus and Plato. Now be-  
 sides this, it is observable that *Damascius* in his Book *ὑπὲρ ἀρχῶν*, or  
*Concerning the Principles* (not yet published) giving an account of the  
*Orphick Theology*, tells us amongst other things, that Orpheus introdu-  
 ced, *τρεῖς μορφῶν Θεῶν*, a *Triform Deity*. To all which may be added,  
 what was before cited out of *Timotheus* the *Chronographer*, That  
 God had Three Names, *Light*, *Counsel*, and *Life*, and that all things  
 were made by one Deity under these Three several Names. Where  
*Cedrenus*, the Preserver of that excellent Fragment of Antiquity, con-  
 cludes in this manner; ταῦτα Τιμόθεος συνεγράψατο ὁ χρονογράφος, λέγων  
 τὸ Ὀρφέα πρὸς τοῦ τῶτων χρόνων εἰπόντα, τρεῖς ὀνόμασι δημιουργῆσαι τὰ πάντα.  
 These things *Timotheus the Chronographer* wrote, affirming Orpheus so  
 long

long ago, to have declared, That All things were made by a Coessential or Consubstantial Trinity. Which though otherwise it might be looked upon suspiciously, because that *Timothens* was a Christian (especially in regard of that word ὁμοῦς ὄντων) yet by comparing it with what we have before alledged, out of Pagan Writers, it appears, that so far as concerns an Orphick Trinity, it was not altogether vainly Written, or without Ground by him.

But we have not yet done with *Orpheus* and the Orphick Theology, before we have made one further Reflection upon it, so as to take notice of that strong and rank *Haut-goust*, which was in it, of making God to be All. As for example, if we may repeat the forecited Passages, and put in the Name of God, instead of Ζεύς or Jupiter; Διὸς πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἐτύχθῃ, This Universe, and all things belonging to it, were made within God. Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν γαστέρι σπέρμα πεφύκει, All things were contained together in the Womb of God: Ζεύς κεφαλὴ Ζεύς μέσσα, God is the Head and Middle of all things: Ζεύς πύθμῳ γαίης, &c. God is the Basis of the Earth and Heaven; God is the Depth of the Sea; God is the Breath of all (or the Air that we breath;) God is the Force of the Untameable Fire; God is Sun, Moon and Stars. Ἐν τε δέμας βασιλείον, There is One Kingly (or Divine) Body; and

Πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ ζωὸς τάδε σώματι κείται,

For All these things lie in the Great Body of God. And thus was the Orphick Theology before represented also by *Timothens* the Chronographer, διὰ τὸ θεότιτος πάντα ἐργάετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔστι πάντα, All things were made by God, and Himself is All Things.

But further to prove that the ancient Greekish Pagans, were indeed of such a Religious Humour as this, to resolve All Things into God, and to make God All, we shall here cite a Remarkable Testimony of *Plutarch's*, out of his *Defect of Oracles*; δύο πόλων γένεσως αἰτίας ἕχσων, P. 436. οἱ μὲν σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι καὶ ποιηταί, τῇ κρείττονι μόνον τὸ νῦν προσέχειν εἰλοντο, τῷτο δὲ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιφθεγόμενοι πᾶσι προσέγγισαν,

Ζεύς ἀρχὴ, Ζεύς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐν πάντα πέλονται.

ταῖς δ' ἀναγκαίαις καὶ φυσικαῖς, ἐκ ἐπιπροσέχουσιν αἰτίας. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι τῶν καὶ φυσικοὶ προσαρθεγόμενοι, τσαντίον ἐκείνοις, τὸ καλῆς καὶ θείας ἀποπλανήσαντες ἀρχῆς, ἐν σώματι καὶ πάθει σώματων, πληγαῖς τε καὶ μετεβολαῖς καὶ κρείσσει τίθενται τὸ σῶμα. Whereas there are Two Causes of all Generation (the Divine and the Natural) the most ancient Theologers and Poets, attended only to the more excellent of these Two (the Divine Cause) resolving all things into God, and pronouncing this of them universally, That God was both the Beginning, and Middle, and that all things were out of God. Inasmuch that these had no regard at all to the other Natural and Necessary Causes of things. But on the contrary their Juniors, who were called Physici (or Naturalists) straying from this most excellent and Divine Principle, placed all in Bodies, their Passions, Collisions, Mutations and Commixtures together. Where by the most ancient Theolo-



Theologers and Poets, *Plutarch* plainly meant *Orpheus* and his Followers, it being an *Orphick Verse*, that is here cited by him, whereby he gives also an acknowledgment of their Antiquity. But by their Juniors, who are called *Physici*, he could understand no other, than those First Ionick Philosophers, *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, *Hippo*, and the rest, whom those Degenerate Italicks afterward followed, Atomizing Atheistically, *Leucippus*, *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. So that here we have another Confirmation also, of what was before asserted by us, that the Ionick Philosophers after *Thales*, and before *Anaxagoras*, were generally *Atheistical*. And indeed from them the word φυσικοί or *Naturalists*, came to be often used as Synonymous with ἄθεοι or *Atheists*. Now these Two are here condemned by *Plutarch*, for Two Contrary Extremes; the One who resolved all into *Natural and Necessary Causes*, that is, into *Matter*, *Motion*, and *Qualities* of Bodies, leaving out the *Divine Cause*, as guilty of *Atheism*; the other, who altogether neglecting the *Natural and Necessary Causes* of things, resolved all into the *Divine Cause*, as it were swallowing up all into God, as guilty of a kind of *Fanaticism*. And thus we see plainly, that this was one Grand Arcanum of the *Orphick Cabala*, and the ancient *Greekish Theology*, That *God is All things*.

Some Fanaticks of Latter Times, have made *God to be All*, in a Gross Sence, so as to take away all *Real Distinction* betwixt God and the Creature, and indeed to allow no other Being besides God; they supposing the Substance of every thing, and even of all Inanimate Bodies, to be the very Substance of God himself, and all the variety of things that is in the World, to be nothing but God under several *Forms*, *Appearances* and *Disguizes*. The Stoicks anciently made God to be All, and All to be God, in somewhat a different way; they conceiving God properly to be the *Active Principle* of the whole Corporeal Universe, which yet (because they admitted of no Incorporeal Substance) they supposed, together with the *Passive* or the *Matter*, to make up but one and the same complete *Substance*. And others who acknowledged God to be an *Incorporeal Substance* distinct from the Matter, have notwithstanding made *All to be God* also, in a certain sence; they supposing God to be nothing but a *Soul of the World*, which together with the Matter, made up all into One entire *Divine Animal*. Now the *Orphick Theologers* cannot be charged with *making God all*, in that First and Grossly-Fanatick Sence; as if they took away all *Real Distinction* betwixt God and the Creature, they so asserting *God to be all*, as that notwithstanding, they allowed other things to have *Distinct Beings* of their own. Thus much appearing from that Riddle, which in the *Orphick Verses* was proposed by the *Maker of the World*, to *Night*.

*Proclus in Tim.*

Πᾶς δέ μοι ἐν πὶ τὰ πάντα ἔσαι, καὶ χωρὶς ἕκαστον;

How can All things be One, and yet Every thing have a distinct Being of its own? Where ἐν πὶ τὰ πάντα, All things One. or One all things, seems to be the *Supreme Deity*, or *Divine Intellect*, as *Proclus* also interprets it, τὰ ὅλα χωρὶς ἕκαστον ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ πάντα μοναδικῶς καὶ νοεῖν, κατὰ τὸ τὸ εἶναι

τὸ εἶναι

τῶντος χηρῆμας, μετὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ὑφίστασι, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιπέριμα θεῶν, καὶ τὰς  
 μολεῖς τῆ παύτης. *Jupiter who containeth the Universe, and All  
 things within himself, Unitively and Intellectually, according to  
 these Orphick Oracles, gives a Particular Subsistence of their own  
 also, to all the Mundane Gods, and other parts of the Universe. And  
 this is χῶρις ἑασεν, in that fore-cited Orphick Verse, Every thing a-  
 part by it self, the whole Produced or Created Universe, with all  
 its Variety of things in it; which yet are Orphically said to be God  
 also, in a certain other sence, that shall be declared afterward. Nor  
 can the Orphick Theologers be charged with making God All, in the  
 Second Stoical Sence, as if they denied all Incorporeal Substance,  
 they plainly asserting as Damascius and others particularly note, θεὸν  
 ἀσώματον, an Incorporeal Deity. But as for the Third way it is very true,  
 that the Orphick Theologers, did frequently call the World, *The Body  
 of God*, and its Several Parts, *His Members*, making the Whole Uni-  
 verse to be *One Divine Animal*; Notwithstanding which they sup-  
 posed not, this Animated World to be the *First and Highest God*, but  
 either δεύτερον θεόν, as the Hermaick or Trismegistick Writers call  
 it, *The Second God*; or else as Numenius and others of the Platonists  
 speak, τρίτον θεόν, *The Third God*: the Soul thereof being as well in  
 the Orphick, as it was in the Pythagorick and Platonick Trinity, but  
 the Third Hypostasis; they supposing Two other Divine Hypostases  
 Superiour thereunto, which were perfectly Secrete from Matter.  
 Wherefore, as to the Supreme Deity, these Orphick Theologers, made  
 Him to be *All things*, chiefly upon the Two following Accompts.  
 First because All things coming from God, they inferred, that there-  
 fore they were all contained in Him, and consequently were in a cer-  
 tain sence Himself; thus much being declared in those Orphick Verses  
 cited by Proclus and others,*

πάντα τὰδε κρύψας, αἰθρῆς φάθῃ ἐς πολυγιθές·  
 μέμην ἀπὸ κροδείης προφέρειν, πολυθέου καλα εἰζων.

Which Apuleius thus renders,

*Namque Sinnu Occultans, dulces in luminis oras  
 Cuncta tulit, sacro versans sub pectore curas.*

The Sence whereof is plainly this; *That God at first Hiding or Occult-  
 ly containing all things within himself, did from thence display them,  
 and bring them forth into light, or distinct Beings of their own, and so  
 make the World.* The Second is, Because the World, produced by  
 God, and really existing without him, is not therefore quite cut off  
 from him, nor subsists alone by it self as a Dead Thing, but is still  
 Livingly united to him, essentially Dependent on him, always Sup-  
 ported and Upheld, Quickned and Enlivened, Acted and Pervaded  
 by him; according to that Orphick Passage, ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς ὡσεὶ  
 διαῖται—— *God passes through and intimately pervades All things.*

Now it is very true, that some Christian Theologers also have made  
 God to be All, according to these Latter sences; as when they affirm the  
 whole

whole World to be nothing else but *Deum Explicatum*, God Expanded or Unfolded, and when they call the Creatures, as St. Jerom and others often do, *Radios Deitatis*, the Rays of the Deity. Nay the Scripture it self may seem, to give some countenance also hereunto, when it tells us, That Of Him, and Through Him, and To Him, are All things, which in the Orphick Theology was thus expressed, *God is the Beginning, and Middle, and End of All things*; That ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκλήσθη τὰ πάντα, *All things were made in him*, as in the Orphick Verses, — Διὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπέχθη; That τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκε, *All things consist in him*; That, *In Him we Live and Move, and have our Being*; That God doth ζωοποιεῖν πάντα, *Quicken all things*, and that he ought to be made, πάντα ἐν παντί, *All in All*; which supposeth him in some sence to be so. Notwithstanding which, this is a very Ticklish Point, and easily lyable to Mistake and Abuse: and, as we conceive, it was the mistake and abuse of this One Thing, which was the Chief Ground and Original of the both *Seeming* and *Real Polytheism*, not only of the Greekish and European, but also of the Egyptian and other Pagans; as will be more particularly declared afterwards: They concluding that because *God was All things*, and consequently *All things God*, that therefore God ought to be Worshipped in *All things*, that is, in all the several *Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*; but especially in those Animated Intellectual Beings, which are Superiour to Men. Consentaneously whereunto, they did both θεολογεῖν ἅπαντα, *Theologize or Deifie all things*, looking upon every thing as having ὑπερφυσικὸν τι, *something Supernatural*, or a kind of *Divinity* in it; and also bestow Several Names upon God, according to all the several *Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*, calling him in the Starry Heaven and *Æther*, *Jupiter*; in the Air, *Juno*; in the Winds, *Æolus*; in the Sea, *Neptune*; in the Earth and Subterraneous Parts *Pluto*; in Learning, Knowledge and Invention, *Minerva* and the *Muses*; in War, *Mars*; in Pleasure, *Venus*; in Corn, *Ceres*; in Wine, *Bacchus*, and the like.

However it is unquestionably Evident from hence, that *Orpheus* with his Followers, that is, the Generality of the Greekish Pagans, acknowledged *One Universal* and *All-comprehending Deity*, *One* that was *All*; and consequently could not admit of Many Self-existent and Independent Deities.

XVIII. Having treated largely concerning the Two most Eminent Polytheists amongst the ancient Pagans, *Zoroaster* and *Orpheus*. and clearly proved that they asserted *One Supreme Deity*; we shall in the next place observe, that the Egyptians themselves also, notwithstanding their Multifarious *Polytheism* and *Idolatry*, had an acknowledgment, amongst them, of *One Supreme*, and *Universal Numen*.

There hath been some Controversie amongst Learned Men, Whether *Polytheism* and *Idolatry* had their first rise from the *Egyptians* or the *Chaldeans*, because the Pagan Writers for the most part give the Precedency here to the *Egyptians*: *Lucian* himself, who was by Birth a Syrian, and a diligent enquirer into the Antiquities of his own Country,

Country, affirming that the Syrians and Assyrians received their *Religion* and *Gods* first from the Egyptians : and before *Lucian*, *Herodotus* the Father of History, reporting likewise that the Egyptians were the First, that erected Temples and Statues to the Gods. But whether the Egyptians or Chaldeans were the First *Polytheists* and *Idolaters*, there is no question to be made, but that the Greeks, and Europeans generally derived their *Polytheism* and *Idolatry* from the Egyptians. *Herodotus* affirms in one place, that the Greeks received their *Twelve Gods* from thence, and in another, that  $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\upsilon\iota\ \kappa\acute{\iota}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\alpha\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \theta\acute{\nu}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\nu}\ \epsilon\gamma\ \alpha\iota\gamma\upsilon\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon\upsilon\iota\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha$ , *Almost all the Names of the Gods, came first out of Egypt into Greece.* In what sense this might be true of *Zeus* it self, though the word be Originally Greekish, shall be declared afterwards : But it is probable that *Herodotus* had here a further meaning, that the very Names of many of the Greekish Gods, were originally Egyptian. In order to the confirmation of which, we shall here propound a Conjecture concerning One of them, *viz.*  $\text{Ἀθηνᾶ}$ , called otherwise by the Greeks *Pallas*, and by the Latins *Minerva*. For first, the Greek Etymologies of this word, seem to be all of them either Trifling and Frivolous, or Violent and Forced. *Plato* in his *Cratylus* having observed, that according to the ancient Allegorical Interpreters of *Homer*,  $\text{Ἀθηνᾶ}$ , was nothing else but  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  or  $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \nu\acute{o}\iota\alpha$ , *Mind* or *Understanding* Personated and Deified, conceived that the first imposers of that Name, intending to signify thereby Divine Wisdom called it  $\text{Ἀθηνᾶ}$ , as  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \nu\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$ , *The Understanding of God, or the Knowledge of Divine things* ; as if the Word had been at first  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\nu\acute{o}\iota\iota$ , and thence afterward transformed into  $\text{Ἀθηνᾶ}$ . But being not fully satisfied himself with this Etymology, he afterwards attempts another, deriving the Word from  $\nu\acute{o}\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \eta\theta\acute{\eta}$ , *Knowledge concerning Manners* or *Practical Knowledge* ; as if it had been at first  $\eta\theta\omicron\nu\acute{o}\iota\iota$ , and from thence changed into  $\text{Ἀθηνᾶ}$ . Others of the Greeks have deduced this Word,  $\alpha\pi\acute{o}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\acute{\nu}\alpha\iota$ , because it is the Property of Wisdom, *to collect all into One*, supposing that it was at first  $\text{Ἀθηνᾶ}$ . Others would fetch it from  $\theta\acute{\iota}\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$  and *Alpha* Privative, because *Minerva* or Wisdom, though she be a Goddess, yet hath nothing of Feminine Imperfection in her. Others again would etymologize it,  $\alpha\pi\acute{o}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \mu\acute{\eta}\ \pi\epsilon\phi\upsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota\ \theta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \kappa\acute{\iota}\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\omicron\delta\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$ , because *Vertue* or *Wisdom*, is of such a Noble and Generous temper, as that it scorns to subject it self to any base and unworthy servitude. Lastly, others would derive it,  $\alpha\pi\acute{o}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \alpha\iota\theta\epsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , affirming it to have been at first  $\alpha\iota\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha$ . From all which uncertainty of the Greeks concerning the *Etymon* of this Word,  $\text{Ἀθηνᾶ}$ , and from the Frivolousness or Forcedness of these Conjectures, we may rather conclude, that it was not originally Greekish but Exotical, and probably, according to *Herodotus*, Egyptian. Wherefore let us try whether or no, we can find any Egyptian Word from whence this  $\text{Ἀθηνᾶ}$  might be derived. *Plato* in his *Timæus*, making mention of *Sais* a City in Egypt, where *Solon* sometime sojourned, tells us,  $\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\iota\iota\ \alpha\iota\gamma\upsilon\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \mu\acute{\eta}\nu\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\ \text{Νεϋθ}$ ,  $\epsilon\mu\lambda\acute{o}\iota\varsigma\ \eta\ \acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\text{Ἀθηνᾶ}$ , *That the President or Tutelar God of that City was called in the Egyptian Language Neith, but in the Greek, as the same Egyptians affirm, Ἀθηνᾶ.* Now why might not this very Egyptian word *Neith*, by an easie inversion

have been at first turned into *Thien* or  $\Theta\eta\nu$ , (men commonly pronouncing Exotick words ill-favour'dly) and then by additional *Alpha's*, at the beginning and end, transformed into  $\Theta\alpha\lambda\omega\alpha$ ? This seems much more probable, than either *Plato's*  $\Theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\nu}\eta$ , or  $\Theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\nu}\eta$ , or any other of those Greek Etymologies before-mentioned. And as the Greeks thus derived the Names of many of their Gods from the Egyptians, so do the Latins seem to have done the like, from this one Instance of the word *Neptune*; which though *Varro* would deduce à *nubendo*, as if it had been *Nuptunus*, because the Sea covers and hides the Land, and *scalliger* with others, ἀπό τῆς νύκτεν, from *Washing*, this being the chief use of Water, yet as the learned *Bochart* hath observed, it may with greater probability be derived from the Egyptian word *Nephtus*, *Plutarch* telling us, ὅτι Νέφθου καλεῖται ἡ γῆς τὰ ἐκτὸς καὶ παρεχόμενα καὶ ἰσθμὸν καὶ θαλάσσης, That the Egyptians called the Maritime parts of Land, or such as border upon the Sea, *Nephtus*. Which Conjecture may be further confirmed from what the same *Plutarch* elsewhere writes, that as *Isis* was the Wife of *Osiris*, so the Wife of *Typhon* was called *Nephtus*. From whence one might collect, that as *Isis* was taken sometimes for the Earth, or the Goddess presiding over it, so *Nephtus* was the Goddess of the Sea. To which may be further added out of the same Writer, that *Nephtus* was sometimes called by the Egyptians  $\text{Ἀφροδίτη}$  or *Venus*, probably because *Venus* is said to have risen out of the Sea. But whatever may be thought of these Etymological conjectures, certain it is, that no Nation in the world was ever accompted by the Pagans, more Devout, Religious and Superstitious, than the Egyptians, and consequently none was more Polytheistical and Idolatrous. *Isoocrates* in his Praise of *Busiris*, gives them a high *Encomium* for their Sanctity; and *Herodotus* affirmeth of them, that they were θεοσεβέες καὶ εὐσεβῆς μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Exceedingly more Religious and more Devout Worshipers of the Deity, than all other Mortals. Wherefore they were highly celebrated by *Apollo's* Oracle (recorded by *Porphyrus*) and preferred before all other Nations for teaching rightly, αἰπὲν τῷ ὁδῶν μακρόρων, that hard and difficult way that leadeth to God and Happiness. But in the Scripture, *Ægypt* is famous for her Idols and for her Spiritual Whoredoms and Fornications; to denote the uncleanness whereof, she is sometimes joyned with *Sodom*. For the Egyptians, besides all those other Gods that were worshipped by the Greeks and other Barbarians; besides the Stars, Demons and Heroes; and those Artificial Gods, which they boasted so much of their power of making, viz. *Animated Statues*; had this peculiar Intoxication of their own, which render'd them infamous and ridiculous even amongst all the other Pagans, that they worshipped Brute Animals also, in one sence or other,

Euseb. Pr. Ev.  
l. 9. c. 10.

Juv. Sat. 15.

*Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens  
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat  
Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.*

Lib. 3. p. 121.

Concerning which *Origen* against *Celsus* thus writeth; παρ' οἷς προσόντι μὲν ὅτι λαμπρὰ τεμένη, καὶ ἄλλα, καὶ προφυλάων μεγάλῃ τε καὶ κάλλει καὶ νεῶν θαυμαστοί, καὶ σκῆλαι πέριξ ἑσθέρηφανοι, καὶ θεοσκῆλαι μάλα δεισιδαίμονες καὶ μυστηριώπιδες.

ἐπιλάτεις· ἢ δὲ ἢ εἰσὶν ἡ, καὶ ἐκδοτέρω ἡχομύνας, θεωρεῖται προσκυνάμενον  
 αἰλαροῦ ἢ πιδυκας, ἢ κροκόδειλον, ἢ τετραγῶ, ἢ κίων· *To him that com-*  
*eth to be a Spectator of the Egyptian Worship, there first offer themselves*  
*to his view, most splendid and stately Temples, sumptuously adorned, toge-*  
*ther with solemn Groves, and many pompous Rites and mystical Ceremo-*  
*nies; but as soon as he enters in, he perceives that it was either a Cat or an*  
*Ape, a Crocodile or a Goat, or a Dog, that was the Object of this Religious*  
*Worship.*

But notwithstanding this multifarious Polytheism and Idolatry of these Egyptians, that they did nevertheless acknowledge, *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, may first be probably collected, from that great Fame which they had anciently over the whole World for their Wisdom. The Egyptians are called by the *Elei* in *Herodotus*, σοφώτατοι ἀνθρώπων, *The wisest of Men*, and it is a commendation that is given to one in the same Writer, *That he excelled the Egyptians, in wisdom, who excelled all other Mortals*. Thus is it set down in the Scripture, for *Moses* his Encomium, that he was learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians; and the Transcendency of *Solomon's* Wisdom is likewise thus expressed, by the Writer of the Book of *Kings*, that it excelled the Wisdom of all the Children of the East-country, and all the Wisdom of Egypt. Where by the Children of the East, are chiefly meant the Persian *Magi*, and the Chaldeans; and there seems to be a *Climax* here, that *Solomon's* Wisdom did not only excel the Wisdom of the *Magi* and of the Chaldeans, but also that of the Egyptians themselves. From whence it appears, that in *Solomon's* time Egypt was the chief School of Literature in the whole World, and that the Greeks were then but little or not at all taken notice of, nor had any considerable fame for Learning. For which cause, we can by no means give credit to that of *Philo* in the Life of *Moses*, that besides the Egyptian Priests, Learned men were sent for by *Pharaoh's* Daughter, out of Greece to instruct *Moses*. Whereas it is manifest from the Greekish Monuments themselves, that for many Ages after *Solomon's* time, the most famous of the Greeks, travell'd into Egypt to receive Culture and Literature, as *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Thales* and many others, amongst whom were *Pythagoras* and *Plato*. Concerning the former of which *Isocrates* writes, that coming into Egypt, and being there instructed by the Priests, he was the first that brought Philosophy into Greece: and the latter of them is perstringed by *Xenophon*, because Αἰγυπτίῳ ἢ ἐξ ἡν καὶ τὸ Πυθαγόρας προεπάδ' εἰς σοφίας, not contented with that simple Philosophy of *Socrates* (which was little else besides Morality) he was in love with Egypt, and that monstrous Wisdom of *Pythagoras*. Now as it is not probable that the Egyptians, who were so famous for Wisdom and Learning, should be ignorant of *One Supreme Deity*, so is it no small Argument to the contrary, that they were had in so great esteem by those Two Divine Philosophers, *Pythagoras* and *Plato*. We grant indeed, that after the Greeks began to flourish in all manner of Literature, the Fame of the Egyptians was not only much eclipsed, (so that we hear no more of Greeks travelling into Egypt upon the former account) but also that their ardour towards the liberal Sciences, did by degrees languish and abate; so that *Strabo* in his time could

could find little more in *Egypt*, besides the empty Houses and Pallaces in which Priests formerly famous for Astronomy and Philosophy had dwelt. Nevertheless their *Arcane Theology* remained more or less amongst them unextinct to the last, as appears from what *Origen*, *Porphyrius* and *Jamblichus* have written concerning them.

The Learning of the Egyptians was either *Historical*, or *Philosophical*, or *Theological*. First the Egyptians were famous for their *Historick Learning* and Knowledge of *Antiquity*, they being confessed in *Plato* to have had so much ancienter Records of Time than the Greeks, that the Greeks were but Children or Infants compared with them. They pretended to a continued and uninterrupted series of History, from the Beginning of the World downward, and therefore seem to have had the clearest and strongest Perswasions of the *Cosmogonia*. Indeed it cannot be denied, but that this Tradition of the World's Beginning, was at first in a manner Universal among all Nations. For concerning the Greeks and Persians we have already manifested the same, and as *Sancuniatibon* testifieth the like concerning the Phenicians, so does *Strabo* likewise of the Indian *Brachmans*, affirming that they did agree with the Greeks in many things and Particularly in this, ὅτι γεννητὸς ὁ κόσμος ἢ φασγῆτος, *That the World was both Made, and should be Destroyed*. And though *Diodorus* affirm the contrary of the Chaldeans, yet we ought in reason to assent rather to *Berosus*, in respect of his greater Antiquity, who represents the sence of the Ancient Chaldeans after this manner, γενέσθαι χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν σκότος ἔχθη ὑδάτι—ἢ ἡ βῆλον, ὃν δία μεθερμεδύσθη, μέσον τεμόντα τὸ σκότος, χωρίσθαι γῆν ἔχθη, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἢ διαλέξαι ἢ κόσμον—ἀπεπέσθαι ἢ ἡ βῆλον ἔχθη, ἢ ἡλίον ἢ σελλῶν ἢ τὸς πέντε πλανήτας. *That there was a time when all was Darkness and Water, but Bell (who is interpreted Jupiter) cutting the Darkness in the middle, separated the Earth and Heaven from one another and so framed the World; this Bell also producing the Stars, the Sun and the Moon and the five Planets*. From which Testimony of *Berosus*, according to the Version of *Alexander Polyhistor*, by the way it appears also, that the Ancient Chaldeans acknowledged One Supreme Deity, the Maker of the whole World, as they are also celebrated for this in that Oracle of *Apollo*, which is cited out of *Porphyry* by *Eusebius*,

L. 15. 715.

Euseb. Chron.  
p. 6.

Eu. P. l. 9. c. 10.

Μᾶνοι χαλδαῖοι σφίλω λόχον, ἡδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,  
αὐτογενέθλον ἀνακτα σεβαζόμενοι θεὸν ἀγνάς.

Where the Chaldeans are joynd with the Hebrews, as worshipping likewise in a holy manner, *One Self-existent Deity*. Wherefore if *Diodorus* were not altogether mistaken, it must be concluded, that in the latter times, the Chaldeans (then perhaps receiving the Doctrine of *Aristotle*) did desert and abandon the Tradition of their Ancestors concerning the *Cosmogonia*. But the Egyptians, however they attributed more Antiquity to the World than they ought, yet seem to have had a constant Perswasion of the Beginning of it, and the Firmest of all other Nations: they (as *Kircher* tells us) therefore picturing *Horus* or the World, as a *Young man Beardless*, not only to signify its constant youthful and flourishing Vigour, but also the Youngness and Newness of

of

of its Duration. Neither ought it to be suspected, that though the Egyptians held the World to have had a Beginning, yet they conceived it to be made by Chance without a God, as *Anaximander*, *Democritus* and *Epicurus* afterwards did; the contrary thereunto being so Confessed a Thing, that *Simplicius* a zealous Contender for the Worlds Eternity, affirms the *Mosaick History* of its Creation by God, to have been nothing else but *μύθοι Αἰγυπτίους*, *Egyptian Fables*. The Place is so considerable, that I shall here set it down in the Authors own Language, *Εἰ ἡ ἑρμῆς Ἰσθαίων νομοθέτω ἐνδ' εἰμυτοῦ λέγοντα, Simpl. in Arist. ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ἡ γῆν ἄορατον καὶ ἀκατάσφατον καὶ ἀκατάσφατον καὶ σκοτεινὴν ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεῶν ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τῆς ὑδάτων. fol. 268. col. 1: εἶτα παῖσαντος αὐτῆς τὸ φῶς, καὶ διαχωρῶσαντος ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς σκοτίας, ἐπήγαγε, καὶ ἐκάλυπτεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν, καὶ τὸ σκοτεινὸν νύκτα. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωὶ ἡμέρα μία. εἰ δὲν ταύτῃ τῆς χρόνος νομίζει γενέσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ χρόνου, εἰσφέρει ὅτι μυθικὴ τις ἔστιν ἡ ἀποδοχὴ, καὶ ἀπὸ μύθων Αἰγυπτίων εἰλημμένη.* If Grammaticus here mean the Lawgiver of the Jews, writing thus, [In the beginning God made Heaven and Earth, and the Earth was invisible and unadorned, and Darknes was upon the Deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the Water:] and then afterward when he had made Light, and separated the Light from the Darknes, adding [And God called the Light Day, and the Darknes Night, and the Evening and the Morning were the First Day] I say, if Grammaticus think this to have been the First Generation and Beginning of Time; I would have him to know, that all this is but a Fabulous Tradition, and wholly drawn from Egyptian Fables.

As for the Philosophy of the Egyptians, That besides their Philosophy, and the Pure and Mix'd Mathematicks (Arithmetick, Geometry and Astronomy) they had another higher kind of Philosophy also, concerning *Incorporeal Substances*, appears from hence, because they were the first Asserters of the *Immortality of Souls*, their *Preexistence* and *Transmigration*, from whence their *Incorporeity* is necessarily inferred. Thus *Herodotus*; *πρῶτοι τίνδε ἡ λόγον Αἰγυπτίους εἶσι εἰπόμενες, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἔστι. τῆ σώματος ἢ καταφθίνοντος, ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον εἰσδύεται, &c.* The Egyptians were the first Asserters of the Souls Immortality, and of its Transmigration after the Death and Corruption of this Body, into the Bodies of other Animals successively, viz. until it have run round through the whole Circuit of Terrestrial, Marine and Volatile Animals, after which (they say) it is to return again into a Humane Body; they supposing this Revolution or Apocatastasis of Souls, to be made in no less space than that of Three Thousand years. But whether *Herodotus* were rightly Catechized and instructed in the Egyptian Doctrine as to this particular or no, may very well be questioned; because the Pythagoreans whom he there tacitly reprehends for arrogating the first Invention of this to themselves, when they had borrowed it from the Egyptians, did represent it otherwise; namely, That the Descent of Humane Souls into these Earthy Bodies, was first in way of Punishment, and that their sinking lower afterwards into the Bodies of Brutes, was only to some, a further Punishment for their further Degeneracy; but the Vertuous and Pious Souls should after this Life enjoy a state of Happiness, in *Celestial or Spiritual Bodies*.

And



And the Egyptian Doctrine is represented after the same manner by *Porphyrius* in *Stobæus*, as also in the *Hermetick* or *Trismegistick* Writings. Moreover *Chalcidius* reports, that *Hermes Trismegist*, when he was about to die, made an Oration to this purpose, *That he had here lived in this Earthly Body, but an Exile and Stranger, and was now returning home to his own Country, so that his Death ought not to be lamented, this Life being rather to be accounted Death.* Which Perswasion the Indian *Brachmans* also were embued withal, whether they received it from the Egyptians (as they did some other things) or no; *ἢ μὲν εἰς δάδε βίον, ὡς ἂν ἀκμῶν κρομύων εἶναι, ἢ ὃ δόνατον γέσιν εἰς ἢ ὄντως εἶον, That this Life here is but the Life of Embryo's, and that Death [to good men] is a Generation or Birth into true life.* And this may the better be believed to have been the Egyptian Doctrine, because *Diodorus* himself, hath some Passages sounding that way; as that the Egyptians lamented not the Death of Good men, but applauded their Happiness, *ὡς ἢ αἰῶνα διατελεσειν μέλλοντες καθ' ἑαυτὰ μετὰ τῆς θύσεως, as being to live ever in the other World with the pious.* However it being certain from this Egyptian Doctrine of *Preexistence* and *Transmigration*, that the Egyptians did assert the Souls *Incorporeity*, it cannot reasonably be doubted, but that they acknowledged also, an *Incorporeal Deity*. The Objection against which, from what *Porphyrius* writeth concerning *Charemon*, will be answered afterwards.

*Strabo* L. 15.  
p. 715.

*Domicilia* *Viventium*, *Diversoria* appellat, *Diod.*

L. I. p. 11.

We come in the last place to the Theology of the Egyptians. Now it is certain, that the Egyptians besides their Vulgar and Fabulous Theology (which is for the most part that which *Diodorus* s. describes) had another ἀπέργητος Θεολογία, *Arcane and Recondite Theology*, that was concealed from the Vulgar and communicated only to the Kings, and such Priests and others as were thought capable thereof; These Two Theologies of theirs differing, as *Aristotle's* *Exotericks* and *Acroamaticks*. Thus much is plainly declared by *Origen*, whose very name was Egyptian, it being interpreted *Horo-genitus*, (which *Horus* was an Egyptian God) upon occasion of *Celsus* his boasting, that he thoroughly understood all that belonged to Christianity; *Celsus* (saith he) *seemeth here to me, to do just as if a man travelling into Egypt, where the Wise men of the Egyptians, according to their Country-Learning Philosophize much, about those things that are accounted by them Divine, whilst the Idiots in the mean time, hearing only certain Fables which they know not the meaning of, are very much pleased therewith: Celsus, I say, doth as if such a Sojourner in Egypt, who had conversed only with those Idiots, and not been at all instructed by any of the Priests, in their Arcane and Recondite Mysteries, should boast that he knew all that belonged to the Egyptian Theologie.* Where the same *Origen* also adds, that this was not a thing proper neither to the Egyptians only, to have such an *Arcane and True Theology*, distinct from their *Vulgar and Fabulous one*, but common with them to the Persians, Syrians, and other Barbarian Pagans; *ἃ ὃ ἔπον ὡς εἰ Αἰγυπτίων σοφῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν δόνατον εἶπεν καὶ ὡς εἰ Περσῶν, &c.* *What we have now affirmed* (saith he) *concerning the difference betwixt the Wise men and the Idiots amongst the Egyptians, the same may be said also of the Persians, amongst whom the Religious Rites are performed Rationally by those that are ingenious,*

genious, whilst the superficial vulgar look no further in the observation of them, than the external symbol or Ceremony. And the same is true likewise concerning the Syrians and Indians, and all those other Nations, who have besides their Religious Fables, a Learning and Doctrine. Neither can it be dissembled, that Origen in this place plainly intimates the same also concerning Christianity it self; namely that besides the Outside and exterior Cortex of it (in which notwithstanding there is nothing Fabulous) communicated to all, there was a more Arcane and Recondite Doctrine belonging thereunto, which all were not alike capable of; he elsewhere observing this to be that Wisdom that St. Paul spake amongst the Perfect. From whence he concludes that Celsus vainly boasted, *πολλά γὰρ οἶδα, For I know all things belonging to Christianity*, when he was acquainted only with the exterior Surface of it. But concerning the Egyptians this was a thing most notorious and observed by sundry other Writers, as for Example Clemens of Alexandria, a man also well acquainted with the affairs of Egypt; Αἰγυπῆσιοι ἔ τοῖς ἐπιτυχέσι τὰ ἄλλα σφίσι ἀνεῖθεντο μυστήρια, ἔδδὲ μὴν βεβήλοισ τῶ τῆ δαίω εἰδέναι ἐξέφερον, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνοις γε τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπι τῶ βασιλείαν προίεναι, καὶ τῆ ἱερέων τοῖς κερθεῖσιν εἶναι δοκιματώτατος, ἀπὸ τε τῆ τρεφῆς, καὶ τῆ παιδείας, καὶ τῆ γῆρας. *The Egyptians do not reveal their Religious Mysteries promiscuously to all, nor communicate the knowledge of Divine things to the Profane, but only to those who are to succeed in the Kingdom, and to such of the Priests as are judged most fitly qualified for the same, upon account both of their Birth and Education.* With which agreeth also the Testimony of Plutarch, he adding a further Confirmation thereof from the Egyptian Sphinges, ὁ ἐκ μαχίμων ἀποδεδογμῆσ [βασιλῆσ] δούσ ἐγίνετο τῆ ἱερέων, καὶ μετέχε τῆ φιλοσοφίας ἐπικεκρυμμένης τὰ πολλὰ μύθοις καὶ λόγοις, ἀμυδρεῖς ἐμφάσεις τῆ ἀληθείας καὶ διαφάσεις ἔχουσιν. ὡς ἂν ἀμέλει καὶ ἄσπερθησιν ὡπὶ πρὸ τῆ ἱερέων τῶ σφίγας ἐπιεικῆσ ἰσάντες, ὡς ἀινιγματώδη σφίαν τῆ θεολογίας ὡτῆ ἔχουσιν. *When amongst the Egyptians there is any King chosen out of the Military Order, he is forthwith brought to the Priests, and by them instructed in that Arcane Theology, which conceals Mysteries Truths under obscure Fables and Allegories. Wherefore they place Sphinges before their Temples, to signify that their Theology contained a certain Arcane and Enigmatical Wisdom in it.* And this meaning of the Sphinges in the Egyptian Temples, is confirmed likewise by Clemens Alexandrinus, διὰ τῆσ τοῖ καὶ Αἰγυπῆσιοι πρὸ τῆ ἱερέων τῶ σφίγας ἰδρῶνται, ὡς ἀινιγματώδης τῆ ἄσπερθησ λόγος, καὶ ἀσαφῆσ ὄντος. *Therefore do the Egyptians place Sphinges before their Temples, to declare thereby, that the Doctrine concerning God is Enigmatical and Obscure.* Notwithstanding which, we acknowledge that the same Clemens gives another interpretation also of these Sphinges, or Conjecture concerning them, which may not be unworthy to be here read, τάχα ἢ καὶ ὅτι φιλεῖν τε δεῖ καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον. ἀγαπᾶν μὲν ὡς πατρῶν καὶ ἀιδνῆσ τοῖσ ὁσίοις, δεδιέναι ἢ ὡς ἀπαρηιτήτας δίκαιον τοῖσ ἀνοσίοις; θεῖσ γὰρ ὅμοσ καὶ ἀνθρώποσ ἢ σφίγξ ἀνάσσει τῶ εἰκόνα. *But perhaps the meaning of those Egyptian Sphinges might be also to signify, that the Deity ought both to be Loved and Feared; to be Loved as benigne and propitious to the Holy, but to be Feared as inexorably just to the Impious, the Sphinx being made up of the Image both of a Man and a Lion.* Moreover besides these Sphinges, the Egyptians had

Strom. 1. 5. p. 508.

De Is. 5. of. 354.

also *Harpocrates* and *Sigalions* in their Temples, which are thus described by the Poet,

*Quique premunt vocem, digitoque silentia suadent.*

De If. & Osir.  
They being the Statues of Young men pressing their Lips with their Finger. The meaning of which *Harpocrates* is thus expressed by *Plutarch*,  
 ὁ Ἁρποκράτης, ὁ θεὸν ἀτελὴ καὶ νήπιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὡσεὶ θεῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις λόγος νεαροῦ καὶ ἀτελοῦ καὶ ἀδιαρθεῶτος προσέτι καὶ σωφρονιστῶ, διὸ τὰ στήθεσι τὴν δακτύλον ἔχει προσηκόντων, ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σωπῆς σημεῖον. *The Harpocrates of the Egyptians is not to be taken for an Imperfect and Infant God, but for the President of mens Speech concerning the Gods, that is but imperfect, balbutient and inarticulate, and the Regulator or Corrector of the same; his Finger upon his Mouth being a Symbol of Silence and Taciturnity.* It is very true that some Christians have made another Interpretation of this Egyptian *Harpocrates*, as if the meaning of it had been this; That the Gods of the Egyptians had been all of them really nothing else but Mortal Men, but that this was a Secret that was to be concealed from the Vulgar. Which Conceit, however it be witty, yet is it devoid of Truth; and doubtless the meaning of those Egyptian *Harpocrates* was no other than this, That either the Supreme and Incomprehensible Deity was to be adored with Silence, or not spoken of without much caution and circumspection; or else that the Arcane Mysteries of Theology were not to be promiscuously communicated, but concealed from the profane Vulgar. Which same thing seems to have been also signified, by that yearly Feast kept by the Egyptians in honour of *Thoth* or *Hermes*, when the Priests eating Honey and Figs, pronounced those words, γλυκὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια, *Truth is sweet.* As also by that Amulet which *Isis* was fabled to have worn about her, the interpretation whereof, was φῶνι ἀληθῆς, *True speech.*

This ἀπόκρυφος Θεολογία, this *Arcane and Recondite Theology* of the Egyptians, was concealed from the Vulgar Two manner of ways, by Fables or Allegories, and by Symbols or Hieroglyphicks. *Eusebius* informs us, that *Porphyrius* wrote a Book περὶ τῶν ἀλληγορηματικῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτιακῶν Θεολογίας, *Concerning the Allegorical Theology both of the Greeks and Egyptians.* And here by the way we may observe, that this business of Allegorizing in matters of Religion, had not its first and only Rise amongst the Christians, but was a thing very much in use among the Pagan Theologers also: and therefore *Celsus* in *Origen*, commends some of the Christians for this, that they could Allegorize ingeniously and handsomly. It is well known how both *Plutarch* and *Synesius* Allegorized those Egyptian Fables of *Isis* and *Osiris*, the one to a Philosophical, the other to a Political sence. And the Egyptian Hieroglyphicks, which were Figures not answering to Sounds or Words, but immediately representing the Objects and Conceptions of the Mind, were chiefly made use of by them to this purpose, to express the Mysteries of their Religion and Theology, so as that they might be concealed from the profane Vulgar. For which cause the *Hieroglyphick Learning* of the Egyptians, is commonly taken for one and the same thing with their *Arcane Theology* or *Metaphysicks.* And this

this the Author of the Questions and Answers *ad Orthodoxos*, tells us Q. 25. was anciently had in much greater esteem amongst the Egyptians, than all their other Learning, and that therefore *Moses* was as well instructed in this Hieroglyphick Learning and Metaphysical Theology of theirs, as in their Mathematicks. And for our parts we doubt not but that the *Mensa Isaca* lately published, containing so many strange and uncouth Hieroglyphicks in it, was something of this ἀπέρητ θεολογία, this *Arcane Theology* of the Egyptians, and not meer History, as some imagine: Though the late confident *Oedipus*, seem to arrogate too much to himself, in pretending to such a certain and exact Interpretation of it. Now as it is reasonable to think, that in all those Pagan Nations where there was another Theology besides the Vulgar, the principal part thereof, was the Doctrine of *One Supreme and Universal Deity the Maker of the whole World*, so can it not well be conceived, what this ἀπέρητ and ἀπέρητ and αἰνιγματώδης θεολογία, this *Arcane and Mysterious and Enigmatical Theology* of the Egyptians, so much talked of, should be other than a kind of *Metaphysicks* concerning God, as *One Perfect Incorporeal Being, the Original of all things.*

We know nothing of any Moment, that can be objected against this, save only that which *Porphyrinus*, in his Epistle to *Anebo* an Egyptian Priest, writeth concerning *Chæremon*, Pr. Ev. Lib. 3. c. 4. καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι, ἔδ' ἄλλο τι πρὸ τῆς ὁρατοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐκείνου ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγων πρέμνοι τὸς Αἰγυπτίων, ἔδ' ἄλλος θεὸς πλὴν τῆς πλατανιῆς λεγομένης, καὶ τῆς συμπληρῶν τὸ ζῳδιακόν, &c. *Chæremon and others acknowledge nothing before this Visible and Corporeal World, alledging for the countenance of their Opinion, such of the Egyptians as talk of no other Gods, but the Planets and those Stars that fill up the Zodiack, or rise together with them, their Decans, and Horoscopes, and Robust Princes, as they call them; whose names are also inserted into their Almanacks or Ephemerides, together with the times of their Risings and Settings, and the Prognosticks or significations of future Events from them. For he observed that those Egyptians who made the Sun the Demiurgus or Architect of the World, interpreted the Stories of Isis and Osiris, and all those other Religious Fables, into nothing but Stars and Planets and the River Nile, καὶ ὅπως πάλιν εἰς τὰ φυσικὰ καὶ ἔδεν εἰς ἀσωμάτους καὶ ζῶσας ἔστις ἐμωδὸν, and referred all things universally into Natural or Inanimate, nothing into Incorporeal and Living Substances. Which Passage of Porphyrinus concerning Chæremon, we confess Eusebius lays great stress upon, endeavouring to make advantage of it, first against the Egyptians, and then against the Greeks and other Pagans, as deriving their Religion and Theology from them; It is manifest from hence, saith he, that the very Arcane Theology of the Egyptians, Deified nothing but Stars and Planets, and acknowledged no Incorporeal Principle or Demiurgick Reason as the Cause of this Universe, but only the Visible Sun: And then he concludes in this manner, See now what is become of this Arcane Theology of the Egyptians, that deifies nothing but senseless Matter or Dead Inanimate Bodies. But it is well known that Eusebius took all advantages possible, to represent the Pagans to the worst, and render their Theology ridiculous and absurd; nevertheless what he here urgeth against the Egyptians, is*

the less valuable, because himself plainly contradicts it elsewhere, declaring that the Egyptians acknowledged a *Demiurgick Reason* and *Intellectual Architect* of the World, which consequently was the Maker of the Sun; and confessing the same of the other Pagans also. Now to affirm that the Egyptians acknowledged no other Deity than Inanimate Matter and the Senseless Corporeal World, is not only to deny that they had any ἀπόρρητος Θεολογία, any *Arcane Theology* at all, (which yet hath been sufficiently proved) but also to render them *absolute Atheists*. For if this be not Atheism to acknowledge no other Deity besides Dead and Senseless Matter, then the word hath no signification. *Chæremon* indeed seems to impute this Opinion (not to all the Egyptians) but to some of them; and it is very possible that there might be some Atheists amongst the Egyptians also, as well as amongst the Greeks and their Philosophers. And doubtless this *Chæremon* himself was a kind of *Astrological Atheist*; for which cause we conclude, that it was not *Chæremon* the Stoick, from whom notwithstanding *Porphyrius* in his Book of Abstinence citeth certain other things concerning the Egyptians, but either that *Chæremon* whom *Strabo* made use of in *Egypt*, or else some other of that name. But that there ever was or can be any such *Religious Atheists*, as *Eusebius* with some others imagine, who though acknowledging no Deity, besides Dead and Senseless Matter, notwithstanding devoutly court and worship the same, constantly invoking it and imploring its assistance, as expecting great Benefit to themselves thereby; This we confess is such a thing, as that we have not Faith enough to believe, it being a sottishness and contradictory Non-sence, that is not incident to humane Nature. Neither can we doubt, but that all the devout Pagans, acknowledged some *Living and Understanding Deities* or other; nor easily believe that they ever worshipped any Inanimate or Senseless Bodies otherwise, than as some way referring to the same, or as Images and Symbols of them. But as for that Passage in *Porphyrius* his Epistle concerning *Chæremon*, where he only propounds doubts to *Anebo* the Egyptian Priest, as desiring further Information from him concerning them, *Jamblichus* hath given us a full answer to it, under the person of *Abammo* another Egyptian Priest, which notwithstanding hath not hitherto been at all taken notice of, because *Ficinus* and *Scutellius* not understanding the word *Chæremon* to be a Proper name, ridiculously turn'd it in their Translations, *Optarem* and *Gauderem*, thereby also perverting the whole sence. The words in the Greek MS. (now in the hands of my Learned Friend Mr. Gale) run thus, χαρημων ἢ ἢ οἵτινες ἄλλοι, τῶν τοῦ κόσμου ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων αἰτίων, τὰς τελευταίας ἀρχὰς ἐξηγησάμενοι, ὅσοι τε τὰς πλανήτας, καὶ τὸ ζῳδιακόν, τὰς ἡδρανὰς, καὶ ἀεροκυβότους καὶ τὰς λεγομένους κραταίους ἡγεμόνας ἀστρονομίας, τὰς μερῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν διανομὰς ἀναφαίνουσι. τότε ἐν τοῖς ἀλμυρικακοῖς μέρεσι βραχύτατον ὡς ἐχθρῶν ἐρμαϊκῶν διατάξεων, καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀστέρων ἢ φάσεων, ἢ κρύψεων, ἢ σελήνης αὐξήσεων, ἢ μιάσεων ἐν τοῖς ἐχάτοις ἔχει τινὲν αἰγυπτίους αἰτιολογίας. φυσικὰ τε ἢ λέγουσιν εἶναι πάντα αἰγυπτίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὲν ἢ ψυχῆς ζωῶν, καὶ τινὲν νοεῶν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως διακρίνουσιν. ἐν ἑπὶ τῶ πάντων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἔστιν τε καὶ λόγον προσσημασμένοι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὄντας, ἕτως δημηγορεῖσθαι φασι τὰ γενόμενα.

*But Chæremon and those others who pretend to write of the first Causes of the World, declare only the Last and Lowest Principles, as likewise they*  
who

who treat of the Planets, the Zodiack, the Decans, the Horoscopes and the Robust Princes. And those things that are in the Egyptian Almanacks (or Ephemerides) contain the least part of the Hermaical Institutions, namely the Phases and Occultations of the Stars, the Increase and Decrease of the Moon and the like Astrological Matters; which things have the lowest place in the Egyptian *Ætiology*. Nor do the Egyptians resolve all things into (Senseless) Nature, but they distinguish both the Life of the Soul, and the Intellectual Life, from that of Nature, and that not only in our selves, but also in the Universe; they determining Mind and Reason, first to have existed of themselves, and so this whole World to have been made. Wherefore they acknowledge before the Heaven and in the Heaven a Living Power, and place pure Mind above the World, as the Demiurgus and Architect thereof. From which Testimony of *Jamblichus*, who was but little Juniour to *Porphyrius*, and Contemporary with *Eusebius*, and who had made it his business to inform himself thoroughly concerning the Theology of the Egyptians, it plainly appears that the Egyptians did not generally suppose (as *Cheremon* pretended concerning some of them) a Senseless Inanimate Nature to be the first Original of all things, but that as well in the World as in our selves, they acknowledged Soul superiour to Nature, and Mind or Intellect superiour to Soul, this being the *Demiurgus* of the World. But we shall have afterwards occasion more opportunely to cite other Passages out of this *Jamblichus* his Egyptian Mysteries, to the same purpose.

Wherefore there is no pretense at all to suspect, that the Egyptians were universally *Atheists* and *Anarchists*, such as supposed no Living Understanding Deity, but resolved all into Senseless Matter as the first and highest Principle; But all the question is whether they were not *Polyarchists*, such as asserted a Multitude of Understanding Deities Self-existent or Unmade. Now that *Monarchy* was an essential part of the Arcane and True Theology of the Egyptians *A. Steuchus Eugubinus*, and many other learned men, have thought to be unquestionably evident, from the *Hermetick* or *Trismegistick Writings*, they taking it for granted, that these are all genuine and sincere. Whereas there is too much cause to suspect that there have been some *Pious Frauds* practised upon these *Trismegistick Writings*, as well as there were upon the *Sibylline*; and that either whole Books of them have been counterfeited by pretended Christians, or at least several spurious and supposititious Passages here and there inserted into some of them. *Isaac Casaubon* who was the first Discoverer, has taken notice of many such, in that first Hermetick Book entituled *Pamander*, some also in the Fourth Book inscribed *Crater*, and some in the Thirteenth call'd the *Sermon in the Mount*, concerning *Regeneration*; which may justly render those Three whole Books, or at least the First and Last of them to be suspected. We shall here repeat none of *Casaubon's* condemned Passages, but add one more to them out of the Thirteenth Book, or *Sermon in the Mount*, which, however omitted by him, seems to be more rankly Christian than any other, λέγε μοι τὸ το, τίς ἐστὶ καὶ καταργῶς ὁ παλιγγενεσίας; ὁ τὸ θεῶ παῖς, ἀνθρώπος εἰς, θελήματι θεῶ. Tell me this also, Who is the Cause or Worker of Regeneration? The Son of God,  
One

*One Man, by the will of God.* Wherefore though *Ath. Kircherus* contend with much zeal for the sincerity of all these Trismegistick Books; yet we must needs pronounce of the Three forementioned, at least the *Pæmander* properly so called, and the *Sermon in the Mount*, that they were either wholly forged and counterfeited by some pretended Christians, or else had many spurious Passages inserted into them. Wherefore it cannot be solidly proved, from the Trismegistick Books, after this manner, as supposed to be all alike Genuine and sincere, that the Egyptian Pagans acknowledged *One Supreme and Universal Numen*. Much less can the same be evinced from that pretended Aristotelick Book, *De secretiore parte Divinae Sapientiae secundum Aegyptios*, greedily swallowed down also by *Kircherus*, but unquestionably pseudepigraphous.

Notwithstanding which, we conceive that though all the *Trismegistick Books* that now are or have been formerly extant, had been forged by some pretended Christians, as that Book of the *Arcane Egyptian Wisdom*, was by some Philosopher and imputed to *Aristotle*; yet would they for all that upon another account, afford no inconsiderable Argument to prove that the Egyptian Pagans asserted *One Supreme Deity*; viz. Because every Cheat and Imposture must needs have some *Basis or Foundation of Truth* to stand upon; there must have been something truly Egyptian, in such counterfeit Egyptian Writings, (and therefore this at least of *One Supreme Deity*) or else they could never have obtained credit at first, or afterwards have maintain'd the same. The rather because these Trismegistick Books were dispersed in those ancient times before the Egyptian Paganism and their Succession of Priests were yet extinct; and therefore had that which is so much insisted upon in them, been dissonant from the Egyptian Theology, they must needs have been presently exploded as meer Lyes and Forgeries. Wherefore we say again, that if all the *Hermaick or Trismegistick Books* that are now extant, and those to boot, which being mentioned in ancient Fathers have been lost, as the *τὰ ῥήματα*, and the *τὰ διεξοδικὰ*, and the like, had been nothing but the *Pious Frauds and Cheats* of Christians, yet must there needs have been some Truth at the bottom to give subsistence to them; This at least, that *Hermes Trismegist* or the Egyptian Priests, in their *Arcane and True Theology*, really acknowledged *One Supreme and Universal Numen*.

But it does not at all follow that because some of these Hermaick or Trismegistick Books now extant, were counterfeit or supposititious, that therefore all of them must needs be such, and not only so, but those also that are mentioned in the Writings of ancient Fathers which are now lost. Wherefore the Learned *Casaubon* seems not to have reckoned or concluded well, when from the detection of Forgery in Two or Three of those Trismegistick Books at most, he pronounces of them all universally, that they were nothing but *Christian Cheats and Impostures*. And probably he was lead into this mistake, by reason of his too securely following that vulgar Errour (which yet had been confuted by *Patricius*) that all that was published by *Ficinus* under the

the name of *Hermes Trismegist*, was but one and the same Book *Pæmander*, consisting of several Chapters, whereas they are all indeed so many Distinct and Independent Books, whereof *Pæmander* is only placed First. However there was no shadow of reason, why the *Asclepius* should have fallen under the same condemnation, nor several other Books superadded by *Patricius*, they being unquestionably distinct from the *Pæmander*, and no signs of Spuriousness or Bastardy discovered in them. Much less ought those *Trismegistick Books*, cited by the Fathers and now lost, have been condemned also Unseen. Wherefore notwithstanding all that *Casaubon* has written, there may very well be some *Hermetick* or *Trismegistick Books* Genuine, though all of them be not such; that is, according to our after-declaration, there may be such Books, as were really Egyptian, and not counterfeited by any Christian, though perhaps not written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, nor in the Egyptian Language. And as it cannot well be conceived how there should have been any counterfeit Egyptian Books, had there been none at all Real, so that there were some Real, and Genuine, will perhaps be rendered probable by these following Considerations.

That there was anciently amongst the Egyptians, such a man as *Thoth*, *Theuth* or *Taut*, who together with Letters, was the First Inventor of Arts and Sciences, as Arithmetick, Geometry, Astronomy, and of the Hieroglyphick Learning, (therefore called by the Greeks *Hermes*, and by the Latins *Mercurius*) cannot reasonably be denied; it being a thing confirmed by general Fame in all Ages, and by the Testimonies not only of *Sanchuniathon* a Phenician Historiographer, who lived about the times of the Trojan War, and wrote a Book concerning the *Theology of the Egyptians*, and *Manethos Sebennyta* an Egyptian Priest, contemporary with *Ptol. Philadelphus*; but also of that grave Philosopher *Plato*, who is said to have sojourned Thirteen years in *Egypt*, that in his *Philebus* speaks of him as the First Inventor of Letters (who distinguished betwixt Vowels and Consonants determining their several Numbers) there calling him either a *God* or *Divine Man*; but in his *Phædrus* attributeth to him also, the Invention of Arithmetick, Geometry and Astronomy, together with some ludicrous Recreations, making him either a *God* or *Demon*,  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ ναύκρατιν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, γινώσκουσι τὴν ἐκεῖ παλαιῶν πινά θεῶν, ἣ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἱερὸν ὃ καλεῖται Ἰεῦν, αὐτὰ δὲ ὄνομα τὰ δαίμονι εἶναι οὐδὲν ἔχωμαι.  
*I have heard (saith he) that about Naucratis in Egypt, there was one of the ancient Egyptian Gods, to whom the Bird Ibis was sacred, as his Symbol or Hieroglyphick; the name of which Demon was Theuth. In which place, the Philosopher subjoyns also an Ingenious Dispute, betwixt this Theuth, and Thamus then King of Egypt, concerning the Convenience and Inconvenience of Letters; the Former boasting of that Invention ὡς μνήμης καὶ σοφίας φάρμακον, as a Remedy for Memory and great Help to Wisdom, but the Latter contending, that it would rather beget Oblivion, by the neglect of Memory, and therefore was not so properly μνήμης as ὑπομνήσεως φάρμακον, a Remedy for Memory, as Reminiscence, or the Recovery of things forgotten: adding, that it would also weaken and enervate Mens Natural Faculties, by slugging them, and rather beget δόξαν σοφίας, than ἀλήθειαν; a Puffy Conceit and*  
 Opinion



*Opinion of Knowledge*, by a Multifarious Rabble of Indigested Notions, than *the Truth thereof*. Moreover since it is certain, that the Egyptians were famous for *Literature* before the Greeks, they must of necessity have some One or More Founders of Learning amongst them, as the Greeks had; and *Thoth* is the Only or First Person celebrated amongst them upon this accompt, in remembrance of whom the First Moneth of the Year was called by that Name. Which *Thoth* is generally supposed to have lived in the times of the Patriarchs, or considerably before *Moses*; *Moses himself* being said to have been instructed in that Learning, which owed its Original to him.

Again, besides this *Thoth* or *Theuth*, who was called the *First Hermes*, the Egyptians had also afterwards, another eminent Advancer or Restorer of Learning, who was called ὁ δεύτερος Ἑρμῆς, *The Second Hermes*; They perhaps supposing the Soul of *Thoth* or the *First Hermes* to have come into him by Transmigration; but his proper Egyptian Name was *Siphoas*, as *Syncellus* out of *Manetho* informs us; Σιφῶας, ὁ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, υἱὸς Ἡφαιστῶς, *Siphoas (who is also Hermes) the Son of Vulcan*. This is he, who is said to have been the Father of *Tat*, and to have been Surnamed Τερμαξίμος, *Ter Maximus*, (he being so styled by *Manetho*, *Jamblichus* and others.) And he is placed by *Eusebius* in the Fiftieth year after the Israelitish *Exitus*, though probably somewhat too Early. The Former of these Two *Hermes*, was the Inventor of Arts and Sciences, the Latter, the Restorer and Advancer of them: the First wrote in *Hieroglyphicks* upon Pillars, ἐν τῇ Συεχυλικῇ γῆ, (as the learned *Valesius* conjectures it should be read, instead of Σιελαδικῇ.) Which *Syringes* what they were, *Am. Marcellinus* will instruct us; The Second Interpreted and Translated those *Hieroglyphicks*, composing many Books in several Arts and Sciences; the Number whereof set down by *Jamblichus*, must needs be Fabulous, unless it be understood of Paragraphs, or Verses. Which *Trismegistick* or *Hermetick* Books, were said to be carefully preserved by the Priests, in the Interior Recesses of their Temples.

But besides the *Hieroglyphicks* written by the *First Hermes*, and the Books composed by the *Second* (who was called also *Trismegist*) it cannot be doubted, but that there were Many other Books written by the Egyptian Priests successively in several Ages. And *Jamblichus* informs us, in the beginning of his *Mysteries*, That *Hermes the God of Eloquence, and President or Patron of all true Knowledge concerning the Gods, was formerly accounted Common to all the Priests, insomuch, that τὰ αὐτῶν τῆ σοφίας δειήματα αὐτὰ ἀνετίθεσαν, ἕρμῆς πολλὰ τὰ οὐνεῖα συρσεφύματα ἐπινομάζοντες, they dedicated the Inventions of their Wisdom to him, entitling their own Books to Hermes Trismegist*. Now though One Reason hereof, might probably have been thought to have been this, because those Books were supposed to have been written, according to the Tenour of the *Old Hermetick* or *Trismegistick Doctrine*; yet *Jamblichus* here acquaints us with the chief Ground of it, namely this, that though *Hermes* was once a Mortal Man, yet he was afterward Deified by the Egyptians (which is testified also by *Plato*)

Plato) and made to be the Tutelar God, and Fautor of all Arts and Sciences, but especially Theology; by whose Inspiration therefore, all such Books were conceived to have been written. Nay further we may observe, that in some of the *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick* Books, now extant, *Hermes* is sometimes put for the *Divine Wisdom* or *Understanding* itself. And now we see the true Reason, Why there have been many Books, called *Hermetical* and *Trismegistical*; Some of which notwithstanding, cannot possibly be conceived to have been of such great Antiquity, nor written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, viz. because it was customary with the Egyptian Priests, to entitle their own Philosophick and Theologick Books, to *Hermes*. Moreover it is very probable, that several of the Books of the Egyptian Priests of Latter times, were not Originally written in the Egyptian Language, but the Greek; because at least from the Ptolemaick Kings downward, Greek was become very familiar to all the learned Egyptians, and in a manner vulgarly spoken; as may appear from those very Words, *Hermes*, *Trismegist*, and the like, so commonly used by them, together with the Proper Names of Places, and because the Coptick Language to this very day, hath more of Greek than Egyptian Words in it; nay *Plutarch* ventures to etymologize those Old Egyptian Names, *Isis*, *Osiris*, *Horus* and *Typhon* from the Greek, as if the Egyptians had been anciently well acquainted with that Language.

Now that some of those ancient Hermaick Books, written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, or believed to be such by the Egyptians, and kept in the custody of their Priests, were still in being and extant amongst them, after the times of Christianity, seems to be unquestionable, from the testimony of that Pious and Learned Father *Clemens* Strom. 6. p. 633. *Alexandrinus*, he giving this particular Accompt of them, after the mentioning of their Opinion concerning the Transmigration of Souls. *The Egyptians follow a certain peculiar Philosophy of their own, which may be best declared by setting down the Order of their Religious Procession. First, therefore goes the Precentor, carrying Two of Hermes his Books along with him, the One of which conteins the Hymns of the Gods, the Other Directions for the Kingly Office. After him follows the Horoscopus, who is particularly instructed in Hermes his Astrological Books, which are Four. Then succeeds the Hierogrammateus or Sacred Scribe, with Feathers upon his head, and a Book and Rule in his hands, to whom it belongeth to be thoroughly acquainted with the Hieroglyphicks, as also with Cosmography, Geography, the Order of the Sun and Moon and Five Planets, the Chorography of Egypt, and Description of Nile. In the next place cometh the Stolistes, who is to be thoroughly instructed in those Ten Books, which treat concerning the honour of the Gods, the Egyptian Worship, Sacrifices, First-fruits, Prayers, Pomps, and Festivals. And last of all marcheth the Prophet, who is President of the Temple and Sacred things, and ought to be thoroughly versed in those other Ten Books, called Sacerdotal, concerning Laws, the Gods, and the whole Discipline of the Priests. Wherefore amongst the Books of Hermes there are Forty Two accounted most necessary, of which Thirty Six, conteining all the Egyptian Philosophy, were to be learned by those Particular Orders*

before-mentioned; but the other Six, treating of Medicinal things, by the Pastophori. From which place we understand, that at least Forty Two Books of the ancient *Hermes Trismegist*, or such reputed by the Egyptians, were still extant in the time of *Clemens Alexandrinus*; about Two Hundred years after the Christian *Epocha*.

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Furthermore, that there were certain Books really Egyptian, and called *Hermaical* or *Trismegistical* (whether written by the ancient *Hermes Trismegist* himself, or by other Egyptian Priests of latter times according to the Tenour of his Doctrine, and only entitled to him) which after the times of Christianity began to be taken notice of by other Nations, the Greeks and Latins; seems probable from hence, because such Books are not only mentioned and acknowledged by Christian Writers and Fathers, but also by Pagans and Philosophers. In *Plutarch's* Discourse de *Iside & Osiride* we read thus of them, Ἐν ἡ ταῖς Ἑρμῆ λεγομένοις βίβλοις, ἰσοῦσα γράφεται, ὡς τῶν ἱερέων ὀνομάτων, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλίου ἀποφορῆς τετραγώνῳ δύνανται, ὡς οἱ, Ἑλλήνων δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καλεῖται, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς πνεύματος, οἱ μὲν Ὀσείν, οἱ δ' Σάραπιν, οἱ δ' Σωθὶ Αἰγυπτίῳ. In the Books called *Hermes's* or *Hermaical*, it is reported to have been written concerning Sacred Names; that the Power appointed to preside over the Motion of the Sun, is called by the Egyptians *Horus* (as by the Greeks *Apollo*) and that which presides over the Air and Wind, is called by some *Osiris*, by others *Sarapis*, and by others *Sothi*, in the Egyptian Language. Now these Sacred Names in *Plutarch*, seem to be, Several Names of God, and therefore whether these Hermaick Books of his, were the same with those in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, such as were supposed by the Egyptians to have been written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, or other Books written by Egyptian Priests according to the Tenour of this Doctrine; We may by the way observe, that according to the Hermaical or Trismegistical Doctrine, One and the same Deity, was worshipped under Several Names and Notions, according to its Several Powers and Vertues, manifested in the World; which is a thing afterwards more to be insisted on. Moreover it hath been generally believed, that *L. Apuleius Madurensis* an eminent Platonick Philosopher, and zealous Asserter of Paganism, was the Translator of the *Asclepian Dialogue* of *Hermes Trismegist*, out of Greek into Latin; which therefore hath been accordingly published with *Apuleius* his Works. And *Barthius* affirms that *St. Austin* does somewhere expressly impute this Version to *Apuleius*, but we confess we have not yet met with the place. However there seems to be no sufficient reason, why *Colvius* should call this into Question, from the Stile and Latin. Again it is certain, that *Jamblichus* doth not only mention these Hermaick Books, under the name of τὰ φερόμενα ὡς Ἑρμῆ, the Books that are carried up and down as *Hermes's* or vulgarly imputed to him; but also vindicate them from the imputation of Imposture. Not as if there were any suspicion at all of that which *Casaubonis* so confident of, that these Hermaick Books were all forged by Christians, but because some might then possibly imagine them to have been counterfeited by Philosophers. Wherefore it will be convenient here to set down the whole Passage of *Jamblichus* concerning it, as it is in the Greek MS. Διδάσκουμένον ἐν τῶν ἑταίρων, ἢ τῶν

ἐν τοῖς συγγραμμάσιν οἷς λέγεται ὑπεπετυχημένοι, σαφὴς ἔστι ἡ διάλυσις· τὰ  
 μὲν γὰρ φερόμενα, ὡς Ἑρμῆς, ἑρμαιϊκὰς ἀπέχεσθαι δόξας, εἰ ἐν τῇ τῆ' φιλοσόφων  
 γλώτῃ πολλὰς χεῖται· μεταγέγραπται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆ' αἰγυπτίας γλώττης ὑπὸ  
 ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφίας ἐν ἀπέχεσθαι ἔχοντων. καιρῶν δὲ, &c. *These things be-*  
*ing thus discussed and determined, the solution of that difficulty,*  
*from those Books which Porphyrius saith he met withal, (namely the Her-*  
*maicks, and those Writings of Charemon) will be clear and easie. For*  
*the Books vulgarly imputed to Hermes, do really contain the Hermaick*  
*Opinions and Doctrines in them, although they often speak the language*  
*of Philosophers, the reason whereof is, because they were translated out*  
*of the Egyptian tongue, by men not unacquainted with Philosophy. But*  
*Charemon and those others, &c. Where it is First observable, that*  
*Jamblichus doth not affirm, these Hermaick Books to have been writ-*  
*ten by Hermes Trismegist himself, he calling them only τὰ φερόμενα ὡς*  
*Ἑρμῆς, the Books that were carried about as Hermes's. But that which*  
*he affirmeth of them is this, That they did really contain the Hermaical*  
*Opinions, and derive their Original from Egypt. Again whereas some*  
*might then possibly suspect, that these Hermaick Books had been*  
*counterfeited by Greek Philosophers, and contained nothing but*  
*the Greek Learning in them, because they speak so much the Philo-*  
*sophick Language; Jamblichus gives an accompt of this also, that the*  
*reason hereof was, because they were translated out of the Egyptian*  
*Language, by men skilled in the Greek Philosophy, who therefore added*  
*something of their own Phrase and Notion to them. It is true indeed,*  
*that most of these Hermaick Books which now we have, seem to have*  
*been written originally in Greek, notwithstanding which, others of*  
*them and particularly those that are now lost, as the τὰ γενικά, and the*  
*like, might as Jamblichus here affirmeth, have been translated out of*  
*the Egyptian Tongue, but by their Translators disguised with Phi-*  
*losophick Language and other Grecanick things intermixed with*  
*them. Moreover from the forecited Passage of Jamblichus, we may clear-*  
*ly collect, that Porphyrius in his Epistle to Anebo the Egyptian Priest*  
*(of which Epistle there are only some small fragments left) did also*  
*make mention of these Hermaick Writings; and whereas he found*  
*the Writings of Charemon to be contradictious to them, therefore de-*  
*sired to be resolved by that Egyptian Priest, whether the Doctrine*  
*of those Hermaick Books, were genuine and truly Egyptian, or no.*  
*Now Jamblichus in his answer here affirmeth, that the Doctrine of*  
*the ancient Hermes, or the Egyptian Theology, was as to the Sub-*  
*stance truly represented in those Books, (vulgarly imputed to Hermes,)*  
*but not so by Charemon. Lastly, St. Cyril of Alexandria informs us, that*  
*there was an Edition of these Hermaick or Trismegistick Books (com-*  
*plied together) formerly made at Athens, under this Title, ἑρμαιϊκὰ*  
*πεντεκαίδεκα βιβλία, Fifteen Hermaick Books. Which Hermaicks, Ca-*  
*saubon, conceiving them to have been published before Jamblichus*  
*his time, took them for those Salaminiaca, which he found in the La-*  
*tin Translations of Jamblichus made by Ficinus and Scutellius. Where-*  
*as indeed he was here abused by those Translators, there being no such*  
*thing to be found in the Greek Copy. But the word ἀλμυρνιακά,*  
*(not understood by them) being turned into Salaminiaca; Casaubon*

therefore conjectur'd them to have been those *Hermaick Books* published at *Athens*, because *Salamis* was not far distant from thence. Now it cannot be doubted, but that this Edition of *Hermaick Books* at *Athens*, was made by some Philosopher or Pagans and not by Christians, this appearing also from the words of *St. Cyril* himself, where having spoken of *Moses* and the agreement of *Hermes* with him, he adds, περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ τῶν μνημῶν, ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγραφοῖς, ὁ συντακτικῶς Ἀδελφῶν, τὸ ἑλληνικῶν ἑρμαϊκῶν πεντεκαίδεκα βιβλία. Of which *Moses* he also who compiled and published the *Fifteen Hermaick Books* at *Athens*, makes mention in his own discourse (annexed thereunto.) For thus we conceive that place is to be understood, that the Pagan Publisher of the *Hermaick Books* himself, took notice of some agreement that was betwixt *Moses* and *Hermes*. But here it is to be noted that because *Hermes* and the *Hermaick Books* were in such great credit not only amongst the Christians, but also the Greek and Latin Pagans, therefore were there some counterfeit Writings obtruded also under that specious Title; such as that Ancient Botanic Book mentioned by *Galen*, and those Christian Forgeries of later times the *Pamander* and *Sermon on the Mount*. Which being not cited by any ancient Father or Writer, were both of them doubtless Later than *Jamblichus*, who discovers no suspicion of any Christian Forgeries in this kind.

But *Casaubon*, who contends that all the Theologic Books imputed to *Hermes Trismegist*, were counterfeited by Christians, affirms, all the Philosophy, Doctrine and Learning of them (excepting what only is Christian in them) to be merely *Platonical* and *Grecanical* but not at all *Egyptian*; thence concluding, that these Books were forged by such Christians, as were skilled in the *Platonick* or *Grecanick* Learning. But First, it is here considerable, that since *Pythagorism*, *Platonism* and the Greek Learning in general, was in great part derived from the *Egyptians*, it cannot be concluded, that whatsoever is *Platonical* or *Grecanical*, therefore was not *Egyptian*. The only Instance that *Casaubon* insists upon, is this *Dogma* in the *Trismegistick* Books, *That Nothing in the World perisheth, and that Death is not the Destruction, but Change and Translation of Things only*: Which because he finds amongst some of the Greek Philosophers, he resolves to be peculiar to them only, and not common with the *Egyptians*. But since the chief design and tendency of that *Dogma*, was plainly to maintain the *Immortality, preexistence and Transmigration of Souls* which Doctrine was unquestionably derived from the *Egyptians*, there is little reason to doubt but that this *Dogma* was it self *Egyptian* also. And *Pythagoras*, who was the chief Propagator of this Doctrine amongst the Greeks, εἶδεν εἶδὲ γίνεσθαι εἶδὲ φθείρεσθαι τῶν ὄντων, *That no real Entity* (in Generations and Corruptions) *was Made or destroyed*, according to those *Ovidian* Verses before cited,

*Nec perit in toto quicquam, mihi credite, mundo,  
Sed variat faciemque novat. Nascique vocatur  
Incipere esse Aliud, &c.*

did in all probability, derive it together with its superstructure,

ature, (the *Preexiftence* and *Transmigration* of Souls, ) at once from the Egyptians. But it is observable, that the Egyptians had alfo a peculiar ground of their own, for this *Dogma* (which we do not find infifted upon by the Greek Philofophers) and it is thus expreffed in the Eighth of *Ficinus* his Hermetick Books or Chapters; *εἰ δὲ ὁ κόσμος θεὸς ὁ κόσμος, ἢ ζῶον ἀθάνατον, ἀδύνατον ἔστι τὸ ἀθάνατον ζῶον μέρους πᾶσι ἀποθανεῖν· πάντα ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, μέν ὅτι τὸ κόσμος, μάλιστα ἢ ὁ ἀνθρώπιος τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον.* *If the World be a Second God and an Immortal Animal, then is it impossible that any part of this Immortal Animal should perish or come to nothing; but all things in the World are Parts of this great Mundane Animal, and chiefly Man, who is a Rational Animal.* Which fame Notion we find alfo infifted on in the *Asclepian Dialogue*; *Secundum Deum hunc crede, ὁ Asclepi, omnia gubernantem, omniaque mundana illustrantem animalia. Si enim Animal, Mundus, vivens, semper & fuit & est & erit, nihil in mundo mortale est: viventis enim uniuscujusque Partis, quæ in ipso mundo, sicut in uno eodemque Animale semper vivente, nullus est mortalitatis locus.* Where though the Latin be a little imperfect, yet the sence is this; *You are to believe the World, ὁ Asclepius, to be a Second God, governing all things, and illustrating all Mundane Animals.* Now if the World be a Living Animal, and Immortal; then there is nothing Mortal in it, there being no place for mortality as to any Living Part or Member, of that Mundane Animal, that always Liveth. Notwithstanding which we deny not, but that though *Pythagoras* First derived this Notion from the Egyptians, yet he and his Followers might probably improve the same farther (as *Plato* tells us, that the Greeks generally did, what they received from the Barbarians) namely to the taking away the *Qualites and Forms of Bodies*, and resolving all Corporeal Things, into *Magnitude, Figure and Motion.* But that there is indeed some of the old Egyptian Learning, contained in these *Trismegistick Books* now extant, shall be clearly proved afterwards, when we come to speak of that *Grand Mystery* of the *Egyptian Theology* (derived by *Orpheus* from them) *That God is All.* To conclude, *Jamblichus* his judgment in this case, ought without controverfie, to be far preferred before *Casaubon's*, both by reason of his great Antiquity, and his being much better skilled, not only in the Greek, but also the Egyptian Learning; That the Books imputed to *Hermes Trismegist* did *ἑρμαιϊκὰς ἐπέχδν δόξας*, really contain the *Hermaick Opinions*, though they spake sometimes the Language of the Greek Philofophers.

Wherefore upon all these Considerations, we conceive it reasonable to conclude, that though there have been some *Hermaick Books* counterfeited by Christians, since *Jamblichus* his time, as namely the *Pæmander* and *The Sermon in the Mount, concerning Regeneration*; neither of which are found cited by any ancient Father; yet there were other *Hermaick Books* which though not written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, nor all of them in the Egyptian Language, but some of them in Greek, were truly Egyptian, and did for the substance of them, contain the *Hermaick Doctrine.* Such probably were those mentioned by the Ancient Fathers, but since lost, as the *τὰ γενικά*, which seems to have been a discourse concerning the *Cosmogonia*, and the

the τὰ διεξοδικὰ, and the like. And such also may some of these *Hermaick Books* be, that are still extant, as to instance particularly, the *Asclepian Dialogue*, entituled in the Greek ὁ τέλειος λόγος, the *Perfect Oration*, and in all probability translated into Latin by *Apuleius*. For it can hardly be imagined, that he who was so devout a Pagan, so learned a Philosopher, and so Witty a man, should be so far imposed upon, by a counterfeit *Trismegistick Book*, and mere *Christian Cheat*, as to bestow Translating upon it, and recommend it to the World, as that which was genuinely Pagan. But however, whether *Apuleius* were the Translator of this *Asclepian Dialogue* or no, it is evident that the Spirit of it is not at all Christian, but rankly Pagan; one Instance whereof we have, in its glorying of a power that men have of *Making Gods*, upon which accompt *St. Austin* thought fit to concern himself in the confutation of it. Moreover it being extant and vulgarly known before *Jamblichus* his time, it must needs be included in his τὰ φερύμενα ὡς ἑρμῆς, and consequently receive this attestation from him, that it did contain not merely the *Greekish*, but the *Hermaical and Egyptian Doctrine*.

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There are indeed some Objections made against this, as first from what we read in this Dialogue, concerning the *Purgation of the World* partly by *Water*, and partly by *Fire*; *Tunc ille Dominus & Pater Deus, Primitivus, & Unus Gubernator mundi, intuens in mores factaque hominum, voluntate sua (quæ est Dei Benignitas) vitiis resistens, & corruptelæ errorem revocans, malignitatem omnem vel Alluvione diluens, vel igne consumens, ad antiquam faciem mundum revocabit: When the World becomes thus Degenerate, then that Lord and Father, the Supreme God, and the only Governour of the World, beholding the manners and deeds of men, by his Will (which is his Benignity) always resisting vice, and restoring things from their Degeneracy, will either wash away the Malignity of the World by Water, or else consume it by Fire, and restore it to its ancient form again.* But since we find in *Julius Firmicus*, that there was a Tradition amongst the Egyptians, concerning the *Apocatastasis* of the World, *partim per καίαν λυγμὸν, partim per ἐκπύρεσιν*, partly by *Inundation* and partly by *Conflagration*, this Objection can signifie nothing. Wherefore there is another Objection, that hath some more plausibility, from that Prophecy which we find in this *Asclepius*, concerning the overthrow of the Egyptian Paganism (usher'd in with much Lamentation) in these words, *Tunc Terra ista, sanctissima sedes Delubrorum, Sepulchrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima; Then this Land of Egypt, formerly the most holy seat of the Religious Temples of the Gods, shall be every where full of the Sepulchers of Dead men.* The sense whereof is thus expressed by *St. Austin*, *Hoc videtur dolere, quod Memoria Martyrum nostrorum, Templis eorum Delubrisque succederent; ut viz. qui hæc legunt, animo à nobis averso atque perverso, putent à Paganis Deos cultos fuisse in Templis, à nobis autem coli Mortuos in Sepulchris: He seems to lament this, that the Memorials of our Martyrs should succeed in the place of their Temples, that so they who read this with a perverse mind, might think that by the Pagans the Gods were worshipped in Temples, but by us (Christians) Dead men in Sepulchers.* Notwithstanding which, this very thing seems to have had its accom-

Civ. D. L. 8.  
c. 26.

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accomplishment too soon after, as may be gather'd from these Passages of Theodoret, *καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς καλεσμένων θεῶν, τὴν μνήμην, ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐξήλειψαν (οἱ μάστιγες) διανοίας.* Now the Martyrs have utterly abolished and blotted out of the minds of men, the memory of those who were formerly called Gods. And again, *τὸς γὰρ οἰκέτας νεκρῶς ὁ δεσπότης, ἀντιθέσει τοῖς ὑμετέροις θεοῖς, καὶ τὸς μὲν φερόμεν ἀπέφινε τέτοις ἢ τὸ ἐκείνων ἀπένειμε γέρας, &c.* Our Lord hath now brought his Dead (that is his Martyrs) into the room and place (that is the Temples) of the Gods; whom he hath sent away empty, and bestowed their honour upon these his Martyrs. For now instead of the Festivals of Jupiter and Bacchus, are celebrated those of Peter and Paul, Thomas and Sergius, and other holy Martyrs. Wherefore this being so shrewd and plain a Description in the Asclepian Dialogue, of what really happened in the Christian World, it may seem suspicious, that it was rather a History, written after the Event, than a Prophecy before it, as it pretends to be. It very much resembling that complaint of *Eunapius sardianus* in the Life of *Ædesius*, when the Christians had demolished the Temple of *Serapis* in *Egypt*, seizing upon its Riches and Treasure, That instead of the Gods, the Monks then gave Divine honour to certain vile and flagitious persons deceased, called by the name of Martyrs. Now if this be granted, this Book must needs be Counterfeit and supposititious. Nevertheless *St. Austin* entertained no such Suspicion, concerning this *Asclepian Passage*, as if it had been a History written after the Fact, that is, after the Sepulchers and Memorials of the Martyrs came to be so frequented; he supposing this Book to be unquestionably, of greater Antiquity. Wherefore he concludes it to be a Prophecy or Prediction made, *instinctu fallacis spiritus*, by the Instinct or Suggestion of some Evil Spirit; they sadly then presaging the ruine of their own Empire. Neither was this *Asclepian Dialogue* only ancients than *St. Austin*, but it is cited by *Lactantius Firmianus* also, under the name of *ὁ τέλειος λόγος*, the Perfect Oration, as was said before, and that as a thing then reputed of great Antiquity. Wherefore in all probability this *Asclepian Passage*, was written before that described Event had its accomplishment. And indeed if *Antoninus* the Philosopher (as the forementioned *Eunapius* writes) did predict the very same thing, that after his decease, that magnificent Temple of *Serapis* in *Egypt*, together with the rest, should be demolished, *καὶ τὰ ἱερά τεύχεα γυμνασθῆναι*, and the Temples of the Gods turned into Sepulchres; why might not this *Egyptian* or *Trismegistick* Writer, receive the like Inspiration or Tradition? Or at least make the same Conjecture.

But there is yet another Objection made against the Sincerity of this *Asclepian Dialogue*, from *Lactantius* his citing a Passage out of it, for the Second Person in the Trinity, the Son of God; *Hermes in eo Libro* (saith *Lactantius*) *qui ὁ τέλειος λόγος inscribitur*, his usus est verbis, *ὁ κωρεὺς καὶ ὁ πάντων ποιητής*, ὃν θεὸν καλεῖν νενομίκαμεν, ἐπεὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐποίησε θεὸν, ὄρα δὲ καὶ αἰδοῦτον (αἰδοῦτον δὲ φημι εἶ διὰ τὸ αἰδέσθαι αὐτὸν, περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν ἑσὶ πόντων αὐτὸς αἰδοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι εἰς αἰδοῦσιν ὑποπέμπει καὶ εἰς νεῦν) ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐποίησε, πρῶτον, καὶ μόνον, καὶ ἕνα, καλῶς ἢ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ, καὶ πληροῦσθαι πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἠγάσθη τε καὶ πᾶν ἐφίλησεν ὡς ἴδιον τέκνον.

Which



Colv. p. 588.

In Gen. Hom.  
14.Con Ful. lib.  
1. p. 33.

Which we find in *Apuleius* his Latin Translation thus rendered, *Domini- nus & omnium Conformator, quem rectè Deum dicimus, à se secundum Deum fecit, qui videri & sentiri possit; quem secundum [Deum] sensibilem ita dixerim, non ideo quod ipse sentiat (de hoc enim an ipse sentiat annon alio dicemus tempore) sed eo quod videntium sensus incurrit: Quoniam ergo hunc fecit ex se Primum, & à se Secundum, visusque est ei pulcher, utpote qui est omnium bonitate plenissimus, amavit eum ut Divinitatis suæ Prolem (for so it ought to be read, and not Patrem, it being τὸν in the Greek:)* *The Lord and Maker of all, whom we rightly call God, when he had made a Second God, Visible and Sensible (I say, sensible, not actively, because himself hath Sense, for concerning this, whether he have Sense or no, we shall speak elsewhere, but passively, because he incurs into our Senses) this being his First and Only Production, seemed both beautiful to him, and most full of all good, and therefore he loved him dearly as his own Offspring.* Which *Lactantius*, and after him *St. Austin*, understanding of the Perfect Word of God or Eternal λόγος, made use of it as a Testimony against the Pagans, for the Confirmation of Christianity, they taking it for granted that this Hermaick Book was genuinely Egyptian and did represent the Doctrine of the ancient *Hermes Trismegist*. But *Dionysius Petavius* and other later Writers, understanding this place in the same sense with *Lactantius* and *St. Austin*, have made a quite different use of it, namely, to infer from thence, that this Book was Spurious and Counterfeited by some Christian. To which we reply, First, that if this Hermaick Writer had acknowledged, an Eternal λόγος or Word of God and called it a Second God and the Son of God, he had done no more in this, than *Philo* the Jew did, who speaking of this same λόγος expressly calls it δεύτερον θεόν and πρωτόγονον υἱόν θεοῦ, the Second God and the First Begotten Son of God. Notwithstanding which, those Writings of *Philo's* are not at all suspected. And *Origen* affirms that some of the Ancient Philosophers did the like, *Multi Philosophorum Veterum, Unum esse Deum qui cuncta creavit, dixerunt; atque in hoc consentiunt Legi. Aliquantum autem hoc adjiciunt, quod Deus cuncta per Verbum suum fecerit & regat, & Verbum Dei sit, quo cuncta moderentur; in hoc non solum Legi, sed & Evangelio quoque consona scribunt.* Many of the old Philosophers (that is all besides a few Atheistical ones) have said, that there is One God who created all things, and these agree with the Law: but some add further, that God made all things by his Word, and that it is the Word of God, by which all things are governed, and these write consonantly not only to the Law but also to the Gospel. But whether *Philo* derived this Doctrine from the Greek Philosophers, or from the Egyptians and *Hermes Trismegist*, he being an Alexandrian, may well be a Question. For *St. Cyril* doth indeed cite several Passages out of Hermaick Writings then extant, to this very purpose. We shall only set down one of them here; ὁ κόσμος ἐχὲν ἀρχαῖα ἐπιμελόμενον δημιουργὸν λόγον τῶ πάντων δεσπότην, ὃς μετ' ἑαυτὸν πρώτη δύναμις, ἀρχή, ἀπεργασίος, ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προκύψασα, καὶ ἐπι- κείται, καὶ ἀρχὴ τῶ δι' αὐτὸν δημιουργηθέντων. ἔστι ὃ τῶ πάντεσσι προέγονος καὶ τέλος καὶ γόνιμος γνήσιος υἱός. *The World hath a Governour set over it, that Word of the Lord of all, which was the Maker of it; this is the first Power after himself, Uncreated, Infinite, looking out from him, and ruling*

ruling over all things that were made by him; this is the Perfect and genuine Son of the first Omnipotent Being. Nevertheless the Author of the *τέλειος λόγος* or Asclepian Dialogue, in that forecited Passage of his, by his Second God, the Son of the First, meant no such thing at all, as the Christian Logos, or Second Person of the Trinity, but only the *Visible World*. Which is so plain from the words themselves, that it is a wonder how Lactantius and St. Austin could interpret them otherwise, he making therein a Question whether this Second God were [actively] Sensible or no. But the same is farther manifested from other places of that Dialogue, as this for example, *Æternitatis Dominus Deus Primus est, Secundus est Mundus*; The Lord of Eternity is the First God, but the Second God is the World. And again, *Summus qui dicitur Deus Rector Gubernatorque Sensibilis Dei, ejus qui in se complectitur omnem locum, omnemque rerum substantiam*; The Supreme God is the Governour of that Sensible God, which contains in it all place and all the Substance of things. And that this was indeed a part of the Hermaick or Egyptian Theology, that the Visible World Animated, was a Second God, and the Son of the First God, appears also from those Hermaick Books published by Ficinus, and vulgarly called *Pæmander*, though that be only the First of them. There hath been one Passage already cited out of the Eighth Book, *δὲ δεύτερος θεὸς ὁ κόσμος*, The World is a Second God. After which followeth more to the same purpose, *πρῶτος γὰρ πάντων ὄντων, ἀίδιος καὶ ἀθάνατος, καὶ δημιουργὸς τῆς ὅλων θεός· δεύτερος ἢ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτῆς ὑπ' αὐτῆς γινόμενος, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς συνεχόμενος καὶ τρεφόμενος καὶ ἀθανατίζόμενος, ὡς ὑπ' ἰδίου πατρὸς·* The First God is that Eternal Unmade Maker of all things; the second is he that is made according to the Image of the First, which is contained, cherished or nourished and immortalized by him, as by his own Parent, by whom it is made an Immortal Animal. So again in the Ninth Book, *πατὴρ ὁ θεὸς τῶ κόσμου, καὶ ὁ μὲν κόσμος υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, God is the Father of the World, and the World is the Son of God. And in the Twelfth, *ὁ ἢ σὺν πᾶσι κόσμος ἕστος ὁ μέγας θεὸς καὶ τῶ μείζονος εἰκὼν*, This whole World is a Great God and the Image of a Greater.

As for the other Hermetick or Trismegistick Books, published partly by Ficinus, and partly by Patricius, we cannot confidently condemn any of them for Christian Cheats or Impostures, save only the *Pæmander*, and the *Sermon in the Mount concerning Regeneration*, the First and Thirteenth of Ficinus his Chapters or Books. Neither of which Books are cited by any of the Ancient Fathers, and therefore may be presumed not to have been extant in *Jamblichus* his time, but more lately forged; and that probably by one and the self same hand, since the Writer of the Latter (the *Sermon in the Mount*) makes mention of the Former (that is, the *Pæmander*) in the close of it. For that which *Casaubon* objects against the Fourth of Ficinus his Books or Chapters (entitled the *Crater*) seems not very considerable, it being questionable, whether by the *Crater*, any such thing were there meant, as the Christian *Baptisterion*. Wherefore as for all the rest of those Hermaick Books, especially such of them as being cited by ancient Fathers, may be presumed to have been extant be-

fore *Jamblichus* his time; we know no reason why we should not concur with that learned Philosopher in his Judgment concerning them, That though they often speak the *Language of Philosophers*, and were not written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, yet they do really contain *δόξαι ἑρμαϊκῆς*, *Hermaical Opinions*, or the *Egyptian Doctrine*. The Ninth of *Ficinus* his Books mentions the *Asclepian Dialogue*, under the Greek Title of *ὁ τέλειος λόγος*, pretending to have been written by the same hand; *χθὲς ᾧ Ἀσκληπίε, ἢ τέλειον ἀποδέδωκα λόγον, νῦν δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἠγέσθαι ἀπόλασθον ἐκείνου, καὶ ἢ ἐπὶ αἰδήσεως λόγον διεξελθεῖν*. The meaning of which place (not understood by the Translator) is this; *I lately published (O Asclepius) the Book entituled ὁ τέλειος λόγος (or the Perfect Oration) and now I judge it necessary, in pursuit of the same, to discourse concerning Sense*. Which Book, as well as the Perfect Oration, is cited by *Lactantius*. As is also the Tenth of *Ficinus*, called the *Clavis*, which does not only pretend to be of kin to the Ninth and consequently to the *Asclepius* likewise, but also to contain in it an Epitome of that Hermaick Book called *τὰ γενικά*, mentioned in *Eusebius* his *Chronicon*, *ἢ χθὲς λόγον, ᾧ Ἀσκληπίε, σοι ἀνέθηκα, ἢ ἡ σήμερον δικάζον ὅτι τὰ τὰ ἀναθῆναι ἐπέμψα τῶν γενικῶν λόγων, τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν λελαλημένων, ὅτιν ἐπιτομή*. *My former Discourse was dedicated to thee (O Asclepius) but this to Tattius, it being an Epitome of those Genica that were delivered to him*. Which *γενικά* are thus again afterwards mentioned in the same Book, *ἐκ ἑκαστοῦ ἐν τοῖς γενικοῖς, ὅτι ἀπὸ μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἢ τῆς παύδος πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσὶν*; *Have you not heard in the Genica, that all souls are derived from one soul of the Universe?* Neither of which two places were understood by *Ficinus*. But doubtless this latter *Hermaick Book*, had something foisted into it, because there is a manifest contradiction found therein; forasmuch as that *Transmigration of Humane Souls into Brutes*, which in the former part thereof is asserted after the Egyptian way, *ὡς κατὰ δίκην ψυχῆς κακῆς, as the just punishment of the wicked*, is afterwards cried down and condemned in it, as the greatest Error. And the Eleventh and Twelfth following Books, seem to us to be as *Egyptian*, as any of the rest; as also does that long Book entituled, *κβρη κβζμα*, the *Thirteenth* in *Patricius*. Nay it is observable, that even those very Books themselves, that are so justly suspected and condemned for *Christian Forgeries*, have something of the *Hermaical or Egyptian Philosophy*, here and there interspersed in them. As for example, when in the *Pæmander* God is twice called *ἀρρενὸς θηλυς*, *Male and Female together*, this seems to have been Egyptian (and derived from thence by *Orpheus*) according to that elegant Passage in the *Asclepian Dialogue* concerning God; *Hic ergo qui solus est Omnia, utriusque sexus fecunditate plenissimus, semper voluntatis suæ pregnans, parit semper quicquid voluerit procreare; He therefore who alone is All Things, and most full of the Fecundity of both Sexes, being always pregnant of his own Will, always produceth whatsoever he pleaseth*. Again when Death is thus described in it, *ἄδιδόναι τὸ σῶμα εἰς ἀμοίωσιν καὶ τὸ εἶδ' ὁ, ὃ ἔχεις, εἰς ἀφανὲς γίνεσθαι*, *to be nothing else but the Change of the Body, and the Form or Lives passing into the Invisible*: This agreeth with that in the Eleventh Book or Chapter, *τιμὴ μεταβολῆς θέναιτον εἶναι, διὰ τὸ τὸ μὲν σῶμα διαλυθῆναι, τὴν δὲ ζωὴν εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς χωρεῖν*, *That Death is nothing but a Change, it being*

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being only the dissolution of the Body, and the Life or Soul's passing into the Invisible or Inconspicuous. In which Book it is also affirmed of the World, γίνεσθαι μέρος αὐτῆ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί, That every day some part or other of it, goes into the Invisible, or into Hades, that is, does not utterly perish, but only disappears to our sight, it being either translated into some other Place, or changed into another Form. And accordingly it is said of Animals, in the Twelfth Book, διαλύεσθαι, ἔχ' ἵνα ἀπόληται ἀλλ' ἵνα νέα γένηται, That they are dissolved by Death, not that they might be destroyed, but made again anew. As it is also there affirmed of the World, that it doth πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὴ ἀποποιεῖν, make all things out of it self, and again unmake them into it self, καὶ διαλύων πάντα ἀνανεοῖ, and that dissolving all things it doth perpetually renew them. For that nothing in the whole World utterly perisheth, as it is often declared elsewhere in these Trismegistick Writings, so particularly in this Twelfth Book of Ficinus, σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἀμετέωρος, τὰ δὲ μέρη αὐτῆ πάντα μεταελητότα, ἔθεν δὲ φθαρτὸν ἢ ἀπολύμυρον. The whole World is unchangeable, only the parts of it being alterable; and this so, as that none of these neither utterly perisheth, or is absolutely destroyed; πῶς μέρος τι δύναται φθαρῆναι τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ, ἢ ἀπώλεσθαι τι τῷ Θεῷ; For how can any part of that be Corrupted, which is Incorruptible, or any thing of God perish or go to nothing? All which, by Casaubon's lieve, we take to have been originally Egyptian Doctrine, and thence in part afterwards transplanted into Greece. Moreover when in the Pæmander, God is styled more than once, φῶς καὶ ζωὴ, Light and Life, this seems to have been Egyptian also, because it was Orphical. In like manner the Appendix to the Sermon in the Mount, called ἑμυστία κρυπτή, or the Occult Cantion, hath some strains of the Egyptian Theology in it, which will be afterwards mentioned.

The result of our present Discourse is this, that though some of the Trismegistick Books, were either wholly counterfeited, or else had certain supposititious Passages inserted into them by some Christian hand, yet there being others of them originally Egyptian, or which as to the substance of them, do contain Hermaical or Egyptian Doctrines (in all which One Supreme Deity is every where asserted) we may well conclude from hence, that the Egyptians had an acknowledgment amongst them of One Supreme Deity. And herein several of the Ancient Fathers have gone before us; as first of all Justin Martyr, Ἄμμων πάγκρυπτον τὸ θεὸν ὀνομάζει, Ἐρμῆς δὲ σαφῶς καὶ φανερῶς λέγει, θεὸν νοῦσαι μὲν ἔστι χαλεπὸν φεράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον. Ammon in his Books, calleth God Most Hidden, and Hermes plainly declareth, That it is hard to conceive God, but impossible to express him. Neither doth it follow that this latter Passage is counterfeit, as Casaubon concludes, because there is something like it in Plato's Timæus, there being doubtless a very great agreement betwixt Platonism and the Ancient Egyptian Doctrine. Thus again St. Cyprian; Hermes quoque Trismegistus Unum Deum loquitur, eumque ineffabilem & inestimabilem confitetur, Hermes Trismegist also acknowledgeth One God, confessing him to be ineffable and inestimable; which Passage is also cited by St. Austin, Lib. 1. pag. 30. Laetantius likewise; Tho' antiquissimus & instructissimus omni ge-

De Idol. vari.

Lib. 1. pag. 30.

*nere Doctrinae, aded ut ei multarum rerum & artium scientia Trismegisti cognomen imponeret; Hic scripsit Libros & quidem multos, ad cognitionem Divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Majestatem Summi & Singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem. Ac ne quis nomen ejus requireret ἀνωνυμου esse dixit. Thoth (that is Hermes) the most ancient and most instructed in all kind of Learning (for which he was called Trismegist) wrote Books and those many, belonging to the Knowledge of Divine things, wherein he asserts the Majesty of One Supreme Deity, calling him by the same names that we do, God and Father; but (lest any one should require a Proper name of him) affirming him to be Anonymous. Lastly, St. Cyril hath much more to the same purpose also: And we must confess that we have the rather here insisted so much upon these Hermaick or Trismegistick Writings, that in this particular we might vindicate these Ancient Fathers, from the Imputation either of Fraud and Imposture, or of Simplicity and Folly.*

But that the Egyptians acknowledged, besides their *Many Gods, One Supreme and All-comprehending Deity*, needs not be proved from these Trismegistick Writings (concerning which we leave others to judge as they find Cause) it otherwise appearing, not only because *Orpheus* (who was an undoubted Asserter of *Monarchy*, or *One First Principle of All things*) is generally affirmed to have derived his Doctrine from the Egyptians; but also from plain and express Testimonies. For besides *Apollonius Tyanæus* his Affirmation concerning both Indians and Egyptians, before cited, *Plutarch* throughout his whole Book *De Iside & Osiride*, supposes the Egyptians thus to have asserted *One Supreme Deity*, they commonly calling him ὁ πρῶτος θεός, *the First God*. Thus in the beginning of that Book he tells us, that the End of all the Religious Rites and Mysteries, of that Egyptian Goddess *Isis*, was, ἡ τῆς πρώτης, ἡ κυρίας, ἡ νοητῆς γνῶσις, ὃν ἡ θεὸς παρεχалаί ζητεῖν παρ' αὐτῆς ἡ μετ' αὐτῆς ὄψια ἡ συνόντα, *the Knowledge of that First God, who is the Lord of all things, and only intelligible by the Mind, whom this Goddess exhorteth men to seek, in her Communion*. After which he declareth, that this *First God* of the Egyptians was accounted by them an *Obscure and Hidden Deity*, and accordingly he gives the reason why they made the *Crocodile* to be a Symbol of him,

Pag. 269.

Pag. 381.

μόνος δὲ φασιν ἐν ὑγρῷ διατεμενός, τὰς ὄψεις ὑμῶν λείον ἡ διαφανὴ μεμβράνη καλύπτειν, ἣν τῆς μετώπῃς κατερχόμενον, ὥστε βλέπειν μὴ βλεπόμενον. ὁ τῶ πρώτου θεοῦ συμβέβηκεν. *Because they say the Crocodile is the only Animal, which living in the water, hath his Eyes covered by a thin transparent membrane, falling down over them, by reason whereof it sees and is not seen, which is a thing that belongs to the First God, To see all things, himself being not seen*. Though *Plutarch* in that place gives also another reason why the Egyptians made the *Crocodile* a Symbol of the Deity; ὁ μὲν ἑδὲ ὁ κροκόδειλος αἰτίας πιδάνης ἀμοιροῦσαν ἐχέει τιμῶν, ἀλλὰ μίμημα θεῶ λέγεται γεγονέναι μόνου μὲν ἀγλαοῦ ἄν, φωνῆς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς λόγου ἀπροσθεῖς ἔστι, ἡ δὲ ἀψόφου βαλίων κελόου ἡ δυνὸς τὰ θνητὰ ἀγειρεῖ δίκην. *Neither were the Egyptians without a plausible reason, for worshipping God symbolically in the Crocodile, that being said to be an Imitation of God, in that it is the only Animal without a Tongue. For the Divine*

vine λόγῳ or Reason, standing not in need of Speech, and going on through a silent path of Justice in the World, does without noise righteously govern and dispense all humane affairs. In like manner Horus-Apollo in his Hieroglyphicks, tells us, that the Egyptians acknowledging a παντοκράτωρ and κοσμοκράτωρ, an Omnipotent Being that was the Governour of the whole World, did Symbolically represent him by a Serpent, ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶ ὄϊνον μέγαν δεικνύοντες ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς οἶκος αὐτῶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, they picturing also a great House or Palace within its circumference, because the World is the Royal palace of the Deity. Which Writer also gives us another reason, why the Serpent was made to be the Hieroglyphick of the Deity; τὸ ὡς τροφῇ χρῆσθαι τῷ ἑαυτῶ σώματι, σημαίνει, τὸ πάντα ὅσα ἐκ τῆς θείας προνοίας ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινώσκονται, ταῦτα πάλιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ εἰς αὐτὸ λαμβάνειν. Because the Serpent feeding as it were upon its own Body, doth aptly signifie, that all things generated in the World by Divine Providence, are again resolved into him. And Philo Byblius from Sanchuniathon, gives the same reason why the Serpent was Deified by Taut or the Egyptian Hermes, ὅτι ἀθάνατον ἐν εἰς ἑαυτὸ ἀναλύεται, because it is immortal and resolved into it self. Though sometimes the Egyptians added to the Serpent also a Hawk, thus complicating the Hieroglyphick of the Deity; according to that of a famous Egyptian Priest in Eusebius, τὸ πρῶτον ὄν θεϊότατον, ὅφιν ἔχει ἱερότατος ἔχων μύθηον, that the First and Divine Being of all, is Symbolically represented, by a Serpent having the head of an Hawk. And that a Hawk was also sometimes used alone, for a Hieroglyphick of the Deity, appeareth from that of Plutarch, That in the Porch of an Egyptian Temple at Sais, were ingraven these Three Hieroglyphicks, a Young man, an Old man, and an Hawk; to make up this Sentence, That both the Beginning and End of humane Life dependeth upon God, or Providence. But we have Two more remarkable Passages in the forementioned Horus Apollo, concerning the Egyptian Theology, which must not be pretermitted; the first this, παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ παντὸς κόσμου τὸ δῆλον ἔστι πνεῦμα, That according to them, there is a Spirit passing through the Whole World, to wit, God. And again δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν εἶναι ἄνευ θεοῦ, It seemeth to the Egyptians, that nothing at all consists without God. In the next place, Jamblichus was a person who had made it his business, to inform himself thoroughly, concerning the Theology of the Egyptians, and who undertakes to give an account thereof, in his Answer to Porphyrius his Epistle to Anebo an Egyptian Priest; whose Testimony therefore may well seem to deserve credit. And he first gives us a Summary account of their Theology after this manner, χωριστὸς, ἀχρηματῶν, μετέωρος, ἐν κατ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπερπλωμενός τῷ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ δυνάμεων τε καὶ σοιχείων, ὁ τῆς γῆς φύσεως ὅλης, καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς σοιχείαις δυνάμεων πασῶν, αἴτιος θεός. ἅτε δὴ ὑπερέχων τῶν αἰθέρων, αἰθέρος, καὶ ἀσώματος, καὶ ὑπερφύης, ἀχρηματῶς τε καὶ ἀμέλειτος, ὁλος ἔξ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀναφανείς, προηγείται πάντων τῶν, καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰ ὅλα ἐξείχεται, διότι μὴ συνείληφε πάντα, καὶ μετὰ δίδωσιν. That God, who is the Cause of Generation and the whole Nature, and of all the Powers in the Elements themselves, is Separate, Exempt, Elevated above, and expanded over, all the Powers and Elements in the World. For being above the World and transcending the same, Immaterial, and Incorporeal; Supernatural, Unmade, Indivisible, manifested wholly from himself,

Lib. I. c. 2.

self, and in himself, he ruleth over all things and in himself containeth all things. And because he virtually comprehends all things, therefore does he impart and display the same from himself. According to which excellent Description of the Deity, it is plain that the Egyptians asserting *One God that Comprehends All things*, could not possibly suppose a *Multitude of Self-existent Deities*. In which place also the same *Jamblichus* tells us, that as the Egyptian Hieroglyphick for Material and Corporeal things, was Mud or floating Water, so they pictur'd God, *in Loto arbore sedentem super Lutum, sitting upon the Lote-tree above the Watery Mud, Quod innuit Dei eminentiam altissimam, qua fit ut nullo modo attingat Lutum ipsum. Demonstratque Dei imperium intellectualem, quia Loti arboris omnia sunt rotunda tam frondes quam fructus, &c.* Which signifies the transcendent Eminency of the Deity above the Matter, and its intellectual Empire over the World, because, both the Leaves and Fruit of that tree are Round, representing the Motion of intellect. Again he there adds also, that the Egyptians sometime pictured God sitting at the Helm of a Ship. But afterward in the same Book, he sums up the Queries, which *Porphyrius* had propounded to the Egyptian Priest, to be resolved concerning them, in this manner; βέλει σοι δηλωθῆναι, τί τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι αἰγύπτιοι; πότερον νῦν ἢ ὑπὲρ νῦν; ἢ μόνον ἢ μετ' ἄλλου ἢ ἄλλων; ἢ πότερον ἀσώματον ἢ σωματικόν, καὶ εἰ τὰ δμιουργῶ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἢ πρὸ τῶ δμιουργῶ; καὶ εἰ ἕξ ἐνὸς τὰ πάντα ἢ ἕκ πολλῶν; καὶ εἰ ἕλλω ἴσασιν ἢ σώματα ποῖα πρῶτον; καὶ εἰ ἀγρόνητον ἕλλω ἢ γεννητὸν; You desire to be resolved, What the Egyptians think to be the first Cause of all. Whether Intellect or something above Intellect? And that Whether alone or with some other? Whether Incorporeal or Corporeal? Whether the first Principle be the same with the Demiurgus and Architect of the World, or before him? Whether all things proceed from One or Many? Whether they suppose Matter, or Qualified Bodies, to be the first? and if they admit a First Matter, Whether they assert it to be Unmade or Made? In answer to which *Porphyrian Queries*, *Jamblichus* thus begins; καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, ὁ πρῶτον ἡρώτισας, ὅτι τὰς ἀκε· πρὸ τῶ ὄντων καὶ τῶ ὄλων ἀρχῶν, ἕξ δὲ εἰς· πρῶτος, καὶ τῶ πρῶτος θεῶ καὶ βασιλέως, ἀκίνητος· εἰ μονότητι ἰεῶν τῶ ἐνότιος μένων· ἕτε γὰ νοητὸν αὐτὰ ὀπιπλένεται, ἕτε ἄλλο π. I shall first reply to that you first demand, That, according to the Egyptians, before all Entities and Principles there is One God, who is in order of nature before (him that is commonly called) the first God and King; Immoveable; and always remaining in the solitariness of his own Unity, there being nothing Intelligible nor any thing else complicated with him, &c. In which words of *Jamblichus* and those others that there follow after, though there be some obscurity (and we may perhaps have occasion further to consider the meaning of them elsewhere) yet he plainly declares, that according to the Egyptians, the first Original of all things, was a perfect Unity above Intellect; but intimating withall, that besides this First Unity, they did admit of certain other Divine *Hypostases* (as a Perfect Intellect, and Mundane Soul) subordinate thereunto, and dependent on it, concerning which he thus writeth afterwards; τὴν πρὸ τῶ θεῶν, καὶ τὴν εἰ τὰ θεῶν ζωτικὴν δύναμιν γινώσκουσι, καθαρὴν τε νῦν ὑπὲρ τ' νόσον προτιθέουσι. The Egyptians acknowledge, before the Heaven, and in the Heaven, a Living Power (or Soul) and again they place a pure Mind or Intellect above the World.

But

Seg. 8. c. 1.

But that they did not acknowledge a Plurality of Coordinate & Independent Principles is further declared by him after this manner. *ἡ ἕως ἀναθεν ἄχει τῆς τελευταίων ἢ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῶν αἰγυπτίους πραγματεία, ἀφ' ἧς ἄρχεται, καὶ περιέρχεται εἰς πλῆθος, τῆς πολλῶν αὐτῆς ἀφ' ἑνὸς διακυβερνημάτων, καὶ πανταχῶς τῶ ἀόριστος φύσεος ἑπιπερατῶν ὑπὸ τινος ἀριστοῦ μέτρος, καὶ ἡ ἀνωτάτω ἐνιαίας πόντων αἰτίας.* And thus the Egyptian Philosophy, from first to last, begins from Unity; and thence descends to Multitude; the Many being always governed by the One; and the Infinite or Undetermined nature, every where mastered and conquered by some finite and determined measure; and all ultimately, by that highest Unity that is the first Cause of all things. Moreover in answer to the last Porphyrian Question concerning Matter; whether the Egyptians thought it to be Unmade and Selfexistent or Made, Jamblichus thus replies, *ἢ ἢ παρήγαγεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ ἰσοτιμίας ὑποχρησίου ὑλότιτος.* That according to Hermes and the Egyptians, Matter was also Made or produced by God; ab Essentialitate succisa ac subscissa Materialitate, as Scutellius turns it. Which Passage of Jamblichus, Proclus upon the *Timæus* (where he asserts that God was ἀρέητος αἰτία τῆς ὕλης, the uneffable cause of Matter) takes notice of in this manner; *καὶ ἡ αἰγυπτίων ἀρχαίων τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῆς φησὶν. ὁ γὰρ τοι θεὸς Ἰάμβελιχος, ἰστέρεσεν, ὅτι καὶ ἑρμῆς ἐκ τῆς ἰσοτιμίας τῶ ὑλότιτα ἀρχαίως βέβηται, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰνὸς καὶ τῶ πλάτωνα τῶ τριαύτῳ αὐτῆς ἡ ὕλης ἀρχαίως ἔχειν.* And the Tradition of the Egyptians agreeth herewith, That Matter was not Unmade or Self-existent, but produced by the Deity: For the Divine Jamblichus hath recorded, that Hermes would have Materiality to have been produced from Essentiality (that is, the Passive Principle of Matter from that Active Principle of the Deity: ) And it is very probable from hence, that Plato was also of the same opinion concerning Matter; viz. because he is supposed to have followed Hermes and the Egyptians. Which indeed is the more likely, if that be true which the same Proclus affirmeth concerning Orpheus, *ὡς τε καὶ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ τῶτον τὸ λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τῆς νοητῆς ὑποστάσεως παράγει τῶ ὕλῳ,* That Orpheus also did after the same manner, deduce or derive Matter from the First Hypostasis of Intelligibles, that is, from the Supreme Deity. We shall conclude here in the last place with the Testimony of Damascius, in his Book of Principles writing after this manner concerning the Egyptians, *αἰγυπτίους ἢ ὁ μὲν εὐδημοῦς εἰδὲν ἀκριβῆς ἰστέρει. οἱ ἢ αἰγυπτίους καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλόσοφοι γενόμενοι, ἐξηνέγκαν αὐτῶ τῶ ἀλήθειαν πεπενημένῳ, ἀρχῆς ἐν αἰγυπτίους δὴ πᾶσι λόγοις. ὡς εἶναι καθ' αὐτὸς ἢ μὲν μία τῆς ὄλων ἀρχῆς σκότῳ ἀγνωσῶν ὕμνησῶν, καὶ τῶ τρεῖς ἀνεφανέρωτον ἕως.* Eudemus hath given us no exact account of the Egyptians, but the Egyptian Philosophers that have been in our times, have declared the hidden truth of their Theology, having found in certain Egyptian Writings, that there was according to them, One Principle of all things, praised under the name of the Unknown Darkness, and that thrice repeated: Which Unknown Darkness is a Description of that Supreme Deity, that is Incomprehensible.

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But that the Egyptians amongst their Many Gods did acknowledge One Supreme, may sufficiently appear also, even from their vulgar Religion and Theology. In which they had first a Peculiar and Proper Name for him as such. For as the Greeks called the Supreme God



God *Ζεύς*, the Latins *Jupiter* or *Jovis*, so did the Egyptians call him *Hammon* or *Ammon* according to *Herodotus*, whose Testimony to this purpose hath been already cited, and confirmed by *Origen* who was an Egyptian born. Thus also *Plutarch* in his Book *de Iside*, *ἢ πολλῶν νομιζόντων, ἰδίον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τῷ Διὶ εἶναι, ἢ Ἀμμῶν, ὃ Ἰσχυρίτες ἡμεῖς Ἀμμῶνα λέγομεν.* It is supposed by most, that the proper name of *Zeus* or *Jupiter* (that is, the Supreme Deity) amongst the Egyptians, is *Amous*, which we Greeks pronounce *Hammon*. To the same purpose *Hesychius*, *Ἀμμῶς ὁ Ζεύς, Ἀεμιστελής*, *Ammous* according to *Aristotle* is the same with *Zeus*. Whence it came to pass that by the Latin Writers *Hammon* was vulgarly called *Jupiter Hammon*. Which *Hammon* was not only used as a proper name for the Supreme Deity by the Egyptians, but also by the Arabians and all the Africans, according to that of *Lucan*,

*Quamvis Æthiopum populis Arabumque beatis  
Gentibus, atque Indis, unus sit Jupiter Ammon.*

Wherefore not only *Marmarica* (which is a part of *Africa*, wherein was that most famous Temple of this *Ammon*) was from thence denominated *Ammonia*, but even all *Africa*, as *Stephanus* informs us, was sometimes called *Ammonis*, from this God *Ammon*, who hath been therefore stiled *Ζεύς Λιβυκός*, the *Libyan Jupiter*.

Indeed it is very probable, that this word *Hammon* or *Ammon*, was at first derived from *Ham* or *Cham* the son of *Noah*, whose Posterity was chiefly seated in these African parts, and from whom *Egypt* was called, not only in the Scripture, *the Land of Ham*, but also by the Egyptians themselves, as *Plutarch* testifieth, *Χημία* or *Chemia*, and as *St. Jerome*, *Ham*; and the *Coptites* also to this very day call it *Chemi*. Nevertheless this will not hinder, but that the Word *Hammon* for all that, might be used afterwards by the Egyptians, as a name for the Supreme God, because amongst the Greeks, *Ζεύς* in like manner, was supposed to have been at first the name of a Man or *Hero*, but yet afterwards applied to signify the *Supreme God*. And there might be such a mixture of *Herology* or *History*, together with *Theology* as well amongst the Egyptians, as there was amongst the Greeks. Nay some learned men conjecture, and not without probability, that the *Zeus* of the Greeks also was really the very same with that *Ham* or *Cham* the son of *Noah*, whom the Egyptians first worshipped as an *Hero* or *Deified Man*; there being several considerable agreements and correspondencies between the Poetick Fables of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, and the true Scripture-story, of *Noah* and *Cham*; as there is likewise a great affinity betwixt the words themselves, for as *Cham* signifies *Heat* or *Fervour*, so is *Ζεύς* derived by the Greek Grammarians from *ζέω*. And thus will that forementioned Testimony of *Herodotus*, in some sence be verified, that the Greeks received the names of most of their Gods, even of *Ζεύς* himself, from the Egyptians.

Perhaps it may be granted also, that the Sun was sometime worshipped

Shipped by the Egyptians, under the Name of *Hammon*; it having been in like manner sometimes worshipped by the Greeks under the Name of *Zeus*. And the word very well agreeth herewith,  $\eta\eta\eta$  in the Hebrew Language signifying not only Heat but the Sun; from whence  $\text{חמנין}$  *Chamanim* also was derived. Nevertheless it will not follow from hence, that therefore the Visible Sun, was generally accounted by the Egyptians the *Supreme Deity*, no more than he was amongst the Greeks. But as we have often occasion to observe, there was in the Pagan Religion, a confused Jumble, of *Heroology*, *Physiology*, and *Theology* all together. And that the Notion of this Egyptian God *Ammon*, was neither confined by them to the *Sun*, nor yet to the whole *Corporeal World* or *Nature of the Universe* (as some have conceived) is evident from hence, because the Egyptians themselves, interpreted it, according to their own Language, to signify, That which was *Hidden and Obscure*, as both *Manetho* an ancient Egyptian Priest, and *Hecatæus* (who wrote concerning the Philosophy of the Egyptians) in *Plutarch* agree:  $\mu\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\theta\omega\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\ \delta\ \sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\eta\eta\iota\tau\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omega\ \kappa\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\eta\eta\upsilon\ \upsilon\pi\omicron\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\iota\lambda\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \phi\omega\eta\iota\varsigma.$   $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\ \delta\ \text{\AA}\beta\epsilon\delta\epsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\iota\varsigma\ \phi\iota\sigma\iota\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\ \chi\epsilon\eta\text{-}\theta\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \text{\AA}\iota\gamma\upsilon\pi\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma,$   $\delta\tau\alpha\upsilon\ \tau\iota\ \nu\alpha\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\iota,$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\iota\mu\omega\ \gamma\acute{\omicron}\ \epsilon\iota\eta\alpha\iota\ \tau\omega\ \phi\omega\eta\omega.$   $\delta\iota\delta\ \tau\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\tau\omicron\ \theta\epsilon\omega\ \omega\varsigma\ \alpha\phi\alpha\eta\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\eta\tau\alpha,$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\mu\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omega\delta\omega\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma,$   $\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\eta\eta\ \gamma\epsilon\eta\theta\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\eta\lambda\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\iota\varsigma,$   $\text{\AA}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\ \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma.$  *Manetho Sebennites conceives the Word Amoun, to signify that which is Hidden. And Hecatæus affirmeth that the Egyptians Use this Word when they call any one to them that was distant or absent from them; Wherefore the First God, because he is Invisible and Hidden, they, as it were Inviting him to approach near, and to make himself Manifest and conspicuous to them, call him Amoun. And agreeably hereunto, Jamblichus gives us this account of the true Notion of this Egyptian God Ammon,*  $\delta\ \delta\eta\mu\iota\upsilon\epsilon\gamma\eta\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\epsilon\varsigma,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\ \alpha\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\varsigma,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \sigma\phi\iota\alpha\ \epsilon\epsilon\gamma\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\text{-}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\upsilon,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omega\ \alpha\phi\alpha\eta\eta\ \tau\ \kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\upsilon\ \delta\upsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\upsilon\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega\upsilon\upsilon,\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omega\ \tau\ \text{\AA}\iota\gamma\upsilon\pi\tau\iota\omega\upsilon\ \gamma\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\omega\sigma\alpha\upsilon\ \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota.$  *The Demiurgical Intellect, and President of Truth, as with Wisdom it proceedeth to Generation, and produceth into Light, the Secret and Invisible Powers of the hidden Reasons, is, according to the Egyptian Language, called Hammon. Wherefore we may conclude, that Hammon amongst the Egyptians, was not only the Name of the Supreme Deity, but also of such a one as was Hidden, Invisible and Incorporeal.*

And here it may be worth our observing, that this Egyptian *Hammon* was in all Probability taken notice of in Scripture, though vulgar Interpreters have not been aware thereof. For thus we understand that of *Jeremy* 46. 25. *The Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel saith, behold I will visit*  $\text{נשדו ימון}$  (that is, not the *Multitude of Noe*, but) *Ammon* (the God) of *Noe*, and *Pharaoh and Egypt with her* (other) *Gods and Kings, and all that trust in him; I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon.* For the understanding of which place, we must observe, that according to the Language of those ancient Pagans, when every Country or City, had their Peculiar and Proper names, for the Gods presiding over them or Worshipped by

them; the several Nations and Places, were themselves commonly denoted and signified, by the names of those their respective Gods. With which kind of Language, the Scripture it self also complieth; as when the Moabites are called in it, *the People of Chemosb*, Numbers 21. And when *the Gods of Damascus* are said to have smitten *Ahaz*, because the Syrians smote him, 2 Chron. 28. Accordingly whereunto also, whatsoever was done or attempted against the several Nations or Countries, is said to have been done or attempted against their Gods. Thus *Moab's Captivity* is described, *Jeremy* 48. *Thou shalt be taken, and Chemosb shall go into captivity.* And the overthrow of *Babylon* is predicted after the same manner, in the Prophecy of *Isaiah* Cap. 46. *Bell boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, themselves are gone into captivity.* As also the same is threatened in that of *Jeremy*, C. 51. *I will visit Bell in Babylon, and will bring out of his mouth, that which he hath swallowed up, and the Nations shall not flow unto him any more, for the Wall of Babylon shall be broken down.* Now *Bell* according to *Herodotus*, was a name for the Supreme God amongst the Babylonians, as well as *Ammon* was amongst the Egyptians; who notwithstanding by both of them was worshipped after an Idolatrous manner. And therefore as in these latter places, by the Visiting and Punishing of *Bell*, is meant the visiting and punishing of the Babylonians; so in that former place of *Jeremy*, by the visiting of *Ammon*, and the Gods of *Egypt*, is understood, the visiting of the Egyptians themselves; accordingly as it is there also expressed. *No* was, it seems, the Metropolis of all *Egypt*; and therefore *Ammon* the Chief God of those Ancient Egyptians, and of that City, was called *Ammon of No*. As likewise the City *No*, is denominated from this God *Ammon* in the Scripture, and called both *No-Ammon*, and *Ammon-No*. The former in the Prophecy of *Nahum*, Cap. 3. *Art thou better than No-Ammon?* or that *No* in which the God *Ammon* is worshipped? Which is not to be understood of the Oracle of *Ammon* in *Marmarica*, as some have imagined (they taking *No* for an Appellative and so to signifie Habitation;) it being unquestionably the Proper name of a City in *Egypt*. The Latter in that of *Ezekiel*, Cap. 30. *I will pour out my fury upon Sin, the strength of Egypt, and will cut off Hammon-No.* In which place as by *Sin* is meant *Pelusium*, so *Hammon No*, by the Seventy, is interpreted *Diospolis*, the City of *Jupiter*; that is, the Egyptian *Jupiter*, *Hammon*. Which *Diospolis* was otherwise called the Egyptian *Thebes*, (anciently the *Metropolis* of all *Egypt*) but whose Proper name in the Egyptian Language, seems to have been *No*; which from the chief God there worshipped, was called both *No-Ammon* and *Hammon-No*; as that God himself was also denominated from the City, *Ammon of No*. And this is the rather probable, because *Plato* tells us expressly, that *Ammon* was anciently the Proper or Chief God of the Egyptian *Thebes* or *Diospolis*, where he speaks of *Theuth* or *Thoth* the Egyptian *Hermes*, in these words; βασιλέως δ' αὐτὸς τότε οὐτὸ Αἰγυπτίας ἑλθὼς ὁ αὐτὸς, ὅτε τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τῆς ἄνω Ἰουδαίας, ἣν οἱ Ἕλληες Αἰγυπτίας οὐθεῖας καλεῖσσι καὶ τὴν δευτέραν Ἀμμωνά. *Thamus was then King over all Egypt, reigning in that great City (the Metropolis thereof) which the Greeks call the Egyptian Thebes, and whose God was Ammon.* But whereas the Prophet *Nahum* (who seems to have written after the completion of that judgment

In Phaedro.

judgment upon No, predicted both by *Jeremy* and *Ezekiel*) describes the place, as situate among the Rivers, and having the Sea for its Wall and Rampart; whence many Learned men have concluded, that this was rather to be understood of *Alexandria* than *Diospolis* (notwithstanding that *Alexandria* was not then in being, nor built till a long while after in *Alexander the Great's* time.) This may very well, as we conceive, be understood of *Egypt* in general, whose *Metropolis* this *No* was; that it was situate amongst the Rivers and had the Seas for its Wall and Rampart; the Red and Mediterranean. And thus much for the *Egyptian Jupiter*, or their Supreme Deity, called by them *Hammon*.

There is an excellent Monument of Egyptian Antiquity preserved by *Plutarch* and others, from whence it may be made yet further Evident, that the Egyptians did not suppose a Multitude of *Unmade Self-existent Deities*, but acknowledged *One Supreme, Universal and All-comprehending Numen*. And it is that Inscription upon the Temple at *Sais*, Ἐγὼ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγῆσθαι, καὶ ὄν, καὶ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν πέπλον ἄδεις πᾶσι θνητοῖς ἀπεκάλυψεν, *I am all that Hath been, Is, and Shall be, and my Peplum or Veil, no mortal hath ever yet uncovered*; which though perhaps some would understand thus, as if that Deity therein described, were nothing but the *Senseless Matter* of the whole Corporeal Universe, according to that Opinion of *Cheremon* before mentioned and confuted; yet it is plain, that this could not be the meaning of this Inscription: First, because the God here described, is not a mere *Congeries* of disunited Matter, or Aggregation of Divided Atoms, but it is some *One thing* which was *All*: According to that other Inscription upon an Altar dedicated to the Goddess *Isis*, which we shall also afterward make use of, *Tibi, Una, quæ es Omnia*; *To thee who being One, art All Things*. Again, in the Deity here described, there is both a Veil or Outside, and also something *Hidden and Recondite*; the sence seeming to be this, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be; and the whole World is nothing but my self Veiled; but my naked and unveiled Brightness, no mortal could ever yet behold or comprehend*: Which is just, as if the Sun should say, *I am all the Colours of the Rainbow* (whose mild and gentle light may easily be beheld) and they are nothing but my *Simple and Uniform Lustre*, variously refracted and abated; but my immediate Splendour and the Brightness of my Face, no mortal can contemplate, without being either blinded or dazled by it. Wherefore this Description of the Deity, may seem not a little to resemble that Description which God makes of himself to *Moses*, *Thou shalt see my Back-parts, but my Face shall not be seen*. Where there is also something *Exteriour and Visible* in the Deity, and something *Hidden and Recondite, Invisible and Incomprehensible* to Mortals. And *Philo* thus glosseth upon those words, ἀποκαλύπτει ὅτι σοφῶς, τὰ ἀκάλυπτα καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὸ θεὸν γινῶναι, τὴν ἢ ἡγεμονικὴν ἐξέλιαν ὁ θεὸς ἀποκαλύπτει, τὰ ἀκαλύπτων τῶν ἀκάλυπτον πρὸς ἰδεῖν πνεύσε ἔσαι. *It is sufficient for a wise man to know God á Posteriori, or from his Effects; but whosoever will needs behold the naked Essence of the Deity, will be blinded with the transcendent Radiancy and Splendour of his Beams*. Where, as according to *Philo*, the Works of God, as manifesting the Attributes

Ἄφαντος ἄρα καὶ ἐμφαντος. Proclus of this Egyptian God, that it was both Invisible and Manifest. In Time. P. 30.

P. 474; Pat:

of his Power, Goodness and Wisdom, are called the *Back-parts* of the Deity; so are they here in this Inscription called the *Peplum*, the *Veil* and *Exteriour Garment* of it, or else *God himself Veiled*. Wherefore it is plain, that the Deity here described, cannot be the mere Visible and Corporeal World as Senseless and Inanimate, that being all Outside and Exposed to the View of Sense, and having nothing Hidden or Veiled in it. But thirdly, this will yet be more evident, if we do but take notice of the Name of this God, which was here described, and to whom that Temple was dedicated; and that was in the Egyptian Language, *Neith*, the same with *Ἀθηνᾶ* amongst the Greeks, and *Minerva* amongst the Latins; by which is meant *Wisdom* or *Understanding*: from whence it is plain, that the Inscription is to be understood not of such a God, as was merely *Senseless Matter*. (which is the God of the Atheists) but a *Mind*. *Athenagoras* tells us, that the Pagan Theologers interpreted τῷ Ἀθηνᾶν or *Minerva* to be τῷ φερόντι διὰ πάντων διήκονσαν, *Wisdom* or *Mind* passing and diffusing it self through all Things; than which there cannot be a better Commentary on this Inscription. Wherefore it may be here observed, that those Pagans who acknowledged God to be a *Mind*, and *Incorporeal Being* secrete from Matter, did notwithstanding frequently consider him, not abstractly by himself alone, but concretely together with the Result of his whole Fecundity, or as displaying the World from himself, and diffusing himself through all things, and being in a manner All Things. Accordingly we learn'd before from *Horus Apollo*, that the Egyptians by God, meant, *a Spirit diffusing it self through the World, and intimately pervading all things*; and that they supposed, *that nothing at all could consist without God*. And after this manner, *Jamblichus* in his Mysteries, interprets the meaning of this Egyptian Inscription: For when he had declared that the Egyptians, did both in their Doctrine and their Priestly Hierurgies, exhort men to ascend above Matter, to an Incorporeal Deity the Maker of all, he adds, ὑψηλοῦτο ἢ ἐν ταύτῳ τὴν ὁδὸν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ἠερμηνεύσει ἢ βίβλος προφήτης Ἀμμων βασιλεῖ, ἐν ἀδύτοις δὲ ἀναγεγραμμένῳ, ἐν ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασι καὶ Σάιν τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τότε τῷ θεῷ ὄνομα παρέδωκε τὸ διήκον δι' ὅλα τῷ κόσμῳ. *Hermes also propounded this Method, and Bithys the Prophet interpreted the same to King Ammon, having found it written in Hieroglyphick letters in the Temple of Sais in Egypt; as he also there declared the name of that God, who extends or diffuses himself through the whole World*. And this was *Neith*, or *Athena*, that God thus described, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be, and my Peplum or Veil no mortal could ever uncover*. Where we cannot but take notice also, that whereas the *Athena* of the Greeks, was derived from the Egyptian *Neith*, that she also was famous for her *Peplum* too, as well as the Egyptian Goddesses. *Peplum* (saith *Servius*) est *Proprie Palla picta Faminea, Minervæ consecrata*; *Peplum* is properly a womanish Pall or Veil, embroidered all over, and consecrated to *Minerva*. Which Rite was performed at *Athens*, in the Great *Panathenaicks*, with much Solemnity, when the Statue of this Goddess, was also by those Noble Virgins of the City, who embroidered this Veil, cloathed all over therewith. From whence we may probably conclude, that the Statue of the Egyptian *Neith* also, in the

*Ἀθηνᾶς* in *Procl.*  
upon *Plato's Tim.*  
p. 30.

*Μία ἦν ἡ δὲ πῶ-  
λευν ἔφορος τῆ  
Σάισος καὶ τῆ  
Ἀθηνᾶν· Sais and A-  
thens, had one  
and the same Tu-  
telar God. Procl. in  
Tim. p. 30. Where  
also Theopompus  
affirmeth the A-  
thenians to have  
been a Colony of  
the Saites.*

the Temple of *Sais*, had likewise agreeably to its Inscription, such a *Peplum* or Veil cast over it, as *Minerva* or *Artemis* at *Athens* had; this Hieroglyphically to signifie, that the Deity was invisible and incomprehensible to mortals, but had Veiled it self in this Visible Corporeal World, which is as it were the *Peplum*, the exterior variegated or embroidered Vestment of the Deity. To all which Considerations may be added in the last place, what *Proclus* hath recorded, that there was something more belonging to this Egyptian Inscription, than what is mentioned by *Plutarch*; namely these words, *ἡ δὲ ἔτεκεν χάριτον, ἥλιος ἐργάτο, And the Sun was the fruit or off-spring which I produced*; from whence it is manifest, that according to the Egyptians, the Sun was not the Supreme Deity, and that the God here described, was as *Proclus* also observeth, *δημιουργική θεός, A Demiurgical Deity the Creator of the whole World, and of the Sun.* Which Supreme Incorporeal Deity, was notwithstanding in their Theology, said to be *All Things*, because it diffused it self thorough *All*.

In *Timæus* p. 38:

Wherefore, whereas *Plutarch* cites this Passage out of *Hecataeus*, concerning the Egyptians, *ἡ πρώτη θεὸν τῶ παντὶ ἡ αὐτὴ νομίζουσιν*, *That they take the First God, and the Universe, for one and the same thing*; the meaning of it cannot be, as if the *First* or *Supreme God* of the Egyptians, were the Senseless Corporeal World, *Plutarch* himself in the very next words declaring him to be, *ἀφανὴ καὶ κεκρυμμένον, Invisible and Hidden*; whom therefore the Egyptians, as inviting him to manifest himself to them, called *Hammon*; as he elsewhere affirmeth, *That the Egyptians First God or Supreme Deity, did see all things, himself being not seen.* But the forementioned Passage must needs be understood thus, that according to the Egyptians, the *First God*, and τὸ πᾶν or the *Universe*, were Synonymous expressions, often used to signifie the very same thing; because the *First Supreme Deity*, is that which contains *All Things*, and diffuseth it self through *All Things*. And this Doctrine was from the Egyptians derived to the Greeks, *Orpheus* declaring, *ἓν τι τὰ πάντα, that all things were One*, and after him *Parmenides* and other Philosophers, *ἓν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, that One was the Universe or All*, and that τὸ πᾶν was ἀκίνητον, *that the Universe was Immovable*, they meaning nothing else hereby, but that the *First Supreme Deity*, was both *One and All things, and Immovable*. And thus much is plainly intimated by *Aristotle* in these words, *εἰσι δὲ τινες οἱ οὖν τὸ πάντος ὡς ἀν' μίας ἕως φύσεως ἀπεφήναντο.* *There are some who pronounced concerning the whole Universe, as being but One Nature*; that is, who called the *Supreme Deity* τὸ πᾶν or the *Universe*, because that virtually contained *All things* in it.

*Metaph. L. i.*

Nevertheless τὸ πᾶν or the *Universe*, was frequently taken by the Pagan Theologers also, as we have already intimated, in a more comprehensive sence, for the Deity, together with all the extent of its Fecundity, God as displaying himself in the World; or, for *God and the World* both together; the Latter being look'd upon, as nothing but an *Emanation* or *Efflux* from the Former. And thus

was

was the word taken by *Empedocles* in *Plutarch*, when he affirmed,  $\delta\tau\acute{o}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\ \kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu\ ,\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\prime\ \acute{o}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\nu\ \tau\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\ ,$  *That the World was not the Universe, but only a small part thereof.* And according to this sense was the God *Pan* understood both by the Arcadians and other Greeks, not for the mere Corporeal World as *Senseless* and *Inanimate*, nor as endued with a *Plastick Nature* only (though this was partly included in the Notion of *Pan* also) but as proceeding from a *Rational* and *Intellectual Principle*, diffusing it self through All; or for the whole *System of Things*, *God and the World* together, as one Deity. For that the Arcadick *Pan*, was not the Corporeal World alone, but chiefly the Intellectual Ruler and Governour of the same, appears from this Testimony of *Macrobius*; *Hunc Deum Arcades colunt, appellantes τὸ ὕλης ἰσχυρῶν, non sylvarum Dominum, sed universe substantiæ Materialis Dominatorem: The Arcadians worship this God Pan (as their most ancient and honourable God) calling him the Lord of Hyle, that is, not the Lord of the Woods, but the Lord or Dominator over all Material Substance.* And thus does *Phornultus* likewise describe the *Pan* of the other Greeks; not as the mere Corporeal World, *Senseless* and *Inanimate*, but as having a *Rational* and *Intellectual Principle* for the Head of it, and presiding over it, that is, for *God and the World* both together, as one System; the World being but the *Efflux* and *Emanation* of the Deity. *The lower parts of Pan (saith he) were Rough and Goatish, because of the asperity of the Earth, but his upper parts of a Humane Form, because the Ether being Rational and Intellectual, is the Hegemonick of the World: Adding hereunto, that Pan was feigned to be Lustful or Lascivious, because of the Multitude of Spermatick Reasons contained in the World, and the continual Mixtures and Generations of things; to be cloathed with the Skin of a Libbard, because of the bespangled Heavens, and the beautiful variety of things in the World; to live in a Desert, because of the Singularity of the World; and Lastly, to be a good Demon, by reason of the προεσις ὡς λόγῳ, that supreme Mind, Reason and Understanding, that governs all in it.* *Pan* therefore was not the mere Corporeal World *Senseless* and *Inanimate*, but the Deity as displaying it self therein, and pervading All things. Agreeably to which *Diodorus Siculus* determines, that  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and  $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$  were but two several Names for one and the same Deity, (as it is well known that the whole Universe was frequently called by the Pagans *Jupiter* also, as well as *Pan*.) And *Socrates* himself in *Plato* directs his Prayer in a most devout and serious manner, to this *Pan*, that is, not the Corporeal World or *Senseless Matter*, but an *Intellectual Principle* Ruling over all, or the Supreme Deity diffusing it self through All; he therefore distinguishing him from the Inferiour Gods,  $\omega\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ ,\ \eta\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\ \acute{o}\sigma\tau\iota\ \tau\acute{\eta}\delta\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\omicron\iota\ ,\ \delta\omicron\iota\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\theta\epsilon\upsilon\ ,\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\theta\epsilon\upsilon\ \eta\ \acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\acute{\chi}\omega\ \tau\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ν\alpha\iota\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\alpha\ .$  *O Good (or Gracious) Pan; and ye other Gods, who preside over this place; Grant that I may be Beautiful or Fair within, and that those External things, which I have, may be such as may best agree with a right Internal disposition of mind, and that I may account him to be rich that is wise and just: The matter of which prayer, though it be excellent, yet is it Paganically directed to Pan (that is the Supreme God) and the Inferiour Gods both together. Thus we see that as well*

well according to the Greeks, as the Egyptians, the First or Supreme God, and τὸ πᾶν or the Universe, were really the same thing.

And here we cannot but by the way take notice of that famous and remarkable Story of *Plutarch's* in his defect of Oracles, concerning *Demons lamenting the Death of the Great Pan*. In the time of *Tiberius* (saith he) certain persons embarking from *Asia* for *Italy*, towards the Evening sailed by the *Echinades*, where being becalmed, they heard from thence a loud voice calling one *Thamons* an Egyptian Mariner amongst them, and after the third time commanding him when he came to the *Palodes*, to declare That the *Great Pan* was dead. He with the advice of his company resolved, that if they had a quick gale when they came to the *Palodes*, he would pass by silently, but if they should find themselves there becalmed, he would then perform what the voice had commanded: But when the ship arrived thither, there neither was any Gale of Wind nor agitation of Water. Whereupon *Thamons* looking out of the hinder Deck, towards the *Palodes*, pronounced these words with a loud voice, ὁ μέγας Πάν τεθνήκε, *The Great Pan is dead*, which he had no sooner done, but he was answered, with a Quire of many voices, making a great Howling and Lamentation, not without a certain mixture of Admiration. *Plutarch*, who gives much credit to this Relation, adds how Sollicitous *Tiberius* the Emperour was, first concerning the truth thereof, and afterwards, when he had satisfied himself therein, concerning the Interpretation; he making great Enquiry amongst his Learned men, who this *Pan* should be. But the only use which that Philosopher makes of this Story is this, to prove that Demons having Bodies as well as men, (though of a different kind from them and much more longeve) yet were notwithstanding Mortal: he endeavouring from thence to salve that *Phænomenon* of the *Defect of Oracles*, because the Demons who had formerly haunted those places were now dead. But this being an idle Fancy of *Plutarch's*, it is much more probably concluded, by Christian Writers; that this thing coming to pass in the Reign of *Tiberius* when our Saviour Christ was crucified, was no other than a Lamentation of Evil Demons (not without a mixture of Admiration) upon account of our Saviours Death, happening at that very time: They not mourning out of Love for him that was dead, but as sadly presaging evil to themselves from thence, as that which would threaten danger to their Kingdom of Darkness, and a Period to that Tyranny and Domination which they had so long exercised over Mankind; according to such Passages of Scripture as these, *Now is the Prince of this World judged*; and *Having spoiled Principalities and Powers* (by his Death upon the Cross) *He triumphed over them in it*. Now our Saviour Christ could not be called *Pan*, according to that Notion of the word, as taken for nothing but the *Corporal World* devoid of all manner of Life, or else as endued only with a *Plastick Nature*; but this Appellation might very well agree to him, as *Pan* was taken for the λόγος προεσῆς τῆς κτίσεως, that *Reason and Understanding by which all things were made, and by which they are all governed, or for φρόνησις διὰ πάντων διήκουσα, that Divine Wisdom which diffuseth it self through all things*



things. Moreover *Pan* being used not so much for the naked and abstract Deity, as the Deity as it were embodied in this Visible Corporeal World, might therefore the better signifie, *God manifested in the Flesh*, and cloathed with a Particular Humane Body (in which respect alone, he was capable of dying.) Neither indeed was there any other Name, in all the Theology of the Pagans, that could so well besit our Saviour Christ as this.

We have now made it manifest, that according to the ancient *Egyptian Theology*, (from whence the Greekish and European was derived) there was One Intellectual Deity, One Mind or Wisdom, which as it did produce all things from it self, so doth  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\lambda\omicron\nu$ , contain and comprehend the whole, and is it self in a manner *All things*. We think fit in the next place to observe, how this Point of the *Old Egyptian Theology*, viz. God's being *All Things*, is every where insisted upon throughout the *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick Writings*. We shall begin with the *Asclepian Dialogue* or the  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron$ , translated into Latin by *Apuleius*; in the Entrance of which, the Writer having declared, *Omnia Unius esse, & Unum esse Omnia*, that all things were of One, and that One was *All things*, he afterwards adds this explication thereof, *Nonne hoc dixi, Omnia Unum esse, & Unum Omnia, utpote quia in Creatore fuerint omnia, antequam creâset omnia? Nec immeritò Unus est dictus Omnia, cujus membra sunt Omnia. Hujus itaque qui est Unus Omnia, vel ipse est Creator omnium, in tota hac disputatione curato meminisse: Have we not already declared, that All things are One, and One All things? forasmuch as All things existed in the Creator, before they were made; Neither is he improperly said to be All things, whose Members all things are. Be thou therefore mindful in this whole disputation, of him who is One and All things, or was the Creator of All. And thus afterwards does he declare, that all Created things were in the Deity before they were made, Idcirco non erant quando nata non erant, sed in eo jam tunc erant unde nasci habuerunt, they did not properly then exist before they were made, and yet at that very time, were they in him from whom they were afterwards produced. Again, he writes thus concerning God, non spero totius Majestatis Effectorem, omnium rerum Patrem vel Dominum, uno posse quamvis è multis composito nomine nuncupari. Hunc voca potius omni nomine, siquidem sit Unus & Omnia; ut necesse sit aut Omnia ipsius nomine, aut ipsum omnium nomine nuncupari. Hic ergo Solus Omnia, &c. I cannot hope sufficiently to express, the Author of Majesty, and the Father and Lord of all things, by any One Name, though compounded of never so many names. Call him therefore by every Name, forasmuch as he is One and All things, so that of necessity, either All things must be called by His name, or he by the Names of All things. And when he had spoken of the mutability of Created things he adds, Solus Deus ipse In se, & A se, & Circum se, totus est plenus atque perfectus, isque sua firma stabilitas est; nec alicujus impulsu, nec loco moveri potest, cum in eo sint Omnia, & in omnibus ipse est Solus: God alone in himself, and from himself, and about himself, is altogether perfect; and himself is his own stability. Neither can he be moved or changed, by the impulse of any thing, since All things are in him, and he alone is in All things.*

things. Lastly, to omit other places, *Hic Sensibilis Mundus, receptaculum est omnium sensibilium specierum, qualitatum, vel corporum; quæ omnia sine Deo vegetari non possunt: Omnia enim Deus, & à Deo Omnia, & sine hoc, nec Fuit aliquid, nec Est, nec Erit; Omnia enim ab eo, & in ipso, & per ipsum*—*Si totum animadvertes, vera ratione perdisces, Mundum ipsum Sensibilem, & quæ in eo sunt omnia, à Superiore illo Mundo, quasi Vestimento esse contacta: This Sensible World, is the Receptacle of all Forms, Qualities, and Bodies, all which cannot be vegetated and quickned without God; for God is All Things, and All things are from God, and all things the Effect of his Will; and without God, there neither Was any thing, nor Is, nor Shall be; but all things are from him, and in him, and by him*—*And if you will consider things after a right manner, you shall learn, that this sensible World, and all the things therein, are covered all over, with that superiour World (or Deity) as it were with a Garment. As for the other Trismegistick Books of Ficinus his Edition, the Third of them called  $\text{περὶς λόγου}$ , is thus concluded, τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἢ πᾶσα κοσμητικὴ σύγκρασις, φύσις ἀναθεωρημένη· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς θεῖαις καὶ ἡ φύσις συγκαταίεται· The Divinity is the whole Mundane Compages, or Constitution: for Nature is also placed in the Deity. In the Fifth Book written upon this Argument, ὅτι ἀφανὴς θεὸς φανερώτατός ἐστι, That the Invisible God is most manifest, we read thus, εἰδέν ὅτι ἐστιν ἐν παντί ἐκείνῳ, ὃ ἐν εἶν αὐτός, ἐστὶν αὐτός, καὶ τὰ ὄντα καὶ μὴ ὄντα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὄντα ἐφανέρωσε· τὰ δὲ μὴ ὄντα ἐχρὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ· For there is nothing in the whole World, which he is not, He is both the things that are, and the things that are not; for the things that are, He hath manifested, but the things that are not, He contains within himself. And again, εἶτ' ὁ ἀσώματός καὶ ὁ πολυσώματός· μάλλον ἢ πάντος σώματος εἰδέν ὅτι εἶτ' ἐν ἐστὶ· πάντα γὰρ ἅ ἐστι, καὶ εἶτός ἐστι· καὶ διὰ τῆτο αὐτός οὐμάτα ἐχρὲ πάντα, ὅτι ἐνός ἐστι πάσης· καὶ διὰ τῆτο ὄνομα ἐν ἐχει, ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶ πατὴρ· He is both Incorporeal and Omnicorporeal, for there is nothing of any Body, which he is not; He is all things that are, and therefore he hath all Names, because all things are from one Father; and therefore he hath no Name, because he is the Father of all things. And in the close of the same Book, ὑπὲρ τίνος σε ὑμνήσω, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐποίησας, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκποίησας; ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐφανέρωσας, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκρυψας; διὰ τί ἢ καὶ ὑμνήσω σε; ὡς ἐμουτῶ ὦν; ὡς ἔχων τί ἴδιον, ὡς ἄλλος ὦν; σὺ εἶ γὰρ ὃ ἐάν ὦ· σὺ εἶ ὃ ἂν ποιῶ· σὺ εἶ ὃ ἂν λέγω· σὺ γὰρ πάντα εἶ, τὸ ἄλλο εἰδέν ὅτι ἐστιν ὃ μὴ εἶ· σὺ πᾶν τὸ γυρόμενον, σὺ τὸ μὴ γυρόμενον· For what shall I praise thee? for those things which thou hast made? or for those things which thou hast not made? for those things which thou hast manifested, or for those things which thou hast hidden and concealed within thy self? And for what cause shall I praise thee? because I am my own, as having something proper, and distinct from thee? Thou art whatsoever I am, thou art whatsoever I do, or say, for thou art All things, and there is nothing which thou art not; thou art that which is made, and thou art that which is unmade. Where it is observable, that before things were Made, God is said  $\text{κρύπτειν}$ , to Hide them within himself; but when they are made,  $\text{φανερεῖν}$ , to Manifest and reveil them from himself. Book the Eighth, νόησον ὅτι ὁ μὲν κόσμος ὑπὸ τῆς θεῆς καὶ ἐν ταῖς θεῷ, ἀρχὴ ἢ καὶ ὡριστὴ καὶ ὁρατὴ πάντων ὁ θεός· Understand that the whole World is from God, and in God; for God is the Beginning, Comprehension*

and Constitution of all things. Book the Ninth, μάλλον ἢ λέγω ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ αὐτὰ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθές ἀποφαίνομαι, αὐτῷ ἀποιτιά ἔστιν. ἐν ἔξωθεν αὐτῷ προσλαμβάνων, ἔξω ἢ ἐπιιδύς. *I would not say, that God Hath all things, but rather declare the truth, and say that he Is All things; not as receiving them from without, but as sending them forth from himself.* Again afterwards in the same Book, καὶ ἐν ἔσται ποτε χεῖρον, ὅτε ἀπολειφθῆσεται τι τῆς ὄντων. ὅταν ἢ λέγω τῆς ὄντων, λέγω τῷ θεῷ. τὰ γὰρ ὄντα ὁ θεὸς ἔχει, καὶ ἔτε αὐτῷ ἔδεν ἑαυτῷ, ἔτε αὐτῷ ἔδενός. *There shall never be a time, when any thing that is, shall cease to be, for when I say any thing that Is, I say any thing of God; for God hath all things in him and there is neither any thing without God, nor God without any thing.* Book the Tenth, τί γὰρ ἔστι θεός, καὶ πατήρ, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἢ τὸ τῆς πάντων εἶναι ἐν ἐπι ὄντων. ἀλλὰ ὑπαρξίς αὐτῆ τῆς ὄντων; *What is God, but the very Being of all things that yet are not, and the Subsistence of things that are.* And again, ὁ θεός, καὶ πατήρ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὰ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, *God is both the Father and Good, because he is All things.* Book the Eleventh, αὐτεγὲς γὰρ ἂν αἰεὶ ἔστι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, αὐτῷ ἂν ὁ ποιῆ. εἰ γὰρ χωρεῖται αὐτῷ, πάντα μὲν συμπεσεῖσθαι, πάντα ἢ τεθνήξεσθαι ἀνάγκη. *God acting immediately from himself, is always in his own work, Himself being that which he makes; for if that were never so little separated from him, all would of necessity fall to nothing and die.* Again, πάντα ἔστι ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ἔχ ἄς ἐν τόπῳ κειμένα, *All things are in God, but not as lying in a place.* And further, since our own Soul can by Cogitation and Phancy, become what it will, and where it will, any thing, or in any place, τῷτον ἐν τῷ τρέπον νόησον τῷ θεῷ, ἄσφ νοήματα πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχον, τῷ κόσμον αὐτῷ ὅλον. *You may consider God in the same manner, as containing the whole World within himself, as his own Conceptions and Cogitations.* And in the Close of that Chapter, that which is also thence cited by St. Cyril, is to the same purpose, ἀόρατος ὁ θεός; ἀφῆμισον καὶ τίς αὐτῷ φανερώτερος. δι' αὐτὸ τῷτο πάντα ἐποίησεν, ἵνα διὰ πάντων αὐτῷ βλέπῃς. τῷτό ἔστι τὸ ἀγαθόν τῷ θεῷ. τῷτο ἢ αὐτῷ ἀρετῆ, τὸ αὐτῷ φαίνεσθαι διὰ πάντων. *Is God Invisible? speak worthily of him, for who is more manifest than he? for this very reason did he make all things, that thou mightest see him through all things; This is the Vertue and Goodness of the Deity, to be seen through all things. The Mind is seen in thinking, but God in Working or Making.* Book the Twelfth, ἦκουσα τῷ ἀγαθῷ δαίμονος λέγοντος (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ μόνος, ὁ τέλειον, ἀληθῆς ὡς πρωτόγονος θεός, τὰ πάντα καλῶν, θεὸς λόγος ἐφθέγγαστο) ἦκουσα γὰρ αὐτῷ ποτε λέγοντος, ὅτι ἐν ἔστι τὰ πάντα. *I have heard the good Demon (for he alone, as the first begotten God, beholding all things, spake Divine Words) I have heard him sometimes saying, that One is All things.* Again in the same Chapter, ὁ ἢ σύμπας κόσμος ἔστος ἐνωμένον ἐκεῖνω, καὶ συσώζων τῷ τῶν, καὶ βάλουσιν τῷ πατρὸς, πλήρωμα ἔστι τῷ ζωῆς. καὶ ἔδεν ἔστι ἐν τῷτο διὰ παντὸς τῷ αἰῶνος, ἔτε τῷ παντὸς, ἔτε τῷ μέγος, ὁ ἔχ ἔχ, νεκρὸν γὰρ ἔδεν ἐν, ἔτε γίνονεν, ἔτε ἐστίν, ἔτε ἔσται ἐν κόσμῳ. *This whole World is intimately united to him, and observing the order and will of its Father, hath the fulness of Life in it, and there is nothing in it through Eternity (neither Whole nor Part) which does not live; for there neither is, nor hath been, nor shall be, any thing Dead in the world. The meaning is, that all things vitally depend upon the Deity, who is said in Scripture, to quicken and enliven all things.*

τὸ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, τὸ πᾶν· ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα, ἃ δὲν ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ εἶναι· ὅθεν ἔτε μέγθος, ἔτε τόπος, ἔτε ποιότης, ἔτε χῆμα, ἔτε χεῖνος ὡς ἰ τὸ θεόν ἐστὶ· πᾶν γὰρ ὅστι, τὸ ἢ πᾶν διὰ πάντων ἢ ὡς ἰ πάντα· *This is God, the Universe or All. And in this Universe there is nothing which he is not: Wherefore there is neither Magnitude nor Place nor Quality nor Figure nor Time about God, for he is All or the Whole, (but those things belong to Parts.)* And the Arcane Cantion, though that Thirteenth Book to which it is subjoyned be supposititious, yet harps much upon this Point of the Egyptian Theology, *That God is All: ὑμνεῖν μέλλω τὸ ἰ ἡσσεως ὡς ἰον, ἢ τὸ πᾶν, ἢ τὸ ἐν· I am about to praise the Lord of the Creation, the All and the One.* And again, *All the Powers that are in me, praise the One and the All.* Book the Fifteenth, *ἐάν τις ἐπιχειρήσῃ τὸ πᾶν ἢ ἐν χεῖσαι, τὸ πᾶν τῷ ἐνός λύσας ἀπολέσῃ τὸ πᾶν, πάντα γὰρ ἐν εἶναι δεῖ· If any one go about to separate the All from the One, he will destroy the All, or the Universe, for All ought to be One.* Book the Sixteenth, *ἀρξομαι τῷ λόγῳ ἐνθεν, τὸ θεόν ἐπιχαλεσαίμενος, τὸ τῷ ὅλων δεσπότη, ἢ ποιητῷ, ἢ πατέρῳ, ἢ ὡς ἰβολον, ἢ πάντα ὄντα τὸ ἐνα, ἢ ἐνα ὄντα τὰ πάντα· τὸ πάντων γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα, ἐν ἐστὶ, ἢ ἐν ἐνί· I will begin with a Prayer to him, who is the Lord and Maker and Father and Bound of all things; and who being All things, is One, and being One is All things; for the fulness of All things is One and in One.* And again, *μύερα τῷ θεῷ πάντα ἐστὶν· εἰ ἢ πάντα μύερα, πάντα ἄρα ὁ θεός· πάντα ἐν ποιᾶν, ἐαυτὸ ποιῆ· All things are Parts of God, but if all things be Parts of God, then God is All things; Wherefore He making All things, doth, as it were, make himself.*

Now by all this we see, how well these Trismegistick Books, agree with that *Ancient Egyptian Inscription*, in the Temple of *Sais*, *That God is all that Was, Is, and Shall be.* Wherefore the Egyptian Theology thus undoubtedly asserting, *One God that was All things*; it is altogether impossible that it should acknowledge a *Multitude of Self-existent, and Independent Deities.*

Hitherto we have taken notice of Two several Egyptian Names, for One and the same *Supreme Deity*; *Hammon* and *Neith*; but we shall find that besides these, the Supreme God was sometimes worshipped by the Egyptians under other Names and Notions also; as of *Isis*, *Osiris* and *Sarapis*. For first, though *Isis* have been taken by some for the *Moon*, by others for the whole *Earth*, by others for *Ceres* or *Corn*, by others for the *Land of Egypt*, (which things in what sence they were Deified by the Egyptians, will be elsewhere declared) yet was she undoubtedly taken also sometimes, for an *Universal and All-comprehending Numen*. For *Plutarch* affirms, that *Isis* and *Neith*, were really one and the same God among the Egyptians, and therefore the Temple of *Neith* or *Minerva* at *Sais*, where the forementioned Inscription was found, is called by him, *the Temple of Isis*; so that *Isis* as well as *Neith* or *Minerva* among the Egyptians, was there described, as That God, who is *All that Was, Is, and Shall be*, and whose Veil no Mortal hath ever uncovered; that is, not a particular God, but an *Universal and All-comprehending Numen*. And this may be yet further confirmed, from that *Ancient Inscription and Dedication to the Goddess Isis*, still extant at *Capua*.

TIBI.  
UNA. QUÆ.  
E S. OMNIA.  
DEA. ISIS.

Metam. l. 12.

Where the Goddess *Isis* is plainly declared to be ἐν ἑνὶ πάντων, *One and All things*, that is, a *Universal and All-comprehending Deity*. And with this agreeth also that Oration of this Goddess *Isis* in *Apuleius*; *En adsum tuis, commota, Luci, precibus, rerum Natura Parens, elementorum omnium Domina, seculorum Progenies initialis: Summa numinum, Regina marium, Prima Cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque Facies uniformis; quæ cœli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferorum deplorata silentia, nutibus meis dispenso. Cujus Numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis: Behold here am I, moved by thy Prayers, Lucius, that Nature which was the Parent of things; the Mistress of all the Elements; the Beginning and Original of Ages; the Sum of all the Divine Powers; the Queen of the Seas; the First of the Celestial Inhabitants; the Uniform Face of Gods and Goddesses; which with my becks dispense the Luminous Heights of the Heavens, the wholesome Blasts of the Sea, and the deplorable silences of Hell; whose only Divine Power, the whole World worships and adores, in a Multiform manner, and under Different Rites and Names.* From which words it is plain, that this Goddess *Isis*, was not the meer *Animated Moon* (which was rather a Symbol of her) but that she was an *Universal Deity*, comprehensive of the whole Nature of things; the *One Supreme God*, worshipped by the Pagans, under several Names, and with different Rites. And this is the plain meaning of those last words *Numen Unicum, &c.* that the whole World worshippeth one and the same Supreme God, in a multiform manner, with various Rites, and under many different Names. For besides the Several Names of the other Pagans there mentioned, the Egyptians worshipped it, under the Names of *Hammon*, *Neith*, and others that shall be afterwards declared. And thus was *Isis* again worshipped and invok'd, as the *unicum Numen*, or only Divine power, by *Apuleius* himself, in these following Words; *Tu sancta & humani generis Sospitatrix perpetua, dulcem matris affectionem miseris tribuis, fatorum inextricabiliter contorta retractas litia, fortune tempestates mitigas, & stellarum noxios meatus cobibes: Te Superi colunt, observant Inferi. Tu rotas orbem, lumnas solem, regis mundum, calcas Tartarum. Tibi respondent sydera, gaudent numina, serviunt elementa: Tuo nutu spirant flamina, &c.* Thou holy and perpetual Saviour of Mankind that art always bountiful in cherishing Mortals, and dost manifest the dear affections of a Mother to them in their Calamities, thou extricatest the involved threds of Fate, mitigatest the tempests of Fortune, and restrainest the noxious Influences of the Stars: the Celestial Gods worship thee, the Infernal Powers obey thee; thou rollest round the Heavens, enlightnest the Sun, governeest the World, treadest upon Tartarus or Hell; the Starrs obey thee, the Elements serve thee, at thy beck the winds blow, &c. Where *Isis* is plainly supposed to be an *Universal Numen* and supreme Monarch of the World. Neither may this hinder,

hinder, that she was called a Goddess as *Neith* also was; these Pagans making their Deities to be indifferently of either Sex, Male or Female. But much more was *Osiris* taken for the Supreme Deity; whose name was sometimes said, to have signified in the Egyptian Language, πολυόφθαλμος, that which had many Eyes, sometimes κρείττος ἐνεργεῖν, ἀγαθοποιόν, an active and beneficent Force; (and whose Hieroglyphick was an Eye and a Scepter;) the former signifying Providence and Wisdom, and the latter Power and Majesty (as *Plutarch* tells us) Who also is thus described in *Apuleius*, *Deus Deorum magnorum potior, & majorum summus, & Summorum Maximus, & Maximorum Regnator, Osiris: That God who is the chiefest of the Greater Gods, and the Greatest of the Chiefest, and which Reigneth over the Greatest.* Wherefore the same *Apuleius* also tells us, that *Isis* and *Osiris* were really one and the same Supreme Numen, though considered under different Notions and Worshipped with different Rites, in these words, *Quaunque connexa imo vero unica, ratio Numinis, Religionisque esset, tamen Telecta discrimen esse maximum; though Isis and Osiris be really One and the same Divine Power, yet are their Rites and Ceremonies very different.* The proper notion of *Osiris*, being thus declared by *Plutarch*, τὸ πρῶτον ἐν κρείττονι πένταν, ὁ τ' ἀγαθὸς ταύτων ἐστίν, that First and Highest of all Beings, which is the same with Good. Agreeably whereunto, *Jamblichus* affirmeth, ἀγαθῶν ποιητικὸς ὢν Ὅσιρις κέκληται, that God as the Cause of all Good is call'd *Osiris* by the Egyptians. Lastly, as for *Sarapis*, though *Origen* tells us, that this was a new upstart Deity, set up by *Ptolemy* in *Alexandria*: yet this God in his Oracle to *Nicocreon* the King of *Cyprus*, declares himself also to be a Universal Numen, comprehending the whole World, in these words, ἑσθμῖος κέσμος κεφαλῆ, &c. to this Sence; *The Starry Heaven is my Head, the Sea my Belly, my Ears are in the Ether, and the bright Light of the Sun is my clear piercing Eye.* And doubtless he was worshipped by many under this Notion. For as *Philarchus* wrote thus concerning him, Σάραπις ὄνομα τῷ τῷ πᾶν κοσμοῦ, That *Sarapis* was the Name of that God, which orders and governs the whole World; so doth *Plutarch* himself conclude, that *Osiris* and *Sarapis*, were ἄμφω ἐνὸς θεῶς ἐν μίᾳ δυνάμει, both of them Names of One God, and the same Divine Power. Accordingly whereunto *Diodorus Siculus* determines, that these Three, *Hammon*, *Osiris* and *Sarapis*, were but different names for one and the same Deity, or Supreme God. Notwithstanding which, *Porphyrius* it seems, had a very ill conceit of that Power which manifested it self in the Temple of this God *Sarapis*, above all the other Pagan Gods, he suspecting it to be no other than the very Prince of evil Demons or Devils. τὰς δὲ πονηρὰς δαίμονας ἐν εἰκῇ ὑπὸ τῷ Σαράπιν ὑποτίθεται, ἔσδ' ἐκ τῶν συμβόλων μόνον ἀναπειθέμεντες, &c. *We do not vainly or without ground suspect and conjecture, that the evil Demons, are under Sarapis as their Prince and Head: this appearing (saith he) not only from those Rites of Appeasment used in the Worship of this God, but also from the Symbol of him, which was a Three-headed Dog, signifying that Evil Demon, which ruleth in those Three Elements, Water, Earth, and Air.* Neither indeed can it be doubted, but that it was an Evil Demon or Devil, that delivered Oracles in this Temple of *Sarapis* as well as elsewhere among the Pagans, however he affected to be worshipped as the Supreme God.

L. 5. p. 257.

Euseb. Pr. 23. L. 4. cap. 23.

Besides

Prap. L. 3.  
c. II. p. II 5.

Besides all this, *Eusebius* himself from *Porphyrus* informs us, that the Egyptians acknowledged *One Intellectual Demiurgus*, or Maker of the World, under the name of *Cneph*, whom they worshipped in a Statue of Humane Form, and a blackish Sky-coloured Complexion; holding in his hand a Girdle and a Scepter, and wearing upon his Head a Princely Plume, and thrusting forth an Egg out of his Mouth. The reason of which Hieroglyphick is thus given, ὅτι λόγος διδύμετος ἐκ κεκευμένων, ἐκ δὲ φανός, ἐκ δὲ ὅτι ζωοποιός, ἐκ δὲ ὅτι βασιλεύς, ἐκ δὲ ὅτι νοεῖται κενεῖται. διὸ ἢ τῶ πτερῶ φύσις ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κενεῖται. *Because that Wisdom and Reason, by which the World was made, is not easie to be found out but hidden and obscure. And because this is the Fountain of Life and King of all things; and because it is Intellectually moved, signified by the Feathers upon his head. Moreover by the Egg thrust out of the Mouth of this God, was meant the World, created by the Eternal λόγος, and from this Cneph, was said to be Generated or Produced Another God, whom the Egyptians call Phtha and the Greeks Vulcan; of which Phtha more afterwards.* That the Egyptians were the most eminent Asserters of the *Cosmogonia* or *Temporary Beginning* of the World, hath been already declared; for which cause the Scholiast upon *Ptolemy* thus perstringeth them, ὡς ἰπῆας εἰάδασι λέγειν ἡδὲ Ἐν Αἰγυπτίῳ νόμος, *The Egyptians were wont to talk perpetually of the Genesis or Generation of the World.* And *Asclepius* an ancient Egyptian Writer in his *Myriogenesis*, affirms that according to the Egyptian Tradition, the Sun was made in *Libra*. But that the Egyptians did not suppose the world to have been made by Chance, as *Epicurus* and other Atheistical Philosophers did, but by an Intellectual *Demiurgus* called by them *Cneph* is evident from this Testimony of *Porphyrus*. Which *Cneph* was look'd upon by them as an *Unmade and Eternal Deity*, and for this very cause the Inhabitants of *Thebais* refused to worship any other God besides him, as *Plutarch* informs us in these

Scal. Emend.  
Temp. l. 5. de  
condit. mundi.

De Is. & Osir.

words, εἰς ἣ τὰς γραφὰς τῆς πριαμύων ζώων, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας συντεταμμένα τελεῖν, μόνες ἢ μὴ διδόναι τὰς θεαῖδας κατοικεῖν, ὡς θνητὸν θεὸν εἶδεν νομίζουτες, ἀλλὰ ὃν καλεῖται αὐτοὶ κνήφ, ἀγγέλιον ὄντα ἐκ ἀθάνατον. *Whilst the other Egyptians paid their proportion of Tax imposed upon them, for the nourishment of those sacred Animals, worshipped by them, the Inhabitants of Thebais only refused, because they would acknowledge no Mortal God, and worshipped him only whom they call Cneph, an Unmade and Eternal Deity.*

Having now made it undeniably manifest, that the Egyptians had an acknowledgement amongst them of *One Supreme Universal and Unmade Deity*, we shall conclude this whole Discourse with the Two following Observations; First that a great part of the *Egyptian Polytheism*, was really nothing else but the Worshipping of *One* and the same *Supreme God*, under many different Names and Notions, as of *Hammon*, *Neith*, *Isis*, *Osiris*, *Sarapis*, *Kneph*, to which may be added *Phtha*, and those other names in *Jamblichus*, of *Eicton* and *Emeph*. And that the Pagans universally over the whole world did the like, was affirmed also by *Apuleius*, in that fore-cited Passage of his, *Numen Unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo,*

*totus veneratur orbis, the Whole World worshipping one only Supreme Numen in a multiform manner, under different names and with different Rites.* Which different names for one and the same Supreme God, might therefore be mistaken by some of the sottish Vulgar amongst the Pagans, as well as they have been by learned men of these later times, for so many distinct *Unmade and Self-existent Deities.*

Nevertheless here may well be a Question started, whether amongst those several Egyptian Names of God, some might not signify distinct *Divine Hypostases* Subordinate; and particularly, whether there were not some Footsteps of a *Trinity*, to be found in the old *Egyptian Theology*? For since *Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato*, who all of them asserted a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, unquestionably derived much of their Doctrine from the Egyptians, it may reasonably be suspected, that these Egyptians did the like before them. And indeed *Athanasius Kircherus* makes no doubt at all hereof, but tells us that in the Pamphylian Obelisk, that First Hieroglyphick of a *Winged Globe, with a Serpent coming out of it*, was the Egyptian Hieroglyphick of a *Triform Deity, or Trinity of Divine Hypostases*; he confirming the same, from the Testimony of *Abenephius* an Arabian Writer, and a Chaldaick Fragment imputed to *Sanchuniathon*; the Globe being said to signify, the First Incomprehensible Deity without Beginning or End, Self-existent; the Serpent the Divine Wisdom and Creative Vertue; and lastly the Wings, that Active Spirit, that cherisheth, quickneth, and enliveneth all things. How far credit is to be given to this, we leave others to judge; but the clearest footsteps that we can find any where of an *Egyptian Trinity* is in *Jamblichus* his Book, written concerning their Mysteries; which whole place therefore is worth the setting down, κατ' ἄλλω ἢ τάξιν προστάξει [Ἑμῆς] θεὸν ἢ Ἡμῆφ, τῆς ἐπεργῆς θεῶν ἡγούμενον, ὃν φησὶν νῦν εἶναι αὐτὸ ἐαυτὸ νοῦντα, καὶ τὰς νοῦσεις εἰς εἶναυτ' ἐπιστρέφουσα. τὸτο ἢ ἐν ἄμερες, καὶ ὁ φησι τὸ πρῶτον μάγδαμα προστάξει, ὃν καὶ εἰκλῶν ἐπονομάζει, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πρῶτον ἔστι νοῦν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον νοῦτ, ὃ δὴ καὶ διὰ σιγῆς μόνως θεωρεῖται. ἐπὶ ἢ τῶτοις—ὁ δημιουργικὸς νῦς καὶ τ' ἀληθείας προστάτης, καὶ σοφία ἐρχόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ ἡμέσιν, καὶ τὴν ἀφανῆ τῆς κρυμμένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, Ἄμῶν καὶ τὴν τῆς Αἰγυπτίων γλώσσαν λέγειται, συντελῶν ἢ ἀφιδδῆς ἕκαστα καὶ τεχνικῶς μετ' ἀληθείας φθᾶ, Ἑμῆφες ἢ εἰς Ἡφαιστον μεταλαμβάνεισι ἢ φθᾶ, τὰ τεχνικῶς μόνον προσβάλλουτες, ἀγαθῶν ἢ ποιητικῶς ἀν' ὅσους κέκλιται, καὶ ἄλλας δι' ἄλλας δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἐπεργείας ἐπανυμίας ἔχει. According to another order or method, *Hermes places the God Emeph\**, as the *Prince* \* or *Cneph*. and *Ruler over all the Celestial Gods*, whom he affirmeth to be a *Mind understanding himself and converting his Cogitations or Intellections into himself.* Before which *Emeph\**, he placeth *One Indivisible*, whom he \* or *Cneph*. calleth *Eicton*, in which is the first *Intelligible*, and which is worshipped only by silence. After which *Two*, *Eicton and Emeph\**, the *Demiurgick* \* or *Cneph*: *Mind and President of truth as with wisdom it proceedeth to Generations*, and bringeth forth the hidden Powers of the occult Reasons into light, is called in the *Egyptian Language Ammon*; as it Artificially effects all things with truth, *Phtha* (which *Phtha* the *Greeks* attending only to the Artificialness thereof call *Hephestus or Vulcan*) as it is productive of *Good, Osiris*, besides other names that it hath according to its other Powers



*Powers and Energies.* In which Passage of *Jamblichus* we have plainly *Three Divine Hypostases*, or universal Principles Subordinate, according to the *Hermaick Theology*; First an *Indivisible Unity* called *Eiſton*, Secondly a *Perfect Mind* converting its Intellections into it ſelf, called *Emeph* or *Hemphta*, and Thirdly the immediate *Principle of Generation*, called by ſeveral names, according to its ſeveral Powers, as *Phtha*, *Ammon*, *Osiris* and the like: So that theſe Three Names with others, according to *Jamblichus*, did in the Egyptian Theology, ſignifie, one and the ſame Third Divine *Hypostasis*. How well theſe Three Divine *Hypostases* of the Egyptians, agree with the Pythagorick or Platonick Trinity, of Firſt, τὸ ἐν or τὰ γενεῶν, *Unity and Goodneſs* it ſelf, Secondly, νῦς, *Mind*, and Thirdly ψυχή, *Soul*, I need not here declare. Only we ſhall call to mind what hath been already intimated, that that Reason or Wiſdom which was the *Demiurgus* of the World, and is properly the Second of the forementioned *Hypostases*, was called alſo amongſt the Egyptians, by another name, *Cneph*; from whom was ſaid to have been produced or begotten the God *Phtha*, the *Third Hypostasis* of the *Egyptian Trinity*; ſo that *Cneph* and *Emeph* are all one. Wherefore we have here plainly an *Egyptian Trinity of Divine Hypostases Subordinate*, *Eiſton*, *Emeph* (or *Cneph*) and *Phtha*. We know not what to add more to this of *Jamblichus*, concerning an *Egyptian Trinity*, unleſs we ſhould inſiſt upon thoſe Paſſages which have been cited by ſome of the Fathers to this purpoſe out of *Hermaick* or *Trismegiftick Books*, whereof there was one before ſet down out of *St. Cyril*; or unleſs we ſhould again call to mind, that Citation out of *Damaſcius*, μία τῆ ὄλων ἀρχὴ σκότος ἀγνωστον ὑμνεύμενη ἢ τὸ τεῖς ἀναφανέμενον εἶπας, that according to the Egyptians, there is *One Principle of all things* praiſed under the name of the *Unknown Darkneſs*, and this *Thrice repeated*. Agreeably to which *Auguſtinus Steuchus* produces another Paſſage out of the ſame Philoſophick *Writer*; that the Egyptians made, πρώτῳ ἀρχῶ σκότῳ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν νόησιν, σκότος ἀγνωστον, τεῖς τὸ ὑπερφιμίζοντες, the *Firſt Principle of all*, to be *Darkneſs above all Knowledge and Underſtanding* (or *Unknown Darkneſs*) they *Thrice repeating the ſame*. Which the forementioned *Steuchus* takes to be a clear acknowledgement of a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases* in the *Egyptian Theology*.

Our *Second Obſervation* is this, That the *Egyptian Theology* as well as the *Orphick* (which was derived from it) aſſerting *One Incorporal Deity*, that is *All Things*; as it is evident, that it could not admit a *Multitude of Self-exiſtent and Independent Deities*, ſo did the ſeeming *Polytheiſm* of theſe Egyptians proceed alſo in great measure from this Principle of theirs not rightly underſtood; they being led thereby, in a certain ſence, θεοποιεῖν to *Perſonate and Deifie* the ſeveral *Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*, beſtowing the Names of *Gods and Goddeſſes* upon them. Not that they theretofore worſhipped the *Inanimate Parts* of the *World* as ſuch, Much leſs Things not *Subſtantial* but meer *Accidents*, for ſo many Real, Diſtinct, *Personal Deities*; but becauſe conceiving that *God* who was *All things*, ought to be Worſhipped in *All things* (ſuch eſpecially as were moſt Beneficial to Mankind) they did, according to that *Aſclepian* and *Trismegiftick Doctrine*

Doctrines before-mentioned, Call God by the Name of every Thing, or Every thing by the Name of God. And that the wiser of them very well understood that it was really One and the same Simple Deity, that was thus worshipped amongst them by piece-meal, in the several Parts of the World, and Things of Nature, and under different Names and Notions, with different Ceremonies, is thus declared by Plutarch, Ἐπισημαίνον ἢ ἰσὶς ἔστι, καὶ ὁ τυφῶν πολέμου τῆ θεῶ, καὶ δι' ἀγνοίαν καὶ ἀπάτην πετυφωμένῳ, καὶ διαστῆσαν καὶ ἀφανίζων τὸ ἱερὸν λόγον, ὃν ἡ θεὸς συνάγει καὶ συντίθει, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς τελευτημένοις θεώσεως. Isis is a Greek Word, which signifies Knowledge; and Typhon is the Enemy to this Goddess; who being puffed up by Ignorance and Error, doth Distract and Dispers the Holy Doctrine (of the Simple Deity) which Isis collects together again, and makes up into One, and thus delivers it to those who are initiated into her sacred Mysteries, in order to Deification. In which words, Plutarch intimates, that the Egyptian Fable, of Osiris being Mangled and Cut in pieces by Typhon, did Allegorically signify the Disruption and Distraction of the Simple Deity, by reason of the Weakness and Ignorance of vulgar minds (not able to comprehend it altogether at once) into several Names and Partial Notions, which yet True Knowledge and Understanding, that is, Isis, makes up whole again and unites into One.

De Is. & Os.  
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XIX. It is well known that the Poets, though they were the Prophets of the Pagans, and pretending to a kind of Divine Inspiration, did otherwise embue the minds of the Vulgar, with a certain Sense of Religion, and the Notions of Morality, yet these notwithstanding were the grand Depravers and Adulterators of the Pagan Theology. For this they were guilty of upon several Accounts. As First, Their attributing to the Gods, in their Fables concerning them, all manner of Humane Imperfections, Passions and Vices. Which abuse of theirs, the wiser of the Pagans were in all ages highly sensible of and offended with, as partly appears from these Free Passages vented upon the Stage,

— Καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἂν βροτῶν  
κακὸς πεφύκει, ζημῶσιν οἱ θεοί·  
Πᾶς ἔν δικαίον, τὸς νόμους ὑμᾶς βροτοῖς  
Γραψάνας, αὐτὸς ἀνομίαν ὀφλισκάνει;

Eurip. in Ione.

— Si quis est mortalium  
Qui scelera patrat, exigunt pœnam Dei:  
At nonne iniquum est, vos, suas leges quibus  
Gens debet hominum, jure nullo vivere?

To this sence: Since mortal men are punished by the Gods for transgressing their Laws, is it not unjust, that ye Gods who write these Laws, should your selves live without Law? And again,

— οὐκέτ' ἀνθρώπος κακῶς  
λέγειν δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν κακά  
μιμῶμεθ', ἀλλὰ τὸς διδάσκουσας τὰδε·

L I

— Nulla

—Nulla nos posthac notet  
Censura, siquando ista que superos decent  
Imitamur homines. Culpa ad auctores redit.

Let men no longer be blamed for imitating the Evil Actions of the Gods; for they can only be justly blamed, who teach men to do such things by their Examples.

Secondly, the Poets were further guilty of *Depraving the Religion and Theology of the Pagans*, by their so frequently *Personating and Deifying* all the Things of Nature, and Parts of the World, and calling them by the Names of those Gods, that were suppos'd to preside over them; that is, of the several Divine Powers manifested in them. This *Plutarch* taxes the Poets with, where giving directions for young mens reading of their Writings, he thus seasonably cautions against the danger of it, τὸ ἢ ἀναγκαῖον, ἢ χρεῖσιμον, εἰ μέλλοιμεν ἐκ τῶν ποιημάτων ἀφελιθῆσθαι ἢ μὴ βλαβῆσθαι, τὸ γινάσκειν πᾶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασι οἱ ποιῆται χρῆσθαι. — χρῆσθαι ἢ τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασι οἱ ποιῆται, ποτε μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐφαπτόμενοι τῇ ἐνοίᾳ, ποτε ἢ δυνάμεις πινᾶς, ὧν οἱ θεοὶ δωτήρες εἰσι ἢ καθηγεμένους, ὁμωνύμως προσαγορεύοντες. It is very profitable and necessary if we would receive good from the Writings of the Poets and not hurt; that we should understand how they use the names of the Gods in different senses. Wherefore the Poets sometimes use the names of the Gods properly, as intending to signify thereby the Gods themselves, and sometimes again they use them Improperly and Equivocally, for those Powers which the Gods are the Givers and Dispensers of, or the Things which they Preside over. As for example, *Vulcane* is sometimes used by the Poets, for that God or Divine Power which presides over Fire and the Arts that operate by Fire, and sometimes again the word is taken by them for Fire it self. So *Mars* in like manner, is sometimes used for the God which presides over Military Affairs, and sometimes again it signifies nothing else but War. An instance whereof is there given by *Plutarch* out of *Sophocles*.

τυφλὸς γὰρ, ὡς γυναῖκες, ἐστὶν ὄρεων Ἄρης,  
συλὸς προσώπων, πάντα τυρβάζει κακῶ.

Mars (O Mulieres) cæcus hirsuto suis  
Velut ore frendens, cuncta commiscet mala.

And we might give this other instance of the same from *Virgil*,

—Furit toto Mars impius orbe.

For the God of War, that is, the Divine Providence that presides over Military Affairs, could not be called Impious or Wicked, but it is War it self that is there so styled.

Indeed we shall afterwards make it appear, that the first Original of this business, proceeded from a certain Philosophick Opinion amongst

amongst the Pagans, That God was diffused throughout the whole World, and was himself in a manner All Things; and therefore ought to be Worshipped in All Things; but the Poets were principally the men, who carried it on thus far, by Personating the several Inanimate Parts of the World and Things of Nature, to make such a Multitude of *distinct Gods and Goddesses of them*. Which Humour, though it were chiefly indulged by them, *Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἕνεκεν*, only for the delight and pleasure of the Reader, besides gratifying their own Poetick Phancies; yet was it a matter of Dangerous Consequence, as the same *Plutarch* gravely and soberly advizes, in his Book *de Iside*, it begetting in some gross and irrational *superstition* (that is, in our Christian Language, *Idolatry*) and carrying others on to downright *Impiety and Atheism*. But this will be afterwards also again insisted on.

Wherefore in the next place, we shall observe that the Poets did also otherwise deprave the Theology of the Pagans, so as to make it look somewhat more *Aristocratically*, and this principally Two manner of wayes; First by their speaking so much of the Gods in General and without Distinction, and attributing the Government of the Whole World to them in Common, so as if it were managed and carried on, *Communi Consilio Deorum*, by a *Common Council and Republick of Gods*, wherein all things were determined by a *Majority of Votes*, and as if their *Jupiter* or Supreme God were no more amongst them than a *Speaker of a House of Lords or Commons*, or the *Chairman of a Committee*. In which they did indeed attribute more to their Inferiour Deities, than according to their own Principles they ought.

And Secondly (which is the *Last Depravation* of the *Pagan Theology* by these Poets) by their making those that were really nothing else but several Names and Notions of one and the same Supreme Deity, according to its several Powers manifested in the World, or the different Effects produced by it; to be so many really distinct Persons and Gods; insomuch as sometimes to be at odds and variance with one another and even with *Jupiter* himself. This *St. Basil* seems to take notice of, in his Oration, *How Young men may be profited by the Writings of the Greeks*, πάντων ἡ ἕνισα ὡς θεῶν τι διαλεγόμενοις (ποιηταῖς) προσέξομεν, ἢ μάλιστα ὅταν, ὡς ὡς πολλῶν τε αὐτῶν διεξίωσι, ἢ τῶν ἑδὲ διανοόντων. But least of all will we give credit to the Poets, where they discourse concerning the Gods, and speak of them as Many (*Distinct and Independent*) Persons, and that not agreeing amongst themselves neither, but siding several ways, and perpetually quarrelling with one another.

Notwithstanding all which Extravagancies and Miscarriages of the Poets, we shall now make it plainly to appear, that they really asserted, not a Multitude of *Self-existent and Independent Deities*; but *One only Unmade Deity*, and all the other, Generated or Created Gods. This hath been already proved concerning *Orpheus* from such Fragments of the Orphick Poems, as have been owned and attested by Pagan Writers: but it would be further evident, might we

give credit to any of those other Orphick Verses, that are found cited by Christians and Jews only (and we cannot reasonably conclude all these to be counterfeit and supposititious) amongst which we have this for one,

Εἰς ἓς αὐτογενής, ἐνὸς ἕκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,

*There is One only Unmade God, and all other Gods and Things, are the Off-spring of this One.* Moreover when God in the same Orphick Fragments, is stiled μητερ-πάτωρ, both Father and Mother of all things (accordingly as it was observed before) that both the Orphick and Egyptian Theology, made the Supreme Deity especially, to be ἄρρενὸ-θῆλυον, Hermaphroditical, or Male and Female together; This, as Clemens Alexandrinus rightly interprets the meaning of it, was to signify, τὼ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ᾗδε C IV, the Production of things out of nothing or from the Deity alone, without any Preexistent or Self-existent Matter.

But we shall pass from Orpheus to Homer. Now it is certain that Homer's Gods, were not all Eternal, Unmade and Self-existent, he plainly declaring the contrary concerning the Gods in general; that they had a Genesis, that is, a Temporary Production, as in that forecited Verse of his

Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν ᾗδε C IV, &c.

*The Ocean from whence the Gods were Generated, Where by Gods are meant all the Animated parts of the world superiour to men, but principally (as Eustathius observes) the Stars, θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀστέρων, Gods (saith he) are here put for Stars.* And as the same Philologer further adds, the Gods or Stars, do by a Synecdoche signify All Things, or the Whole World, ἀντὶ τῶ πάντων ὡς ἀπὸ μέρους, a Part being put for the Whole, accordingly as the same Poet elsewhere declares his sense, speaking likewise of the Ocean,

ὡς ᾗδε C V, πάντεσσι τέτυκται,

*Which was the Original of all things, or from whence (not only the Gods but also) all other things were Generated.* Wherefore the full meaning of Homer was this, That the Gods or Stars, together with this whole Visible World, had a Temporary Production, and were at first made out of the Ocean, that is, out of the Watry Chaos. So that Homer's Theogonia as well as Hesiod's, was one and the same thing with the Cosmogonia, his Generation of Gods, the same with the Generation or Creation of the World, both of them having in all probability derived it from the Mosaick Cabala, or Tradition. And Eustathius tells us, that, according to the Ancients, Homer's ἀσπερσοία, described Il. σ. was ἀνύμωχον ἢ νοσμογονίας, an obscure signification of the Cosmogonia or Cosmogonia.

Nevertheless though οἱ θεοὶ or the Gods in general, be by Homer, thus

thus generated from the Ocean or Watry *Chaos*, yet this is to be understood only of the *Inferiour Gods*, and He is supposed to be distinguished from them, who in the same Poet is frequently called, ὁ θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχῶν, *God by way of eminency* (to whom he plainly ascribes Omnipotence) and ζῆὺς or *Jupiter*, whom he stileth κρείττων πάντων, *the most powerful of all*, and πρῶτος θεῶν, *the First and Chiefest of the Gods*, and ὑπάτων θεῶν and κρείόντων, *the Highest of Gods and Governours*, and whom he affirmeth infinitely to transcend the Gods, *Il. θ.*

τόσων ἐγὼ εἴμι τ' ἐμὶ θεῶν, εἴμι τ' ἐμὶ ἀνθρώπων.

And to reign as well over Gods as Men, *Il. α.*

ὡς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει.

Lastly, whom he maketh to be πατὴρ θεῶν, *the Father of the Gods as well as Men*, that is, nothing less than the Creatour of them and the whole World. He therefore who thus produced the Gods and Stars, out of the Ocean or Watry *Chaos*, must needs be excluded out of that number of Gods, so as not to have been himself Generated or made out of it. Thus have we before observed, that οἱ θεοί, or *the Gods* in general, are frequently taken, both by *Homer* and other Greek Writers, in way of distinction from ὁ θεὸς or *Jupiter*, that is, for the *Inferiour Gods* only.

It is true indeed that others of the Pagan Gods besides *Jupiter*, were by the Latins in their solemn Rites and Prayers, stiled *Patres, Fathers*; and as *Jupiter* is nothing else but *Jovis Pater*, contracted into one word, so was *Mars* called by them *Marspiter*, and *Saturnus, Janus, Neptunus* and *Liber* had the like addition also made to their names, *Saturnuspater, Januspater, Neptunuspater, Liberpater*; and not only so, but even their very *Heroes* also (as for example, *Quirinus*) had this honourable title of *Father* bestowed on them, All which appeareth from those Verses of *Lucilius*,

Ut nemo sit nostrum quin aut Pater Optimus Divum,  
Aut Neptunus Pater, Liber, Saturnus Pater, Mars,  
Janus, Quirinus Pater nomen dicatur ad unum

Notwithstanding which, here is a great difference to be observed, that though those other Gods were called *Fathers*, yet none of them was ever called, either by the Greeks, πατὴρ θεῶν, or by the Latins, *Pater Optimus Divum*, save only ζῆὺς or *Jupiter*, the Supreme Deity.

And that *Homer* was thus generally understood by the Pagans themselves to have asserted a *Divine Monarchy*, or One Supreme Deity ruling over All, may further appear from these following Citations. *Plutarch* in his *Platonick Questions*, καὶ ἐνομοκράτης Δία ὑπάτων καλεῖ, πρῶτον ὃ ὁμνηθεῖ καὶ πρῶτον ἀρχόντων ἀρχόντα θεόν, ὑπάτων κρείόντων προσεῖπε *Zenocrates* called *Jupiter, Hypaton, or the Highest, but before him Homer stiled that God, who is the Prince of all Princes, ὑπάτων κρείόντων, the Highest*

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Highest of Rulers or Governours. Again the same *Plutarch de Iside & Osiride*, τὸν ἢ ὄσειεν αὐτὸν πάλιν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ σκήπτρου γράφουσι, ὧν τὸ μὲν τῷ πρένοιαν ἐμφαίνει, τὸ ἢ τῷ δυνάμιν· ὡς Ὁμηροῦ τὸ ἀρχοῦσα καὶ βασιλεύουσα πόλιων Ζῆν ὑπάτον καὶ μύστωρα καλῶν, ἔοικε τὰ μὲν ὑπάτῳ τὸ κρατὲς αὐτῶ, τὰ ἢ μύστωρα τῷ δόξαιαν καὶ τῷ φρένησιν σημαίνειν. *The Egyptians when they described Osiris by those Hieroglyphicks of an Eye and a Scepter, did by the former of them signifie Providence, and by the latter Power; as Homer when he calls that Ζῆς or Jupiter, who ruleth and reigneth over all things, ὑπάτον and μύστωρα, seems by the word ὑπάτον, to denote his Power and Sovereignty, but by μύστωρα his Wisdom and Knowledge.* To *Plutarch* may be added *Proclus*, who upon *Plato's Timæus*, having proved that according to that Philosopher, there was τὸ μόλις πάντος εἰς καὶ ὅλον δημιουργός, *One only Maker of the whole World*, affirms the same likewise of that Divine Poet *Homer* (as he there stiles him) ὅς καὶ διὰ πάσης ποιήσεως ὑπάτον κρείοντων καὶ πάσης ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν αὐτὸν ἀνυμνεῖ, καὶ πάντα διφημεῖ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς νοήμασιν. *That he also throughout all his Poesie, praises Jupiter, as the Highest of all Rulers, and the Father both of Gods and Men, and attributes all Demiurgical Notions to him.* Whereupon he concludes in this manner, ἔτα τοίνυν σύμπασαν τῷ Ἑλλωικῷ θεολογίαν ἀπεφήναμεν, τὰ δὲ τῷ ὅλλω δημιουργίαν ἀπονέμεσθαι. *And thus we have made it manifest, that all the Greekish Theology, universally ascribes to Ζῆς or Jupiter, the Making of all things.* Lastly, *Aristotle* himself confirmeth the same with his Testimony, where he writes of the Paternal Authority after this manner, ἢ τῶν τέκνων ἀρχὴ βασιλική· διὸ καλῶς Ὁμηροῦ τὸ διὰ προσχηρόσθην εἰπῶν,

De Rep. L. 1.  
c. 12

————— Πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

τὸ βασιλέα τῶν πάντων· φύσιν γὰρ τὸ βασιλέα διαφέρει μὲν δαί, τὰ γὰρ ἄλλοι δ' εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ· ὅσῳ πέπονθε τὸ πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὸ νεώτερον, καὶ ὁ γυνήσας πρὸς τὸ τέκνον. *The Paternal Power or Authority over Children, is a Kingly Authority: Wherefore Homer when he intended to set forth Jupiter's Kingly Power over all, very well called him the Father of Men and Gods.* For he that is a King by Nature, ought both to differ from those that he reigneth over, and also to be of the same kind with them; as the Senior is to the Junior, and he that Begetteth to his Off-spring. Where *Aristotle's* sence seems to be this, That *Jupiter* had therefore a Natural and not acquired Kingly Power over all the Gods, because they were all his Off-spring and Begotten by him, as well as Men. In which Passage therefore *Aristotle* plainly acquits and frees *Homer* from all suspicion of Atheism.

As for *Hesiod*, if we had not already sufficiently prov'd from his *Theogonia*, that all his Gods (that is his Inferiour Deities) were Generated and Made, as well as Men, it might be made unquestionably evident, from this Verse of his in his Opera,

ὡς ὁμόθεν γένεσθαι θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἀνθρώποι,

When the Gods and Mortal men, were both together, alike made or Generated

nerated. Where the word ὁμοθεν is thus interpreted by the Greek Scholiasts, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἕξις and ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γένεσς, i. e. *The Gods and Men, were both alike made from the same Root or Stock.* And though it followeth immediatly after,

κρύσειν μὲν πρώτιστα γένεθ' ἀνθρώπων  
ἄθάνατοι ποίησαν, ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες.

*That first of all a Golden Age of men was made by the Immortal Gods; Yet Moschopolus there notes, ἄθάνατοι ποίησαν, ὁ Ζεὺς μὲν ἔποίησεν, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλων φάνερον γίνεται. λέγει ἢ πάντας τὸς θεοὺς, τὸ τῆς ἐνὸς ἔργον ἐπὶ πάντας τὸς ὁμοειδῆς ἀναφέρειν. The Immortal Gods made; the true meaning (saith he) is, that Jupiter alone made, this First golden Age of Men; as may be proved from other places in the same Poet; and though he speak of the Gods in general yet doth he but transfer that, which was the work of One upon all of the like kind. And there are several other Instances, of this Poets using θεοὶ for θεοὺς, Gods for God. But it is possible that Hesiod's meaning might be the same with Plato's, that though the Inferiour Mundane Gods were all made at first by the Supreme God, as well as Men, yet they being made something sooner than Men, did afterwards contribute also to the Making of men.*

But Hesiod's *Theogonia* or *Generation of Gods*, is not to be understood univerfally neither, but only of the *Inferiour Gods*, that Ζεὺς or *Jupiter* being to be excepted out of the number of them, whom the same *Hesiod* as well as *Homer*, makes to be the *Father of Gods*, as also the *King of them*, in these words,

Αὐτὸς γὰρ πάντων βασιλεὺς καὶ κτίστην  
ἄθανάτων.

And attributes the Creation of all things to him, as *Proclus* writeth upon this place,

ὅν τε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὄμας, &c.

*By whom all Mortal men are, δι' ὃν πάντα, καὶ ἐν αὐτομάτῳ. πάντα τὰ δι' ἃ περὶ ἀναπλάθει, by whom all things are, and not by chance; the Poet by a Synecdoche, here ascribing the making of all to Jupiter. Wherefore Hesiod's Theogonia is to be understood of the Inferiour Gods only, and not of Ζεὺς or Jupiter, who was the Father and Maker of them (though out of a Watery Chaos) and himself therefore αὐτοφυής, Self-existent or Unmade.*

In like manner, that *Pindar's* Gods were not *Eternal*, but *Made or Generated*, is plainly declared by him in these words,

Ἐν ἀνδράων, ἐν θεῶν γένεθ', ὅτε  
μιάς ἢ πνέομεν  
ματρὸς ἀμφότεροι.

Nem, Od. 61

Unum



*Unum Hominum, Unum Deorum genus,  
Et ex Una spiramus  
Matre utrique.*

*There is one kind both of Gods and Men, and we both breath from the same Mother, or spring from the same Original. Where by the common Mother both of Gods and Men, the Scholiast understands the Earth and Chaos, taking the Gods here for the Inferiour Deities only, and principally the Stars.*

This of *Pindar's* therefore is to be understood, of all the other Gods, That they were made as well as men out of the Earth or *Chaos*, but not of that Supreme Deity, whom the same *Pindar* elsewhere calls, *θεῶν κρατίστων*, the most Powerful of the Gods, and *ἄ πάντων κρείων*, the Lord of all things, and *παντὶ ἄπτιον*, the Cause of every thing, and *ἀριστέχνῳ θεῶν*, that God who is the best Artificer, or was the Frammer of the whole World, and as *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, *τὸ πᾶν*, or the Universe. Which God also, according to *Pindar*, *Cheiron* instructed *Achilles* to worship principally, above all the other Gods.

*Pyth. O. d. 6.*

— μάλιστ' ἀλλὰ κρείνιδαν  
βαρυόπαν, σεργπᾶν κεραυνῶν τε πρύτανιν,  
θεῶν σέβειναι.

The sence of which words is thus declared by the Scholiast, *ἔξουσι-  
τας ἄ μεγαλόφωνον ἀσεργπᾶν καὶ κεραυνῶν δεσπότιν ἄ Δία, ὡς τὸς ἄλλας  
θεῶς τιμᾶν καὶ σέβειναι.* That he should honour and worship the Loud-  
sounding Jupiter, the Lord of Thunder and Lightning, transcendently  
above all the other Gods. Which by the way confutes the Opinion  
of those who contend, that the Supreme God, as such, was not at all  
Worshipped by the Pagans.

However this is certain concerning these Three, *Homer*, *Hesiod*  
and *Pindar*; that they must of necessity either have been all abso-  
lute Atheists, in acknowledging no *Eternal Deity* at all, but making  
senseless *Chaos*, Night and the Ocean, the Original of all their Gods  
without exception, and therefore of *Jupiter* himself too, that King  
and Father of them, or else assert One only *Eternal Unmade Self-  
existent Deity*; so as that all the other Gods were Generated or  
Created by that One. Which latter doubtless was their genuine  
sence; and the only reason why *Aristotle* and *Plato* might possibly  
sometime have a suspicion of the contrary, seems to have been this,  
their not understanding that *Mosaick Cabbala*, which both *Hesiod* and  
*Homer* followed, of the World's, that is, both Heaven and Earth's,  
being made at first out of a Watery *Chaos*; for thus is the Tradition  
declared by *St. Peter*, *Ep. 2. Ch. 3.*

There might be several remarkable Passages to the same purpose,  
produced out of those two Tragick Poets, *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*;  
which yet because they have been already cited, by *Justin Martyr*,  
*Clemens*

*Clemens Alexandrinus*, and others; to avoid unnecessary tediousness, we shall here pass by. Only we think fit to observe concerning that one famous Passage of *Sophocles*,

Εἰς ταῖς ἀλιθείαιον, εἰς ὅτιν θεός,  
 ὅς ἔργον τ' ἔτρεξε κ' γαῖαν μακροῖν,  
 Πόντος τε χερσποῦ οἰδ' ἡμα, κἀνέμαν βίαν, &c.

*Unus profecto, Unus est tantum Deus,*  
*Cæli solique machinam qui condidit,*  
*Vadumque Ponti cæruluz, & vim Spiritus, &c.*

There is in truth, One only God, who made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, Air and Winds, &c. After which followeth also, something against Image-worship; That though this be such as might well become a Christian, and be no where now to be found in those extant Tragedies of this Poet (many whereof have been lost) yet the sincerity thereof, cannot reasonably be at all suspected by us, it having been cited by so many of the Ancient Fathers in their Writings against the Pagans, as particularly, *Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Eusebins, Cyril and Theodoret*; of which number, *Clemens* tells us, that it was attested likewise, by that ancient Pagan Historiographer *Hecateus*. But there are so many Places to our purpose, in *Euripides*, that we cannot omit them all; In his *Supplices* we have this, wherein all mens Absolute Dependence upon *Jupiter*, or one Supreme Deity, is fully acknowledged,

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴντα τὰς ταλαιπώρας βεβήτας  
 φρονεῖν λέγεις; ὅς γ' ἔξενετήμηθα,  
 Δραῖμ' τε τριαῦτ', ἂν σὺ τυγχάνης δέλων.

*Miseros quid Homines, O Deum Rex & Pater,*  
*Sapere arbitramur? Pendet è nutu tuo*  
*Res nostra, facimusque illa quæ visum tibi.*

We have also this excellent Prayer to the Supreme Governour of Heaven and Earth, cited out of the same Tragedian,

Σοὶ γὰρ πάντων μεδεόντι χολῶ,  
 Πέλανον τε φέρω Ζῆς εἴτ' Ἀΐδης  
 ὀνομαζόμενον σέργεις.  
 Σὺ γὰρ εἰ τε θεοῖς τοῖς ἑρανίδαις,  
 Σκῆπτρον τὸ Διὸς μέλα χειρίζων,  
 Χθονίων δ' Ἀἰδῆ μετέχεις ἀρχῆς.  
 Πέμψον μὲν φῶς ψυχῶν ἀνέραν  
 ταῖς βροτοῖσιν ἄθλας προμαθεῖν  
 Πόθεν ἔβλαστον, τίς ῥίζα κακῶν,  
 Τίνι δ' αἰ μάχαρον δὲ θυσιαμέλας  
 Εὐρεῖν μόχθων ἀνάπαυλαν.

*Tibi (Cunctorum Domino) Vinum,*  
 M m

*Salsamque*

*Salsamque Molam fero, seu Ditis,  
 Tu, sive Jovis nomine gaudes :  
 Tu namque Deos Superos inter,  
 Sceptrum tractas Sublime Jovis ;  
 Idem Regnum Terestre tenes.  
 Tu Lucem animis infunde Virum,  
 Qui scire volunt, quo sata Mentis  
 Lucta sit ortu, Quæ Causa Mali ;  
 Cui Cœlicolum rite litando  
 Requiem sit habere laborum.*

Where we may observe that *Ζῆὺς* and *Ἄδης*, *Jupiter* and *Pluto*, are both of them supposed to be Names, equally belonging to One and the same Supreme God. And the Sum of the Prayer is this, *That God would infuse Light into the Souls of men, whereby they might be enabled to know, What is the Root, from whence all their Evils spring, and by what means they may avoid them.*

Lastly, there is another Devotional Passage, cited out of *Euripides*, which contains also a clear acknowledgment of One Self-existent Being, that comprehends and governs the whole World,

Σὲ τ' αὐτοφυῆ, τ' ἐν αἰθέριῳ  
 ῥόμβῳ, πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξανθ',  
 ὃν πέρι μὲν φᾶς, πέρι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν  
 Νῦξ αἰολόχρως ἀκερταῖ τ' ἄστρων  
 ὄχλῳ εἰδιλεχῶς ἀμφιχορεύει.

*Thou Self-sprung Being, that do'st All Enfold,  
 And in thine Arms, Heav'n's Whirling Fabrick hold !  
 Who art Encircled with resplendent Light,  
 And yet ly'st Mantled o're in Shady Night !  
 About whom, the Exultant Starry Fires,  
 Dance nimbly round, in Everlasting Gyres.*

For this sence of the Second and Third Verses, which we think the Words will bear, and which agrees with that Orphick Passage

————— περὶ τοῦ νέφους ἐστειλωται,

*That God being in himself a most bright and dazeling Light, is respectively to us, and by reason of the Weakness of our Understanding, covered over with a Thick Cloud ; as also with that in the Scripture, Clouds and Darkness are round about him ; I say, this sence, we chose rather to follow, as more Rich and August, than that other Vulgar one, though Grammatically and Poetically good also ; That Successive Day and Night, together with a Numberless Multitude of Stars, perpetually dance round about the Deity.*

*Aristophanes* in the very beginning of his *Plutus* distinguisheth betwixt *Ζῆὺς* and *θεοὶ*, *Jupiter* and the Gods,

ὡς ἀρχαλέον παῖγμ' ὄσι δ' αὖ ζεῦ ἢ θεοί, &c.

And we have this clear Testimony of *Terpander* cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ζεῦ πάντων ἀρχῆ, ζεῦ πάντων ἀγῆτωρ, *Thou Jupiter who art the Original of all things, Thou Jupiter who art the Governour of all.* And these following Verses are attributed to *Menander*.

Τὸν ὄντα πάντα κρείον ἡμιώτατον  
καὶ πατέρα, τῶτον διατέλει τιμῶν μόνον,  
Ἄγαθῶν τοῖστων δὲρέτω ἢ κλίσωρα.

*Rerum universarum Imperatorem & Patrem,  
Solum perpetuo colere suppliciter decet,  
Artificem tantæ & Largitorem copiæ.*

Where men are exhorted to Worship the Supreme God only, as the sole Author of all Good, or at least transcendently above all the other Gods. There are also Two remarkable Testimonies, one of *Hermesianax* an ancient Greek Poet, and another of *Aratus*, to the same purpose; which shall both be reserved for other places.

Wherefore we pass from the Greek to the Latin Poets, where *Ennius* first appears, deriving the Gods in General (who were all the Inferiour Deities) from *Erebus* and *Night*, as supposing them all to have been *Made* or *Generated* out of *Chaos*, nevertheless acknowledging One who was

————— *Divûmque Hominumque Pater, Rex,*

*both Father and King of Gods and Men*, that is, the Maker or Creator of the whole World, who therefore made those Gods together with the World out of *Chaos*, himself being *Unmade*.

*Plautus* in like manner sometimes distinguisheth betwixt *Jupiter* and the *Gods*, and plainly acknowledgeth One Omniscient Deity,

*Est profecto Deus, qui quæ nos gerimus, auditque & videt.*

Cap. *Atti*. 2.  
Sc. 2.

Which Passage very much resembles that of *Manlius Torquatus* in *Livy*, *Est Cæleste Numen, Es Magne Jupiter*; a strong Affelevation of One Supreme and Universal Deity. And the same *Plautus* in his *Rudens* clearly asserts one Supreme Monarch and Emperor over All, whom the Inferiour Gods are subservient to,

*Qui Gentes omnes Mariæque & Terras movet,  
Ejus sum Civis civitate Cælitum;  
Qui est Imperator Divûm atque Hominum Jupiter,  
Is nos per gentes alium aliâ disparat,  
Hominum qui facta, mores, pietatem & fidem  
Noscamus.*—————

*Qui falsas lites falsis testimoniis  
 Petunt, quique in jure abjurant pecuniam,  
 Eorum referimus nomina exscripta ad Jovem.  
 Cotidie Ille scit, quis hic querat malum.  
 Iterum Ille eam rem judicatam judicat.  
 Bonos in aliis tabulis exscriptos habet.  
 Atque hoc scelesti illi in animum inducunt suum  
 Jovem se placare posse donis, hostiis ;  
 Sed operam & sumptum perdunt, quia  
 Nihil Ei acceptum est à perjuris supplicii.*

Where *Jupiter* the Supreme Monarch of Gods and Men, is said to appoint other Inferiour Gods under him, over all the parts of the Earth, to observe the Actions, Manners and Behaviours of men every where ; and to return the names both of bad and good to him. Which *Jupiter* judges over again all unjust Judgments, rendring a righteous retribution to all. And though wicked men conceit that he may be bribed with sacrifices, yet no worship is acceptable to him from the Perjurious. Notwithstanding which, this Poet afterwards jumbles the Supreme and Inferiour Gods all together, after the usual manner, under that one general name of Gods, because they are all supposed to be Co-governours of the World ;

*Facilius, siqui pius est, à Diis supplicans,  
 Quam qui scelestus est, inveniet veniam sibi.*

*Pan. Act. 5.  
 Sc. 4.*

Again the same Poet elsewhere brings in *Hanno* the Carthaginian, with this form of Prayer addressing himself to *Jupiter* or the Supreme God,

*Jupiter, qui genus colis aliq; Hominum, per quem vivimus  
 Vitale ævum ; quem penes spes, vitæque sunt Hominum Omnium,  
 Da diem hunc sospitem, quæso, rebus meis agundis.*

In the next place, we have these Verses of *Valerius Soranus*, an ancient and eminent Poet, full to the purpose, recorded by *Varro*,

*Jupiter Omnipotens, Regum Rex ipse Deûmque,  
 Progenitor Genitrixque Deûm ; Deus UNUS & OMNIS.*

To this sence: *Omnipotent Jupiter, the King of Kings and Gods, and the Progenitor and Genitrix, the both Father and Mother of those Gods ; One God and all Gods.* Where the Supreme and Omnipotent Deity is stiled *Progenitor & Genitrix Deorum*, after the same manner as he was called in the Orphick Theology *μνηστονότης* and *ἀρχενοδιδυλος*, that expression denoting the Gods and all other Things, to have been produced from him alone, and without any prexistent matter. Moreover according to the tenour of this Ethnick Theology, that *One God was All Gods and Every God*, the Pagans supposed, that when ever any Inferiour Deity was worshipped by them, the Supreme was therein also at once worshipped and honoured.

Though

Though the sence of *Ovid* hath been sufficiently declared before, yet we cannot well omit some other Passages of his, as that grateful and sensible acknowledgment,

*Quod loquor & spiro, Cælumque & lumina Solis  
Aspicio (possunne ingratus & immemor esse?)  
Ipse dedit.*

And this in the Third of his *Metamorph.*

*Ille Pater Re&torque Deûm, cui Dextra trifulcis  
Ignibus armata est, qui Nutu concutit Orbem.*

*Virgil's* Theology also may sufficiently appear from his frequent acknowledgment of an Omnipotent Deity, and from those Verses of his before cited out of *Æn.* 6. wherein he plainly asserts One God to be the Original of all things, at least as a *Soul of the World*; *Servius Honoratus* there paraphrasing thus, *Deus est quidam Divinus Spiritus, qui per quatuor fusus elementa, gignit universa, God is a certain Spirit, which infused through the Four Elements, begetteth all things.* Nevertheless, we shall add from him this also of *Venus* her Prayer to *Jupiter*, *Æn.* 1.

——— *O qui res Hominumque Deûmque,  
Æternis regis imperiis, & fulmine terres!*

Which *Venus* again, *Æn.* 10. bespeaks the same *Jupiter* after this manner,

*O Pater, O Hominum Divûmque Æterna Potestas!*

Where we have this Annotation of *Servius*, *Divûmque Æterna Potestas, propter aliorum Numinum discretionem, Jupiter is here called the Eternal Power of the Gods, to distinguish him from all the other Gods that were not Eternal, but Made or Generated from him.*

Neither ought *Horace* to be left out, in whom we read to the same purpose, *Lib.* 1. *Od.* 12.

*Quid prius dicam solitis Parentis  
Laudibus? Qui res Hominum & Deorum,  
Qui Mare & Terras, variisque mundum  
Temperat hortis.*

*Unde nil majus generatur ipso,  
Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum;  
Proximos illi tamen occupavit*

*Pallas honores:*

And again, *Lib.* 3. *Od.* 4.

*Qui Terram inertem, qui mare Temperat*

*Ventosum*

*Ventosum, & Urbes, Regnaque Tristia ;  
Divosque, Mortalesque turmas,  
Imperio regit UNUS æquo.*

Where from those words of *Horace, Solitis Parentis Laudibus*, it appears that the One Supreme Deity, the Parent and Maker of all things, was then wont to be celebrated by the Pagans as such, above all the other Gods. And whereas those Pagans vulgarly ascribed the Government of the Seas particularly to *Neptune*, of the Earth and *Hades* or *Inferi* (which are here called *Tristia Regna*) to *Pluto*, these being here attributed by *Horace* to One and the same Supreme and Universal Deity, it may well be concluded from thence, that *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, were but Three several Names or Notions, of One Supreme *Numen*, whose sovereignty notwithstanding was chiefly signified by *Jupiter*. Which same is to be said of *Pallas* or *Minerva* too, that signifying the Eternal Wisdom, that it was but another name of God also, though look'd upon as inferiour to that of *Jupiter* and next in dignity to it: unless we should conclude it to be a Second Divine *Hypostasis*, according to the Doctrine of the Pythagoreans and Platonists (probably not unknown to *Horace*) as also to that Scripture *Cabbala*, *I was set up from everlasting, or ever the Earth was, when there were no Depths, I was brought forth, &c.* But of this more afterward.

Lastly, we shall conclude with *Manilius* who lived in the same Augustean age, and was a zealous opposer of that Atheistical *Hypothesis* of *Epicurus* and *Lucretius*, as appears from these Verses of his,

*Quis credat tantas operum sine Numine Moles,  
Ex Minimis cæcoque creatum sædere mundum?*

Wherefore he also plainly asserts One Supreme Deity the Framers and Governour of the whole World in this manner, *Lib. 2.*

*Namque canam tacitâ Naturam mente potentem,  
Infusumque Deum Cælo, Terrisque, Fretoque,  
Ingentem æquali moderantem sædere molem,  
Totumque alterno consensu vivere mundum,  
Et rationis agi motu; quum SPIRITUS UNUS  
Per cunctas habitet partes, atque irriget Orbem,  
Omnia pervolitans, Corpusq; Animale figuret, &c.*

And again,

*Hoc opus immensi constructum corpore mundi,  
Vis Animæ Divina regit, sacroque Meatu,  
Conspirat Deus, & tacita ratione gubernat.*

And, *Lib. 4.*

——— *Faciem Cæli non invidet Orbi  
Ipse Deus, vultusque suos, corpusque recludit,*

*Semper*

*Semper volvendo, seq; ipsum inculcat & offert ;  
 Ut bene cognosci possit, monstretque videndo  
 Qualis eat, doceatque suas attendere Leges.  
 Ipse vocat nostros animos ad Sydera Mundus,  
 Nec patitur, quia non condit, sua Jura latere.*

Where notwithstanding, we confess, that the whole *Animated World*, or rather the *Soul* thereof, is, according to the Stoical Doctrine, made by *Manilius* to be the Supreme *Numen*.

XX. We now pass from the *Poets* of the Pagans to their *Philosophers*. A Modern Writer concerning the *Religion of the Gentiles*, affirmeth this to have been the Opinion of very eminent Philosophers, That even all the *Minor Gods of the Pagans*, did exist of themselves from *Eternity Unmade*, they giving many reasons for the same. But how far from truth this is, will (as we conceive) appear sufficiently, from the Sequel of this Discourse. And we cannot conclude otherwise but that this Learned Writer, did mistake that Opinion of *Aristotle* and the latter *Platonists*, concerning the *Eternity of the World and Gods*, as if they had therefore asserted the *Self-existence* of them; the contrary whereunto hath been already manifested. Wherefore we shall now make it unquestionably evident by a Particular Enumeration, That the Generality of the Pagan Philosophers who were Theists, however they acknowledged a Multiplicity of Gods, yet asserted *One only Self-existent Deity*, or a *Universal Numen*, by whom the World and all those other Gods were Made. There being only some few Ditheists to be excepted, (such as *Plutarch* and *Atticus*) who out of a certain Softness and Tenderness of Nature, that they might free the *One Good God*, from the Imputation of Evils, would needs set up besides him, an *Evil Soul* or *Dæmon* also in the World *Self-existent*, to bear all the blame of them.

And indeed *Epicurus* is the only Person that we can find, amongst the reputed Philosophers; who though pretending to acknowledge Gods, yet professedly opposed *Monarchy*, and verbally asserted a Multitude of Eternal Unmade Self-existent Deities: but such, as had nothing at all to do either with the Making or Governing of the World. The reason whereof was, because he would by no means admit the World to have been made by any Mind or Understanding. Wherefore he concluded,

*Naturam Rerum, hand Divinâ Mente Coortam,*

*Lucret. l. 3.*

That there was no God the *Διμυσεος* or *Framer of the World*. But nevertheless that he might decline the *Odium* of being accounted an Atheist, he pretended to assert a *Multitude of Gods Unmade and Incorruptible*, such as were unconcerned in the *Fabrick of the World*. Wherein first it is evident, that he was not serious and sincere, because he really admitting no other Principles of things in his Philosophy, besides *Atoms* and *Vacuum*, agreeably thereunto, could acknowledge no other Gods, than such as were compounded out of *Atoms*



Lib. 4. cont. C.  
p. 169.

Atoms, and therefore Corruptible. And thus does *Origen* declare the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, not indeed as he pretended to hold it, but as according to the tenor of his Principles, he must have held it, had he really asserted any Gods at all, οἱ τῶν Ἐπικούρου θεοὶ, σύνθετοι ἔξ ἀτόμων τυγχάνουσιν, ἢ τὸ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ συστάσει ἀναλυτοὶ, παραγματούονται τοῖς φθοροποιῶν ἀτόμοις ἀποσείεσθαι, *Epicurus his Gods being compounded of Atoms, and therefore by their very constitution Corruptible, are in continual labour and toil, struggling with their Corruptive Principles.* Nevertheless if *Epicurus* had in good earnest asserted such a *Commonwealth of Gods*, as were neither Made out of Atoms, nor yet Corruptible; so long as he denied the World to have been Made by any Mind or Wisdom (as we have already declared) he ought not to be reckoned amongst the *Theists* but *Atheists*.

*Thales* the Milesian was one of the most Ancient Greek Philosophers, who that he admitted a *Plurality of Gods* in some sense, is evident from that saying of his cited by *Aristotle*, πάντα θεῶν πλήρη, *All things are full of Gods.* But that notwithstanding he asserted *One Supreme* and only *Unmade* or *Self-existent Deity*, is also manifest from that other Apothegm of his in *Laertius*, πρεσβύτατον πάντων ὁ θεός, ἀγνώστου γὰρ. *God is the Oldest of all things, because he is Unmade.* From whence it may be concluded, that all *Thales* his other Gods were Generated, and the Off-spring of *One* sole *Unmade Deity*.

*Pherecydes Syrus* was *Thales* his contemporary, of whom *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysics* hath recorded, that he affirmed τὸ γνῶσταν πρῶτον ἄεισιν, that the *First Principle* from whence all other things were Generated, was the *Best* or an *Absolutely Perfect Being*; So as that in the *Scale of Nature* things did not ascend upwards from the most *Imperfect* to the more *Perfect* Beings, but on the contrary descend downwards, from the *most Perfect*, to the *less Perfect*. Moreover *Laertius* informs us, that this was the Beginning of one of *Pherecydes* his Books, Ζῆς μὲν ἢ χρόνος εἰς αἰεὶ, ἢ χθὼν ἰὼ. *Jupiter, and Time, and the Earth always were.* Where notwithstanding in the following words, he makes the *Earth* to be dependent upon *Jupiter*. Though some reading κρόνος here instead of χρόνος, seem to understand him thus; that *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, really *one and the same Numen*, was always from *Eternity*. However there is in these words an acknowledgment of *One* Single and *Eternal Deity*.

*Pythagoras* was the most eminent of all the ancient Philosophers, who that he was a *Polytheist* as well as the other Pagans, may be concluded from that Beginning of the *Golden Verses* (though not written by him)

Ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεοὺς νόμος, ὡς δὴ κενεῖται,  
τίμα ἢ σέβας ὄρεον· ἐπειθ' ἠρώας ἀγαυῆς·  
τῶς τε κατὰ χθονίους σέβει δαίμονας, ἔνομα ῥέζον.

Wherein men are exhorted in the first place to worship the *Immortal Gods*, and that accordingly as they were appointed by *Law*, after them the *Heroes*, and last of all the *Terrestrial Demons*. And accordingly

cordingly *Laertius* gives this account of *Pythagoras* his Piety, τιμάς θεοῖς δ'εἶν νομίζειν ἢ ἡρώων, μὴ τοῖς ἴσας. That he conceived men ought to worship, both the Gods, and the Heroes; though not with equal honour. And who these Gods of *Pythagoras* were, the same Writer also declareth, ἡλιόν τε ἢ σελήνην ἢ τὰς ἄλλας ἀστέρας, εἶναι θεούς. That they were in part at least, the Sun, and Moon, and Stars.

Notwithstanding which, that *Pythagoras* acknowledged One Supreme and Universal Numen, which therefore was the Original of all those other Gods, may partly appear from that Prayer in the Golden Verses, which, whether written by *Philolaus* or *Lysis* or some other Follower of *Pythagoras*, were undoubtedly ancient and agreeable to his Doctrine.

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἢ πολλῶν τε κακῶν λύσθας ἀπαΐτας.  
 Εἰ πάτερ δ'εἴς οἶός τ' ἀίμονι χεῖνται.

Salmf. Pref.  
 in Tab. Ceb.  
 Arab.

Jupiter alme, malis jubeas vel solvier omnes:  
 Omnibus utantur vel quonam demone monstra.

Upon which *Hierocles* thus writeth, ἢ ποιητῶν ἢ πατέρων τῶνδε τῶ πάντων ἐθελοῦν τοῖς πυθαγορείοις τῶ τῶ διός, ἢ ζωός, ὀνόματι σμνύνεν. δι' ὃν γὰρ τὸ εἶναι, ἢ τὸ ζῆν, τοῖς πάτερ ὑπάρχει, τῶτον δίκαιον ἀπὸ τῆ ἐνεργείας ὀνομάζεσθαι. It was the manner of the Pythagoreans to honour the Maker and Father of this whole Universe, with the name of Dis and Zen, it being just, that he who giveth Being and Life to all, should be denominated from thence: And again afterwards, τὸ τῶ διός ὄνομα σύμβολόν ἔστι, ἢ εἰκὼν ἐφωνήν δημοκρατίας ἔστι, τῶ τῶ πρώτης θεμύτης τοῖς προφύμασι τὰ ὀνόματα διὰ σοφίας ὑποβολῶν, ὡς πῆρ πνας ἀγαλματοποιός ἀριστος, διὰ τῶ ὀνομάτων, ὡς δι' εἰκόνων, ἐμφανίσαι αὐτῶ τὰς δυνάμεις. This very name Zeus, is a convenient symbol or image of the Demiurgical Nature. And they who first gave names to things, were by reason of a certain wonderful Wisdom of theirs, a kind of excellent Statuaries; they by those several Names, as Images, lively representing the natures of things. Moreover that this Pythagorick Prayer was directed to the Supreme Numen and King of Gods, *Jamblichus* thus declares in his Protrepticks, εἰ δὲ τῶ τοῖς μὴ ἀείσει ἀδελφικῆς εἰς τὴν θεῖαν δίδαιμονίαν ἢ μεμυγμένη ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἢ ἀνακλήσει τῶ θεῶν, ἢ μάλιστα τῶ βασιλείας αὐτῶ διός. Here is an excellent exhortation of these Golden Verses, to the pursuit of Divine Felicity, mingled together with Prayers and the Invocation of the Gods, but especially of that Jupiter who is the King of them. Moreover the same might further appear from those Pythagorick Fragments that are still extant, as that of *Ocellus Lucanus*, and others who were Moralists, in which as Gods are sometimes spoken of plurally, so also is God often singularly used, for that Supreme Deity which containeth the whole.

But this will be most of all manifest, from what hath been recorded concerning the Pythagorick Philosophy and its making a Monad the First Principle. It is true indeed that the Writer *de Platonicis Philosophorum*, doth affirm, *Pythagoras* to have asserted Two Substantial

Lib. 1. cap. 3.

*stantial Principles Self-existent, a Monad and a Dyad; by the former of which as God is confessed to have been meant, so the latter of them is declared with some uncertainty, it being in one place interpreted to be a Demon, or a Principle of Evil, Πυθαγόρας τῆς ἀρχῶν τῶ μὲν μονάδα θεόν, καὶ τὰ κακῶν, ἥτις ἔστιν ἡ τῆς ἐνός φύσις, αὐτῆς ὁ νῦν τῶ δ' ἀόριστον δυάδα δαίμονα, καὶ τὸ κακόν, &c. Pythagoras his First Principle is God and Good, which is the Nature of Unity, and a perfect Mind; but his other Principle of Duality, is a Demon or Evil: But in another place expounded to be Matter, πάλιν τῶ μονάδα καὶ τῶ ἀόριστον δυάδα ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς. σπουδῆ δ' αὐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῶν ἡ μὲν ἐπι τὸ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον καὶ εἰδικόν, (ὅσῳ ἔστι νῦν ὁ θεός) ἡ δ' ἐπι τὸ παθητικὸν τε καὶ ὑλικόν (ὅσῳ ἔστιν ὁ ὄρετος κόσμος.) Pythagoras his Principles, were a Monad and Infinite Duality: The former of them an Active Principle, Mind or God; the latter Passive and Matter. And Plutarch in some other Writings of his declares that the First Matter did not exist alone by it self Dead and Inanimate, but acted with an irrational Soul; and that both these together made up that wicked Demon of his. And doubtless, this Book *De Placitis Philosophorum*, was either written by Plutarch himself, or else by some Disciple and Follower of his according to his Principles. Wherefore this account which is therein given of the Pythagorick Doctrine, was probably infected with that private Conceit of Plutarch's; That God and a wicked Demon, or else Matter together with an Irrational Soul, Self-existent, were the First Principles of the Universe. Though we do acknowledge, that others also besides Plutarch, have supposed Pythagoras to have made Two Self-existent Principles, God and Matter, but not animate, nor informed, as Plutarch supposed, with any Irrational or wicked Soul.*

P. 103.

Notwithstanding which, it may well be made a Question, Whether Pythagoras by his Dyad, meant Matter or no; because Malchus or Porphyrius, in the Life of Pythagoras, thus interprets those Two Pythagorick Principles, of Unity and Duality; τὸ αἴτιον ἢ συμπνοίας καὶ ἢ συμπαιθείας, καὶ ἢ σωτηρίας τῆς ὅλων τῆς καὶ ταυτῶν καὶ ὁμοιωτικῆς ἐξουσίας, ἐν προσεγγέσειαν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν τοῖς καὶ μέγεθος ἐν τοῖσιν ὑπάρχει, ἠνωμένων τοῖς μέγεθος καὶ σύμπαν, καὶ μέγεθος τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας. ἢ ἢ ἢ ἐπετέτι καὶ ἀνισότητος καὶ παντός τῆς μερῶν καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλως ἐξουσίας δουεῖν λόγον καὶ δυάδα προσεγγέσειαν. *The Cause of that Sympathy, Harmony, and Agreement, which is in things, and of the conservation of the Whole, which is always the same and like it self, was by Pythagoras called Unity or a Monade (that Unity which is in the things themselves being but a participation of the First Cause:.) But the reason of Alterity, Inequality and unconstant Irregularity in things was by him called a Dyad. Thus according to Porphyrius, by the Pythagorick Dyad, is not so much meant Matter, as the Infinite and Indeterminate Nature, and the Passive Capability of Things. So that the Monade and Dyad of Pythagoras, seem to have been the same with Plato's πέρας and ἀπειρον, his Finite and Infinite in his Philebus; the Former of which Two only is Substantial, that First most simple Being, the cause of all Unity and the Measure of all things.*

However

However if *Pythagoras* his *Dyad* be to be understood of a Substantial Matter, it will not therefore follow, that he supposed *Matter* to be Self-existent and Independent upon the Deity, since according to the best and most ancient Writers, his *Dyad* was no Primary but a Secondary Thing only, and derived from his *Monad*, the sole Original of all things. Thus *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, that *Alexander* who wrote the Successions of Philosophers, affirmed he had found in the Pythagorick Commentaries, ἀρχὴ μὲν τῶν ἀπόντων, μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος, ἀρξισον δυάδα, ὡς ἀν ὕλῳ τῇ μονάδι αἰτία ὄντι ὑποστῆναι. *That a Monade was the Principle of all things, but that from this Monade was derived infinite Duality, as Matter for the Monade to work upon, as the Active Cause.* With which agreeth *Hermias*, affirming this to be one of the greatest of all the Pythagorick Mysteries, that a *Monade* was the sole Principle of all things. Accordingly whereunto *Clemens Alexandrinus*, cites this Passage out of *Thearidas* an ancient Pythagorean in his Book concerning Nature, Ἄ ἀρχαί τῶν ὄντων, ἀρχὴ μὲν ὄντως ἀληθινὰ, μία· κείνα γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τε ἔστιν ἓν καὶ μόνον, *The true Principle of all things was only One; for this was in the beginning One and Alone.* Which words also seem to imply the World to have had a Novity of Existence or beginning of Duration. And indeed, however *Ocellus Lucanus* write, yet that *Pythagoras* himself, did not hold the Eternity of the World, may be concluded from what *Porphyrus* records of him, where he gives an Account of that his superstitious abstinence from Beans, ὅτι τὸ πρῶτης ἀρχῆς καὶ γλυκύσεως παραπομπῆς, καὶ πολλῶν ἄμα συννευγμένων καὶ συσφρομένων καὶ συσσηπομένων ἐν τῇ γῆ, κατ' ὀλίγον γλυκίς καὶ διάκρισις συνέσι, ζῶων τε ὁμοῦ γλυκίμων, καὶ φυτῶν ἀναδιδομένων, τότε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς σπιπέδονος, ἀνθρώπους συστῆναι καὶ κνᾶμους βλαστῆναι. *That at the beginning, things being confounded and mingled together, the Generation and Secretion of them afterwards proceeded by degrees, Animals and Plants appearing; at which time also from the same putrified Matter, sprung up both Men and Beans.*

*Pythagoras* is generally reported to have held a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*: and therefore when *St. Cyril* affirmeth *Pythagoras* to have called God ψυχαζιν τῶν ὅλων κώλων, καὶ πάντων κίνεζιν, *the Animation of the whole Heavens, and the Motion of all things*; adding that God was not, as some supposed, ἐκτὸς τῆς διακοσμῆσεως, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ ὅλῳ ἐν ὅλῳ, *without the Fabrick of the World, but whole in the whole*, this seems properly to be understood, of that *Third Divine Hypostasis* of the Pythagorick Trinity, namely the *Eternal Psyche*. Again when God is called in *Plutarch* according to *Pythagoras*, αὐτὸς ὁ νῦς, *Mind it self*, this seems to be meant properly of his *Second Hypostasis*; the Supreme Deity according to him being something above *Mind* or *Intellect*. In like manner when in *Cicero*, *Pythagoras* his Opinion concerning the Deity is thus represented, *Deum esse animum, per naturam rerum omnium intentum et commeantem, ex quo Animi nostri carperentur*, *That God was a Mind passing through the whole Nature of things, from whom our Souls were, as it were, decerped or cut out.* And again, *Ex universa mente Divina, delibatos esse animos nostros*; this in all probability was to be understood also ei-

Met. L. 1. c. 6.

ther of the *Third* or *Second* Divine *Hypostasis*, and not of the *First*, which was properly called by him, τὸ ἐν and μόνος, a *Unity* and *Monade*, and also as *Plutarch* tells us, τὸ ἀγαθόν, *Goodness* it self. *Aristotle* plainly affirmeth that some of the ancient Theologers amongst the Pagans made ἔρως or *Love*, to be the *First* Principle of all things, that is, the *Supreme Deity*; and we have already shewed, that *Orpheus* was one of these. For when ἔρως πολυταρπής and πολὺμυθίς, *Delightful Love*, and that which is not blind, but full of *Wisdom* and *Counsel*, is made by him to be αὐτοτελές and πρῶτον, *Self-perfect* and the *Oldest* of all Things, it is plain that he supposed it to be nothing less than the *Supreme Deity*. Wherefore since *Pythagoras* is generally affirmed, to have followed the *Orphick* Principles, we may from hence presume that he did it in this also. Though it be very true, that *Plato* who called the *Supreme Deity* τὰ ἀγαθόν, as well as *Pythagoras*, did dissent from the *Orphick* Theology in this, and would not acknowledge *Love* for a name of the *Supreme Deity*; as when in his *Symposion* in the person of *Agatho* he speaks thus: φιλῶ δὲ πολλὰ ἄλλα ὁμολογῶν, τὸτο ἔχ' ὁμολογῶ, ὡς ἔρως κρείσσος ἢ Ἰαπετῶ ἀρχαιότερος ἔστιν ἂν ἄλλῃ φημι νεώτερον αὐτ' εἶναι θεῶν, ἢ αἰεὶ νέον. *Though I should readily grant to Phædrus many other things, yet I cannot consent to him in this, that Love was Older than Saturn and Japet, but on the contrary I do affirm him to be the Youngest of the Gods; as he is always youthful.* They who made *Love* Older than *Saturn* as well as *Japhet*, supposed it to be the *Supreme Deity*; wherefore *Plato* here on the contrary affirms *Love* not to be the *Supreme Deity* or *Creator* of all, but a *Creature*; a *Certain Junior God*, or indeed as he afterwards adds, not so much a *God* as a *Demon*; it being a thing which plainly implies *Imperfection* in it. *Love* (saith he) is a *Philosopher*, whereas θεῶν ἑδ' εἰς φιλοσοφεί, ἑδ' ἐπιθυμεί σοφὸς γενέσθαι, ἐστὶ γὰρ, *no God philosophizeth, nor desires to be made wise, because he is so already.* Agreeably with which *Doctrine* of his, *Plotinus* determines that *Love* is peculiar to that middle rank of *Beings*, called *Souls*, πᾶσα ψυχή, ἀφ' ἑδ' ἔστιν ἢ τὸτο ἀνιήσεται ἢ τὰ ἄφ' ἑδ' ἔστιν γενέσθαι, ἢ ὁ ἔρως ὁ μετ' αὐτῆς γινόμενος. ἔρως ἔν τῇ φύσιν ἔχουσα ψυχή θεῶν, ἐνωθῆναι θέλει, ἄφ' ἑδ' παρθένος καλῆ πρὸς καλὸν ἀνδρα. ὅταν ἢ εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθῆσιν, οἷον μινυσεῖαις ἀπατηθῆ, ἄλλον ἀγαπήσιν θυητὸν ἔρωτα, ἐρημίας πᾶρος ὑβρίζεται, &c. *Every Soul is a Venus, which is also intimated by Venus her Nativity, and Loves being begotten with her; wherefore the Soul being in its right natural state, Loves God desiring to be united with him, which is a pure, heavenly and virgin Love; but when it descends to Generation, being courted with these Amorous allurements here below, and deceived by them, it changeth that its Divine and Heavenly Love, for another Mortal one; but if it again shake off these lascivious and wanton Loves, and keep it self chaste from them, returning back to its own Father, and Original, it will be rightly affected as it ought.* But the reason of this difference betwixt the *Orpheists* and *Plato*, that the former made *Love* to be the *Oldest* of all the *Gods*, but the latter to be a *Junior God* or *Demon*, proceeded only from an *Equivocation* in the word *Love*. For *Plato's* *Love* was the *Daughter* of *Penia*, that is, *Poverty* and *Indigency*, together with a mixture of *Πόρος* or *Riches*, and being so as it were compounded of *Plenty* and *Poverty*, was in plain language, no other than the *Love* of *Desire*,

Desire, which as Aristotle affirmeth is μετὰ λύπης, accompanied with Grief and Pain. But that Orphick and Pythagorick Love, was nothing else but πλεον and ἀπορία, Infinite Riches and Plenty, a Love of Redundancy and Overflowing Fulness, delighting to communicate it self, which was therefore said to be, the Oldest of all things and most Perfect, that is, the Supreme Deity; according to which notion also in the Scripture it self, God seems to be called Love, though the word be not there, ἔργος but ἀγάπη. But to say the Truth, Parmenides his Love (however made a Principle somewhere by Aristotle) seems to be neither exactly the same with the Orphick, nor yet with the Platonick Love, it being not the Supreme Deity, and yet the First of the Created Gods; which appears from Simplicius his connecting these Two Verses of his together in this manner,

Ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τέτων δαίμων ὅς πάντα κυβερνᾷ,  
ταύτῳ ἢ θεῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι φησι, λέγων,

Πρώτιστον μὲν ἔργα θεῶν μνηστῶσσι πάντα.

In the midst of these Elements is that God which governeth all things, and whom Parmenides affirmeth to be the cause of Gods, writing thus, God first of all created Love, before the other Gods. Wherefore by this Love of Parmenides, is understood nothing else, but the Lower Soul of the World, together with a Plastick Nature, which though it be the Original of Motion and Activity in this Corporeal World, yet is it but a Secondary or Created God. Before whose Production, Necessity is said by those Ethnick Theologers to have reigned; the true meaning whereof seems to be this, that before that Divine Spirit moved upon the Waters and brought things into an orderly System, there was nothing but the Necessity of Material Motions, unguided by any orderly Wisdom or Method for Good (that is, by Love) in that confused and floating Chaos.

But Pythagoras it seemeth, did not only call the Supreme Deity a Monad, but also a Tetrad or Tetractys, for it is generally affirmed, that Pythagoras himself was wont to swear hereby; though Porphyrius and Jamblichus, and others write, that the Disciples of Pythagoras swore by Pythagoras, who had delivered to them the Doctrine or Cabala of this Tetractys. Which Tetractys also in the Golden Verses, is called πηγὴ ἀενάου φύσεως, the Fountain of the Eternal Nature, an expression that cannot properly belong to any thing but the Supreme Deity. And thus Hierocles, ἔστι ἐν εἰπεῖν ὁ μὴ τὸ τετρακτύου, ὡς εἰς, ἢ ἀρχὴς ἡγετῆρα. ἔστι γὰρ, ὡς ἑφαμην, δημιουργὸς τῶν ὄλων, ἢ αἰτία ἢ τέτρας, θεὸς νοητὸς, αἰτιῶν τῶν δευτέρων, ἢ αἰοητῶν θεῶν. There is nothing in the whole World, which doth not depend upon the Tetractys, as its Root and Principle. For the Tetrad is, as we have already said, the Maker of all things; the Intelligible God, the Cause of the Heavenly and Sensible God, that is of the Animated World or Heaven. Now the Latter Pythagoreans and Platonists, endeavour to give Reasons, why God should be called Tetras or Tetractys, from certain Mysteries in that Number Four, as for example,  
First,

First, because the Tetractys is  $\delta\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\mu\upsilon\varsigma \delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\ \Theta$ , the Power of the Decad, it virtually containing the whole Decade in it, which is all Numbers or Beings; but the bottom of this Mystery is no more than this, that *One, Two, Three, and Four*, added all together, make up *Ten*. Again because the Tetractys is an Arithmetical Mediety, betwixt the *Monad* and the *Hebdomad*, which *Monad* and *Hebdomad* are said to agree in this, that as the *Monad* is Ingenit or Unmade, it being the Original and Fountain of all Numbers, so is the *Hebdomad* said to be, not only  $\pi\alpha\rho\ \delta\epsilon\upsilon\ \Theta$  but  $\alpha\mu\eta\tau\omega\varsigma$ , a *Motherless* as well as *Virgin Number*. Wherefore the Tetractys lying in the middle betwixt the *Ingenit Monad*, and the *Motherless Virgin Hebdomad*; and it being both begotten and begetting, say they, must needs be a very Mysterious number and fitly represent the Deity. Whereas indeed it was therefore unfit to represent the Deity, because it is begotten by the Multiplication of another Number; as the *Hebdomad* therefore doth not very fitly symbolize with it neither; because it is barren or begets nothing at all within the Decad, for which cause it is called a *Virgin*. Again it is further added, that the Tetractys fitly resembles that which is Solid, because as a *Point* answers to a *Monad*, and a *Line* to a *Dyad*, and a *Superficies* to a *Triad* (the first and most simple figure being a *Triangle*) so the Tetractys properly represents the *Solid*, the first *Pyramid* being found in it. But upon this consideration, the Tetractys could not be so fit a Symbol of the Incorporeal Deity neither as of the Corporeal World. Wherefore these things being all so trifling, slight and phantastical, and it being really absurd for *Pythagoras* to call his *Monad* a *Tetractys*; the late conjecture of some Learned men amongst us, seems to be much more probable, that *Pythagoras* his Tetractys was really nothing else but the *Tetragrammaton*, or that proper name of the Supreme God amongst the Hebrews, consisting of *Four Letters* or *Consonants*. Neither ought it to be wondered at, that *Pythagoras* (who besides his travelling into *Egypt, Persia, and Chaldea*, and his sojourning at *Sidon*, is affirmed by *Josephus, Porphyrius* and others, to have conversed with the Hebrews also) should be so well acquainted with the Hebrew *Tetragrammaton*, since it was not unknown to the *Hetrurians* and *Latins*, their *Jove* being certainly nothing else. And indeed it is the opinion of some Philologers, that even in the *Golden Verses* themselves, notwithstanding the seeming repugnancy of the Syntax, it is not *Pythagoras* that is sworn by, but this Tetractys or Tetragrammaton, that is, *Jova* or *Jehovah*, the Name of God, being put for *God himself*, according to that received Doctrine of the Hebrews  $\text{יהוה וישו וישו יהוה}$ , That God and his Name are all one; as if the meaning of those words

$\text{Ναὶ μὰ τὴ ἀμετρεὰ ψυχᾷ ὠδῶδόντα τετραγμῶν  
πάραν ἀενάως φύσεως.}$

were this; *By the Tetragrammaton or Jovah, who hath communicated [himself, or] The Fountain of the Eternal Nature, to our Humane Souls; for these according to the Pythagorick Doctrine, were said to be ex Mente Divina carptæ & delibata, i. e. nothing but Derivative Streams from that first Fountain of the Divine Mind.*

Wherefore

Wherefore we shall now sum up all concerning *Pythagoras* in this Conclusion of *St. Cyril's*, ἰδὲ δὴ σαφῶς, ἓνα τε εἶναι λέγει τὸ τῆς ὅλων θεόν, καὶ πάντων ἀρχὴν ἐρχάτιον τε τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως, φωστῆρα καὶ ψυχῶν, ἡτοὶ ζωοποιόν τῆς ὅλων καὶ κύκλων πάντων κίνησιν· παρήναι δὲ τὰ πάντα παρ' αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς μηδ' οὐσίας εἰς τὸ εἶναι κίνησιν λαχούσα φέρεται. Behold we see, clearly, that *Pythagoras* held there was *One God of the whole Universe, the Principle and Cause of all things, the Illuminator, Animator and Quickener of the Whole, and Original of Motion; from whom all things were derived, and brought out of Non-entity into Being.*

Next to *Pythagoras* in order of time, was *Xenophanes* the *Colophonian*, the Head of the *Eleatic* Sect of Philosophers, who that he was an *Affirter* both of *Many Gods* and *One God*, sufficiently appears from that Verse of his before cited, and attested both by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Sextus* the Philosopher,

Εἷς θεὸς ἐν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος,

*There is One God, the Greatest both amongst Gods and Men.* Concerning which greatest God, this other Verse of *Xenophanes* is also vouched,

Καὶ ἀπάνυθε ποιοῖσιν ὅσιν, φρενὶ πάντα κερδαίνει·

*That he moveth the whole world without any labour or toil, merely by Mind.* Besides which, *Cicero* and others tell us, that this *Xenophanes* philosophizing concerning the *Supreme Deity*, was wont to call it ἐν καὶ πᾶν, *One and All*, as being *One* most *Simple Being* that virtually containeth all things. But *Xenophanes* his *Theosophy*, or *Divine Philosophy*, is most fully declared by *Simplicius* out of *Theophrastus* in this manner, μίαν ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἡτοὶ ἐν τὸ ὄν καὶ πᾶν, καὶ ὅτε πεπερατοῦ μὲν ὅτε ἀπειροῦ, ὅτε κινητῶν ὅτε ἠεμιῶν, Ξενοφάνη τὸ κολοφώνιον τὸ Παρμενίδου διδάσκαλον ὑποτίθεσθαι φησὶν ὁ σεόφραστου· ὁμολογῶν ἑτέρας εἶναι μάλλον ἢ τὸ εὖ φύσεως ἰσοείας, τὴν μνήμην τὸ τὸς δόξης· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷτο καὶ πᾶν, τὸ θεὸν ἔλεγε ὁ Ξενοφάνης· ὄν ἓνα μὲν δέεινυσιν ἐκ τῆς πάντων κερδαίνον εἶναι· πλειόνων γὰρ φησὶν ὄντων, ὁμοίως ἀνάγκη ὑπερχειν πᾶσι τὸ κερδαίνει· τὸ δὲ πάντων κερδαίνον καὶ ἄριστον, θεός· ἀγνώστον δὲ εἰδείνυσεν— καὶ ὅτε ἢ ἀπειρον ὅτε πεπερατοῦ μὲν εἶναι· διότι ἀπειρον μὲν τὸ μὴ ὄν, ὡς ὅτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον μήτε μέσον μήτε τέλος· περδίνειν δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ πλείω· ὡς πλησιῶς ἢ καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ τὴν ἠεμιῶν· ἀκίνητον μὲν, &c. *Theophrastus* affirmeth, that *Xenophanes the Colophonian* *Parmenides* his Master, made *One Principle of all things*, he calling it *One and All*, and determining it to be neither *Finite* nor *Infinite* (in a certain sence) and neither *Moving* nor *Resting*. Which *Theophrastus* also declares, that *Xenophanes* in this, did not write as a *Natural Philosopher* or *Physiologer*, but as a *Metaphysician* or *Theologer* only; *Xenophanes* his *One and All*, being nothing else but *God*. Whom he proved to be *One solitary Being* from hence, because *God* is the *Best* and *Most Powerful* of all things, and there being many degrees of *Entity*, there must needs be something *Supreme* to rule over all. Which *Best* and *most Powerful Being* can be but *One*. He also did demonstrate



monstrate it to be Unmade, as likewise to be neither Finite nor Infinite (in a certain sence;) as he removed both Motion and Rest from God. Wherefore when he saith that God always remaineth or resteth the same, he understands not this, of that Rest which is opposite to Motion, and which belongs to such things as may be moved; but of a certain other Rest which is both above that Motion and its Contrary. From whence it is evident, that Xenophanes supposed (as Sextus the Philosopher also affirmeth) God to be Incorporeal, a Being unlike to all other things, and therefore of which no Image could be made. And now we understand, that Aristotle dealt not ingenuously with Xenophanes, when from that expression of his, that God was σφαιροειδής, or Spheryform, he would infer, that Xenophanes made God to be a Body, and nothing else but the Round Corporeal World Animated; which yet was repugnant also to another Physical Hypothesis of this same Xenophanes, ἀπέτερος ἡλίους εἶναι καὶ σελήνας, that there were Infinite Suns and Moons; by which Moons he understood Planets, affirming them to be all habitable Earths, as Cicero tells us. Wherefore as Simplicius resolves, God was said to be σφαιροειδής, or Spheryform, by Xenophanes, only in this sence, as being παντοχόθεν ὁμοίως, every way like and uniform. However it is plain that Xenophanes asserting One God who was All or the Universe, could not acknowledge a Multitude of Partial Self-existent Deities.

Heraclitus was no Clear but a Confounded Philosopher (he being neither a Good Naturalist nor Metaphysician) and therefore it is very hard or rather impossible, to reconcile his Several Opinions with one another. Which is a thing the less to be wondred at, because amongst the rest of his Opinions, this also is said to have been One; That Contradictories may be true; and his writings were accordingly as Plato intimates, stuff with Unintelligible Mysterious Non-sence. For First he is affirmed to have acknowledged no other Substance besides Body, and to have maintained, That All things did Flow, and nothing Stand, or remain the same; and yet in his Epistles (according to the common opinion of Philosophers at that time) doth he suppose the *Præ & Post-existence* of Humane Souls in these words, *τὰ ἴσα καὶ ψυχὴ μαντεύεται ἀπολυσιν ἑαυτῆς ἢδη ποτὲ ἐκ τῆ δεισμότη- εἰς τότῃ καὶ σφοδρῶς τὸ σῶμα ἰσοκρίσει, ἀναμνηστικῶς τὰ πάτρια χωρεῖα, ἔθθεν κατελευθεῖται φρεσβάλλειο ἕρον σῶμα τεθνειὸς τῆτο, ὃ δουεῖ, &c.* My soul seemeth to vaticinate and presage its approaching dismissal and freedom from this its prison; and looking out as it were through the cracks and cranies of this body, to remember those its native Regions or Countries, from whence descending, it was cloathed with this Flowing Mortal Body; which is made up and constipated of Flegm, Choler, Serum, Blood, Nerves, Bones and Flesh. And not only so, but he also there acknowledgeth the Souls Immortality, which Stoicks, allowing its Permanency after Death, for some time at least, and to the next Conflagration, did deny, *δύσεται τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὸ εἰμαρμένον, ἀλλὰ ἡ ψυχὴ δύσεται ἀλλὰ ἀθάνατον ἔσται χεῖμα, εἰς ἕρονδὸν ἀναπήσει μετὰ ἑσθῆ δέξονται δὲ με αἰθέριοι οὐρανοὶ, καὶ πολιτεύσομαι ἐν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀλλ' ἐν θεοῖς* This Body shall be fatally changed to something else, but my Soul shall not die or perish, but being an Immortal thing, shall fly away mounting upwards to Heaven; those Etherial Houses shall receive me, and I shall no longer

longer converse with men but Gods. Again though *Heraclitus* asserted the Fatal Necessity of all things, yet notwithstanding was he a strict Moralist, and upon this account highly esteemed by the Stoicks, who followed him in this and other things; and he makes no small pretence to it himself, in his Epistle to *Hermodorus*, *ἢ ἔμοιγε πολλοὶ καὶ δυσχερέστεροι ἀθλοὶ κατώρθωται· νενίκηκα ἡδονάς, νενίκηκα χρημασία, νενίκηκα φιλοτιμίαν, κατεπόλαισα δόλιαν, κατεπόλαισα κολακείαν· ἐν ἀπιδέγῃ μοι φόβῳ, ἐν ἀπιδέγῃ μοι μέθῃ· φοβέται με λύπη, φοβέται με ὀργή· καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσεφάνωμαι, ἐμαυτὰ ἔπιτάξων, ἔχῃ ὑπ' εὐρυθείας·* I have also had my difficult Labours and Conflicts as well as Hercules; I have conquer'd Pleasures, I have conquer'd Riches, I have conquer'd Ambition; I have subdued Cowardise and Flattery; neither Fear nor Intemperance can control me; Grief and Anger are afraid of me, and fly away from me. These are the Victories for which I am crowned, not by *Eurytheus*, but as being made Master of myself. Lastly though *Heraclitus* made Fire to be the First Principle of all things and hath some odd Passages imputed to him, yet notwithstanding was he a Devout Religionist, he supposing that Fiery Matter of the whole Universe, *Animantem esse & Deum*, to be an Animal and God. And as he acknowledged Many Gods, according to that which *Aristotle* recordeth of him, That when some passing by had espied him sitting in a smoaky Cottage, he bespake them after this manner, *Introite, nam & hic Dii sunt*, Come in, I pray, for here there are Gods also, he supposing all places to be full of Gods, Demons and Souls; so was he an undoubted Asserter of One Supreme Numen, that governs all things, and that such as could neither be represented by Images, nor confined to Temples. For after he had been accused of Impiety by *Euthycles*, he writes to *Hermodorus* in this manner, *ἀλλ' ὅ ἀμαθεῖς ἄνθρωποι διδάξατέ πρώτον ἡμᾶς τί ὄντιν ὁ θεός, πῶς δ' ὄντιν ὁ θεός; ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπικυκλισμένῳ; ἄσπετος γε, οἳ ἐν σκοτίῃ τὸ θεὸν ἰδρύετε—ἀπαλόδουτοι, ἐν ἴσῃ ὅτι ἐν ἴσῃ θεός· χερσὶ μὴ ἔσθ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς βάσιν ἔχει ἔσθ' ἔχει ἕνα ἄπειρολον· ἀλλ' ἔλθ' ὁ νόστος αὐτὰς ναὸς ἔσθ', ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ ἄσπετος πεποικιλμένῳ·* But O you unwise and unlearned! teach us first what God is, that so you may be believed in accusing me of Impiety: Tell us where God is? Is he shut up within the Walls of Temples? Is this your Piety to place God in the dark, or to make him a Stony God? O you unskilful! know ye not, that God is not made with hands, and hath no basis or fulcrum to stand upon, nor can be inclosed within the Walls of any Temple; the whole World, variegated with Plants, Animals and Stars, being his Temple. And again, *ἀρ' ἐν εἰμὶ ἄσπετος, εὐθύλευς, ὃς μόνῳ οἶδα θεόν; ἐάν ἢ μὴ ἰδρυσθῆ θεὸς βωμῶς, ἐν ἴσῃ θεός; ἐάν ἢ ἰδρυσθῆ μὴ θεὸς, θεός ὄντιν; ὥσπερ λίθοι θεῶν μάρτυρες· ἔργα δ' εἰ μάρτυρες, οἷα ἡλῖος· νύξ αὐτὰς καὶ ἡμέρα μάρτυρες· ὄρα αὐτὰς μάρτυρες, γῆ ὅλη καρποφοροῦσα, μάρτυς· σελήνη ὁ κύκλος, ἐκείνης ἔργον, ὄρα μάρτυρα·* Am I Impious, O *Euthycles*, who alone know what God is? Is there no God without Altars? or are Stones the only witnesses of him? No, his own Works give testimony to him, and principally the Sun; Night and Day bear witness of him; the Earth bringing forth fruits, declares him; the Circle of the Moon, that was made by him, is a Heavenly Testimony of him.

In the next place *Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian Philosopher comes

to be considered, whose Predecessors of the *Ionick Order* (after *Thales*) as *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes* and *Hippo*, were (as hath been already observed) *Materialists* and *Atheists*; they acknowledging no other Substance besides Body, and resolving all things into the *Motions*, *Passions*, and *Affections* of it. Whence was that cautious advice given by *Jamblichus*, *περίμα τιώ Ἰταλικῶ φιλοσοφίαν τιώ τοῖ ἀσώματα καθ' αὐτά θεωρεῖσθαι, ἢ Ἰονικῆς ἢ τοῖ σώματα προηγυμῶς ἑπισηκοπυμῶς*. Prefer the *Italick Philosophy*, which contemplates *Incorporeal Substances* by themselves, before the *Ionick*, which principally considers *Bodies*. And *Anaxagoras* was the first of these *Ionicks* who went out of that Road, for seeing a necessity of some other Cause, besides the *Material* (*Matter* being not able, so much as to move it self, and much less if it could, by *Fortuitous Motion*, to bring it self into an *Orderly System* and *Compages*;) he therefore introduced *Mind* into the *Cosmopœia*, as the *Principal Cause* of the *Universe*; which *Mind* is the same with *God*. Thus *Themistius*, speaking of *Anaxagoras*, *νῦν ἔθεν πρώτῳ ἐπαγαγόμενῳ τῆ κοσμοποιῖα, ἔξ πῶν ἀνάγκας ἢ φύσεως τῶν σωμάτων*. He was the first (that is, amongst the *Ionick Philosophers*) who brought in *Mind* and *God*, to the *Cosmopœia*, and did not derive all things from *Senseless Bodies*. And to the same purpose *Plutarch* in the *Life of Pericles*, *τοῖς ἄλλοις πρώτος ἔτιχλω ἔδ' ἀνάγκην, διακοσμήσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐπέστησε κατὰρξὸν ἔξ ἀνεξῆτον*, The other *Ionick Philosophers* before *Anaxagoras*, made *Fortune* and *blind Necessity*, that is, the *Fortuitous* and *Necessary Motions* of the *Matter*, to be the only *Original* of the *World*, but *Anaxagoras* was the first who affirmed a *pure and sincere Mind* to preside over all. *Anaxagoras* therefore supposed *Two Substantial Self-existent Principles* of the *Universe*, one an *Infinite Mind* or *God*, the other an *Infinite Homoiomery* of *Matter*, or *Infinite Atoms*; not *Unqualified*, such as those of *Empedocles* and *Democritus*, which was the most *Ancient* and *Genuine Atomology*; but *Similar*, such as were severally endued with all manner of *Qualities* and *Forms*, which *Physiology* of his therefore was a *spurious kind* of *Atomism*. *Anaxagoras* indeed, did not suppose *God* to have created *Matter* out of nothing, but that he was *κινήσεως ἀρχή*, the *Principle of its Motion*, and also *τῶν δὲ καλῶν αἰτιῶν*, the *Regulator of this motion for Good*, and consequently the *Cause* of all the *Order*, *Pulchritude*, and *Harmony* of the *World*: for which reason this *Divine Principle*, was called also by him, not only *Mind* but *Good*; it being that which acteth *the Sake of Good*. Wherefore according to *Anaxagoras*, *First*, the *World* was not *Eternal* but had a *Beginning* in *time*, and before the *World* was made, there was from *Eternity* an *Infinite Congeries* of *Similar* and *Qualified Atoms*, *Self-existent*, without either *Order* or *Motion*; *Secondly*, The *World* was not afterwards made by *Chance*, but by *Mind* or *God*, first moving the *Matter*, and then directing the *Motion* of it so, as to bring it into this *orderly System* and *Compages*. So that *νῦν* was *κοσμοποιῖος*, *Mind the first Maker of the World*, and *νῦν βασιλεύς ἔργων τε ἔξ γῆς*, *Mind, that which still governs the same, the King and Sovereign Monarch of Heaven and Earth*. *Thirdly*, *Anaxagoras* his *Mind* and *God*, was purely *Incorporeal*; to which purpose his words recorded by *Simplicius* are very remarkable, *νῦν μὲν μὴ καὶ ἔθεν χεῖματα· ἀλλὰ μόνῳ αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ*

Symb. 36. p.  
159.

Orat. 15.

In Arist.  
Metaph. L. I. Fol.  
33. c. 2.

ἢν

ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐμέμμιτο ἄλλω, μετέχεν ἂν ἀπάντων χρημάτων, εἰ ἐμέμμιτο τῷ·  
 ἐν παντί γὰρ πάντος μοῖρα ἔνεσιν· ὡς ὅτι ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐμοὶ λέλειται; ἢ ἀ-  
 νεκάλυεν αὐτὸ τὸ συμμεμυγμένον, ὡς ἐμυθένος χρημάτων; μορῶν ὁμοίως, ὡς ἢ  
 μόνον ἔόντα ἐφ' ἑαυτῆ· ὅτι γὰρ λεπτότατον τε πάντων χρημάτων, ἢ καθαρώ-  
 τατον· ἢ γνώριον γὰρ ἐν παντί πάντων ἴχει· ἢ ἴχουσι μέγιστον· *Mind is*  
*mingled with nothing, but is alone by it self and separate, for if it*  
*were not by it self secrete from Matter, but mingled therewith, it would*  
*then partake of all things, because there is something of all in every*  
*thing; which things mingled together with it would hinder it, so that it*  
*could not master or conquer any thing, as if alone by it self; for Mind is*  
*the most subtil of all things, and the most Pure, and has the knowl-*  
*edge of all things, together with an absolute Power over all. Lastly,*  
*Anaxagoras did not suppose a Multitude of Unmade Minds, coexist-*  
*ent from Eternity, as so many partial Causes and Governours of*  
*the World, but only One Infinite Mind or God, ruling over All.*

Indeed it may well be made a Question, whether or no besides this Supreme and Universal Deity, *Anaxagoras* did acknowledge any of those other Inferiour Gods, then Worshipped by the Pagans? because it is certain, that though he asserted Infinite Mind to be the Maker and Governour of the whole World, yet he was accused by the Athenians for Atheism, and besides a Mult<sup>o</sup> impos'd upon him, Banished for the same; the true ground whereof was no other than this, because he affirmed the Sun to be nothing but a Mass of Fire, and the Moon an Earth, having Mountains and Valleys, Cities and Houses in it; and probably concluded the same of all the other *Stars* and *Planets*; that they were either *Fires*, as the Sun, or *Habitable Earths*, as the Moon; wherein, supposing them not to be Animated, he did consequently deny them to be *Gods*. Which his Ungodding of the Sun, Moon and Stars was, then look'd upon by the Vulgar as nothing less than absolute Atheism, they being very prone to think, that if there were not Many Understanding Beings Superiour to Men, and if the Sun, Moon, and Stars were not such, and therefore in their Language *Gods*; there was no *God* at all. Neither was it the Vulgar only who condemn'd *Anaxagoras* for this, but even those Two grave Philosophers *Socrates* and *Plato* did the like; the First in his Apology made to the Athenians, where he calls this opinion of *Anaxagoras* Absurd; the Second in his Book of Laws, where he complains of this Doctrine as a great In-let into Atheism, in this manner: ἐμὲ ἢ ὅταν τεκμηρία λέγωμεν ὡς εἰσὶ θεοὶ, ταῦτα αὐτὰ προσφέρουσι, ἡλίον τε ἢ σελήνην, καὶ ἄστρα καὶ γῆν ὡς θεοὺς καὶ θεία ὄντα, ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν τῶν ἀναπειρημένοι ἂν λέγοιεν, ὡς γῆν τε καὶ λίθους ὄντα αὐτὰ, καὶ ἔθ' ἂν ἀνθρώπων πραγμάτων φροντίζεν δυνάμει· *When You and I, endeavouring by Arguments to prove that there are Gods, speak of the Sun and Moon, Stars and Earth, as Gods and Divine Things, our young men presently, being principled by these new Philosophers, will reply; that these are nothing but Earth and Stones (Senseless and Inanimate Bodies) which therefore cannot mind nor take notice of any Humane affairs.* Where we may observe these Two things, First, that nothing was accounted truly and properly a *God* amongst the Pagans, but only what was endued with *Life* and *Understanding*. Secondly, that the taking away of those *Inferiour Gods* of

*De Leg. L. 19*  
*P. 886.*

the Pagans, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, by denying them to be *Animated*, or to have *Life and Understanding* in them, was according to *Plato's Judgment*, then the most ready and effectual way to introduce *Absolute Atheism*.

P. 97. Steph.

Moreover it is true, that though this *Anaxagoras* were a professed *Theist*, he asserting an *Infinite Self-existent Mind*, to be the *Maker* of the whole *World*, yet he was severely taxed also, by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, as one not thorough-paced in *Theism*, and who did not so fully, as he ought, adhere to his own *Principles*. For whereas, to assert *Mind* to be the *Maker of the World*, is really all one, as to assert *Final Causality* for things in *Nature*, as also that they were made after the *Best manner*; *Anaxagoras* when he was to give his particular account of the *Phænomena*, did commonly betake himself to *Material Causes* only, and hardly ever make use of the *Mental* or *Final Cause*, but when he was to seek and at a loss; then only bringing in *God* upon the *Stage*. *Socrates* his discourse concerning this in *Plato's Phædo*, is very well worth our taking notice of: *Hearing one sometime read* (saith he) *out of a Book of Anaxagoras*, ὡς ἄριστος ὁ διανοουμῶν τε καὶ πάντων ἄριστος, *that Mind was the Orderer and Cause of all things*, I was exceedingly pleased herewith, concluding that it must needs follow from thence, that *All things* were ordered and disposed of as they should and after the *best manner possible*; and therefore the *Causes* even of the things in *Nature* (or at least the *grand Strokes* of them) ought to be fetched from the τὸ βέλτιστον, *That which is Absolutely the Best*. But when afterwards I took *Anaxagoras* his *Book* into my hand, greedily reading it over, I was exceedingly disappointed of my expectation, finding therein no other *Causes* assigned, but only from *Airs*, and *Ethers*, and *Waters*, and such like *Physical* and *Material* things. And he seemed to me to deal, just as if one having affirmed that *Socrates* did all by *Mind*, *Reason* and *Understanding*; afterward undertaking to declare the *Causes* of all my *Actions*, as particularly of *My Sitting* here at this time, should render it after this manner; Because forsooth my *Body* is compounded of *Bones* and *Nerves*, which *Bones* being solid, have *Joints* in them at certain distances, and *Nerves* of such a nature, as that they are capable of being both *Intended* and *Remitted*: Wherefore my *Bones* being lifted up in the *Joints* and my *Nerves* some of them intended and some remitted, was the cause of the bending of my *Body*, and of my sitting down in this place. He in the mean time neglecting the true and proper Cause hereof, which was no other than this; Because it seemed good to the *Athenians*, to condemn me to die, as also to my self most just, rather to submit to their censure and undergo their punishment, than by flight to escape it; for certainly otherwise, these *Nerves* and *Bones* of mine, would not have been here now in this posture, but amongst the *Megarensians* and *Beotians*; carried thither ὑπὸ δόξης τῶ βελτίστου, by the Opinion of the *Best*; had I not thought it better to submit to the sentence of the *City*, than to escape the same by flight. Which kind of *Philosophers* (saith he) do not seem to me, to distinguish betwixt the *True* and *Proper Cause* of things, and the *Cause Sine qua non*, that without which they could not have been effected. And such are they, who devise many odd *Physical Reasons*, for the firm Settlement of the *Earth*, without any regard to that

Power

*Power which orders all things for the Best, (as having σοφιστικὴν ἰσχύον, a Divine Force in it;) but thinking to find out an Atlas far more strong and immortal, and which can better hold all things together; τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ δέον, εἰδὲν ξυνοῦσθαι, καὶ ξυδέχεσθαι. Good and Fit, being not able, in their Opinions, to Hold, or Bind any Thing.*

From which passage of *Plato's* we may conclude, that though *Anaxagoras* were so far convinced of *Theism*, as in Profession to mak *One Infinite Mind* the Cause of all things, Matter only excepted, yet he had notwithstanding too great a Tang of that *Old Material* and *Atheistical Philosophy* of his Predecessors, still hanging about him, who resolv'd all the *Phenomena* of Nature, into *Physical*, and nothing into *Mental* or *Final Causes*. And we have the rather told this long story of him, because it is so exact a Parallel with the *Philosophick Humour* of some in this present Age, who pretending to assert a *God*, do notwithstanding discard all *Mental* and *Final Causality*, from having any thing to do with the *Fabrick* of the World; and resolve all, into *Material Necessity*, and *Mechanism*; into *Vortices*, *Globuli* and *Striate Particles*, and the like. Of which *Christian Philosophers* we must needs pronounce, that they are not near so good *Theists* as *Anaxagoras* himself was, though so much condemned by *Plato* and *Aristotle*; forasmuch as he, did not only assert *God* to be the Cause of *Motion*, but also the Governour, Regulator and Methodizer of the same, for the production of this *Harmonious System* of the World, and therefore τὸ εὖ καὶ καλῶς αἰτία, the Cause of *Well and Fit*. Whereas these utterly reject the Latter, and, only admitting the Former, will needs suppose Heaven and Earth, Plants and Animals, and all things whatsoever in this orderly *Compages* of the World, to have result'd meerly from a certain *Quantity of Motion*, or *Agitation*, at first impress'd upon the *Matter*, and determin'd to *Vortex*.

XXXI. The Chronology of the old Philosophers having some uncertainty in it, we shall not Scrupulously concern our selves therein, but in the next place consider *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes* his Auditor and a *Philosophick Poet* likewise, but who conversing much with two *Pythagoreans*, *Amenias* and *Diochætes*, was therefore look'd upon as one that was not a little addicted to the *Pythagorick Sect*. That this *Parmenides* acknowledged *Many Gods*, is evident from what hath been already cited out of him; notwithstanding which he plainly asserted also, *One Supreme*, making him, as *Simplicius* tells us, αἰτίαν θεῶν, the Cause of all those other Gods, of which *Love* is said to have been first produced. Which Supreme Deity, *Parmenides* as well as *Xenophanes* called, ἐν τῷ πᾶσι, *One that was All*, or the *Universe*; but adding thereunto of his own, that it was also ἀκίνητον, *Immovable*.

Now though it be true, that *Parmenides* his Writings being not without obscurity, some of the Ancients, who were less acquainted with *Metaphysical Speculations*, understood him *Physically*; as if he had asserted the whole *Corporeal Universe*, to be all but *One Thing*, and that *Immovable*, thereby destroying together with the *Diversity* of things, all *Motion*, *Mutation*, and *Action*; which was plainly to make *Parmenides*

nides

nides not to have been a Philosopher but a Mad man. Yet *Simplicius*, a man well acquainted with the Opinions of Ancient Philosophers, and who had by him a Copy of *Parmenides* his Poems, (then scarce, but since lost) assures us that *Parmenides* dreamt of no such matter, and that he wrote ὅτι τῶ φυσικῶ στοιχείῳ, ἀλλὰ ὅτι τῶ ὄντως οὐρανῷ, or ὅτι τῆς θείας ἀπορίας, not concerning a Physical Element or Principle, but concerning the True Ens, or the Divine Transcendancy: Adding, that though some of those Ancient Philosophers did not distinguish, τὰ φυσικά ἀπὸ τῶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν, Natural things from Supernatural; yet the Pythagoreans, and *Xenophanes*, and *Parmenides*, and *Empedocles*, and *Anaxagoras*, did all διακρίνειν, handle these Two distinctly; κατὰ τῆ ἀσφαλείᾳ λαμβάνοντες τὰς πολλὰς, however, by reason of their obscurity it were not perceived by many; for which cause they have been most of them misrepresented, not only by Pagans, but also by Christian Writers. For as the same *Simplicius* informs us, *Parmenides* propounded Two several Doctrines, one after another; the First concerning Theological and Metaphysical things, called by him ἀλήθειαν, Truth, the Second concerning Physical and Corporeal things, which he called δόξαν, Opinion. The Transition betwixt which, was contained in these Verses of his,

ἔν τῳ ᾧ παύω πρὸν λόγον ἠδὲ νόμον  
 ἄμφις ἀληθείας· δόξας δ' ἀπὸ τῶδε βεβήσεις  
 μάθανε· νόμον ἑμῶν ἐπέων· ἀπατηλὸν αἰσῶν.

In the Former of which Doctrines, *Parmenides* asserted One Immoveable Principle; but in the Latter, Two movable ones, Fire and Earth, He speaking of Souls also as a certain Middle or *Vinculum*, betwixt the Incorporeal and the Corporeal World, and affirming that God did, τὰς ψυχὰς πέμπειν ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ τῶ ἐμφανῶς εἰς τὸ ἀειδὲς, ποτὲ δ' ἀνάπαλιν, sometimes send and translate Souls, from the Visible to the Invisible Regions, and sometimes again, on the contrary from the Invisible to the Visible. From whence it is plain, that when *Parmenides* asserted his One and All Immoveable, he spake not as a Physiologer, but as a Metaphysician and Theologer only. Which indeed was a thing so evident, that *Aristotle* himself, though he had a mind to obscure *Parmenides* his sense, that he might have a sting at him in his Physicks, yet could not altogether dissemble it. For when he thus begins, There must of necessity be either One Principle or Many; and if there be but One, then must it either be Immoveable, as *Parmenides* and *Melissus* affirm, or else Movable, ὡς περ οἱ φυσικοὶ, as the Naturalists or Physiologers; he therein plainly intimates, that when *Parmenides* and *Melissus*, made One Immoveable the Principle of all things, they did not write this as Physiologers. And afterwards he confesses, that this Controversie, whether there were One Immoveable Principle, does not belong to Natural Philosophy, but to some other Science. But this is more plainly declared by him elsewhere, writing concerning *Parmenides* and *Melissus* after this manner, εἰ κ' ἄλλα λέγουσι καλῶς, ἀλλ' ὅτι φυσικῶς γε δεῖ νομίζειν λέγειν; τὸ γὰρ εἶναι ἄψα τῶ ὄντων ἀρρήτητα κ' ὅπως ἀκίνητα, μάλλον, ὅτιν ἐπείρεται καὶ περτέρεται, ἢ τῆ φυσικῆς ἐπιτομῆς· Though it be granted that *Parmenides* and *Melissus* otherwise said well, yet we must not imagine them to have spoken Physically. For this, that there

there

there is something Unmade and Immoveable, does not so properly belong to Physicks, as to a certain other Science which is before it.

Wherefore *Parmenides* as well as *Xenophanes* his Master, by his *One and All*, meant nothing else, but the *Supreme Deity*, he calling it also *Immoveable*. For the *Supreme Deity* was by these Ancient Philosophers styled, First τὸ ἐν and μονὰς a *Unity and Monad*, because they conceived, that the First and most Perfect being and the beginning of all things, must needs be the *most Simple*. Thus *Eudorus* in *Simplicius* declares their sence; ἀρχὴ ἑφάσταν εἶναι τῆς πάντων τὸ ἐν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῆς οὐσίας πάντων, ἕξ αὐτῆς γεννημένων, τῆτο δὲ εἶναι τὸ ἑσφάνω θεόν. These Ancients affirmed, that the *One or Unity*, was the first Principle of All, Matter it self as well as other things being derived from it, they meaning by this *One*, that *Highest or Supreme God*, who is over all. And *Syrianus* to the same purpose, οἱ θεοὶ ἀκείνοι ἄνδρες, τὸ ἐν θεὸν ἔλεγον, ὡς ἐνώστως τοῖς ὅλοις ἀίτιον, καὶ παύδος τῆς οὐσίας καὶ πάσης ζωῆς. Those *Divine Men*, called *God The One*, as being the cause of *Unity* to all things, as likewise he was of *Being and Life*. And *Simplicius* concludes, that *Parmenides* his ἐν ὄν, his *One Ens*, was a certain *Divine Principle Superior* to *Mind or Intellect*, and more *Simple*, λειπέται ἐν τὸ νοητὸν πάντων ἀίτιον, δι' ὃ καὶ ὁ νῦν θεὸς καὶ τὸ νοεῖν, ἐν ᾧ πάντα ἐστὶ μίαν ἐνωσιν συνημερώως κατέληπται, καὶ ἠνωμερώως, τῆτο εἶναι τὸ Παρμενιδεῖον Ἐν ὄν. It remaineth therefore, that that *Intelligible*, which is the Cause of all things, and therefore of *Mind and Understanding* too, in which all things are contained and comprehended compendiously and in a way of *Unity*, I say that this was *Parmenides* his *One Ens or Being*. F. 31. Gr.

In the next place, *Parmenides* with the others of those Ancients, called also his ἐν ὄν, τὸ πᾶν, his *One Ens or First most Simple Being*, *All*, or the *Universe*; because it virtually contained all things, and as *Simplicius* writes, πάντα διακεκριμένως ἐμφανέται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, All things are from this *One*, distinctly displayed. For which cause, in *Plato's Parmenides*, this *One* is said to be, εἰς πάντα πολλὰ οὐτὰ νενεμεμένον, distributed into All things, that are Many. But that *Parmenides* by his ἐν τὸ πᾶν, *One-All*, or the *Universe*, did not understand the *Corporeal World*, is evident from hence, because he called it ἀδιαιρέτον ἢ Ἰνδι- In Phys. F 17. visible, and as *Simplicius* observes, supposed it to have no Magnitude; because that which is Perfectly *One*, can have no Parts. 2.

Wherefore it may be here observed, that this expression of ἐν τὸ πᾶν, *One being All*, hath been used in very different Sences; for as *Parmenides* and *Xenophanes* understood it of the *Supreme Deity*; that *One* most Perfect and most *Simple Being*, was the *Original* of all things, so others of them meant it *Atheistically*, concerning the most Imperfect and Lowest of all Beings, *Matter or Body*, they affirming all things to be nothing but *One and the same Matter*, diversly modified. Thus much we learn from that place of *Aristotle's* in his *Metaphysics*, ὅσοι μὲν ἐν L. i. c. 7. ἔντε τὸ πᾶν καὶ μίαν εἶναι τινα φύσιν ὡς ὕλῃ πιδέσσι, καὶ ταύτῃ σαματικῶ καὶ μέγεθον ἔχουσαν, δῆλον ὅτι πολλὰ ἁμαρτάνουσι, They who affirm *One* to be *All* in this sence, as if *All things* were nothing but *one and the same Matter*, and that corporeal and endued with magnitude, it is manifest



nifest that they err sundry ways. But here is a great Difference betwixt these Two to be observed, in that, the *Atheistical asserters* of *One and All* (whether they meant Water or Air by it, or something else) did none of them suppose their *One and All* to be *Immovable* but *Movable*; but they whose Principle was *One and all Immovable* (as *Parmenides*, *Melissus* and *Zeno*) could not possibly mean any thing else thereby, but the *Deity*; that there was one most Simple, Perfect, and Immutable Being Incorporeal, which virtually contained *All Things*, and from which All things were derived. But *Heraclitus*, who is one of those who are said to have affirmed ἐν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, that *One was All*, or that the *Universe was but One Thing*; might possibly have taken both those senses together (which will also agree in the Stoical *Hypothesis*) that All things were both from *One God*, and from *One Fire*; they being both alike Corporeal Theists, who supposed an intellectual Fire, to be the First Principle of All Things.

L. 6. c. 1. &  
L. 13. c. 7.

And though *Aristotle* in his *Physicks* quarrel very much with *Parmenides* and *Melissus*, for making *One Immovable Principle*, yet in his *Metaphysicks*, himself doth plainly close with it and own it as very good Divinity, that there is *One Incorporeal and Immovable Principle of All Things*, and that the *Supreme Deity* is an *Immovable Nature*, εἴπερ ὑπάρξει τις ὁμοία πιαύτη, λέγει ἡ χροῖσι καὶ ἀκίνητος, ὁπερ περιεσομαι δεικνύμαι, ἐνταῦθα ἀν εἶν πρ καὶ τὸ θεῖον, καὶ αὐτὴ ἀν εἶν πρώτη καὶ κωλύαται ἀρχή. If there be any such Substance as this, that is separate (from Matter, or Incorporeal) and Immovable (as we shall afterwards endeavour to shew that there is) then the Divinity ought to be placed here, and this must be acknowledged to be the First and most Proper Principle of all. But lest any should suspect, that *Aristotle*, if not *Parmenides* also, might for all that, hold Many such Immovable Principles, or Many Eternal, Uncreated and Self-existent Beings, as so many Partial Causes of the World, *Simplicius* assures us, μὴ γεγονέναι δόξαν πολλὰς καὶ ἀκινήτας τὰς ἀρχὰς λέγουσαν, i. e. that though divers of the Ancient Philosophers asserted a Plurality of Movable Principles (and some indeed an Infinity) yet there never was any Opinion entertained amongst Philosophers, of Many, or More than One, Immovable Principles. From whence it may be concluded, that no Philosopher ever asserted, a Multitude of Unmade Self-existent Minds, or Independent Deities, as Coordinate Principles of the World.

Indeed *Plotinus* seems to think that *Parmenides* in his Writings, by his τὸ ἐν, or *Ens*, did frequently mean a Perfect Mind or Intellect, there being no True Entity (according to him) below that which Understands (which Mind, though Incorporeal, was likened by him to a Sphere, because it comprehends all within it self, and because Intellection is not from without, but from within.) But that when again, he called his *On* or *Ens*, *One*, he gave occasion thereby to some, to quarrel with him, as making the same both *One* and *Many*; Intellect being that which contains the Ideas of all things in it. Wherefore *Parmenides* his whole Philosophy (saith he) was better digested and more exactly and distinctly set down in *Plato's Parmenides*, where he acknowledgeth, *Three Unities Subordinate*, or a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*;

ὁ Πλάτωνι Παρμενίδης, ἀκριβέστερον λέγων, διαίρει ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ πρῶτον *En. 5. L. 1. c. 8.*  
 ἐν, ὁ κυριώτερον ἐν· καὶ δεύτερον ἐν πολλὰ λέγων· καὶ τρίτον ἐν καὶ πολλὰ·  
 καὶ συμφωνῶν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι ταῖς φύσεσι ταῖς τριῶν· *Parmenides in*  
*Plato, speaking more exactly, distinguishes Three Divine Unities Sub-*  
*ordinate; The First of that which is perfectly and most Properly One;*  
*the Second of that which was called by him, One-Many; the Third of*  
*that which is thus expressed, One and Many. So that Parmenides did*  
*also agree in this acknowledgment of a Trinity of Divine or Archical Hy-*  
*postases. Which Observation of Plotinus is, by the way, the best Key,*  
*that we know of, for that Obscure Book of Plato's Parmenides.*  
 Wherefore *Parmenides* thus asserting a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, it  
 was the *First* of those *Hypostases*, that was properly called by him,  
 ἐν τὸ πᾶν, *One the Universe or all*: That is, *One* most Simple Being,  
 the Fountain and Original of all. And the *Second* of them (which  
 is a Perfect Intellect) was it seems by him called, in way of distincti-  
 on ἐν πολλὰ or πᾶντα, *One-Many or One-All Things*. By which *All Things*  
 are meant, the *Intelligible Ideas of Things*, that are all contained  
 together in *One Perfect Mind*. And of those was *Parmenides* to be  
 understood also, when he affirmed, *That all Things did stand, and*  
*nothing flow*; not of *Singular and Sensible Things*, which, as the *He-*  
*racliticks* rightly affirmed, do indeed *all flow*; but of the *Immediate*  
*Objects of the Mind*, which are *Eternal and Immutable*; *Aristotle*  
 himself acknowledging, that no *Generation* nor *Corruption* belongeth  
 to them; since there could be no *Immutable and Certain Science*,  
 unless there were some *Immutable, Necessary and Eternal Objects* of  
 it. Wherefore, as the same *Aristotle* also declares, the true Mean- *Met. L. 4. c. 5.*  
 ing of that *Controversie*, betwixt the *Heracliticks* and *Parmenideans*,  
*Whether All Things did flow or Some things stand?* was the same with  
 this, *Whether there were any other Objects of the Mind*, besides  
*Singular Sensibles*, that were *Immutable*; and consequently, *Whe-*  
*ther there were any such thing, as Science or Knowledge* which had  
 a *Firmitude and Stability* in it? For those *Heracliticks* who contend-  
 ed, that the only *Objects of the Mind*, were *Singular and Sensible*  
 things, did with good reason consequently thereupon deny, that  
 there was any *Certain and Constant Knowledge*, since there can nei-  
 ther be any *Definition of Singular Sensibles*, (as *Aristotle* writes) nor  
 any *Demonstration concerning them*. But the *Parmenideans* on the  
 contrary, who maintained the *Firmitude and Stability of Science*,  
 did as reasonably conclude thereupon, that besides *Singular Sensi-*  
*bles*; there were other *Objects of the Mind*, *Universal, Eternal and*  
*Immutable*, which they called the *Intelligible Ideas*, all originally  
 contained in *One Archetypal Mind or Understanding*, and from  
 thence participated by *Inferiour Minds and Souls*. But it must be  
 here acknowledged, that *Parmenides* and the *Pythagoreans*, went  
 yet a step further, and did not only suppose those *Intelligible Ideas*,  
 to be the *Eternal and Immutable Objects of all Science*, but also as  
 they are contained in the *Divine Intellect*, to be the *Principles and*  
*Causes of all other things*. For thus *Aristotle* declares their Sence,  
 αἰτία τὰ εἶδη τοῖς ἄλλοις, and again, τὸ τι ἦν εἶναι ἐκείνων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ εἶδη *Met. L. 1. c. 6.*  
 παρέχονται, τοῖς ἢ εἶδεναι τὸ ἐν. *The Ideas are the Causes of all other things;*  
*and, the Essence of all other things below, is imparted to them from the I-*  
*deas*

*deas, as the Ideas themselves, derive their Essence from the First Unity.* Those *Ideas* in the Divine Understanding, being look'd upon by these Philosophers, as the Paradigms and Patterns of all Created things. Now these *Ideas* being frequently called by the Pythagoreans, *Numbers*, we may from hence clearly understand the Meaning of that seemingly monstrous Paradox or puzzling *Griphus* of theirs, that *Numbers were the Causes and Principles of all things*, or that *All things were made out of Numbers*; it signifying indeed no more than this, that *All things were made from the Ideas of the Divine Intellect, called Numbers*; which themselves also were derived from a *Monad or Unity*; *Aristotle* somewhere intimating this very account of that Assertion, τὸς ἀριθμοὺς αἰτίας εἶναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἢ ἑστίαι, *That Numbers were the Causes of the Essence of other things*, namely, because τὰ ἔδη ἀριθμοὶ, *the Ideas were Numbers*. Though we are not ignorant, how the Pythagoreans made also all the Numbers within the Decad, to be Symbols of Things. But besides these *Two Divine Hypostases* already mentioned, *Parmenides* seems to have asserted also a *Third*, which because it had yet more *Alterity*, for distinction sake was called by him, neither ἐν τῷ πᾶν, *One the Universe or All*; nor ἐν πᾶσι, *One-All Things*; but ἐν καὶ πᾶσι, *One and All things*; and this is taken by *Plotinus* to be the *Eternal Psyche*, that actively produceth All Things, in this Lower World, according to those *Divine Ideas*.

But that *Parmenides* by his *One-All Immoveable*, really understood nothing else but the Supreme Deity, is further unquestionably evident from those Verses of his cited by *Simplicius*, but not taken notice of by *Stephanus* in his *Poesis Philosophica*, of which we shall only set down some few here.

In *Arist. Phys.*  
fol. 7. § 17. §  
31.

— ὡς ἀγρόντων ἓν καὶ ἀνάλευθρον ἔστιν,  
οὐδέ ποτ' ἦν, ἔσθ' ἔσαι, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἔστιν ὅμῃ πᾶν.  
Ἐν συνεχές· τίνα γὰρ γῆλυ διζήσαι αὐτῶ;  
αὐτὰρ ἀκίνητον μεγάλων ἐν πέραςι δέσμων,  
ταυτὸν τ' ἐν ταυτῶ τε μέτρον, καθ' ἑαυτὸ τε κείται· &c.

In which together with those that follow, the Supreme Deity is plainly described, as *One Single, Solitary, and most Simple Being, Unmade or Self-existent, and Necessarily Existing, Incorporeal and devoid of Magnitude, altogether Immutable or Unchangeable, whose Duration therefore was very different from that of ours, and not in a way of Flux or Temporary Succession, but a Constant Eternity, without either Past or Future.* From whence it may be observed, that this Opinion of a *Standing Eternity*, different from that *Flowing Succession of Time*, is not so Novel a Thing, as some would persuade, nor was first excogitated by *Christian Writers, Schoolmen or Fathers*, it being at least as old as *Parmenides*; from whom it was also afterwards received and entertained by the best of the other *Pagan Philosophers*; however it hath been of late so much decried, not only by *Atheistical Writers*, but other *Precocious and Conceited Wits* also, as *Non-sence and Impossibility*.

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It is well known that *Melissus* held forth the very same Doctrine with *Parmenides*, of *One Immoveable, that was All*, which he plainly affirmed to be Incorporeal likewise, as *Parmenides* did ; *ὅτι ὁ μέλιστος ἐν ἑδόν φησι, δὲ αὐτὸ σῶμα μὴ ἔχειν, εἰ ἢ ἔχει πέρχου, ἔχει ἂν μόρια*, *Melissus also declared, that his One Ens must needs be devoid of Body, because if it had any Crassities in it, it would have Parts.* But the only Difference that was between them was this, that *Parmenides* called this *One Immoveable that was All*, πεπερασμένον, *Finite or Determined*, but *Melissus* ἀπειρον, *Infinite.* Which Difference notwithstanding was in Words only, there being none at all, as to the reality of their Sence ; whilst each of them endeavoured in a different way, to set forth the greatest Perfection of the Deity ; there being an Equivocation in those words *Finite* and *Infinite*, and both of them signifying in one sence Perfection, but in another Imperfection. And the *Disagreeing Agreement* of these two Philosophers with one another, *Parmenides* and *Melissus* ; as also of *Xenophanes* with them both concerning the Deity, is well declared by *Simplicius* after this manner ; ἔδεν ἢ ἴσως χεῖρον ὀλίγον παρεκβάλλει, τοῖς φιλομαθεστέροις ἐπιδείξει, πᾶς καίτοι διαφέρειν δοκῶντες οἱ πάλαιοι, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς δόξαις, ἐναρμονίως ὅμας συμφέρονται. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐν τῇ νοητῇ καὶ πρώτῃ ἀρχῇ διελέχθησαν, ὡς κενοφάνης καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ μέλιστος. ὁ μὲν Παρμενίδης ἐν λέγων καὶ πεπερασμένον. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸ ἐν τῇ πλήθει περιεῖχεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πᾶσιν ὄντος καὶ πέρχου αἰτίον, καὶ τὸ πέρχου μᾶλλον ἢ ὡς καὶ τῷ ἀπείρῳ ἀφορίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πάντι τετέλεον τὸ τέλει τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπειληφός, πεπερασμένον εἶναι, μᾶλλον ἢ τέλει τῷ πάντων ὡς ἀρχῇ. τὸ γὰρ ἀτέλές ἐνδεές ὄν, ἔπω πέρχου ἀπέλιφε. μέλιστος ἢ τὸ μὲν ἀμετάλητον ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεάσατο, καὶ ἢ τὸ ἀνέκλειπτον τῷ ἔχειν, καὶ τὸ ἀπείρῳ τῷ δυνάμει, ἀπείρῳ αὐτὸ ἀπεφῆνατο, ὡς ὡς καὶ ἀρχῆμιον. πλὴν ὁ μὲν κενοφάνης ὡς πάντων αἰτίον, καὶ πάντων ἄφρανεχον, καὶ κινήσεως αὐτὸ καὶ ἡρεμίας καὶ πόσεως ἀνισοιχείας ἐπέκεινα τίθεισιν, ὡς ὡς καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὑποθέσει. ὁ ἢ Παρμενίδης, τὸ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἔχον αὐτῶ, καὶ πᾶσι μεταβολῆς, πέρχου ἢ καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ δυνάμει ἐπέκεινα, θεασάμενος, ἀκινήτων αὐτὸ ἀνυμνεῖ. Perhaps it will not be improper for us to digress a little here, and to gratifie the studious and inquisitive Reader, by showing how those Ancient Philosophers, though seeming to dissent in their Opinions concerning the Principles, did notwithstanding harmoniously agree together. As first of all, they who discoursed concerning the Intelligible and First Principle of All ; *Xenophanes*, *Parmenides* and *Melissus* ; of whom *Parmenides* called it *One Finite and Determined* ; because as *Unity* must needs exist before *Multitude*, so that which is to all things the cause of *Measure*, *Bound* and *Determination*, ought rather to be described by *Measure* and *Finitude*, than *Infinity* ; as also that which is every way perfect, and hath attained its own end, or rather is the end of all things (as it was the beginning) must needs be of a *Determinate Nature* ; for that which is imperfect and therefore indigent, hath not yet attained its *Term* or *Measure*. But *Melissus*, though considering the *Immutability* of the Deity likewise, yet attending to the *Inexhaustible* perfection of its *Essence*, the *Unlimitedness* and *Unboundedness* of its *Power*, declareth it to be *Infinite*, as well as *Ingenit* or *Unmade*. Moreover *Xenophanes* looking upon the Deity, as the *Cause* of *All things* and *above All things*, placed it *above Motion* and *Rest*, and all those *Antitheses* of *Inferiour Beings*, as *Plato* likewise doth in the first Hypothesis of his *Parmenides* ;

Simplic. Ar. Phys. f. 19.

Ar. Phys. f. 7.

whereas Parmenides and Melissus, attending to its Stability and constant Immutability, and its being perhaps above Energy and Power, praised it as Immovable. From which of Simplicius it is plain, that Parmenides when he called God, πεπερασμένον, Finite and Determined, was far from meaning any such thing thereby, as if he were a Corporeal Being of Finite Dimensions, as some have ignorantly supposed; or as if he were any way limited as to Power and Perfection; but he understood it in that sense, in which πέρας is taken by Plato, as opposite to ἀπειρία, and for the Greatest Perfection, and as God is said to be πέρας ἢ μέτρον πάντων, The Term and Measure of All Things. But Melissus calling God ἀπείρον, Infinite, in the sense before declared, as thereby to signify his Inexhaustible Power and Perfection, his Eternity and Incorruptibility, doth therein more agree with our present Theology, and the now received manner of speaking. We have the rather produced all this, to shew how Curious the ancient Philosophers were, in their Enquiries after God, and how exact in their Descriptions of him. Wherefore however Anaximanders Infinite, were nothing but Eternal Senseless Matter (though called by him the τὸ θεῖον, the Divinest thing of all) yet Melissus his ἀπείρον, or Infinite, was the true Deity.

With Parmenides and Melissus fully agreed Zeno Eleates also, Parmenides his Scholar, that One Immovable, was All, or the Original of All things, he meaning thereby nothing else, but the Supreme Deity. For though it be true, that this Zeno did excogitate certain Arguments against the Local Motion of Bodies, proceeding upon that Hypothesis of the Infinite Divisibility of Body, one of which was famously known by that name of Achilles, because it pretended to prove that it was impossible (upon that Hypothesis) for the Swift-footed Achilles, ever to overtake the creeping Snail; (which Arguments of his, whether or no they are well answered by Aristotle, is not here to our purpose to enquire) yet all this was nothing else, but Lusus Ingenii, a sportful exercise of Zeno's Wit, he being a subtil Logician and Disputant, or perhaps an Endeavour also, to show how puzzling and perplexing to humane Understanding, the conception even of the most vulgar and confessed Phenomena of Nature may be. For that Zeno Eleates by his One Immovable that was All, meant not the Corporeal World, no more than Melissus, Parmenides, and Xenophanes, is evident from Aristotle writing thus concerning him; τὸ τοῖστων ἐν ὧν τὸ θεῖον λέγει, ὅτι κινεῖσθαι, ὅτι κινητὸν εἶναι, Zeno by his one Ens which neither was moved, nor moveable, meaneth God. Moreover the same Aristotle informs us, that this Zeno endeavoured to Demonstrate, that there was but One God, from that Idea which all men have of him, as that which is the Best, the Supreme and most Powerful of all, or as an absolutely Perfect Being; εἰ δ' ὅστιν ὁ θεὸς ἀπάντων κρείττων, ἕνα φησὶ προσήκειν αὐτῷ. If God be the Best of All things, then he must needs be One. Which Argument was thus pursued by him; τὸ θεὸς ἢ θεῶν δύναμις κρείττων ἀλλὰ μὴ κρείττωται. ὥστε καθὸ μὴ κρείττων, καὶ τὸ ἴσον ἐκ εἶναι θεόν. πλείονων ἐν ὄντων, εἰ μὲν εἶεν τὰ μὲν ἀλλήλων κρείττους, τὰ δ' ἴσησιν, ἐκ ἂν εἶναι θεός. πεφυκέναι γὰρ θεὸν μὴ κρείττωται ἴσων, ἢ ὄντων, ἐκ ἂν ἔχειν θεὸν φύσιν δεῖν εἶναι κρείττων. τὸ δ' ἴσον, ὅτι βέλπιον ὅτι χεῖρον

De Xenoph. Zc.  
S Gur.

χρεῖον εἶναι τῆς ἰσχύος ὡς εἶπαρ ἔην τε, καὶ τοῖστων εἶναι θεός, ἕνα μόνον εἶναι τὸ θεόν ὡς δὲ καὶ ὡς δὲ πάντα δύνασθαι ἂν βούλοιο. *This is God and the Power of God, to prevail, conquer and rule over all. Wherefore by how much anything falls short of the Best, by so much does it fall short of being God. Now if there be supposed more such Beings, whereof some are Better, some worse, those could not be all Gods, because it is Essential to God not to be transcended by any; but if they be conceived to be so many Equal Gods; then would it not be the nature of God to be the Best, one Equal being neither better nor worse than another, Wherefore if there be a God, and this be the nature of him, then can there be but One. And indeed otherwise he could not be able to do whatever he would.*

Empedocles is said to have been an Emulator of Parmenides also, which must be understood of his Metaphysics, because in his Physiology (which was *Atomical*) he seems to have transcended him. Now that Empedocles acknowledged One Supreme and Universal Numen and that Incorporeal too, may be concluded from what hath been already cited out of his Philosophick Poems. Besides which the Writer *De Mundo* (who though not *Aristotle* yet was a Pagan of good antiquity) clearly affirmeth, that Empedocles derived all things whatsoever, from One Supreme Deity; τὰ γὰρ δι' ἀέρος ἀπαντα, καὶ ἐπιγῆς, καὶ τὰ ἐν ὑδατί, θεὸς λέγοιτ' ἂν ὄντως ἔργα εἶναι, τῆς τὸ νόστομον ἐπέχοντος ἕξ δ' ἡτ' ἔφυσκόν Ἐμπεδοκλέα,

Πάνθ' ὅσα τ' ἦν, ὅσα τ' ὄζειν, ἰδ' ὅσα τε ἔσαι ὀπίσσω, &c.

All the things that are upon the Earth and in the Air and Water, may truly be called the works of God, who ruleth over the World. Out of whom, according to the Physical Empedocles, proceed all things that were, are, and shall be, viz. Plants, Men, Beasts and Gods. Which notwithstanding we conceive, to be rather true as to Empedocles his sense, than his words, he affirming, as it seems, in that cited place, that all these things were made, not immediately out of God, but out of Contention and Friendship; because *Simplicius* who was furnished with a Copy of Empedocles his Poems, twice brings in that cited Passage of his in this connexion,

Ἐν ἡκότῳ διάμορφα καὶ ἀνδιχα πάντα πέλονται,  
 Σὺν δ' ἔση ἐν φιλότιπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι ποθεῖται,  
 Ἐκ τῆς γὰρ πάνθ' ὅσα ἦν, ὅσα τε ὄζει, καὶ ἔσαι,  
 Δένδρα τε βεβλάσκη, καὶ ἄνερες ἠδὲ γυναῖκες,  
 Θῆρες, τ' οἴωνοι τε, καὶ ὑδατοθρέμμοι ἰχθύς,  
 Καὶ τε θεοὶ δολιχαίωες πμῆσι φέρεσι.

Things are divided and segregated by Contention, but joyned together by Friendship; from which Two (Contention and Friendship) all that was, is, and shall be, proceeds; as trees, men and women, beasts, birds and fishes, and last of all the long lived and honourable Gods. Wherefore the sense of Empedocles his words here was this; that the whole created World, together with all things belonging to it, viz. Plants, Beasts

Beasts, Men and Gods, was made from *Contention* and *Friendship*. Nevertheless, since according to *Empedocles* *Contention* and *Friendship*, did themselves depend also upon one Supreme Deity, which he with *Parmenides* and *Xenophanes* called, τὸ ἓν, or *The Very One*; the Writer *De Mundo* might well conclude, that according to *Empedocles*, all things whatsoever, and not only men, but Gods, were derived from *One Supreme Deity*. And that this was indeed *Empedocles* his sense, appears plainly from *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysics*, τίθησι μὲν γὰρ [ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ] ἀρχὴν πῶς τὸ φθορῆς τὸ νέηθη. δόξειε δ' ἂν εἶναι ἡπτόν τε τὸ γέννησθαι αὐτὸ τὸ ἓνός. Ἀπὸ τῆς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν τ' ἄλλα ὅτι πᾶσι ὁ θεὸς λέγει γέν,

L. 3. c. 4.

Ἐξ ἓν πᾶσι ὅσα τ' ἦν, ὅσα τ' ἔσθ', ὅσα τ' ἔσσι ὁπίσω, &c.

*Empedocles* makes *Contention* to be a certain Principle of *Corruption* and *Generation*: Nevertheless he seems to generate this *Contention* it self also from the *Very One* (that is, from the Supreme Deity.) For all things according to him are from this *Contention*, God only excepted; he writing after this manner, From which (that is, *Contention* and *Friendship*) all the things that have been, are and shall be (Plants, Beasts, Men and Gods) derived their Original. For *Empedocles* it seems supposed, that were it not for νέηθη *Discord* or *Contention*, all things would be One: So that according to him, all things whatsoever proceeded from *Contention* or *Discord*, together with a mixture of *Friendship*, save only the Supreme God, who hath therefore no *Contention* at all in him, because he is Essentially τὸ ἓν, *Unity* it self and *Friendship*. From whence *Aristotle* takes occasion to quarrel with *Empedocles*, as if it would follow from his Principles, that the Supreme and most Happy God, was the *Least wise* of all, as being not able to know any thing besides himself, or in the World without him, διὸ καὶ συμβαίνει αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ φρονεῖν ἕναι τῶν ἄλλων. εἰ γὰρ γνωρίζει τὰ στοιχεῖα πάντα τὸ γὰρ νέηθη εἶναι ἔχει. ἢ ἡ γνῶσις τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν ὁμοίων,

Met. L. 3. c. 4.

Γαίη μὲν γὰρ (φῆσι) γαῖαν ὁπώπα μὲν, ὕδατι δ' ὕδατος, &c.

This therefore happens to *Empedocles*, that according to his Principles, the most Happy God, is the least Wise of all other things, for he cannot know the Elements, because he hath no *Contention* in him; all Knowledge being by that which is like; himself writing thus; We know Earth by Earth, Water by Water, Air by Air, and Fire by Fire; Friendship by Friendship, and Contention by Contention. But to let this pass; *Empedocles* here making the Gods themselves to be derived from *Contention* and *Friendship*, the Supreme Deity, or most Happy God, only excepted, (who hath no *Contention* in him, and from whom *Contention* and *Friendship* themselves were derived) plainly acknowledged both One Unmade Deity, the Original of all things under the name of τὸ ἓν, *The very One*, and many other Inferiour Gods, generated or produced by him; they being Juniors to *Contention*, or *Discord*, as this was also Junior to *Unity*, the First and Supreme Deity. Which Gods of *Empedocles*, that were begotten from *Contention* (as well as Men and other things) were doubtless the Stars and Demons.

Moreover

Moreover we may here observe, that according to *Empedocles* his Doctrine, the true Original of all the *Evil*, both of *Humane Souls* and *Demons* (which he supposed alike *Lapsable*) was derived from that *Νεῖκος*, *Discord and Contention*, that is necessarily contained in the Nature of them, together with the the Ill Use of their Liberty, both in this *Present* and their *Pre-existent State*. So that *Empedocles* here trode in the footsteps of *Pythagoras*, whose Praises he thus loudly sang forth in his Poems,

According to that Νεῖκος καὶ τοῦ μέγιστος.  
P. 23.

Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν κείνοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐξέλιπεν εἰδὼς,  
ὅς δὴ μήμισον περὶ δῶν ἐπέθετο πλεστον,  
παντοίων τε μέλιτα σφῶν ἐπιήενον ἔργων, &c.

Porphyr. de Vir.  
Pyth. p. 194.

*Horum de numero quidam præstantia norat  
Plurima, Mentis Opes Amplas sub pectore servans,  
Omnia Vestigans Sapientum Doctræ Reperta, &c.*

XXII. Before we come to *Socrates* and *Plato*, we shall here take notice of some other *Pythagoreans*, and *Eminent Philosophers*, who clearly asserted *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, though doubtless acknowledging withal, *Other Inferiour Gods*: *Philo* in his Book *De Mundi Opificio*, writing of the *Hebdomad* or *Septenary Number*, and observing that according to the *Pythagoreans*, it was called both a *Motherless* and *Virgin Number*, because it was the only number within the *Decad*, which was neither *Generated*, nor did it self *Generate*, tells us that therefore it was made by them a *Symbol* of the *Supreme Deity*, οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τὸν ἀρχαῖον τῶν ἐξομοῖσι τῶν ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων. *The Pythagoreans likened this Number, to the Prince and Governour of All Things, or the Supreme Monarch of the Universe*, as thinking it to bear a resemblance of his *Immutability*; which *Phancy* of theirs was before taken notice of by us. However *Philo* hereupon, occasionally cites this Remarkable Testimony of *Philolaus* the *Pythagorean*, Ἐστὶ γὰρ, φησὶν, ἡγεμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν ἀπάντων ὁ θεὸς, εἰς αὐτὸν ἓν, μόνιμον, ἀκίνητον, αὐτὸς αὐτῶν ὁμοῖος, ἕτερον τῶν ἄλλων. *God (saith he) is the Prince and Ruler over all, alwayes One, Stable, Immovable, Like to himself, but Unlike to every thing else.* To which may be added what in *Stobæus* is further recorded, out of the same *Philolaus*, ἢν ὁδε ὁ κόσμος ἔξ αἰῶνος, καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα διαμνήσκει, εἰς ὑπὸ ἐνὸς τῶν συγγένων καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐρανὸν. *This World was from Eternity and will remain to Eternity, One governed by One, which is Cognate and the Best.* Where notwithstanding he seemeth, with *Ocellus*, to maintain the *Worlds Pre-eternity*. And again, διὸ καὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἔλεγε, κόσμον ἡμεῶν ἐνέργειαν αἰδίου θεῶ τε καὶ γένεσιν. *Wherefore, said Philolaus, the World might well be called the Eternal Energy or Effect of God, and of Successive Generation.*

P. 23.

Ecl. Phys. p. 44.

*Jamblichus* in his *Protrepticks* cites a Passage out of *Archytas* another *Pythagorean*, to the same purpose, ὅστις ἀναλύσει οἷός τε ὅτι, πάντα τὰ γένη ὑπὸ μίαν τε καὶ αὐτὴν ἀρχήν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ μοι καλὰν σκοπὴν ἀρετῆς, ἀφ' ἧς δυνατὸς ἐστίται τὸ θεὸν καλοῦσθαι, &c. *Whosoever is able to reduce all kinds of things under One and the same Principle, this man seems to me, to have found out an excellent Specula, or high Station,*

G. 4. p. 26.

from



from whence he may be able to take a Large View and Prospect of God, and of all other things; and he shall clearly perceive that God is the Beginning, and End, and Middle of All things, that are performed according to Justice and Right Reason. Upon which words of Archytas, Jamblichus thus glosseth; Archytas here declares the End of all Theological Speculation, to be this, not to rest in Many Principles, but to reduce all things under One and the same Head. Adding τοιαύτη ἑπιστήμη τῆς ἐνός, τέλει ἔστι πάσης θεωρίας, That this knowledge of the first Unity, the Original of All things, is the end of all Contemplation. Moreover Stobæus cites this out of Archytas his Book of Principles, viz. That besides Matter and Form, ἀναγκαιοτέρων τινῶν εἴδη αἰτίαν, τὴν κινάσοισαν ἐνεσώτων πραγμάτων ἔπι τῶν μορφῶν, ταῦτα ἢ τὴν πρῶταν δυνάμει, ἢ καθυφῶν τῶν εἴδη, ὀνομάζεσθαι ἢ θεόν, &c. There is another more necessary cause, which Moving, brings the Form to the Matter, and that this is the First and most Powerful Cause, which is fitly called God. So that there are Three Principles, God, Matter, and Form; God the Artificer and Mover, and Matter that which is moved, and Form the Art introduced into the Matter. In which same Stobæan Excerption it also follows afterwards, δεῖ νόω τι κρείσσον εἶναι, νόω ἢ κρείσσον ἔστι ὅπερ ὀνομάζομεν θεόν, That there must be something better than Mind, and that this thing better than Mind, is that which we (properly) call God.

Ecl. Ph. p. 82.

P. 32.

Ocellus also in the same Stobæus thus writeth, συνέχει τὰ μὲν σκάνεα ζῶα, ταύτας δ' αἰτίον ψυχῆς ἢ ἡ νόσον ἀρμονία, ταύτας δ' αἰτίον ὁ θεός. τὰς δ' οἰκίας ἢ τὰς πόλεις ὁμόνοια, ταύτας δ' αἰτίον νόμος. Life contains the bodies of Animals, the Cause of which Life is the Soul; Concord contains Houses and Cities, the cause of which Concord is Law; and Harmony contains the whole World, the cause of which Mundane Harmony is God. And to the same purpose Aristæus, ὡς ὁ τεχνίτης πρὸς τὴν τέχνην, ἕτως θεός πρὸς ἀρμονίαν, As the Artificer is to Art, so is God to the Harmony of the world. There is also this passage in the same Stobæus cited out of an anonymous Pythagorean, θεός μὲν ἔστιν ἀρχὴ ἢ πρῶτον, δεῖ ἢ ὁ νόσμος, God is the Principle, and the First thing; and the World (though it be not the Supreme God) yet is it Divine.

P. 45.

P. 8.

Timæus Locrus a Pythagorean Senior to Plato, in his Book concerning Nature, or the Soul of the World (upon which Plato's Timæus was but a kind of Commentary) plainly acknowledgeth both One Supreme God the Maker and Governour of the whole World, and also Many other Gods his Creatures and subordinate Ministers; in the close thereof, writing thus concerning the punishment of wickedmen after this life, ἀπαντὰ ἢ ταῦτα ἐν δευτέρῳ ἠελίοθω ἀ Νέμεσις συνδιέκευε, σὺν δαίμοσι παλαμναίοις χθονίοις τε, τοῖς ἐπίπταις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. οἷς ὁ πάντων ἀγαθῶν θεός ἐπέτερεψε διοικῆσθαι νόσμω συμπληρωμένῳ ἐκ θεῶν τε ἢ ἀνθρώπων, τῶν τε ἄλλων ζῶων, ὅσα δεδαμνέσθαι ποτ' εἰκόνα τῶν ἀρίστων εἶδετο ἀγνώτω ἢ αἰωνίῳ. All these things, hath Nemesis decreed, to be executed in the second Circuit by the Ministry of Vindictive Terrestrial Demons that are Overseers of humane affairs; to which Demons, that Supreme God the Ruler over all, hath committed the Government and Administration of the World. Which world is compleated and made up, of Gods, Men, and other Animals, all Created according to the best Pattern of

of the *Eternal and Unmade Idea*. In which words of *Timæus*, there are these Three several Points of the Pagan Theology contained; First, that there is *One Supreme God*, *Eternal and Unmade*, the *Creator and Governour* of the whole World, and who made it according to the *Best Pattern or Exemplar* of his own *Idea's* and *Eternal Wisdom*. Secondly, that this World Created by God, is compounded and made up of other *Inferiour Gods*, *Men*, and *Brute Animals*. Thirdly, that the *Supreme God* hath committed the *Administation* of our *Humane Affairs* to *Demons* and *Inferiour Gods*, who are constant inspectors over us, some of which he also makes use of for the punishment of wicked men after this life. Moreover in this Book of *Timæus* *Locrus* the *Supreme God* is often called, *ὁ θεός*, and sometime *ὁ δαίμων*, *God in way of eminency*; sometime *νόος*, *Mind*, sometime *τ' ἀγαθόν*, *The Very Good* sometime *ἀρχὴ τῶν ἀρίστων*, *The Principle of the Best things*, sometime *δαμναργός τῶ βελτίονος*, *The Maker of the Better*, (*Evil being supposed not to proceed from him*;) sometime *κρείττισον αἰτιον*, *the Best and most Powersful Cause*, sometime *ἀρχηγός ἢ γένετορ ἀπάντων*, *The Prince and Parent of all things*. Which God, according to him, is not the *Soul of the World* neither, but the *Creator thereof*, he having made the *World* an *Animal*, and a *Secondary Generated God*; *διλόμενον ὃν ἀριστον γήναμα ποιεῖν, τῶτον ἐποίησεν θεὸν γήνατον, ἔποκα φθαρησόμενον ὑπ' ἄλλω αἰτία, ἔξω τῶ αὐτῶ συνεταγμένω θεῷ, ἔποκα δίλετο αὐτῶ διαλύειν*, *God willing to make the world the Best, that it was capable of, made it a Generated God, such as should never be destroyed by any other Cause but only by that God himself who framed it, if he should ever will to dissolve it. But since it is not the part of that which is good to destroy the Best of Works, the World will doublesever remain Incorruptible and Happy; the best of all Generated things, made by the Best Cause, looking not at Patterus Artificially framed without him, but the Idea and Intelligible Essence, as the Paradigms, which whatsoever is made conformable to, must needs be the Best, and such as shall never need to be mended.* Moreover he plainly declares, that this *Generated God* of his, the *World*, was produced in *Time*, so as to have a *Beginning*, *πρὶν ὡραῖον γινέσθαι, λογὸν ἦσιν ἰδέα τε ἢ ὕλα, ἢ ὁ θεός δαμναργός τῶ βελτίονος*; *Before the Heaven was made, existed the Idea, Matter, and God the Opifex of the Best.* Wherefore whatever *Ocellus* and *Philolaus* might do, yet this *Timæus* held not the *Worlds Eternity*; wherein he followed, not only *Pythagoras himself* (as we have already shewed) but also the generality of the first *Pythagoreans*, of whom *Aristotle* pronounces without exception, *γῆνασι γὰρ ἢ ἰούσιον*, *that they Generated the World.* *Timæus* indeed in this Book, seems to assert the *Pre-eter-nity* of the *Matter*, as if it were a *Self-existent Principle* together with *God*, and yet *Clemens Alexandrinus* cites a passage out of him looking another way, *ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μὲν ἢ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἢ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἀκούσαι ποθεῖς; Τιμαῖος ὁ λοκρός ἐν τῶ φυσικῶ συγγράμματι κτ' λέγει ὡς μοι μαρτυρήσῃ. μία ἀρχὴ πάντων ὅσιν ἀρχήν ἔστι, εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, ἐν αὐτῶ ἢ ἐπὶ ἀρχῆ, ἀλλ' ὡραῖον ἀρχῆ, ἔξ ἧς ἐγένετο.* *Would you hear of one only Principle of all things amongst the Greeks? Timæus Locrus in his Book of Nature, will bear me witness thereof; he there in express words writing thus, There is One Principle of All Things, Unmade; for if it were made it would not be a Principle, but that would be the Principle, from whence it was made. Thus*

Met. L. i. c. 7.

Strom. 5 p. 604

we see that *Timeus Locrus* asserted *One Eternal and Unmade God*, the maker of the whole World, and besides this, another *Generated God*, the World it self Animated, with its several Parts; the difference betwixt both which Gods, is thus declared by him, θεὸν ἓ, ἢ μὲν αἰώνιον νόον ὁρῆ μόνος, τῆς ἀπάντων ἀρχαῖον καὶ γινέτορα τσπεῖων, ἢ ἃ ἄλλων ὄψι ὁρέομεν, κόσμον δὲ τῆνδε, καὶ τὰ μέρη αὐτῆς ὁκόσα ἀρθῖνα ἐντί. *That Eternal God, who is the Prince, Original, and Parent of all these things, is seen only by the Mind, but the other Generated God, is visible to our eyes, viz. this world and those parts of it which are Heavenly, that is, the Stars, as so many particular Gods contained in it. But here it is to be observed, that that Eternal God, is not only so called by Timeus, as being without beginning, but also as having a distinct kind of duration from that of Time, which is properly called Aeon or Eternity, he therein following Parmenides, εἰὼν δὲ ἔστι τῷ ἀγλανάτω χεῖνω, ὃν αἰῶνα ποταγροῦομεν. ὡς γὰρ ποτ' αἰδίου ὡδῶδ' ἄγμα ἢ ἰδῶνικον κόσμον ὄδε ὡραῖος ἐγλανάδι, ἔτας ὡς πρὸς ὡδῶδ' ἄγμα ἢ αἰῶνα ὄδε χεῖνος σὺν κόσμῳ ἐδαμπεγῖθι. Time is but an Image of that Unmade Duration, which we call Eternity; wherefore as this sensible World was made according to that Eternal Exemplar or Pattern of the Intelligible World, so was Time made together with the World, as an Imitation of Eternity.*

Pag. 233.

It hath been already observed, that *Onatus* another Pythagorean, took notice of an Opinion of some in his time, that there was *One only God*, who comprehended the whole World, and no other Gods besides, or at least, none such as was to be religiously worshipped; himself in the mean time asserting, That there was both *One God*, and *Many Gods*; or besides *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, *Many other Inferiour and Particular Deities*, to whom also men ought to pay Religious Worship. Now his further account of both these

Stob. Ecl. Phys.

p. 5.

Assertions, is contained in these following words; τοὶ ἃ λέγοντες ἓνα θεὸν εἶμεν, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλὰς ἀμαρτανούτι. τὸ γὰρ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα τῆς θείας ὑπεροχῆς ἐσθθεορῖτι. λέγω ἃ τὸ ἀρχεὶν καὶ καθυγεῖσθαι τῆς ὁμοίων, καὶ κορπισθῆν καὶ καθυπερτεροθῆν εἶμεν τῆς ἄλλων. τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι θεοὶ ποτὶ τῆς πρώτου καὶ νοητῆς ἔτας ἐχούτι ὡς περ κορβῶτα πῶτι κορυφαῖον, καὶ σρατῖα πῶτι σρατῖαγόν, καὶ λοχῖα, καὶ ἐντεταγμῶροι πῶτι ταξιαρχεὶν καὶ λογαρχεῖται, ἔχοντε φύσιν, ἐπεσθαι καὶ ἐπακολεσθῆν τῆς καλῶς καθυγεομῶρω. κοινὸν μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς τὸ ἔργον ἔστι, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τῆς ἀρχομῶρων ἀλλ' ἐπέτι δύναντι σντεταχθῆν τοὶ ἀρχομῶροι πῶτι τὸ ἔργον, ἀπολειφθέντες ἀγκμόνος. ὡς περ ἔδε κορβῶται πῶτι σνοαῖδιαν, ἔδε σρατῖ. ἔπει πῶτι σρατῖγῖαν, ἀπολειφθέντες ἀγκμόνος, τοὶ μὲν σρατῖαγῶ, τοὶ ἃ κορυφαῖω. *They who maintain that there is only One God, and not Many Gods, are very much mistaken, as not considering aright, what the Dignity and Majesty of the Divine Transcendency chiefly consisteth in, namely, in Ruling and Governing those which are like to it (that is, Gods) and in excelling or surmounting Others, and being Superiour to them. But all those other Gods, which we contend for, are to that First and Intelligible God, but as the Dancers to the Coryphæus or Choragus, & as the Inferior Common Soldiers, to the Captain or General; to whom it properly belongeth, to follow and comply with their Leader and Commander. The work indeed is common or the same to them both, to the Ruler and them that are Ruled; but they that are ruled, could not orderly conspire and agree together*

ther' into one work, were they destitute of a Leader, as the Singers and Dancers could not conspire together into one Dance and Harmony, were they destitute of a Coryphaeus, nor Soldiers make up one orderly Army were they without a Captain or Commander.

And as the Supreme God is here called by *Onatus*, the *Coryphaeus* of the Gods, so is he in like manner by the Writer *De Mundo*, stiled the *Coryphaeus* of the World, or the *Præcentor* and *Præfultor* of it, in these words, καὶ δὲ περ ἐν χορῶν, κορυφαὶς καὶ ἀρχαῖος, συνεπηχεῖ πᾶς ὁ χορὸς ἀνδρῶν, ἔσθ' ὅτι καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐν διαφορῶσι φωναῖς ὀξεύτεροις καὶ βαρυτέροις, μίαν ἁρμονίαν ἐμμελῆ κεραινωμάτων. ἕστας ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ συμπαντος διέποιος θεός. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀνωθεν ἐνδοξαίμων ὑπὸ τῆς φερωνύμας ἀν κορυφαὶς προσαγορεύθεντος, κινεῖται μὲν τὰ ἄστρα ἀεὶ καὶ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός. *As in a Chorus, when the Coryphaeus or Præcentor hath begun, the whole Quire compounded of men, and sometimes of women too, followeth, singing every one their part, some in higher and some in lower notes, but all mingling together into one complete Harmony; so in the world God, as the Coryphaeus, the Præcentor and Præfultor, beginning the Dance and Musick, the Stars and Heavens move round after him according to those numbers and measures, which he prescribes them, all together making up one most excellent Harmony.*

It was also before observed, that *Ephantus* the Pythagorean, and *Archelaus* the Successor of *Anaxagoras* (who were both of them *Atomists* in their *Physiology*) did assert the World to have been Made at First, and still to be governed by *One Divine Mind*; which is more than some *Atomists* of ours in this present age, who notwithstanding pretend to be very good *Theists*, will acknowledge. We shall in the next place, mention *Euclides Megarensis*, the Head of that Sect called *Megarick*, and who is said to have been *Plato's* Master for some time, after *Socrates* his death; whose Doctrine is thus set down by *Laertius*, ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἀπεφαίνετο, πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλεόμενον ὅτι μὲν γὰρ φερόμενον, ὅτι ἡ θεὸν, καὶ ἄλλοτε νῦν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ. τὰ δὲ ἀντιλεγόμενα τῷ ἀρχαίῳ, ἀνήγει, μὴ εἶναι φάσκων. Which we understand thus, That *Euclides* (who followed *Xenophanes* and *Parmenides*) made the *First Principle* of all things, to be *One the very Good*, called sometimes *Wisdom*, sometimes *God*, sometimes *Mind*, and sometimes by other Names; but that he took away all that is *Opposite to Good*, denying it to have any *Real Entity*; that is, he maintained, that there was no *Positive Nature of Evil*, or that *Evil was no Principle*. And thus do we also understand that of *Cicero*, when he represents the Doctrine of the *Megaricks* after this manner, *Id bonum solum esse, quod esset Unum, & Simile, & Idem, & Semper*; to wit, that they spake this concerning *God*, that *Good or Goodness it self* is a Name properly belonging to him, who is also *One, and Like, and the Same, and Always*; and that the true *Good of man*, consisteth in a *Participation of, and Conformity with this First Good*. Which Doctrine *Plato* seems to have derived from him, he in like manner, calling the *Supreme Deity*, by those Two Names, τὸ ἐν and τ' ἀγαθόν, the *One*, and the *Good*, and concluding true humane *Felicity* to consist, in a *Participation of the First Good*, or of the *Divine Nature*.

Cic. De N. D.  
L. 1.  
De Ira D. c. 11.

In the next place we shall take notice of *Antisthenes*, who was the Founder also of another Sect, to wit, the *Cynick*; for he in a certain Physiological Treatise, is said to have affirmed, *Esse Populares Deos Multos, sed Naturalem Unum*, That though there were many Popular Gods, yet there was but One Natural God: Or, as it is expressed in *Laertius*, *Unum esse Naturalem Deum, quamvis Gentes & Urbes suos habeant Populares*; That there was but One Natural God, though Nations and Cities had their Several Popular Ones. Wherefore *Velleius* the Epicurean in *Cicero* quarrels with this *Antisthenes*, as one who destroyed the Nature of Gods, because he denied a Multitude of Independent Deities, such as *Epicurus* pretended to assert. For this of *Antisthenes*, is not so to be understood, as if he had therein designed to take away all the Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, which had he at all attempted, he would doubtless have been accounted an Atheist, as well as *Anaxagoras* was; but his meaning was, only to interpret the Theology of the Pagans, concerning those other Gods of theirs, that were or might be look'd upon, as *Absolute and Independent*; that these, though Many Popular Gods, yet indeed were but One and the same Natural God, called by several Names. As for example, when the Greeks worshipped *Zeus*, the Latins *Jovis*, the Egyptians *Hammon*, the Babylonians *Bel*, the Scythians *Pappæus*; these were indeed many Popular Gods, and yet nevertheless all but One and the same Natural God. So again when in the self same Pagan Cities and Countries, the respective Laws thereof, made mention of several Gods, as Supreme and Absolute in their several Territories, as *Jupiter* in the Heavens, *Juno* in the Air, *Neptune* in the Sea; or as being Chief in several kinds and Functions, as *Minerva* for Learning, *Bellona* for War, &c. (for this *Aristotle* takes notice of in his Book against *Zeno*, καὶ τὸν νόμον, πολλὰ καὶ κρείττες ἀλλήλων οἱ θεοὶ, That according to the Laws of Cities and Countries, one God was Best for one thing, and another for another) *Antisthenes* here declared concerning these also, that they were indeed Many Popular or Civil Gods, but all really One and the same Natural God.

To *Antisthenes* might be added *Diogenes Sinopensis*, of whom it is recorded by *Laertius*, that observing a Woman too superstitiously worshipping the Statue or Image of a God, endeavouring to abate her Superstition, he thus bespake her, ἐκ δὲ λαβῆς, ὡ γύναι, μή ποτε δεῖσθ' ὀπίθεν ἐστῶτος (πάντα γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτῆ πληρὴ) ἀρχιμονύχης; Take you not care, O Woman, of not behaving your self unseemly, in the sight of that God, who stands behind you? for all things are full of him: Thereby giving her occasion, more to mind and regard, that Supreme and Universal Numen, that filleth the whole World, and is every where.

XXIII. It hath been frequently affirmed, that *Socrates* died a Martyr for One only God, in opposition to those Many Gods of the Pagans; and *Tertullian* for one, writeth thus of him, Propterea damnatus est Socrates, quia Deos destruebat; *Socrates* was therefore condemned to die, because he destroyed the Gods. And indeed that *Socrates* asserted one Supreme God, the Maker and Governour of the whole World

World, is a thing not at all to be doubted. In his discourse with *Aristodemus* in *Xenophon's* first Book of *Memoirs*, he convinced him, that the things of this world were not made by Chance, but by Mind and Counsel, ἔγωγε σιοπερὲν ἔοικε ταῦτα σοφῆς τινος δημιουργῆς, καὶ φιλοζῶος τεχνίματι, *I am now convinced from what you say, that the things of this world, were the workmanship of some wise Artificer, who also was a Lover of animals.* And so he endeavoured to persuade him, that that Mind and Understanding which is in us, was derived from some Mind and Understanding in the Universe, as well as that Earth and Water which is in us, from the Earth and Water of the Universe, οὐδὲ σπαντ' φερέμιόν τι δουεῖς ἔχειν, ἄλλοθι δὲ ἕδαμῶς ἕδεν φερέμιον εἶναι, εἰδὼς ὅτι γῆς τε μικρὸν μέρος ἐν τῷ σώματι πολλῆς ἕως ἔχεις, καὶ ὑγρῶς βραχὺ, πολλῶς οὐτ' ἔστι, καὶ τῆς ἄλλων δήπερ μεγάλων ὄντων ἐκάστος μικρὸν μέρος λαβόντι τὸ συνήμεροςαι σοι; νῦν δὲ μόνον ἄρα ἕδαμῶς οὕτω σε ἄτυχῶς πως δουεῖς συναρπάσαι. *Do you think that you only have Wisdom in your self, and that there is none any where else in the whole World without you? though you know that you have but a small Part in your Body, of that vast Quantity of Earth which is without you; and but a little of that Water and Fire, and so of every other thing that your Body is compounded of, in respect of that great Mass and Magazine of them which is in the World. Is Mind and Understanding therefore the only thing, which you fancy you have some way or other luckily got and snatch'd unto your self, whilest there is no such thing any where in the world without you; all those infinite things thereof being thus orderly disposed by Chance.* And when *Aristodemus* afterward objected, that he could not see any Artificer that made the World, as he could those Artificers which made all other humane things, *Socrates* thus replies, ἕδὲ γὰρ τίω σπαντ' ὄντι ψυχῷ ὄρεται, ἢ τῷ σώματι κωλύει εἶναι. ὡς κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ἕξει σοι λέγειν, ὅτι ἕδὲ γνώμη ἄλλα τύχη πάντα περὶ φηεις. *Neither do you see your own Soul, which rules over your Body; so that you might for the same reason conclude, your self to do nothing by Mind and Understanding neither, but all by Chance, as well as that all things in the World are done by Chance.* Again when he further disputed in this manner, against the necessity of Worshipping the Deity, ἕχ' ἡσφορῶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὃ Σάουρατες, ἄλλ' ἐκείνον μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἡγεύμαι, ἢ ὡς τ' ἐμῆς θεοπραξίας προσδέσθαι. *I despise not the Deity, O Socrates, but think him to be a more magnificent Being, than that he should stand in need of my worship of him.* *Socrates* again answers, ὅσον μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἀξιοῖ σε θεοπύθευ, τοσούτω μᾶλλον τιμητέον αὐτὸ, *How much the more Magnificent and Illustrious that Being is, which takes care of you, so much the more in all reason ought it to be Honoured by you.* Lastly, *Aristodemus* discovering his disbelief of Providence, as a thing which seemed to him Incredible if not Impossible, that one and the same Deity should be able to mind all things at once, *Socrates* endeavours to cure this disbelief of his in this manner; ὃ γὰρ θεὸς, κατὰ μαθε, ὅτι καὶ ὁ σὸς νῦν ἐνὸν τὸ σὸν σῶμα ὅπως βέλεται μέλας χειρίζεται. οἶεσθαι ἔν χερὶ καὶ τίω ἐν παντὶ φερέμιον τὰ πάντα ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ ἡδὲ ἢ ἔγωγε πθεσθαι. καὶ μὴ τὸ σὸν μὲν ὅμμα δύναισθαι, ἔπει πολλὰ γὰρ εἰς ἐξικνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἢ τῷ θεῷ ὁφθαλμῶν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἅμα πάντα ὄρεσθαι. *Consider, Friend, I pray you, if that Mind which is in your Body does order and dispose it every way as it pleases; why should not that Wisdom which is in the Universe, be able to order all things therein also, as seemeth best to it? and if*

your

your Eye can discern things several miles distant from it, why should it be thought impossible for the Eye of God, to behold all things at once? Lastly, if your Soul can mind things both here and in Egypt, and in Sicily; why may not the Great Mind or Wisdom of God, be able to take care of all things in all places? And then he concludes, that if *Aristodemus*, would diligently apply himself to the worship of God, he should at length be convinced, ὅτι τοῦτον ἐστὶν τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἅμα πάντα ὄρεῖν, καὶ πάντα ἀκούειν, καὶ πανταχῶς παρῆναι, καὶ ἅμα πάντων ὑπηρελεῖσθαι. That God is such and so great a Being, as that he can at once see all things, and hear all things, and be present every where, and take care of all affairs. Moreover *Socrates* in his discourse with *Euthydemus* in *Xenophon's* Fourth Book, speaks thus concerning that invisible Deity which governs the whole world; οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι θεοὶ ἡμῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ διδόντες, ἑδὲν τῶν εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἰόντες διδόντες, καὶ ὁ δὲ ὅλον κόσμον συντάξων τὸ καὶ συνέχων, εἰς ἃ πάντα καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔστι, δεσ. ἔστι τὰ μέγιστα μὲν περὶ τῶν ὄρεται, τὸ δὲ οἰκονομῶν ἀόρατον ἡμῖν ἔστιν. εἰνοίη ἢ καὶ ὁ πᾶσι φανερός δεκῶν εἶναι ἡλίον, καὶ ὑπὸ τρέπει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐαυτὸ ἀκρίτως ὄρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις αὐτὸ ἀναιδῶς ἐγχειρῆ θεῖσθαι, τὴν ὄψιν ἀφαιρέσθαι. The other Gods giving us good things, do it without visibly appearing to us; and that God who Framed and Containeth the whole world (in which are all good and excellent things) and who continually supplieth us with them, He though he be seen to do the Greatest things of all, yet notwithstanding is himself Invisible and Unseen. Which ought the less to be wondred at by us, because the Sun, who seemeth manifest to all, yet will not suffer himself to be exactly and distinctly viewed, but if any one boldly and impudently gaze upon him, will deprive him of his sight: As also because the Soul of Man, which most of all things in him partaketh of the Deity, though it be that which manifestly rules and reigns in us, yet is it never seen, ἀχρὴ καλονοῦντα μὴ κατὰ φρονεῖν τῷ ἀόρατον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῷ γνωμῶν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῷ, κατὰ μακροδύνατον τιμᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, Which Particulars he that considers, ought not to despise Invisible Things, but to honour the Supreme Deity, taking notice of his Power from his Effects. Where we have τὸ δαιμόνιον, as also before τὸ θεῖον, plainly put for the Supreme Deity. And we did the rather set down these passages of *Socrates* here, concerning God and Providence, that we might shame those who in these latter days of ours are so Atheistically inclined, if at least they have any Pudor or Shame left in them.

But notwithstanding *Socrates* his thus clear acknowledging One Supreme and Universal Numen, it doth not therefore follow, that he rejected all those other Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, as is commonly conceived. But the contrary thereunto appeareth, from these very passages of his now cited, wherein there is mention made of other Gods besides the Supreme. And how conformable *Socrates* was to the Pagan Religion and Worship, may appear from those Last Dying words of his (when he should be most serious) after he had drunk the poison, wherein he required his friends to offer a *Votive Cock* for him to *Æsculapius*: For which *Origen* thus perstringeth him, καὶ τὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίασιν ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν διαγωγὴν τῆς καλῆς βεβαιότητος διεξελομένης, καὶ ἀλιπίτης τὸ μέγεθος ὧν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐφανερώσεν, ὡς τὴν φρονεῖσθαι καὶ σμικρῶν ἀλεγεινῶν τῶν Ἀσκληπιῶ ἀποδιδόντες. And they who had Philo-

Cont. Col. 1.6.  
c 277

sophized

*sophized so excellently concerning the Soul, and discoursed concerning the happiness of the future state to those who live well, do afterward sink down from these Great, High and Noble things, to a superstitious regard of Little, Small and Trifling Matters, such as the Paying of a Cock to Æsculapius. Where notwithstanding, Origen doth not charge Socrates with such gross and downright Idolatry, as he doth elsewhere, for his sacrificing to the Pythian Apollo, who was but an Inferiour Demon. And perhaps some may excuse Socrates here, as thinking that he look'd upon Æsculapius no otherwise, than as the Supreme Deity, called by that Name, as exercising his Providence over the Sickneß and Health or Recovery of Men, and that therefore he would have an Eucharistick Sacrifice offered to him in his behalf, as having now cured him at once of all diseases by Death. However Plato informs us, that Socrates immediately before he drunk his Poyson, did, ἄχεσαι τοῖς θεοῖς, τὴν μέλοιαν τὴν ἐβένδε ἐκείσε δτυχῆν εἶναι. pray (not to God, but to the Gods, that is, to the Supreme and Inferiour Gods both together, as in Plato's Phædrus he did to Pan and the other Tutelar Gods of that place) that his Translation from hence into the other world might be happy to him. And Xenophon in his Memoirs, informs us, that Socrates did both in his Words and Practice, approve of that Doctrine of the Pythian Apollo, That the Rule of Piety and Religion, ought to be the Law of every Particular City and Country ; he affirming it to be a Vanity for any man to be singular herein. Lastly, in his own Apology, as written by Plato, he professes to acknowledge, the Sun, Moon and Stars, for Gods ; condemning the contrary Doctrine of Anaxagoras, as Irrational and Absurd. Wherefore we may well conclude this Opinion, of Socrates his being Condemned for denying the Many Gods of the Pagans, or of his being a Martyr for One only God, to be nothing but a *Vulgar Errour.**

But if you therefore demand, what that accusation of Impiety really was, which he was charged with, *Socrates* himself in *Plato's Euthyphro*, will inform you, that it was for his free and open condemning those Traditions concerning the Gods, wherein Wicked, Dishonest and Unjust Actions, were imputed to them. For when *Euthyphro* having accused his own Father, as guilty of Murther (meerly for committing a Homicide into prison who hapned to die there) would justifie himself from the examples of the Gods, namely *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, because *Jupiter* the Best and Justest of the Gods, had committed his Father *Saturn* to Prison for devouring his sons ; as *Saturn* himself also had castrated his Father *Cælius* for some miscarriages of his, *Socrates* thus bespeaks him, ἄγεγε, ὦ εὐθύφρων, τί τ' ἔστιν ἃ ἐνεκα τὴν γενομένην φόνον, ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεδύνη τις ὄντι τῶν θεῶν λέγει, δυσχερῆς πᾶς ἀποδέχουαι, &c. Is not this the very thing, O *Euthyphro*, for which I am accused ? namely because when I hear any one affirming such matters as these concerning the Gods, I am very loath to believe them, and stick not Publickly to declare my dislike of them ? And can you, O *Euthyphro*, in good earnest think, that there are indeed Wars and Contentions amongst the Gods, and that those other things were also done by them, which Poets and Painters commonly impute to them ? such as the Peplum or Veil of *Minerva*, which in the *Panathenaicks* is with great pomp and ceremony brought



brought into the Acropolis, is embroidered all over with? Thus we see, that *Socrates* though he asserted one *Supreme Deity*, yet he acknowledged notwithstanding other *Inferiour created Gods*, together with the rest of the Pagans, honouring and worshipping them; only he disliked those *Poetick Fables* concerning them (believed at that time by the Vulgar) in which all manner of Unjust and Immoral Actions were Fathered on them; which together with the Envy of many, was the only true reason, why he was then accused of *Impiety* and *Atheism*.

It hath been also affirmed by many, that *Plato* really asserted *One only God* and no more, and that therefore whensoever he speaks of *Gods Plurally*, he must be understood to have done this, not according to his own Judgment, but only in a way of Politick Compliance with the Athenians, and for fear of being made to drink poyson in like manner as *Socrates* was. In confirmation of which opinion, there is also a Passage cited out of that Thirteenth Epistle of *Plato's* to *Dionysius*, wherein he gives this as a Mark, whereby his *Serious Epistles*, and such as were written according to the true sence of his own mind, might by his friends be distinguished from those which were otherwise; ἵ μὲν γὰρ σπαρδαίας ἐπιστολῆς θεὸς ἀρχαί, θεοὶ δὲ τῶν ἡρώων, *When I begin my Epistles with God, then may you conclude I write seriously, but not so when I begin with Gods.* And this place seems to be therefore the more Authentick, because it was long since produced by *Eusebius* to this very purpose, namely to prove that *Plato* acknowledged *One Only God*; δὴλον δὲ ὅτι ἓν ἑνὸν εἶδος, εἰ καὶ συνήδως ἑλληνισί, τῇ τῶν πλείονων ἕωθε χεῖνται προσήγορία, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπιστολῆς, ἐν ἧ ὀμβρολα διδῶς, τῶν τε διὰ σπαρδῆς ὠταῖ γεγοφομένων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλοις ἀπερὲς μιν. *It is manifest, that Plato really acknowledged One only God, however in compliance with the Language of the Greeks, he often spake of Gods Plurally; from that Epistle of his to Dionysius, wherein he gives this Symbol or Mark, whereby he might be known to write seriously, namely, when he began his Epistles with God, and not with Gods.*

Præp. Ev. l. 11.  
c. 13.

Notwithstanding which, we have already manifested out of *Plato's Timæus*, that he did in good earnest assert a *Plurality of Gods*; by which *Gods* of his are to be understood, Animated or Intellectual Beings Superiour to Men, to whom there is an Honour and Worship from men due. He therein declaring, not only the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, but also the Earth it self (as Animated) to be a *God* or *Goddeſs*. For though it be now read in our Copies, πρεσβυτάτω σφαιμάτων, *that the Earth was the Oldest of all the Bodies within the Heavens*, yet it is certain that anciently it was read otherwise, πρεσβυτάτω θεῶν, *The Oldest of the Gods*; not only from *Proclus* and *Cicero*, but also from *Laertius* writing thus: γινώσκοντες δὲ πρεσβυτάτω μὲν εἶναι τῆν ἐπι τῶν ἡρώων θεῶν, γινώσκοντες δὲ διμυρονομία, ὡς νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ποιῶν, εἶναι δὲ ἐπι τῶν μέσων, κινεῖσθαι ὡς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, *Though Plato's Gods were for the most part Fiery, yet did he suppose the Earth to be a God or Goddeſs too, affirming it to be the Oldest of all the Gods within the Heavens, Made or Created to distinguish day and night, by its Diurnal Circumgyrations*

P. 40. Str.

tion upon its own Axis, in the Middle or Centre of the World. For Plato when he wrote his *Timæus*, acknowledged only the Diurnal Motion of the Earth, though afterwards he is said to have admitted its Annual too. And the same might be further evinced from all his other writings, but especially his Book of Laws (together with his *Epinomis*) said to have been written by him in his old age, in which he much insists upon the Godships of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and complains that the young Gentlemen of Athens, were then so much infected with that Anaxagorean Doctrine, which made them to be nothing but Inanimate Stones and Earth, as also he approves of that then vulgarly received Custom of Worshipping the Rising and Setting Sun and Moon, as Gods, to which in all probability he conformed himself; Ανατέλλοντός τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, καὶ πρὸς δυσμασίοντων, προσκυλί-  
σας ἅμα καὶ προσκυλήσεις Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πάντων, ἐν συμφοραῖς παν-  
τοῖαις ἐχομένων καὶ ἐν ὀπρηνύοις, ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ὄντων, καὶ ἑδαμῆ ὑποψίαν ἐνδιδόν-  
των ὡς ἐν εἰσὶ θεοί. The Prostrations and Adorations that are used both  
by the Greeks, and all Barbarians, towards the Rising and Setting Sun,  
and Moon (As well in their Prosperities as Adversities) declare them to  
be unquestionably esteemed Gods. Wherefore we cannot otherwise  
conclude, but that this Thirteenth Epistle of Plato to Dionysius,  
though extant it seems before Eusebius his time, yet was Supposititious and counterfeit by some Zealous but Ignorant Christian. As  
there is accordingly, a Νοθεύεται, or Brand of Bastardy prefixed to it  
in all the Editions of Plato's Works.

De Leg. io. p.

However though Plato acknowledged and worshipped Many Gods, yet is it undeniably evident, that he was no Polyarchist, but a Monarchist, an assertor of One Supreme God, the only ἀπρωΐης, or Self-originated Being; the maker of the Heaven and Earth, and of all those other Gods. For first it is plain that according to Plato, the Soul of the whole World was not it self Eternal, much less Self-existent, but Made or produced by God in time, though indeed before its Body, the World, from these words of his; τὴν ψυχὴν οὖν ἃς νῦν ἕτερον ὄντι χειρὶ μὲν Plat. Tim.; λέγειν, ὅπως ἐμνησθήσαστο καὶ ὁ θεὸς νεωτέρου, ὃ καὶ γρηγορὴ καὶ ἀρετῆ προτέρου καὶ περισ-  
βυτέρου ψυχῶν σώματος, ὡς δεσπότιν καὶ ἀρεστόν ἀρετοῦ συνεστήσαστο. God did  
not fabricate, or make the Soul of the world, in the same order, that we now  
treat concerning it, that is After it, as Junior to it; but that which was to  
rule over the world as its Body, being more excellent, he made it First, and  
Seniour to the same. Upon which account Aristotle quarrels with Plato as  
contradicting himself, in that he affirmed the Soul to be a Principle,  
and yet supposed it not to be Eternal, but Made together with the  
Heaven: ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰδὲ Πλάτωνι γὰρ οἶόν τε λέγειν, ἣν οἶεται ἀρχὴν εἶναι ἐπίο-  
τε αὐτὸ ἐαυτὸ κινῶν, ἕτερον γὰρ καὶ ἅμα τὰ ἕτερον ἢ ψυχῆ. Neither is it pos-  
sible for Plato, here to extricate himself, who sometimes declares the Soul  
to be a Principle, as that which Moves it self, and yet affirms it again not  
to be Eternal, but made together with the Heaven. For which cause some  
Platonists conclude, that Plato asserted a Double Psyche, one the Third  
Hypostasis of his Trinity, and Eternal, the other Created in Time to-  
gether with the World, which seems to be a Probable Opinion. Where-  
fore since according to Plato, the Soul of the World, which is the  
chief of all his Inferiour Gods, was not Self-existent but Made or Pro-

Plat. Tim.; p. 34.

Arist. Met. L. 14. c. 6.

Tim. p. 31.

duced by God in time, all those other *Gods* of his, which were but Parts of the World, as the *Sun, Moon, Stars and Demons*, must needs be so too. But lest any should suspect, that *Plato* might for all that, suppose the World and its *Gods* not to have been made by One only Unmade God, but by a Multitude of Co-ordinate Self-existent Principles, or Deities conspiring; we shall observe that the contrary hereunto, is plainly declared by him, in way of answer to that *Quære*, Whether or no there were Many and infinite Worlds (as some Philosophers had maintained) or only One? he Resolving it thus, *πίστεον ἔν ὁρθῶς ἓνα ἕργον προσηλάμεν, ἢ πολλὰς ἢ ἀπειρας λέγειν ἢ ὁρθότερον; ἓνα, εἴωρ ἢ τὸ ἀδιδεγμά δεδιμυργημένος ἔσαι. τὸ γὰρ ἀεὶ μένον πάντα ὅποσα νοητὰ ζῶα, μεθ' ἑτέρας δ' ὄντων ἐκ ἄν ποτ' εἴη, &c. ἵνα ἔν τῷδε ἢ τὴν μόνωσιν, ὁμοιον ἢ τὰ παντελεῖ ζῶα, διὰ ταῦτα ἔτε δύο, ἔτ' ἀπειρας ἐποίησεν ὁ ποιῶν νόστος, ἀλλ' εἰς ὅδε μονογενὴς ἕργον γεγονῶς, ἔστι τε ἢ ἔσεται.* *Whether have we rightly affirmed, that there is only One Heaven, (or World) or is it more agreeable to reason to hold Many or Infinite? We say there is but One, if it be made agreeable to its Intellectual Paradigm, containing the Ideas of all Animals and other things in it; For there can be but One Archetypal Animal, which is the Paradigm of all created Beings; wherefore that the World may agree with its Paradigms in this respect of Solitude or Onliness, therefore is it not Two nor Infinite, but One-only-begotten.* His meaning is, that there is but One Archetypal Mind, the *Demiurgus* or Maker of all things, that were produced; and therefore but One World.

And this One God which according to *Plato*, was the Maker of the whole World, is frequently called by him in his *Timæus* and elsewhere, ὁ θεός, *God* or *The God*, by way of Excellency; sometimes ὁ δημιουργός, *The Architect or Artificer of the World*; sometimes ὁ ποιητής ἢ πατήρ τῶδε τῶ παντός, *the Maker and Father of this Universe, whom it is hard to find out, but impossible to declare to the Vulgar*; again, ὁ ἔπι πᾶσι θεός, *the God over all*; τὸ φύσεως κτίστης, *the Creator of Nature*; τῶ πάντος ἀρχή, *the sole Principle of the Universe*; πάντων αἰτίον, *the Cause of all things*; νῦν πάντων βασιλεύς, *Mind the King of all things*; νῦν αὐτοκράτωρ πάντα κοσμῶν διὰ πάντων ἰδῶν, *that Sovereign Mind, which orders all things and passes through all things*; τῶ πάντος κυβερνήτης, *The Governour of the Whole*; τὸ ὄν ἀεί, ἧμερῶν δὲ ἐκ ἔχον, *that which always is and was never made*; ὁ πρῶτος θεός, *the First God*; ὁ μέγιστος δαίμων, and ὁ μέγιστος θεῶν, *The Greatest God, and the Greatest of the Gods*; ὁ ἥλιον γενήσας, *He that Generated or Produced the Sun*; ὁ γῆν, ἕργον ἢ θεός, ἢ πάντα τὰ ἐν ἕργον ἢ τὸ ἐν ἄδ' α, ἢ ὑπὸ γῆς ἀπαντα ἐργάζεται, *He that makes Earth, and Heaven, and the Gods; and doth all things both in Heaven, and Hell, and under the Earth*: Again, he by whose Efficiency the Things of the World, ἕσπερ ἐγγόστο, πέτρεον ἐκ ὄντα, were afterwards made when they were not Before; or from an Antecedent Non-existence brought forth into Being. This Philosopher somewhere intimating, that it was as easie for God to produce those Real Things, the *Sun, Moon, Stars and Earth, &c.* from himself, as it is for us to produce the Images of our selves and whatsoever else we please, only by interposing a Looking-glass. Lastly he is called ὅς πάντα τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐργάζεται, ἢ ἑαυτῶν, *He that causeth or produceth both All other things, and even*

De Rep. L. 10.

In Sophist.

D Rep. L. 18.

even Himself; the meaning whereof is this, He that is αὐτοφύης, (as the same Plato also calls him) a Self-originated Being, and from no other Cause besides Himself, but the Cause of All other things. Neither doth Lactantius Firmianus himself refuse, to speak of God after this very manner; that *seipsum fecit*, and that he was, *Ex seipso procreatus, & propterea Talis, Qualem se esse voluit*; that He made Himself, and that, being Procreated from Himself, He therefore was every way such, as he Willed himself to be.

Which unusual and bold strain of Theology, is very much insisted upon by Plotinus in his Book, Περὶ τῆς θεληματικῆς τῆς ἐνός, Concerning the Will of the First One, or Unity. He there writing thus of the Supreme God, αὐτὸν ἑαυτῶ, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶ, καὶ δι' αὐτῶ αὐτῶ; He is the Cause of himself, and he is from Himself, and Himself is for Himself. And again αὐτὸς ἔστιν ἕτος ὁ ποίῳν ἑαυτῶ, καὶ ἡγεῖοσ ἑαυτῶ, καὶ ἔχ' ὡσ πῖσ ἕτεροσ ἐθέλισε γλυόμεοσ, ἀλλ' ὡσ θέλει αὐτῶσ. This is He, who is the Maker of himself; and is Lord over himself; (in a certain sence) for he was not made that, which Another willed him to be, but he is that which he willetth himself to be. Moreover, αὐτῶσ ἀν τῶτο ὄψφ ἠγάπησε, τῶτο ἢ ἔστιν ὑποστάσ αὐτῶ, ἕψφ ἐνέργια μὴ ἔσασ. ὡσε ἐνέργημα αὐτῶσ, ἀλλὰ ἄλλασ μὴ ἔθενόσ, ἑαυτῶ ἄρα ἐνέργημα αὐτῶσ, ἐν ἄρα ὡσ συμβέβηκεν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὡσ ἐνεργεῖ αὐτῶσ καὶ ὡσ αὐτῶσ ἐθέλει, δεσ.

En. 6. L. 86  
P. 749.

The Supreme Deity loving himself as a Pure Light, is himself what he loved; Thus as it were begetting and giving subsistence to himself, he being a standing Energy. Wherefore since God is a Work or Energy, and yet he is not the Work or Energy of any other Being, he must needs be (in some sence) his own Work or Energy; so that God is not, that which he happened to be; but that which he willetth himself to be. Thus also a little before, ἀνακτέον εἰσ ἐν τῶ βέλησαν καὶ τῶ ἔσῆα. τὸ δὲ θέλειν παρ' αὐτῶ, ἀνάγκη ἄρα τὸ εἶναι παρ' αὐτῶ, ὡσε αὐτῶ πεποικέναι αὐτῶν, ὁ λόγος ἀνδύρεν. εἰ γδ ἢ βέλησῖσ παρ' αὐτῶ, καὶ οἶον ἔργον αὐτῶ, αὐτῖ ἢ ταυτὸν τῇ ὑποστάσει αὐτῶ αὐτῶσ ἀν ἕτωσ ὑποστάσ ἀν εἶη αὐτῶ, ὡσε ἔχ' ὅπερ ἔτυχεν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐβελήθη αὐτῶσ. We must of necessity make Will and Essence the same in the First Being. Wherefore since his Willing is from himself, his Being must needs be from himself too; the consequence of which Ratiocination is this, that He made himself. For if his volition be from himself, and his own work, and this be the same with his Hypostasis or Substance; he may be then said to have given subsistence to himself. Wherefore he is not what he happen'd to be, but what he willed himself to be. But because this is so unusual a Notion, we shall here set down yet one or two passages more of this Philosophers concerning it; ἐν ἔξω τῶ βελήσασ αὐτῶ ἢ ἔσῆα, ἀλλὰ σύνεσιν αὐτῶ τῇ οἶον ἔσῆα ἢ θέλισῖσ. καὶ ἐν ἔστιν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, ἀνδ τῶ θέλειν ἑαυτῶσ ὅπερ ἔστι. καὶ σύνδρομῶ αὐτῶσ ἑαυτῶσ, θέλων αὐτῶσ εἶναι, καὶ τῶτο ἀν ὄψφ θέλει. καὶ ἢ θέλισῖσ καὶ αὐτῶσ ἐν. καὶ τῶτω ἔχ' ἠπῶν, ὅτι μὴ ἄλλο αὐτῶσ ὅπερ ἔτυχεν, ἄλλο ἢ τὸ ὡσ ἐβελήθη ἀν τί γαρ ἀν καὶ ἐθέλισε, ἢ τῶτο ὄ ἔστι. καὶ γδ εἰ ὑποδοίμεθα ἐλέσθαι αὐτῶσ ὅτι θέλοι γλυέσθαι, καὶ ἔξείναι αὐτῶσ ἀλλάξασθαι τῶ αὐτῶσ φύσιν εἰσ ἄλλο, μῆτε ἀν ἄλλο τι γενέσθαι βεληθῆναι, μῆτ' ἀν ἑαυτῶσ τι μέμψασθαι, ὡσ ὑπὸ ἀνάγκησ τῶτο ἀν ὄ ἔστι, τῶ αὐτῶν εἶναι, ὅπερ αὐτῶσ ἀεὶ ἢ θέλισε καὶ θέλει, ἔστι γδ οἷωσ ἢ ἀραθῶσ φύσῖσ, θέλισῖσ αὐτῶσ.

P. 751

P. 748

P. 747

The Essence of the Supreme God, is not without his Will, but his Will and Essence are the same; so that God concurrerth with Himself, himself willing to be as he is, and being that which he willetth; and his Will and Himself being one and the same. For Himself is not Onething (as happening to be that which he is) and that he would will to be Another: For what could God will to be, but

that which he is? And if we should suppose, that it were in his own choice, to be what he would, and that he had liberty to change his Nature into whatsoever else he pleased, it is certain that he would neither will to be any thing else, besides what he is, nor complain of himself as being now that which he is, out of necessity, he being indeed no other but that, which himself hath willed and doth always will to be. For his Will is his Essential Goodness, so that his Will doth not follow his Nature but concurr with it; in the very Essence of this Good there being contained his Choice, and Willing of himself to be such. Lastly, πᾶν ἄρα βέλησις, καὶ ἐπέτι τὸ μὴ βελομένηον, ἔσθι τὸ πρὸ βελομένηος ἄρα· πρῶτον ἄρα ἢ βέλησις αὐτὸς, ἢ τὸ ὡς ἐβέλετο ἄρα ἢ, οἷον ἐβέλετο, ἐπὶ τὸ τῆ βελομένη ἐπόμενον ὃ ἢ τοιαύτη βέλησις ἐγγίνα· ἐγγίνα ἢ ἔσθι ἐπὶ αὐτὰ· God is all Will, nor is there any thing in him which he doth not Will, nor is his Being before his Will, but his Will is Himself, or he Himself the first Will. So that he is as he would himself, and such as he would, and yet his will did not Generate or Produce any thing, that was not before. And now we may in all Probability conclude, that *Lactantius* derived this Doctrine from *Plato* and *Plotinus*; which how far it is to be either allowed of or excused, we leave others to judge; only we shall observe, that as the word αὐτοβλήσις, frequently attributed to God by Christians as well as Pagans, seems to imply as much; so the Scope and Drift of *Plotinus* in all this, was plainly no other, than partly to set forth the Self-existence of the Supreme Deity after a more lively manner; and partly to confute that odd Conceit, which some might possibly entertain of God, as if he either Happened by Chance, to be what he is; or else were such by a Certain Necessity of Nature, and had his Being imposed upon him: whereas, he is as much every way, what he would Will and Chuse to be, as if he had Made himself by his own Will and Choice. Neither have we set down all this, only to give an account of that one Expression of *Plato's*, That God causeth Himself and all things, but also to show how punctually precise, curious and accurate, some of these Pagans were, in these Speculations concerning the Deity.

To return therefore to *Plato*; Though some have suspected that *Trinity*, which is commonly called *Platonick*, to have been nothing but a meer Figment and Invention of some later Platonists, yet the contrary hereunto seems to be unquestionably evident, that *Plato* himself really asserted such a Trinity of *Universal* and *Divine Hypostases*, which have the nature of *Principles*. For first; whereas in his Tenth Book of *Laws*, he professedly opposing *Atheists*, undertakes to prove the Existence of a Deity, he does notwithstanding there ascend no higher than to the *Psyche*, or *Universal Mundane Soul*, as a Self-moving Principle, and the immediate or proper Cause of all that Motion which is in the World. And this is all the God, that there he undertakes to prove. But in other places of his Writings he frequently asserts, above the *Self-moving Psyche* an *Immovable* and *Standing Nous* or *Intellect*, which was properly the *Demiurgus*, or *Architeconick Framer of the whole World*. And lastly, above this *Multiform Intellect*, he plainly asserts yet a higher *Hypostasis*, One most Simple and most absolutely Perfect Being; which he calls τὸ ἐν, in

in opposition to that *Multiplicity* which speaks something of Imperfection in it, and τ'αγαθόν, *Goodness it self*, as being above *Mind* and *Understanding*; the *First Intelligible*, and an *Infinite Fecundity* together with overflowing *Benignity*. And accordingly in his *Second Epistle to Dionysius*, does he mention a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, all together. Now the words ὁ Θεός and τὸ θεῖον, *God and the Divinity* in *Plato*, seem sometimes to comprehend this whole *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, as they are again sometimes severally applied to Each of them, accordingly as we have already observed, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* in *Plato*, is not always taken for the *First and Highest Hypostasis* in his *Trinity*, but sometimes the *Second Hypostasis* of *Mind* or *Intellect* is meant thereby, and sometimes again his *Third Hypostasis* of the *Universal and Eternal Psyche*; nevertheless the *First* of these *Three Hypostases*, is that which is properly called by the *Platonists*, πηγή τῆς θεότητος, *the Fountain of the Godhead*, and by *Plato* himself, ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς, ὃν πάντα ἔστι, ἔνεκα πάντων, καὶ ὃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν καλῶν. *The King of All things, about whom are All things, and for whose sake are All things, and the Cause of all Good and Excellent Things.*

And this *First Divine Hypostasis*, which in *Plato's* *Theology*, is properly αὐτόθεος, *the Original Deity*, is largely insisted upon by that *Philosopher* in the *Sixth* of his *Politicks*, under the *Name and Title* of τ'αγαθόν, *The Good*; but principally there illustrated by that *Resemblance* of the *Sun*, called by that *Philosopher* also, a *Heavenly God*, and said to be the *Off-spring* of this *Highest Good*, and something *Analogous* to it in the *Corporeal World*, ὁ, πὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τόπῳ, πρὸς τὸ νῆν ἐστὶ τὰ νοερά, τὸ τὸν ἐν τῷ ὁρατῷ πρὸς τὸ ὄψιν καὶ τὰ ὁράματα; *This is the same in the Intelligible World, to Intellect (or Knowledge) and Intelligibles, that the Sun is in the Sensible World, to Sight and Visibles. For, as the Sun is not Sight, but only the Cause of it; nor is that Light, by which we see, the same with the Sun it self, but only ἡλιώδες, a Sun-like Thing; so neither is the Supreme and Highest Good (properly) Knowledge, but the Cause of Knowledge; nor is Intellect (precisely considered as such) the Best and Most Perfect Being, but only ἀγαθῶδες, a Boniform Thing. Again, As the Sun gives to things not only their Visibility, but also their Generation; so does that Highest Good; not only cause the Cognoscibility of things, but also their very Essences and Beings. οὐκ ἔστις ὄντος τῆς ἀγαθῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπιγεννα ἢ ἔστις, πρὸς ἐξουσίαν καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος, This Highest Good being not it self properly Essence, but above Essence, transcending the same, both in respect of Dignity and Power. Which Language and Conceit of *Plato's*, some of the *Greek Fathers* seem to have entertained, yet so as to apply it to the whole *Trinity*, when they call God ὑπερθεῖον, or *super-essential*. But the meaning of that *Philosopher*, was as we conceive, no other than this, that this *Highest Good*, hath no *Particular Characteristick* upon it, limiting and determining of it, it being the *Hidden and Incomprehensible Source* of all things. In the *Last place*, we shall observe, that this *First Divine Hypostasis* of the *Platonick Trinity*, is by that *Philosopher* called, τὸ πρὸ πάντων καὶ αἰτίας πάντων πατὴρ, *The Father of the Prince and Cause of All things*. Wherein we cannot but take notice of an Admirable*

Admirable Correspondency, betwixt the Platonick Philosophy and Christianity, in that the Second *Hypothesis* of both their Trinities (called also sometimes *λόγος* by the Platonists, as well as *υἱός*) is said to be the Immediate Cause of All things; and the *Demiurgus*, the Architect, Maker or Artificer of the Whole World,

Now to *Plato* we might here joyn *Xenophon*, because he was his Equal, and a Socratick too; (though it seems there was not so good Correspondence betwixt them) which *Xenophon*, however in sundry places of his Writings, he acknowledge a *Plurality of Gods*, yet doth he give plain Testimony also of *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, as this particularly, *ὁ πάντα σείων καὶ ἀτρεμίζων, ὡς μὲν μέγας τις, καὶ δυνατὸς φανερός, ὅποιος δ' ἔστι μορφῶ ἀφανής*. He that both agitates all things, and establisheth the Frame of the whole world, though he be manifest to be great and powerful, yet is he, as to his Form Inconspicuous.

L. 10. c. 8.

XXIV. In the next place we come to *Aristotle*: Who that he acknowledged more Gods than *One* (as well as the other Pagans) appears from his using the word so often *Plurally*. As particularly in this Passage of his *Nicomachian Ethicks*, *ἡ ἢ τελεία διδαιμονία, ἐπιθεωρητικὴ τις ἐστὶν ἐνέργεια, καὶ εἰδύθεν ἂν φανεῖν· τὸς γὰρ μάλιστα ὑπερήφανοι μακαρίας καὶ διδαιμονίας εἶναι· προξείεις δὲ ποίας ἀπονείμει χρεῶν αὐτοῖς, πότερα τοῖς δικαίαις; ἢ γὰρ οἱ φανένται συναλλάττοντες καὶ ἀδελφαὶ ἀποδιδόντες, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα; ἄλλα τὰς ἀνδρείαις; ὑπομένοντας τὰ φοβερά καὶ κινδυνόοντας, ὅτι καλόν· ἢ τὰς ἐλευθερίας; τίμη ἢ δόσος; ἀποπον δ' εἰ καὶ ἔσαι αὐτοῖς νόμος, ἢ τί τοῖσιν; εἰ ἢ σάφρονες τί ἂν εἴεν; ἢ φορητὸς ὁ ἔπαινος, ὅτι ἐν ἔχσει φαύλας ἐπιθυμίας· διεξίδει ἢ πάντα φαίνονται ἂν τὰ ὅτι τὰς προξείεις μικρὰ καὶ ἀνάξια θεῶν· ἀλλὰ μὴ ζῆν τε πάντες ὑπερήφανοι αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ἄρα, ὅτι τὸ καθόλου, ὡς περὶ τὸ ἐνδυμίωνα· τὰ δὲ ζῶντι τὸ προξείειν ἀφρημεδίω, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ ποιεῖν, τί λείπεται πλὴν θεωρίας·* *That Perfect Happiness is a Speculative or Contemplative Energy, may be made manifest from hence; because we account the Gods most of all Happy. Now what Moral Actions can we attribute to them? Whether those of Justice amongst one another; as if it were not ridiculous to suppose the Gods to make Contracts and Bargains among themselves, and the like. Or else those of Fortitude and Magnanimity? As if the Gods had their Fears, Dangers and Difficulties to encounter withal. Or those of Liberality? as if the Gods had some such thing as Money too, and there were among them Indigent to receive Alms. Or Lastly, shall we attribute to them the Actions of Temperance? but would not this be a Reproachful Commendation of the Gods, to say, that they conquer and master their vitious Lusts and appetites? Thus running through all the Actions of Moral Virtue, we find them to be small and mean and unworthy of the Gods. And yet we all believe the Gods to live, and consequently to Act; unless we should suppose them perpetually to sleep as Endymion did. Wherefore if all Moral Actions, and therefore much more Mechanical Operations be taken away from that which Lives and Understands, what is there left to it besides Contemplation? To which he there adds a further Argument also of the same thing. Because other Animals, who are depriv'd of Contemplation, partake not of Happiness. For to the Gods all*

all their Life is Happy; to men so far forth, as it approacheth to Contemplation; but brute Animals, that do not at all contemplate, partake not at all of Happiness. Where Aristotle plainly acknowledges a Plurality of Gods, and that there is a certain Higher Rank of Beings above Men. And by the way we may here observe, how from those words of his, ζῆν τε πάντες ὑπειλήφασι θεούς, All men suppose the Gods to live; and from what follows in him; that Opinion of some late Writers may be confuted, that the Pagans generally worshipped, the Inanimate Parts of the World as true and proper Gods: Aristotle here telling us, that they Universally agreed in this, that the Gods were Animals, Living and Understanding Beings, and such as are therefore capable of Contemplation. Moreover Aristotle in his Politicks, L. 5. c. 11. writing of the means to conserve a Tyranny, as he calls it; sets down this for one amongst the rest. ἐτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς φαίνεσθαι αἰσχυροτάτα διαφερόντως, ἢ ἧόν τε ὃ φοβούνται, τὸ παθεῖν τι ἀδύνατον ὑπὸ τῶν ποιστῶν, ἐὰν δ' αἰσχυροτάτα νομίζωσιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχόντα καὶ φοβηθῆναι τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ἑπιστάτου σὺν ἡῶν, ὡς συμμάχους ἔχοντι καὶ τοὺς θεούς. For a Prince or Monarch, to seem to be always, more than ordinarily sedulous about the Worship of the Gods: because men are less afraid of suffering any Injustice from such Kings or Princes, as they think to be Religiously disposed; and devoutly affected towards the Gods. Neither will they be so apt to make conspiracies against such, they supposing that the Gods will be their Abettors and Assistants. Where the word αἰσχυροτάτων, seems to be taken in a good sense, and in way of Commendation, for a Religious Person; though we must confess, that Aristotle himself, does not here write so much like a αἰσχυροτάτων, as a Meer Politician. Likewise in his First Book De Cælo, he writeth thus, πάντες ἀνθρώποι καὶ θεῶν ἔχουσιν ὑπέληψιν, καὶ πάντες τὸ ἀνωτάτω τῶν θεῶν τόπον ἀποδιδόσκει, καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ Ἕλληες, ὡς τῶν ἀθανάτων τὸ ἀθάνατον συνεστημύρον, ἕπερ ἐν ἑστὶ τι θεῖον, ὡς περ καὶ ἔσι, &c. All men have an Opinion or Perswasion That there are Gods. And they who think so, as well Barbarians as Greeks, attribute the Highest place to that which is Divine, as supposing the Immortal Heavens, to be most accommodate to Immortal Gods. Wherefore if there be any Divinity, as unquestionably there is, the Body of the Heavens must be acknowledged to be of a different kind from that of the Elements. And in the following Book he tells us again, That it is most agreeable τῇ μαντείᾳ καὶ τῶν θεῶν, to that Vaticination, which all men have in their minds concerning the Gods, to suppose the Heaven to be a Quintessence, distinct from the Elements, and therefore Incorruptible. Where Aristotle affirmeth, that men have generally μαντείαν, a Vaticination in their Minds, concerning Gods; to wit, that Themselves are not the Highest Beings, but that there is a Rank of Intellectual Beings, superiour to men; the chief of which is the Supreme Deity; concerning whom there is indeed, the Greatest μαντεῖα or Vaticination of all.

We acknowledge it to be very true, that Aristotle does not so much insist upon Demons, as Plato and the generality of Pagans in that Age did, and probably he had not so great a Belief of their Existence: though he doth make mention of them also, as when in his Metaphysics, speaking of Bodies compounded of the Elements, he



he instanceth in ζῷα τε καὶ δαιμόνια, *Animals and Demons*, and else-  
 where he insinuates them to have Airy Bodies, in these words,  
 De An. L. 1. ἐπιζητήσθε γὰρ ἂν τις, καὶ δὲ τίνα αἰτίαν, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ψυχὴ, ἢ ἐν τοῖς ζῷ-  
 οῖς βελτίων ἔστι, καὶ ἀθανάτωτέρη, *some perhaps would demand a Reason,*  
*why the Soul that is in the Air, is better and more immortal than that*  
*in Animals.* However, whether Aristotle believed these Lower De-  
 mon-Gods or no, it is certain that he acknowledged a Higher kind  
 of Gods, namely the *Intelligences*, of all the Several Spheres, if not  
 also the Souls of them and the Stars; which Spheres being according to  
 the Astronomy then received, *Forty Seven* in number, he must needs  
 acknowledge at least so many Gods. Besides which, Aristotle seems  
 also to suppose another sort of *Incorporeal Gods*, without the Heavens,  
 where according to him, there is neither Body, nor Place, nor Va-  
 cuum, nor Time; in these words, ἐπὶ ἐν τόπῳ τ' αὐτῆ πεφυκεν, ἔτε χρό-  
 νῳ αὐτὰ ποιεῖ γινώσκων, ἔσθ' ἔστιν ἔθενος ἔδειμία μεταβολή, τῷ ὑπὲρ  
 τῷ ἕξωτάτῳ τεταγμένων φορῶν, ἀλλ' ἀναμοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ, τῷ ἀείων ἔχου-  
 τα ζωῷ καὶ αὐταρκεστέτῳ διατελεῖ ἢ ἀπαντα αἰῶνα. *They who exist there,*  
*are such as are neither apt to be in a Place, nor to wax old with Time,*  
*nor is there any change at all in those things above the Highest Sphere,*  
*but they being impassible and unalterable, lead the best and most self-*  
*sufficient Life, throughout all Eternity.* But this Passage is not without  
 suspicion of being Supposititious.

De Cael. L. 1.  
 6. 9.

L. 1.

L. 1. c. 3.

Notwithstanding all which, that Aristotle did assert *One Supreme*  
*and Universal Numen*, is a thing also unquestionable. For though it  
 be granted that he useth the Singular θεός, as likewise τὸ θεῖον and  
 τὸ δαιμόνιον, many times Indefinitely, for a *God in General*, or any Di-  
 vine Being; and that such places as these have been oftentimes  
 mistaken by Christian Writers, as if Aristotle had meant the  
 Supreme God in them; yet it is nevertheless certain, that he  
 often useth those words also Emphatically, for *One only Supreme*  
*God.* As in that of his *Metaphysics*, ὁ, τε γὰρ θεός δοκεῖ τὸ αἰτίον  
 πάντων εἶναι καὶ ἀρχὴ τις. *God seemeth to be a Cause and certain Principle to*  
*all things.* And also in his *De Anima*, where he speaks of the *Soul*  
*of the Heavens*, and its *Circular Motion*: ἀλλὰ μὲν ἔσθ' ὅτι βέλτιον λέγε-  
 ται γ' ἔχειν ἢ θεὸν διὰ τὸ τοῦ κύβου ποιεῖν φέρεσθαι τῷ ψυχῆν, ὅτι βέλτιον  
 αὐτῇ τὸ κινεῖσθαι τῷ μῦθεν, κινεῖσθαι ἢ ἕτως ἢ ἄλλως. *Neither is that a*  
*good Cause of the Circular Motion of the Heavens, which they*  
*(that is the Platonists) call the τὸ βέλτιον, because it is Better,*  
*that it should be so than otherwise; as if God therefore ought, to have*  
*made the Soul of the World such, as to move the Heaven circularly, be-*  
*cause it was better for it to move so than otherwise; but this being a Spe-*  
*culation that properly belongs to some other Science, we shall no further*  
*pursue it in this place.* Thus afterwards again in the same Book,  
 συμβαίνει δὲ ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἀφρογνέστον εἶναι ἢ θεόν, μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ σιχέ-  
 ων ἐν ἑ γνωρεῖ, τὸ νέμῳ, τὰ δὲ θνητὰ πάντα, ἐκ πάντων γὰρ ἕκαστον. *It*  
*follows from Empedocles his Principles, that God must needs be the Most*  
*Unwise of all, he alone being ignorant of that (out of which all other*  
*things are compounded) νέμῳ, or Contention (because himself is no-*  
*thing but φιλία, Unity and Friendship) whereas Mortal Animals may*  
*know or conceive all things, they being compounded of all.* Which  
 same

same Passage, we have again also in his *Metaphysicks*, from whence it was before cited to another purpose. To these might be added another place out of his Book, of *Generation and Corruption*, τὸ ὅλον συνεπλήρωσεν ὁ θεός, ἐντελεχῇ ποιήσας ὅλον· *God hath filled up the Whole or Universe, and constantly supplies the same, having made a Continual Successive Generation.* Lastly, τὸ δαιμόνιον is sometimes plainly used by *Aristotle* also, not for *The Divinity* in general, or *Any thing that is Divine*, but for that *One Supreme Deity*, the Governour of the whole World. Thus in that Passage of his *Rhetorick to Alexander*, τὸ θεῖον ᾧ διαφέρουσι τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων, ἡμεῖς οἱ μέγιστος τιμῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμόνιος τετυχηκότας· *This is that wherein we Men differ from other Animals having recieved the greatest honour from God, that though they be endued with Appetite and Anger and other Passions, as well as we, yet we alone are furnished with Speech and Reason.* Cap. i. p. 509

Over and besides which, *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysicks* (as hath been already observed) professedly opposeth that *Imaginary Opinion* of *Many Independent Principles* of the Universe, that is, of *Many Unmade Self-existent Deities*; he confuting the same from the *Phænomena*, because ἀπαντα πρὸς ἓν συντέτακται, *All things are plainly Coordinated to One*, the whole world conspiring into *One agreeing Harmony*; whereas if there were many Principles or Independent Deities, the System of the World must needs have been ἐπεισοδιάδης, *Incoherent and Inconspiring*, like an *Ill-agreeing Drama*, botch'd up of *Many Impertinent Interfertions*. Whereupon *Aristotle* concludes after this manner, τὰ δ' ὅλα εἰς βέλτερον καὶ πᾶσι πολιτεύεσθαι,

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν Πολυθεσίαν, ἢ εἰς κοίραν.

*But Things will not be ill administr'd* (which was then it seems a kind of *Proverbial Speech*) and according to *Homer*, the *Government of Many is not Good*, (nor could the affairs of the World be evenly carried on under it) wherefore there is *One Prince or Monarch over all*. From which Passage of *Aristotle's*, it is evident, that though he asserted *Πολυθεσίαν*, a *Multiplicity of Gods* in the *Vulgar Sence*, as hath been already declared, yet he absolutely denied *πολυθεσίαν*, and *πολυαρχίαν*, a *Polyarchy or Mundane Aristocracy*, that is, a *Multiplicity of First Principles and Independent Deities*. Wherefore though *Aristotle* doted much upon that Whimsy of his, of as many *Intelligibles*, or *Eternal and Immoveable Minds* (now commonly called *Intelligences*) as there are *Movable Spheres* of all kinds in the *Heavens* (which he sticks not also sometimes to call *Principles*;) yet must he of necessity be interpreted to have derived all these, from *One Supreme Universal Deity*, which, as *Simplicius* expresseth it, is ἀρχὴ ἀρχῶν, the *Principle of Principles*; and which comprehends and contains those *Inferiour Deities* under it, after the same manner, as the *Primum Mobile* or *Highest Sphere*, contains all the *Lesser Spheres* within it. Because otherwise there would not be εἰς κοίραν, *One Prince or Monarch* over the whole; but the *Government* of the World would be a *Polyarchy* or *Aristocracy* of *Gods*, concluded to be an *Ill Government*. Moreover as *Plotinus* represents *Aristotle's* sence, it is not conceivable that, so many

ny Independent Principles, should thus constantly Conspire, *πρὸς ἓν ἔργον τὴν τῆ παύσης ἔργων συμφωνίαν, into one Work, that Agreeable Symphony, and Harmony of the Whole Heaven.* As there could not be any reason neither, why there should be just so many of these *Intelligences*, as there are *Spheres* and no more; and it is absurd to suppose, *ἢ συντυχίαν τοῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι, that the First Principles of the Universe happened by Chance.*

Now this Highest Principle, as it is ἀκίνητος ἕσθια, *An Im-  
movable Essence*, is by *Aristotle* in the First place, supposed to be ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, *the Principle of Motion in the Universe*, or at least of that *Chiefest Motion* of the *Primum Mobile* or *Highest Sphere* (which according to the *Astronomy* of those times seems to have been the *Sphere of Fixed Stars*) by whose *Rapid Circumgyration*, all the other *Spheres* and *Heavens*, were imagined to be carried round, from *East* to *West*. And accordingly the *Supreme Deity*, is by *Aristotle* called, τὸ πρῶτον κινῆσθαι ἀκίνητον, *The First Immovable Mover*, or the *Mover* of the *Primum Mobile*, and whole *Heaven*. Which *First Mover* being concluded by him to be but *One*, he doth from thence infer the *Singularity* of the *Heaven* or *World*, ἐν μὲν ἄρα τῷ λόγῳ ἢ ἀεθμῶ, τὸ πρῶτον κινῆσθαι ἀκίνητον ὄν· ἢ τὸ κινῆσθαι ἄρα αἰεὶ ἢ συνεχῶς ἐν μόνῳ· εἰς ἄρα ἕνα ἔργων μόνῳ· *There is One Numerically, First Immovable Mover and no more; and therefore there is but One Movable neither, that is, but One Heaven or World.* In which *Doctrine of Aristotles*, there seems to be a *Great Difference*, betwixt his *Philosophy* and that of *Plato's*; in that *Plato* makes the *Principle of Motion* in the *Heavens* and *Whole World*, to be a *Self-moving Soul*, but *Aristotle* supposeth it to be an *Immovable Mind* or *Intellect*. Nevertheless, according to *Aristotle's* *Explication* of himself, the *Difference* betwixt them is not great, if any at all; *Aristotle's Immovable Mover* being understood by him, not to move the *Heavens Efficiently*, but only *Objectively* and *Finally*, ὡς ἐρώμενον, *as being Loved*. Which *Conceit* of his, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, perstringeth after this manner, τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ μὲν τὴ νόσμον ἔτιθεσαν εἶναι ἢ τὸν κόσμον, ἢ διὰ τῆ ἐρωτῆ, τῆ αἰετῆ τὸ πρῶτον ἀκίνητον, δόντες αὐτῷ τὴν κίνησιν, ἔθεν ἔφασαν ἀπὸ τῆ νόσ καθεῖναι εἰς αὐτὸν, ἐν ἱσῶ προστάξαντες αὐτὸ τοῖς ἐρωτούσι μὲν τῶν αἰαθητῶν, μὴδὲν ὃ γεννητικὸν ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆ φύσει· *Some of the ancients converting the World, to Mind (or Intellect) and making it move, only by Love of that first Desirable; acknowledged nothing at all to descend down from Mind (or God) upon the World; but equalized the same with other Amiable things, amongst Sensibles, that have nothing Generative in their Nature.* Where *Proclus* seems to suppose *Aristotle* to have attributed to *God*, no *Efficiency* at all upon the *World*; the *Contrary* whereunto, shall be evidently proved afterwards. In the mean time it is certain, that *Aristotle*, besides his *Immovable Mover* of the *Heavens*, which moveth only *Finally*, or as *Being Loved*, must needs suppose another *Immediate Mover* of them, or *Efficient Cause* of that *Motion*; which could be nothing but *A Soul*, that enamoured with this *Supreme Mind*, did as it were in *Imitation* of it, continually *Turn round* the *Heavens*. Which seems to be nothing but *Plato's Doctrine* disguised; that *Philosopher* affirming likewise, the *Circular Motions* of the *Heavens*, caused *Efficiently*

Met. L. 14. c. 8.  
p. 1003. P.

Met. L. 14.  
c. 8.

P. 167.

ficiently, by a Soul of the World in his *Timæus* to be, τὴν ὡς ἐν τῷ φερό-  
 ντων μάλιστα ζῶσαν, a Motion that is most agreeable to that of Mind or  
 Wisdom: And again in his *Laws*, τὴν τῷ ὡς ἐπιόσῳ πάντας ὡς δυνατόν,  
 οἰκείωτάτην τῷ ὁμοίαν, that which of all Corporeal Motions only resembles  
 the Circuit of Intellect. Which Platonick Conceit found entertainment  
 with Boetius, who writing of the Soul of the World, represents it  
 thus,

De consol. Li.  
 3. Met. 9.

*Quæ cum Sæta Duos motum glomeravit in Orbes,  
 In semet reditura meat, Mentemque Profundam  
 Circuit, & simili convertit Imagine Cælum.*

Wherefore as well according to Plato's Hypothesis as Aristotle's, it may  
 be affirmed of the Supreme Deity, in the same Boetius his Language,  
 that,

*Stabilisque manens dat cuncta Moveri,*

Being it self Immovable, it causeth all other things to Move. The Im-  
 mediate Efficient Cause of which Motion also, no less according to  
 Aristotle than Plato, seems to have been a Mundane Soul; however  
 Aristotle thought not so fit to make this Soul, a Principle; in all Pro-  
 bability, because he was not so well assured, of the Incorporiety of  
 Souls, as of Minds or Intellects.

Nevertheless this is not the only thing, which Aristotle impu-  
 ted to his First and Highest Immovable Principle, or the Supreme Deity,  
 its turning Round of the *Primum Mobile*, and that no otherwise than  
 as being Loved, or as the Final Cause thereof, as Proclus supposed;  
 but he as well as Anaxagoras, asserted it to be also, τὸ δὲ ἢ καλῶς αἰ-  
 τίων, The Cause of Well and Fit, or τὸ ἢ ἐν ἀνά τὸ δὲ, that without  
 which, there could be no such thing as Well; that is, no no Order, Ap-  
 titude, Proportion and Harmony in the Universe. He declaring ex-  
 cellently, that εἰ μὴ ἔσαι ὡς τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἄλλα, ἐν ἔσαι ἀρχὴ ἢ τάξις,  
 ἀλλ' αἰετὶ ἀρχῆς ἀρχῆ, Unless there were something else in the world be-  
 sides Sensibles, there could be neither Beginning nor Order in it, but one  
 thing would be the Principle of another infinitely, or without end:  
 and again in another place already cited, τὸ δὲ ἢ καλῶς, ἴσως ἔτε πῦρ  
 ἔτε γλῶ, &c. ἔδ' αὐτῶ αὐτιμάτω ἢ τύχη τοῦ εἶναι ἔπιτεταί πράγμα καλῶς  
 ἔχει, It is not at all likely, that either Fire or Earth or any such Body,  
 should be the Cause of that Well and Fit that is in the World; nor can  
 so Noble an Effect as this, be reasonably imputed to Chance or Fortune.  
 Wherefore himself agreeably with Anaxagoras concludes, that it is  
 Νῆς or Mind, which is properly αἰτίον τῷ καλῶς ἢ ὁρθῶς, The Cause of  
 Well and Right, and accordingly does he frequently call the Supreme  
 Deity by that Name. He affirming likewise that the Order,  
 Pulchritude and Harmony of the whole World, dependeth upon that  
 One Highest and Supreme Being in it, after the same manner as the  
 Order of an Army dependeth upon the General or Emperour; who  
 is not for the Order, but the Order for him. Which Highest Being of  
 the Universe, is therefore called by him also, conformably to Pla-

Met. L. 14;  
 c. 7. P.

Met. I. 14.  
cap. 10.

Met. I. 14.  
cap. 10.

Met. L. 1. c. 3.

Met. L. 14.  
c. 7.

De Part. An.  
L. 1.

Lib. 2. c. 6.

Ar. de An.  
L. 1. c. 7.

το τὸ ἀγαθὸν κεχωρισμένον, *The Separate Good of the World*, in way of distinction from that *Intrinsic or Inherent Good of it*, which is the *Order and Harmony it self*: Ἐπισκεπτόν ἢ ἢ πότερος ἔχει ἢ τὸ ὅλα φύσις τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὸ ἄριστον; πότερον κεχωρισμένον τι, καὶ αὐτὸ κατ' αὐτὸ; ἢ τὴν τάξιν; ἢ ἀμφοτέρως ὡς ὅτι σχετίζονται; καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τάξει τὸ εὖ καὶ ὁ σχετίζομαι, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔστος, ἢ γὰρ ἔστος διὰ τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη διὰ τῶν ὄντων. πάντα γὰρ συντέτακται πᾶς. *It is to be considered also, What is the Good, and Best of the Universe; Whether its own Order only? or Something Separate and existing by it self? Or rather Both of them together? As the Good of an Army, consisteth both in its Order, and likewise in its General or Emperor, but principally in this Latter; because the Emperor is not for the Order of the Army, but the Order of the Army is for him; for all things are coordered together with God, and respectively to him. Wherefore since Aristotle's Supreme Deity, by what name soever called, whether Mind or Good, is the proper Efficient Cause of all that Well and Fit, that is in the Universe, of all the Order, Pulchritude and Harmony thereof; it must needs be granted, that besides its being the Final Cause of Motion, or its Turning round the Heavens by being Loved, it was also the Efficient Cause of the Whole Frame of Nature and System of the World. And thus does he plainly declare his Sence, where he applauds Anaxagoras for maintaining, ἢ ἢ εἶναι ἢ τὸ νόημα ἢ τὸ τάξεως πᾶσις αἴτιον, that Mind is the Cause not only of all Order, but also of the whole World: and when himself positively affirms, ἐκ τριούτης ἀρχῆς ἡγίηται ὁ οὐρανὸς ἢ ἢ φύσις, that from such a Principle as this depends the Heaven, and Nature. Where by Heaven is meant the whole World, and by Nature, that Artificial Nature of his before insisted on, which doth nothing in vain, but always acteth for Ends Regularly, and is the Instrument of the Divine Mind. He also somewhere affirmeth, that if the Heavens or World were Generated, that is, Made in Time, so as to have had a Beginning, then it was certainly Made, not by Chance and Fortune, but by such an Artificial Nature, as is the Instrument of a Perfect Mind. And in his Physicks, where he contends for the Worlds Ante-Eternity, he concludes nevertheless, ἀνάγκη εἶναι αἴτιον ἢ φύσιν εἶναι τὰδε πάντα, That Mind together with Nature must of necessity be the Cause of this Whole Universe. For though the World were never so much Coeternal with Mind; yet was it in order of Nature after it and Junieur to it as the Effect thereof, himself thus generously resolving, ἀλογώτατόν εἶναι εἶναι πρῶτον, ἢ ἢ ἢ κατὰ φύσιν. τὰ ἢ σιχηῖα φασι πρῶτα τῶν ὄντων εἶναι, that though some, (that is, the Atheists) affirm the Elements to have been the First Beings; yet it was the most reasonable thing of all to conclude, that Mind was the Oldest of All things, and Senieur to the World and Elements; and that according to Nature, it had a Princely and Sovereign Dominion over all. Wherefore we think it now sufficiently evident; that Aristotle's Supreme Deity, does not only move the Heavens as being Loved, or is the Final Cause of Motion, but also was the Efficient Cause, of this Whole Mundane System, framed according to the Best Wisdom, and after the Best manner Possible.*

For perhaps it may not be amiss here to observe, That God was not called *Mind*, by Aristotle and those other ancient Philosophers, according

according to that Vulgar Sence of many in these days of ours; as if he were indeed an *Understanding or Perceptive Being*, and that perfectly *Omniscient*, but yet nevertheless such, as acted all things *Arbitrarily*, being not determined by any *Rule or Nature of Goodness*, but only by his own *Fortuitous Will*. For according to those ancient Philosophers, that which acts without respect to *Good*, would not so much be accounted *Mens* as *Dementia*, *Mind*, as *Madness* or *Folly*; and to impute the *Frame of Nature or System of the World*, together with the *Government of the same*, to such a Principle as this, would have been judg'd by them all one, as to impute them to *Chance or Fortune*. But *Aristotle* and those other Philosophers, who called the *Supreme God*, *Nous* or *Mind*, understood thereby, that which of all things in the whole world, is most opposite to *Chance, Fortune, and Temerity*; that which is regulated by the τὸ εὖ καλῶς, *The Well and Fit* of every thing, if it be not rather the very *Rule, Measure and Essence of Fitness it self*; that which acteth all for *Ends and Good*, and doth every thing after the *Best manner*, in order to the *Whole*. Thus *Socrates* in that place before cited out of *Plato's Phædo* interprets the Meaning of that Opinion, *That Mind made the World, and was the Cause of all things*: ἡγοῦμένην, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ εἶναι ἔχει, ἢ τὸν πάντα νοεῖν, καὶ ἕκαστον τιθεῖναι ταύτην ὅτι ἀν βέλτιστος ἔχει. *That therefore every thing might be concluded to have been disposed of after the Best Manner possible*. And accordingly *Theophrastus*, *Aristotle's* Scholar and Successor, describeth God after this manner, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ θεϊότατον, πάντα τὰ ἀριστα βελόμην, *That First and Divine Being of all, which willeth all the Best things*. Whether of these Two *Hypotheses* concerning God, One of the ancient Pagan Philosophers, that God is as essentially *Goodness* as *Wisdom*, or as *Plotinus* after *Plato* calls him *Decency and Fitness it self*; the Other of some late Professors of *Christianity*, that he is nothing but *Arbitrary Will, Omnipotent and Omniscient*, I say whether of these Two is more agreeable to *Piety and True Christianity*, we shall leave it to be considered:

Lastly, it is not without Probability, that *Aristotle* did, besides the *Frame of Nature, and Fabrick of the World*, impute even the very *Substance of Things themselves* also, to the *Divine Efficiency* (nor indeed can there well be any doubt of any thing save only the *Matter*;) partly from his affirming God to be a *Cause and Principle to all things*; and partly from his Commending this Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*, ἀμα τὰ καλῶς, αἰτίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῆς ὄντων ὄντων, *That Mind was together with Well and Fit, the Cause and Principle of Things themselves*. However that *Aristotle's* Inferiour Gods at least, and therefore his *Intelligences of the Lesser Spheres*, which were *Incorporeal Substances*, were all of them Produced or Created by One *Supreme*, may be further confirmed from this Definition of his in his *Rhetoric*, τὸ θεϊκότατον ἔστιν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἢ θεός, ἢ θεοῦ ἔργον, *The Divinity is nothing but either God or the Work of God*. Where *θεός* is unquestionably used in way of *Eminency*, for the *Supreme Deity*, as in those other places of *Aristotle's* before cited, to which sundry more might be added, as, πάντα ἔχει τὰ ἀγαθὰ ὁ θεός, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτάριτος, *God possesseth all good things, and is self-sufficient*.

*eth all Good things, and is Self-sufficient; and again where he speaks of things that are more than praise-worthy, τοῖστων δὲ εἶναι τὸ θεὸν καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πρὸς ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἅλλα ἀναφέρεσθαι, such are God and Good, for to these are all other things referred. But here Aristotle affirming, that there is nothing Divine, but either God himself, or the Work and Effect of God, plainly implies, that there was no Multitude of Self-existent Deities, and that those Intelligences of the Lesser Stars or Spheres, however Eternal, were themselves also Produced or Caused by One Supreme Deity.*

*Met.L.6.c.1.*

Furthermore Aristotle declares, that this Speculation concerning the Deity, does constitute a Particular Science by it self, distinct from those other Speculative Sciences of Physiology, and the Pure Mathematicks, so that there are in all, Three Speculative Sciences, distinguished by their several Objects, Physiology, the Pure Mathematicks, and Theology or Metaphysicks: The Former of these, that is, Physiology, being conversant, ὡς ἐὶ ἀχώριστα μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀκίνητοις, about Things both Inseparable from Matter, and Movable; the Second (viz. Geometry or the Pure Mathematicks) ὡς ἐὶ ἀκίνητοις μὲν ἀλλ' ἔχωριστα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὕλῃ, About things Immovable indeed, but not really separable from Matter, so as to exist alone by themselves; but the Third and Last, ὡς ἐὶ χωριστὰ καὶ ἀκίνητοις, Concerning things both Immovable and Separable from Matter, that is, Incorporeal Substances Immovable: This Philosopher there adding, εἰ μὴ ἕξει τις ἕτερον ἔστιν ἡ πρώτη τῶν φύσεων συνεσπυκίας ἢ φυσικῆς ἐν εἰς πρώτῃ ἑπιτήρησι, εἰ ἢ ἕξει τις ἔστιν ἀκίνητος, αὐτῇ προγεγενησέναι, καὶ φιλοσοφία πρώτῃ. That if there were no other Substance besides these Natural things, which are Material and Movable; then would Physiology be the First Science; but if there be any Immovable Substance, the Philosophy thereof must needs in order of Nature be before the other. Lastly he concludes, that as the Speculative Sciences in General, are more Noble and Excellent than the other, so is Theology or Metaphysicks the most Honourable of all the Speculatives. Now the chief Points of the Aristotelick Theology, or Metaphysical Doctrine concerning God, seem to be these Four following. First, That though all things be not Ingenit or Unmade, according to that in his Book against Xenophanes, ἅρ' ἀνάγκη ἀγένητα πάντα εἶναι, ἢ εἶδεν καλλίβητι γυρομένῳ ἕτερον. ἢ ἕτερον; There is no necessity that all things should be Unmade, for what hinders but that some things may be Generated from other things? Yet there must needs be something Eternal and Unmade; as likewise Incorruptible, because εἰ πάντας ἔστιν φθαρταί, πάντα φθαρτά. If all Substances were Corruptible, then All might come to nothing. Which Eternal, Unmade (or Self-existent) and Incorruptible Substance, according to Aristotle is not Senseless Matter, but a Perfect Mind. Secondly, that God is also an Incorporeal Substance, καὶ χωρὶς ὁμοίου τῷ αἰσθητῷ, Separate from Sensibles, and not only so, but according to Aristotle's Judgment likewise, ἀδιαιρέτος, and ἀμερῆς, and ἀμεγέθους, Indivisible, and Devoid of Parts, and Magnitude. Nor can it be denied, but that besides Aristotle, the Generality of those other Ancients who asserted Incorporeal Substance, did suppose it likewise to be Unextended, they dividing Substances (as we learn from Philo) into διασημαίνουσι, καὶ ἀδιάστατοι ἔστιν, Distant and Indistant, or Extended and Unextended Substances. Which Doctrine whether

True

*Met.L.14.c.6.*

*Met.L.14.c.7*

True or no, is not here to be discussed. Thirdly, τ'αυτ' ἄρα ἓν ἐστὶν νοητὸν, *Met. L. 14. c. 7.*  
*That in God Intellect is really the same thing with the Intelligibles.* Be-  
 cause the *Divine Mind* being (at least in order of Nature) *Senior*  
*to All things*, and *Architectonical of the World*, could not look abroad  
 for its Objects, or find them any where without it self, and there-  
 fore must needs contain them all within it self. Which Determina-  
 tion of *Aristotle's*, is no less agreeable to *Theism*, than to *Plato-*  
*nism*; whereas on the contrary, the *Atheists*, who assert *Mind* and  
*Understanding* as such, to be in order of Nature *Junior to Matter*  
*and the World*, do therefore agreeably to their own *Hypothesis*, sup-  
 pose all *Intellection* to be by way of *Passion* from *Corporeal things*  
 without, and no *Mind or Intellect*, to contain its *Intelligibles*, or *Im-*  
*mediate Objects* within it self. Lastly, That God being an *Immovable*  
*Substance*, his ἔστι ἐνέργεια, *His Essence and Act or Operation* the *Met. Lib. 14.*  
 same, δεῖ ἄρα εἶναι ἔστιον τοιαῦτον ἢς ἢ ἐστὶ ἐνέργεια, *There must there-*  
*fore needs be some such Principle as this, whose Essence is Act or Energy.*  
 From which Theorem *Aristotle* indeed endeavours to establish the  
*Eternity of the World*, that it was not made ἐκ νυκτός, ἢ ἐκ μὲν πένταρον, καὶ  
 ἐκ μὴ οὐθέντος, *from Night, and a Confused Chaos of things, and from*  
*Nothing*; that is, from an Antecedent Non-existence, brought forth  
 into being; Because God who is an *Immovable Nature*, and whose *Es-*  
*sence is Act or Energy*, cannot be supposed to have rested or Slept  
 from Eternity, doing nothing at all, and then after Infinite Ages,  
 to have begun to move the Matter, or make the World. Which  
 Argumentation of *Aristotle's*, perhaps would not be Inconsiderable,  
 were the *World, Motion and Time*, capable of Existing from *Eternity*,  
 or without Beginning. Of which more elsewhere. However, from  
 hence it is undeniably evident, that *Aristotle*, though asserting the  
*Worlds Eternity*, nevertheless derived the same from God, because  
 he would prove this *Eternity of the World*, from the *Essential Ener-*  
*gy and Immutability of the Deity.*

We shall now conclude all concerning *Aristotle*, with this short  
 Summary, which himself gives us of his own *Creed and Religion*, a-  
 greeably to the *Tradition of his Pagans Ancestors*; παραδεδόται ὑπὸ τῶν *Met. L. 14.*  
 ἀρχαίων καὶ παλαιῶν, ὅτι θεοὶ τὲ εἰσιν ἑστί, καὶ ἀπέχετα τὸ θεῖον τῶ ὅλῳ *c. 8.*  
 φύσει· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μυθικῶς ἢ δὴ προσήχθαι πρὸς τὴν παιδείαν τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ  
 τῶν εἰς τὰς νόμους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον χεῖσαν· ἀνθρωποειδῆς τε γὰρ τῆς καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ζῶων ὁμοίως ποιεῖ λέγειν, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐπεὶ ἀκόλυθα καὶ ἀδραπλία·  
*It hath been delivered down to us from very ancient Times, that the Stars*  
*are Gods also; besides that Supreme Deity which contains the Whole Na-*  
*ture. But all the other things, were Fabulously added hereunto; for the*  
*better Perswasion of the Multitude, and for Utility of Humane Life and*  
*Political Ends, to keep men in Obedience to Civil Laws. As for example,*  
*that these Gods are of Humane Form, or like to other Animals; with such*  
*other things as are consequent hereupon. In which words of Aristotle,*  
*these Three Things may be taken notice of. First, That this was the Ge-*  
*neral Perswasion of the Civilized Pagans from all known Antiquity*  
*downwards, that there is One τὸ θεῖον, which comprehends the whole*  
*Nature. Where τὸ θεῖον is by Aristotle plainly taken for the Supreme*  
*Deity. And his own sence concerning this Particular, is elsewhere*  
 thus



In Polit.

thus declared after the same manner, where he speaks of Order Harmony and Proportion, *θεός ὃ δὴ τὸ δυνάμειος ἔργον, ἥτις καὶ τὸδε συνέχει τὸ πᾶν*, *This is the Work of the Divine Power, which also contains this Universe.* Which Divinity Containing and Comprehending the Whole Nature and Universe, must needs be a Single and Solitary Being; according to that Expression of Horace before cited,

*Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum,*

*That which hath nothing Like it, nor Second to it.* The next thing is, That according to the Pagan Tradition, besides this Universal Numen, there were certain other Particular and Inferiour Deities also, that is, Understanding Beings Superiour to Men; namely the Animated Stars or Spheres, according to the Vulgar Apprehension, though Aristotle's Philosophy would interpret this chiefly of their Immovable Minds or Intelligences. Lastly, that all the rest of the Pagan Religion and Theology, those Two Things only excepted, were Fabulous and Fictitious, invented for the better Perswasion of the Vulgar to Piety, and the conserving of them in Obedience to Civil Laws; amongst which this may be reckoned for one, that those Gods are all like Men or other Animals; and therefore to be worshipped in Images and Statues of those several Forms; with all that other Fabulous Farrago which dependeth hereupon. Which being separated from the rest, the *πατεριῶν δόξα*, or ancient Tradition of their Pagan Progenitors, would remain comprized within those Two Particulars above mentioned, namely, that there is One Supreme Deity that Contains the whole Universe, and that besides it, the Animated Stars or their Minds, are certain Inferiour Gods also.

De N.D. L. I.

To Aristotle may be here subjoyned Speusippus and Xenocrates his Equals and Corrivals, they being Plato's Successors; together with Theophrastus his own Scholar and Successor. Concerning the former of which it is recorded in Cicero, that agreeably with Plato, he asserted *Vim quandam, quâ omnia regantur, eamque Animalem*, One Animal and Intellectual Force by which all things are governed; by reason whereof, *Velleius* the Epicurean complains of him, as thereby endeavouring, *Evellere ex animis cognitionem Deorum*, To pluck out of the minds of men the Notion of Gods, as indeed both he and Plato did destroy those Epicurean Gods, which were all supposed to be Independent and to have no Sway or Influence at all upon the Government of the World; whereas neither of them denied a Plurality of Subordinate and Dependent Deities, Generated or Created by One Supreme, and by him Employed as his Ministers in the Oeconomy of the Universe: For had they done any such thing as this, they would certainly have been then condemned for Atheists. And Xe-

Ed. Phys. L. I.  
c. 3.

*nocrates* his Theology, is thus represented in *Stobæus*, *τὴν μονάδα καὶ τὴν ἀνάστατον θεόν, τὴν μὲν ὡς ἀγέννητον πατέρα ἔχοντα τὰ πάντα, ἥτινα προσαναγορεύει καὶ Ζῆνα, καὶ Πέριπλον, καὶ Νῆν, ὅσους ἔστιν αὐτῶν πρῶτον θεός. τὴν δὲ διὰ τὴν μίαν ἀνάστατον θεὸν ἔχοντα, τὸ ὑπὸ τῷ ἑσπερίῳ ἡμέρας ἡγεμονίῳ, ἥτις ἔστιν αὐτῶν*

ἡ δὲ

Ἰσχυρὸν τὸ πᾶσι, &c. That both a *Monad* and *Dyad*, were *Gods*, the one *Masculine*, having the order of a *Father*, which he calleth *Zen* and *Mind*, and which is also to him the *First God*; the other *Feminine*, as it were the *Mother of the Gods*, which is to him, the *Soul of the Universe*; besides which he acknowledgeth the *Heaven* to be *Divine*, that is, *Animated* with a *Particular Soul* of its own, and the *Fiery Stars*, to be *Celestial Gods*, as he asserted also certain *Sublunary Gods*, viz. the *Invisible Demons*. Where instead of the *Platonick Trinity*, *Xenocrates* seems to have acknowledg'd only a *Duality of Divine Hypostases*; the *First* called a *Monad* and *Mind*, the *Second* a *Dyad* and *Soul of the Universe*. And lastly, we have this *Testimony of Theophrastus*, besides others, cited out of his *Metaphysicks*, Δεῖα ἡ παντῶν ἀρχή, δι' ἧς ἅπαντα ἐστὶ καὶ διαμύβει, *There is one Divine Principle of all things, by or from which all things subsist and remain.*

XXV. The *Stoicks* and their chief *Doctors*, *Zeno*, *Cleanthes* and *Chrysippus*, were no better *Naturalists* and *Metaphysicians*, than *Heraclitus*, in whose footsteps they trode: they in like manner admitting no other *Substance* besides *Body*, according to the true and proper *Notion* thereof, as that which is, not only *διασπῶν*, *Distant* and *Extended*, but also *ἀντιτυπῶν*, *Resisting* and *Impenetrable*. So that according to these *Stoicks*, the *Souls* not only of other *Animals*, but of *Men* also, were properly *Corporeal*, that is, *Substances Impenetrably Extended*; and which differ'd from that other part of theirs, commonly called *their Body*, no otherwise, than that they were, σῶμα ἀραιότερον καὶ λεπτομερέστερον, *a more Thin and Subtil Body*, and πῦρ ἐνθερμόν, *a Hot and Fiery Spirit*: it being supposed by these *Philosophers*, that *Cogitation*, *Reason* and *Understanding*, are lodged only in the *Fiery Matter* of the *Universe*. And though the *Generality* of these *Stoicks*, acknowledged *Humane Souls*, to have a certain *Permanency* after *Death*, and some of them till the next *Conflagration* (unless perhaps they should be crushed and broken all to pieces, in their *Passage* out of the *Body*, by the down-fall of some *Tower*, *Steeple*, or the like, upon them) yet did they all conclude against their *Immortality*, there being nothing at all *Immortal* with them (as shall be afterwards declared) save only *Jupiter*, or the *One Supreme Deity*. And as for the *Punishment* of *Wicked Souls* after death, though some of them seem to have utterly exploded the same, as a meer *Figment* of *Poets*, (insomuch that *Epicetus* himself denies, there was any *Acheron*, *Cocytus* or *Phlegethon*) yet others granted, that as the better *Souls* after *Death*, did mount up to the *Stars*, their *First Original*, so the *Wicked* wandred up and down here, in certain *Dark* and *Miry Subterraneous Places*, till at length they were quite extinct. Nevertheless, they seem to have been all of this *Perswasion*, that the *Frightning* of men with *punishments* after *Death*, was no *Proper* nor *Accomodate* means to promote *Virtue*, because that ought to be pursued after for its own sake, or the *Good of Honesty*, as *Vice* to be avoided, for that *Evil of Turpitude* which is in it, and not for any other *External Evil* consequent thereupon. Wherefore *Chrysippus* reprehended *Plato* for subjoyning to his *Republick* such affrightful *Stories* of *Punishments* after death, φησὶν ἐν ὁρθῶς ἀποτρέπειν τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς

Plut. Stoic.  
Rep. p. 1040.  
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θεῶν φόβου, τῆ ἀδικίας, ἢ κέφαλον· ὀυδιάβλητον τ' εἶναι ἢ πρὸς τὸναντίον ἐξ-  
 ἀγοῖα πολλὰς ὀυδισμασὺς ἢ πιθανότητας ἀνιπιπῆσους, ἢ ὀυδὶ τῆ ὑπὸ τῶ  
 θεῶ κολάσεων λόγον, ὡς ὄδεν διαφέρουσα τ' Ἀκκῆς ἢ τ' Ἀλφιδῆς, δι' ὧν τὰ  
 παιδάρεα τῶ κακοχολεῖν αἱ γυναικῆς ἀνεργουσι· Chryfippus affirmeth, that  
 Plato (in the Person of Cephalus) does not rightly deterr men from In-  
 justice, by the Fear of Divine Punishments and Vengeance after Death ;  
 since this opinion (of Torments after death) is liable to much Exception,  
 and the contrary is not without Probabilities ; so that it seems to be but  
 like to Womens frightening of Children from doing unhappy tricks,  
 with those Bugbears of Accho and Alphito. But how fondly these  
 Stoicks, doted upon that Hypothefis, That all was Body, may appear  
 from hence, that they maintained even Accidents and Qualities them-  
 selves to be Bodies ; for Voice and Sound, Night and Day, Evening  
 and Morning, Summer and Winter ; nay, Calends and Nones, Months  
 and Tears, were Bodies with them. And not only so, but also the  
 Qualities of the Mind it self, as Virtue and Vice, together with the  
 Motions and Affections of it, as Anger and Envy, Grief and Joy ; ac-  
 cording to that passage in Seneca, Corporis Bona sunt Corpora, Corpo-  
 ra ergo sunt & quæ animi, nam & hic Corpus est ; The Goods of a Bo-  
 dy are Bodies, now the Mind is a Body, and therefore the Goods of the  
 Mind are Bodies too. And with as good Logick as this did they fur-  
 ther infer, that all the Actions, Passions, and Qualities of the Mind,  
 were not only Bodies but also Animals likewise. Animam constat A-  
 nimal esse, cum ipsa efficiat, ut simus Animalia ; Virtus autem nihil ali-  
 ud est quàm Animus taliter se habens, ergo Animal est ; It is manifest,  
 that the Soul is an Animal, because it is that by which we are made A-  
 nimals ; now Vertue and Vice are nothing else but the Soul so and so af-  
 fected or modified, and therefore these are Animals too. Thus we see  
 what fine Conclusions, these Doters upon Body (though accounted  
 great Masters of Logick) made ; and how they were befooled in  
 their Ratiocinations and Philosophy.

Nevertheless though these Stoicks were such Sottish Corporealists,  
 yet were they not for all that Atheists : they resolving that Mind or  
 Understanding, though always lodged in Corporeal Substance, yet  
 was not first of all begotten out of Senseless Matter, so or so Modified ;  
 but was an Eternal Unmade thing, and the Maker of the whole Mun-  
 dane System. And therefore as to that Controversie so much agita-  
 ted amongst the Ancients, Whether the World were made by Chance,  
 or by the Necessity of Material Motions, or by Mind, Reason and Un-  
 derstanding ; they avowedly maintained that it was neither by Chance  
 nor by Material Necessity, but Divinâ Mente, by a Divine and Eter-  
 nal Mind every way perfect. From which One Eternal Mind, they  
 also affirmed Humane Souls to have been derived, and not from  
 Senseless Matter ; Prudentiam & Mentem à Diis ad Homines pervenisse,  
 that Mind and Wisdom descended down to Men from the Deity. And  
 that, Ratio nihil aliud est, quàm in Corpus humanum Pars Divini Spi-  
 ritus mersa ; Reason is nothing else but Part of the Divine Spirit merg'd  
 into a Humane Body ; so that these Humane Souls were to them, no  
 other than μεμειρα θεῶ ἢ ἀποσπασμασιν, certain Parts of God, or Decerp-  
 tions and Avulsions from him. Neither were the Reasons by which  
 these

these Stoicks would prove, the World to have had a *Divine Original*, at all Contemptible, or much inferiour to those which have been used in these Latter days; they being such as these: First, That it is no more likely, this Orderly System of the World, should have been made by Chance, than that *Ennius* his *Annals*, or *Homer's Iliads* might have resulted from the Fortuitous Projection or Tumbling out of so many Forms of Letters, confounded all together. There being as much continued and coherent Sence and as many several Combinations, in this *Real Poem* of the World, as there is in any *Phantastick Poem* made by men. And since we see no Houses or Cities, no Books or Libraries any where made by the fortuitous Motions of Matter, it is a madness to think that this Admirable Compages of the whole World should first have resulted from thence. Again, There could not possibly be such an Agreeing and Conspiring Cognation of things, and such a *Universal Harmony* throughout the whole World, as now there is, *nisi ea Uno Divino & Continuato Spiritu continerentur, were they not all contained by One and the same Divine Spirit*: Which is the most obvious Argument, for the Unity or *Onelyness* of the Deity. They reasoned also from the *Scale of Nature*, or the Gradual Perfection of things in the Universe, one above another; That therefore there must be something *Absolutely Perfect*, and that either the World it self, or something presiding over it, was à *Principio Sapiens, Wise from the Beginning*, or rather without Beginning and from Eternity. For as in the Growth of Plants and Animals, *Natura suo quodam Itinere ad Ultimum pervenit, Nature by a Continual Progress and Journeying forwards, arrives at length to the greatest Perfection, which those things are respectively capable of*: And as those Arts of Picture and Architecture, aim at Perfection; *ita in omni Natura necesse est Absolvi aliquid & Perfici, so in the Nature of the whole Universe, there must needs be something Absolutely Perfect, reach'd unto. Necesse est præstantem aliquam esse Naturam qua nihil est Melius*; Since there is such a Gradual Ascent and Scale of Perfections in Nature one above another, *there must needs be some most Excellent and Perfect Being, than which nothing can be Better, at the Top of all, as the Head thereof. Moreover they disputed Socratically after this manner, Unde arripuit Homo Vitam, Mentem & Rationem? Whence did man snatch Life, Reason, or Understanding? Or from what was it Kindled in him? For is it not plain, that we derive the Moisture and Fluidity of our Bodies, from the Water that is in the Universe, their Consistency and Solidity from the Earth, their Heat and Activity from the Fire, and their Spirituosity from the Air; Illud autem quod vincit hæc omnia, Rationem, Mentem & Consilium, &c. Ubi invenimus? unde sustulimus? An cætera Mundus habebit omnia? Hoc unum quod plurimi est non habebit? But that which far transcendeth all these things, our Reason, Mind and Understanding, where did we find it? or from whence did we derive it? Hath the Universe all those other things of ours in it, and in a far greater proportion? and hath it nothing at all of that which is the most excellent thing in us? Nihil quod Animi, quodque Rationis est expers, id generare ex se potest Animantes, competesque Rationis, Mundus autem generat Animantes competes Rationis*: Nothing that is devoid of Mind and Reason can Generate things Ani-

*mant and Rational, but the World Generateth such, and therefore it self (or that which contains it and presides over it) must needs be Animant, and Rational or Intellectual. Which Argumentation is further set home by such Similitudes as these; Si ex Oliva modulatè canentes Tibia nascerentur, non dubitares quin esset in Oliva Tibicinis quedam Scientia. Quid si Platani Fidiculas ferrent numerosè sonantes, idem scilicet censes in Platanis inesse Musicam. Cur igitur Mundus non Animans Sapiensque judicetur, cum ex se procreet Animantes atque Sapientes? If from the Olive-Tree should be produced Pipes sounding Harmoniously, or from the Plain-Tree Fiddles, playing of their own accord Musically, it would not at all be doubted, but that there was, some Musical either Skill or Nature, in those Trees themselves; Why therefore should not the World be concluded, to be both Animant and Wise (or to have something in it which is so) since it produceth such Beings from it self? And though perhaps some may think that of Cotta's here, to have been a smart and witty Repartie, Querit Socrates unde Animam arripuerimus, si nulla fuerit in mundo? Et ego quero unde Orationem? unde Numeros? unde Cantus? nisi verò loqui Solem cum Luna putemus, cum propius accesserit: aut ad harmoniam canere Mundum ut Pythagoras existimat. Socrates demandeth, whence we snatch'd Soul, Life, and Reason, if there were none in the world? and I demand (saith he) whence did we snatch Speech, Musick, and Numbers? Unless perhaps you will suppose the Sun to confabulate with the Moon, when he approaches near her in the Syzygiæ; or the World to sound Harmonically as Pythagoras conceited. Yet this how smart soever it may seem, was really but an Empty Flash of Academick Wit, without any Solidity at all in it, as shall be manifested afterward. Lastly the Stoicks endeavoured to prove the Existence of a God after this manner, Ut nulla pars Corporis nostri est que non sit minor quam Nosmetipsi sumus, sic Mundum Universum pluri esse necesse est quam Partem aliquam Universi; As there is no Part of our Body which is not Inferiour in perfection to Our selves, so must the Whole Universe needs be supposed, to be Better and more Perfect than any of the Parts thereof. Wherefore since it is Better to be endued with Life and Understanding, than to be devoid thereof, and these are Pure Perfections; they being in some measure in the Parts, must needs be much more in the Whole. Nullius sensu carentis Pars, potest esse Sentiens, No Part of that which is utterly dead and stupid, can have Life and Understanding in it. And it is a Madness for any man to suppose, Nihil in omni Mundo Melius esse quam se, that there is nothing in the whole World Better than himself, or than Mankind; which is but a Part thereof. Now Cotta here again exercises his jeering Academick Wit after the same manner as before; Hoc si placet, jam efficiet, ut Mundus optimè Librum legere videatur, &c. Isto modo etiam Disertus, Mathematicus, Musicus, omni denique doctrina refertus, postremo Philosophus erit Mundus. By this same Argument you might as well prove, That the World is also Book-learned, an Orator, a Mathematician, a Musician, and last of all a Philosopher. But neither this Objection of his nor that Former, have any Firmitude at all in them: Because though an Effect cannot be Better or more Perfect than its Cause, nor a Part than the Whole; and therefore whatsoever there is*

of

of *Pure Perfection* in any *Effect*, it must needs be more in the *Cause*; yet as to those things there mentioned by *Cotta* (which have all a plain Mixture of Imperfection in them) as they could not therefore *Formally* exist in that which is *Absolutely Perfect*, so is it sufficient, that they are all *Eminently* and *Vertually* contain'd therein.

By such Argumentations as these (besides that taken from the *Topic* of *Prescience* and *Divination*) did the ancient *Stoicks* endeavour to *Demonstrate* the *Existence* of a *God*, or a *Universal Numen*, the *Maker* and *Governour* of the whole *World*; and that such a one, as was not a meer *Plastick* or *Methodical* and *Senseless*, but a *Conscious* and *Perfectly Intellectual* Nature. So that the *World* to them, was neither a meer *Heap* and *Congeries* of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, fortuitously compacted together; nor yet a *Huge Plant* or *Vegetable*, that is, endued with a *Spermatick Principle* only; but an *Animal* enformed and enlivened by an *Intellectual Soul*. And though, being *Corporealists*, they sometimes called, the *Whole World* it self or *Mundane Animal*, *God*; and sometimes the *Fiery Principle* in it, as *Intellectual*, and the *Hegemonick* of the *Mundane Soul*; Yet was the *God* of the *Stoicks* properly, not the very *Matter* it self, but that *Great Soul*, *Mind* and *Understanding*, or in *Seneca's* Language, that *Ratio Incorporalis*, that *Rules* the *Matter* of the whole *World*. Which *Stoical God* was also called, as well *Ἄγαθόν* as *Νῆς*, *Good* as *Mind*; as that which is a *Most Moral*, *Benign*, and *Benificent Being*; according to that excellent *Cleanthean* Description of him, in *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

Ἄγαθόν ἐρωτᾶς μ' οἷόν ᾧτι ἄκσε δέ,  
 τεταγμένον, δίκαιον, ὅποιον, εὐσεβές,  
 κρατῆν ἑαυτῆ, χρήσιμον, καλόν, δέον, &c.

But this *Maker* and *Governour* of the *Whole World* was most commonly named by the *Stoicks* *Zeus* and *Zen*, or *Jupiter*; some of them concluding that therefore there was but one *Zeus* or *Independent Deity*, because the *Whole World* was but *One Animal*, governed by *One Soul*; and others of them endeavouring on the contrary to prove the *Unity* and *Singularity* of the *World*, from the *Oneliness* of this *Zeus* or the *Supreme Deity*, supposed and taken for granted, and because there is but *One Fate* and *Providence*. Which *Latter* Consequence, *Plutarch* would by no means allow of, he writing thus

concerning it, where he pleads for a *Plurality of Worlds*, *ἢ μὴ τὰ*  
 γὰ ἄλλα τῶν Στωικῶν τίς ἂν φοβηθείη, ποιθανομένων πᾶς εἰμαρμένη μία μέ-  
 νη ἢ πρῆνοια, ἢ ἴ πολλοὶ Δίαις ἢ Ζήναι, ἔσοσθαι, πλείονων ὄντων κόσμων; τίς  
 δ' ἀνάγκη πολλὰς εἶναι Δίας, ἂν πλείονες ᾧσι κόσμοι, ἢ μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀε-  
 ροῦσα πρῶτον ἢ ἡγεμόνα τῶ ὅλων θεῶν, οἷος ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν κέριθ' ἀπάντων ἢ  
 πατὴρ ἐπονομαζόμενος, &c. *Neither is it at all considerable, what the*  
*Stoicks* here object against a *Plurality of Worlds*, they demanding how  
 there could be but *One Fate*, and *One Providence*, and *One Jove* (or  
*Independent Deity*) were there many *Worlds*? For what *Necessity* is  
 there, that there must be more *Zen's* or *Joves* than *One*, if there were  
*More Worlds*? and why might not that *One* and the same *God* of this  
 Universe,

D. Def. Or.  
 p. 425.

Universe called by us, the Lord and Father of all, be the First Prince, and Higheſt Governour in all thoſe Worlds? Or what hinders but that a Multitude of Worlds, might be all Subject to the Fate and Providence of one Jupiter or Supreme God, himſelf inſpecting and ordering them every one; and imparting Principles and Spermatick Reasons to them, according to which all things in them might be Governed and Diſpoſed. For can many diſtinct Perſons in an Army or Chorus, be reduced into One Body or Polity? and could not Ten, or Fifty, or a Hundred Worlds in the Universe; be all Governed by One Reason, and be ordered together in Reference to One Principle? In which Place theſe Two things are plainly contained; Firſt, that the Stoicks unqueſtionably aſſerted, One Supreme Deity, or Universal Monarch over the whole World; and Secondly, that Plutarch was ſo far from giving any entertainment to the Contrary Opinion; that he concluded, though there were Ten, or Fifty, or a Hundred worlds, yet they were all Subject to One Supreme, Solitary, and Independent Deity.

But however though theſe Stoicks thus unqueſtionably aſſerted One Sole Independent and Universal Numen, the Monarch over the whole World: yet did they notwithstanding, together with the other Pagans, acknowledge a Plurality of Gods: they concluding, πάντα μετέ εἶναι θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, That all things were full of Gods and Demons. And ſo far were they from falling ſhort of the other Pagans, as to this Polytheiſm or Multiplicity of Gods, that they ſeem rather to have ſurpaſſed and outſtripped them therein. Plutarch making mention of their τοῦτον πλῆθος θεῶν, their ſo great Multitude of Gods; and affirming them, ἐμπεπλημένον τῷ λόγῳ θεῶν ἢ ἕρπον, τῷ γῆ, ἢ ἀέρι, τῷ θαλάσῃαν, to have filled the whole Heaven, Earth, Air, and Sea with Gods. Nevertheleſs they plainly declare, that all this their Multiplicity of Gods (One only excepted) was Generated or Created in time by that One, called Zeus or Jupiter, who was not only the Spermatick Reason, but alſo the Soul and Mind of the whole Universe; and who from Himſelf produced the World and thoſe Gods, out of Non-exiſtence into Being. And not only ſo, but that alſo in the ſucceſſive Conflagrations, they are all again Reſolved and Swallowed up into that One. Thus Plutarch in his Deſect of Oracles, writing of the Mortality of Demons, τὸς Στωικὸς γνώσκομεν, ὅ μόνον τῶ δαιμόνων ὡ λέγω δόξαν ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ ἢ θεῶν, ὄντων τοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος ἐνὶ χρωμάτων αἰδῶ ἢ ἀφάρτω, τὸς ἢ ἄλλος ἢ γεγονέναι ἢ φθαρίσεται νομίζοντας. We know the Stoicks to maintain this Opinion, not only concerning Demons, but alſo the Gods themſelves, that they are Mortal. For though they own ſuch a Multitude of Gods, yet do they acknowledge only one of them Eternal and Incorruptible; affirming concerning all the reſt, that as they were made in time, ſo they ſhall be again Corrupted and Deſtroyed. Plutarch himſelf, there defends the Mortality of Demons, but this only as to their Corporeal Part, that they die to their preſent Bodies, and transmigrate into others, their Souls in the mean time remaining Immortal and Incorruptible; but the Stoicks maintain'd the ſame as well concerning Gods as Demons; and that in ſuch a manner, as that their very Souls, Lives and Personalities, ſhould be utterly extinguiſh'd and Deſtroyed. To the ſame purpoſe

pose *Plutarch* again writeth, in his Book of *Common Notions* against the Stoicks, χρύσιππος ἢ κλεάνθης ἐμπειλιωότες (ὡς ἐπὶ εἶπεν) τὰ λόγῳ θεῶν, ἢ ἔρανον, τὴν γῆν, ἢ ἀέρα, τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐθένα τῆς τοῦ ἑσταν ἀφθαρτον, ἐδὲ αἰδιον ἀπολεοίπασι, πλὴν μόνου τῷ Διός· εἰς ὃν πόλλας καταναλίσκεσι τὰς ἄλλας, &c. ταῦτα ἢ ἔχ ὡς ἅμα πολλὰ τῆς ἀτόπων συλλογισθόμενα ἔχει τὰς ὑπεθέσεις αὐτῆς, ἢ τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐπιταί, ἀλλὰ αὐτὴ μὲν βεβαιότες ἐν τοῖς θεῶν, ἢ προνοίας, ἐμαρμύνης, τε ἢ φύσεως γερμιασθῶν διαξήδων λέγασσι, τὰς θεὰς ἀπαύτας, εἶναι γεγονότας ἢ φθαρσιμύνης ὑπὸ πύρεσ, πικρὸς καὶ αὐτὸς, ὡς καὶ κελύρας ἢ κατῆρας ὄντας· *Chrysippus and Cleanthes, having filled the whole Heaven, Earth, Air and Sea with Gods, leave not One of these their so Many Gods Incorruptible nor Eternal, save Jupiter only, into whom they consume all the rest; thereby making him to be a Helluo and Devourer of Gods; which is as bad, as if they should affirm him to be Corruptible, it arguing as much Imperfection for one to be Nourished and Preserved by the Consumption of other things into him, as for himself to die. Now this is not only gathered by way of Consequence, from the other Principles of the Stoicks, but it is a thing which they expressly assert, and with a loud voice proclaim, in all their writings concerning the Gods, Providence, Fate and Nature; that all the Gods were Generated (or Made in time) and that they shall be all destroyed by Fire; they supposing them to be Meltable, as if they were Waxen or Leaden things. This indeed is Essential to the Stoical Doctrine, and from their Principles Inseparable and Unavoidable; forasmuch as they held all to be Body, and that in the Successive Conflagrations, all Corporeal Systems and Compages shall be dissolved by Fire; so that no other Deity, can then possibly remain safe and Untouch'd, save Jupiter alone, the Fiery Principle of the Universe, Animated or Intellectual. Here therefore there is a considerable Difference to be observed, betwixt these Stoicks and the other Pagan Theists; that whereas the others for the most part acknowledged their Gods to have been made in Time, by One Supreme Universal Numen, but yet nevertheless to be Immortal and to continue to Eternity; The Stoical Pagans maintained, that all their other Gods, save Jupiter alone, were not only γεγονότας but also φθαρσιμύνοι, such as should be as well Corrupted, as they were Generated, and this so also, as that their very Personalities should be utterly abolished and annihilated: all the Stoical Gods in the Conflagration being as it were Melted and Confounded into One.*

Wherefore during the Intervals of the Successive Conflagrations, the Stoicks all agreed, that there is no more than *One God* (*Zeus or Jupiter*) left alone (there being then indeed nothing else besides himself) who afterwards produceth the whole *Mundane System*, together with *All the Gods* out of himself again. *Chrysippus* in *Plutarch* affirmeth, εἰκέναι τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπου ἢ Δία ἢ τὸ νόσμον, τῆ δὲ ψυχῆ τὴν πρῆνοϊαν, ὅταν ἐν ἀκτύρωσις γῆνηται, μόνον ἀφθαρτον ὄντα ἢ Δία τῆς θεῶν, ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πρῆνοϊαν, ἔτα ὁμοῦ γυρομύνης, ὅτι μὲν τῷ αἰθερῷ ἔστι διατελεῖν ἀμφοτέρως, *That as Jupiter and the World may be resembled to a Man, so may Providence be to the Soul; When therefore there shall be a Conflagration, Jupiter of all the Gods, being alone Incorruptible and then remaining, will retire and withdraw himself*  
into



Ep. 6.

Arr.L. 3 c.13.

into Providence; and so both together remain in that same Ethereal Substance. Where notwithstanding Jupiter and Providence are really but One and the same thing. And Seneca writeth thus concerning the Life of a Wise man in Solitude, *Qualis futura est Vita Sapiientis, si sine amicis relinquatur, in custodiam coniectus, aut in desertum latus eiectus? Qualis est Jovis, cum Resoluto mundo; & DIIS IN UNUM CONFUSIS, paulisper cessante Natura, acquiescit sibi, Cogitationibus suis traditus;* If you ask what would be the Life of a Wise man either in a Prison, or Desert? I answer, the same with that of Jupiter, when the World being resolved, and the GODS all CONFOUNDED into ONE, and the Course of Nature ceasing, he resteth in himself, conversing with his own Cogitations. Arrianus his Epictetus likewise, speaking of the same thing, Ironically introduces Jupiter, bemoaning himself in the Conflagration, as now left quite alone, after this manner, *τάλας ἐγώ, ἔτι τὴν Ἥραν ἐγώ, ἔτι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἔτι τὴν Ἀπόλλωνα, ἔτι ὄλως ἢ ἀδελφόν, ἢ υἱόν, ἢ ἐγγόνον, ἢ συγγενή.* Alas, I am now left all alone I have neither Juno, nor Minerva, nor Apollo with me; neither Brother nor Son, nor Nephew nor Kinsman (neither God nor Goddess) to keep me company. He adding also according to the sense of the Stoicks, that in all these successive Conflagrations, *ὁ ζωὸς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῶν σβενει, καὶ ἡσυχάζει ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ἐπινοεῖ τὴν διοίκησιν ἑαυτῶν, οἷα ἔστι, καὶ ἐν ἐπινοίαις ζῆνεται προπύσαις ἑαυτῶν,* Jupiter being left alone, converseth only with himself, and resteth in himself, considering his own Government, and being entertained with thoughts becoming himself. And thus have we made it unquestionably evident, that the Stoicks acknowledged, only One Independent and Self-existent Deity, One Universal Numen, which was not only the Creator of all the other Gods, but also in certain Alternate Vicissitudes of time, the Decreator of them; he then swallowing them up, and devouring them all into himself, as he had before produced them together with the World, out of himself.

It is granted, that these Stoicks as well as the other Pagans, did Religiously Worship More Gods than One, that is, More Understanding Beings Superiour to Men. For it was Epictetus his own Exhortation, *Ἄχε θεούς, Pray to the Gods.* And the same Philosopher thus describeth the Disposition of a Person Rightly Affected, *θέλω εἰδέναι τί μοι καθήκον πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, I would willingly know what is my Duty, First to the Gods, and then to my Parents, and other Relations.* And they are M. Antoninus his Precepts, *Ἄιδε θεούς, Revere the Gods, and ἐν ἅπασιν θεοῖς ἑπινοεῖτε, In every thing implore the Aid and Assistance of the Gods.* And accordingly in that Close of his First Book, himself does thankfully ascribe many Particular Benefits to The Gods in common; *τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἀγαθὸν πόμπη, &c. I owe to the Gods, that I had good Progenitors and Parents, &c.* Where amongst the rest, he reckons up this for One, That he never was any great Proficient, either in Poetry or Rhetorick; because these would probably (had he succeeded in his Pursuit of them) have hindred him from the attainment of far better things: and after all his Enumeration, he concludeth thus, *πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα θεῶν βοήθειαν καὶ τύχης δεῖται, For all these things need the Assistance of the Gods and Fortune, viz. because they are not in our own power.* Neither

Neither can it be denied, but that they did often derogate from the Honour of the *Supreme God*, by attributing such things to the *Gods* in common, (as the Donors of them) which plainly belong to the *Supreme God* only. As when *Epicetus* makes Reason in Men to be a gift of the *Gods*, ἡμῖν ἐν λόγῳ ἐπι ἀτυχία καὶ κακοδαιμονία δέδοται ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν; *Is Reason therefore given us by the Gods, merely to make us Miserable and Unhappy?* And when he again imputes *Vertue* to them; ἄλλο τι μὲν αἰτία θυμῶν, ἢ ὑπατεία ἢ ὑπαρχία, ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γίνεται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν, *how much greater Cause then hast thou of offering Sacrifice, than if thou hadst got a Consulship or Pratorship?* for those things come only from thy Self, and from the Gods. Though the Reason of these Speeches of theirs seems to have been no other, than this, because they took it for granted, that those Understanding Beings Superiour to men, called by them *Gods*, were all of them the Instruments and Ministers of the *Supreme God* in the Government of the World; and had therefore some kind of Stroke or Influence more or less, upon all the Concernments of Mankind. Whence it came to pass also, that they often used those Words *God* and *Gods* promiscuously and Indifferently. As one and the same Celebrated Speech of *Socrates*, is sometimes expressed Singularly, εἰ ταύτη τὰ θεῶ φίλον, *If God will have it so, let it be so*, (Arr. *Epicet.* L. 1. c. 29. and L. 4. c. 4.) and sometimes again Plurally, εἰ ταύτη φίλον τοῖς θεοῖς, *If the Gods will have it so*.

Wherefore notwithstanding the *Many Gods* of those Stoicks, they worshipped for all that One Supreme; that is, *One Universal Numen*, that contains and comprehends the whole World. Who was variously described by them, sometimes as the *Nature and Reason* of the whole World; ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις πρεσβυτάτη θεῶν, *The Nature of the whole, the Oldest of all the Gods*; and ἡ τὰ ὅλα διοικῶσα φύσις, *That Nature which governs all things*; ὁ τῶν τῶν ὅλων ἐξείαν διοικῶν λόγος, *that Reason which governs the Substance of all*; ὁ δὲ τῶν ὅλων διέξας δίκαιον λόγος, ἡ δὲ διὰ παντὸς τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀεὶ ἀλόφως τεταγμένης οἰκονομῶν τὸ πᾶν, *that Reason which passes through the Substance of the Universe, and through all Eternity, orders and dispenses all according to appointed Periods*. Sometimes is he called ἡ τῶν ὅλων αἰτία, *the Cause of all things*, sometimes τὸ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονικόν, *the Hegemonick and Ruling Principle of the whole World*, and ὁ ἡγεμῶν τῶν ὅλων, *the Prince of the World*. Again, ὁ διοικῶν τὰ ὅλα, *The Governour of the Whole*, as in this of *Epicetus*, ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γνάμω ὑποτάττει τὰ διοικῶντι τὰ ὅλα, καὶ ὡς οἱ ἀγαθοὶ πολῖται νόμῳ καὶ πόλεως, *A Good man submits his Mind to the Governour of the whole Universe; as good Citizens do theirs to the Law of the City*. Also ὁ διατάξων, *The Orderer of all*, in this other Religious Passage of the same Philosophers, τὸ παιδῶν ἀρεθῶν, τὰς ἐπιμανθάνειν ἕκαστα εἶναι θελεῖν ὡς γίνονται: πῶς ἢ γίνονται; ὡς διέταξεν αὐτὰ ὁ διατάξων, *To be Instructed is to Will things to be as they are Made: and how are they made? As that Great Disposer of all hath appointed*. Again the *Supreme God* is sometimes called by them, τὸ ἀεὶ ἔχον τὰ ὅλα νοεῶν, *That Intellectual Principle which contains the whole*, as in this Instruction of

- L. 8. ff. 45. *M. Antoninus*, μὴ μόνον συμπνεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφρονεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς πάντα νοεῶν, *That as our Bodies breath the common Air, so should our Souls suck and draw in Vital Breath, from that Great Mind that comprehends the Universe, becoming as it were One Spirit with the same.* He is also called by them ὁ τῶν ὅλων νόσ καὶ διάνοια, *The Mind and Understanding of the whole World, μία πάντων πηγὴ νοεῶν, One Intellectual Fountain of all things; and lastly, to name no more,*
- Anton. p. 125.* θεὸς εἰς διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἕσθα μία, καὶ νόμος εἰς, *One God through all, one Substance, and one Law.* Which Supreme God was commonly called also by the Stoicks, together with the Generality of the other Pagans, ὁ θεός, or *God*, Emphatically and in way of Eminency, as in this of *Epicætus*, μηδὲν ἄλλο θέλει, ἢ ἃ ὁ θεός θέλει, καὶ τίς σε κωλύσει; *Will nothing but what God Willeth, and then who can be able to hinder thee?*
- L. 2. c. 18.* And again, θέλησον καλὸς φαῖναι τὰς θεῶν, ἐπιθύμησον καθαροῦ μετὰ καθαροῦ σαυτῶ ἡμεῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν, *Affect to seem fair to God, desire to be Pure with thy Pure self, and with God.* Also where he speaks of the Regular Course of things in Nature, τεταγμένως, καθάπερ ἐκ προστάγματος θεῶν, ὅταν ἐκέινον εἶπη τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀνθεῖν ἀνθεῖ, ὅταν εἶπη βλαστάνειν βλαστάνει. *That it proceedeth orderly, every thing as it were obeying the Command of God; when he bids the Plants to blossom they blossom; and when to bring forth fruit, they bring forth fruit.* To which Innumerable other Instances might be added. And *Zeus* or *Jupiter* was the Proper Name of this Supreme God amongst the Stoicks also; whence the Government of the Whole World is called by them Διὸς διοίκησις, *the Government or Oeconomy of Jupiter.* Lastly, this Supreme God, is sometimes distinguished by them, from the other Gods, expressly and by name, as in this of *Epicætus*, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχὼ τινὶ ὑποτάχθαι, τινὶ πείθεσθαι, τὰς θεῶν καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκέινον, *I have whom I ought to be subject to, whom to obey, God and those who are next after him, that is, the Supreme and Inferior Gods.* So likewise, where he exhorteth not to desire things out of our own power, ἀλλὰ τὰς διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἐκένοις ἀφ' ὧν, ἐκένοι κυβερνάτασαν, *Let Jupiter alone with these things, and the other Gods, deliver them up to be ordered and governed by them.* And so again, where he personates one that places his happiness in those things without him, κάθιμαι καὶ γένω, καὶ ὄν δυναμαι λοιδορεῖν, τὸ Δία καὶ τὰς θεῶν ἄλλων, *I then shall sit lamenting, and speaking evil of every one, even Jupiter himself and the other Gods.*
- L. 2. c. 17.*

And it must in reason be supposed, that this *Jupiter* or *Universal Numen* of the World, was honoured by these Stoicks far above all their other Particular Gods; he being acknowledged by them to have been the *Maker* or *Creator* of them as well as the whole World; and the only Eternal and Immortal God: all those other Gods, as hath been already declared, being as well Corruptible, Mortal, and Annihilable; as they were Generated or Created. For though *Cicero's Lucilius Balbus*, where he pretends to represent the Doctrine of the Stoicks, attribute the Very First Original of the World to a Plurality of Gods, in these words, *Dico igitur Providentiâ Deorum, Mundum & omnes Mundi partes, & initio constitutas esse, & omni tempore administrari;* yet unquestionably *Cicero* forgat himself herein, and

and rather spake the Language of some other Pagans, who together with the Generation of the World, held indeed a Plurality of *Eternal* (though not *Independent*) Deities, than of the Stoicks; who asserted One only *Eternal God*, and supposed in the Reiterated Conflagrations, all the Gods to be Melted and Confounded into *One*, so that *Jupiter* being then left alone, must needs make up the World again, as also all those other Gods, out of himself. And thus does *Zeno* in *Laertius* describe the *Cosmopoiia*, ἢ θεὸν κατ' ἀρχαίς, καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα, That God at First, being alone by himself, converted the Fiery Substance of the World by degrees into Water, that is, into a Crafter Chaos; out of which Water, himself afterwards as the *Spermatick Reason* of the World, formed the Elements and whole *Mundane System*. And *Cicero* himself elsewhere, in his *De Legibus*, attributes the first Original of Mankind cautiously, not to the Gods in Common, but to the Supreme God only, *Hoc Animal Providum, &c. quem vocamus Hominem, præclara quadam conditione Generatum esse, à SUMMO DEO*: and this, rather according to the Sence of the Stoicks than of the Platonists, whose Inferiour Generated Gods also (being first made) were supposed to have had a stroke in the Fabrefaction of Mankind, and other Animals. Thus *Epicætetus* plainly ascribes, the making of the whole World to God, or the One Supreme Deity, where he mentions the Galileans, that is, the Christians, their Contempt of Death, though imputing it only to Custom in them, and not to right Knowledge, (as *M. Antoninus* likewise ascribes the same to ψιλὴ ὀρθότητις, meer L. II. ff. 3. Obstinacy of Mind) ὑπὸ μανίας μὴ δύναται τις εἶτω διατεθῆναι, ἢ ὑπὸ ἔθους οἱ γαλιλαῖοι, ὑπὸ λόγου ἢ ἢ ἀποδείξεως εἰς εἰς δύναται μαθεῖν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πάντα πεποίηκε τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ κόσμον. Can some be so affected out of Madness, and the Galileans out of Custom? and can none attain thereunto by Reason and true Knowledge, namely because God made all things in the World, and the whole World it self Perfect and Unhinderable; but the parts thereof, for the use of the Whole, so that the Parts ought therefore to yield and give place to the whole. Thus does he again elsewhere demand, ἢ ἥλιον τίς πέποικε, καρπὸς δὲ τίς, &c. Who made the Sun? Who the Fruits of the Earth? Who the Seasons of the Year? Who the agreeable Fitness of things? Wherefore thou having received all from another, even thy very self, dost thou murmur and complain against the Donor of them, if he take away any one thing from thee? Did he not bring thee into the World? shew thee the Light? bestow Sense and Reason upon thee? Now the Sun was the chief of the Inferiour Stoical Gods, and therefore he being made by another, all the Rest of their Gods must needs be so too. And thus is it plainly expressed in this following Citation, εἰ τις τῶν δόγματι τῷ τῶ συμ- L. I. c. 3. παθεῖσαι κατ' ἀξίαν δύναται, ὅτι γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ πάντες προσημασμένους, ἢ ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ ἔστι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ τῶν θεῶν, εἰδὲν ἀληθινῶς, εἰδὲν ταπεινὸν εἰδυμηνώσεται ὅτι ἐαυτῶν. If any one could be thoroughly sensible of this that we are all made by God, and that as Principal Parts of the World. and that God is the Father both of Men and Gods, he would never think meanly of himself, knowing that he is the Son of *Jupiter* also. Where θεὸς is plainly put for the Supreme God, and θεοὶ for the Inferiour Gods only. Again he thus attributes the Making of Man and Government of the whole World to God or *Jupiter* only. ὁ θεὸς πάν-

- L.3.c.24. τας ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὸ δὴ δαιμονεῖν ἐποίησε, &c. τὴν ἢ ἐξίαν τῆ ἀγαθῆ καὶ τῆ κακῆ, ὡς πατὴρ ἄξιον ἢ κηδόμενον ἡμῶν, καὶ πατρικῶς περιεσόμενον ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις.  
*God made all men to this End, that they might be happy, and as became him who had a Fatherly care of us, he placed our Good and Evil in those things which are in our own power. And τὰς ὄντι κακῶς διοικεῖται τὰ δὲ λα, εἰ μὴ ἐπιμελεῖται ὁ Ζεὺς τῆς ἑαυτῆς πολιτείας, ἵν' ᾧσαν ὅμοιοι αὐτὰς δαιμόνες, Things would not be well governed, if Jupiter took no care of his own Citizens, that they also might be happy like himself.*

And that these Stoicks did indeed Religiously Worship and Honour, the Supreme God above all their other Gods, may appear from sundry Instances. As first, from their acknowledging him to be the Sovereign Legislator, and professing Subjection and Obedience to his Laws, accounting this to be their Greatest Liberty. Thus *Epicetus*, εἰς ἐμὲ ἐδ' εἰς ἐξουσίαν ἔχει, ἡλδὲ δέρωμαι ὑπὸ τῆ θεῆς, ἔγνωκα αὐτῆς τὰς ἐντολάς, ἐπέτι ἐδ' εἰς δεσποσύνην Ζεὺς με δύναται. *No man hath power over me, I am made free by God (by becoming his Subject) I know his Commandments, and no man can bring me under bondage to himself.* And again, ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύων θέλω δύρεθῆναι, ἵν' εἰπῆν δύναμαι τὰς θεῶν, μήτι παρέβην Ζεὺς τὰς ἐντολάς; &c. *These things, would I be found employing myself about, that I may be able to say to God; Have I transgressed any of thy Commandments? have I used my Faculties and Anticipations (or Common Notions) otherwise than thou requiredst?*

Again from their acknowledging Him to be the Supreme Governour of the whole World, and the Orderer of all things in it by his Fate and Providence, and their professing to submit their Wills to his Will in every thing; *Epicetus* somewhere thus bespeaks the Supreme God, μήτι ἐμεμφάμιω Ζεὺς τὴν διοίκησιν; ἐνόησα ὅτι ἐδέλιπας, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ἔπειθ' ἐγενόμην Ζεὺς θεοῦ ἀλλὰ χαίρων ἐν ἡμέρα, ὅτι σὺ ἐκὼν ἡδέλιπας, ἐδεπότ' ἐπιθύμησα ἀρχῆς. μήτι με τότε ἔνεκα εὐγνώστερον εἶδες; μὴ ἔ προσήλθόν σοι φιλῶν τὰ προσώπων, ἔτοιμ' εἶπι ἐπιτάσσας, εἶπι σημαίνεις; νῦν με θέλεις ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆ πανηγύρεως; ἀπειμ' ἔχειν σοι ἔχω πᾶσαν, ὅτι ἡξίωσάς με συμπανηγυρεῖσαι σοι, καὶ ἰδεῖν ἔργα τὰ σέ, καὶ τῆ διοικήσει Ζεὺς συμπροσκαλεσθῆναι; ταῦτα με ἐνθυμέμενον, ταῦτα γεφροῖα, ταῦτα ἀναγνώσκοντα καταλάβοι ἂν θεοῦ. *Did I ever complain of thy Government? I was sick when thou wouldst have me to be, and so are others, but I was so willingly. I was poor also at thy appointment, but Rejoycing; I never bore any Magistracy or had any Dignity, because thou wouldst not have me, and I never desired it. Didst thou ever see me the more Dejected or Melancholy for this? Have I appeared before thee at any time with a Discontented Countenance? Was I not always prepared and ready for whatsoever thou requiredst? Wilt thou now have me to depart out of this Festival Solemnity? I am ready to go; and I render thee all thanks, for that thou hast honoured me so far, as to let me keep the Feast with thee, and behold thy works, and observe thy Oeconomy of the world. Let Death seize upon me no otherwise employed, than thus thinking and writing of such things.* He likewise exhorts others after this manner, τὸ λησπύσον ἀναελέφας πρὸς τὸ θεὸν εἰπῆν, ὅτι χεῶ μοι λοιπὸν εἰς ὃ ἂν θέλῃς, ὁμογενωμονῶ Ζεὺς, ἵς εἰμὶ. ἐδὲν ἐδραῖται τῆ σοι δοκούντων, ὅπως θέλεις ἄγε, ὡς θέλῃς εἰδήτα ἐδιδες, ἀρχεῖν με θέλεις, ἰδωτὸ εἶναι, μολῶν, φάσγειν,

L.2.c.16.

φάλογεν, πένεσθαι, πλεστέιν; ἐγὼ σοι ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολογίσομαι, δέξω τι ἑκάστου φύσιν οἷα ἔστιν. *Dare to lift up thine eyes to God and say, Use me hereafter to whatsoever thou pleasest. I agree and am of the same mind with thee, indifferent to all things. I refuse nothing that shall seem good to thee. Lead me whither thou pleasest. Let me act what part thou wilt, either of a Publick or Private person, of a Rich man or a Begger. I will apologize for thee as to all these things before men. And I will also shew the Nature of every one of them.*

The same is likewise manifest from their Pretensions to look to God, and referr all to him; expecting aid and assistance from him, and placing their Confidence in him. Thus also Epictetus, *καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ταύτῳ ἐπιβολῶ ἀποτελέσαι ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρους, ἀυδαίμονιστας, εἰς τὸ θεὸν ἀφορῶντας, ἐν παντί μικρῶ ἢ μεγάλῳ. My design is this, to render you free and undisturbed, always looking at God, as well in every small, as greater Matter.* Again the same Stoick concludes, *ἐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως ἐκβαλεῖν λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, &c. εἰ μὴ πρὸς μόνον τὸ θεὸν ἀποβλέποντα, ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ προσπεπονθότα, τοῖς ἐκείνου περὶ τὰ γὰρ κατὰ νόμον. A man will never be able otherwise to expel Grief, Fear, Desire, Envy, &c. than by looking to God alone, and being devoted to him, and the observance of his Commandments.* And he affirmeth of Hercules, that this great piece of Piety was so long since observed by him, *τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πατέρῳ ἐκάλε, ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνου ἀφορᾶν ἐπεραῆεν ἢ ἐπεραῆε. that as he called Jupiter, or the Supreme God, his Father, so did he whatsoever he did, looking at him.* Thus M. Antoninus speaketh of a Double Relation that we all have; One *πρὸς τὰς συμμεινίας, to those that live with us,* and another *πρὸς τῷ θεῷ αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς συμβαίνει πάντα, to that Divine Cause, from which all things happen to all.* As likewise he affirmeth *ἐκ ἀνθρώπινόν τι ἀνδρὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα συναναφορᾶς διὰ τὸ πρῶτον, That no Humane thing is well done without a Reference to God.* And he excellently exhorteth men, *ἐνὶ τέρπῳ, ἢ προσαναπαύσῃ, τὰ ἀπὸ πρῶτης κοινωνικῆς μεταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ πρῶτην κοινωνικῶ συν μνήμῃ τῆ θεῶ. To be delighted and satisfied with this one thing; in doing one action after another, tending to a Common Good, or the good of Humane Society; together with the Remembrance of God.* Lastly he declareth his own Confidence in the Supreme Deity in these words, *παρῶ τὰ διοικῶντι, I trust and rely upon the Governour of the whole World.*

This may be concluded also from their *Thanking the One Supreme God for all,* as the Authour of all good, and delightfully Celebrating his Praises. Epictetus declares it to be the Duty of a Good man, *χεῖν ἔχειν ὑπὲρ πάντων τὰ θεῶ, To thank God for all things.* And elsewhere he speaketh thus, *εἰ γὰρ ἔχομεν, ἄλλο τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν, ἢ κοινῇ ἢ ἰδίᾳ, ἢ ὑμνεῖν τὸ θεῖον, καὶ δὴναι, καὶ ἐπεξέρχεσθαι τὰς χάριτας; ἐκ ἔδει καὶ σκαπῶντας, καὶ ἀρδύτας, καὶ ἐδουῖτας, ἄδειν τὸν ὕμνον τὸν εἰς τὸν θεὸν; μέγας ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἡμῖν παρέχεν ὄργανα ταῦτα, δι' ὧν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐργασόμεθα. μέγας ὁ θεὸς ὅτι χεῖρας ἔδωκεν, &c. ὅτι αὐξέσθαι λεληθότως, ὅτι καθύδουτας ἀναπαύειν. ταῦτα ἐφ' ἑκάστου δὴναι ἔδει, ἢ τὸ μέγιστον ἢ θειότατον ὕμνον ἐφύμνεῖν, ὅτι τὴν δύναμιν ἔδωκε τὴν ἀδρακολεσθῆναι τῶν τῶν. τί ἐν; &c. εἰ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὕμνον, ἐπίσθαι τὰ ἀνδρῶν, εἰ κύνων, τὰ τῶ κύνων, νῦν ἢ λογικὸς εἰμι, ὑμνεῖν με δεῖ τὸ θεὸν. Had we understanding, what should we do else, but both Publickly*

publickly and privately praise God, bless him, and return thanks to him; Ought not they who dig, plow, and eat, continually sing such a Hymn to God as this; Great is that God, who gave us these Organs to cultivate the earth withal; Great is that God who gave us hands, &c. who enabled us to grow undiscernibly, to breath in our sleep. But the Greatest and Divinest Hymn of all is this, to praise God for the Faculty of Understanding all these things. What then if for the most part men be blinded, ought there not to be some One, who should perform this office, and sing a Hymn to God for all? If I were a Nightingale I would perform the office of a Nightingale, or a Swan, that of a Swan; but now being a Reasonable Creature, I ought to celebrate and sing aloud the praises of God, that is, of the Supreme Deity.

L. 2. c. 18.

Lastly the same is evident; from their *Invoking the Supreme God* as such, addressing their Devotions to him alone without the *Conjunction* of any other Gods; and particularly imploring his *Assistance* against the Assaults of *Temptations*, called by them *Phancies*. To this purpose is that of *Epictetus*, μέγας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔστι, θεῖον τὸ ἔργον, ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, τῷ θεῷ μέμνησο, ἑκείνου ἑπιτακῆς βοηθὸν καὶ ἡγοσάτω, ὡς τῶς Διοκρούς ἐν χειμῶνι οἱ πλείοντες. This is a great *Conflict* or *Contention*, a *Divine Enterprize*, it is for *Liberty* and for a *Kingdom*. Now remember the *Supreme God*; call upon him as thy *Helper* and *Assistant*, as the *Mariners* do upon *Castor* and *Pollux* in a *Tempest*. He commends also this *Form of Devotional Address*, or *Divine Ejaculation*, which was part of *Cleanthes* his *Litany*, to be used frequently upon occasion, ἄγε δὲ με εἰς Ζεῦ, καὶ σὺ ἡ πεπραμένη ὄποι ποθ' (ὕμιν) εἰμι διατεταγμένη, ὡς ἔφομαι γε ἄκονθ'. ἢν ἢ γε μὴ θελω, ἔδεν ἢ ἦτον ἔφομαι. Lead me, O *Jupiter*, and *Thou Fate*, whithersoever I am by you destin'd: and I will readily and chearfully follow; who though I were never so reluctant yet must needs follow. Where *Jupiter* and *Fate* are really but one and the same *Supreme Deity*, under two several *Names*. And therefore the Sence of this *Devotional Ejaculation*, was no less truly and faithfully, than *Elegantly* thus rendered by *Seneca*;

Ep. 106.

*Duc me Parens, Celsique Dominator Poli,  
Quocunque placuit, nulla parendi est mora,  
Assum impiger; fac nolle, comitabor Gemens,  
Malusque patiar, quod pati licuit bono.*

But because many are so extremely unwilling to believe, that the Pagans ever made any *Religious Address* to the *Supreme God* as such; we shall here set down an *Excellent* and *Devout Hymn* of the same *Cleanthes* to him: the rather because it hath been but little taken notice of. And the more to gratifie the Reader, we shall subjoyne an *Elegant Translation* thereof into *Latin Verse*; which he must owe to the *Muse* of my *Learned Friend Dr. Duport*.

Steph. Poes.  
Philos. p. 49.

Κύδης' ἀθανάτων, πολυάνυμμε, παγκρατὲς αἰεὶ,  
Ζεὺς, φύσεως ἀρχηγέ, νόμος μετὰ πάντα κωβερνῶν,  
καῖρε. Σὲ γὰρ πάντα θεῖμος θνητοῖσι προσαυδῶν.

EK

Ἐν ᾧ γὰρ γένετο ἑσμεν, ἢ ἢ μίμημα λαχόντες  
 μένον, ὅσα ζῶει τε καὶ ἔρπει θνήτ' ἐπὶ γαίαν.  
 Τῷ σε καθυμνήσω καὶ σὸν κρείττω αἰὲν αἰέσω.  
 Σοὶ δ' ἢ πᾶσι ὅδε κέλευθον ἑλισσόμενοι καὶ γαίαν  
 πέδεται, ἢ κεν ἀγῆς, καὶ ἐκὼν ὑπὸ σείο κρατεῖται.  
 τοῖον ἔχεις ὑπερῆχον ἀνικητοῖς ὑπὸ χερσίν  
 Ἀμφίκη πυρρῆνα, ἀειζῶντα κεραιόν.  
 τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ πλήγῃς φύσεως πάντ' ἐρρίχασι,  
 ὦ σὺ κατὰ θύεις κοινὸν λόγον, ὅς διὰ πάντων  
 φοιτᾷ μινύμενοι.  
 ὅς τῶν γε γαῶν ὑπᾶν βασιλεύς διὰ παντός.  
 οὐδέ τι γίνεσθαι ἔργον ἐπὶ χθονὶ ᾧ δὴ δάμασ,  
 οὔτε κατ' αἰθέριον θεῖον πόλον, ἔτ' ἐπὶ πόντῳ,  
 Πλῶ ὅπῃσιν ῥέζεις κακοὶ σφετέρῃσιν ἀνοίαις.  
 Καὶ κοσμεῖς τὰ ἄκοσμα καὶ ἔ φίλα σοὶ φίλα ἔστιν.  
 ὦ δε γὰρ εἰς ἐν πάντα συνήρμοκας ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν,  
 ὦσθ' ἕνα γίνεσθαι πόντων λόγον αἰὲν ἔόντων.  
 ὄν φέροντες ἔωσιν ὅσοι θνήτῳ κακοὶ εἰσιν,  
 Δύσμορσι, ὅπ' ἀγαθῶν μὲν αἰεὶ κήσιν ποθέοντες,  
 οὔτ' ἐσυρᾶσι θεῶν κοινὸν νόμον, ἔτε κλύσιν.  
 ὦ κεν παρθόμενοι σὺν νῶ βίον ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιεν.  
 αὐτοὶ δ' αὖ ὀρμῶσιν ἀνδρὶ καλῷ ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοι  
 οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ δόξης σπαδῶ δύσερον ἔχοντες,  
 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κερδούνας τετραμμένοι ἔδειν κόσμῳ,  
 Ἄλλοι δ' εἰς ἀνεσιν, καὶ σώματ' ἠδὲ ἔργα,  
 Ἄλλὰ ζῶντων πάντων, κελαινεφῆς, ἀρχαίεραυνε,  
 Ἀνθρώπων ῥύς ἀπὸ φεσύνης ἀπὸ λυγρῆς,  
 Ἦν σὺ πότερ σκέδασον ψυχῆς ἀπὸ, δὸς δ' ἢ κρηῖσται  
 Γνώμης, ἢ πῶσιν σὺ δίκης μετὰ πάντα κωβερνάς;  
 Ὄφρ' ἂν τιμωθέντες ἀμειβόμεθα σε τιμῇ,  
 Ἦμῶντες τὰ σὰ ἔργα δινεκῆς, ὡς ἐπέοικε  
 θνητῶν ἔόντα· ἐπεὶ ἔτε βροτοῖς γέρας ἄλλοτε μᾶζόν,  
 οὔτε θεοῖς, ἢ κοινὸν αἰεὶ νόμον ἐν δίκῃ ὑμνῆν.

Magne Pater Divem, cui Nomina Multa, sed Una  
 Omnipotens semper Virtus, Tu Jupiter Autor  
 Naturæ, certâ qui singula lege gubernas!  
 Rex salve. Te nempe licet Mortalibus agris  
 Cunctis compellare; omnes tua namque propago  
 Nos sumus, æternæ quasi Imago vocis & Echo  
 Tantum, quotquot humi spirantes repimus; Ergo  
 Te cantabo, tuum & robur sine fine celebrans.  
 Quippe tuo hic totus, terram qui circuit, orbis  
 Paret (quoquo agis) imperio, ac obtemperat ultrò  
 Invidtis Telum manibus tibi tale ministrum,  
 Anceps, ignitum, haud moriturum denique fulmen.  
 Idem etenim illius tota & natura tremiscit;  
 Illo & Communem Rationem dirigis, & que  
 Mundi agitat Molem, magno se corpore miscens:  
 Tantus Tu rerum Dominus, Rectorque Supremus.  
 Nec sine Te factum in terris, Deus, aut opus ullum;

Æthere



*Æthere nec dio fit, nec per cæcula ponti,  
 Errore acta suo, nisi quæ gens impia patrat.  
 Confusa in sese, Tu dirigis ordine certo;  
 Auspice Te ingratis & inest sua gratia rebus;  
 Fœlice harmonia, Tu scilicet, omnia in Unum  
 Sic Bona mixta Malis compingis, ut una resurgat  
 Cunctorum Ratio communis & usque perennans:  
 Quam refugit, spernitque hominum mens leva malorum.  
 Heu Miseri! bona qui querunt sibi semper & optant,  
 Divinam tamen hanc Communem & denique Legem,  
 Nec spectare oculis, nec fando attendere curant:  
 Cui si parerent poterant traducere vitam  
 Cum ratione & mente bonam: nunc sponte feruntur  
 In mala præcipites, trahit & sua quemque voluptas.  
 Hunc agit ambitio, laudisque immensa cupido,  
 Illum & avarities, & amor vesanus habendi,  
 Blanda libido alium, Venerisque licentia dulcis:  
 Sic aliud tendunt alii in diversa ruentes.  
 At Tu, Jupiter alme, tonans in nubibus atris,  
 Da sapere, & mentem miseris mortalibus aufer  
 Insanam, hanc Tu pelle Pater; da apprehendere posse  
 Consilium, fretus quo Tu omnia rite gubernas:  
 Nos ut honorati pariter, tibi demus honorem,  
 Perpetuis tua facta hymnis præclara canentes,  
 Ut fas est homini; nec enim mortalibus ullum,  
 Nec Superis, majus poterit contingere donum,  
 Quam canere eterno Communem carmine Legem.*

XXVI. It would be endless now to cite all the Testimonies of other Philosophers and Pagan Writers of Latter Times, concerning One Supreme and Universal Numen. Wherefore we shall content our selves only to instance in some of the most remarkable, beginning with *M. Tull. Cicero*. Whom though some would suspect to have been a *Sceptick* as to *Theism*, because in his *De Natura Deorum*, he brings in *Cotta* the *Academick*, as well opposing *Q. Lucil. Balbus* the *Stoick*, as *C. Velleius* the *Epicurean*; yet from sundry other places of his writings, it sufficiently appears, that he was a *Dogmatick* and *Hearty Theist*, as for example, this in his second Book *De Divin. Esse præstantem aliquam, Æternamque naturam, & eam suspiciendam admirandamque hominum generi, Pulchritudo Mundi, ordoque rerum Cælestium cogit confiteri*; That there is some Most Excellent and Eternal Nature, which is to be admired and honoured by mankind, the Pulchritude of the World, and the order of the Heavenly Bodies compell us to confess. And this in his Oration *De Haruspicum responsis*; *Quis est tam vecors, qui cum suspexerit in Cælum, Deos esse non sentiat, & ea quæ tanta Mente sunt, ut vix quisquam Arte ulla, Ordinem rerum ac Vicissitudinem persequi possit, casu fieri putet?* Who is so mad or stupid, as when he looks up to Heaven, is not presently convinced that there are Gods? or can persuade himself, that those things which are made with so much Mind and Wisdom, as that no humane skill is able to reach and comprehend the artifice and contrivance of them, did all happen by chance? To which purpose

pose more places will be afterwards cited. However in his Philosophick Writings, it is certain that he affected to follow the way of the New Academy, set on foot by *Carneades*, that is, to write Sceptically, partly upon Prudential accounts, and partly for other Reasons intimated by himself in these words, *Qui requirunt quid quaque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt quam necesse est. Non enim tam Authoritatis in disputando quam Rationis momenta querenda sunt. Quinetiam obest plerumque iis qui discere volunt, Auctoritas eorum qui se docere profitentur. Desinunt enim suum iudicium adhibere, idque habent ratum, quod ab eo quem probant, iudicatum vident*: They who would needs know, what we our selves think concerning every thing, are more curious than they ought, because Philosophy is not so much a matter of Authority as of Reason; and the Authority of those who profess to teach, is oftentimes an hindrance to the Learners, they neglecting by that means to use their own Judgment, securely taking that for granted, which is judged by another whom they value. Nevertheless Cicero in the Close of this discourse *De Natura Deorum* (as *St. Austin* also observes) plainly declares himself to be more propense and inclinable to the Doctrine of *Balbus* than either that of *Velleius* or *Cotta*, that is, though he did not assent to the Stoical Doctrine or Theology in every Point (himself being rather a Platonist than a Stoick) yet he did much prefer it before not only the Epicureism of *Velleius*, but also the Scepticism of *Cotta*. Wherefore *Augustinus Steuchus* and other Learned men, quarrel with sundry passages of Cicero's upon another account, not as Atheistical, but as seeming to favour a Multitude of Independent Gods; he sometimes attributing not only the Government of the World, and the making of Mankind, but also the first Constitution and Fabrick of the whole World, to Gods Plurally. As when he writeth thus, *Ut perpetuus Mundi esset ornatus, magna adhibita cura est à Providentia Deorum*; For the perpetual adorning of the World, great care hath been taken, by the Providence of the Gods: And *A Diis Immortalibus Hominibus provisum esse, &c.* That the Immortal Gods have provided for the Convenience of Mankind, appears from the very Fabrick and Figure of them: And that place before cited, *Dico igitur Providentia Deorum, Mundum & omnes Mundi partes initio constitutas esse*, I say that the World and all its parts were at first constituted by the Providence of the Gods. And Lastly, where he states the Controversie of that Book *De N. D.* thus; *Utrum Dii nihil agant, nihil moliantur? An contra à His, & à Principio Omnia facta, & constituta sint, & ad infinitum tempus regantur atque moveantur?* Whether the Gods do nothing at all, but are void of care and trouble? or whether all things were at first Made and Constituted, and ever since are Moved and Governed by them? Notwithstanding which it is Evident that this Learned Orator and Philosopher, plainly acknowledged the Monarchy of the Whole, or One Supreme and Universal Numen over all. And that first from his so often using the word God in the Singular, Emphatically and by way of Eminency; as *Ipsi Deo nihil minus gratum, quam non omnibus patere ad se Placandum & Colendum viam*; Nothing can be less grateful to God himself, than that there should not be a liberty open to all (by reason of the Costliness of Sacrifices) to worship and appease him; And *Nisi juvante Deo, ta-*

De N. D. L. 11

De N. D. 217.

P. 195. Lamb.

2 Leg. p. 335.

D. N. D. L. 2.

pro S. Ros.

P. 556. Lamb.

L. 1. p. 126.

Tusc. 2. L. 1.  
p. 126.

P. 343.

Tusc. 2. L. 1.

De Div.

les non fuerunt Curius, Fabricius, &c. Curius and Fabricius had never been such men as they were, had it not been for the Divine assistance. Again, *Commoda quibus utimur, Lucemque quâ fruimur, Spiritumque quem ducimus, à Deo nobis dari atque impertiri videmus*, We must needs acknowledge that the benefits of this life, the light which we enjoy, and the spirit which we breathe, are imparted to us from God. And to mention no more, in his Version of Plato's *Timæus*, *Deos alios in Terra, alios in Luna, alios in reliquas mundi partes spargens Deus quasi serebat*, God distributing Gods to all the parts of the World, did as it were sow some Gods in the Earth, some in the Moon, &c. Moreover by his making such descriptions of God as plainly imply his Oneness and Singularity, as in his *Orat. pro Milone*, *Est, est profectò Illa Vis; neque in his Corporibus atque in hac Imbecillitate nostrâ, inest quiddam quod vigeat & sentiat, & non inest in hoc tanto Naturæ tamque præclaro motu. Nisi fortè idcirco esse non putant, quia non apparet nec cernitur; proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem qua sapimus, qua providemus, qua hæc ipsa agimus & dicimus, videre, aut planè qualis & ubi sit, sentire possumus*: There is, there is certainly, such a divine Force in the world; neither is it reasonable to think, that in these gross and frail Bodies of ours, there should be something which hath Life, Sense and Understanding, and yet no such thing in the whole Universe; unless men will therefore conclude, that there is none, because they see it not; as if we could see our own mind (whereby we order and dispose all things and whereby we reason and speak thus) and perceive what kind of thing it is and where it is lodged. Where, as there is a strong asseveration of the Existence of a God, so is his Singularity plainly implied, in that he supposes him to be One Mind or Soul acting and governing the whole World, as our Mind doth our Body. Again in his *Tusculan Questions*, *Nec verò Deus ipse alio modo intelligi potest, nisi Mens Soluta quædam, & Libera, segregata ab omni Concretionem mortali, omnia sentiens & movens*; Neither can God himself be understood by us otherwise, than as a certain Loose and Free Mind, segregated from all mortal Concretion, which both perceives and moves all things. So again in the same Book, *Hæc igitur & alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel Effector, si hæc nata sunt ut Platoni videtur; vel si semper fuerint ut Aristoteli placet, Moderator tanti operis & muneris?* When we behold these and other wonderful works of Nature, can we at all doubt, but that there presideth over them, either One Maker of all, if they had a beginning as Plato conceiveth; or else if they always were as Aristotle supposeth, One Moderator and Governour? And in the *Third De Legibus*, *Sine Imperio nec Domus ulla, nec Civitas, nec Gens, nec Hominum universum Genus stare, nec rerum Natura omnis, nec ipse Atundus potest. Nam & hic Deo paret, & huic obediunt Maria Terreque, & hominum vita jussis supremæ legis obtemperat*: Without Government, neither any House, nor City, nor Nation, nor Mankind in general, nor the whole Nature of things, nor the World it self could subsist. For This also obeyeth God, and the Seas and Earth are subject to him, and the Life of man is disposed of, by the Commands of the Supreme Law. Elsewhere he speaks of *Dominans ille nobis Deus, qui nos vetat hinc injussu suo demigrare*, That God who rules over all Mankind and forbids them to depart hence without his leave. Of Deus, cujus numini parent

parent omnia, That God, whose Divine Power all things obey. We read also in Cicero, of *Summus* or *Supremus Deus*, the Supreme God, to whom the First making of Man is properly imputed by him; of *Summi Rectoris & Domini Numen*, The Divine Power of the Supreme Lord and Governour; of *Deus præpotens*, and *Rerum omnium præpotens* Jupiter, The most Powerful God, and Jupiter who hath power over all things; of *Princeps ille Deus, qui omnem hunc mundum regit, sicut Animus humanus id corpus cui præpositus est*, That Chief or Principal God, who governs the whole world in the same manner as a Humane Soul governeth that Body which it is set over. Wherefore as for those Passages before objected, where the Government of the World, as to the concernments of Mankind at least, is ascribed by Cicero to Gods Plurally, this was done by him and other Pagans, upon no other account but only this, because the Supreme God was not supposed by them to do all things himself immediatly in the Government of the World, but to assign certain Provinces to other Inferiour Gods, as Ministers under him, which therefore sharing in the Oeconomy of the World, were look'd upon as *Co-governours* thereof with him. Thus when *Balbus* in Cicero to excuse some seeming defects of Providence, in the Prosperities of wicked and the Adversities of good men, pretended, *Non animadvertere omnia Deos, nè Reges quidem*, That the Gods did not attend to all things, as neither do Kings, *Cotta* amongst other things replied thus; *Fac Divinam Mentem esse distentam, Cælum versantem, terram tuentem, maria moderantem, cur tam multos Deos nihil agere & cessare patitur? Cur non rebus humanis aliquos otiosos Deos præfecit, qui à te Balbe Innumerabiles explicati sunt?* Should it be granted, that the Divine Mind (or Supreme Deity) were distracted with turning round the Heavens, observing the Earth, and Governing the Seas, yet why does he let so many other Gods to do nothing at all? Or why does he not appoint some of those Idle Gods over Humane affairs, which according to *Balbus* and the Stoicks are innumerable? Again when the Immortal Gods are said by Cicero to have Provided for the convenience of Mankind in their First Constitution, this doubtless is to be understood according to the Platonick Hypothesis, that the Gods and Demons being first made, by the Supreme God, were set a work and employed by him afterward in the making of man and other mortal Animals. And lastly, as to that which hath the greatest difficulty of all in it, when the whole World is said by Cicero to have been made by the Providence of the Gods, this must needs be understood also of those Eternal Gods of Plato's, according to whose Likeness or Image the World and Man are said to have been made, that is, of the Trinity of Divine Hypostases, called by *Amelius*, Plato's Three Minds and Three Kings, and by others of the Platonists, the First and Second and Third God, and the *τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον*, and *τὸ δεύτερον αἴτιον*, &c. The First and Second Cause, &c. And it may be here observed, what we learn from *S. Cyril*, that some Pagans endeavoured to justifie this Language and Doctrine of theirs, even from the Mosaick Writings themselves, *θεοῖς ἐπέροισ ὑποστήσαντες ἢ τῆ' ὅλων φάναι θεόν, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον καθ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν* *καθ' ὁμοίωσιν*, they suspecting, that the God of the Universe being about to make man, did there bespeak the other Gods, *(τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτ' ἰδοτέοις*

Somm. Scip.  
De Leg. De  
Div.  
Somm. Scip.

De N.D.L. 3.

Contra Ful.  
L. 1.

ἢ ἐν μελοῖν ἑσσι, which were Secondary and Inferiour to him) after this manner, Let Us make man according to Our own Image and likeness. Which S. Cyril and other Christian Writers understand of the Trinity. Now those Eternal Gods of Plato, according to whose Image, the World and Man is said by him to have been made, and which (though one of them were properly called the *Demiurgus*) yet had all an Influence and Causality upon the making of it, were (as hath been already observed) not so many Independent and Self-originated Deities, but all derived from One First Principle. And therefore Cicero following Plato in this, is not to be suspected upon that account, to have been an Asserter of Many Independent Gods, or Partial Creators of the World; especially since in so many other places of his Writings, he plainly owns a Divine Monarchy.

We pass from *M. Tullius Cicero*, to *M. Terentius Varro* his Equal, a man famous for *Polymathy* or Multifarious Knowledge, and reputed unquestionably (though not the most Eloquent, yet) the most Learned of all the Romans, at least as to Antiquity. He wrote One and Forty Books concerning the Antiquities of Humane and Divine things; wherein he transcended the Roman *Pontifices* themselves, and discovered their Ignorance as to many points of their Religion. In which Books he distinguished Three Kinds of Theology, the First *Mythical* or *Fabulous*, the Second *Physical* or *Natural*, and the Last *Civil* or *Popular*: The First being most accommodate to the Theatre or Stage; the Second to the World or the Wiser men in it; the Third to Cities or the Generality of the Civilized Vulgar. Which was agreeable also to the Doctrine of *Scævola* that Learned *Pontifex*, concerning Three Sorts of Gods, *Poetical*, *Philosophical* and *Political*. As for the *Mythical* and *Poetical* Theology it was censured after this manner by *Varro*, *In eo sunt multa contra Dignitatem & Naturam immortalium ficta. In hoc enim est ut Deus alius ex capite, alius ex femore sit, alius ex guttis sanguinis natus. In hoc ut Dii furati sint, ut adulteraverint, ut servierint homini. Denique in hoc omnia Diis attribuuntur, quæ non modo in hominem, sed etiam in contemptissimum hominem cadere possunt: That, according to the Literal Sence, it contained many things contrary to the Dignity and Nature of Immortal Beings. The Genealogy of one God being derived from the Head, of another from the Thigh, of another from drops of Blood: Some being represented as Thieves, others as Adulterers, &c. and all things attributed to the Gods therein that are not only incident to men, but even to the most contemptible and flagitious of them. And as for the Second, the Natural Theology which is the True, this *Varro* conceived to be above the capacity of Vulgar Citizens, and that therefore it was expedient, there should be another Theology calculated, more accommodate for them, and of a middle kind betwixt the Natural and the Fabulous, which is that which is called *Civil*. For he affirmed, *Multa esse vera quæ vulgo scire non sit utile, & quedam quæ tametsi falsa sint, aliter existimare populum expediat; that there were many things true in Religion, which it was not convenient for the Vulgar to know; and again some things which though false, yet it was expedient they should be believed by them. As Scævola the Roman Pontifex in like manner, would not have the Vulgar to know, that**

*Aug. de Civ.  
D. L. 6. c. 5.*

*Aug. Civ. D.  
L. 4. c. 31.*

that the True God had neither Sex, nor Age, nor Bodily Members. *Expedire igitur existimat* (saith St. Austin of him) *falli in Religione* Civ. D. L. 4.  
*Civitates, quod dicere etiam in Libris Rerum Divinarum, ipse Varro* c. 27.  
*non dubitat, Scævola therefore judgeth it expedient that Cities should*  
*be deceived in their Religion; which also Varro himself doubteth not*  
*to affirm in his Books of Divine Things. Wherefore this Varro though*  
*disapproving the Fabulous Theology, yet out of a pious design as*  
*he conceived, did he endeavour to assert as much as he could, the*  
*Civil Theology, then received amongst the Romans, and to vindicate*  
*the same from Contempt: yet nevertheless so, as that, Si eam Civi-* Civ. D. L. 4.  
*tatem novam constitueret, ex Naturæ potius Formulâ, Deos & Deorum* c. 31.  
*nomina se fuisse dedicaturum, non dubitet confiteri; If he were to consti-*  
*tute a New Rome himself, he doubts not to confess, but that he would dedi-*  
*cate Gods and the Names of Gods after another manner, more agreeably*  
*to the Form of Nature or Natural Theology. Now what Varro's own*  
*fence was concerning God, he freely declared in those Books of Di-*  
*vine Things; namely, That he was the Great Soul and Mind of the*  
*whole World: Thus St. Austin, Hi soli Varroni videntur animadver-* Civ. D. L. 4. c. 5.  
*tisse quid esset Deus, qui crediderunt cum esse Animam, Motu ac Rati-*  
*one mundum gubernantem: These alone seem to Varro to have under-*  
*stood what God is, who believed him to be a Soul, governing the whole*  
*World by Motion and Reason. So that Varro plainly asserted One Su-*  
*preme and Universal Numen, he erring only in this (as St. Austin con-*  
*ceives) that he called him A Soul, and not the Creator of Soul, or a*  
*Pure and Abstract Mind. But as Varro acknowledged One Universal*  
*Numen, the Whole Animated World, or rather the Soul thereof, which*  
*also he affirmed to be called by several Names, as in the Earth Tellus,*  
*in the Sea Neptune, and the like; so did he also admit (together with*  
*the rest of the Pagans) other Particular Gods, which were to him*  
*nothing but Parts of the World Animated with Souls Superiour to*  
*men; A summo Circuitu cæli, usque ad Circulum Lunæ, æthereas Ani-* Civ. D. L. 7. c. 6.  
*mas esse Astra ac Stellâs, eosque cælestes Deos, non modo intelligi esse*  
*sed etiam videri: Inter Lunæ verò gyrum & nimborum Cacumina Ae-*  
*reas esse Animas, sed eas animo non oculis videri; & vocari Heroes &*  
*Lares & Genios: That from the highest Circuit of the heavens to the*  
*Sphere of the Moon, there are Ethereal Souls or Animals, the Stars,*  
*which are not only understood but also seen to be Celestial Gods: And*  
*between the Sphere of the Moon and the Middle Region of the Air, there are*  
*Aereal Souls or Animals, which though not seen by our Eyes, yet are dis-*  
*covered by our Mind and called Heroes, Lares, and Genii. So that*  
*according to Varro the only True Natural Gods, were as himself also*  
*determined, Anima Mundi, ac Partes ejus, First the great Soul and*  
*Mind of the whole world which comprehendeth all; and secondly*  
*the Parts of the World Animated superiour to men. Which Gods*  
*also he affirmed to be worshipped Castius more purely, and chastly*  
*without Images, as they were by the first Romans for one hundred*  
*and seventy years: he concluding, qui primi simulachra Deorum po-* De Civ. D. L.  
*puli posuerunt, eos civitatibus suis & metum dempsisse & errorem ad-* 4. c. 31.  
*didisse: prudenter existimans (saith St. Austin) Deos facile posse in Si-*  
*mulachrorum stoliditate contemni: That those Nations who first set up*  
*Images of the Gods, did both take away Fear from their Cities and add*

Errour

Errour to them: he wisely Judging, that the Foppery of Images, would easily render their Gods contemptible.

*L. Annæus Seneca* the Philosopher, was contemporary with our Saviour Christ and his Apostles, who, though frequently acknowledging a *Plurality of Gods*, did nevertheless plainly assert *One Supreme*, he not only speaking of him *singularly*, and by way of *Eminency*, but also plainly describing him as such; as when he calls him, *Formatorem Universi; Rectorem & Arbitrum & Custodem Mundi; Ex quo suspensa sunt omnia; Animum ac Spiritum Universi; Mundani hujus operis Dominum & Artificem; Cui nomen omne convenit; Ex quo nata sunt omnia; Cujus Spiritu vivimus; Totum suis partibus inditum, & se sustententem sua vi; Cujus Consilio huic mundo providetur, ut inconcussus eat, & actus suos explicet; Cujus Decreto omnia sunt; Divinum Spiritum per omnia maxima & minima equali intentione diffusum; Deum potentem omnium; Deum illum maximum potentissimumque, qui ipse vehit omnia; Qui ubique & omnibus præsto est; Cæli & Deorum omnium Deum, a quo ista Numina quæ singula adoramus & colimus, suspensa sunt; and the like: The Framer and Former of the Universe; the Governour, Disposer and keeper thereof; Him upon whom all things depend; The Mind and Spirit of the World; The Artificer and Lord of this whole Mundane Fabrick; To whom every name belongeth; From whom all things spring; By whose Spirit we live; Who is in all his parts and sustenteth himself by his own force; By whose Counsel the World is provided for, and carried on in its Course constantly and uninterruptedly; By whose Decree all things are done; The Divine Spirit that is diffused through all things both great and small with equal Intention; The God whose power extends to all things; The Greatest and most Powerful God who doth himself support and uphold all things; Who is present every where to all things; The God of Heaven and of all the Gods, upon whom are suspended all those other Divine Powers, which we singly worship and adore.*

Moreover we may here observe from *St. Austin*, that this *Seneca* in a Book of his, against Superstitions (that is now lost) did not only Highly extol the *Natural Theology*, but also plainly censure and condemn the *Civil Theology* then received amongst the Romans, and that with more Freedom and Vehemency, than *Varro* had done the *Fabulous* or *Theatrical* and *Poetical Theology*. Concerning a great part whereof he pronounced, that a wise man would observe such things, *tanquam Legibus jussa, non tanquam Diis grata, only as commanded by the Laws* (he therein exercising *Civil Obedience*) but not at all, as *Grateful to the Gods*.

*M. Fabius Quintilianus*, though no admirer of *Seneca*, yet fully agreed with him in the same *Natural Theology*, and sets down this, as the generally received Notion or Definition of God, *Deum esse Spiritum omnibus partibus immistum, That God is a Spirit mingled with and diffused through all the parts of the World*; he from thence inferring *Epicurus* to be an Atheist, notwithstanding that he verbally asserted Gods, because he denied a God according to this Generally received Notion, he bestowing upon his Gods a circumscribed humane form, and placing them between the Worlds. And the Junior *Pliny* though

Nat. Q. L. 2.  
c. 45.

P. 442. Lips.

Civ. D. L. 6.  
c. 10.

L. 7. c. 3.

though he were a Persecutor of the Christians, he concluding, *quale- Ip. 97.*  
*cunque esset quod faterentur, pervicaciam certè & inflexibilem obstina-*  
*tionem debere puniri, that whatsoever their Religion were, yet notwith-*  
*standing their Stubbornness and Inflexible Obstinacy ought to be punish-*  
*ed, and who compelled many of them to worship the Images of the*  
*Emperour, and to sacrifice and pray to the Statues of the Pagan*  
*Gods, and lastly to blaspheme Christ; yet himself plainly acknow-*  
*ledged also One Supreme Universal Numen, as may sufficiently ap-*  
*pear from his Panegyrick Oration to Trajan, where he is called*  
*Deus ille, qui manifestus ac præsens Cælum ac Sydera insidet; that*  
*God who is present with, and inhabits the whole Heaven and Stars\*;*  
*himself making a Solemn Prayer and Supplication to him, both in the*  
*beginning and close thereof, and sometimes speaking of him therein*  
*Singularly and in way of Eminency; as in these words, Occultat u-*  
*trorumque Semina Deus, & plerumque Bonorum Malorumq; Cause, sub*  
*diversâ specie latent: God hideth the Seeds of good and evil, so that*  
*the causes of each often appear disguised to men. L. Apuleius also, whose*  
*pretended Miracles the Pagans endeavoured to confirm their Reli-*  
*gion by, as well as they did by those of Apollonius, doth in sundry*  
*places of his writings, plainly assert One Supreme and Universal Nu-*  
*men, we shall only here set down one, Cum Summus Deorum, cuncta hæc*  
*non solum cogitationum ratione consideret; sed Prima, Media, & Ulti-*  
*ma obeat; compertaque intimæ Providentiæ ordinationis universitatè*  
*& Constantia regat; Since the Highest of the Gods, does not only con-*  
*sider all these things in his mind and Cogitation, but also pass through*  
*and comprehend within himself the Beginning Middle and End of all*  
*things, and constantly Govern all by his occult Providence. Lastly Sym-*  
*machus, who was a zealous Stickler for the Restitution of Paganism,*  
*declared the Pagans to worship One and the same God with the*  
*Christians, but in several ways, he conceiving, that there was no*  
*necessity God should be worshipped by all after the same manner.*  
*Æquum est, quicquid omnes colunt, UNUM putari: Eadem spectamus P. 306.*  
*Astra; Commune Cælum est; Idem nos Mundus involvit: Quid inter-*  
*est, qua quisque prudentia Verum requirat? Uno Itinere non potest per-*  
*veniri ad tam grande Secretum: We ought in reason to think, that it*  
*is One and the same Thing, which all men worship: As we all behold the*  
*same Stars, have the same Common Heaven, and are involved within*  
*the same World: Why may not men pursue One and the same thing in*  
*different ways? One Path is not enough to lead men to so Grand a Secret.*  
*The Sence whereof is thus elegantly expressed by Prudentius.*

\*And Mundi  
 Parens, and  
 Parens Homi-  
 num Deorum.  
 que.

De Philos.  
 P. 278. Colo.

*Uno omnes sub sole siti, vegetamur eodem*  
*Aere, Communis cunctis viventibus Aura.*  
*Sed quid sit qualisque Deus, diversa secuti*  
*Querimus; atque Viis longè distantibus Unum*  
*Imus ad Occultum; suus est mos cuique genti,*  
*Per quod iter properans, eat ad tam Grande Profundum.*

P. 285;

And again afterward,

P. 308.

*Secretum sed grande nequit Rationis operta*

*Queri*



*Quæri aliter, quàm si sparsis via multiplicetur  
Tramitibus, & centenos terat orbita calles,  
Quæstura Deum variata indage latentem.*

And the beginning of *Prudentius* his Confutation is this,

*Longè aliud verum est. Nam multa ambago viarum  
Anfractus dubios habet, & perplexius errat.  
Sola errore caret simplex via, nescia flecti  
In diverticulum, bivii nec pluribus anceps, &c.*

We shall now instance also in some of the *Latter Greek Writers*. Though the Author of the Book *De Mundo*, were not *Aristotle*, yet that he was a Pagan, plainly appears from some passages thereof, as where he approves of *Sacrificing to the Gods*, and of *Worshipping Heroes and Dead men*; as also because *Apuleius* would not otherwise have translated so much of that book, and incorporated it into his *De Mundo*. He therefore does not only commend this of *Heracitus*, ἐκ πάντων ἐν, καὶ ἕξ ἑνὸς πάντα, That there is one Harmonious System made out of all things, and that All things are derived from One; But doth himself also write excellently, concerning the Supreme God, whom he calleth τὴν ἑστῶσαν συνεχῆ καὶ ἀπείρονα αἰτίαν, the Cause which containeth all things, and τὸ τῆς κόσμου κρείττατον, The Best and Most excellent part of the World; he beginning after this manner; ἀρχαῖοι μὲν ἐν τῆς λόγου καὶ πάτερτος ἔστι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ θεῶν τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ θεῶν ἡμῶν συνέστηκε. ἑδεμῖα δὲ φύσις, αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτῶν αὐτάρχη, ἐρημαθῆσα ἢ ἐκ τέρας σωτηρίας, It is an ancient Opinion or Tradition, that hath been conveyed down to all men from their Progenitors, that all things are from God, and consist by him; and that no Nature is sufficient to preserve it self, if left alone, and devoid of the Divine assistance and influence. Where we may observe, that the *Apuleian Latin Version*, altering the sense, renders the words thus, *Vetus opinio est, atq; in cogitationes omnium hominum penitus incidit, Deum esse: Originis non habere auctorem: Deumque esse salutem & perseverantiam Earum, quas effecerit, rerum*: So that whereas, in the Original Greek, This is said to be the general Opinion of all mankind, That all things are from God and subsist by him, and that nothing at all can conserve it self in being without him, *Apuleius* correcting the words, makes the general sense of mankind to run no higher than this; That there is a God; who hath no author of his original; and who is the safety and preservation of all those things that were made by himself. From whence it may be probably concluded, that *Apuleius*, who is said to have been of *Plutarch's* Progeny, was infected also with those Paradoxical Opinions of *Plutarch's*, and consequently did suppose, All things not to have been made by God, nor to have depended on him (as the Writer *De Mundo* affirmeth) but that there was something besides God, as namely the Matter and an Evil Principle, Uncreated and Self-existent. Afterwards the same Writer *De Mundo*, elegantly illustrates by Similitudes, how God by One Simple Motion and Energy of his own, without any labour or toil, doth produce and govern all the Variety of Motions in the Universe; and how he doth συνέχειν τὴν ἑστῶσαν

c. 6.

τῶν ὅλων ἀρμονίαν τε καὶ σωτηρίαν, *contain the Harmony and Safety of the Whole.* And lastly he concludes, ὅσῳ ἐν νηὶ κυβερνήτης, ἐν ἀρματὶ καὶ ἠνίοχος, ἐν χειρὶ κυβερνήτου, ἐν πόλει νόμος, ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἡγεμὼν, τὸ θεὸς ἐν κόσμῳ, *That what a Pilot is to a ship, a Charioteer to a Chariot, the Coryphaeus to a Quire, Law to a City, and a General to an Army; the same is God to the World.* There being only this difference, that whereas the Government of some of them is toilsom and solicitous, the Divine Government and Steerage of the World, is most easie and facil: for as this Writer adds, *God being himself Immovable, Moveth all things; in the same manner as Law, in it self Immovable, by Moving the minds of the Citizens, orders and disposes all things.*

Plutarchus Charonenſis (as hath been already declared) was Unluckily engaged in Two False Opinions, The First of Matters being Ingenit or Uncreated, upon this Pretence, Because Nothing could be made out of Nothing; the Second of a Positive Substantial Evil Principle, or an Irrational Soul and Demon Self-existent, upon this Ground because τὴν κακίαν γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τῷ θεῷ πρόνοιαν, ὡς ἂν τὸ φαῦλον ἐπιγεγραμμά καὶ τὴν τῷ ποιητῷ βέλυσιν, πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν ἀποτίας ἰσχυράται. *There is no greater Absurdity imaginable, than that Evil should proceed from the Providence of God, as a Bad Epigramm from the will of the Poet.* In which respect he was before called by us a Ditheist. Plutarch was also a Worshipper of the Many Pagan Gods, himself being a Priest of the Pythian Apollo. Notwithstanding which, he unquestionably asserted One Sole Principle of All Good, the Cause of all things, (Evil and Matter only excepted) the Framer of the Whole World, and Maker of all the Gods in it; who is therefore often called by him, God, in way of Eminency, as when he affirmeth ἀεὶ γεωμετρῆσθαι τὸ θεὸν that God doth always act the Geometrician, that is, do all things in Measure and Proportion; and again πάντα καθ' ἀρμονίαν ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ κατασκευάζεσθαι, *That all things are made by God according to Harmony;* and that ὁ θεὸς ἀρμονικὸς καλεῖται καὶ μουσικὸς, *God is called a Harmonist and Musician:* And he hath these Epithets given him, ὁ μέγας θεός, *The Great God,* and ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεός, *The Highest or Uppermost God,* and ὁ πρῶτος θεός, *The First God,* and ὁ ἀγένητος θεός, *The Unmade Self-existent God;* all the other Pagan Gods, according to him, having been made in Time, together with the World. He is likewise stiled by Plutarch, πέλαγος τῆς καλῆς, *The Sea of Pulchritude:* and his Standing and Permanent Duration, without any Flux of Time, is excellently descibed by the same Writer, in his Book concerning the Delphick Inscription. Lastly Plutarch affirmeth, that men generally pray to this Supreme God, for whatsoever is not in their own power, ὅσα μὴ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ἀχόμεθα τὸ θεῷ διδόναι.

Dio Chrysostomus, a Sophist, Plutarch's Equal, though an acknowledger of Many Gods, yet nevertheless asserteth, βασιλεύει τὸ ὅλον, *P. 199.* that the whole World is under a Kingly Power or Monarchy, he calling the Supreme God, sometime, τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀρχὴ, *P. 210.* the common King of Gods and Men, their Governour, and Father, τὸ πάντων κρατῆρὶς θεός, *the God that rules over all,* τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον θεόν, *The First and Greatest God,* τὸ κυβερνήτων παρ-

P. 203.

P. 446. P. 201.

εστώτα τῶν ὅλων, καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν ἀπαντα ἔχοντων καὶ κόσμον, &c. *The chief President over all things, who orders and guides the whole Heaven and World, as a wise Pilot doth a Ship, τὸ τῶν ξύμπαντων ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντα, καὶ τὸ ὅλης διασποτῆς ἑξίας, the Ruler of the whole Heaven, and Lord of the Whole Essence; and the like. And he affirming that there is a Natural Prolepsis in the Minds of men concerning him, οὐδὲ δὲ θεῶν τὸ τε καθόλου φύσεως, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πάντων ἡγεμόνα, πρώτον μὲν καὶ ἐν πρώτοις δόξα καὶ ἐπινοία κοινῆ τῶν ξύμπαντων ἀνθρωπίνων γένους ὁμοίως μὲν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως ἢ βαρβάρων, ἀναγκαία καὶ ἐμφυῖται ἐν παντί τῶν λογικῶν γιγνομένη καὶ φύσιν, ἀνευ διδασκαλίας καὶ μισαγωγῆς. Concerning the nature of the Gods in general, but especially of that Supreme Ruler over all; there is an opinion in all humane kind, as well Barbarians as Greeks; that is naturally implanted in them as rational Beings, and not derived from any mortal Teacher. The meaning whereof is this, that men are naturally possessed with a Perswasion, that there is One God, the Supreme Governour of the whole World, and that there are also below him, but above men, Many other Intellectual Beings, which these Pagans called Gods.*

P. 402.

That Galen was no Atheist, and what his Religion was; may plainly appear from this one passage out of his third Book *De Usu Partium*, to omit many others, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως εἰ ἐπιπλέον τοῖστων μνημο- νάοιμι βροσκημάτων, οἱ σαφρονεῖτες δεῖξαι ἂν μοι μέμνησθε, καὶ μαινὴν φαίεν ἰε- ρὸν λόγον, ὃν ἐγὼ τῶν δημοσεβησάντων ἡμᾶς ὕμνον ἀληθινὸν συντίθημι, καὶ νομίζω τὸτ' εἶναι τῶν ὄντως ἀσέβων ἔχθρὸν εἰ ταύρων ἐκατόμβας αὐτῶν παμπόλλας κα- ταδύσασιν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μυσία μυσία θυμάσασιν καὶ καξίας, ἀλλ' εἰ γνοίτω μὲν αὐτὸς πρώτον, ἔπειτα ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξηγησάμενος, οἷον μὲν ὅτι τῶν σοφίαν, οἷον ἢ τῶν δυνάμιν, οἷον ἢ τῶν χρηστότητα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐθέλειν κο- σμεῖν ἀπαντα τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον κόσμον καὶ μηδενὶ φθονεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὸ τελευ- τάτης χρηστότης ἐγὼ δ' εἶγμαι τίθεμαι, ταύτη μὲν ὡς ἀγαθὸς ἡμῖν ὑμνεῖσθαι τὸ δ' ὡς ἂν μάλιστα κοσμηθῆναι, πᾶν ἐξελθεῖν, ἀνεργὸς σοφίας. τὸ ἢ καὶ δεῖσθαι παντὸς ὅσα προείλετο, δυνάμει ἀνητήτῃ. *Should I any longer insist upon such Brutish Persons as those, the wise and sober might justly condemn me, as defiling this Holy Oration, which I compose as a True Hymn to the praise of him that made us; I conceiving true Piety and Religion towards God to consist in this, not that I should sacrifice many Hecatombs, or burn much Incense to him, but that I should myself first acknowledge, and then declare to others, how great his Wisdom is, how great his Power, and how great his Goodness. For that he would adorn the whole world after this manner, envying to nothing that good which it was capable of, I conclude to be a demonstration of most absolute Goodness, and thus let him be praised by us as Good. And that he was able to find out, how all things might be adorned after the best manner, is a Sign of the Greatest Wisdom in him. And Lastly to be able to effect and bring to pass all those things which he had thus decreed, argues an insuperable Power.*

*Maximus Tyrinus* in the close of his first Dissertation, gives us this short Representation of his own Theology, βάλωμαι δὲ σοὶ δεῖξαι τὸ λεγόμενον σαφεστέρα εἶνόντι. ἐνόησεν μὲν ἄρχὴν καὶ βασιλείαν ἐξωμολόγησεν πρὸς μίαν ψυχὴν βασιλείας τὸ ἀεὶ καὶ πρῶτοντα συμπόντων νενοημένων ἐπόντων. εἶ

ερον ἢ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ ἄλλων ποταμῶν, ἔδδ' ἑλλήσποντον, ἔδδ' τὴν μακιάτην, ἔδδ' τὰς ἐπι τῶ ἀκεανῶ ἠϊόνας ἀλλὰ ἔρανον καὶ γῆν τὴν μὲν ὑπερ τῶ δ' ἔνερθεν· βασιλέα ἢ αὐτὸν δι τὴν μέραν ἀτρεμῶνα, ἄσφ νόμον παρέχοντα τοῖς πεθομῶνοις, σωτηρίαν ὑπαρχσαν αὐτῆ, καὶ κοινῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς, πολλὰς μὲν ὀρεῖας θεῶν, πολλὰς ἢ ἀφανεῖς τὰς μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα αὐτὰ εἰλεμῶνας, οἷον εἰσαγγελίας τινὰς καὶ βασιλείας συγγενεσάτας, ὁμοτραπέζας αὐτὸς καὶ συνεστῆς· τὰς ἢ τῶτων ὑπηρετας, τὰς ἢ ἐπὶ τῶτων κατὰδεεστέρας· διαδοχῶ ὀρεῖς καὶ τάξιν ἀρχῆς κατὰκαίνισαν ἐκ τῶ θεῶ μέχρι γῆς· *I will now more plainly declare my sence by this similitude. Imagine in your mind, a great and powerful Kingdom or Principality, in which all the rest freely and with one consent conspire to direct their actions, agreeably to the will and command of one Supreme King, the Oldest and the best. And then suppose the bounds and limits of this Empire, not to be the River Halys, nor the Hellespont, nor the Meotian Lake, nor the Shores of the Ocean; but Heaven above, and the Earth beneath. Here then let that great King sit Immovable, prescribing Laws to all his subjects, in which consists their safety and security: the Consorts of his Empire, being many both Visible and Invisible Gods; some of which that are nearest to him and immediately attending on him, are in the highest Royal dignity, feasting as it were at the same table with him: others again are their Ministers & Attendants; and a Third Sort, inferiour to them both. And thus you see, how the order and chain of this government descends down by steps and degrees, from the Supreme God to the Earth and Men. In which Resemblance, we have a plain acknowledgment of One Supreme God, the Monarch of the whole World, and Three subordinate ranks of Inferiour Gods, as his Ministers, in the Government of the World; whom that Writer therē also calls, θεῶν θεῶ παίδας, καὶ φίλους, Gods the Sons and Friends of God.*

*Aristides* the famous Adrianean Sophist and Orator, in his first Oration or Hymn vowed to *Jupiter*, after he had escaped a great tempest, is so full to the purpose, that nothing can be more; he after his Proeme beginning thus, *Ζῶν τὰ πάντα ἐποίησε, καὶ Διὸς ἔστιν ἔργα ὅσα ἔστι πάντα, καὶ ποταμοί, καὶ γῆ, καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ ἔρανος· καὶ ὅσα τῶτων μεταξὺ ἀνα, καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ ταῦτα· καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὅσα ψυχῶ ἔχει, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὅσα δ' εἰ νοσοῖ λαθεῖν. Ἐποίησε ἢ πρῶτον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν· ἔκρητις ἐν Διῶδεον ἄντροις τρεφείς· ἔδδ' ἐμέλλησεν αὐτὸν κρεῖνον κατὰπῆν· ἔτ' ἀντ' ἐκείνους λίθον κατέπιεν, ἔδδ' ἐκινδύνουσε Ζῶν, ἔδδ' μήποτε κινδύνουσι· ἔδδ' ἐστὶν πρεσβύτερον ἔδδ' Διὸς· ἔμᾶλλον γε ἢ ἡμεῖς τε πατέρων πρεσβύτεροι γένοιστ' ἂν, καὶ τὰ γινόμενα τῶν ποικίλων· ἀλλ' ὅδε ἔστι πρῶτον τε καὶ πρεσβυτάτος, καὶ ἀρχηγῆτις τῶν πάντων· αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτῶ γινόμενον· ὅποτε ἢ ἐξήλεο, ἐπὶ εἶναι εἰπεῖν ἀλλ' ἦντε ἄρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔσαι εἰσαι, αὐτοπάτωρ τε καὶ μέγιστος ἢ ἐξ ἄλλου γεγονέναι. Καὶ ὡσφ τῶ Ἀθινῶν ἄρα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφυσε, καὶ γῆ καὶ ἔδδ' ἐπὶ πρῶτον εἰς αὐτῶ, ἔτας ἐπὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξ αὐτῶ ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔδδ' ἐπὶ πρῶτον εἰς τὸ εἶναι· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τῶν κτιῶν πάντα εἶναι ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἠεξάτο, καὶ ἐπὶ εἶναι χεῖρον εἰπεῖν· οὔτε γδ κρεῖνον ἦν πῶ τότε ὅτε μὲν ἄλλο μὲν· δημοκρεῖν γδ ἔργον ἔδδ' ἐπὶ πρῶτον· ἔτω δὲ ἀρχὴ μὲν ἀπάντων Ζῶν καὶ ἐκ Διὸς πάντα, ἀπὸ δὲ ἂν χεῖρον τε κρεῖνον, καὶ ἔδδ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπάντων καὶ ἔδδ' αὐτὸς τε ὅμῃ καὶ ὁ κέλευθον ἦν, ἔτω ταχὺ πάντα ἐποίησε, ἐποίησε ἢ ὡδε, &c. *Jupiter made all things, and all things whatsoever exist are the works of Jupiter, Rivers, and Earth and Sea and. Heaven, and what**

How God was  
said to be Self-  
made: See p.  
405 and 406.

are between these, and Gods and Men and all Animals, whatsoever is perceivable either by sense or by the mind. But Jupiter first of all made himself; for he was not Educated in the flowery and odoriferous Caves of Crete, neither was Saturn ever about to devour him, nor instead of him did he swallow down a stone. For Jupiter was never in danger, nor will he be ever in danger of any thing. Neither is there any thing older than Jupiter, no more than there are sons older than their parents, or works than their Opificers. But he is the First and the Oldest, and the Prince of all things, he being made from himself; nor can it be declared when he was made, for he was from the beginning, and ever will be, his own Father, and greater than to have been begotten from another. As he produced Minerva from his brain and needed no wedlock in order thereunto, so before this did he produce himself from himself, needing not the help of any other thing for his being. But on the contrary, all things began to be from him, and no man can tell the time; since there was not then any time when there was nothing else besides, and no work can be older than the maker of it. Thus was Jupiter the beginning of all things and all things were from Jupiter, who is better than Time, which had its beginning together with the World. And again, *ὡς ἡ θεῶν ὅσα φύλα ἀπερρέω τ' Διὸς τῶ πάντων τὰ πρῶτος δυνάμεως ἕκαστα ἔχει, ἡ ἀτεχνῶς καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου σφραγῖν, ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ εἰς αὐτὸ διήγουται, καὶ πάντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔξῃσθαι. ἔρωτά τε ἡ ἀνάγκη δύο τότε συναγαγοτάτα ἡ ἰσχυροτάτα ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐγέννησεν, ὅπως αὐτὰ τὰ πάντα συνέχουσιν, &c. ἐπολετὸ θεὸς μὲν, ἀνθρώπων ἑπιμελιτῆς, ἀνθρώπος ἡ θεῶν θεοπροπίτης τε ἡ ὑπερέτας, &c. πάντα ἡ παῖσιν Διὸς μεσῶ, ἡ ἀπὸ πάντων θεῶν ἀεργετοί, Διὸς εἰσὶν ἕργον, &c.* All the several kinds of Gods, are but a Defluxion and Derivation from Jupiter, and according to Homer's Chain all things are connected with him and depend upon him. He amongst the first produced Love and Necessity, Two the most powerful Holders of things together, that they might make all things firmly to cohere. He made Gods to be the Curators of men, and he made men to be the Worshippers and Servers of those Gods. All things are every where full of Jupiter, and the Benefits of all the other Gods, are his work, and to be attributed to him, they being done in compliance with that order which he had prescribed them.

It is certain that all the Latter Philosophers after Christianity, whether Platonists or Peripateticks, though for the most part they asserted the Eternity of the World, yet Universally agreed in the acknowledgment of One Supreme Deity, the Cause of the whole World, and of all the other Gods. And as Numenius, Plotinus, Amelius, Porphyrius, Proclus, Damascius and others, held also a Trinity of Divine Hypostases, so had some of those Philosophers excellent Speculations concerning the Deity, as particularly Plotinus; who notwithstanding that he derived Matter and All things, from One Divine Principle, yet was a Contender for Many Gods. Thus in his Book inscribed, against the Gnosticks: *καὶ ὡς αἴρουν μὲν αὐτὸ περιεῖδαι γίνεσθαι, μὴ μόνον ἡ αὐτὸ νομίζον αἴρουν δύνασθαι γινέσθαι, ἔτω γὰρ ἔπω αἴρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἄλλας αἴρουν, ἐπὶ ἡ δαίμονας ἀγαθὸς εἶναι. πολὺ ἡ μᾶλλον θεὸς, τὸς πρὸς τὰς οὐκασ κακῆς βλέποντας. πάντων ἡ μάλιστα τ' ἡγεμόνα τῶδε τῶ πάντος, ψυχῶ μακαριωτάτω. εἰ τεύθεν ἡ ἕδη ἡ τὸς νοητὸς ὑμῶν θεὸς, ὅφ' ἀπασί ἡ ἕδη,*

En. 1. L. 9. c. 9.

τὸ μέγα καὶ ἐνὶ βασιλείᾳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλείυται μάλιστα τῆς θεῶν, τὸ μέγα αὐτῷ ἐν-  
 δεικνυμένως. οὐ γὰρ τὸ συσεῖλαι εἰς ἓν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δεῖξαι πολὺ τὸ θεῖον ὅσον ἐδεί-  
 ξεν αὐτῷ, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις θεῶν εἰδόντων, ὅταν μόνων ἕς ἕστι, πολλὰς ποιῆ, πέν-  
 τας εἰς αὐτὸ ἀνετημένως, καὶ δι' ἐκείνον καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου ὄντας· καὶ ὁ κόσμος  
 οὗτος δι' ἐκείνον ἕστι καὶ οὐκ ἐβλέπει, καὶ πᾶς, καὶ θεῶν ἕκαστος· *Every man ought*  
*to endeavour with all his might, to become as Good as may be, but yet*  
*not to think himself to be the only thing that is good, but that there are*  
*also other Good men in the World, and Good Demons, but much more*  
*Gods: who though inhabiting this inferiour world, yet look up to that*  
*superiour; and most of all, the Prince of this Universe, that most Hap-*  
*py Soul. From whence he ought to ascend yet higher, and to praise those*  
*Intelligible Gods, but above all that great King and Monarch; decla-*  
*ring his Greatness and Majesty by the Multitude of Gods which are un-*  
*der him. For this is not the part of them who know the power of God,*  
*to contract all into one, but to shew forth all that Divinity which him-*  
*self hath displayed, who remaining One makes Many depending on him;*  
*which are by him and from him. For this whole World is by him, and*  
*looks up perpetually to him, as also doth every one of the Gods in it.*  
 And *Themistius* the Peripatetick, (who was so far from being a Chri-  
 stian, that as *Petavius* probably conjectures, he perstringes our Savi-  
 our Christ under the Name of *Empedocles*, for making himself a God) doth not only affirm, that one and the same *Supreme God*, was  
 worshipped by Pagans, and the Christians, and all Nations, though  
 in different manners; but also, that God was delighted with this  
 Variety of Religions: ταύτη νόμιζε γέννησθαι τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τὸ πᾶν ὁσὶν *Orat. 12,*  
 ἀρχηγέτω· ἄλλως Σύρος ἐδέλει πολιτεύεσθαι, ἄλλως Ἑλλήνας, ἄλλως Αἰγυπτί-  
 ος, καὶ ἕδ' αὐτῶς Σύρος ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἤδη κατακυριεύεσθαι εἰς μικροῦ· *The*  
*Author and Prince of the Universe, seems to be delighted with this Va-*  
*riety of Worship; He would have the Syrians worship him One way, the*  
*Greeks another, and the Egyptians another; neither do the Syrians (or*  
*Christians) themselves all agree, they being subdivided into many Sects.*

We shall conclude therefore with this full Testimony of *St. Cyril*, in *P. 23.*  
 his First Book against *Julian*, ἅπαντες εἰσαργεῖς, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τὰ Ἑλλήνων φιλο-  
 σοφῆν εἰωθῶσι, ἓνα μὲν ἐδόκει θεὸν εἶναι συναμολογεῖν, τὸ δὲ ὅλων δημιουργόν, καὶ  
 πάντων ἐπέκτατον καὶ φύσιν, πεποιθῆσθαι ἢ παρ' αὐτῷ, καὶ παρήχθαι πρὸς ἄλλων  
 ἐτέρους τινὰς θεοὺς, κατὰ φασὶν αὐτοῖς, νοητῆς τε καὶ αἰσθητῆς· *It is manifest*  
*to all, that amongst those who Philosophize in the Greek way, it is Uni-*  
*versally acknowledged, that there is One God, the Maker of the Uni-*  
*verse, and who is by Nature above all things; but that there have been*  
*made by him, and produced into generation, certain other Gods (as they*  
*call them) both Intelligible and Sensible.*

XXVII. Neither was this the Opinion of Philosophers and  
 Learned Men only, amongst the Pagans, but even of the Vulgar al-  
 so. Not that we pretend, to give an account of all the most sottish  
 Vulgar amongst them, who as they little considered their Religion,  
 so probably did they not understand that Mystery of the Pagan The-  
 ology (hereafter to be declared) that Many of their Gods, were no-  
 thing but several Names and Notions of one Supreme Deity, accord-  
 ing to its various Manifestations and Effects: but because, as we con-  
 ceive,

L. 8. c. 5.

ceive this Tradition of One Supreme God, did run currant amongst the Generality of the Greek and Latin Pagans at least, whether Learned or Unlearned. For we cannot make a better judgment concerning the *Vulgar* and *Generality* of the ancient Pagans, than from the Poets and Mythologists, who were the chief Instructors of them. Thus *Aristotle* in his *Politicks*, writing of Musick, judgeth of mens Opinions concerning the Gods, from the Poets, *σοπεῖν δ' ἔξεσι τῶ ὑπόληψιν ἢν ἔχομεν ὡς ἐστὶ θεῶν, ἔ γ' ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἄδῃ καὶ καθαρίζει τοὺς ποιηταῖς.* We may learn what opinion men have concerning the Gods, from hence, because the Poets never bring in Jupiter, Singing or Playing upon an Instrument. Now we have already proved from sundry Testimonies of the Poets, that (however they were Depravers of the Pagan Religion, yet) they kept up this Tradition of one Supreme Deity, one King and Father of Gods: To which Testimonies many more might have been added, as of *Seneca* the Tragedian, *Statius*, *Lucan*, *Silius Italicus*, *Perfius*, and *Martial*, but that we then declined them to avoid tediousness. Wherefore we shall here content our selves only to set down this Affirmation of *Dio Chrysostomus*, concerning the Theology of the Poets, *ἔστι δ' ἐν παντί οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ τὰ πάντα, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον θεὸν πάντεσσι καλεῖσσι συνήθετον ἀπαντῶν τῶ λογικῶ γένους, καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλέα. οἷς παιδομαχοὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι διὰ βασιλείας ἰδρύονται βωμοὺς. καὶ δὴ καὶ πατέρα αὐτῶ ἐν οὐρανῶι προσεχόμενοι ἐν ταῖς δυχαῖς.* All the Poets call the First and Greatest God, the Father, universally, of all the Rational Kind; as also the King thereof. Agreeably with which of the Poets, do men erect Altars to Jupiter King, and stick not to call him Father in their Devotions.

Orat. 36. p. 447

Diff. 1. p. 4. 5.

Moreover *Aristotle* himself hath recorded this in his *Politicks*, πάντες λέγουσι θεὸς βασιλεύειν, That all men affirmed the Gods to be under a Kingly power, or that there is one Supreme King and Monarch over the Gods. And *Maximus Tyrius* declareth, that as well the Unlearned as the Learned, throughout the whole Pagan world, universally agreed in this, that there was one Supreme God, the Father of all the other Gods: *Εἰ συναγαγῶν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν τεχνῶν τότε, καλεῖσσι ἀπαντας ἀθεοῦσσι διὰ ψιφισματῶ ἐνὸς ἀπομνησθῶσσι ὡς ἐστὶ θεός, οἷε ἄλλο μὲν ἐν τῶν γραφέα εἰπεῖν, ἄλλο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀγαλματοποιόν, καὶ τὸ ποιητῶ ἄλλο, καὶ τὸ φιλόσοφον ἄλλο; ἀλλ' ἐδὲ μὰ δία τὸ συνέθλω, ἐδὲ τὸ ἑλληνα, ἐδὲ τὸ πέργω, ἢ τὸ ὑπερβόρειον. ἀλλὰ ἰδδῖς ἐν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλα, ἐν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλα, καὶ ἐ ταῦτα ψιφισμοῦσσι τὸς ἀνθρώπων, πάντας ἢ πᾶσι διαφερομενῶσσι. ἐ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσιν, ἐ τὸ κακὸν ὁμοιον, ἐ τὸ αἰχρὸν, ἐ τὸ καλὸν. νόμος μὲν γ' δὴ καὶ δὴν ἀνω καὶ κάτω φέρεται διασπόμενα καὶ σπαρασσόμενα. μὴ γ' ὅτι γένος γ' οἷε ὁμολογεῖ ἐν τέτοις, ἀλλ' ἐδὲ πόλις πόλι, ἀλλ' ἐδὲ οἶκῶ οἶκῶ, ἐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἀνδ' εἰ, ἐδὲ αὐτὸς αὐτῶ. ἐν τοῦστω ἢ πολέμῳ καὶ γαστῆ καὶ διαφωνία, ἐνα ἰδδῖς ἐν ἐν πᾶσι γ' ἢ ὁμῶνον νόμον καὶ λόγον, ὅτι ΘΕΟΣ ΕἰΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΗΡ, καὶ θεοὶ πολλοὶ θεῶ παῖδες, συνάρχοντες θεῶ. ταῦτα ἢ ὁ ἑλλῶ λέγει καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος λέγει, καὶ ὁ ἡπειρώτης καὶ ὁ θαλάσσιος, καὶ ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ὁ ἄσοφος.* If there were a meeting called of all these several Trades and Professions, a Painter, a Statuary, a Poet, and a Philosopher, and all of them were required to declare their sences concerning God, do you think that the Painter would say one thing, the Statuary another, the Poet another, and the Philosopher another? No nor the Scythian neither, nor the Greek,

NOT

nor the Hyperborean. In other things, we find men speaking very discordantly to one another, all men as it were differing from all. The same thing is not Good to all nor Evil, Honest nor Dishonest. For Law and Justice it self, are different every where, and not only one Nation doth not agree with another therein, but also not one City with another City, nor one House with another House, nor one man with another man, nor lastly any one man with himself. Nevertheless, in this so great war, contention, and discord, you may find every where throughout the whole world, One agreeing Law and Opinion, That THERE IS ONE GOD THE KING AND FATHER OF ALL, and Many Gods, the Sons of God, Co-reigners together with God. These things both the Greek and the Barbarian alike affirm, both the Inhabitants of the Continent and of the Seacoast, both the Wise and the Unwise. Nothing can be more full than this Testimony of Maximus Tyrius, that the Generality of the Pagan world, as well Vulgar and Illiterate, as Wise and Learned, did agree in this, that there was One Supreme God, the Creator and Governour of all. And to the same purpose was that other Testimony before cited out of Dio Chrysostomus, *Ὅτι δὲ θεῶν ἢ τε καὶ ἅλης φύσεως, καὶ μάλιστ' ἅ πάντων ἡγεμόνων, δόξα ἢ ἐπινοία κοινὴ τῷ ξύμπαντι ἀνθρώπων γένει, ὁμοίως δὲ Ἑλλήνων, ὁμοίως δὲ βαρβάρων, &c.* That concerning the nature of the Gods in General, but especially concerning that Prince of all things, there was One agreeing Perswasion in the minds of all Mankind, as well Barbarians as Greeks. Where Dio plainly intimates also, that there was a more universal consent of Nations, in the belief of One God, than of Many Gods.

Orat. 12. p. 201.

It hath been already observed, that the several Pagan Nations, had vulgarly their peculiar Proper Names for the One Supreme God. For as the Greeks called him Zeus or Zen, the Latins Jupiter or Jovis, so did the Egyptians, Africans and Arabians, Hammon. Which Hammon therefore was called by the Greeks the Zeus of the Africans, and by the Latins their Jupiter. Whence is that in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, *Jovis Capitolini Nobis alia species, alia Afris Ammonis Jovis, the form of the Capitoline Jupiter with us Romans, is different from that, of Jupiter Ammon with the Africans.* The Name of the Scythian Jupiter also, as Herodotus tells us, was Pappæus or Father. The Persians likewise had their *Ζεὺς πατρῴος*, as Xenophon stiles him, their Country-Zeus or Jupiter (namely Mithras or Oromasdes) who in the same Xenophon, is distinguished from the Sun, and called in Cyrus his Proclamation in the Scripture, *The Lord God of Heaven, who had given him all the Kingdoms of the Earth.* Thus the Babylonian Bell is declared by Berosus (a Priest of his) to have been that God, who was the Maker of Heaven and Earth. And Learned men conceive, that Baal (which is the same with Bel, and signifies Lord) was first amongst the Phenicians also a Name for the Supreme God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, sometimes called *Beel samen, The Lord of Heaven.* As likewise that Molech which signifies King, was amongst the Ammonites, *the King of their Gods*; and that Marnas (the chief God of the Gazites, who were Philistines) and signifies *the Lord of men*, was that from whence the Cretians derived their Jupiter, called *the Father of Gods and Men.*

Origen



L. I. C. II.

*Origen* indeed contended, that it was not lawful for Christians, to call the Supreme God by any of those Pagan Names, and probably for these Reasons, because those names were then frequently bestowed upon Idols; and because they were contaminated and defiled by Absurd and Impure Fables. Nevertheless that learned Father does acknowledge the Pagans really to have meant  $\tau\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\upsilon$ , The God over all, by those several Names. Which yet *Lactantius Firmianus* would by no means allow of as to the Roman *Jupiter*, worshipped in the Capitol, he endeavouring to confute it after this manner; *Vana est Persuasio eorum qui nomen Jovis Summo Deo tribuunt. Solent enim quidam errores suos hac excusatione defendere; qui convicti de Uno Deo, cum id negare non possunt, ipsum colere affirmant, verum hoc sibi placere ut Jupiter nominetur, quo quid absurdius? Jupiter enim sine Contubernio Conjugis Filiaque, coli non solet. Unde quid sit apparet, nec fas est id nomen eo transferri, ubi nec Minerva est ulla nec Juno: It is a vain persuasion of those, who would give the name of Jupiter to the Supreme God. For some are wont thus to excuse their errors, when they have been convinced of one God, so as that they could not contradict it, by saying that themselves worshipped Him, he being called by them Jupiter: Than which, what can be more absurd? since Jupiter is not worshipped without the Partnership of his Wife and Daughter. From whence it plainly appears what this Jupiter is, and that the name ought not to be transferred thither, where there is neither any Minerva nor Juno. The ground of which argumentation of *Lactantius* was this, because the great Capitoline Temple of *Jupiter*, had three *Sacella* or lesser Chappels in it, all contained under one roof, *Jupiter's* in the middle, *Minerva's* on the right hand, and *Juno's* on the left; according to that of the Poet.*

*Trina in Tarpeio fulgent consortia Templo.*

Which *Juno*, according to the Poetick Theology, is said to be the Wife of *Jupiter*, and *Minerva* his Daughter, begotten not upon *Juno* but from his own Brain. Where it is plain that there is a certain mixture of the Mythical or Poetical Theology, together with the Natural, as almost every where else there was, to make up that Civil Theology of the Pagans. But here (according to the more Recondit and Arcane Doctrine of the Pagans) these three Capitoline Gods, *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Juno*, as well as some others, may be understood, to have been nothing else but Several Names and Notions, of One Supreme Deity, according to its several Attributes and Manifestations, *Jupiter* signifying the Divine Power and Sovereignty, as it were seated and enthroned in the Heavens; *Minerva* the Divine Wisdom and Understanding; and *Juno* the same Deity acting in these Lower parts of the world. Unless we would rather with *Macrobius*, Physiologize them all Three, and make *Minerva* to be the Higher Heaven, *Jupiter* the Middle Ether, and *Juno* the Lower Air and Earth, all Animated; that is, One God, as acting differently in these Three Regions of the world. Which yet seems not so congruous, because it would place *Minerva* above *Jupiter*.

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Nevertheless it may justly be suspected, as *G. I. Vossius* hath already observed, that there was yet some higher and more sacred Mystery, in this Capitoline Trinity, aimed at; namely, a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*. For these three *Roman* or *Capitoline Gods*, were said to have been First brought into *Italy* out of *Phrygia* by the *Trojans*, but before that into *Phrygia* by *Dardanus*, out of the *Samothracian Island*; and that within eight hundred years after the *Noachian Flood*, if we may believe *Eusebius*. And as these were called by the *Latins*, *Dii Penates*, which *Macrobius* thus interprets, *Dii Per quos Penitus spiramus, per quos habemus Corpus, per quos rationem animi possidemus*, that is, *The Gods by whom we live, and move, and have our being*; but *Varro* in *Arnobius*, *Dii qui sunt Intrinsecus, atque in Intimis Penetralibus Cæli*, the *Gods, who are in the most Inward Recesses of Heaven*; so were they called by the *Samothracians* *Κάβειροι* or *Cabiri*, that is, as *Varro* rightly interprets the word, *Ἄετοί δυνάτοιοι*, or *Divi Potes*, *The Powerful and Mighty Gods*. Which *Cabiri* being plainly the *Hebrew* *קבירי*, gives just occasion to suspect, that this *Ancient Tradition of Three Divine Hypostases* (unquestionably entertained by *Orpheus*, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* amongst the *Greeks*, and probably by the *Egyptians* and *Persians*) sprung originally from the *Hebrews*. The First of these *Divine Hypostases*, called *Jove*, being the *Fountain of the Godhead*; and the Second of them called by the *Latins* *Minerva*, (which, as *Varro* interprets it, was that wherein *Idea & Exempla rerum, the Ideas and first Exemplars or Patterns of things were contained*) fitly expressing the *Divine Logos*; and the Third *Juno*, called *Amor ac Delicium Jovis*, well enough answering (as *Vossius* thinks) to the *Divine Spirit*.

*De Theol. Geni.*  
L. 8. c. 12.

But *Lactantius* hath yet another objection against the *Roman Jupiter's* being the *Supreme God*, *Quid? quod hujus nominis proprietas, non Divinam vim sed Humanam exprimit? Jovem enim Junonemque à Juvando esse dictos Cicero interpretatur. Et Jupiter quasi Juvans Pater dicitur. Quod nomen in Deum minimè convenit, quia Juvare hominis est, &c. Nemo sic Deum precatur, ut se Adjuvet, sed ut Servet, &c. Ergo non Imperitus modo, sed etiam Impius est, qui nomine Jovis Virtutem Summæ Potestatis imminuit.* What if we add that the propriety of this word *Jupiter*, does not express a *Divine*, but only a *Humane* force? *Cicero* deriving both *Jove* and *Juno* alike à *Juvando*, that is, from *Helping*; For *Juvans Pater* or a *Helping Father*, is not a *Good Description of God*; forasmuch as it properly belongeth to men to *Help*. Neither doth any one pray to *God*, to *Help* him only, but to *Save* him. Nor is a *Father*, said to help his *Son*, whom he was the *Begetter* of, &c. Wherefore he is not only *Unskilful* but *Impious* also, who by the Name of *Jove* or *Jupiter*, diminishes the power of the *Supreme God*. But as this of *Lactantius* seems otherwise weak enough; so is the *Foundation* of it absolutely ruinous, the true *Etymon* of *Jupiter* (though *Cicero* knew not so much) being without peradventure, not *Juvans Pater*, but *Jovis Pater*, *Jove* the *Father of Gods and Men*; which *Jovis* is the very *Hebrew Tetragrammaton* (however these *Romans* came by it) only altered by a *Latin Termination*. Wherefore as there could be

no impiety at all in calling the Supreme God *Jove* or *Jovis*, it being that very name which God himself chose to be called by: so neither is their any reason why the Latins should not as well mean the Supreme God thereby, as the Greeks did unquestionably by *Zeus*, which will be proved afterwards from irrefragable Authority.

Especially if we consider, that the Roman Vulgar, commonly bestowed these Two Epithets upon that Capitoline *Jupiter* (that is, not the senseless Statue, but that God who was there worshipped in a Material Statue) of *Optimus* and *Maximus*, the *Best* and the *Greatest*, they thereby signifying him to be a Being *Infinitely Good and Powerful*. Thus *Cicero* in his *De Nat. Deorum*, *Jupiter à Poetis dicitur Divum atque Hominum Pater, à majoribus autem nostris Optimus Maximus. That same Jupiter who is by the Poets styled, The Father of Gods and Men, is by our ancestors called, The Best The Greatest.* And in his *Orat. pro S. Roscio*, *Jupiter Optimus Maximus, cujus nutu & arbitrio, Cælum, Terra, Mariæque reguntur, Jupiter the Best the Greatest, by whose beck and command, the Heaven, the Earth and the Seas are governed.* As also the Junior *Pliny*, in his *Panegyrick Oration*, *Patris Hominum Deorumque, Optimi prius, deinde Maximi nomine colitur, The Father of Men and Gods, is worshipped under the Name, first of the Best, and then of the Greatest.* Moreover *Servius Honoratus* informs us, that the *Pontifices* in their publick Sacrifices, were wont to address themselves to *Jupiter* in this Form of words, *Omnipotens Jupiter, seu quo alio nomine appellari volueris, Omnipotent Jupiter, or by what other name soever thou pleasest to be called.* From whence it is plain, that the Romans under the name of *Jupiter* worshipped the Omnipotent God. And according to *Seneca* the ancient *Hetrurians*, who are by him distinguished from Philosophers, as a kind of Illiterate Superstitious persons (in these words, *Hæc adhuc Etruscis & Philosophis communia sunt, in illo dissentiunt*) had this very same Notion answering to the word *Jupiter*, namely, of the Supreme Monarch of the Universe. For First he sets down their Tradition concerning Thunderbolts in this manner, *Fulmina dicunt à Jove mitti, & tres illi manubias dant. Prima (ut aiunt) monet & placata est, & ipsius consilio Jovis mittitur. Secundam quidem mittit Jupiter, sed ex Consilii sententiâ; Duodecim enim Deos advocat, &c. Tertiam idem Jupiter mittit, sed adhibitis in Consilium Diis quos Superiores & Involutos vocant, que vastat, &c.* The *Hetrurians* say, that the Thunderbolts are sent from *Jupiter*, and that there are three kinds of them; the First Gentle and Monitory and sent by *Jupiter* alone; the Second sent by *Jupiter*, but not without the counsel and consent of the Twelve Gods, which Thunderbolt doth some good, but not without Harm also; the Third sent by *Jupiter* likewise, but not before he hath called a Council of all the Superiour Gods: and this utterly wastes and destroys both private and publick States. And then does he make a Commentary, upon this old *Hetrurian* Doctrine, that it was not to be taken literally, but only so as to impress an awe upon men and to signify that *Jupiter* himself intended nothing but Good, he inflicting evil not alone, but in partnership with others, and when the necessity of the case required. Adding in the last place, *Ne hoc quidem crediderunt (Etrusci) Jovem qualem in Capitolio, & in cæteris ædibus*

Nat. Q. L. 2.  
c. 41.

*edibus colimus, mittere manu sua fulmina; sed eundem quem nos, Jovem intelligunt; custodem rectoremque Universi, Animum ac Spiritum, Mundani hujus operis Dominum & Artificem, cui nomen omne convenit.* Neither did these Hetrurians believe, that such a Jupiter as we worship in the Capitol and in the other Temples, did sling Thunderbolts with his own hands, but they understood the very same Jupiter that we now do, the Keeper and Governour of the Universe, the Mind and Spirit of the whole, the Lord and Artificer of this Mundane Fabrick, to whom every name belongeth. And lastly, that the vulgar Romans afterwards about the beginning of Christianity, had the same Notion of Jupiter, as the Supreme God; evidently appears from what Tertullian hath recorded in his Book *ad Scapulam*, that when Marcus Aurelius in his German Expedition, by the prayers of the Christian Soldiers made to God, had obtained refreshing showers from Heaven in a great drought, *Tunc Populus adclamans JOVI DEO DEORUM, QUI SOLUS POTENS EST, in Jovis nomine Deo nostro testimonium reddidit;* That then the people with one consent crying out thanks be to JUPITER THE GOD OF GODS, WHO ALONE IS POWERFUL, did thereby in the name of Jove or Jupiter give testimony to our God. Where by the way we see also, that Tertullian was not so nice as Lactantius, but did freely acknowledge the Pagans by their Jupiter to have meant the True God.

As nothing is more frequent with Pagan Writers, than to speak of God singularly, they signifying thereby the One Supreme Deity, so that the same was very familiar with the Vulgar Pagans also, in their ordinary discourse and common speech, hath been recorded by divers of the Fathers. Tertullian in his Book *De Testimonio Animæ*, and his *Apologet.* instanceth in several of these Forms of Speech then vulgarly used by the Pagans, as *Deus videt, Deo commendo, Deus red-det, Deus inter nos judicabit, Quod Deus vult, Si Deus voluerit, Quod Deus dederit, Si Deus dederit,* and the like. Thus also Minutius Felix, *Cum ad Cælum manus tendunt, nihil aliud quàm Deum Dicunt. Et Magnus est, & Deus Verus est, &c. vulgi iste Naturalis sermo, an Christiani consentis oratio?* When they stretch out their hands to Heaven, they mention only God; and these forms of speech, He is Great, and God is True. and If God grant (which are the natural language of the vulgar) are they not a plain confession of Christianity. And lastly Lactantius, *Cum Jurant, & cum Optant, & cum Gratias agunt, non Deos multos, sed Deum nominant; aded ipsa veritas, cogente natura, etiam ab invidis pectoribus erumpit:* When they swear, and when they wish, and when they give thanks, they name not Many Gods but God only; the Truth, by a secret force of nature, thus breaking forth from them whether they will or no. And again, *Ad Deum confugiunt, à Deo petitur auxilium, Deus ut subveniat oratur. Et si quis ad extremam mendicandi necessitatem redactus, victum precibus exposcit, Deum Solum obtestatur, & per ejus divinum atque unicum Numen hominum sibi misericordiam querit:* They fly to God, Aid is desired of God, they pray that God would help them; and when any one is reduced to extremest necessity, he begs for Gods sake, and by his Divine power alone implores the mercy of men. Which same thing is fully confirmed also, by Pro-

P. 286.

clus upon *Plato's Timæus*, where he observes, that the *One Supreme God*, was more Universally believed throughout the World in all ages, than the *Many Inferiour Gods*; τάχα ἢ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτελεῖται, ὅτι δὴ αἱ ψυχὰς τῶν ἐαυταῖς προσεχέστερων θεῶν ἑπιλανθάνουσι, καὶ ἢ ὑψηλότερων ἀρχῶν μᾶλλον μνημονεύουσι. Δραστοὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτὰς δι' ὑψηλῶν δυνάμεως, καὶ δουλεύουσιν αὐταῖς παρῆναι δι' ἐνέργειαν. ὁ δὴ καὶ πάλιν τὴν ὅψιν γίνεται τὴν ἡμετέραν. πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐν γῆ κειμένων ἔχουσιν ὁρατὰς, ὁμοίως αὐτῶν ὁρατὰς δοκῶμεν τὴν ἀπλανῆ, καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἀστέρας, διότι καταλάμπουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν ὅψιν παρ' ἐαυτῶν φάσι. μᾶλλον ἔν τε καὶ τὸ ὅμμα καὶ ψυχῆς, λήθην ἔχει καὶ ἀσφαλίαν τῶν προσεχέστερων, ἢ τῶν ἀνωτέρων καὶ θεοτέρων ἀρχῶν. ἔτω τὴν πρωτίστῃ ἀρχὴν πᾶσαι θεοποιεῖται καὶ αἰετῶδες συγχωρεῖται εἶναι, καὶ θεὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἑπικαλεῖται βουθόν. Θεὸς δὲ εἶναι μετ' αὐτὴν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ παντί, ὅτι πᾶσαι πιστεύουσι. εἰσαργύστερον γὰρ αὐταῖς καταφαίνεσθαι τὸ ἐν τῷ πλῆθει. *And perhaps you may affirm, that Souls do sooner lose their knowledge of those things which are Lower and Nearer to them, but retain a stronger remembrance of those Higher Principles. Because these do act more vigorously upon them, by reason of the Transcendency of their Power, and by their Energy seem to be present with them. And the same thing happens as to to our bodily Sight; for though there be many things here upon earth which none of us see, yet every one observes that Highest Sphere, and takes notice of the Fixed stars in it; because these strongly radiate with their light upon our eyes. In like manner does the Eye of our Soul, sooner lose the sight and remembrance of the Lower than of the Higher and Diviner Principles. And thus all Religions and Sects, acknowledge that One Highest Principle of all, and men every where call upon God for their Helper; but that there are Gods, after and below that Highest Principle, and that there is a certain providence descending down from these upon the Universe, all Sects do not believe; the reason whereof is, because The One or Unity, appears more clearly and plainly to them than The Many or a Multitude.*

L. 2. c. 7.

Moreover we learn from *Arianus his Epictetus*, that that very Form of Prayer which hath been now so long in use in the Christian Church, *Kyrie Eleeson, Lord have mercy upon us*, was anciently part of the *Pagans Litany* to the *Supreme God*, either amongst the *Greeks*, or the *Latins*, or *Both*, τὸ θεὸν ἑπικαλεῖσθαι (saith *Epictetus*) δεόμεθα αὐτῷ, κύριε ἐλέησον, *invoking God we pray to him after this manner, Lord have mercy upon us.* Now this *Epictetus* lived in the times of *Adrian* the *Emperour*, and that this Passage of his, is to be understood of *Pagans* and not of *Christians*, is undeniably manifest from the context, he there speaking of those who used *Auguria* or *Divination* by *Birds*. Moreover in the writings of the *Greekish Pagans*, the *Supreme God* is often called κύριος, or *Lord*. For, not to urge that passage of the *τέλειος λόγος* or *Asclepian Dialogue*, cited by *Lactantius*, where we read of ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντων ποιητής, *the Lord and Maker of all.* *Menander* in *Just. Martyr*, stileth the *Supreme God*, τὸ ὄντα πάντων κύριον ὑπερκότατον, *the most Universal Lord of all.* And *Osiris* in *Plutarch* is called, ἀπάντων κύριος, *the Lord of all things.* And this is also done *Absolutely*, and without any *Adjection*, and that not only by the *Seventy*, and *Christians*, but also by *Pagan Writers*; thus in *Plutarch's de Iside & Osiride*, we read of τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ κυρίου, καὶ

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von τῆ γνώσει, *The knowledge of the first Intelligible, and the Lord, that is, of the Supreme God.* And Oromasdes is called ὁ Κύριος, *The Lord, in Plutarch's Life of Alexander;* as Νῆς also, Κύριος, by Aristotle, that is *the Supreme Ruler over all.* Thus likewise Plato in his Sixth Epistle De An. L. i. c. 7. ad Hermiam, &c. styles his *First Divine Hypostasis, or the Absolutely Supreme Deity,* τὸ ἡγεμόνιον καὶ αἰτίας πατέρων Κύριον, *The Father of the Prince and Cause of the World, (that is, of the Eternal Intellect) The LORD.* Again Jamblichus writeth thus of the *Supreme God,* δὲν ὁμομολογεῖται ὅτι τὸ κρείσσον ἀγαθὸν ζητεῖν, *It is confessed that every Good thing ought to be asked of the Lord, that is, the Supreme God, which words are afterwards repeated in him also.* p. 129. but depraved in the printed Copy thus, δὲν ὁμομολογεῖν ὅτι τὸ κρείσσον τ' ἀγαθὸν ἔστι. Lastly, Clemens Alexandrinus tells us, that the *Supreme God* was called not by one only name, but by divers diversly, namely, ἡ τοῦ ἑνός, ἢ τ' ἀγαθόν, ἢ Νῆν, ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν, ἢ Πατέρα, ἢ Θεόν, ἢ Δημιουργόν, ἢ Κύριον, *Either the One, or the Good, or Mind, or the very Ens, or the Father, or the Demiurgus, or the Lord.* Wherefore we conclude, that this *Kyrie Eleeson, or Domine Miserere, in Arrianus, was a Pagan Litany or Supplication to the Supreme God.* Though from *Mauritius the Emperors Stratagemata* it appears that in his time a *Kyrie Eleeson* was wont to be sung also by the Christian Armies before Battel. Rigalt. Gloss.

And that the most Sottishly Superstitious and Idolatrous of all the Pagans, and the Worshipers of never so many Gods amongst them; did notwithstanding generally acknowledge, *One Supreme Deity* over them all, *One Universal Numen,* is positively affirmed, and fully attested by *Aurelius Prudentius, in his Apotheosis, in these words;*

*Ecquis in Idolio recubans inter sacra mille,  
 Ridiculosque Deos venerans, sale, cæspite, thure,  
 Non putat esse Deum Summum, & super omnia Solum?  
 Quamvis Saturnis, Junonibus, & Cytheræis,  
 Portentisque aliis, fumantes consecret aras;  
 Attamen in Cælum quoties suspexit, in Uno  
 Constituit jus omne Deo, cui seruiat ingens  
 Virtutum ratio, Variis instructa Ministris.*

We are not ignorant that *Plato* in his *Cratylus*, where he undertakes to give the Etymologies of words, and amongst the rest of the word *θεοί*, writeth in this manner, concerning the *First and most Ancient Inhabitants of Greece;* That they seemed to him, like as other Barbarians at that time, to have acknowledged no other Gods, than such as were Visible and Sensible, as the Sun and the Moon, and the Earth, and the Stars, and the Heaven. Which they perceiving to run round perpetually, therefore called them *θεῶν*, from *θεῖν*, that signifies to run. But that when afterward, they took notice of other Invisible Gods also, they bestowed the same name of *θεοί* upon them likewise. Which Passage of *Plato's Eusebius* somewhere would make use of, to prove that the Pagans universally acknowledged no other Gods, but Corporeal and Inanimate; plainly contrary to that Philosophers meaning, who as he nowhere affirms, that any Nation ever was so barbarous, as to worship Senseless and Inanimate Bodies, as such, for Gods, but the contrary; so doth

doth he there distinguish, from those First Inhabitants of Greece and other Barbarians, the afterward Civilized Greeks, who took notice of *Invisible Gods* also. However, if this of *Plato* should be true, that some of the ancient Pagans, worshipped none but *Visible and Sensible Gods* (they taking no notice of any *Incorporeal Beings*) yet does it not therefore follow, that those Pagans had no Notion at all amongst them, of *One Supreme and Universal Numen*. The contrary thereunto being manifest, that some of those *Corporealists* looked upon the whole *Heaven* and *Ether Animated*, as the *Highest God*, according to that of *Euripides* cited by *Cicero*,

De N. D. p.  
223.

*Vides Sublimissimum, immoderatum aethera,  
Qui tenero terram circumvectu amplectitur,  
Hunc Summum habeto Divum, hunc perhibeto Jovem.*

As also that others of them conceived that *Subtil Fiery Substance*, which permeates and pervades the whole World, (supposed to be *Intellectual*) to be the *Supreme Deity* which governs all; this Opinion having been entertained by Philosophers also, as namely the *Heracliticks* and *Stoicks*. And lastly, since *Macrobius* in the Person of *Vettius Prætextatus*, refers so many of the Pagan Gods, to the Sun, this renders it not improbable, but that some of these Pagans might adore the *Animated Sun*, as the Sovereign Numen, and thus perhaps invoke him in that Form of Prayer there mentioned "Ἡλιε πάντων ἄρχοντες, ἡσυχίᾳ πνεύμα, O *Omnipotent Sun, the Mind and Spirit of the whole World, &c.* And even *Cleanthes* himself, that Learned Stoick, and Devout Religionist, is suspected by some to have been of this Perswasion.

Nevertheless we think it opportune here to observe, that it was not *Macrobius* his Design in those his *Saturnalia*, to defend this, either as his own opinion, or as the opinion of the Generality of Pagans, That the *Animated Sun*, was Absolutely *The Highest Deity*; (as some have conceived) nor yet to reduce that Multiplicity of Pagan Gods, by this device of his, into a seeming Monarchy and nearer compliance with Christianity; he there plainly confining his Discourse, to the *Dii duntaxat qui sub Cælo sunt*, that is, *the Lower sort of Mundane Gods*, and undertaking to shew, not that all of these neither, but only that many of them, were reducible to the Sun, as *Polyonymous*, and called by several Names, according to his Several *Vertues* and *Effects*. For, what *Macrobius* his own opinion was, concerning the *Supreme Deity*, appeareth plainly from his other Writings, particularly this Passage of his Commentary upon *Scipio's Dream*, where the *Highest Sphere* and *Starry Heaven* was called *Summus Deus*, *the Supreme God*; *Quod hunc Extimum Globum, Summum Deum vocavit, non ita accipiendum est, ut iste Prima Causa, & Deus ille Omnipotentissimus existimetur; cum Globus ipse, quod Cælum est, Anima sit Fabrica, Anima ex Mente processerit, Mens ex Deo, qui verè Summus est, procreata sit. Sed Summum quidem dixit ad Cæterorum Ordinem qui subjecti sunt: Deum verò quòd non modò Immortale Animal ac Divinum sit, plenum inclytæ ex illa purissimâ Mente rationis, sed quòd & virtutes*

L. 1. c. 17.

virtutes omnes, quæ illam Primæ Omnipotentiam Summitatis sequantur, aut ipse faciat, aut contineat; Ipsum denique Jovem veteres vocaverunt, & apud Theologos Jupiter est mundi Anima: That the Outmost Sphere is here called The Supreme God, is not so to be understood, as if this were thought to be The First Cause, and The Most Omnipotent God of all. For this Starry Sphere being but a part of the Heaven, was made or produced by Soul. Which Soul also proceeded from a Perfect Mind or Intellect; and again Mind was begotten from that God, who is Truly Supreme. But the Highest Sphere is here called the Supreme God, only in respect to those Lesser Spheres or Gods, that are contained under it; and it is styled a God, because it is not only an Immortal and Divine Animal, full of Reason derived from that Purest Mind, but also because it maketh or containeth within it self, all those Vertues which follow that Omnipotence of the First Summity. Lastly, this was called by the ancients Jupiter, and Jupiter to Theologers is the Soul of the World. Wherefore though Macrobius, as generally the other Pagans, did undoubtedly worship the Sun as a Great God, and probably would not stick to call him Jupiter nor πάλταρ οὐρα neither (in a certain sense) Omnipotent or the Governour of all, nor perhaps Deum Summum, as well as the Starry Heaven was so styled in Scipio's Dream, he being the Chief Moderator in this Lower World; yet nevertheless it is plain that he was far from thinking the Sun to be Primam Causam, or Omnipotentissimum Deum; The First Cause, or the most Omnipotent God of all. He acknowledging above the Sun and Heaven, First, an Eternal Psyche, which was the Maker or Creator of them both; and then above this Psyche, a Perfect Mind or Intellect, and Lastly above that Mind a God who was Verè Summus, Truly and Properly Supreme, The First Cause, and the most Omnipotent of all Gods. Wherein Macrobius plainly Platonized, asserting a Trinity of Archical or Divine Hypostases. Which same Doctrine is elsewhere also further declared by him after this manner; *Deus qui Prima Causa est & vocatur, Unus omnium, quæque sunt quæque videntur esse, Principium & Origo est. Hic superabundanti Majestatis fecunditate de se Mentem creavit. Hæc Mens quæ Næs vocatur, qua Patrem inspicit, plenam similitudinem servat auctoris, Animam verò de se creat posteriora respiciens. Rursus Anima partem quam intuetur induitur, ac paulatim regrediente respectu in fabricam corporum, in corporea ipsa degenerat: God who is and is called, the First Cause, is alone the Fountain and Original of all things that are or seem to be; He by his superabundant Fecundity, produced from himself Mind, which Mind, as it looks upward towards its Father, bears the perfect resemblance of its Author, but as it looked downward, produced Soul. And this Soul again as to its superiour part resembles that Mind from whence it was begotten; but working downwards, produced the Corporeal Fabrick, and acteth upon Body. Besides which the same Macrobius tells us, that Summi & Principis omnium Dei, nullum simulachrum finxit Antiquitas, quia supra Animam & Naturam est, quo nihil fas est de fabulis pervenire; de Diis autem cæteris, & de Anima, non frustra se ad fabulosa convertunt: The Pagan Antiquity made no Image at all of the Highest God, or Prince of all things, because he is above Soul and Nature, where it is not lawful for any Fabulosity to be intronitted. But as to the other Gods, the Soul of the World, and those*

Somm. Scip.  
L. I. c. 14.

below



below it, they thought it not inconvenient here, to make use of Images, and Fiction or Fabulosity. From all which it plainly appears, that neither Macrobius himself, nor the Generality of the ancient Pagans according to his apprehension did look upon the *Animated Sun*, as the *Absolutely Supreme and Highest Being*.

And perhaps it may not be amiss to suggest here, what hath been already observed; that the Persians themselves also, who of all Pagan Nations, have been most charged with this, the Worshipping of the Sun as the *Supreme Deity*, under the name of *Mithras*, did notwithstanding if we may believe *Eubulus* (who wrote the History of *Mithras* at large) acknowledge another *Invisible Deity Superiour* to it, (and which was the *Maker thereof and of the whole World*) as the *True and Proper Mithras*. Which opinion, is also plainly confirmed, not only by *Herodotus*, dittinguishing their *Jupiter* from the Sun, but also by *Xenophon* in sundry places, as particularly where he speaks of *Cyrus* his being admonished in a Dream of his approaching death, and thereupon addressing his Devotion by Sacrifices and Prayers; first to the Ζῶς πατρῶν, the *Persian Jupiter*, and then to the Sun, and the other Gods. Ἔδνε δ' αὖτε πατρώω κ' ἡλίω κ' τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἔπι τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς Πέρσαι θύσαν, ἔδνε ἐπὶ χέρμυθι, Ζῶ πατρῶε κ' ἡλίε κ' πόλιες θεοί, δέχεσθε τὰδε χειρῆρα, &c. He sacrificed to their Country (or the *Persian*) *Jupiter*, and to the Sun, and to the other Gods, upon the Tops of the Mountains, as the custom of the Persians is; praying after this manner; Thou our Country *Jupiter* (that is, thou *Mithras* or *Oromasdes*) and thou Sun, and all ye other Gods; accept, I pray you, these my *Eucharistick Sacrifices*, &c. And we find also the like Prayer used by *Darius* in *Plutarch* Ζεῦ πατρῶε Περσῶν, Thou our Country *Jupiter*, or *supreme God of the Persians*. Moreover *Herodotus* and *Curtius* record, that in the *Persian Pomp and Procession*, there was wont to be drawn a *Chariot sacred to Jupiter*, distinct from that of the Sun. But *Cyrus* his Proclamation in the Book of *Esdras*, putteth all out of doubt; since That Lord God of Heaven, who is there said, to have given *Cyrus* all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and commanded him to build Him a House at *Jerusalem*, cannot be understood of the Sun.

L. I N. 131.

Cyri Inst. L. 8.  
P. 184.De Fort. A.  
L. 1. L. 2.

L. 17. p. 822.

See Sched. de  
Dii Germ.

The *Ethiopians* in *Strabo's* time, may well be look'd upon as *Barbarians*, and yet did they not only acknowledge *One Supreme Deity*, but also such as was distinct from the world, and therefore *Invisible*, he writing thus concerning them, θεὸν νομίζουσι ἃ μὲν ἀθάνατον, τῶτον ὃ εἶναι ἃ ἀπὸν τῶν πάντων, ἃ ὃ θνητὸν, ἀνόνομόν τινα, ὡς δ' ἑπιτοπολὺ τὸς ἀεργέτας κ' βασιλικὸς θεὸς νομίζουσι. They believe, that there is *One Immortal God*, and this the Cause of all things; and another *Mortal one*, anonymous; but for the most part they account their *Benefactors and Kings, Gods* also. And though *Cæsar* affirm of the ancient *Germans*, *Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, & quorum opibus apertè juvantur, Solem, & Vulcanum, & Lunam*, yet is he contradicted by *Tacitus*, who coming after him had better information; and others have recorded, that they acknowledged *One Supreme God*, under the name of *Thau* first, and then of *Thantes*, and *Theutates*. Lastly, the Generality of the Pagans at this very day, as the *Indians*, *Chineses*,

*Chineses, Siamenses and Guineans; the Inhabitants of Peru, Mexico, Virginia, and New England, (some of which are sufficiently Barbarous) acknowledge One Supreme or Greatest God; they having their several Proper Names for him, as Parmiscer, Fetisso, Wiracocha, Pachacamac, Vitziliputzti, &c. though worshipping withal, other Gods and Idols. And we shall conclude this with the Testimony of Josephus Acosta: De Proc. Ind. Hoc commune apud omnes penè Barbaros est, ut Deum quidem Omnium rerum Supremum & summè Bonum, fateantur; Spirituum vero quorundam perverforum non obscura opinio sit, qui à nostris Barbaris Zupay vocari solent. Igitur & quis ille Summus, idemque Sempiternus rerum omnium Opifex, quem illi ignorantes colunt, per omnia doceri debent, mox quantum ab illo illiusque fidelibus Ministris Angelis, absint gens pessima Cacodemonum. This is common almost to all the Barbarians, to confess one Supreme God over all, who is perfectly Good; as also they have a Perswasion amongst them of certain Evil Spirits, which are called by our Barbarians Zupay. Wherefore they ought to be first well instructed, what that Supreme and Eternal Maker of all things is, whom they ignorantly worship; and then how great a difference there is, betwixt those wicked Demons, and his faithful Ministers, the Angels.*

XXVIII. It hath been already declared, that according to *Theophrastus* and *Symmachus*, two zealous Pagans, One and the same *Supreme God*, was worshipped in all the several Pagan Religions throughout the world, though after different manners. Which Diversity of Religions, as in their opinion, it was no way inconvenient in it self, so neither was it Ungrateful nor Unacceptable to Almighty God, it being more for his Honour, State and Grandeur, to be worshipped with this Variety, than after one only Manner. Now that this was also the opinion of other ancients Pagans before them, may appear from this remarkable Testimony of *Plutarch's* in his Book *De Iside*, where defending the Egyptian Worship (which was indeed the main design of that whole Book;) but withal declaring, that no Inanimate thing ought to be look'd upon or worshipped as a God, he writeth thus: P. 377.

ὅτι ἂν εἰδὲ ἀψυχὸν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς, τὸς ἢ δωρεὰς ἡμῖν ἢ παρέχοντας ἀέν-  
 ναα ἢ διαρκῆ, θεὸς εὐνομίσα μὲν, ὅχι ἑτέρως παρ' ἑτέρας, εἰδὲ βαρβάρων ἢ ἑλ-  
 λῶνας, εἰδὲ νοτιῶν ἢ βορειῶν. ἀλλὰ ἄσπορ ἢ λιθῶν ἢ σελῶν ἢ ἕρμῶν, καὶ γῆ,  
 καὶ θάλασσα, κοινὰ πάντων, ὀνομαζέται ἢ ἄλλως ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἕως ἑνὸς λόγου  
 τῶν ταῦτα κοσμεῖν καὶ μίας προνοίας ἐπιτροπῆς, καὶ δυνάμε-  
 ων ὑπεργῶν ἐπὶ πάντας τεταγμένων, ἕτεροι παρ' ἑτέροις καὶ νόμον γενέσθαι  
 πρὸς καὶ προσποιεῖται. καὶ συμβόλοις χραίνονται καθ' ἑσθ' ἄμφοτεροι,  
 οἱ ἢ τετραπύργου, ἐπὶ ταῖς θεῖαις νόμισαν ὀδηγῶντες ἐν ἀμυνδύνας. No Inani-  
 mate thing ought to be esteemed for a God, but they who bestow these things  
 upon us, and afford us a continual supply thereof for our use, have been  
 therefore accounted by us Gods. Which Gods are not different to differ-  
 ent Nations; as if the Barbarians and the Greeks, the Southern and the  
 Northern Inhabitants of the Globe, had not any the same, but all other  
 different Gods. But as the Sun and the Moon, and the Heaven and the  
 Earth, and the Sea, are common to all, though called by several names  
 in several Countries, so ONE REASON ordering these things and ONE  
 PROVIDENCE dispensing all, and the Inferiour subservient Ministers  
 thereof, having had several Names and Honours bestowed upon them by

the Laws of several Countreys, have been every where worshipped throughout the whole world. And there have been also different Symbols consecrated to them, the better to conduct and lead on mens understandings to Divine things; though this hath not been without some hazard or danger of casting men upon one or other of these Two Inconveniencies, either Superstition or Atheism. Where Plutarch plainly affirms, that the several Religions of the Pagan Nations, whether Greeks or Barbarians, and among these the Egyptians also, as well as others, consisted in nothing else, but the worshipping of One and the Same Supreme Mind, Reason and Providence, that orders all things in the world, and of its ὑπεροχῆ δυνάμεις ἔπι πάντα τεταγμένοι, its Subservient Powers or Ministers, appointed by it over all the several parts of the World; though under different Names, Rites and Ceremonies, and with different Symbols.

L. 28. C. 12.

Moreover that Titus Livius was of the very same opinion, that the Pagan Gods of several Countreys, though called by several Names, and worshipped with so great Diversity of Rites and Ceremonies, yet were not for all that, Different, but the same common to all, may be concluded from this passage of his, where he writeth of Hannibal: *Nescio an Mirabilior fuerit in adversis, quam secundis rebus. Quippe qui mistos ex colluvione omnium gentium, quibus alius Ritus, alia sacra, alii PROPE Dii essent, ita uno vinculo copulaverit, ut nulla seditio extiterit.* I know not whether Hannibal were more admirable in his adversity or Prosperity; who having a mixt colluvies of all Nations under him, which had different Rites, different Ceremonies, and Almost different Gods, from one another, did notwithstanding so unite them all together in one common bond, that there hapned no sedition at all amongst them. Where Livy plainly intimates, that though there was as great diversity of Religious Rites and Ceremonies among the Pagans, as if they had worshipped several Gods, yet the Gods of them all, were really the same, Namely, One Supreme God, and his Ministers under him. And the same Livy elsewhere declares, this to have been the General opinion of the Romans and Italians likewise at that time; where he tells us how they quarrel'd with Q. Fulvius Flaccus, for that when being Censor, and building a new Temple in Spain, he uncovered another Temple dedicated to Juno Lacinia amongst the Brutii, and taking off the Marble-Tyles thereof, sent them into Spain to adorn his new erected Temple withal; and how they accused him thereupon publickly in the Senate-house in this manner, *Quod ruinis Templorum Tempa edificaret, tanquam non iidem ubique Dii immortales essent, sed spoliis aliorum alii colendi exornandique;* That with the ruines of Temples he built up Temples; as if there were not every where the Same Immortal Gods; but that some of them might be worshipped and adorned with the spoils of others.

Dec. 5.

The Egyptians were doubtless the most singular of all the Pagans, and the most odly discrepant from the rest in their manner of worship, yet nevertheless, that these also agreed with the rest in those Fundamentals, of worshipping one Supreme and Universal Numen, together

gether with his *Inferiour Ministers*, as *Plutarch* sets himself industriously to maintain it, in that forementioned Book *De Iside*, so was it further cleared and made out (as *Damascius* informs us) by Two Famous Egyptian Philosophers *Asclepiades* and *Heraiscus* in certain writings of theirs, that have been since lost: Αἰγυπτίους ἢ ὁ μὲν Εὐδήμου, ἔδεν ἀκριβῆς ἰστέρι· οἱ ἢ Αἰγυπτίους καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλόσοφοι γεγονότες, ἐξήνεγκαν αὐτῶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν κεκρυμμένω, δρόντες ἐν Αἰγυπτίους, δὲ πρὸς λόγους, ὡς ἐπι κατ' αὐτὸς ἢ μὲν μία τῆ' ὅλων ἀρχὴ, σκοπὸς ἀγνωστον, &c. ἰτέον ἢ ἢ, ὁ κἀνο πρὸς τῆ' Αἰγυπτίων, ὅτι διακρίσει εἰς πολλαχῶ, τῆ' κτ' ἕνωσιν ὑφεσάτων· ἐπεὶ ἢ τὸ νοῦτον διηρήκασιν εἰς πολλῶν θεῶν ιδιότητας, ὡς ἔξεσι μαθεῖν τοῖς ἐκείνων συγγραμμάσιν ἐπιτυχῶσι τοῖς βελομύοις· λέγω ἢ τῆ' Ἡραίσκου ἀναγεραφῆ, τῶ Αἰγυπτίους καθόλου λόγους, πρὸς τ' πρῶτον γεραφείσιν τ' φιλόσοφον, ἢ τῆ' ἀρεξαμμένη γεραφείσιν συμφωνίᾳ ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιάδου τῆ' Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς τὸς ἄλλους σοολόγους· *Though Eudemus hath given us no certain account of the Egyptians, yet the Egyptian Philosophers of latter times, have declared the hidden truth of their Theology, having found in some Egyptian Monuments, that according to them there is one Principle of all things, celebrated under the name of the Unknown Darkness, and this thrice repeated, &c. Moreover this is to be observed concerning these Egyptians, that they are wont to divide and multiply things that are One and the Same. And accordingly have they divided and multiplied the First intelligible or the One Supreme Deity, into the Properties of Many Gods; as any one may find that pleases to consult their writings; I mean that of Heraiscus, entitled the Universal Doctrine of the Egyptians, and inscribed to Proclus the Philosopher; and that Symphony or Harmony of the Egyptians with other Theologers, begun to be written by Asclepiades and left imperfect. Of which Work of Asclepiades the Egyptian, Suidas also maketh mention, upon the Word Heraiscus; ὁ ἢ Ἀσκληπιάδου ὅτι πλείον ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις βιβλίοις ἀναγεραφῆς, ἀκριβῆσεσθ' ἦν ἀμφὶ θεολογίαν τὴν πᾶσι, ἀρχὴς τε αὐτῆς ἢ μέσση διουκεμμένω, ὡς ἔξεσιν εἰδέναι σαφῶς ἀπὸ τῆ' ὕμνων, ὧν συγγραφευ ἐἰς τὸς Αἰγυπτίων θεῶς, ἢ ἀπὸ τ' γεραματείας, ἦν ἔρμησε γεραφειν πρὸς ἔξεσιν τῆ' θεολογίαν ἀπασῶν συμφωνίαν· *But Asclepiades having been more conversant with ancient Egyptian writings, was more thoroughly instructed, and exactly skilled in his Country Theology; he having searched into the Principles thereof, and all the consequences resulting from them; as manifestly appeareth from those Hymns which he composed in praise of the Egyptian Gods, and from that Treatise begun to be written by him (but left unfinished) which containeth, The Symphony of all Theologies. Now we say that Asclepiades his Symphony of all the Pagan Theologies, and therefore of the Egyptian with the rest; was their agreement in those Two Fundamentals expressed by Plutarch; namely the worshipping of One Supreme and Universal Numen, Reason and Providence, governing all things; and then of his Subservient Ministers (the Instruments of Providence) appointed by him, over all the parts of the world: Which being honoured under several Names, and with different Rites and Ceremonies, according to the Laws of the respective Countreys caused all that Diversity of Religions, that was amongst them. Both which Fundamental Points, of the Pagan Theology, were in like manner acknowledged by Symmachus, The First of them being thus expressed, Equum est quicquid omnes colunt, Unum**

*Damasc. de Princ. M. S.*

putari, That all Religions agreed in this, the Worshipping of One and the same Supreme Numen; and the Second thus, *Varios Custodes Urbibus Mens Divina distribuit*, That the Divine Mind appointed divers Guardian and Tutelar Spirits under him, unto Cities and Countries. He there adding also, that *Suus cuique Mos est, suum cuique Jus*, That every Nation had their peculiar Modes and Manners in worshipping of these: and that these external differences in Religion, ought not to be stood upon, but every one to observe the Religion of his own Country. Or else these Two Fundamental Points of the Pagan Theology, may be thus expressed, First, that there is One Self-Originated Deity, who was the *δημιουργός* or *Maker of the whole World*, Secondly, That there are besides him, *Other Gods also*, to be Religiously worshipped (that is, Intellectual Beings superiour to men) which were notwithstanding all Made or Created by that One; *Stobæus* thus declaring their sence, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θεῶν ἔργον ἔστι τῷ δημιουργῷ, ἀλλὰ τὰ κόσμῳ γυμνάριον, *That the multitude of Gods, is the work of the Demiurgus, made by him together with the world.*

*Ecl. Phys. c. 1.*

*Plut. L. 2. c. 3.*  
*Stob. Ecl. Phys.*  
*c. 25.*

XXIX. And that the *Pagan Theologers*, did thus generally acknowledge, *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, appears plainly from hence, because they supposed the whole World to be an *Animal*. Thus the *Writer de Placitis Philos.* and out of him *Stobæus*, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἐμψυχον τὸν κόσμον ἢ προνοίᾳ διοικέμενον. Ἄλλοι μὲν δὲ ἢ ἐπιμαχῶν ἢ ἐπιμαχῶν, ἢ ὅσοι τὰ ἄτομα εἰσιν ἔχοντες ἢ τὸ κενόν, ἕτεροι ἐμψυχον ἕτεροι προνοίᾳ διοικέμενον, φύσις δὲ πᾶσι ἀλόγῳ. *All others assert the World to be an Animal, and governed by Providence; only Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus, and those who make Atoms and Vacuum the Principles of all things, dissenting, who neither acknowledge the World to be Animated, nor yet to be governed by Providence; but by an Irrational Nature.* Where by the way, we may observe the Fraud and Juggling of *Gassendus*, who takes occasion from hence highly to extol and applaud *Epicurus*, as one who approached nearer to Christianity than all the other Philosophers, in that he denied the *World to be an Animal*; whereas according to the Language and Notions of those times, to deny the *Worlds Animation*, and to be an *Atheist* or to deny a *God*, was one and the same thing; because all the Pagans who then asserted *Providence*, held the *World also to be Animated*; neither did *Epicurus* deny the *Worlds Animation*, upon any other account than this, because he denied *Providence*. And the Ground upon which this opinion of the *Worlds Animation* was built, was such as might be obvious even to vulgar undererstandings; and it is thus expressed by *Plotinus* according to the sence of the Ancients, ἀτοπον τὸ εἶναι τὸν κόσμον ἀψυχον λέγειν, ἡμῶν οἱ μέγας σώματος ἔχοντες τὸν κόσμον, ψυχῶν ἔχοντων. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὸ μέγας ἔχεν, ἀψυχὸν τὸν κόσμον ὅλος. *It is absurd to affirm, that the Heaven or World is Inanimate, or devoid of Life and Soul, when we our selves who have but a part of the Mundane Body in us, are endued with Soul. For how could a Part have Life and Soul in it, the Whole being Dead and inanimate? Now if the whole world be One Animal, then must it needs be Governed by One Soul, and not by Many. Which One Soul of the World, and the whole Mundane Animal was by some of the Pagan*

*En. 4 L. 3. c. 7.*

Theolo-

Theologers (as namely the Stoicks) taken to be the *πρῶτος θεός*, *The First and Highest God of all.*

Nevertheless others of the Pagan Theologers, though asserting the *World's Animation* likewise, yet would by no means allow the *Mundane Soul* to be the *Supreme Deity*; they conceiving the *First and Highest God* to be an *Abstract and Immovable Mind*, and not a *Soul*. Thus the Panegyrist, (cited also by Gyraldus,) invokes the Supreme Deity doubtfully and cautiously, as not knowing well what to call him, whether *Soul or Mind*; *Te Summe rerum Sator, cujus tot nomina sunt, quot gentium linguas esse voluisti; quem enim te ipse dici velis, scire non possumus: sive in te quedam vis Mensque Divina est, quæ toto infusa mundo, omnibus miscearis elementis, & sine ullo extrinsecus accedente vigoris impulsu, per te ipse movearis; sive aliqua supra omne Cælum potestas es, quæ hoc opus totum ex altiore Naturæ arce despicias: Te inquam oramus, &c.* Thou Supreme Original of all things, who hast as many Names as thou hast pleased there should be languages; whether thou beest a certain Divine Force and Soul, that infused into the whole world art mingled with all the Elements, and without any External impulse moved from thy self; or whether thou beest a Power Elevated above the Heavens, which lookest down upon the whole work of Nature, as from a higher Tower; Thee we invoke, &c. And as the Supreme Deity was thus considered only as a *Perfect Mind*, Superiour to *Soul*, so was the *Mundane Soul* and whole *Animated World*, called by these Pagans frequently, *δευτερος θεός*, *The Second God*. Thus in the *Asclepian Dialogue* or *Perfect Oration*, is the Lord and Maker of all, said to have made a *Second God* Visible and Sensible, which is the *World*.

*Hist. Deor. p. li.*

But for the most part, they who asserted a God, *Superiour* to the *Soul* of the *World*, did maintain a *Trinity of Universal Principles*, or *Divine Hypostases* subordinate, they conceiving, that as there was above the *Mundane Soul* a *Perfect Mind* or *Intellect*; so that *Mind* and *Intellect* as such, was not the *First Principle* neither, because there must be *νοῦς* in order of nature before *νῦς*, an *Intelligible* before *Intellect*. Which *First Intelligible*, was called by them, *τὸ ἐν* and *τὰγαθόν*, *The One*, and *The Good*, or *Unity* and *Goodness* it self Substantial, the Cause of *Mind* and *All things*. Now as the *Tagathon* or *Highest* of these *Three Hypostases*, was sometimes called by them *ὁ πρῶτος θεός*, *The First God*, and *νῦς* or *Intellect* *ὁ δευτερος θεός*, *The Second God*, so was the *Mundane Soul* and *Animated world*, called *τεῖτος θεός*, *The Third God*. Thus *Numenius* in *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, *Νουμίνιος μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνομήσας θεός, πατέρα μὲν καλεῖ τὸ πρῶτον, ποιητὴν δὲ τὸ δευτερον, ποιήμα δὲ τὸ τεῖτον. ὁ γὰρ κόσμος κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ τεῖτος ἔστι θεός, ὡς ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν δημιουργός διττός, ὅτε πρῶτος ἔστι ὁ δευτερος θεός, τὸ δὲ δημιουργούμενον ὁ τεῖτος.* *Numenius praising Three Gods, calls the Father the First God, the Maker the Second, and the Work the Third. For the World according to him, is the Third God; as he supposes also Two Opificers, the First and the Second God. Plotinus* in like manner speaks of this also, as very Familiar language amongst those Pagans, *ὁ κόσμος θεός, ὡς ἄρ' ὁμνῶντες λέγειν, τεῖτος, And the World, as is commonly said, is the Third God.*

*P. 93.*

*En. 3. L. 5. §. 6.*

But

But neither they, who held the Supreme Deity to be an Immoveable *Mind* or *Intellect*, superiour to the *Mundane Soul* (as *Aristotle* and *Xenocrates*) did suppose that *Mundane Soul* and the *whole World*, to have depended upon *Many* such Immoveable *Intellects* Self-existent, as their *First Cause*, but only upon *One*: nor they, who admitting a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, made the Supreme Deity properly, to be a *Monad* above *Mind* or *Intellect*, did conceive that *Intellect* to have depended upon *Many* such *Monads*, as *First Principles Coordinate*, but upon *One only*. From whence it plainly appears, that the Pagan Theologers, did always reduce things under a *Monarchy*, and acknowledge not *Many Independent Deities*, but *One Universal Numen* (whether called *Soul*, or *Mind*, or *Monad*) as the Head of all. Though it hath been already declared, that those Pagans, who were *Trinitarians*, especially the *Platonists*, do often take those their *Three Hypostases* subordinate (a *Monad*, *Mind* and *Soul*) all together, for the τὸ θεῖον, or *One Supreme Numen*; as supposing an extraordinary kind of *Unity*, in that *Trinity of Hypostases*, and so as it were, a certain *Latitude* and *Gradation*, in the *Deity*.

Where by the way Two things may be observed, concerning the Pagan Theologers; First, that according to them generally the whole Corporeal System, was not a *Dead Thing*, like a *Machin* or *Automaton* Artificially made by men, but that *Life* and *Soul* was mingled with and diffused thorough it All: insomuch that *Aristotle* himself, taxes those, who made the World to consist of nothing but *Monads* or *Atoms* altogether *Dead* and *Inanimate*, as being therefore a kind of *Atheists*. Secondly, That how much soever some of them supposed the *Supreme Deity* and *First Cause*, to be Elevated above the Heaven and Corporeal World, yet did they not therefore conceive either the World to be quite *Cut off* from that, or that from the World, so as to have no commerce with it nor influence upon it; but as all proceeded from this *First Cause*, so did they suppose that to be closely and intimately united with all those Emanations from it self, (though without Mixture and Confusion) and all to subsist in it, and be pervaded by it. *Plutarch* in his *Platonick Questions*, propounds this amongst the rest, τί δὴ ποτὲ τὸ ἀνωτάτω θεόν, πατέρα πάντων ἢ ποιητὴν προσέειπεν; *Why Plato called the Highest God, the Father and Maker of All?* To which he answers in the First place thus, τῆ μὲν θεῶν γεννητῆ ἢ τῆ ἀνθρώπων πατὴρ ὄντι, ποιητὴς ὃ τῆ ἀλόγων ἢ τῆ ἀλόγων. *That perhaps he was called the Father of all the Generated Gods, and of men, but the Maker of the Irrational and Inanimate things of the World.* But afterward he adds, That this Highest God, might therefore be styled the Father of the whole Corporeal World also, as well as the Maker, because it is no *Dead* and *Inanimate* thing, but endued with *Life*; ἐμψυχὸς γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἢ ἡ δύναμις ὄντι. ἢ ποιητὴ μὲν, οἷος οἰκοδόμος ἢ ὑφάντης, ἢ λυγρὸς δημιουργὸς ἢ ἀνδρῶν εὐχάριτος, ἀπήλλανται τὸ ἁλόγον ἔργον ἀπὸ τῆς γεννηταίας ἀρχῆς ἢ δυνάμεις ἐγκέμεται τὰ τελευτάων, ἢ συνέχεται τὴ φύσιν, ἀπὸ παλαιᾶ καὶ μέρων ἔσαν τὰ τελευτάων. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὁ πεπλάσμενος ὁ κόσμος, ὃδὲ συνηρμοσμένοις ποιήμασιν ἔοικεν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτὰ μοῖρα πολλὴ ζωότητις καὶ θεότητις, ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐγκατέσχευεν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆ τῆ ὕλης καὶ κατέμειξεν, εἰκότως

P. 100. par.

τως ἅμα πατήτε τῷ κόσμῳ ζῶς γεγονότος, καὶ ποιητῆς ἐπονομαζέται. Generation is the making or production of something Animate. And the work of an Artificer, as an Architect or Statuary, as soon as it is produced, departeth and is removed from the Maker thereof, as having no Intrinsic dependance upon him; Whereas from him that begetteth, there is a Principle and Power infused into that which is begotten, and mingled therewith, that containeth the whole nature thereof, as being a kind of Avulsion from the Begetter. Wherefore since the World is not like to those works, that are Artificially made and compacted by men, but hath a participation of Life and Divinity, which God hath inserted into it and mingled with it; God is therefore rightly stiled by Plato, not only the Maker, but also the Father of the whole World, as being an Animal. To the same purpose also Plotinus, ἡρόμενος δὲ οἷον οἶκος τις καλὸς ἢ ποικίλος, ἐκ ἀπέμνηθι τῷ πεποιμένῳ, ἔσδ' αὖ ἐκοίνωσεν αὐτῷ. ἔχει καὶ ψυχὴν κρείττονος ἢ κρείττων, ἢ ἔχμενος ἀλλ' ἐκ ἔχων, κείται γὰρ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνεχέσθῃ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκ ἀμοιροῦν ἐστὶν αὐτῆς, ὡς ἂν ἐν ὕδασι δαίτυον τεθόμενον ζῶῃ. The World being made as a large and stately Edifice, was neither cut off and separated from its Maker, nor yet mingled and confounded with him. Forasmuch as he still remaineth above Presiding over it: The World being so animated, as rather to be possessed by Soul, than to possess it, it lying in that great Psyche which sustaineth it, as a net in the waters, all moistned with Life. Thus Plotinus supposing the whole Corporeal World to be Animated, affirmeth it neither to be cut off from its Maker (by which Maker he here understands the Mundane Soul) nor yet that Mundane Soul it self, to be Immersed into its Body the World, after the same manner as our humane Souls are into these Bodies; but so to preside over it, and act it, as a thing Elevated above it. And though according to him, that Second Divine Hypostasis of Nous or Intellect, be in like manner Elevated above this Mundane Soul; and again that First Hypostasis or Supreme Deity, (called by him Unity and Goodness) above Intellect; yet the Corporeal World could not be said, to be cut off from these neither; they being all three (Monad, Mind, and Soul) closely and intimately united together.

En.4.L.3.c.9.

XXX. The Hebrews were the only Nation, who before Christianity for several ages, professedly opposed the Polytheism and Idolatry of the Pagan World. Wherefore it may be probably concluded, that they had the right Notion of this Pagan Polytheism and understood what it consisted in, viz. Whether in worshipping Many Unmade, Self-originated Deities, as Partial Creators of the World; or else in worshipping, besides the Supreme God, other Created Beings Superiour to Men? Now Philo plainly understood the Pagan Polytheism after this latter way; as may appear from this passage of his in his Book concerning the Confusion of Languages, where speaking of the Supreme God (the Maker and Lord of the whole World) and of his δυνάμεις ἀραγοί, his Innumerable Assistent Powers, both visible and invisible, he adds, καὶ ἀπλαγῆντες ἐν τινὲς τῶ ἐκατέρῃ τῆς κόσμων φύσει, ἢ μόνον ὅλας ἐξεθείωσαν, ἀλλὰ ἢ τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν, ἢ ἴλιον, ἢ σελῶν, ἢ τὴν σύμπαντα ἔργον, ἢ ἄφ' ἑδὲν αἰδεσθέντες θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν, ὡν τῶ ἑπίνουαν κατὶδὸν μαυσιῶς φησὶ κῶρε κῶρε βασιλεῦ τῆς θεῶν, ἐνδύξιν ἢ παρ' ὑπὸ κῶρε ἀρχοῦ. διαφορῆς. Wherefore some men being struck with admiration

P. 345.



753.

miration of both these Worlds, the Visible and the Invisible, have not only Deified the whole of them, but also their several Parts, as the Sun, and the Moon, and the whole Heaven, they not scrupling to call these, Gods. Which Notion and Language of theirs, Moses respected in those words of his, Thou Lord the King of Gods; he thereby declaring the transcendency of the Supreme God above all those his subjects called Gods. To the same purpose Philo writeth also in his Commentary upon the Decalogue, πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ τοιαύτῳ τερθεῖαν ἀπασάμενοι, τὸς ἀδελφὸς φύσῃ μὴ προσκυνᾶμεν, εἰ καὶ καθαραιτέρως καὶ ἀθανατοτέρως ἑστίας ἔλαχον, ἀδελφοὶ δ' ἀλλήλων τὰ γρόμματα, καθ' ὃ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατὴρ ἀπολύτων ὁ ποιητὴς τῆς ὅλων· καὶ πρῶτον τῶτο καὶ ἱερώτατον ἀδελφείμα συνιδύσασμεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἕνα ἢ ἀνωτάτω νομίζεν τὸ καὶ τιμᾶν θεόν· Wherefore removing all such imposture, Let us worship no Beings, that are by Nature Brothers and Germane to us, though endued with far more pure and immortal Essences than we are. For all Created things as such, have a kind of Germane and Brotherly Equality with one another, the maker of all things being their common Father. But let us deeply infix this first and most holy commandment in our breasts, to acknowledge and worship One only Highest God. And again afterwards, ὅσοι μὲν ἡλίου, καὶ σελήνης, καὶ τῆς συμπαντικῆς ἑρμῆς τε καὶ κόσμου, καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀλοχερεσάτων μερῶν ὡς θεῶν πρόπολοιτε καὶ δεραπόδοι, διαμαρτάνουσι, τὸς ὑψηλότες τῆς ἀρχαῖου σεμνυνοῦντες· They who worship the Sun, and the Moon, and the whole Heaven and World, and the Principal parts of them as Gods, err, in that they worship the Subjects of the Prince; whereas the Prince alone ought to be worshipped. Thus according to Philo, the Pagan Polytheism consisted, in giving Religious Worship, besides the Supreme God, to other Created understanding Beings, and Parts of the World, more pure and immortal than men.

Flavius Josephus in his Judaick Antiquities, extolling Abraham's Wisdom and Piety, writeth thus concerning him, πρῶτον ἐν τολμαῖς θεὸν ἀποφῆνασθαι δημωροῦν τῆς ὅλων ἕνα, which some would understand in this manner, that Abraham was the first who publicly declared, that there was one God the Demiurgus or maker of the whole world; as if all mankind besides at that time, had supposed, the world to have been made not by One but by Many Gods. But the true meaning of those words is this, That Abraham was the first, who in that degenerate age, publicly declared that the Maker of the whole world, was the One only God, and alone to be Religiously Worshipped: accordingly as it follows afterwards in the same writer, ὃ καλῶς ἔχει μόνῳ τῷ τιμῶν καὶ τὴν δὲ χειριστὴν ἀπονέμεν, to whom alone men ought to give honour and thanks. And the reason hereof is there also set down, τῆς ἢ λοιπῶν, εἰ καὶ τι πρὸς ὀδαιμονίαν συντελεῖ, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν τῶτο παρέχειν ἕκαστον καὶ ἑκαστὸν οἰκίαν ἰσχύν· Because all those other beings, that were then worshipped as Gods, whatsoever any of them contributed to the happiness of mankind, they did it not by their own power, but by his appointment and command; he instancing in the Sun and Moon, and Earth and Sea, which are all made and ordered by a higher power and providence, by the force whereof they contribute to our utility. As if he should have said, That no Created Being, ought to be Religiously worshipped, but the Creator only. And this agreeth

agreeth with what we read in Scripture concerning *Abraham*, that he called upon the Name of the Lord, אלהים. The God of the whole World; that is, he worshipped no particular Created Beings, as the other Pagans at that time did, but only that Supreme Universal Numen, which made and containeth the whole World. And thus *Maimonides* interprets that place, התורה להודיע לעם שיש רבונו לעבוד אלהים אלהי העולם אברהם הבגאנו ללמד, that none ought to be Religiously Worshipped, save only the God of the whole World. Moreover the same *Josephus* afterwards in his Twelfth Book, brings in *Aristæus* (who seems to have been a secret Profelyted Greek) pleading with *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, in behalf of the Jews and their Liberty, after this manner; τὴν βασιλείαν ἡς διέπονται, τῷ θεομύθῳ τὰς νόμους αὐτοῖς ἡμεῖς ἀπειλά στυγερὰ μὲν δεῖν, ἢ εἶποι ἡμεῖς σεβόμεθα, ζῆνα καλῶντες αὐτῶν, εἰτοιμάς ἀπὸ τῷ συμπάσι ἐμφύειν τὸ ζῆν, τὴν ἑπιήλυτον αὐτῶν νοήσαυτες. It would well agree with your Goodness and Magnanimity, to free the Jews from that miserable Captivity which they are under: since the same God who governeth your Kingdom, gave Laws to them, as I have by diligent search found out. For both They and we, do alike worship the God who made all things, we calling him Zene, because he gives life to all. Wherefore for the honour of that God, whom they worship after a singular manner, please you to indulge them the liberty of returning to their native country. Where *Aristæus* also according to the sence of Pagans thus concludes; Know, O King, that I intercede not for these Jews as having any cognation with them, πάντων ἢ ἀνθρώπων δημιουργία ὄντων τῷ θεῷ, ἢ γινώσκων αὐτῶν ἡδόμενον τοῖς ὑποδύσαν, ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡδόμενον, but all men being the Workmanship of God, and knowing that he is delighted with beneficence, I therefore thus exhort you.

As for the latter Jewish Writers and Rabbins, it is certain that the generality of them supposed the Pagans to have acknowledged One Supreme and Universal Numen, and to have worshipped all their other Gods, only as his Ministers, or as Mediators between him and them: *Maimonides* in *Halacoth* יבמות describeth the Rise of the Pagan Polytheism in the dayes of *Enosh*, after this manner: בימי אנוש טעו בני האדם טעות גדולה ובערה עצת חכמי אבותו הודו ואנוש טעמו מן הטועים היה זהו היתה טעותם: אמרו הואיל והאל ברא כוכבים אלו וגלגלים להנהיג את העולם ונתנם במרום והלק להם כבוד והם שמשים המשמשים לפניו דמויים והם לשבחם ולפאדם ולחלוק להם כבוד והו רצון האל ברוך הוא לגדל ולכבוד מי שגדלו וכבודו כמו שהמך רוצה לכבוד דעומדים לפניו והו כבודו של מלך In the days of *Enosh*, the Sons of men grievously erred, and the wisemen of that age became brutish (even *Enosh* himself being in the number of them) and their error was this, that since God had created the Stars and Spheres, to govern the world, and placing them on high, had bestowed this honour upon them, that they should be his Ministers and subservient Instruments; men ought therefore to praise them, honour them, and worship them: this being the pleasure of the Blessed God, that men should magnifie and honour those whom himself hath magnified and honoured, as a King will have his Ministers to be revered, this honour redounding to himself. Again the same *Maimonides* in the beginning of the Second Chapter of that Book writeth thus; עיקר הצווי העבודה זרה שלא לעבוד אהד מכל הברואים

לא מלאך ולא גלגל ולא כוכב ולא אחד מן היסודות ולא אחד מכל הנבראים  
 מהן ואף עלפי שהעובד יודע שהשם הוא האלהים והוא עובד הנברא הזה על  
 The Foundation of that Commandment against strange Worship (now commonly called I-  
 dolatry) is this, that no man should worship any of the Creatures what-  
 soever, neither Angel, nor Sphere, nor Star, nor any of the four Ele-  
 ments, nor any thing made out of them. For though he that worships these  
 things, knows that the Lord is God, and Superiour to them all, and  
 worships those Creatures no otherwise, than Enosh and the rest of that age  
 did, yet is he nevertheless guilty of Strange Worship, or Idolatry. And  
 that, after the times of Enosh also, in succeeding ages, the Poly-  
 theism of the Pagan Nations, was no other than this, the worship-  
 ping (besides One Supreme God) of other created Beings, as the  
 Ministers of his Providence, and as Middles or Mediators betwixt  
 Him and Men, is declared likewise by Maimonides (in his More Ne-  
 wochim) to have been the Universal Belief of all the Hebrews or Jews;  
 ואחא יודע כי כל מי שעובד עבודה זרה לא יעבדה רעת שאין אלוה בלעדיה יהי ולא דמה  
 מעולם כלל מן העובדים ולא ידמה מן הבאים שהצורה אשר יעשה מן המחכות או  
 מן האבנים והעצים שהצורה ההיא היה אשר בראה השמים והארץ אבל אמנם  
 ועבודה על צד שהוא דמיון לדבר שהוא אמצעי בנים ובין האלוה וזה ממה שלא  
 You know that whosoever committeth Idolatry, he doth it not as supposing, that there is no other God besides that which  
 he worships, for it never came into the minds of any Idolaters, nor  
 never will, that that Statue which is made by them of metal, or stone, or  
 wood, is that very God who created Heaven and Earth; but they wor-  
 ship those Statues and Images only as the representation of something,  
 which is a Mediator between God and them. Moses Albelda the Author  
 of the Book entituled, Gnolath Tamid, resolves all the Pa-  
 gan Polytheism and Idolatry, into these Two Principles, one of which  
 respected God, and the other men themselves: הא טועני לזה מצדו יח  
 ואומרים כי הוא גבוה מעל גבוה ואם להרבק בו רך על האמצעים כמנהג המלך בו  
 שהרצים לשאול שאלה מה ממנו ושאלוה על אמצעי ולכן עשים אותה העם כדי להוריד  
 השפע האלוהי על ידה: הב טועני מצד עצמם וזה כי היות האדם גשמי אינו יכול להתבודד  
 מעצמו אם לא ישום נגדו ובר מה מוחש יעוררו ויעוררו להבין עצמו כדי שתרבק  
 The Idolaters first argued thus, in respect of God; that  
 since he was of such transcendent perfection above men, it was not possible  
 for men to be united to or have communion with him, otherwise than by  
 means of certain Middle Beings or Mediators; as it is the manner of  
 Earthly Kings, to have petitions conveyed to them by the hands of Media-  
 tors & Intercessors. Secondly they thus argued also in respect of themselves;  
 That being corporeal so that they could not apprehend God Abstractly, they  
 must needs have something sensible, to excite and stir up their devotion &  
 fix their Imagination upon. Joseph Albo in the Book called Ikkarim, con-  
 cludes that Abab and the other Idolatrous Kings of Israel and Judah  
 worshipped other Gods upon those two accounts mentioned by Mai-  
 monides & no otherwise, namely that the Supreme God was honoured by  
 worshipping of his Ministers, and that there ought to be certain Middles  
 אחאב וחולו מלכי ישראל ויהודה, והוא טועני אחר הכחות הגלגליות משתי צדדין שאמרנו וגם שלמה טעה בזה עם  
 היותם מאמינים במציאות השם ואחודתו אם נשהו חושבים לגדר אר השם  
 בזה ואם נשהו חושבין לעשות סיסור ואמצעים בנים ובין השם יחב  
 Abab

P. 1. c. 36.

Fol. 147.

P. 3. c. 18.

Ahab and other Kings of Israel and Judah, and even Solomon himself, erred in worshipping the Stars upon those two accounts already mentioned out of Maimonides, notwithstanding that they believed the Existence of God and his Unity; they partly conceiving that they should honour God in worshipping of his Ministers, and partly worshipping them as Mediators betwixt God and themselves. And the same Writer determines the meaning of that First Commandment (which is to him the Second) *Thou shalt have no other Gods before my face*, to be this, להכניס אותם אמצעים בני ובניך או שתחשוב לדומם אותי בעבודתם *Thou shalt not set up other Inferiour Gods as Mediators betwixt me and thy self, or worship them so, as thinking to honour me thereby.* R. David Kimchi (upon 2 Kings 17.) writeth thus, concerning that Israelitish Priest, who by the King of Assyria's command, was sent to Samaria to teach the new inhabitants thereof to worship the God of that Land (of whom it is afterwards said, that they both feared the Lord and served their Idols; ) אמר להם שלא יהיו עובדים עבודה זרה כלל לא היו מאמינים שהוא דבר שגדלו בו כל האומות מקדם והוא מצלם כמו שושל ראשון אך אמר להם שיהיו עובדים את אלוהיהם כמו שהיו עובדים ובלבו שתהא כוונת האל בלבם כי אלא האלהים לא ורעו ולא ייטבו כי אם ברצון האל אלא שעובדים אותם להיותם אמצעים בינם ובין הבורא.

*If he should have altogether prohibited them their Idolatry, they would not have hearkned to him, that being a thing which all those Eastern people were educated in from their very Infancy, insomuch that it was a kind of First Principle to them. Wherefore he permitted them to worship all their several Gods, as before they had done, only he required them to direct the intention of their minds to the God of Israel (as the Supreme) for those Gods could do them neither Good nor Hurt, otherwise than according to his Will and pleasure: but they worshipped them to this purpose, that they might be MEDIATORS betwixt them and the Creatour. In the Book Nitzachon, all the Polytheism and Idolatry of the Pagans, is reduced to these Three Heads; First עבדו משרתי השם לכבודו When they worshipped the Ministers of God, as thinking to honour him thereby; and Secondly, עבדו אותם שיהיו מליצים בעדם When they worshipped them, as Orators and Intecessors for them with God; and Lattly עבדו לזכרו when they worshipped Statues of wood and stone, for Memorials of him. And though it be true that Isaak Abrabanel (upon 2 Kings 17.) does enumerate more Species of Pagan Idolatry, even to the number of Ten, yet are they all of them but so many several Modes of Creature-worship; and there is no such thing amongst them to be found, as the worshipping of many Unmade Independent Deities, as Partial Creators of the World.*

Moreover those Rabbinick Writers commonly interpret certain places of the Scripture to this fence, That the Pagan Idolaters, did notwithstanding, acknowledge, *One Supreme Deity*, as that *Jeremy 10.7. Who is there that will not fear thee, thou King of Nations? For amongst all their wise men and in all their Kingdoms, there is none like unto thee; though they are become all together brutish, and their worshipping of stocks is a doctrine of vanity: For Maimonides thus glosseth upon those Words, כלומר הנל יודעים שאתה הוא לבדך אבל טעותם ונסולותם שמרים שורה ההבל רצונך הוא* *As if he should say, all the Gen-*

*tiles know, that thou art the only Supreme God, but their error and folly consisteth in this, that they think this vanity of worshipping Inferiour Gods, to be a thing agreeable to thy will. And thus also Kimchi in his Commentaries, מי לא יראך אפילו הגוים העובדים האלילים ראוי להם שידאוך כי אתה מלך עליהם בכל חכמי הגוים ובכל מלכותם אומרים מאין כבוד ואינם עובדים הכוכבים אלא להיותם אמצעיים בינך ובינם ואמר חכמי הגוים כי הם יודעים כי הפסל אינו כלום ואם יעבדו הכוכבים לא יעבדום אלא מפני שהם משרתיך להיותם אמצעיים Who will not fear thee? It is fit that even the Nations themselves who worship Idols, should fear thee, for thou art their King; and indeed amongst all the wisemen of the Nations and in all their Kingdoms it is generally acknowledged, that there is none like unto thee. Neither do they worship the Stars otherwise, than as Mediators betwixt thee and them. Their wise men know that an Idol is nothing; and though they worship Stars, yet do they worship them as thy Ministers, and that they may be Intercessors for them. Another place is that, Malachi I. 11. which though we read in the Future Tense, as a Prophecy of the Gentiles, yet the Jews understand it of that present time, when those words were written, From the rising of the Sun to the going down thereof my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure oblation, for my name is great amongst the Gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts. But you prophane it, &c. Upon which words R. Solomon glosseth thus, מי שיש לו עו יודע שהוא אלוהה שהוא על כולם ובכל מקום מתנובנים לשמי אף האומות The Pagan Polytheists and Idolaters Know, that there is One God Superiour to all those other Gods and Idols worshipped by them; and in every place are there Free-will-offerings, brought to my name, even amongst the Gentiles. And Kimchi agreeth with him herein, אף על פי שהגוים עובדים לצבא השמים מודים בי שאני הסבה הראשונה אלא שעובדים אותם שיהיו אמצעיים ביני ובינם Although the Pagans worshipped the Host of Heaven, yet do they confess me to be the first Cause, they worshipping them only as in their opinion certain Mediators betwixt me and them. Whether either of these two places of Scripture, does sufficiently prove, what these Jews would have, or no; yet however is it evident from their interpretations of them, that themselves supposed, the Pagans to have acknowledged, One Supreme Deity, and that their Other Gods, were all but his Creatures and Ministers. Nevertheless there is another place of Scripture which seems to sound more to this purpose, and accordingly hath been thus interpreted by Rabbi Solomon and others, Psal. 65. 6. where God is called מבטח כל קצוי ארץ וים רחקים The Confidence of all the Ends of the Earth, and of them that are afar off in the Sea, that is, even of all the Pagan World.*

Thus we see plainly, that the Hebrew Doctors and Rabbins, have been generally of this perswasion, that the Pagan Nations anciently, at least the Intelligent amongst them, acknowledged One Supreme God of the Whole World; and that all their Other Gods were but Creatures and Inferiour Ministers; which were worshipped by them vpon these Two Accounts, either as thinking, that the Honour done to them redounded to the Supreme; or else that they might be מליצין, סרטורים, and אמצעיים, their Mediators, and Intercessors, Orators, and Negotiators with him. Which Inferiour Gods of

of the Pagans, were supposed by these Hebrews, to be chiefly of Two Kinds, *Angels*, and *Stars or Spheres*. The Latter of which the Jews as well as Pagans, concluded to be Animated and Intellectual: For thus *Maimonides* expressly, כל הכוכבים והגלגלים כולן בעלי נפש ודעה והשכל הם והם חיים ועומדים ומכוזן ארץ מי שאמר והיה העולם כל אחד ואחד לפי גודלו ולפי מעלתו משבחין ומפארים ליוצאם כמו המלאכים *The Stars and Spheres are every one of them Animated, and endued with Life, Knowledge and Understanding. And they acknowledge him, who commanded and the World was made, everyone of them, according to their degree and excellency praising and honouring him, as the Angels do. And this they would confirm from that place of Scripture, Neh. 9. 6. Thou, even thou art Lord alone, Thou hast made Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens with all their Host, the Earth with all things that are therein, the Seas and all that is therein, and Thou preservest them all; and the Host of Heaven Worshippeth Thee: The Host of Heaven being commonly put for the Stars.*

*Fesude Hatto-  
rab c. 3. §. 9.*

XXXI. But Lastly, this same thing is plainly confirmed from the *Scriptures* of the *New Testament* also; That the *Gentiles* and *Pagans*, however *Polytheists* and *Idolaters*, were not unacquainted with the knowledge of the *True God*, that is, of the *One only Self-existent* and *Omnipotent Being*, which *Comprehendeth all things under him*: From whence it must needs follow, that their other *Many Gods*, were all of them supposed to have been derived from this *One*, and to be *Dependent* on him.

For First, *St. Paul* in his *Epistle* to the *Romans* tells us, that these *Gentiles* or *Pagans* did τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατέχευον, *Hold the Truth in Unrighteousness*, or *Unjustly Detain and Imprison the same*. Which is chiefly to be understood, of the *Truth* concerning *God*, as appears from that which follows, and therefore implies the *Pagans* not to have been unfurnished of such a *knowledge of God*, as might and ought to have kept them from all kinds of *Idolatry*; however by their *Default*, it proved ineffectual to that end, as is afterwards declared; ἐν ἐδουκίμασαν τὸ θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἑπιγνώσει, *They liked not to retain God in the Agnition*, or *Practical Knowledge of him*. Where there is a distinction to be observed, betwixt γνῶσις and ἐπιγνώσις, the *Knowledge* and the *Agnition* of *God*; the former whereof in this Chapter, is plainly granted to the *Pagans*, though the Latter be here denied them; because they lapsed into *Polytheism* and *Idolatry*; which is the meaning of these words, μετέλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ ἰδού, *They changed the truth of God into a lye*. Again the same *Apostle* there affirmeth, That the τὸ γνωστὸν τῷ θεῷ φανερὸν ἔστι ἐν αὐτοῖς, *That which may be Known of God, was manifest within them, God himself having shewed it unto them*. There is something of *God Unknowable* and *Incomprehensible* by all *Mortals*, butth at of *God which is Knowable*, his *Eternal Power* and *Godhead*, with the *Attributes* belonging thereunto, is made manifest to all mankind, from his works. *The invisible things of him, from the Creation of the World, being clearly seen and understood by the things that are made*. Moreover this *Apostle* expressly declareth, the *Pagans* to have known *God*, in that *Censure* which

he

V. 21.

he giveth of them, διότι γνόντες ἢ θεόν, ἔχ' ὡς θεόν ἐδόξασαν, *that when they Knew God they Glorified him not as God; because they fell into Polytheism and Idolatry.* Though the Apostle here instanceth only in the Latter of those Two, their *changing the Glory of the Incorruptible God, into an Image made like to Corruptible man and to birds and beasts and creeping things.* The reason whereof is, because this *Idolatry of the Pagans*, properly so called, that is, their worshipping of *stocks and stones*, formed into the likeness of Man or Beast, was generally taken amongst the Jews, for the grossest of all their

De Decal. p. 753.

*Religious Miscarriages.* Thus Philo plainly declareth; ὅσοι μὲν ἡλίας καὶ σελήνης, καὶ τῆς σὺμπαύτου ἕρηνε τε καὶ κόσμου, καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀλοχρεωμάτων μερῶν ὡς θεῶν πρόπολοι τε καὶ θεοπροβαταί, διαμαρτάνουσι μὲν (πῶς γὰρ ἔ, τὰς ὑπὸ κούρας τῆς ἀρχαίας σεμνύουσας) ἡπτόν ἢ τῆς ἄλλων ἀδικίαι, τῆς ξύλα καὶ λίθου, ἀργυρῶν τε καὶ χρυσοῦν, ἢ τὰς ἀστρονομίας ἕλας μορφωσάντων, &c. *Whosoever worship the Sun, and Moon, and the whole Heaven, and World, and the chief Parts thereof, as Gods, do unquestionably Err (they honouring the subjects of the Prince) but they are guilty of less iniquity and injustice, than those who form wood and stone, gold and silver, and the like matters, into Statues to worship them; &c.* of which assertion he afterwards gives this account, τὸ γὰρ κάλλιστον ἔρεσμα τ' ἰουχῆς ἐξέκοψαν, τὴν αὖτε τῆς ζῶντος αἰεὶ θεοῦ προσήκουσαν ὑπόληψιν, *because these have cut off the most excellent Fulcrum of the Soul, the persuasion of the Everliving God, by means whereof, like unballasted ships, they are tossed up and down perpetually, nor can be ever able to rest in any safe harbour.* And from hence it came to pass, that the *Polytheism* of the Pagans, their worshipping of *Inferiour Gods* (as Stars and Demons) was vulgarly called also by the Jews and Christians, *Idolatry*, it being so denominated by them à *famosiore specie*. Lastly, the Apostle plainly declares, that the error of the Pagan Superstition universally consisted (not in worshipping *Many Independent Gods and Creators*, but) in *joyning Creature-worship*, as such, some way or other, with the *Worship of the Creator*; ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει ἄλλα ἢ κτίσαντα,

V. 25.

which words are either to be thus rendred; *They [religiously] worshipped the Creature Besides the Creator*, that Preposition being often used in this sence, as for example, in this of *Aristotle*, where he affirmeth concerning *Plato*, that he did τὸ ἐν ἢ τὰς ἀριθμοὺς ἄλλα τὰ πρῶτα ποιεῖσαι,

Met L. i. c. 6.

(not make *Numbers to be the Things themselves*, as the *Pythagoreans* had done, but) *Unity and Numbers to be Besides the things; or τὰς ἀριθμοὺς ἄλλα τὰ αἰσθητὰ, Numbers to exist by themselves, Besides the Sensibles.* He by *Numbers* meaning, as *Aristotle* himself there expounds it, τὰ εἶδη, the *Ideas* contained in the *First Intellect* (which was *Plato's Second Divine Hypostasis*) as also by τὸ ἐν, ὁ τοῖς εἶδεσι παρέχεται τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, *that Ipsum Unum, or Unity which gives being to those Ideas, is understood Plato's First Divine Hypostasis.* Or else the *Words* ought to be translated thus; *And worshipped the Creature Above or More than the Creator*, that Preposition ἄλλα, being sometimes used *Comparatively*, so as to signify *Excess*, as for example in *Luke 13. 2.* *Think you that these Galileans were ἀμαρτολοὶ ἄλλα πάντας τὰς Γαλιλαίους, Sinners beyond all the Galileans? And ver. 4. Think you, that those eighteen upon whom the Tower of Siloam fell, were ὀφειλέται ἄλλα πάντας debtors above all the men that dwelt in Jerusalem.* According

to

to either of which interpretations, it is supposed, that the Pagans did worship the *True God*, the *Creator* of the whole World; though they worshipped the *Creature* also, *Besides him*, or (perhaps in some sense) *Above him* and *More than him* also. But as for that other Interpretation, of *ἄνω ἢ ὑπερῶν*, which *Beza* chose rather to follow, that they worshipped the *Creature*, the *Creator* being wholly Passed by, this is no true *Literal* Version, but only a *Gloss* or *Commentary* upon the words, made according to a certain preconceived and extravagant opinion, that the Pagans did not at all worship the *Supreme God* or *Creator*, but universally transfer all their worship upon the *Creature* only. But in what sense the Pagans might be said to worship the *Creatures*, *Above* or *Beyond* or *More* than the *Creator* (because it is not possible that the *Creature*, as a *Creature*, should be worshipped with more *Internal* and *Mental Honour*, than the *Creator* thereof, look'd upon as such) we leave others to enquire. Whether or no, because when *Religious Worship*, which properly and only belongeth to the *Creator*, and not at all to the *Creature*, is transferred from the *Creator* upon the *Creature*, according to a *Scripture-Interpretation* and *Account*, such may be said to worship the *Creature more than the Creator*? Or whether because some of these Pagans, might more frequently address their *Devotions* to their *Inferiour Gods* (as *Stars*, *Demons* and *Hero's*) as thinking the *Supreme God*, either *Above their Worship*, or *Incomprehensible*, or *Inaccessible* by them? Or lastly, Whether because the *Image* and *Statue-worshippers* among the Pagans (whom the *Apostle* there principally regards) did direct all their *External Devotion* to *Sensible Objects*, and *Creaturely Forms*? However it cannot be thought, that the *Apostle* here taxes the Pagans, merely for worshipping *Creatures Above the Creator*, as if they had not at all offended, had they worshipped them only in an *Equality* with him; but doubtless their sin was, that they gave any *Religious Worship* at all to the *Creature*, though in way of *Aggravation* of their crime, it be said, that they also worshipped the *Creature more than the Creator*. Thus we see plainly, that the *Pagan Superstition* and *Idolatry* (according to the *True Scripture* notion of it) consisted not in *Worshipping* of *Many Creators*, but in *Worshipping* the *Creatures* together with the *Creator*.

Besides this we have in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* an *Oration*, which *St. Paul* made at *Athens* in the *Areopagitick Court*, beginning after this manner; *Ye men of Athens, I perceive that ye are every way more than ordinarily Religious*; for the word *ἠσυχασμοειδέες* seems to be taken there in a good sense, it being not only more likely that *St. Paul* would in the beginning of his *Oration* thus *captare benevolentiam*, conciliate their benevolence, with some commendation of them, but also very unlikely that he would call their worshipping of the *True God* by the name of *Superstition*, for so it followeth; *For as I passed by and beheld your sacred things (or monuments) I found an Altar with this Inscription, Ἄγνωστον θεῶν, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD*. It is true that both *Philostratus* and *Pausanias* write, that there were at *Athens*, Ἄγνωστον θεῶν βῆματα, *Altars of Unknown Gods*: but their meaning in this might well be, not that there were *Altars* Dedicated



Dedicated to Unknown Gods Plurally, but that there were several Altars, which had this Singular Inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. And that there was at least One such, besides this Scripture-record, is evident from that Dialogue in *Lucian's Works*, entituled *Philopatris*, where *Critias* useth this form of Oath, Νῆϛ' Ἄγνωστον ἐν Ἀθῆναις, *No, by the Unknown God at Athens*: and *Triphoz* in the close of that Dialogue speaketh thus, Ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄν ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἄγνωστον ἐφωδεδίτες, ἢ προσκυνήσαντες, χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν ἐκτείναντες, τὸ τῶν ἀχειριστοῦμεν, ὡς καὶ ἀξιωθέντες, &c. *But we having found out that Unknown God at Athens, and worshipped him, with hands stretched up to Heaven, will give thanks to him, as having been thought worthy to be made subject to this power.* Which passages, as they do unquestionably refer to that Athenian Inscription either upon One or more Altars, so does the latter of them plainly imply, that this *Unknown God* of the Athenians, was the *Supreme Governour of the World*. And so it follows in *St. Paul's Oration*, ὃν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ἄσχετῶν, τὸν ἐγὼ καὶ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν, *Whom therefore you ignorantly worship (under this name of the Unknown God) Him declare I unto you, the God that made the World, and all things in it, the Lord of Heaven and Earth.* From which place we may upon firm Scripture-Authority conclude these *Two Things*; *First*, that by the *Unknown God* of the Athenians, was meant the *Only True God, He who made the World and all things in it*; who in all probability was therefore stiled by them, Ἄγνωστος Θεός, the *Unknown God*, because he is not only *Invisible* but also *Incomprehensible* by mortals; of whom *Josephus* against *Appion* writeth thus, That he is δυνατὸν μόνον ἡμῖν γινώσκμεν, ὅποιον ἢ καὶ εἶδεν ἄγνωστος, *knowable to us only by the Effects of his Power, but as to his own Essence, Unknowable or Incomprehensible.* But when in *Dion Cassius* the God of the Jews is said to be ἀρρήτῳ ἢ ἀεθλῶς, not only *Invisible* but also *Ineffable*, and when he is called in *Lucan Incertus Deus, an Uncertain God*, the reason hereof seems to have been, not only because there was no Image of him, but also because he was not vulgarly then known by any Proper Name, the *Tetragrammaton* being religiously forboren amongst the Jews in common use, that it might not be profaned. And what some learned men have here mentioned upon this occasion, of the Pagans sometimes sacrificing περὶ ἰσοκρίτου θεῶν, *to the Proper and Convenient God*, without signifying any name, seems to be nothing to this purpose; that proceeding only from a Superstitious Fear of these Pagans (supposing several Gods to preside over several things) lest they should be mistaken, in not applying to the Right and Proper God, in such certain cases, and so their Devotion prove unsuccessful and ineffectual. But that this *Unknown God* is here said to be *ignorantly worshipped* by the Athenians, is to be understood chiefly in regard of their *Polytheism* and *Idolatry*. The *second thing* that may be concluded from hence is this, That these Athenian Pagans, did ἀσχετῶν, *Religiously Worship the True God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth*; and so we have a Scripture-confutation also, of that opinion, That the Pagans did not at all worship the *Supreme God*.

Lastly, *St. Paul* citing this passage out of *Aratus* a Heathen Poet, concerning *Zeus* or *Jupiter*,

τῷ γὰρ ἢ γένος ἰσομῆν

For we are his Off-spring, and interpreting the same of the True God, in whom we live and move and have our being; we have also here a plain Scripture-acknowledgment that by the Zeus of the Greekish Pagans, was sometimes at least meant the True God. And indeed that Aratus his Zeus was neither a man born in Crete nor in Arcadia, but the Maker and Supreme Governour of the whole World, is evident both from the antecedent and the subsequent Verses. For Aratus his Phenomena begin thus,

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμεθα

(which in Tully's Version is *Ab Jove Musarum Primordia*) and then follows a Description of this Zeus or Jupiter:

ἴδ' ἔπειτα ἄνδρες ἰσομῆν  
 Ἄρρητον· μεσσί ἢ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγαί,  
 Πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραὶ μεσθ' ἢ θαλάσσης,  
 καὶ λιμένες· πάντι ἢ Διὸς κεχρημένα πάντες·  
 τῷ γὰρ ἢ γένος ἰσομῆν·

To this sence; *Him of whom we men are never silent; and of whom all things are full, he permeating and pervading all and being every where; and whose beneficence we all constantly make use of and enjoy: For we also are his Off-spring.* Where Theon the Scholiast writeth thus, πᾶν περιπίπτως ὁ Ἄρατος τῷ ἄστρον διεξίναμι μέλων θείων, ἢ πατέρα τέτων ἢ δημιουργόν, Δία, ἐν πρώτοις προσφωνεῖ· Δία ἢ νῦν ἢ δημιουργόν ἀκροῦτον· Aratus being about to declare the Position of the Stars, doth in the first place, very decorously and becomingly invoke Zeus, the Father and Maker of them. For by Zeus is here to be understood the Demiurgus of the World, or as he afterwards expresseth it, ὁ τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας θεός, the God who made all things. Notwithstanding which, we must confess, that this Scholiast there adds, that some of these Passages of the Poet, and even that cited by the Apostle, τῷ γὰρ γένος ἰσομῆν, may be understood also in another sence, of the Ζεύς φυσικός, the Physical Jupiter, that is, the Air: but without the least shadow of Probability, and for no other reason, as we conceive, but only to shew his Philological Skill. However this is set down by him, in the First place as the genuine and proper sence of those words, πρὸς τὸ πατρὸς ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε· εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἐδημιούργησε πρὸς τὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις βιωφιλῆς, αὐτῷ ἂν κληθεῖν μῆν, αὐτὸν πατέρα ἢ δημιουργόν ἐπιτιμωφόμενοι· This agreeth with that Title of Jupiter, when he is called the Father of Gods and men: For if he made Us, and all these other things for our use, we may well be called His, and also style him our Father and Maker: And that this was the only Notion, which the Poet here had of Zeus or Jupiter, appears undeniably also from the following words, as

ὁ δ' ἢ ἵπιος ἀνθρώποισι  
 Δέξια σημαίνει

C c c

who

Who as a kind and benign Father, sheweth lucky Signs to men; which to understand of the Air were very absurd. And

Αὐτὸς γὰρ τάγε σήματ' ἐν ἄραν' ἐσήειξεν,  
 Ἄστρα διακρίνας· ἐπέτατο δ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν  
 Ἄστρους·

For he also hath fastned the Signs in Heaven, distinguishing Constellations, and having appointed Stars to rise and set at several times of the year.

And from this,

τῷ μὲν αἰεὶ πρῶτον τε καὶ ὑστατον ἰλάσκονταί,

Therefore is He always Propitiated and Placated both First and Last. Upon which the Scholiast thus, ἴσως ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν σπονδῶν, τὰς τὴν μὲν πρῶτῳ σπονδῶν εἶναι θεῶν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, δευτέρῳ ἢ ἡρώων, καὶ τρίτῳ διὸς σωτῆρος. This perhaps refers to the Libations, in that the First of them was for the Heavenly Gods, the Second for Heroes, and the Last for Jupiter the Saviour. From whence it plainly appears also, that the Pagans in their Sacrifices (or Religious Rites) did not forget Jupiter the Saviour, that is, the Supreme God.

Lastly, from his concluding thus;

χαῖρε πάτερ μέγα θαύμα, μέγ' ἀνθρώποιον ὄνειρα·

Where the Supreme God is saluted, as the Great Wonder of the World, and Interest of Mankind.

Wherefore it is evident from Aratus his Context, that by his *Zens* or *Jupiter* was really meant the Supreme God, the Maker of the whole World; which being plainly confirmed also by St. Paul and the Scripture, ought to be a matter out of Controversie amongst us. Neither is it reasonable to think that Aratus was Singular in this, but that he spake according to the Received Theology of the Greeks, and that not only amongst Philosophers & Learned Men, but even the Vulgar also. Nor do we think that that Prayer of the ancient Athenians, commended by M. Antoninus, for its simplicity, is to be understood otherwise, ἴσον ὕσον ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἀθιναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων, Rain Rain O Good (or Gracious) Jupiter, upon the fields and pastures of the Athenians: upon which the Emperor thus, ἢ τοι εἰ δὲ ἄλλοι, ἢ ἄπλως καὶ ἐλευθέρως, We should either not pray at all (to God) or else thus plainly and freely. And since the Latins had the very same Notion of Jupiter, that the Greeks had of *Zens*, it cannot be denied but that they commonly by their Jupiter also, understood the One Supreme God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth. We know nothing that can be objected against this, from the Scripture, unless it should be that Passage of St. Paul, In the Wisdom of God the World by Wisdom knew not God. But the meaning thereof is no other than  
 this

this, that the Generality of the World before Christianity, by their Natural Light, and Contemplation of the works of God, did not attain to such a *Practical Knowledge* of God, as might both free them from *Idolatry*, and Effectually bring them to a *Holy Life*.

XXXII. But in order to a fuller explication of this *Pagan Theology*, and giving yet a more Satisfactory Account concerning it, there are *Three Heads* requisite to be insisted on; *First*, That the Intelligent Pagans worshipped the *One Supreme God under Many Several Names*; *Secondly*, That besides this *One God*, they worshipped also *Many Gods*, that were indeed *Inferiour Deities* Subordinate to Him; *Thirdly*, That they worshipped both the *Supreme and Inferiour Gods*, in *Images, Statues and Symbols*, sometimes Abusively called also *Gods*. We begin with the *First*, That the *Supreme God amongst the Pagans, was Polyonymous, and worshipped under several Personal Names*, according to several *Notions and Considerations* of him, from his *Several Attributes and Powers, Manifestations, and Effects* in the World. P. 314, 315.

It hath been already observed out of *Origen*, that not only the *Egyptians*, but also the *Syrians, Persians, Indians*, and other *Barbarian Pagans*, had beside their *Vulgar Theology*, another more *Arcane and Recondit* one, amongst their *Priests and Learned Men*: and that the same was true concerning the *Greeks and Latins* also, is unquestionably evident from that account, that hath been given by us of their *Philosophick Theology*. Where by the *Vulgar Theology* of the Pagans, we understand, not only their *Mythical or Fabulous*, but also their *Political or Civil Theology*, it being truly affirmed by *St. Austin* concerning both these, *Et Civilis & Fabulosa, ambæ Fabulosæ sunt, ambæque Civiles*, That both the *Fabulous Theology of the Pagans was in part their Civil, and their Civil was Fabulous*. And by their more *Arcane or Recondit Theology*, is doubtless meant, that which they conceived to be the *Natural and True Theology*. Which Distinction of the *Natural and True Theology*, from the *Civil and Political*, as it was acknowledged by all the *Ancient Greek Philosophers*, but most expressly by *Antisthenes, Plato, Aristotle* and the *Stoicks*; so was it owned and much insisted upon, both by *Scævola* that famous *Roman Pontifex*, and by *Varro* that most *Learned Antiquary*; they both agreeing, that the *Civil Theology* then established by the *Roman Laws*, was only the *Theology of the Vulgar*, but not the *True*; and that there was another *Theology* besides it, called by them *Natural*, which was the *Theology of Wise men and of Truth*: nevertheless granting a necessity that in *Cities and Commonwealths*, besides this *Natural and True Theology* (which the generality of the *Vulgar* were incapable of) there should be another *Civil or Political Theology*, accommodate to their apprehensions; which *Civil Theology* differ'd from the *Natural*, only by a certain mixture of *Fabulosity* in it, and was therefore look'd upon by them, as a *Middle*, betwixt the *Natural*, and the *Fabulous or Poetical Theology*. P. 114, 115. Civ. D. L. 4. c. 8.

Wherefore it was acknowledged, that the *Vulgar Theology of the Pagans*, that is, not only their *Fabulous*, but even their *Civil* also,

was oftentimes very discrepant from the *Natural and True Theology*; though the wise men amongst them in all ages, endeavoured as much as they could, to dissemble and disguise this Difference, and by Allegorizing the *Poetick Fables* of the Gods, to bring that *Theology*, into some seeming conformity with the *Natural*, and *Philosophick*; but what they could not in this way reconcile, was by them excused upon the necessity of the Vulgar.

The *Fabulous Theology* both of the Greeks and Romans, did not only *Generate* all the other Gods, but even *Jupiter* himself also, their *Supreme Numen*, it assigning him both a *Father* and a *Mother*, a *Grandfather* and a *Grandmother*. And though the Romans did not plainly adopt this into their *Civil Theology*, yet are they taxed by *St. Austin* for suffering the Statue of *Jupiter's Nurse* to be kept in the *Capitol* for a Religious Monument. And however this differ'd nothing at all from that *Atheistick Doctrine* of *Evemerus*, That all the Gods were really no other than *Mortal Men*, yet was it tolerated and connived at by the Politicians, in way of necessary compliance with the Vulgar, it being so extremely difficult for them to conceive any such Living Being or Animal, as was never *Made* and *without Beginning*. Inasmuch that *Callimachus*, who would by no means admit of *Jupiter's Sepulchre*, either in *Crete* or *Arcadia* (but look'd upon it as a foul reproach to him) for this reason,

Σὺ δ' ἔθανες, ἐσὶ γὰρ αἰὲν,

Because he was *Immortal* and could never die; did notwithstanding himself, attribute a *Temporary Generation* and *Nativity* to him, as *O-rigen* and others observe. Nevertheless, the generality of the more *Civilized* and *Intelligent Pagans*, and even of the *Poets* themselves, did all this while constantly retain thus much of the *Natural and True Theology* amongst them, That *Jupiter was the Father* both of *Gods* and *Men*, that is, the *Maker of the whole World*, and consequently himself *Without Father*, *Eternal* and *Unmade*, according to that *Peleadean Oracle* before cited out of *Pausanias*,

Ζῆς ἦν, Ζῆς ἔστ', Ζῆς ἔσεται.

Again the *Civil Theology* of the Pagans as well as the *Poetick*, had not only many *Phantastick Gods* in it, but also an appearance of a *Plurality of Independent Deities*; it making *Several Supreme* in their several *Territories* and *Functions*; as *One* to be the *Chief Ruler* over the *Heavens*, Another over the *Air* and *Winds*, Another over the *Sea*, and Another over the *Earth* and *Hell*: *One* to be the *Giver of Corn*, Another of *Wine*; *One* the *God of Learning*, Another the *God of Pleasure*, and Another the *God of War*; and so for all other things. But the *Natural Theology* of the Pagans (so called) though it did admit a *Plurality of Gods* too, in a certain sense, that is, of *Inferiour Deities Subordinate* to *One Supreme*, yet did it neither allow of more *Independent Deities* than *One*, nor own any *Gods* at all but such as were *Natural*, that is, such as had a *Real Existence in Nature* and the *World* without,

without, and not in mens Opinion Only. And these Varro concluded, to be no other than First, the Soul of the World, and then the Animated Parts thereof Superiour to men; that is, One Supreme Universal Numen Unmade, and other Particular Generated Gods, such as Stars, Demons, and Heroes. Wherefore all the other Gods besides these, are frequently explodged by Pagan Writers (as Cicero and others) under the Name of *Dii Poetici*, that is, not Philosophical, but Poetical Gods, and *Dii Commentitii* and *Fictitii*, that is, not Natural and Real, but Feigned and Fictitious Gods. They in the mean time giving this Account of them, that they were indeed nothing else, but so Many Several Names and Notions of One Supreme Numen, according to his Several Powers and various Manifestations, and Effects in the World; it being thought fit by the wisdom of the ancient Pagan Theologers, that all those manifold Glories and Perfections of the Deity, should not be huddled up, and as it were crouded and crumpled together, in one General Acknowledgment of an Invisible Being the Maker of the world, but that they should be distinctly and severally displayed, and each of them adored singly and apart; and this too (for the greater Pomp and Solemnity) under so many Personal Names. Which perhaps the Unskilful and sottish Vulgar, might sometimes mistake, not only for so many Real and Substantial, but also Independent and Self-existent Deities.

We have before proved that one and the same Supreme God, in the Egyptian Theology, had several Proper and Personal Names given him, according to several Notions of him, and his several Powers and Effects; *Jamblichus* himself in that passage already cited, plainly affirming thus much, *De Myst. Æg.* ο δὲ δημιουργικὸς νῦς, δεσ. τῶ ἀφανῶ τῆ κεκερυμμένων λόγων δυνάμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, Ἀμῶν κτ' τῶ τῆ Αἰγυπτίων γλώσσῃ λέγεται, συντελών ἢ ἀφελδῶς ἕκαστα κτ' τεχνικῶς φθὰ, ἀγαθῶν ἢ ποιητικῶς ἐν ὄσει κελίται, κτ' ἄλλας δὲ ἄλλας δυνάμεις τε κτ' ἐνεργείας, ἐπανυμίας ἔχει. *The Demiurgical Mind and President of Truth, as with wisdom it proceedeth to Generation, and bringeth forth the bidden Power of the occult Reasons, contained within it self, into light, is called in the Egyptian Language Ammon; as it Artificially effects all things with Truth, Phtha; as it is productive of Good things Osiris; besides which it hath also several other Names, according to its other Powers and Energies: as namely Neith (or according to Proclus his Copy Νηιδᾶς, Neithas) the Tutelar God of the City Sais, from whence probably the Greek Ἀθωᾶ was derived, (the Athenians being said to have been at first, a Colony of these Saites) and this is The Divine Wisdom diffusing it self thorough all. So likewise Serapis, which though some would have to be the Sun, is by others plainly described as an Universal Numen. As Aristides in his Eighth O-* P. 95. *ration upon this God Serapis; οἱ μὲν δὲ τῆ μεγάλης πρὸς Αἰγυπτίω πόλεως πολίται, κτ' ἕνα τῶτον ἀνακαλεῖται Δία. ὅτι ἐν ἀπολέλειπται δυνάμει περιτῆ ἄλλὰ διὰ πάντων ἵκει, κτ' τὸ πᾶν πεπλήρωκε. τῆ γὰρ ἄλλων θεῶν διήλωται αἱ δυνάμεις τε κτ' τιμαί, κτ' ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλα ἀνθρώποι καλεῖσαν, ὃ ἢ ὡς ὅρ κορυφαῖον πάντων, ἀρχὴς κτ' πύργος ἔχει. They who inhabit the great City in Egypt, call upon this God Serapis, as their only Jupiter, he being supposed to be no way defective in Power, but to Pervade all things, and to Fill the whole Universe. And whereas the Powers and Honours of the other Gods are*

are divided, and some of them are invoked for one thing, and some for another; This is look'd upon by them as the Coryphæus of all the Gods, who contains the beginning and end of all things, and who is able to supply all wants. Cneph is also described by Eusebius as that Divine Intellect, which was the Demiurgus of the world and which giveth life to all things, as he is by Plutarch said to be ἀγένητος or Unmade, so that this was also another Egyptian Name of God; as likewise was Emeph and Eizōn in Jamblichus; though these may be severally distinguished into a Trinity of Divine Hypostases. Lastly, when Isis, which was sometimes called Multimamea, and made all over full of Breasts, to signify her Feeding all things, thus describes her self in Apuleius, *Summa Numinum, Prima Cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque facies Uniformis, cujus numen Unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur Orbis*; as she plainly makes her self to be the Supreme Deity, so doth she intimate, that all the Gods & Goddeses were compendiously contained in Her Alone, and that she (i.e. the Supreme God) was worshipped under several personal Names & with different rites, over the whole Pagan World. Moreover this is particularly noted concerning the Egyptians by Damascius the Philosopher, that, τὸ νοητὸν διηρέησαν εἰς πολλῶν θεῶν ιδιότητας, *They multiplied the First Intelligible (or the Supreme Deity) breaking and dividing the same into the Names and Properties of Many Gods.* Now the Egyptian Theology, was in a manner, the Pattern of all the rest, but especially of those European Theologies, of the Greeks and Romans.

Who likewise, that they often Made Many Gods of One, is evident from their bestowing so many Proper and Personal Names, upon each of those Inferiour Gods of theirs, The Sun, and The Moon, and The Earth; The First whereof, Usually called Apollo, had therefore this Epithet of πολυώνυμος commonly given to him, the God with many Names. Which many Proper Names of his, Macrobius insisteth upon in his Saturnalia, though probably making more of them than indeed they were. And the Moon was not only so called, but also Diana, and Lucina, and Hecate, and otherwise, insomuch that this Goddes also, hath been stiled Polyonymous as well as her brother the Sun. And Lastly, the Earth besides those Honorary Titles, of Bona Dea, and Magna Dea, and Mater Deorum, The Good Goddes, and the Great Goddes, and the Mother of the Gods, was multiplied by them into those Many Goddeses, of Vesta, and Rhea, and Cybele, and Ceres, and Proserpina, and Ops, &c. And for this cause was she thus described by Æschylus,

Καὶ Γαῖα πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφή μία.

*Et Tellus Multorum Nominum Facies Una.*

Now if these Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, had each of them so many Personal Names bestowed upon them, much more might the Supreme God be Polyonymous amongst them; and so indeed he was commonly stiled, as that learned Grammatician Hesychius intimates, upon that  
word

word πολυώνυμον, τὴν μονάδα ἕτως ἐκάλουν, καὶ ἐπιθετοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος, they called the *Monad thus*, and it was also the *Epithet of Apollo*; where by the *Monad* according to the *Pythagorick Language*, is meant the *Supreme Deity*, which was thus stiled by the Pagans πολυώνυμον, the *Being that hath many Names*. And accordingly *Cleanthes* thus be-  
ginneth that forecited Hymn of his to him,

Κύδης ἄθανάτων, πολυώνυμε,

*Thou most Glorious of all the Immortal Gods, who art called by Many Names*. And *Zeno* his Master, in *Laertius* expressly declareth, ὁ θεὸς πολλαῖς περιουσίαις ὀνομάζεται καὶ ταῖς δυνάμει· *God is called by many several Names, according to his several Powers and Vertues, whose Instances shall be afterwards taken notice of*. Thus also the *Writer De Mundo*; εἷς ὃ ἄν πολυώνυμος ἔστι, κατ'ἀνομαζόμενος τοῖς πάθει πᾶσιν ἅψ' αὐτὸς νεοχμεῖ· *God though he be but one, is Polyonymous, and variously denominated from his several attributes, and the effects produced by him*. *Quæcunque voles* (saith *Seneca*) *illi Propria Nomina aptabis, vim aliquam Effectumq; Cælestium rerum continentia. Tot Appellationes ejus possunt esse quot Munera*: You may give God whatsoever Proper Names you please, so they signifie some force and effect of Heavenly things: He may have as many Names, as he hath Manifestations, Offices and Gifts. *Macrobius* also, from the Authority of *Virgil*, thus determines, *Unius Dei Effectus Varios pro Variis censendos esse* (or as *Vossius* corrects it, *Censeri*) *Numinibus*, That the *Variou Effects of One God, were taken for Several Gods*; that is; Expressed by *Several Personal Names*; as he there affirmeth, the *Divers Vertues of the Sun, to have given Names to Divers Gods*; because they gave occasion for the *Sun, to be called by Several Proper and Personal Names*. We shall conclude with that of *Maximus Madaurensis*, before cited out of *St. Austin*, *Hujus Virtutes per Mundanum Opus diffusas, Nos multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam Nomen ejus Proprium ignoramus. Ita fit ut dum ejus quasi quedam Membra carptim variis supplicationibus prosequimur, Totum colere profectò videamur*. The *Vertues of this One Supreme God, diffused throughout the whole World, we (Pagans) invoke under Many Several Names, because we are ignorant what his Proper Name is. Wherefore we thus worshipping his Several Divided Members, must needs be judged to worship him Whole, we leaving out nothing of him*. With which *Latter words* seemeth to agree, that of the *Poet*, wherein *Jupiter* thus speaks the other Gods;

Cælicolæ, Mea Membra, Dei; quos Nostra Potestas,  
Officiis divisa facit.

Where it is plainly intimated, that the *Many Pagan Gods* were but the *Several Divided Members* of the *One Supreme Deity*, whether, because according to the *Stoical Sence, the Real and Natural Gods, were all but Parts of the Mundane Soul*; or else because all those other *Phantastick Gods, were nothing but Several Personal Names, given to the Several Powers, Vertues, and Offices of the One Supreme*.

Now



Now the Several Names of God, which the Writer *De Mundo* instanceth in, to prove him *Polyonymous*, are First of all such as these;  $\beta\epsilon\lambda\tau\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon$  and  $\alpha\sigma\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\alpha\iota$  The Thunderer and Lightner,  $\chi\epsilon\pi\omicron$  The Giver of Rain,  $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\pi\omicron$  The Bestower of Fruits,  $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\delta\iota\varsigma$  The Keeper of Cities,  $\mu\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\chi\iota$  The Mild and Placable, under which Notion they sacrificed no Animals to him, but only the Fruits of the Earth: together with many other such Epithets, as  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota$ ,  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$ ,  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\pi\omicron$ ,  $\tau\epsilon\sigma\pi\alpha\iota\sigma\chi\omicron$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron$ ,  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\iota\mu\alpha\iota$ , &c. and Lastly he is called  $\sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho$  and  $\epsilon\lambda\delta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , Saviour and Asserour. Answerably to which, Jupiter had Many such Names given him also by the Latins, as *Victor*, *Invidus*, *Opitulus*, *Stator*; the True meaning of which last, (according to *Seneca*) was not that which the Historians pretend, *quod post Votum susceptum, acies Romanorum fugientium stetit*, because once after Vows and Prayers offered to him, the Flying Army of the Romans was made to stand; *Sed quod stant beneficio ejus Omnia*, but because all things by means of him Stand Firm and are Established. For which same reason he was called also by them (as *St. Austin* informs us) *Centupeda*, as it were, standing Firm upon an Hundred Feet, and *Tigillus* the Beam, Prop, and Supporter of the World. He was stiled also by the Latins (amongst other Titles) *Almus* and *Ruminus*, i. e. He that Nourisheth all things, as it were, with his Breasts. Again that Writer *De Mundo* addeth another sort of Names, which God was called by; as  $\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\eta\eta$  Necessity, because he is an *Immovable Essence*, though *Cicero* gives another reason for that appellation, *Interdum Deum Necessitatem appellat, quia nihil aliter esse possit, atque ab eo constitutum sit*; they sometimes call God Necessity, because nothing can be otherwise than as it is by Him appointed. Likewise  $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta$ , because all things are by him Connected together, and proceed from him unhinderably.  $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\omega\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta$ , because all things in the world are determined, and nothing left Infinite (or Undetermined)  $\mu\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$ , because, he makes an apt Division and Distribution of all things.  $\alpha\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\alpha$ , because his Power is such, as that none can possibly avoid or escape him. Lastly, that Ingenious Fable, (as he calls it) of the Three Fatal Sisters, *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*, according to him, meant nothing but God neither,  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \eta\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\iota$ ,  $\pi\lambda\omega\ \delta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\ \eta\ \delta\ \chi\eta\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu\ \phi\eta\sigma\iota$ , All this is nothing else but God, as the noble and generous *Plato* also intimates, when he affirmeth, God to contain the Beginning, and Middle, and End of all things. And both *Cicero* and *Seneca* tell us, that amongst the Latins God was not only called *Fatum*, but also *Natura*, and *Fortuna*. *Quid aliud est Natura (saith Seneca) quam Deus, & Divina Ratio, toti Mundo & Partibus ejus inserta? What is Nature else, but God and the Divine Reason, inserted into the Whole World and all its Several Parts?* He adding, that God and Nature, were no more Two Different Things, than *Annæus* and *Seneca*. And *Nonnunquam Deum (saith Cicero) Fortunam appellant, quod efficiat multa improvisa, & nec opinata nobis, propter obscuritatem ignoracionemque Causarum*; They sometimes call God also by the name of Fortune, because he surprizeth us in many Events, and bringeth to pass things unexpected to us, by reason of the Obscurity of Causes and our Ignorance. *Seneca* thus concludes concerning these, and the like Names of God, *Omnia ejusdem Dei Nomina sunt,*

Ruma Mam-  
ma.

Acad. Q. L. 1.

*sunt, variè utentis sua Potestate ; These are all Names of one and the same God, Variously Manifesting his Power.*

But concerning most of these forementioned Names of God, and such as are like to them, it was rightly observed by St. *Austin*, that they had no such Appearance or shew of *Many Distinct Gods* ; *Hæc omnia cognomina imposuerunt Uni Deo, propter Causas Potestatesque Diversas, non tamen propter tot res, etiam tot Deos esse coegerunt, &c.* Though the Pagans imposed all these Several Names upon One God, in respect of his Several Powers, yet did they not therefore, seem to make so many Gods of them : as if *Victor* were one God, and *Invictus* another God, and *Centupeda* another God, and *Figillus* another, and *Ruminus* another, &c. Wherefore there are other Names of God used amongst the Pagans, which have a greater show and appearance of so many Distinct Deities, not only because they are Proper Names, but also because each of them had their peculiar Temples appropriated to them, and their different Rites of Worship. Now these are of Two sorts ; First, such as signify the Deity according to its *Universal*, and *All-comprehending* Nature ; and Secondly, such as denote the same only according to certain *Particular Powers, Manifestations, and Effects* of it in the world. Of the First kind there are not a few. For First of all, *PAN*, as the the very word plainly implies him to be a *Universal Numen*, and as he was supposed to be the *Harmosies* of the whole World, or to play upon the World as a *Musical Instrument*, according to that of *Orpheus* (or *Onomacritus*)

Ἀρμονίαν κρομοιο κρέκων φιλοπαίγμονι μολπή,

So have we before showed, that by him the Arcadians and Greeks meant, not the *Corporeal World Inanimate*, nor yet as endued with a *Senseless Nature* only, but as proceeding from an *Intellectual Principle* or *Divine Spirit*, which framed it *Harmoniously* ; and as being still kept in tune, acted and governed by the same. Which therefore is said to be the *Universal Pastor and Shepherd of all Mankind*, and of the whole world, according to that other Orphick passage,

βόσκων ἀνθρώπων χροιλῶ, ἢ ἀπέρομονα γούαν,

*Pascens Humanum Genus, ac sine limite Terram.*

And this *Pan*, *Socrates* in *Plato's Phædrus*, plainly invokes as the *Supreme Numen*. *Pan* therefore, is the *One only God* (for there cannot possibly be more than *One Pan*, more than *One All* or *Universe*) who contained *All* within himself, displayed *All* from himself, framing the World *Harmoniously*, and who is in a manner *All Things*.

Again *JANUS*, whom the Romans First invoked in all their *Sacrifices* and *Prayers*, and who was never omitted, whatsoever God they sacrificed unto ; was unquestionably many times taken for a *Universal Numen*, as in this of *Martial*,

————— *Nitidique Sator pulsherrime mundi.*

D d d

And

*Faſt.* 1. And again in this of *Ovid*.

*Quicquid ubique vides, Cælum, Mare, Nubila, Terras,  
Omnia sunt noſtra clauſa patentque Manu :  
Me penes eſt Unum vaſti Cuſtodia Mundi.*

From which paſſages it alſo appears, that *Janus* was not the meer Senſleſs and Inanimate Matter of the World, but a Principle Preſiding over it. And without doubt all the *Beginnings* of things, were therefore referred to this *Janus*, becauſe he was accounted the *moſt Ancient God*, and the *Beginning of all things*. *St. Auſtin* concluding him to be the ſame with *Jupiter*, therefore quarrels with the Pagans (that is, with their *Civil Theology*) for thus making

*C.D.L. 7. c. 10* Two Gods of One. *Cum ergo Janus Mundus ſit, & Jupiter Mundus ſit, Unuſque ſit Mundus, quare Duo Dii ſunt Janus & Jupiter ? Quare ſeorſum habent Tempſa, ſeorſum Aras, diverſa Sacra, diſſimilia Simulachra ? Si propterea, quia alia viſ eſt Primordiorum, alia Cauſarum, ex illa Jani ex iſta Jovis nomen accepit : nunquid ſi unus homo in diverſis rebus duas habeat poteſtates, aut duas artes, (quia ſingularum diverſa Viſ eſt) ideo Duo dicuntur Artifices ? &c. Since therefore *Janus* is the World, and *Jupiter* is the World, and there is but one World, how can *Janus* and *Jupiter* be Two Gods ? Why have they their Tempſes apart, their Altars apart, diſtinct Sacred things, and Statues of different forms ? If becauſe the force of *Beginnings* is One, and the force of *Causes* Another, he is therefore called *Janus* from the former, and *Jupiter* from the latter ; I aſk whether or no, if one Man have two ſeveral arts about different things, he therefore be to be called Two Artificers ? Or is there any more reaſon, why one and the ſame God, having Two Powers, one over the *Beginnings* of things, and another over the *Causes*, ſhould therefore be accounted Two Gods ? Where when *Jupiter* and *Janus* are both ſaid to be the World, this is to be underſtood properly not of the Matter but the Soul or Mind of the World, as*

*C.D.L. 4. c. 11* *St. Auſtin* himſelf elſewhere declares, *Sit Jupiter Corporei hujus Mundi Animus, qui univerſam iſtam Molem, ex quatuor Elementis conſtructam atque compactam, implet & movet ; Let Jupiter be the Mind of this corporeal World, which both filleth and moveth that whole bulk, compounded and made up of the four Elements.* Nevertheleſs as the Soul and Body both together are called the Man, ſo was the whole Animated World, by the Pagans called *God*. Now the forementioned Argumentation of *St. Auſtin*, though it be good againſt the Pagans *Civil Theology*, yet their other *Arcane* and *Natural Theology* was unconcerned in it, that plainly acknowledging all to be but *One God*, which for certain Reaſons was worſhipped under ſeveral Names, and with Different Rites. Wherefore *Janus* and *Jupiter*, being really but Different Names for One and the ſame Supreme God, that conjecture of *Salmaſius* ſeems very probable, that the Romans derived their *Janus* from *ζανὸς*, the *Ætolian Jupiter*.

*GENIUS* was alſo another of the *Twenty Select Roman Gods* & that this was likewiſe a *Universal Numen*, containing the whole Nature of things,

things, appears from this of *Festus*, *Genium appellabant Deum, qui vni obtineret rerum omnium genendarum*, They called that God, who hath the Power of begetting or producing all things, *Genius*. And *St. Austin* also C.D.L.7.c.13. plainly declareth *Genius* to be the same with *Jupiter*, that is, to be but another Name for the One Supreme God. *Cum alio loco [Varro] dicit; Genium esse Vniuscuiusque animum rationalem; talem autem Mundi Animum Deum esse, ad hoc idem utique revocat, ut tanquam Universalis Genius, ipse Mundi Animus esse credatur. Hic est igitur quem appellant Jovem.* And afterwards, *Restat ut eum Singulariter & Excellenter dicant Deum Genium, quem dicunt Mundi Animum; ac per hoc Jovem.* When *Varro* elsewhere calleth the Rational Mind of every one, a *Genius*, and affirmeth such a Mind of the whole World, to be God; he plainly implieth, that God is the Universal *Genius* of the world, and that *Genius* and *Jupiter* are the same. And though *Genius* be sometime used for the Mind of every man, yet the God *Genius*, spoken of by way of Excellency, can be no other than the Mind of the whole world, or *Jupiter*.

Again that *CHRONOS* or *SATURN* was no Particular Deity, but the Universal *Numen* of the whole World, is plainly affirmed by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*; where commending the Fertility of *Italy*, he writeth thus, Rom. Ant. L. I. p. 24. Steph. ἔθεν ἐν θαυμαστὸν τὰς παλαιὰς ἱερὰν ὑπολαβῆν τὸ κρῆνος τῷ χρόνῳ ταύτῃ, ἢ μὲν δαίμονα τῆτον, οἰομένους εἶναι πᾶσις ὀυδαίμονιας δοτήρα, ἢ πληρωτῷ ἀνθρώποις. ἔτε χρόνον αὐτὸν δ'εἰ καλεῖν, ὡς Ἑλλῶνες ἀξίεισαν, ἔτε κρῆνον ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, πᾶσαν ἢ ὀυλειηφότα τῷ τῷ κόσμῳ φύσιν, ὅπτιτερον ἂν τις ὀνομάσοι. Wherefore it is no wonder, if the Ancients thought this Country to be sacred to Saturn, they supposing this God to be the Giver and Perfecker of all happiness to men; whether we ought to call him *Chronos* as the Greeks will have it, or *Cronos* as the Romans; he being either way such a God, as comprehends the Whole Nature of the world. But the word *Saturn* was *Hetrurian* (which Language was Originally Oriental) and being derived from *ἄρα*, signifies *Hidden*, so that by *Saturn* was meant, that *Hidden Principle* of the Universe which containeth all things, and he was therefore called by the Romans *Deus Latius*, The *Hidden God*; as the wife of *Saturn* in the Pontifical Books is *Latia Saturni*, and the Land it self (which in the *Hetrurian* Language was *Saturnia*) is in the Roman *Latium*; from whence the Inhabitants were called *Latins*, which is as much as to say, the Worshippers of the *Hidden God*. Moreover that *Saturn* could not be inferiour to *Jupiter*, according to the *Fabulous Theology*, is plain from hence, because he is therein said to have been his Father. But then the Question will be, how *Saturn* and *Jupiter* could be both of them One and the same Universal *Numen*? To which there are several Answers. For first *Plato* who propounds this Difficulty in his *Cratylus*, solves it thus; That by *Jupiter* here is to be understood the Soul of the World, which according to his Theology was derived from a Perfeck and Eternal Mind or Intellect (which *Chronos* is interpreted to be) as *Chronos* also depended upon *Uranus* or *Cælus*, the Supreme Heavenly God, or First Original Deity. So that *Plato* here finds his Trinity of Divine Hypostases, Archical and Universal, τὰ ἀδὴν, Νῆς, and Ψυχῆ, in *Uranus*, *Chronos*, and *Zeus*; or *Cælus*, *Saturn* and *Jupiter*. Others conceive, that according to the plainer

plainer and more simple sence of *Hesiod's Theogonia*, that *Jupiter* who together with *Neptune* and *Pluto*, is said to have been the *Son of Saturn*, was not the *Supreme Deity*, nor the *Soul of the World* neither, but only the *Æther*, as *Neptune* was the *Sea* and *Pluto* the *Earth*. All which are said to have been begotten by *Chronos* or *Saturn* the *Son of Uranus*, that is as much as to say, by the *Hidden Vertue of the Supreme Heavenly God*. But the *Writer De Mundo*, though making *Jupiter* to be the *First and Supreme God*, yet (taking *Chronos* to signifie *Immensity of Duration* or *Eternity*) will have *Jupiter* to be the *Son of Chronos* in this sence, because he doth διήκειν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀτέμνονος εἰς ἕτερον αἰῶνα, continue from one Eternity to another; so that *Chronos* and *Zeus* are to him in a manner one and the same thing. But we are apt to think that no *Ingenious* and *learned Pagan*, who well understood the *Natural Theology*, would deny, but that the best Answer of all to this difficulty is this, That there is no *Coherent Sence*, to be made, of all things, in the *Fabulous Theology*. *St. Austin*, from *Varro*, gives us this account of *Saturn*, that it is he who produceth from himself continually the *Hidden Seeds* and *Forms* of things, and reduceth or receiveth them again into himself; which some think to have been the true meaning of that Fable concerning *Saturn* his devouring his *Male-children*; because the *Forms* of these *Corporeal things*, are perpetually destroyed, whilst the *Material Parts* (signified by the *Femals*) still remain. However it is plain, that this was but another *Pagan Adumbration* of the *Deity*, that being also sometimes thus defined by them, as *St. Austin* likewise informs us, *Sinus quidam Naturæ in seipso continens omnia*, A certain *Bosom*, or *Deep Hollow*, and *Inward Recess* of *Nature*, which containeth within it self all things. And *St. Austin* himself concludes, that according to this *Varronian Notion* of *Saturn* likewise, the *Pagans Jupiter* and *Saturn*, were really but one and the same *Numen*, *De Civ. D. L. 7. c. 13*. Wherefore we may with good reason affirm, that *Saturn* was another *Name* for the *Supreme God* amongst the *Pagans*, it signifying that *Secret and Hidden Power*, which comprehends, pervades and supports the whole *World*; and which produces the *Seeds* or *Seminal Principles* and *Forms* of all things from it self. As also *Uranus* or *Cælus*, was plainly yet another *Name* for the same *Supreme Deity*; (or the *First Divine Hypostasis*) comprehending the whole.

C. D. L. 4.  
c. 12.

Thus in that  
old Inscripti-  
on, ΟΡΤΙ-  
ΜΩΣ ΜΑΧΙ-  
ΜΩΣ ΚΑΙ Ε-  
ΛΩΣ ΑΙ-  
ΤΕΡΝΟΣ  
ΖΟΥΠΙΤΕΡ.

In the next place, though it be true that *Minerva* be sometimes taken for a *Particular God*, or for *God* according to a *Particular Manifestation* of him in the *Æther* (as shall be shewed afterwards) yet was it often taken also, for the *Supreme God* according to his most *General Notion*, or as a *Universal Numen* diffusing himself through all things. Thus hath it been already proved, that *Neith* or *Neithas*, was the same amongst the *Egyptians*, that *Athena* amongst the *Greeks*, and *Minerva* amongst the *Latins*; which that it was a *Universal Numen*, appears from that *Egyptian Inscription* in the *Temple* of this *God*, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be*. And accordingly *Athenagoras* tells us, that *Athena* of the *Greeks* was, ἡ φρόνιμος διὰ πάντων διήκουσα, *Wisdom passing and diffusing it self thorough all things*: as in the *Book of Wisdom* it is called, ἡ πάντων τεχνίτις, the *Artifex* of all things, and is said διήκειν ἐν, χωρεῖν διὰ πάντων, to pass and move through all things,

things. Wherefore this *Athena* or *Minerva* of the Pagans was either the First Supreme Deity a Perfect and Infinite Mind the Original of all things; or else a *Second Divine Hypostasis*, the immediate Off-spring and First-begotten of that First Original Deity. Thus *Aristides* in his Oration upon *Minerva*, πάντα μὲν ἐν τῇ κάλλιστα ᾧ Ἐπιθεωρεῖν τε καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν κεφάλαιον ἢ εἰπεῖν, τῆ πάντων δημιουργὸς καὶ βασιλέως παῖς ἔστι μόνη δὴ μόνος· καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξ ὅτου ὁμοίως ποιήσκειν αὐτῷ· ἀλλ' ἀναχωρήσας αὐτὸς εἰς αὐτὸν, αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἤνωσεν τὴν καὶ πᾶσι τῷ θεῷ· ὥστε εἶναι μόνη βεβαίως γνησία τῆ πατρὸς, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁμολογῶσιν ἑαυτὰς τῆ ἡλικίας ἡρωμένη, &c. Wherefore all the most excellent things are in *Minerva*, and from her: but to speak briefly of her, this is the only immediate off-spring of the only Maker and King of all things; For he had none of equal honour with himself, upon whom he should beget her, and therefore retiring into himself, he begot her and brought her forth from himself: so that this is the only Genuine Off-spring of the First Father of all. And again, Πίνδαρος δ' αὖ φησὶ, δεξιὰν ἔχει τῆ πατρὸς αὐτῷ καθυπομένῳ, τὰς εἰσοδὰς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποδέχεται· ἀγγέλων μὲν γὰρ ἔστι μείζων ἢ δὲ, τῶν ἀγγέλων ἄλλοις ἄλλα ἐπιτάττει πράττει ᾧ τῆ πατρὸς ἡγεμονία ἀντ' ἐξουσιᾶς τῶν ἑσῶν τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ εἰσαγωγῆς ὅταν καὶ τῶν δέη. Pindar also affirmeth concerning *Minerva*, that sitting at the Right hand of her Father, she there receiveth commands from him to be delivered to the Gods. For she is greater than the Angels, and commandeth them some one thing and some another, accordingly as she had first received of her Father: she performing the Office of an Interpreter and Introducer to the Gods when it is needful. Where we may observe by the way, that this word Angel, came to be in use amongst the Pagans from Jews and Christians, about this very age that *Aristides* lived in; after which we meet with it frequently in the writings of their Philosophers. Lastly *Aristides* thus concludeth his Oration upon *Minerva*, σχεδὸν γὰρ δύναμιν τῆ Διὸς εἶναι λέγων τὴν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν, ἐν ἧν ἀμαρτάνοι· ὥστε τί δ' εἶ μνησθῆναι τὰς ἐν μέγῃ πρεβείας αὐτῆς δημιουργόν, ὅπου ἔξεται τὰ τῆ Διὸς ἔργα κοινὰ τῆ Διὸς, εἶναι φησὶ καὶ τῆ Ἀθηνῶν. He that from what we have said will determine, that *Minerva* is as it were the Power and Vertue of *Jupiter* himself will not err. Wherefore (not to enumerate all the minute things belonging to *Minerva*) we conclude thus concerning her, that all the works of *Jupiter*, are common with *Jupiter* and *Minerva*. Wherefore that conceit which the Learned and Industrious *Vossius*, somewhere seems to favour; that the Pagans *Universal Numen* was no other than a *Senseless Nature*, or *Spermatick Reason* of the whole World, undirected by any Higher Intellectual Principle, (which is indeed no better than downright *Atheism*) is plainly confuted from hence, they making *Wisdom* and *Understanding*, under these Names of *Neith*, *Athena*, and *Minerva*, to be either, the Absolutely Supreme Deity, or the First-begotten Off-spring of it.

To *Minerva* may be added *Apollo*, who though often taken for the *Sensible Sun Animated*, and so an *Inferiour Deity*, yet was not always understood in this sense, nor indeed then when he was reckoned amongst the *Twelve Consentes*, because the Sun was afterwards added to them, in the number of the *Eight select Gods*. And that he was sometimes taken for the Supreme *Universal Numen*, the  
Maker

P. 413.

Maker of the Sun and of the whole World, is plainly testified by *Plutarch* (who is a competent Witness in this Case, he being a Priest of this *Apollo*) writing thus concerning him in his *Defect of Oracles*, εἴτε ἥλιός ἐστιν εἴτε κύριος ἥλιος, καὶ πατήρ, καὶ ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐρανόθεν πάντος, ἐν εἰκὸς ἀπαξίσιν φωνῆς τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων, οἷς αὐτός ἐστι γένεσως καὶ τροφῆς, καὶ τῶ ἐῖναι καὶ φρονεῖν. *Whether Apollo be the Sun, or whether he be the Lord and Father of the Sun, placed far above all sensible and Corporeal Nature, it is not likely, that he should now deny his Oracles to them to whom himself is the cause of Generation and Nourishment, of Life and understanding.*

P. 108.

Moreover *Urania Aphrodite*, the *Heavenly Venus* or *Love*, was a *Universal Numen* also, or another name of God, according to his more *General Notion*, as *Comprehending the whole World*, it being the same with that Ἔρως, or *Love*, which *Orpheus*, and others in *Aristotle*, made to be the *First Original of all things*. For it is certain that the *Ancients* distinguished concerning a double *Venus* and *Love*. Thus *Pausanias* in *Plato's Symposium*, ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ πρῆστυπῶν καὶ ἀμήτωρ οὐρανὸς θυγάτηρ, ἣν δὲ καὶ οὐρανίαν ἐπονομάζομεν. ἡ δὲ νεώτερα, Διὸς καὶ Διώνης, ἣν δὲ πάνδημον καλεῖσμεν. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ Ἔρωτα, τὸ μὲν ἑτέρα συνεργόν, πάνδημον ὁμοῦ καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐρανίον. *There are Two Venuses and therefore two Loves, one the Older and without a Mother, the Daughter of Uranus or Heaven, which we call the Heavenly Venus; another younger, begotten from Jupiter and Dione, which we call the Vulgar Venus; and accordingly are there of necessity two Loves, answering to these two Venuses, the one Vulgar, and the other Heavenly.* The *Elder* of these two *Venuses*, is in *Plato* said to be *Seniour to Japhet and Saturn*, and by *Orpheus* the *Oldest of all things*, and πρῶτος γένεσως, *The First Begetter of all*. Upon which account perhaps, it was called by the *Oriental Nations*, *Mylitta* or *Genitrix*, as being the *Fruitful Mother of all*. This was also the same with *Plato's* τὸ πρῶτον καλὸν, *The First Fair*; the *Cause of all Pulchritude, Order and Harmony* in the *World*. And *Pausanias* the *Writer* tells us, that there were *Temples* severally erected to each of these *Venuses* or *Loves*, the *Heavenly* and the *Vulgar*, and that *Urania* or the *Heavenly Venus* was so called, ἐπι ἔρωτι καθαροῦ καὶ ἀπληαμένω πόθῳ σωμάτων, *because the Love belonging to it, was pure and free from all corporeal affection*; which as it is in men, is but a participation of that *First Urania*, or *Heavenly Venus* and *Love, God himself*. And thus is *Venus* described by *Euripides* in *Stobæus*, as the *Supreme Numen*.

Thus also by *Æschylus*,  
Ἔρως μὲν ἀγνὸς ἄ-  
ρανός, &c.  
Ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν  
λαμβάνει, &c.  
— ἦν δὲ ἐγὼ  
παλαιῶν,  
*Grot. Excerpt. p. 45*

τῷ Ἀφροδίτῳ ἔχ ὄρεῖς ὅση θεός,  
Ἄμ' ἔδ' ἂν εἶποις, ἔδδ' μετρήσας ἂν,  
ὅση πέφυκε καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον διέρχεται.  
Αὐτὴ τρέφει σὲ καὶ μετ' ἐγὼ πάντας βροτῶν, &c.

To this sence, *Do you not see how great a God this Venus is? but you are never able to declare her Greatness, nor to measure the Vast extent thereof. For this is she which nourisheth both Thee and Me and all Mortals, and which makes Heaven and Earth friendly to conspire together, &c.* But by *Ovid* this is more fully expressed, in his *Fastorum*,

Illa

*Ille quidem Totum dignissima temperat Orbem,  
 Illa tenet Nullo regna minora Deo:  
 Juraque dat Cælo, Terræ, Natalibus Undis;  
 Perque suos initus continet omne genus.  
 Illa Deos omnes (longum enumerare) creavit;  
 Illa Satis Causas Arboribusque dedit.*

*Lib. 4.*

Where all the Gods are said to have been Created or Made by *Venus*, that is, by the *One Supreme Deity*. But lastly this is best of all performed by *Severinus Boetius*, a Christian Philosopher and Poet, in this manner;

*De Cons. L. 3.  
 Met. 8.*

*Quod Mundus Stabili fide  
 Concordes variat vices,  
 Quod Pugnancia Semina  
 Fœdus perpetuum tenent;  
 Quod Phœbus roseum diem  
 Curru provehit aureo; &c.  
 Hanc rerum seriem ligat,  
 Terras ac pelagus regens,  
 Et Cælo imperitans, AMOR. &c.  
 Hic si frœna remiserit,  
 Quicquid nunc amat invicem,  
 Bellum continuè geret.  
 Hic sancto populos quoque  
 Junctos fœdere continet;  
 Hic & Conjugii Sacrum  
 Castis necit Amoribus, &c.  
 O felix hominum genus,  
 Si vestros animos AMOR,  
 Quo Cælum regitur, regat.*

And to this *Urania* or *Heavenly Venus* was near of kin also, that *Third Venus* in *Pausanias* called *Ἀποσεφία*, and by the Latins *Venus Verticordia*, pure and chaste Love, expulsive of all unclean Lusts, to which the Romans consecrated a Statue, as *Valerius M.* tells us (*L. 8. c. 15.*) *quo facilius Virginum, Mulierumque mentes à libidine ad pudicitiam converterentur, To this end, that the minds of the Female Sex might then the better be converted from Lust and Wantonneß to Chastity.* We conclude therefore that *Urania* or the *Heavenly Venus*, was sometimes amongst the Pagans a Name for the *Supreme Deity*, as that which is the most *Amiable Being*, and *First Pulchritude*, the most *Benign and Fecund Begetter* of all things, and the *constant Harmonizer* of the whole World.

Again though *Vulcan*, according to the most common and *Vulgar Notion* of him, be to be reckoned amongst the *Particular Gods*, yet had he also another more *Universal Consideration*. For *Zeno* in *Laertius* tells us, that the *Supreme God* was called *Ἡρακλῆς* or *Vulcan*, *ὅτι τὸ εἰς τὸ τεχνικὸν τῆς διατάξεως τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς αὐτῆς*, as his *Hegemonick*



gemonick acted in the Artificial Fire. Now Plutarch and Stobæus testify that the Stoicks did not only call Nature, but also the Supreme Deity it self, (the Architect of the whole world) τεχνικὸν πῦρ, *An Artificial Fire*, they conceiving him to be Corporeal. And Jamblichus making Phtha to be the same Supreme God amongst the Egyptians, with Osiris, and Hammon; or rather more properly, all of them alike the Soul of the World, tells us that Hephæstus in the Greekish Theology, was the same with this Egyptian Phtha; "Ἐλλῶες εἰς Ἡφαιστον μεταλαμβάνουσι τὸ φθᾶ, τὰ τεχνικῶ μόνον προσβάλλουτες, *Amongst the Greeks Hephæstus (or Vulcan) answers to the Egyptian Phtha.* Wherefore as the Egyptians by Phtha, so the Greeks by Hephæstus, sometimes understood no other than the Supreme God or at least the Soul of the World, as Artificially framing all things.

De Ben L. 4.  
c. 8.

Furthermore Seneca gives us yet other Names of the Supreme Deity, according to the Sence of the Stoicks, *Hunc & Liberum Patrem, & Herculem, ac Mercurium nostri putant, Liberum Patrem, quia Omnium Parens, &c. Herculem, quod vis ejus invicta sit; Mercurium, quia Ratiopenes illum est; Numerusque, & Ordo, & Scientia: Furthermore our Philosophers take this Auctor of all things, to be Liber Pater, Hercules, and Mercury; The First because he is the Parent of all things, &c. the Second, because his Force and Power is unconquerable, &c. And the Third, because there is in and from him Reason, Number, Order and Knowledge.* And now we see already, that the Supreme God, was sufficiently Polyonymous amongst the Pagans; and that all these, Jupiter, Pan, Janus, Genius, Saturn, Cælus, Minerva, Apollo, Aphrodite Urania, Hephæstus, Liber Pater, Hercules and Mercury, were not so many Really Distinct and Substantial Gods. much less Self-existent and Independent Ones; but only several Names, of that One Supreme Universal and All-comprehending Numen, according to several Notions and Considerations of him.

But besides these, there were many other Pagan Gods called by *Servius, Dii Speciales, Special or Particular Gods*, which cannot be thought neither, to have been so many Really Distinct and Substantial Beings (that is Natural Gods) much less Self-existent and Independent, but only so many several Names or Notions of One and the same Supreme Deity, according to certain Particular Powers and Manifestations of it. It is true, that some late Christian Writers against the Polytheism and Idolatry of the Pagans, have charged them with at least a Trinity of Independent Gods, viz. Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto, as sharing the Government of the whole world amongst these Three; and consequently acknowledging no One Universal Numen. Notwithstanding which it is certain, that according to the more Arcane Doctrine and Cabala of the Pagans, concerning the Natural True Theology, these Three considered as Distinct and Independent Gods, were accounted but *Dii Poetici & Commentitii, Poetical and Fictitious Gods*, and they were really esteemed no other, than so many Several Names and Notions of One and the same Supreme Numen, as acting variously in those several parts of the world, the Heaven, the Sea, the Earth and Hell. For First as to Pluto and Hades, called also

also by the Latins *Orcus*, and *Dis*, (which latter word seems to have been a contraction of *Dives* to answer the Greek *Pluto*) as *Balbus* in *Cicero* attributes to him, *Omnem Vim terrenam*, all Terrene Power, so others commonly assign him the *Regimen of Separate Souls after Death*. Now it is certain, that according to this latter Notion, it was by *Plato* understood no otherwise than as a Name for that Part of the *Divine Providence which exercises it self upon the Souls of men after Death*. This *Ficinus* observed upon *Plato's Cratylus*, *Animadvertite præ cæteris, Plutonem hic significare præcipuè, Providentiam Divinam ad Separatas Animas pertinentem*: You are to take notice, that by *Pluto* is here meant, that part of *Divine Providence*, which belongeth to *Separate Souls*. For this is that which according to *Plato*, binds and detains pure Souls, in that separate state, with the best *Vinculum* of all, which is not *Necessity*, but *Love and Desire*, they being ravished and charmed as it were with those pure delights which they there enjoy. And thus is he also to be understood, in his Book of *Laws*, writing Lib. 8. in this manner concerning *Pluto*, καὶ ὁ δυσχεροτέρου πολεμικοῦ ἀνδράποιοις ἢ τοῦτον θεόν, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον, ὡς ὄντα αἰετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡδέα ἄριστον· κοινῶν δὲ ψυχῆ καὶ σώματι, διαλύσεως ἐν ἑσιν ἢ κρείττον, ὡς ἐγώ φαίλω ἂν σπῆδῆ λέγων· Neither ought *Military men* to be troubled or offended at this God *Pluto*, but highly to honour him, as who always is the most beneficent to mankind. For I affirm with the greatest seriousness, that the *Union of the Soul with this Terrestrial body*, is never better than the *Dissolution or Separation of them*. *Pluto* therefore according to *Plato*, is nothing else but a Name for that Part of the *Divine Providence*, that is exercised upon the *Souls of men*, in their Separation from these *Earthly Bodies*. And upon this account was *Pluto* stiled by *Virgil*, *The Stygian Jupiter*. But by others *Pluto* together with *Ceres*, is taken in a larger sence, for the Manifestation of the Deity in this whole *Terrestrial Globe*, and thus is the Writer *De Mundo* to be understood, when he tells us, that God or *Jupiter* is ἑρμηνεύεται καὶ χθόνιος, πᾶσις ἐπάνυμῳ ἂν φύσεως τε καὶ τύχης, ἅτε πάντων αὐτὸς αἰτίῳ ὢν· both *Celestial and Terrestrial*, he being denominated from every *Nature*, forasmuch as he is the cause of all things. *Pluto* therefore is *Ζεὺς χθόνιος* or *κατὰχθόνιος*, *The Terrestrial* (also, as well as the *Stygian and Subterranean*) *Jupiter*; and that other *Jupiter* which is distinguished both from *Pluto* and *Neptune*, is properly *Ζεὺς ἑρμηνεύεται*, *The Heavenly Jupiter*, God as manifesting himself in the *Heavens*. Hence is it that *Zeus* and *Hades*, *Jupiter* and *Pluto*, are made to be one and the same thing, in that Passage which *Julian* cites as an Oracle of *Apollo*, but others impute to *Orpheus*,

εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Ἄϊδης;

*Jupiter and Pluto are one and the same God*. As also that *Euripides* in a place before produced, is so doubtful whether he should call the *Supreme God* (ἢ πάντων μεθ' ὧντα, that takes care of all things here below) *Zeus* or *Hades*.

Ζεύς, ἔτ' Ἀΐδης  
ὀνομαζόμενος εἰργεῖς.

Whether thou hadst rather, be called Jupiter or Pluto.

Lastly *Hermesianax* the Colophonian Poet, in those Verses of his (afterward to be set down) makes *Pluto* in the first place, (with many other Pagan Gods) to be really one and the same with *Jupiter*.

- That *Neptune* was also another Name of the Supreme God, from another Particular Consideration of him, namely as acting in the Seas; (at least according to the *Arcane* and *Natural Theology* of the Pagans) is plainly declared by divers of the Ancients. *Xenocrates* in *Stobæus*, and *Zeno* in *Laertius*, affirm, that *God as acting in the water is called Posidone or Neptune*. To the same purpose *Balbus* in *De N.D.L. 2.* *Cicero*. *Sed tamen his Fabulis spretis ac repudiatis, Deus Pertinens per Naturam cujusque rei, per Terras Ceres, per Maria Neptunus, alii per alia, poterunt intelligi, qui qualesque sint, &c.* But these Poetick Fables concerning the Gods, being despised and rejected; it is easie for us to understand, how *God passing through the Nature of every thing; may be called by several Names, as through the Earth Ceres (and Pluto) through the Seas Neptune; and through other parts of the world by other Names*: so that all these Titular Gods were but so many several Denominations of one Supreme Deity. And *Cotta* afterward thus represents the sence of this Theology, *Neptunum esse dicis Animum cum Intelligentiâ per mare pergentem, idem de Cerere: Your meaning is, Neptune is a Mind which with understanding passes through the Sea, and the like of Ceres through the Earth*. Lastly, to name no more, *Maximus Tyrius* agreeth also herewith, καλεῖ τὴν μὲν Δία νῦν πρεσβυτάτου, &c. τὴν ἢ Ποσειδῶν, πνεύμα διὰ γῆς ἢ θαλάσσης ἰόν, οἰκονομεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ἀρμονίαν. You are to call *Jupiter that Princely Mind, which all things follow and obey, &c.* and *Neptune that spirit, which passing through the Earth and Sea, causes their State and Harmony*.
- Dissert. 30.*

Lastly, that these Three *Jupiter, Neptune* and *Pluto*, were not Three really Distinct Substantial Beings, but only so many Several Names for *One Supreme God* (according to the *True and Natural Theology* of the Pagans) is thus plainly declared by *Pausanias* in his *Corinthiacks*; he there expounding the meaning of a certain Statue of *Jupiter*, with *Three Eyes* (called the *Country-Jupiter* of the Trojans) in this manner: τρεῖς ἢ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν ἕπι ταῖς δεξιῇσι τε καὶ ἀριστερῇσι αὐτοῦ. Δία γὰρ ἐν ἑσπερίῳ βασιλεύειν, ἔπος μὲν λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων. Ὀν ἢ ἀρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἔστιν ἔπος τῆς Ὀμήρου Δία ὀνομαζόντων καὶ τῆτον,

Ζεύς τε καὶ Ἀΐδης, καὶ ἑπαινή Περσεφόνη.

Αἰχύλος ἢ ὁ εὐφορέωνος καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὴν ἐν θαλάσῃ. Τρεῖς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅσους δὴ ἐν ὀποιήσας, ἅτε ἐν ταῖς τρεῖσι ταῖς λεγομέναις λέξεσιν ἀρχοῦσα τὴν αὐτὴν τῆτον θεόν. Now that this Statue of *Jupiter* was made to have

have Three Eyes, one may guess this to have been the reason: Because first the common speech of all men makes Jupiter to reign in the Heaven. Again he that is said to rule under the Earth, is in a certain Verse of Homer called Zeus or Jupiter too, namely the Infernal or Subterraneous Jupiter together with Proserpina. And lastly Æschylus the son of Euphorion, calls that God who is the King of the Sea also Jupiter. Wherefore this Statuary made Jupiter with Three Eyes, to signifie, that it is One and the same God, which ruleth in those Three several Parts of the World, the Heaven, the Sea, and the Earth. Whether Pausanias were in the right or no, as to his Conjecture concerning this Three-eyed Statue of Jupiter, it is evident that himself and other ancient Pagans acknowledged Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto, to be but Three several Names and Partial Considerations of one and the same God, who ruleth over the Whole World. And since both Proserpina and Ceres were really the same with Pluto, and Salacia with Neptune: we may well conclude, that all these, Jupiter, Neptune, Salacia, Pluto, Proserpina and Ceres, though several Poetical and Political Gods, yet were really taken but for One and the same Natural and Philosophical God.

Moreover as Neptune was a Name for God, as manifesting himself in the Sea and ruling over it, so was Juno another Name of God as acting in the Air. This is expressly affirmed both by Xenocrates in Stobæus, and Zeno in Laertius. And St. Austin propounding this Quære, why Juno was joyned to Jupiter as his wife and Sister, makes the Pagans answer thus to it, *Quia Jovem (inquiunt) in Æthere accipimus, in Aere Junonem: because we call God in the Æther Jupiter, in the Air Juno.* But the reason why Juno was Feminine and a Goddess, is thus given by Cicero, *Effeminarunt autem eum, Junonique tribuerunt, quod nihil est aere mollius, they effeminated the Air and attributed it to Juno a Goddess, because nothing is softer than it.* Minerva was also sometimes taken for a Special or Particular God, and then was it nothing else (as Zeno informs us) but a Name for the Supreme God as Passing through the (Higher) Æther: Which gave occasion to St. Austin thus to object against the Pagan Theology, *Si ætheris partem Superiorem Minerva tenere dicitur, & hac occasione fingere Poetas, quod de Jovis Capite nata sit, cur non ergo ipsa potius Deorum Regina deputatur, quod sit Jove Superior? If Minerva be said, to possess the Highest part of the Æther, and the Poets therefore to have feigned her to have been begotten from Jupiter's head, why is not she rather called the Queen of the Gods, since she is superiour to Jupiter?* Furthermore as the Supreme God was called Neptune in the Sea, and Juno in the Air, so by the same reason may we conclude, that he was called Vulcan in the Fire. Lastly, as the Sun and Moon, were themselves sometimes worshipped by the Pagans for Inferiour Deities, they being supposed to be Animated with Particular Souls of their own; so was the Supreme God also, worshipped in them both (as well as in the other Parts of the world) and that under those names of Apollo, and Diana. Thus the Pagans appointing a God to preside over every Part of the world, did thereby but make the Supreme God Polyonymous, all those Gods of theirs, being indeed nothing but Several Names of him. Which Theology of the Ancient Pagans, Maximus Tyrius, treating

Differ. 16.  
p. 163.

concerning *Homer's Philosophy* (after he had mentioned his Tripartite Empire of the world, shared between *Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto*) thus declareth, *ὄρεγίς δ' ἂν ἢ ἄλλας παρ' ὀμήρω ἀρχαίς ἢ γνέσας πάντο-*  
*δοπάν ὀνομάτων· ἂν ὁ μὲν ἀνόσιος ὡς μύθων ἀκρίει, ὁ δ' φιλόσοφος ὡς πραγ-*  
*μάτων· ἔστιν αὐτὰ ἢ ἀρετῆς ἀρχὴ, ἀλλ' Ἀθλωᾷ λέγεται, &c. You may find*  
*also in Homer, other Principles, and the Originals of Several names; which*  
*the ignorant hear as Fables, but a Philosopher will understand as Things*  
*and Realities. For he assigns a Principle of Virtue and Wisdom, which*  
*he calls Minerva; another of Love and Desire, which he calls Venus,*  
*another of Artificialneſs and that is Vulcan, who rules over the Fire.*  
*And Apollo also with him presides over Dancings, the Muses over*  
*Songs, Mars over War, Æolus over Winds, and Ceres over Fruits. And*  
*then does he conclude thus, ἢ ἔδεν μέγεσ' ὀμήρω ἄθεον, ἔδὲ δυνάσσει ἄ-*  
*περον, ἔδὲ ἀρχῆς ἔρημον, ἀλλὰ πάντα μεσὸ θεῶν ὀνομάτων, ἢ θεῶν λόγων, ἢ θεῶν*  
*τέχνων. So that no part neither of Nature, nor of the World, is to Homer*  
*Godless (or void of a God) none destitute of a Ruler, or without a Su-*  
*perior Government; but all things full of Divine Names, and of Di-*  
*vine Reason, and of Divine Art. Where his θεῶν ὀνόματα, his Divine*  
*Names, are nothing but Several Names of God, as manifesting himself*  
*variously in the several Things of Nature, and the Parts of the world,*  
*and as presiding over them.*

Wherefore besides those *special Gods* of the Pagans, already mentioned, that were appointed to preside over several Parts of the world, there are Others, which are but *several Names* of the *Supreme God* neither, as exercising several *Offices and Functions* in the world, and bestowing several *Gifts* upon mankind: as when in giving *Corn and Fruits* he is called *Ceres*, in bestowing *Wine Bacchus*, in mens recovery of their *Health, Æsculapius*, in presiding over *Traffick and Merchandizing, Mercury*, in governing *Military Affairs, Mars*, in ordering the *Winds Æolus*, and the like.

That the more *Philosophick Pagans*, did thus really interpret the *Fables* of the *Gods*, and make their *Many Poetical and Political Gods*, to be all of them but *One and the same Supreme Natural God*, is evident from the testimonies of *Antisthenes, Plato, Xenocrates, Zeno, Cleanthes*, and *Chrysippus* (who allegorized all the *Fables* of the *Gods* accordingly) and of *Scævola* the *Roman Pontifex*, of *Cicero, Varro, Seneca*, and many others. But that even their *Poets* also, did sometimes venture to broach this *Arcane Theology*, is manifest from those *Fragments* preserved, of *Hermesianax* the *Colophonian* amongst the *Greeks*, and of *Valerius Soranus* amongst the *Latins*; the former thus enumerating the chief *Pagan Gods*, and declaring them to be all but one and the same *Numen*;

Πλάτων, Περσεφόνη, Δημήτηρ, Κύπρις, Ἐρωτες,  
Τελτανες, Νηρῶς, Τιθύς, ἢ Κυανοχαίτης,  
Ἑρμῆς, δ' Ἡφαιστὸς τε κλυτὸς, Πάν, Ζεὺς τε ἢ Ἥρη,  
Ἄρτεμις, ἢ δ' ἑκατέρωσ' Ἀπόλλων, εἰς θεὸς ἕσσι.

Pluto, Persephone, Ceres, & Venus alma & Amores,

Trit-

*Tritones, Nereus, Tethys, Neptunus & ipse,  
Mercurius, Juno, Vulcanus, Jupiter, & Pan,  
Diana, & Phæbus Jaculator, sunt Deus Unus.*

The Latter pronouncing Univerſally, that *Jupiter Omnipotens*, is

————— *Deus Unus & Omnes,*

*One God, and All Gods.* Whether by his *Jupiter* he here meant the *Soul of the World* only, as *Varro* would interpret him agreeably to his own *Hypothesis*, or whether an *Abstract Mind* ſuperiour to it; but probably he made this *Jupiter* to be *All Gods*, upon theſe two Accounts; Firſt as he was the *Begetter and Creator of all the other Natural Gods*, which were the *Pagans Inferiour Deities* (as the *Stars and Demons*) Secondly, as that all the other *Poetical and Political Gods*, were Nothing elſe but *Several Names and Notions* of him.

We ſhall add in the laſt place, that *St. Auſtin* making a more Full and Particular Enumeration of the *Pagan Gods*, and mentioning amongſt them many others beſides the *Select Roman Gods*; (which are not now commonly taken notice of) does pronounce Univerſally of them all, according to the ſence of the more Intelligent Pagans; That they were but *One and the ſame Jupiter*; *Ipſe in Æthere ſit Ju-* *De Civ. Di.*  
*piter, Ipſe in Aere Juno, Ipſe in Mari Neptunus, in Inferioribus etiam* *L. 4. c. ii.*  
*Maris Ipſe Salacia, in Terra Pluto, in Terra Inferiore Proſerpina, in Focis Domæſticis Veſta, in Fabrorum fornace Vulcanus, in Divinanti-*  
*bus Apollo, in Merce Mercurius, in Jano Initiator, in Termino Ter-*  
*minator, Saturnus in Tempore, Mars & Bellona in Bellis, Liber in*  
*Vineis, Ceres in Frumentis, Diana in Sylvis, Minerva in Ingeniis.*  
*Ipſe ſit poſtremò etiam illa Turba quaſi Plebeiorum Deorum, Ipſe præſit*  
*nomine Liberi Virorum Seminibus, & nomine Liberæ Fæminarum.*  
*Ipſe ſit Dieſpiter, qui Partum perducit ad Diem: Ipſe ſit Dea*  
*Mena, quam præfecerunt Menſtruis Fæminarum, Ipſe Lucina, quæ*  
*à Parturientibus invocatur, Ipſe Opem ferat naſcentibus, excipiens*  
*eos ſinu Terræ, & vocetur Opis. Ipſe in Vagitu os aperiat, & vocetur,*  
*Deus Vagitanus. Ipſe levet de Terra, & vocetur Dea Levana. Ipſe Cu-*  
*nas tueatur & vocetur Dea Cunina. Sit Ipſe in Deabus illis quæ fata na-*  
*ſcentibus canunt, & vocantur Carmentes. Præſit Fortuitis, voceturque*  
*Fortuna. In Diva Rumina mammam parvulis immulgeat. In Diva Po-*  
*tina Potionem immiſceat. In Diva Educa Eſcam præbeat. De Pavore*  
*infantium Paventia nuncupetur. De ſpe quæ venit Venilia; de Volupta-*  
*te Volupia. De Actu Agenoria. De ſtimulis quibus ad nimium actum*  
*homo impellitur Dea Stimula nominetur. Strenua Dea ſit, strenuum fa-*  
*ciendo. Numeria quæ numerare doceat; Camæna quæ canere. Ipſe*  
*ſit & Deus Conſus præbendo Conſilia; & Dea Sentia ſententias inſpi-*  
*rando. Ipſe Dea Juventas, quæ poſt prætextam excipiat Juvenilis eta-*  
*tis Exordia. Ipſe ſit Fortuna Barbata quæ adultos barba induit quos ho-*  
*norare voluerit. Ipſe in Jugatino Deo Conjuges jungat; & cum Virgini*  
*uxori zona ſolvitur Ipſe invocetur & Dea Virginenſis invocetur. Ipſe ſit*  
*Mutinus, qui eſt apud Græcos Priapus, ſi non pudet. Hæc omnia quæ*  
*dixi, & quæcunque non dixi, hi omnes Dii Deæque ſit Unus Jupiter;*  
*ſive*

*sive sint ut quidam volunt omnia ista Partes ejus, sicut eis videtur quibus eum placet esse Mundi Animum; sive Virtutes ejus, quæ sententia velut magnorum multorumque Doctorum est. Let us grant according to the Pagans, that the Supreme God is in the Æther Jupiter; in the Air Juno; in the Sea Neptune; in the lower parts of the Sea Salacia; in the Earth Pluto; in the inferiour parts thereof Proserpina; in the Domestick hearths Vesta; in the Smiths Forges Vulcan; in Divination Apollo; in Traffick and Merchandize Mercury; in the Beginnings of things Janus; in the Ends of them Terminus; in Time Saturn; in Wars Mars and Bellona; in the Vineyards Liber; in the Corn-fields Ceres; in the Woods Diana, and in Wits Minerva. Let him be also that troop of Plebeian Gods; let him preside over the seeds of men under the Name of Liber, and of women under the name of Libera; let him be Diespiter that brings forth the birth to light; let him be the Goddes Mena, whom they have set over womens monthly courses; let him be Lucina, invoked by women in child-bearing; let him be Opis who aids the new born Infants; let him be Deus Vagitanus that opens their mouths to cry; let him be the Goddes Levana, which is said to lift them up from the Earth; and the Goddes Cunina that defends their Cradles; let him be the Carmentes also who foretel the Fates of Infants; let him be Fortune as presiding over Fortuitous events; let him be Diva Rumina which suckles the Infant with the Breasts; Diva Potina which gives it drink; and Diva Educa which affords it meat; let him be called the Goddes Paventia, from the Fear of Infants; the Goddes Venilia from Hope; the Goddes Volupia from Pleasure; the Goddes Agenoria from Acting; the Goddes Stimula from Provoking; the Goddes Strenua from making Strong and Vigorous; the Goddes Numeria which teacheth to Number; the Goddes Camæna which teaches to Sing; let him be Deus Confus, as giving Counsel; and Dea Sentia as inspiring men with sense; let him be the Goddes Juventas which has the Guardianship of young men; and Fortuna Barbata which upon some more than others liberally bestoweth beards; let him be Deus Jugatinus which joyns man and wife together; and Dea Virginensis, which is then invoked when the Girdle of the Bride is loosed; Lastly let him be Mutinus also (which is the same with Priapus amongst the Greeks) if you will not be ashamed to say it. Let all these Gods and Goddeses, and many more (which I have not mentioned) be One and the same Jupiter, whether as Parts of him, which is agreeable to their opinion who hold him to be the Soul of the world; or else as his Vertues only, which is the sence of many and great Pagan Doctors.*

But that the Authority and Reputation of a late Learned and Industrious Writer, *G. I. Vossius* may not here stand in our way or be a Prejudice to us, we think it necessary to take notice of one passage of his, in his Book *De Theologia Gentili*, and freely to censure the the same; where treating concerning that Pagan Goddes *Venus*, he writeth thus; *Ex Philosophica de Diis Doctrina, Venus est vel Luna (ut vidimus) vel Lucifer, sive Hesperus. Sed ex Poetica ac Civili, supra hos cælos statuuntur Mentis quædam à Syderibus diversæ: quomodo Jovem, Apollinem, Junonem, Venerem, ceterosque Deos Consentes, considerare jubet Apuleius. Quippe eos, (inquit) Natura Visibus nostris denegavit: necnon tamen Intellectu eos mirabundi contemplamur,*  
acie

acientis acrius contemplantes. *Quid apertius hic quam ab eo, per Deos Consentes intelligi, non Corpora Cœlestia vel Subcœlestia, sed sublimiorem quandam Naturam, nec nisi animis conspicuam? According to the Philosophick Doctrine concerning the Gods, Venus is either the Moon, or Lucifer, or Hesperus; but according to the Poetick and Civil Theology of the Pagans, there were certain Eternal Minds, placed above the Heavens, distinct from the Stars: accordingly as Apuleius requires us to consider Jupiter and Apollo, Juno and Venus, and all those other Gods called Consentes; he affirming of them, that though Nature had denied them to our sight, yet notwithstanding by the diligent contemplation of our Minds we apprehend and admire them. Where nothing can be more plain (saith Vossius) than that the Dii consentes, were understood by Apuleius neither to be Celestial nor Subcelestial Bodies, but a certain higher Nature perceptible only to our Minds. Upon which words of his, we shall make these following Remarks; First, that this Learned Writer seems here, as also throughout that whole Book of his, to mistake the Philosophick Theology, of Scævola and Varro, and others, for that which was Physiological only; (which Physiological Theology of the Pagans, will be afterwards declared by us.) For the Philosophick Theology of the Pagans did not Deifie Natural and Sensible Bodies only, but the Principal part thereof was the Asserting of One Supreme and Universal Numen, from whence all their other Gods were derived. Neither was Venus according to this Philosophick and Arcane Theology, taken only for the Moon, or for Lucifer or Hesperus, as this Learned Writer conceives, but as we have already proved for the Supreme Deity also, either according to its Universal Notion, or some Particular Consideration thereof. Wherefore the Philosophick Theology both of Scævola and Varro and others, was called Natural, not as Physiological only, but (in another sense) as Real and True; it being the Theology neither of Cities, nor of Stages or Theaters, but of the World, and of the Wise men in it; Philosophy being that properly which considers the Absolute Truth and Nature of things. Which Philosophick Theology therefore was opposed, both to the Civil and Poetical, as consisting in Opinion and Phancy only. Our Second Remark is, That Vossius does here also seem incongruously, to make both the Civil and Poetical Theology as such, to Philosophize; whereas the First of these was properly nothing but the Law of Cities and Commonwealths, together with Vulgar Opinion and Error; and the Second nothing but Phancy, Fiction and Fabulosity. *Poetarum ista sunt, saith Cotta in Cicero; nos autem Philosophi esse volumus, Rerum authores, non Fabularum. Those things belong to Poets, but we would be Philosophers, authors of Things (or Realities) and not of Fables.* But the main thing which we take notice of in these words of Vossius is this, that they seem to imply, the Consentes, and Select, and other Civil and Poetical Gods of the Pagans, to have been generally accounted, so many Substantial and Eternal Minds, or Understanding Beings Supercelestial, and Independent; their Jupiter being put only in an equality, with Apollo, Juno, Venus, and the rest. For which since Vossius pretends no other manner of Proof, than only from Apuleius his *De Deo Socratis*, who was a Platonick Philosopher; we shall here make it evident, that he was not rightly understood by*

Vossius



*Vossius* neither; which yet ought not to be thought any Derogation from this Eminent Philologer ( whose Polymathy and Multifarious Learning, is readily acknowledged by us ) that he was not so well versed in all the Niceties and Punctilio's of the Platonick School. For though *Apuleius* do in that Book, besides those *Visible Gods*, the Stars; take notice of another kind of *Invisible ones*; such as the *Twelve Consentes*, and others, which ( he saith ) we may *animis conjectare, per varias Utilitates in vita agenda, animadversas in iis rebus, quibus eorum singuli curant, make a conjecture of by our minds, from the various Utilities in humane life, perceived from those things which each of these take care of*; yet that he was no *Bigot* in this *Civil Theology*, is manifest from hence, because in that very place, he declares as well against Superstition, as Irreligious Prophaneness. And his design there was plainly no other, than to reduce the *Civil and Poetical Theologies* of the Pagans into some handsome conformity and agreement with that *Philosophical, Natural, and Real Theology* of theirs, which derived all the Gods from One *Supreme and Universal Numen*: but this he endeavours to do, in the Platonick way, himself being much addicted to that Philosophy. *Hos Deos in sublimi aetheris vertice locatos, Plato existimat veros, incorporales, animales, sine ullo neque sine neque exordio, sed prorsus ac retro æviterinos, corporis contagione suâ quidem naturâ remotos, ingenio ad summam beatitudinem porrecto, &c. Quorum Parentem, qui omnium rerum Dominator atque Auctor est, solum ab omnibus nexibus patiendi aliquid gerendive, nulla vice ad alicujus rei mutua obstrictum, cur ego nunc dicere exordiar? cum Plato cælesti facundia præditus, frequentissimè prædicet, hunc solum majestatis incredibili quadam nimietate & ineffabili, non posse penuria sermonis humani, quavis oratione vel modicè comprehendendi. All these Gods placed in the highest Æther, Plato thinks to be true, incorporeal, Animal, without beginning or end, Eternal, happy in themselves without any external good. The Parent of which Gods, who is the Lord and Author of all things, and who is alone free from all bonds of doing and suffering, why should I go about in words to describe him? since Plato who was endued with most Heavenly eloquence, equal to the Immortal Gods, does often declare, that this Highest God by reason of his excess of Majesty, is both ineffable and Incomprehensible. From which words of *Apuleius* it is plain, that according to him, the *Twelve Consentes*, and all the other *Invisible Gods* were derived from One *Original Deity*, as their Parent and Author. But then if you demand, what Gods of *Plato* these should be, to which *Apuleius* would here accommodate the *Civil and Poetical Gods*, contained in those Two Verses of *Ennius*,*

*Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars.  
Mercurius, Jovi, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.*

and the rest of this kind, that is, all their other *Gods* ( properly so called ) *Invisible*? We reply, that these are no other than *Plato's Ideas*, or *First Paradigms* and *Patterns of things*, in the *Archetypal World*, which is the *Divine Intellect* ( and his *Second Hypostasis* ) derived from his first *Original Deity*, and most *Simple Monad*. For as *Plato* writeth in his *Timæus*, ἀνάγκη τὸνδε ἔχοντα νοῦμον, εἰκόνα τινὸς εἶναι, *this Sensible World*

World, must needs be the Image of another Intelligible one. And again afterwards, *τινι τῷ ζῶον αὐτὸ εἰς ὁμοιότητα ὁ ξυριστὸς ξυνέτισσε; τῷ μὲν ἐν Plato in Tim. ἐν μέτρῳ εἰσὶ πεφικτότων μηδενὶ κατὰξιάσωμεν. ἀτελεῖ γὰρ εἰκόσ ἐδὲν ποτ' ἐν p. 30.* ἄλλο καλόν· ἡ δ' ἐστὶ τῶμα ζῶα καθ' ἐν κῆ κτ' ἡδὴ μέτρα, πάντων ὁμοιότατον αὐτῶν εἶναι πῶμα. τὰ γὰρ δὴ νοητὰ ζῶα πάντα ἐκείνο ἐν ἑαυτῶν ὡμιλαδὸν ἔχει, κατὰ τὸ ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἡμῶν ὅσα τε ἄλλα θερέματα συνέσκηκεν ὀρατὰ.

What Animal was the Pattern, according to whose likeness he that made this great Animal of the World, framed it? certainly we must not think it to be any Particular Animal, since nothing can be perfect which is made according to an imperfect copy. Let us therefore conclude it, to be that Animal, which containeth all other animals in it, as its Parts. For that Intelligible World containeth all Intelligible Animals in it, in the same manner as this Sensible World, doth us and other sensible animals. Wherefore Plato himself here and elsewhere speaking obscurely of this Intelligible World, and the Ideas of it, no wonder if many of his Pagan followers, have absurdly made so many Distinct Animals and Gods of them. Amongst whom *Apuleius* accordingly would refer all the Civil and Poetick Gods, of the Pagans (I mean their Gods, properly so called, *Invisible*) to this Intelligible world of *Plato's*, and those several Ideas of it. Neither was *Apuleius* singular in this, but others of the Pagan Theologers did the like, as for example *Julian* in his Book against the Christians; *θεὸς ὀνομάζει πλάτων τὸς ἐμφανεῖς, ἥλιον, κῆ σελήνω, ἄστρα κῆ ὄργανον, ἀλλ' ἔστι τῷ ἀφανῶν εἰσὶν εἰκότες. ὁ φαινόμενος τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἥλιος, τὸ νοητὸν κῆ μὴ φαινόμενος. κῆ πάλιν, ἡ φαινόμενη τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν σελήνη, κῆ τῷ ἄστρον ἕκαστον, εἰκότες εἰσὶ τῷ νοητῷ. ἐκείνος ἐν τὸς ἀφανεῖς θεὸς ἐνυπέρχεται κῆ συνυπέρχεται, κῆ ἐξ αὐτῶ τὸ δῆμιουργὸν ἡννιθέϊας, κῆ προελθόντας, ὁ πλάτων οἶδεν εἰκότας ἐν φησὶν ὁ δῆμιουργὸς ὁ παρ' αὐτῶ, θεοὶ, πρὸς τὸς ἀφανεῖς λέγων, θεῶν, τῷ ἐμφανῶν δηλονότι. κοινὸς ἢ ἀμφοτέρων δῆμιουργὸς ἔπος ἔστιν, ὁ τεχνιστὸς ὄργανον κῆ γλῶ, κῆ θελάσαν, κῆ ἄστρα ἡννίσις, τὰ τῶτων ἀρχέτυπα.* Plato indeed speaketh of certain Visible Gods, the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, and the Heaven; but these are all but Images of other Invisible Gods; that Visible Sun which we see with our eyes, is but an Image of another Intelligible and Invisible One: so likewise the Visible Moon, and every one of the Stars, are but the Images and Resemblances of another Moon, and of other Stars Intelligible. Wherefore *Plato* acknowledged also these other Invisible Gods, inexisting and co-existing with the Demiurgus, from whom they were generated and produced. That Demiurgus in him, thus bespeaking these Invisible and Intelligible Gods; Ye Gods of Gods, that is, Ye Invisible Gods, who are the Gods and Causes of the Visible Gods. There is one common maker therefore of both these kinds of Gods; who first of all made a Heaven, Earth, Sea, & Stars, in the Intelligible World, as the Archetypes & Paradigms of these in the Sensible. Where *S. Cyril* in his Confutation writeth thus, *εἰκοι ἢ διὰ τῶτων ὁ ἡννοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανὸς, τὰς ιδέας βέλεσθαι κατὰδιδλῶν, ἄς πῶτε μὲν ἔστις, κῆ ὑφεσῶναι καθ' ἑαυτῶς διχουεῖζεται. πλάτων, πῶτε ἢ κῆ ἐνονοίας εἶναι θεὸς διοεῖζεται. πλὴν ὅπως τὸ ἂν ἔχοι κῆ τοῖς αὐτῶ μαθηταῖς ἀπαρθεῖλον εἶναι φασι τ' ἐπι τῶ δὲ λόγον οἱ ταῦτα τεχνίται. τὰ γὰρ εἶδη χειρέτω, φησὶν ὁ Ἄρυστέλις, τερετισματα γὰρ ἔστι, κῆ εἰ εἰσιν, ἐδὲν πρὸς τὸν λόγον.*

This our excellent *Julian*, by his Intelligible and Invisible Gods, seems here to mean, those Ideas, which *Plato* sometimes contends to be Substances, and to subsist alone by themselves, and sometimes again determi-

S. Cyril. Cont.  
Jul. L. 2. p. 65.

neth to be nothing but Notions or Conceptions in the mind of God. But however the matter be, the skilful in this kind of learning affirm, that these Ideas have been rejected by Plato's own Disciples, Aristotle discarding them as Figments, or at least, such as being meer notions, could have no real causality and influence upon things. But the meaning of this Pagan Theology, may be more fully understood from what the same St. Cyril thus further objecteth against it, *περσεπαγει ἡ ὅτι καὶ τῶ ἐμφανῶν καὶ τῶ νοητῶ δημιουργός ἔστιν ὁ τῶ ὕλων θεός, ὁ γὰρ καὶ ἔργων τεχνιστάμενος, ὅτε τοίνυν κατὰ καὶ αὐτὸς διαμολόγηκεν ἐναργῶς, τῶτων τε κακείνων γενεαιουργός ἔστιν ὁ ἀρχόντιος θεός, πῶς ἐξ αὐτῶ γεννηθῶσι φισιν αὐτὸς, συνυπάρχειν τε καὶ ἐνυπάρχειν αὐτῶ; πῶς, εἰπέ μοι, τῶ ἀγεννητῶ θεῶ συνυπάρξει τὸ γεννητὸν; ἐνυπάρξει ἡ καὶ ποῖον τρέπον; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀρχόντιον ὄντα τῶ θεῶ λόγον, συνυπάρχειν ἀναστικῶς τῶ φύσει διὰ χειρὸς ἐξόμεθα, καὶ ἐνυπάρχειν μὲν αὐτῶ, προσελθῆν δὲ γεννητῶς ἐξ αὐτῶ: ὁ δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνος ὀύρεσιπέτας συνηργῶς ἀκρεθῆς, ἀρχόντιον μὲν εἶναι φισὶ τῶ ἀνωτάτω θεῶν· ἐνυπάρχειν ἡ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶ γεννηθῶσι καὶ προσελθῆν τῶς παρ' αὐτῶ γεγονότας, τὰ πάντα κωκῶν καὶ σὺσχῶν.* The fence whereof seems to be this; Julian addeth, that the God of the Universe who made Heaven and Earth, is alike the Demiurgus both of these Sensible and of the other Intelligible things. If therefore the Ingenit God, be alike the Creator of both, how can he affirm those things that are Created by him, to co-exist with, and inexist in him? How can that which is created, co-exist with the Ingenit God? but much less can it inexist in him. For we Christians indeed affirm, that the Unmade Word of God, doth of necessity co-exist with, and inexist in the Father, it proceeding from him not by way of Creation but of Generation. But this defender of Platonick trifles, acknowledging the Supreme God to be Ingenit, affirmeth notwithstanding those things which were Made and Created by him, to inexist in him; thus mingling and confounding all things. Where notwithstanding, Julian, and the Platonick Pagans would in all probability reply; that those Ideas of the Intelligible and Archetypal World (which is the First *ἄς* or Intellect) proceeding from the Highest Hypostasis, and Original Deity, by way of Necessary and Eternal Emanation, are no more to be accounted Creatures, than the Christian *λόγος*; and therefore might, with as little absurdity, be said to exist, *With* and *In*, that First Original Deity. But besides, the same Julian elsewhere in that Book of his, accommodates this Platonick Notion also, to the Pagan Gods in Particular, in like manner as Apuleius had done before, he writing of *Æsculapius*, after this canting way, *ὁ γὰρ Ζεὺς, ἐκ μὲν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτῶ τῶ Ἀσκληπιῶν ἐγέννησεν, εἰς ἡ τῶ γῆν διὰ τῶ ἡλῆς ἰονίμου ζωῆς ἐξέφηνεν· ἔτι καὶ ἔπι γῆς ἐξ ἔργων ποιησάμενος πρῶτον, ἐνοειδῶς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μορφῇ καὶ τῶ Ἐπίδαυρον ἐφάνη, &c.* Jupiter, amongst the Intelligible things, generated out of himself *Æsculapius*, and by the Generative Life of the Sun manifested him here upon Earth, he coming down from Heaven and appearing in a Humane Form, first about Epidaurus, and from thence extending his salutary power or vertue, over the whole Earth. Where *Æsculapius* is First of all, the Eternal Idea of the Medicinal Art or Skill, generated by the Supreme God, in the Intelligible world; which afterward by the Vivifick Influence of the Sun, was Incarnated, and appeared in a humane form at Epidaurus. This is the Doctrine of that Julian, who was so great an Opposer of the Incarnation of the Eternal *Logos*, in our

Cyr. C. Jul.  
L. 6. p. 200.

our Saviour Jesus Christ. Neither was this Doctrine, of *Many Intelligible Gods, and Powers Eternal*, (of which the *Archetypal World* consisteth) first invented, by *Platonick Pagans*, after the times of Christianity, as some might suspect; but that there was such a thing extant before amongst them also, may be concluded from this passage of *Philo's*, *εις ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἀμυδίτης ὡς ἂν αὐτὸ ἔχει δυνάμεις ἀράγους ἢ σωτηρίας τῆ γενεομένης πάσης· δι' αὐτὸν τῶν τῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοητὸς ἐπάγει κόσμον, τὸ τῆ φαινομένης τῆδε ἀρχέτυπον, ἰδέαις ἀόρατοις συσταθείς, ὡς ἂν εἴη σῶμασιν ὄρατοις· κατὰ πλάγιον ἐν τινὲς τῶν ἑκατέρω τῶν κόσμων φύσιν, ἢ μόνον ὅλας ἐξεθείωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν, ἢ ἡλιον, καὶ σελλίω, καὶ τὸ σύμπαντα ἔργον, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸν αἰδεσθῆτες θεὸς ἐκάλεισαν.*

*Though God be but one, yet hath he about himself Innumerable Auxiliary Powers, all of them salutiferous and procuring the good of that which is made, &c. Moreover by these Powers and out of them, is the Incorporeal and Intelligible World compacted, which is the Archetype of this visible World, that consisting of Invisible Ideas, as this doth of visible Bodies. Wherefore some admiring, with a kind of astonishment, the Nature of both these worlds, have not only Deified the whole of them, but also the most excellent parts in them, as the Sun and the Moon and the whole Heaven, which they scruple not at all to call Gods. Where Philo seems to speak of a double Sun, Moon, and Heaven as Julian did, the one Sensible, the other Intelligible. Moreover Plotinus himself sometimes complies with this Notion, he calling the Ideas of the Divine Intellect, νοητὸς θεὸς, Intelligible Gods; as in that place before cited, where he exhorteth men ascending upward above the Soul of the World, θεὸς ὑμνεῖν νοητὸς, To praise the Intelligible Gods, that is, the Divine Intellect, which as he elsewhere writeth is both, εἷς ἢ πολλοὶ One and Many.*

*De Confus. L. 345. Par.*

We have now given a full account of *Apuleius* his sense in that Book *De Deo Socratis*, concerning the *Civil and Poetical Pagan Gods*; which was not to assert a Multitude of *Substantial and Eternal Deities or Minds Independent* in them; but only to reduce the *Vulgar Theology* of the Pagans, both their *Civil and Poetical*, into some conformity with the *Natural, Real, and Philosophick Theology*; and this according to *Platonick Principles*. Wherein many other of the *Pagan Platonists*, both before and after Christianity concurred with him; they making the *Many Pagan Invisible Gods*, to be really nothing but the *Eternal Ideas of the Divine Intellect*, (called by them the *Parts of the Intelligible and Archetypal World*) which they supposed to have been the *Paradigms and Patterns* according to which this *Sensible World*, and all Particular things therein were made and upon which they depended, they being only *Participations* of them. Wherefore though this may well be look'd upon as a *Monstrous Extravagancy*, in these *Platonick Philosophers*, thus to talk of the *Divine Ideas*, or the *Intelligible and Archetypal Paradigms* of things, not only as *Substantial*, but also as so many several *Animals, Persons, and Gods*; it being their humour thus upon all slight occasions to multiply Gods; yet nevertheless must it be acknowledged, that they did at the very same time declare, all these to have been derived from *One Supreme Deity*, and not only so, but also to exist in it; as they did likewise at other times, when unconcerned in this business of their *Pagan Polytheism*,

*lytheism*, freely acknowledge all these *intelligible Ideas*, to be Really nothing else, but *νοήματα*, *Conceptions in the Mind of God*, or the *First Intellect* (though not such *Slight Accidental* and *Evanid* ones, as those *Conceptions and Modifications* of our humane Souls are) and consequently not to be so many *Distinct Substances, Persons, and Gods*, (much less *Independent Ones*) but only so many *Partial Considerations of the Deity*.

What a *Rabble of Invisible Gods and Goddeses*, the Pagans had, besides those their *Dii Nobiles*, and *Dii Majorum Gentium*, their *Noble and Greater Gods* (which were the *Consentes* and *Selecti*) hath been already showed out of *St. Austin*, from *Varro* and others; as namely, *Dea Mena*, *Deus Vagitanus*, *Dea Levana*, *Dea Cunina*, *Diva Rumina*, *Diva Potina*, *Diva Educa*, *Diva Paventina*, *Dea Venilia*, *Dea Agenoria*, *Dea Stimula*, *Dea Strenua*, *Dea Numeria*, *Deus Confus*, *Dea Sentia*, *Deus Jugatinus*, *Dea Virginensis*, *Deus Mutinus*. To which might be added more out of other places of the same *St. Austin*, as *Dea Deverra*, *Deus Domiducus*, *Deus Domitius*, *Dea Manturna*, *Deus Pater Subigus*, *Dea Mater Prema*, *Dea Pertunda*, *Dea Rufina*, *Dea Collatina*, *Dea Vallonia*, *Dea Seia*, *Dea Segetia*, *Dea Tutilina*, *Deus Nodotus*, *Dea Volutina*, *Dea Patelena*, *Dea Hostilina*, *Dea Flora*, *Dea Lacturtia*, *Dea Matura*, *Dea Runcina*. Besides which there are yet so many more of these Pagan Gods and Goddeses extant in other Writers, as that they cannot be all mentioned or enumerated by us; divers whereof have Very Small, Mean, and Contemptible Offices assigned to them, as their names for the most part do imply; some of which are such, as that they were not fit to be here interpreted. From whence it plainly appears, that there was *πανθεὺν ἄθεον*, *nothing at all without a God* to these Pagans, they having so strong a Perswasion, that Divine Providence extended it self to all things, and expressing it after this manner, by assigning to *Every thing in Nature*, and *Every part of the World*, and whatsoever was done by men, *some particular God or Goddes by name*, to preside over it. Now that the Intelligent Pagans, should believe in good earnest, that all these *Invisible Gods and Goddeses* of theirs, were so many *Several Substantial Minds*, or *Understanding Beings Eternal and Unmade*, really existing in the World, is a thing in it self *Utterly Incredible*. For how could any possibly perswade themselves, that there was One Eternal Unmade Mind or Spirit, which for example, Essentially presided over The Rockings of Infants Cradles, and nothing else? another over the Sweeping of Houses? another over Ears of Corn? another over the Husks of Grain? and another over the Knots of Straw and Grass, and the like? And the Case is the very same, for those other *Noble Gods of theirs* (as they call them) the *Consentes*, and *Selecti*; since there can be no reason given, why those should all of them, be so many *Substantial and Eternal Spirits Self-existent or Unmade*, if none of the other were such. Wherefore if these be not all, so many *Several Substantial and Eternal Minds*, so many *Selfexisting and Independent Deities*, then must they of necessity, be either *Several Partial Considerations* of the Deity, *viz.* the *Several Manifestations of the Divine Power and Providence Personated*; or else *Inferiour Ministers* of the same. And thus have we already shewed

shewed, that the more High-flown and Platonick Pagans, (as *Julian*, *Apuleius* and others) understood these *Consentes* and Select Gods, and all the other Invisibile ones, to be really nothing else, but the *Ideas* of the *Intelligible* and *Archetypal World*, (which is the *Divine Intellect*) that is indeed, but *Partial Considerations* of the *Deity*, as *Virtually* and *Exemplarily* containing all things : whilst others of them, going in a more plain and easie way, concluded these Gods of theirs, to be all of them, but several *Names* and *Notions* of the One *Supreme Deity*, according to the *Various Manifestations* of its Power in the world ; as *Seneca* expressly affirmeth, not only concerning *Fate*, *Nature* and *Fortune*, &c. but also *Liber Pater*, *Hercules*, and *Mercury*, (before mentioned by him) that they were *Omnia ejusdem Dei Nomina, variè utentis suâ potestate*, all Names of One and the same God, as diversly using his power ; and as *Zeno* in *Laertius* concludes of all the rest : or else, (which amounts to the same thing) that they were the Several Powers and Vertues of One God *Fictitiously Personated* and *Deified*; as the Pagans in *Eusebius* apologize for themselves, that they did θεοποιῆν τὰς ἀορατοὺς δυνάμεις αὐτῆ τῆ ὅτι πᾶσι, *Deifie nothing but the Invisible Powers of that God which is over all*. Nevertheless because those Several Powers of the *Supreme God* were not supposed to be all executed immediately by himself, but by certain other ὑπερῶν δυνάμεις, *Subservient Ministers* under him, appointed to preside over the Several Things of Nature, Parts of the World, and Affairs of Mankind (commonly called *Demons*;) therefore were those Gods sometimes taken also for such *Subservient Spirits*, or *Demons* collectively; as perhaps in this of *Epicetus*, πότε ὁ ζέφυρος πνέουσι ; ὅταν αὐτῶ δόξη, ἢ βέλτῃ, ἢ τῶ Αἰόλω· σὲ γὰρ ἐκ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ταμίαν τῶ ἀνέμων, ἀλλὰ ἢ Αἰόλων· *When will Zephyrus or the West-wind blow ? When it seemeth good to himself or to Æolus ; for God hath not made thee Steward of the Winds, but Æolus*.

Pr. Ec. L. 3. c. 13. p. 1216

L. I. c. 1. p. 85.

Lib. 1. cap. 16

But for the fuller clearing of the whole *Pagan Theology*, and especially this one Point thereof, that their πολυθεΐα, was in great part nothing else but πολυωνυμία, their *Polytheism* or *Multiplicity of Gods*, nothing but the *Polyonymy* of One God, or his being called by *Many Personal Proper Names*, Two Things are here requisite to be further taken notice of; First, that according to the *Pagan Theology*, God was conceived to be *Diffused throughout the whole World*, to *Permeate and Pervade all things*, to *Exist in all things*, and *Intimately to Act all things*. Thus we observed before out of *Horus Apollo*, that the *Egyptian Theologers* conceived of God, as τῆ παντός κόσμου τὸ διήκον πνεῦμα, a *Spirit pervading the whole World*, as likewise they concluded, διὰ θεῶν μηδὲν ὅλως συνεσθῆναι, that *Nothing at all Consisted without God*. Which same *Theology* was *Universally entertained* also amongst the *Greeks*. For Thus *Diogenes* the *Cynick* in *Laertius*, αὐτῆ πάντα πληρῆ, *All things are full of him*. And *Aristotle* or the *Writer De Plantis*, makes God not only to comprehend the whole world, but also to be an *Inward Principle of Life in Animals*; τίς ἐν ὅσῃν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῆ ζῴης, τί ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀγενεὲς ζῶον, ὃ τὸ ἄρσενον αἰετοῦ δὲ, τὸ ἥλιον, τὰ ἄστρα, καὶ τὰς πλάνητας· *What is the Principle in the Life or Soul of Animals ? certainly no other than that Noble Animal (or Living Being) that encompasseth*

and

and surrounds the whole Heaven, the Sun, the Stars, and the Planets. Sextus Empiricus thus represents the fence of Pythagoras, Empedocles, and all the Italic Philosophers; *μη μόνον ἡμῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι τινὰ κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα τῆς ζῴων· ἐν τῷ ὑπάρχοντι πνεύματι τὸ διὰ πάντων κόσμος διήκον, ψυχῆς τρέπον, τὸ καὶ ἐνὶ ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνων.* That we men have not only a conjunction amongst our selves with one another, but also with the Gods above us, and with Brute Animals below us: because there is One Spirit which like a Soul, pervades the whole World, and unites all the parts thereof together. Clemens Alexandrinus writeth thus of the Stoicks, *διὰ πάντος ὕλης, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀπιμοτάτης τῆς θεῶν διήκειν λέγουσι,* They affirm that God doth Pervade all the Matter of the Universe, and even the most vile parts thereof, which that Father seems to dislike; as also did Tertullian, when he represented their Doctrine thus; *Stoici volunt Deum sic per Materiam decurrisse, quomodo Mel per Favos, the Stoicks will have God, so to run through the Matter, as the Honey doth the Combs.* Strabo testifies of the ancient Indian Brachmans, *ὅτι πολλὰν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁμοδοξοῦν, ὅτι τῷ γενεῆς ὁ κόσμος καὶ φθαρτός λέγουσιν κινεῖσθαι, ὅ τε διοικῶν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιῶν θεός, δι' ὅλα διαπεφοῖται αὐτῷ.* That in many things they Philosophized after the Greekish manner, as when they affirm that the World had a beginning, and that it would be Corrupted, and that the Maker and Governour thereof, Pervades the whole of it. The Latins also fully agreed with the Greeks in this: For though Seneca somewhere propounds this Question, *Utrum Extrinsecus operi suo Circumsusus sit Deus, an toti inditus?* Whether God be only extrinsically circumsused, about his work the World, or inwardly insinuating do Pervade it all? yet himself elsewhere answers it, when he calls God, *Divinum Spiritum per omnia, maxima, ac minima, equali intentione diffusum,* A Divine Spirit, Diffused through all things, whether Smallest or Greatest, with equal intention. God in Quintilians Theology, is *Spiritus omnibus partibus Immistus;* and *Ille fusus, per omnes rerum Naturæ partes Spiritus,* a Spirit which insinuates it self into, and is Mingled with all the parts of the world; And that Spirit which is diffused through all the parts of Nature. Apuleius likewise affirmeth *Deum omnia permeare,* That God doth permeate all things, and that *Nulla res est tam præstantibus viribus, quæ viduata Dei auxilio, sui natura contenta sit,* There is nothing so excellent or powerful, as that it could be content with its own Nature alone, void of the Divine Aid or Influence: and again, *Dei Præsentiam, non jam cogitatio sola, sed Oculi, & aures, & sensibilis Substantia comprehendit,* That God is not only present to our Cogitation, but also to our very eyes and ears, in all these sensible things. Servius agreeably with this doctrine of the Ancient Pagans, determineth, that *Nulla Pars Elementi sine Deo est,* That there is no part of the Elements devoid of God. And that the Poets fully closed with the same Theology, is evident from those known passages of theirs, *Jovis omnia plena,* and *μεταὶ ἧς διὸς πάντα μέγ' ἀγαυά,* &c. i. e. All the things of Nature, and Parts of the world, are full of God; as also from this of Virgil,

Virg. Georg.  
L.4.

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

Lastly

Lastly we shall observe that both *Plato* and *Anaxagoras*, who neither of them Confounded God with the World, but kept them both distinct and affirmed God to be *ἄδεν μίμυργμόν*, *Unmingled with any thing*, nevertheless concluded, *αὐτὸ πάντα κοσμεῖν τὰ πρῶματα διὰ πάντων ἰόντα*, *that he did order and govern all things passing through and pervading all things*; which is the very same with that Doctrine of Christian Theologers, *καὶ θεὸν διὰ πάντων ἀμύχως διήκον*, *That God permeates and passes through all things, Unmixedly*. Which *Plato* also there in his *Cratylus*, plainly making *διέκον* to be a Name for God, etymologizeth it, from *διὰ ἰόν*, i. e. *passing thorough all things*, and thereupon gives us the best account of *Heraclitus* his *Theosophy*, that is any where extant (if not rather a Fragment of *Heraclitus* his own) in these words, *ἔσσι γὰρ ἠγνῆται τὸ πᾶν εἶναι ἐν πορείᾳ, τὸ μὲν πολὺ αὐτῷ ὑπολαμβάνεισι τοῖστίον τι εἶναι, οἷον ἄδεν ἄλλο ἢ χαρεῖν· διὰ ἧ τῶν πάντων εἶναι διεξίον, δι' ἧ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα γίνεσθαι· εἶναι ἧ τάχσον τῶτο καὶ λεπτότατον, ἧ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθ' ἄλλως διὰ τῶ ὄντος εἶναι παντός, εἰ μὴ λεπτότατόν τε ἦν, ὥστε αὐτὸ μηδὲν σέγειν, καὶ τάχσον, ὥστε χρεῖσθαι ὡς ἄν ἐστῶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐπεὶ ἧ ἐν ἑπιτροπῆ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διὰ ἰόν, τῶτο τὸ ὄνομα ἐκλήθη ὀρθῶς διέκον, ἄσμιος ἕνεκα, τὴν τῶ ἢ δύναμιν προσλαβόν·* *They who affirm the Universe to be in constant motion, suppose a great part thereof, to do nothing else but move and change; but that there is something which Passes through and Pervades this whole Universe, by which all those things that are made, are made: and that this is both the Most swift, and Most Subtil thing; for it could not otherwise pass through all things, were it not so Subtil, that nothing could keep it out or hinder it; and it must be most swift, that it may use all things, as if they stood still, that so nothing might scape it. Since therefore this doth preside over, and Order all things, Permeating and Passing through them; it is called διέκον quasi διεξίον; the Letter Cappa, being only taken in for the more handsom pronounciation.* Here we have therefore *Heraclitus* his Description of God, namely this, *τὸ λεπτότατον καὶ τὸ τάχσον, διὰ πάντως διεξίον, δι' ἧ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα γίνεσθαι*, *That Most Subtil and Most Swift Substance, which permeates and passes through the whole Universe, by which all things that are made, are made.* Now saith *Plato*, some of these *Heracliticks*, say that this is *Fire*, others that it is *Heat*; but he deriding both these Conceits; concludes with *Anaxagoras*, that it is a *Perfect Mind*, *unmixed with any thing*; which yet *Permeating and Passing through all things*, frames, orders, and disposes all.

Wherefore this being the Universally received Doctrine of the Pagans, that *God was a Spirit or Substance Diffused through the whole World, which Permeating and Inwardly Acting all things, did Order all*; no wonder, if they called him, in Several Parts of the World and Things of Nature, by several Names; or to use *Cicero's* Language, no wonder if *Deus Pertinens per Naturam cujusque rei, per Terras Ceres, per Maria Neptunus, &c.* if *God pervading the nature of every thing, were in the Earth called Ceres, in the Sea Neptune, in the Air Juno, &c.* And this very account does *Paulus Orosius* (in his Historick work against the Pagans, Dedicated to *St. Austin*) give of the original of the Pagan Polytheism, *Quidam dum In Multis Deum credunt, Multos Deos, L. 6. c. 1. indiscreto Timore, finxerunt, That some whilst they believe God to be*



*In Many things, have therefore, out of an indiscreet fear, feigned Many Gods; in which words he intimates, that the Pagans Many Gods, were really but Several Names of One God, as existing in Many things, or in the Several Parts of the world; as the same Ocean is called by several names, as beating upon several Shores.*

Secondly the *Pagan Theology* went sometimes yet a strain higher, they not only thus supposing, God to *Pervade the whole World*, and to be *Diffus'd through All Things* (which as yet keeps up some Difference and Distinction betwixt God and the *World*) but also *Himself to be in a manner All Things*. That the ancient *Egyptian Theology*, from whence the Theologies of other Nations were derived, ran so high as this, is evident from that excellent Monument of Egyptian Antiquity, the *Saitick Inscription* often mentioned, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be*. And the *Trismegistick Books* insisting so much every where upon this Notion, *That God is All Things*; (as hath been observed) renders it the more probable, that they were not all Counterfeit and Supposititious; but that according to the testimony of *Jamblichus*, they did at least contain *ἰδέας Ἑρμῶναιας*, some of the *Old Theistical or Hermaical Philosophy*, in them. And from *Egypt* in all probability, was this Doctrine by *Orpheus* derived into *Greece*, the *Orphick Verses* themselves running much upon this strain, and the *Orphick Theology* being thus Epitomized by *Timotheus* the *Chronographer*; *That all things were made by God, and That Himself is All Things*. To this purpose is that of *Æschylus*,

Grot. Exc.  
p. 57.

Ζῶς ἔστιν αἰθέρ, Ζῶς δὲ γῆ, Ζῶς δ' ἄσπερος.  
Ζῶς τοι τὰ πάντα, χᾶ, πῖ τῷ δ' ἔθ' ὑπέστερον.

*Et Terra, & Æther, & Poli Arx est Jupiter,  
Et Cuncta Solus, & aliquid Sublimius.*

And again,

ib. p. 53.

————— Ποτὲ μὲν ὡς πῦρ φαίνεται  
ἄπλᾶσον ὄρημ· ποτὲ δ' ὕδωρ, ποτὲ ἢ γνόφος·  
καὶ θεῶν αὐτὸς γίνεσθαι παρεμφερέης,  
ἄνέμω, νέφει τε, καί σεαπῆ, βροντῆ, βροχῆ·

————— *Nunc ut implacabilis  
Apparet Ignis: nunc Tenebris, nunc Aquæ  
Par ille cerni: Simulat interdum Feram,  
Tonitrua, Ventos, Fulmina, & Nubila.*

As also this of *Lucan* amongst the *Latins*,

Lib. 9. v. 580.

————— *Superos quid querimus ultra?  
Jupiter est quodcunque Vides, quocunque moveris.*

Whereunto agree also, these passages of *Seneca* the *Philosopher*, *Quid est Deus? Quod vides Totum, & quod non vides, Totum. And sic solus*

*Solus est Omnia; opus suum & Extrà & Intrà tenet: What is God? he is all that you see, and all that you do not see. And he alone is All Things, he containing his own work not only without but also within.* Neither was this the Doctrine only of those Pagans who held God to be the Soul of the World, and consequently the whole Animated World to be the Supreme Deity, but of those others also, who conceived of God as an Abstract Mind Superiour to the Mundane Soul, or rather as a Simple Monad Superiour to Mind also; as those Philosophers, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Melissus, who described God to be One and All Things, they supposing that because all things were From him, they must needs have been first in a manner In him and Himself All Things. With which agreeth the Author of the Asclepian Dialogue, when he maketh, *Unus Omnia, and Creator Omnium; One All Things, and the Creator of All Things,* to be but equivalent Expressions: and when he affirmeth, that before things were made, *In eo jam tunc erant, unde Nasci habuerunt; They then Existed in him, from whom afterwards they proceeded.* So likewise the other Trismegistick Books, when they give this account of Gods being both All things that Are, and All things that Are Not, τὰ μὲν ὅντα ἐφανερώσε, τὰ ἢ μὴ ὄντα ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ, because those things that Are, he hath manifested from himself, and those things that Are not, he still containeth within himself; or as it is elsewhere expressed, he doth κρύπτειν, Hide them and Conceal them in himself. And the Orphick verses gave this same Account likewise of Gods being All Things, πάντα τὰ ἢ κρύψας, &c. because he first Conceal'd and Hid them all within himself, before they were made and thence afterward from himself displayed them, and brought them forth into Light: Or because

Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν γαστέρι σύρρα πεφύκει,

before they were produc'd, they were all contain'd together in the Womb of God.

Now this was not only a further Ground, of that seeming Polytheism amongst the Pagans, which was really nothing but the Polyonymy of One God, and their Personating his Several Powers; but also of another more strange and puzzling Phenomenon in their Theology, namely, their Personating also, the Parts of the World Inanimate, and Things of Nature, and bestowing the Names of Gods and Goddesses upon them. It was before observed out of Moschopulus, that the Pagans did ἐνὶ ὀνόματι τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔχον, ἢ τὸ ἑστιαστῆρα τῶν θεῶν ὀνομάζειν, Call the things in Nature, and the Gods which presided over them, by one and the same Name. As for Example, they did not only call the God which presideth over those arts that operate by Fire, *Hephaestus* or *Vulcan*; but also *Fire* it self. And *Demeter* or *Ceres*, was not only taken by them for that God, who was supposed to Give Corn and Fruits; but also for *Corn* it self. So *Dionysus* or *Bacchus* did not only signifie, the God that Giveth Wine, but also *Wine* it self. And he instancing further, in *Venus*, and *Minerva*, and the *Muses*, concludes the same Universally of all the rest. Thus *Arnobius* in his Book against the Pagans, *In usu sermonis vestri, Martem pro Pugna appellatis, pro Aqua Neptunum, Liberum Patrem pro Vino, Cererem pro Pane, Minervam pro Stamine, pro Obscœnis libidinis Venerem.* Now we will not deny,

G g g but

De If. 3 of.  
p. 379.

Ibid.

De N. D. L. 2.  
p. 222.

De Decal.  
p. 751, 752.

but that this was sometimes done *Metonymically*, the *Efficient Cause*, and the *Ruling or Governing Principle*, being put for the *Effect*, or that which was Ruled and Governed by it. And thus was *War* frequently styled *Mars*, and that of *Terence* may be taken also in this Sence, *Sine Cerere & Libero friget Venus*. And *Plutarch* (who declares his great dislike of this kind of Language) conceives that there was no more at first in it than thus, ὡς ὅτε ἡμεῖς τὸ ἀνδρῶν βιβλία Πλάτωνος, ἀνεῖσθαι φησὶ Πλάτωνα, καὶ μὲν ἀνδρῶν τὸ ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὰ μὲν ἀνδρῶν ποιήματα ὑποκρίμενον, ἕως ἄγενοι, τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὄνομα καλεῖν ἐν ἐφείδοντο, τιμῶντες ὑπὸ χρεῖας καὶ σεμνύοντες. *As we, when one buyes the Books of Plato, commonly say that he buyes Plato; and when one acts the Plays of Menander, that he acts Menander; so did the ancients not spare to call the Gifts and Effects of the Gods, by the names of those Gods respectively, thereby honouring them also for their Utility.* But he grants that afterward this Language was by ignorant Persons abused and carried on further, and that not without great Impiety; οἱ δὲ ὑπεροὐρανοῦ ἀπειθεῖς θεοὶ καὶ ἀμαθῆς ἀνασρέφοντες, ἐπι τὰς θεὰς τὰ πρὸς τῶν κέρπων καὶ τὰς παρῶσιν τῶν ἀνακλαίων καὶ ἀποκρύφειν, θεῶν γενέσεσιν καὶ φθορῆσιν, ἢ προσαγορεύουσιν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀτόπων καὶ ἄλογων καὶ τεταραχμένων δόξαν αὐτὰς ἐπέπλησαν. *Their followers mistaking them, and thereupon ignorantly attributing the Passions of Fruits, (their Appearances and Occultations) to the Gods themselves, that preside over them; and so not only calling them, but also thinking them to be, the Generations and Corruptions of the Gods, have by this means filled themselves with absurd and wicked Opinions.* Where *Plutarch* well condemns the *Vulgar* both amongst the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*, for that in their mournful Solemnities, they sottishly attributed to the Gods, the Passions belonging to the fruits of the earth; thereby indeed making them to be Gods. Nevertheless the *Inanimate Parts of the World* and *Things of Nature*, were frequently *Deified* by the Pagans, not only thus *Metonymically*, but also in a further Sence, as *Cicero* plainly declares; *Tum illud quod erat à Deo natum, Nominè ipsius Dei nuncupabant, ut cum Fruges Cererem appellamus, Vinum autem Liberum; Tum autem Res ipsa in qua Vis inest Major, sic appellatur ut ea ipsa Res nominetur Deus.* Both that which proceeds from God, is called by the name of a God, as *Corn* is sometimes thus called *Ceres*, and *Wine* *Liber*: and also whatsoever hath any greater Force in it, That thing it self is often called a God too. *Philo* also thus represents the Religion of the Pagans, as first *Deifying Corporeal Inanimate Things*, and then bestowing those *Proper Personal Names* upon them: ἐκτεθειάχασιν γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὰς τεσσαρεσ ἄερας, γῆν, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ αἴερα, καὶ πῦρ. οἱ δὲ ἥλιον καὶ σελιώω καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πλανήτας, καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστῆρας. οἱ δὲ μόνον τὸ ἄστρον, οἱ δὲ συμπαντὰ κόσμον. τὸ δὲ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρῶτον, τὸ ἄστρον, τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μέγιστον πόλεως, τὸ στρατάρχην τὸ ἀεικίτην στρατῶν, τὸ κυβερνήτην ὃς οἰκονομεῖ σωτηρίας αἰεὶ ἀπάντα, παρεκαλέσθητο, ἰδὲ δυνάμει προσεήσθη ἄγενοις ἐπιφροσύναις, ἐπεὶ ἔπειτα. καλῶσιν γὰρ τὴν γῆν κόρη; ἀμήτρα, Πλάτωνα. τὴν δὲ ἰσλάσαν Ποσειδῶνα, δαίμονας ἐναλίεσ ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῶν προσαναπλάττοντες, &c. Ἦραν δὲ τὴν αἴερα, καὶ τὸ πῦρ Ἠφαιστὴν, καὶ ἥλιον Ἀπόλλωνα, καὶ σελιώω Ἄρτεμιν, &c. *Some have Deified the Four Elements, the Earth, the Water, the Air and the Fire. Some the Sun and the Moon, and the Planets and Fixed Stars: Others the Heaven, others the whole World. But that Highest and most Ancient Being, the Parent*

of

of all things, the Chief Prince of this great City, and the Emperour of this invincible Army, who governeth all things salutiferously, Him have they covered, concealed and obscured, by bestowing Counterfeit Personal Names of Gods upon each of these things. For the Earth they called Proserpina, Pluto and Ceres; the Sea Neptune, under whom they place many Demons and Nymphs also as his Inferiour Ministers; the Air Juno; the Fire Vulcan; the Sun Apollo; the Moon Diana, &c. and dissecting the Heaven into Two Hemispheres, one above the Earth the other under it, they call these the Dioscuri, feigning them to live alternately one one day, and the other another. We deny not here but that the Four Elements, as well as the Sun, Moon, and Stars, were supposed by some of the Pagans, to be Animated with Particular Souls of their own, (which Ammianus Marcellinus seems principally to call *Spiritus Elementorum*, the Spirits of the Elements, worshipped by Julian) and upon that account to be so many Inferiour Gods themselves. Notwithstanding which, that the Inanimate Parts of these, were also Deified by the Pagans, may be concluded from hence; because Plato, who in his *Cratylus* etymologizeth *Dionysus* from Giving of Wine, and elsewhere calls the fruits of the earth τὰ δῆμιτρεῶν δῶρα, The Gifts of Ceres, doth himself nevertheless in compliance with this Vulgar Speech, call Wine and Water as mingled together in a Glass (or Cup) to be drunk, Gods: where he affirmeth that a City ought to be, *De Leg. L. 6.*  
 διὸ καὶ τῆς κεντραμένῳ, ἔ μαινόμενῳ μὲν οἴνῳ κερμένῳ ζεῖ, καλαξομένη ἢ ὑπὸ νήφου ἔτιρος θεῶν, καλλῶ κοινωσίαν λαβάν, ἀγαθὸν ποῖμα κὲ μέρειον ἀπερχέσθαι. so temper'd, as in a Cup, where the furious Wine poured out bubbles and sparkles, but being corrected by another Sober God (that is, by Water) both together make a good and moderate Potion. Cicero also tells us, that before the Roman Admirals went to Sea, they were wont to offer up a Sacrifice to the Waves. But of this more afterward. However it is certain, that meer Accidents, and Affections of Things in Nature, were by these Pagans commonly Personated and Deified, as Time in *Sophocles* his *Electra* is a God, χρόνος γὰρ ἀμαχὸς θεός, For Time is an easie God; and Love in *Plato's Symposium*, where it is wondered at, that no Poet had ever made a Hymn τῷ ἔρωτι τιμωτάτῳ ὄντι καὶ ποσάτῳ θεῷ, To Love being such and so great a God. Though the same Plato in his *Philebus*, when *Protarchus* had called Pleasure a Goddess *P. 12.*  
 τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέῃ, ὃ πρόταρχε, αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰ ἑλθεῖν ὀνόματα ἐν ἑσὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ πέρα τῆς μεγίστης φόβου. ἐγὼ νῦν τῷ μὲν ἀφροδίτῳ, ὅτι ἐκείνη φίλον, ταύτῳ προσαγορεύω, τῷ ἢ ἡδονῷ οἶδα ὡς ἑσὶ ποικίλον. My fear, O *Protarchus*, concerning the Names of the Gods, is extraordinary great. Wherefore as to Venus, I am willing to call her, what she pleases to be called; but Pleasure I know is a Various and Multiform thing. Wherefore it cannot be denied but that the Pagans did in some sense or other Deifie or Theologize all the Parts of the World, and Things of Nature. Which we conceive to have been done at first upon no other Ground than this, because God was supposed by them, not only to Permeate and Pervade all things, to be Diffused thorough All, and to Act in and upon All; but also to be Himself in a manner All things; which they expressed after this way; by Personating the Things of Nature Severally, and bestowing the Names of Gods and Goddesses

N. D. L. 2.  
p. 222.

Goddeſſes upon them. Only we ſhall here obſerve, that this was done eſpecially (beſides the Greater Parts of the World) to Two Sorts of things, Firſt, ſuch in which *Humane Utility* was moſt concerned: Thus *Cicero*, *Multæ aliæ Naturæ Deorum ex Magnis Beneficiis eorum, non ſine cauſa & à Græciæ Sapientibus & à Majoribus noſtris, conſtituta nominatæque ſunt*: Many other Natures of Gods have been conſtituted and nominated, both by the wiſe men of Greece, and by our Anceſtors, meerly for the great Benefits received from them. The Reason whereof is thus given by him, *Quia quicquid magnam Utilitatem generi afferret humano, id non ſine Divina Bonitate erga homines fieri arbitrabantur*; Because they thought, that whatſoever brought any great Utility to mankind, this was not without the Divine Goodneſs. Secondly, ſuch as were moſt wonderful and Extraordinary, or Surprizing; to which that of *Seneca* ſeems pertinent, *Magnorum Fluminum Capita Veneramur. Subita & ex abdito vaſti amnis eruptio Aras habet. Coluntur Aquarum Calentium Fontes; & Stagna quædam vel Opacitas vel immenſa Altitudo ſacra vit.* We adore the riſing Heads and Springs of great Rivers. Every ſudden and plentiful Eruption of Waters out of the hidden Caverns of the Earth, hath its Altars erected to it; and ſome Pools have been made Sacred for their immenſe Profundity and Opacity.

Ep. 41.

Pr. Ev. L. 3.  
c. 6.

Now this is that which is properly called, the *Physiological Theology* of the Pagans, their *Personating* and *Deiſying* (in a certain ſence) the Things of Nature, whether *Inanimate Subſtances*, or the *Affections of Subſtances*. A great part of which *Physiological Theology*, was *Allegorically* contained in the *Poetick Fables* of the Gods. *Eusebius* indeed was of opinion, that thoſe *Poetick Fables* were at firſt only *Historical*, and *Herological*, but that afterwards ſome went about to *Allegorize* them into *Physiological Sences*, thereby to make them ſeem the leſs impious and ridiculous: *τοιούτη ἦν τὰ ἄ παλαιᾶς θεολογίας, ἢ μεταβαλόντες νέοι τινές, χθές καὶ πάλιν ἐπιφύεντες, λογικώτερον τε φιλοσοφῆν αἰχρῶντες, τὴν ἢ φυσικώτερον ἢ ἐπὶ θεῶν ἱστορίας δόξαν εἰσηγήσαντο, σεμνοτέρως δὲ θεολογίας τοῖς μύθοις προσημειοῦσάντες, &c. θεογενεῖται ἢ ἐν ὅμας οἶδε τὸ πατρικὸν ἀμάχημα προθυμῶντες, ὅτι φυσικὰς διηγήσεις καὶ θεωρίας τὰς μύθους μετριοκλάσαντο.* Such was the ancient Theology of the Pagans (namely, *Historical*, of men deceaſed, that were worſhipped for Gods) which ſome late Upstarts have altered, deviſing other *Philosophical* and *Physiological ſences* of thoſe *Histories* of their Gods, that they might thereby render them the more ſpecious, and hide the *Impiety* of them. For they being neither willing to abandon thoſe *Fopperies* of their forefathers, nor yet themſelves able to bear the *Impiety* of theſe *Fables* (concerning the Gods) according to the *Literal ſence* of them, have gone about to cure them thus by *Physiological Interpretations*. Neither can it be doubted, but that there was ſome Mixture of *Herology* and *History*, in the *Poetick Mythology*; Nor denied, that the Pagans of latter times, ſuch as *Porphyrus* and others, did excogitate and deviſe certain new *Allegorical ſences* of their own, ſuch as never were intended. *Origen* before both him and *Porphyrus*, noting this of the Pagans, that when the abſurdity of their *Fables* concerning the Gods was objected and urged againſt them, ſome of them did, *ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπολογῶν ἐπὶ ἀλληγορίας καταφύγειν*, apologizing for theſe things, betake themſelves to *Allegories*.  
But

L. 3. c. Celf. p.  
123.

But long before the times of Christianity, those First Stoicks *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, and *Chrysippus*, were famous for the great pains which they took in *Allegorizing* these *Poetick Fables* of the Gods. Of which *Cotta* in *Cicero* thus, *Magnam molestiam suscepit & minimè necessariam, primus Zeno, post Cleanthes, deinde Chrysippus, Commentitiarum Fabularum reddere rationem, & vocabulorum cur quidque ita appellatum sit, causas explicare. Quod cum facitis, illud profecto confitemini, longè aliter rem se habere atque hominum opinio sit; eos qui Dii appellantur, Rerum Naturas esse, non Figuras Deorum: Zeno first and after him Cleanthes and Chrysippus took a great deal more pains than was needful, to give a reason of all those Commentitious Fables of the Gods, and of the names that every thing was called by. By doing which they confessed that the matter was far otherwise, than according to mens opinion, in as much as they who are called Gods in them, were nothing but the Natures of things.* From whence it is plain, that in the *Poetick Theology*, the Stoicks took it for granted, that the Natures of Things were *Personated* and *Deified*, and that those Gods were not *Animal*, nor indeed *Philosophical*, but *Fictitious*, and nothing but the *Things of Nature Allegorized*. *Origen* also gives us a Taste of *Chrysippus* his thus *Allegorizing*, in his interpreting an obscene Picture or Table of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, in *Samos*; λέγει γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῆς συγγράμμασιν ὁ σεμνὸς φιλόσοφος, ὅτι τὰς σπερματικὰς λόγους τῷ θεῷ ἢ ὑλῇ ἠδὲ δεξιὰ μὲν, ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῇ, εἰς καθάρουσαν τῆς ὄλων· ὑλὴ γὰρ ἢ ἐν τῇ κτ' τῷ Σάμων γεαφῆ, ἢ Ἡρᾷ, ἢ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ζῶς· This Grave Philosopher in his writings saith; that Matter having received the Spermatick Reasons of God, conteineth them within it self, for the adorning of the whole World; and that Juno in this Picture in Samos, signifies Matter, and Jupiter God. Upon which occasion that pious Father adds, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δὴ ἡμεῖς, καὶ διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας μύθους καὶ ἄλλας μυθίας, εἰς δὲ μέχρι ὀνόματιο· δέλομεν δια καλεῖν τὸ ἐπι πᾶσι θεῶν, ἀλλὰ καθαροῦν ὀσέθειαν εἰς τὸ δημιουργὸν ἀσκῶντες, εἰς δὲ μέχρι ὀνόματος χρῆσιν οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰ θεῶν· For the sake of which, and innumerable other such like Fables, we will never endure to call The God over all, by the name of Jupiter, but exercising pure Piety towards the Maker of the World, will take care not to defile Divine things with impure Names. And here we see again, according to *Chrysippus* his Interpretation, that *Hera* or *Juno*, was no *Animal* nor *Real God*, but only the *Nature of Matter Personated* and *Deified*; that is, a *meer Fictitious and Poetick God*. And we think it is unquestionably evident, from *Hesiod's Theogonia*, that many of these *Poetick Fables*, according to their First Intention, were really nothing else but *Physiology Allegorized*, and consequently those *Gods*, nothing but the *Natures of things Personated and Deified*. *Plato* himself, though no friend to these *Poetick Fables*, plainly intimates as much, in his Second *De Rep.* καὶ Θεομαχίας, ὅσας Ὀμηρὸς πεποιήκεν, εἰς δὲ δεξιὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰς ὑπόνοιας πεποιήκεν, εἰς ἄνδρα ὑπόνοιαν· ὁ γὰρ νέος, ἐν οἷς τε κείναις ὅ, τι τε ὑπόνοια καὶ ὁ μὴ· The Fightings of the Gods, and such other things, as Homer hath feign'd concerning them, ought not to be admitted into our Commonwealth, whether they be delivered in way of Allegory, or without Allegories: Because Young men are not able to judge, when it is an Allegory, and when not. And it appears from *Dionysius Halicarnass.* that this was the General opinion concerning the *Greekish Fables*, that some of them

L. 4. p. 196.

P. 378.

L. 2. p. 68.

them were *Physically*, and some *Tropologically Allegorical*: *μὴ εἰς ὑπολάβοι με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων, εἰσὶ τινες ἀνθρώποις χρήσιμοι, οἱ μὲν ἔπισημύμενοι τὰ τῆ φύσεως ἔργα δι' ἀλληγορίας, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀμεμβρίας ἕνεκα συμφέρηται τῶν ἀνθρώπων συμφουρῶν, &c.* *Let no man think me to be ignorant that some of the Greekish Fables are profitable to men, partly as declaring the Works of Nature by Allegories, partly as being helpful for humane life, &c.* Thus also Cicero, *Alia quoque ex ratione, & quidem Physicâ, magna fluxit Multitudo Deorum, qui induti specie humana, Fabulas Poetis suppeditaverunt, hominum autem vitam Superstitione omni refercerunt.*

N.D.L. 2.  
p. 223.

*Eusebius* indeed, seems sometimes to cast it as an Imputation upon the whole *Pagan Theology*, that it did *θεάζειν τὴν ἀψυχὸν ὄντιαν*, *Deifie the Inanimate Nature*; but this is properly to be understood of this Part of their *Theology* only, which was *Physiological*, and of their *Mythology* or *Poetick Fables* of the Gods *Allegorized*: it being otherwise both apparently false, and all one as to make them downright *Atheists*. For he that acknowledges no *Animant God*, as hath been declared, acknowledges no God at all, according to the True Notion of him; whether he derive all things from a *Fortuitous Motion of Matter*, as *Epicurus* and *Democritus* did, or from a *Plastick* and *Orderly* but *Senseless Nature*, as some *Degenerate Stoicks*, and *Strato* the *Peripatetick*; whose *Atheism* seems to be thus described by *Manilius*,

*Aut neque Terra Patrem novit, nec Flamma, nec Aer,  
Aut Humor, faciuntque Deum per quatuor artus,  
Et Mundi struxere Globum, prohibentque requiri  
Ultra se quidquam.*

Neither ought this *Physiological Theology* of the Pagans, which consisted only in *Personating* and *Deifying Inanimate Substances*, and the *Natures of Things* to be confounded (as it hath been by some late Writers) with that *Philosophical Theology* of *Scævola*, *Varro* and others, (which was called *Natural* also, but in another sence, as *True* and *Real*) it being indeed but a Part of the *Poetical* first, and afterward of the *Political Theology*, and owing its Original much to the *Phancies of Poets*, whose Humour it was perpetually to *Personate Things and Natures*. But the *Philosophick Theology* properly so called, which according to *Varro* was that, *de qua multos libros Philosophi reliquerunt*; as it admitted none but *Animal Gods*, and such as really existed in Nature, (which therefore were called *Natural*) namely one *Supreme Universal Numen*, a *Perfect Soul* or *Mind* comprehending all, and his *ὑπεργοὶ δυνάμεις*, other *Inferiour Understanding Beings* his *Ministers* Created by him, such as *Stars* and *Demons*; so were all those *Personated Gods*, or *Natures of Things Deified*, in the *Arcane Theology*, interpreted agreeably thereunto.

*St. Austin* often takes notice of the Pagans thus Mingling and as it were Incorporating *Physiology* with their *Theology*, he justly condemning the same. As in his 49. Epistle; *Neque illinc excusant impii, sua sacrilega sacra & simulachra, quòd eleganter interpretantur quid quæque significant: Omnis quippe illa Interpretatio ad Creaturam refertur, non ad Creatorem, cui uni debetur Servitus Religionis, illa quæ u-*

no nomine Latria Græcè appellatur. Neither do the Pagans sufficiently excuse their Sacrilegious Rites and Images, from hence, because they elegantly (and ingeniously) interpret, what each of those things signifieth. For this Interpretation is referred to the Creature, and not to the Creator, to whom alone belongeth Religious Worship, that which by the Greeks is called Latria. And again in his Book *De Civ. D. L. 6. c. 8.* *Atenim habent ista Physiologicas quasdam (sicut aiunt) id est, Naturalium Rationum Interpretationes. Quasi verò nos in hac Disputatione Physiologiam queramus, & non Theologiam; id est, Rationem Naturæ, & non Dei. Quamvis enim qui verus Deus est, non Opinione sed Natura sit Deus; non tamen omnis Natura Deus est.* But the Pagans pretend, that these things have certain Physiological Interpretations, or according to Natural Reasons; as if in this Disputation, we sought for Physiology, and not Theology, or the Reason of Nature and not of God. For although the True God, be not in Opinion only, but in Nature God, yet is not every Nature, God. But certainly the First and Chief Ground of this Practice of theirs; thus to Theologize Physiology and Deifie (in one fence or other) all the Things of Nature, was no other than what has been already intimated, their supposing God to be, not only Diffused thorough the whole World, and In all things, but also in a manner All things; and that therefore he ought to be worshipped in All the Things of Nature, and Parts of the World.

Wherefore these personated Gods of the Pagans, or those Things of Nature Deified by them, and called Gods and Goddeses, were for all that, by no means accounted by the Intelligent amongst them, True and Proper Gods. Thus *Cotta in Cicero; Cum Fruges Cererem, Vinum Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis utimur usitato: sed equem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, Deum esse credat?* Though it be very common and familiar language amongst us, to call Corn Ceres, and Wine Bacchus, yet who can think any one to be so mad, as to take that to be really a God, which he feeds upon? The Pagans really accounted that only for a God, by the worshipping and invoking whereof, they might reasonably expect benefit to themselves, and therefore nothing was Truly and Properly a God to them, but what was both Substantial, and also Animant and Intellectual. For *Plato* writes that the Atheistick Wits of his time, therefore concluded the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, not to be Gods, because they were nothing but Earth and Stones (or a certain Fiery Matter) devoid of all Understanding and Sense, and for this cause, ἴδεν τῆ ἀνθρώπων πραγμάτων φρονίσειν δυνάμει, unable to take notice of any Humane Affairs. And *Aristotle* affirmeth concerning the Gods in general, ζῆν τε πάντας υπελήφασιν αὐτὸς, ἔ ερεγγεῖν ἄρα, &c. That all men conceived them to Live, and consequently to Act, since they cannot be supposed to sleep perpetually as Endymion did. The Pagans, Universally conceived the Gods to be Happy Animals; and *Aristotle* there concludes, the happiness of them all to consist in Contemplation. *Lucretius* himself would not debar men of that Language (then vulgarly received amongst the Pagans) of calling the Sea Neptune, Corn Ceres, Wine Bacchus, and the Earth the Mother of the Gods too, provided that they did not think any of these for all that, to be Truly and Really Gods,

De N. D. L. 3;  
P. 245.

L. 10. de Leg.

Hic



L. 2. p. 165.  
Lamb.

*Hic si quis Mare Neptunum, Cereremque vocare  
Constituit fruges, & Bacchi nomine abuti  
Mavolt, quam Laticis proprium proferre vocamen :  
Concedamus ut hic, Terrarum dicat Orbem  
Esse Deum Matrem, dum non sit re tamen apse.*

And the reason why the Earth was not really a Goddess, is thus given by him,

*Terra quidem vero caret omni tempore Sensu.*

N.D.L. 2. p.  
220.

*Because it is constantly devoid of all manner of sense. Thus Balbus in Cicero tells us, that the first thing included in the notion or Idea of a God, is this, Ut sit Animans, That it be Animant; or endued with Life, Sense, and Understanding. And he conceiving the Stars to be undoubtedly such, therefore concludes them to be Gods. Quoniam tenuissimus est Æther, & semper agitur & viget, necesse est, quod Animal in eo gignatur, idem quoque Sensu acerrimo esse. Quare cum in Æthere Astra gignantur, consentaneum est in iis Sensum inesse & Intelligentiam. Ex quo efficitur in Deorum numero Astra esse ducenda. Because the Æther is most subtil, and in continual agitation, that Animal which is begotten in it, must needs be endued with the quickest and sharpest sense. Wherefore since the Stars are begotten in the Æther, it is reasonable to think them to have Sense and Understanding; from whence it follows, that they ought to be reckoned in the number of Gods. And Cotta in the*

D.N.D. p. 241

*Third Book, affirms that all men were so far from thinking the Stars to be Gods, that Multi ne Animantes quidem esse concedant, many would not so much as admit them to be Animals: plainly intimating, that unless they were Animated, they could not possibly be Gods.*

De Is. 8. of.  
p. 377.

*Lastly Plutarch for this very reason absolutely condemns, that whole practice of giving the names of Gods and Goddeses, to Inanimate things, as Absurd, Impious, and Atheistical, θηνάς κ̄ ἀδέες ἐμποῖσι δόξας, ἀναιδήτοις, κ̄ ἀψύχοις, κ̄ φθειρομήλαις ἀναγκάως ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων θεομένων κ̄ χρωμένων φύσει κ̄ πραγμάσιν ὀνόματα θεῶν ὑπιπέροντες. ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰ νοῖσται θεῶς ἐν ἔσιν. ἔ γὰρ ἐν εἰδὲ ἀψυχῶν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεός. They who give the names of Gods to Senseless and Inanimate Natures and Things, and such as are destroyed by men in the use of them, beget most wicked and Atheistical opinions in the minds of men: since it cannot be conceived how these things should be Gods; for nothing that is Inanimate, is a God. And now we have very good reason to conclude, that the Distinction or Division of Pagan Gods (used by some) into Animal and Natural (by Natural being meant Inanimate) is utterly to be rejected, if we speak of their True and Proper Gods; since nothing was such to the Pagans but what had Life, Sense, and Understanding. Wherefore those Personated Gods, that were nothing but the Natures of Things Deified, as such, were but Dii Commentitii & Fictitii, Counterfeit and Fictitious Gods: or as Origen calls them in that place before cited, τὰ Ἐλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα, σωματὰ ποιεῖσθαι δευσιτὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων, Figments of the Greeks (and other Pagans) that were but Things turned into Persons and Deified. Neither*

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can there be any other sence made, of these *Personated* and *Deified Things of Nature*, than this, that they were all of them really so many *Several Names of One Supreme God*, or *Partial Considerations* of him, according to the *Several Manifestations* of himself in his Works. Thus according to the old *Egyptian Theology* before declared, God is said to have both, *No Name*, and *Every Name*; or as it is expressed in the *Asclepiian Dialogue*, *Cum non possit Uno quamvis è Multis composito Nomine nuncupari, potius Omni Nomine vocandus est, siquidem sit Unus & Omnia; ut necesse sit, aut Omnia Ipsius Nomine, aut Ipsum Omnium Nomine nuncupari: Since he cannot be fully declared by any one Name, though compounded of never so many, therefore is he rather to be called by Every Name, he being both One and All Things: so that either Every Thing must be called by His Name, or He by the Name of Every thing.* With which *Egyptian Doctrine*, *Seneca* seemeth also fully to agree, when he gives this Description of God, *Cui Nomen Omne convenit, He to whom every Name belongeth*; and when he further declares thus concerning him, *Quæcunque voles illi Nomina aptabis; and, Tot Appellationes ejus possunt esse, quot Munera, You may give him whatsoever Names you please, &c. and, There may be as many Names of him, as there are Gifts and Effects of his: and lastly, when he makes God and Nature, to be really One and the same Thing; and, Every thing we see, to be God.* And the *Writer De Mundo*, is likewise consonant hereunto, when he affirmeth that God is, *πάντων ἐπιώνυμον φύσεως ἅτε πάντων αὐτὸς ἄπασιν ὄν*, or, *maybe denominated from Every Nature, because he is the Cause of all things.* We say therefore, that the Pagans in this their *Theologizing of Physiology*, and *Deifying the Things of Nature, and Parts of the World*, did accordingly Call Every Thing by the Name God; or God by the Name of Every Thing.

Wherefore these *Personated and Deified Things of Nature* were not themselves Properly and Directly worshipped by the Intelligent Pagans, (who acknowledged no *Inanimate thing for a God*) so as to terminate their worship ultimately in them; but either *Relatively* only to the Supreme God, or else at most in way of *Complication* with him, whose Effects and Images they are, so that they were not so much themselves worshipped, as God was worshipped in them. For these Pagans professed, that they did, *τὸ θεῶν μὴ παρέργως, μὴδὲ ὡς τὰ τὰ βοσκῆματᾶ θεῶσιν, look upon the Heaven (and World) not slightly and superficially; nor as meer Bruit Animals, who take notice of nothing, but those sensible Phantasms, which from the objects obtrude themselves upon them; or else as the same Julian, in that Oration, again more fully expresseth it, τὸ θεῶν ἔχ ὡς τὰ ἴππων ἢ βόας ὁρᾶν, ἢ τὰ ἀλόγων ἢ ἀμαδῶν ζώων· ἀλλὰ ἐξ αὐτῶ τὸ φανερὸν τῷ ἀφανῶ πολυπεργυρονεῖν φύσιν, Not view and contemplate the Heaven and World, with the same eyes, that Oxen and Horses do, but so as from that which is Visible to their outward senses, to discern and discover another Invisible Nature under it.* That is, they professed to behold all things with *Religious Eyes*, and to see God in Every Thing, not only as *Pervading* all things, and *Diffused* thorough all things, but also as *Being* in a manner *All things*. Wherefore they looked upon the whole World as a *Sacred Thing*, and as having a kind of *Divinity* in it; it being, according to their *Theolo-*

Julian Orat. 4.

P. 286.

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gy, nothing but *God himself Visibly Displayed*. And thus was God worshipped by the Pagans, in the whole *Corporeal World* taken all at once together, or in the *Universe*, under the *Name of Pan*. As they also commonly conceived of *Zeus* and *Jupiter*, after the same manner; that is, not *Abstractly* only (as we now use to conceive of *God*) but *Concretely*, together with all that which Proceedeth and Emaneth from him, that is, the *Whole World*. And as God was thus described in that old *Egyptian Monument*, to be *All that Was, Is, and Shall be*; so was it before observed out of *Plutarch*, that the Egyptians took the *First God*, and the *Universe*, for *One and the same Thing*; not only because they supposed the *Supreme God*, Virtually to contain all things within himself, but also because they were wont to conceive of him, together with his *Outflowing*, and all the extent of *Fecundity*, the whole *World* displayed from him, all at once, as one entire thing. Thus likewise, do the Pagans in *Plato* confound τὸ μέγιστον θεόν, and ὅλον τὸ κόσμον, *The Greatest God*, and *The Whole World* together, as being but one and the same thing. And this Notion was so Familiar with these Pagans, that *Strabo* himself, writing of *Moses*, could not conceive of his God, and of the God of the Jews, any otherwise than thus, τὸ περιέχον ἡμᾶς ἀπαντίας, καὶ γῆν, καὶ θάλασσαν, ὃ καλεῖται ἕρμανόν, καὶ κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῆς ὅλων φύσιν, *namely, That which containeth us all, and the Earth, and the Sea, which we call the Heaven and World, and the Nature of the Whole*. By which notwithstanding, *Strabo* did not mean, the *Heaven* or *World Inanimate*, and a *Senseless Nature*, but an *Understanding Being*, framing the whole *World* and containing the same, which was conceived together with it: of which therefore he tells us, that according to *Moses*, no wise man would go about, to make any *Image* or *Picture*, resembling any thing here amongst us. From whence we conclude, that when the same *Strabo* writing of the *Persians*, affirmeth of them, that they did, τὸ ἕρμανόν ἠγεῖσθαι Δία, *take the Heaven for Jupiter*, and also *Herodotus* before him, that they did, κύκλον πᾶσι τῶν ἕρμανόν Δία καλεῖν, *Call the Whole Circle of the Heaven, Jupiter*; that is, the *Supreme God*; the meaning of neither of them was, that the *Body of the Heaven Inanimate*, was to them the *Highest God*, but that though he were an *Understanding Nature*, yet framing the whole *Heaven* or *World* and containing the same, he was at once conceived together with it. Moreover, God was worshipped also by the Pagans, in the *Several Parts* of the world, under *Several Names*; as for example in the *Higher and Lower Æther*, under those Names of *Minerva* and *Jupiter*; in the *Air*, under the name of *Juno*; in the *Fire*, under the name of *Vulcan*; in the *Sea*, under the name of *Neptune*, &c. Neither can it be reasonably doubted, but that when the *Roman Sea-Captains*, Sacrificed to the *Waves*, they intended therein to worship that God, who acteth in the *Waves*, and whose *Wonders are in the Deep*.

But besides this, the Pagans seemed to apprehend a kind of necessity, of worshipping God thus, in his works, and in the *Visible things* of this *World*, because the generality of the *Vulgar* were then unable to frame any notion or conception at all of an *Invisible Deity*, and therefore unless they were detained in a way of Religion, by such a worship

De Leg. 17.  
p. 821.

L. 16. p. 761.

worship of God as was accommodate and suitable to the lowness of their apprehensions, would unavoidably run into *Atheism*. Nay the most *Philosophical Wits* amongst them, confessing God to be *Incomprehensible* to them, therefore seem'd themselves also, to stand in need of some *Sensible Props*, to lean upon. This very account is given by the *Pagans*, of their practice, in *Eusebius*, ἀσωμάτως ἔχει ἀφανώς ἐν πᾶσιν οὐρα θεόν, ἔχει διὰ πάντων διήκοντα, ἔχει τῶτον εἰκότως διὰ τῶν δεδωμένων σέθεν φάσι, *That God being Incorporeally and Invisibly present in all things, and Pervading or Passing through all things, it was reasonable, that men should worship him, by and through those things that are Visible and Manifest.*

*Plato* likewise represents this as the opinion of the generality of *Pagans* in his time, τὸ μέγιστον θεόν ἔχει ὅλον τὸν κόσμον φανερὸν ὅτε ζητεῖν δεῖν, ὅτε πολυπραγμαμένον, τὰς αἰτίας ἐρευνᾶντας. ὅτι ὅσον εἶναι, *that as for the Greatest God, and the Whole World, men should not busily & curiously search after the knowledge thereof, nor pragmatically enquire into the causes of things, it being not pious for them so to do.* The meaning whereof seems to be no other than this, that men ought to content themselves to worship God in his Works, and in this Visible World, and not trouble themselves with any further curious Speculations concerning the Nature of that, which is *Incomprehensible* to them. Which though *Plato* professeth his dislike of, yet does that *Philosopher* himself elsewhere, plainly allow of worshipping the *First Invisible God*, in those *Visible Images* which he hath made of himself, the Sun and Moon and Stars. *Maximus Tyrius* doth indeed exhort men to ascend up, in the Contemplation of God, above all Corporeal Things;

τέλει τὸ ὁδὸν εἶναι ὁ θεῶν, ὅθεν τὰ ἐν τῷ θεῶν σώματα (καλὰ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχει, θεοτέτακτα, ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνος ἔργα ἀνεύρηται ἔχει γνήσια, ἔχει πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον ἡμερομύθια) ἀλλὰ ἔχει τῶν ἐπέκτα ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, ἔχει ἰσχυρὰ τὰ θεῶν, ὅτι τὸ ἀληθὲν τόποι, &c. *The End of your Journey, (saith he) is not the Heaven, nor those shining Bodies in the Heaven; for though those be beautiful and Divine, and the Genuine Off-spring of that Supreme Deity, framed after the best manner, yet ought these all to be transcended by you, and your head lifted up far above the Starry Heavens, &c.* Nevertheless he closes his discourse thus; εἰ ἂν ἐξασθενῆς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔχει δημιουργὸν θεόν, ἀρκεῖ σοι τὰ ἔργα ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὄραν, ἔχει προσκυνεῖν τὰ ἔργα, πολλὰ ἔχει παύσασθαι οὐρα, ὅτι ὅσα ὁ βοιάπιος ποιητὴς λέγει. ὅτι τρισμύριοι μόνον θεοὶ θεῶν παῖδες ἔχει φίλοι, ἀλλὰ ἀληθοὶ ἀεὶ μετῶν. τῶν μὲν κατ' ὄραν αἰ ἀστέρων φύσεις, &c. *But if you be too weak and unable to contemplate that Father and Maker of all things; it will be sufficient for you for the present to behold his Works, and to Worship his Progeny or Off-spring, which is various and manifold. For there are not only according to the *Ætolian Poet*, Thirty Thousand Gods all the Sons and Friends of the Supreme God; but innumerable. And such in the Heaven are the Stars, in the *Æther Demons*, &c.* Lastly *Socrates* himself also, did not only allow of this way of worshipping God, (because himself is *Invisible*) in his works that are *Visible*, but also commend the same to *Euthydemus*, ὅτι δεῖ γε ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ἔχει σὺ γνώσῃ ἂν μὴ ἀναμελῆς ἔως ἂν τὰς μορφὰς τῶν θεῶν ἴδῃς, ἀλλὰ ἐξαρκεῖ σοι τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὄραν σέθεν ἔχει τιμῶν τὸς θεῶν. *That I speak the truth, your self shall know, if you will not stay expecting, till you see the Forms of the Gods themselves, but count it sufficient for you beholding their works to worship and adore them.* Which he afterward

H h h 2 particularly

Tr. Ev. L. 3. c. 13.

De Leg. L. 7. P. 821.

Disser. 1.

Xenoph. Memor. L. 4.

P. 236, 237.

particularly applies to the Supreme God, who made and containeth the whole World, that being Invisible, he hath made himself Visible in his Works, and consequently was to be worshipped and adored in them. Whether *Socrates* and *Plato*, and their genuine Followers, would extend this any further than to the *Animated Parts* of the World, such as the Sun, Moon, and Stars were to them, we cannot certainly determine. But we think it very probable, that many of those Pagans who are charged with worshipping *Inanimate Things*, and particularly the Elements, did notwithstanding direct their Worship, to the *Spirits of those Elements*, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us *Julian* did, that is, Chiefly the *Souls of them*, all the Elements being supposed by many of these Pagans to be *Animated*, (as was before observed concerning *Proclus*) and Partly also, those Demons which they conceived to inhabit in them and to preside over the parts of them; upon which account it was said by *Plato* and others of the Ancients, that πάντα θεῶν πλήρη, *All things are full of Gods, and Demons*.

XXXIII. But that these *Physiological Gods*, that is, the *Things of Nature Personated and Deified* were not accounted by the Pagans *True and Proper Gods*, much less *Independent and Self-existent ones*, may further appear from hence, because they did not only thus *Personate and Deifie Things Substantial and Inanimate Bodies*, but also meer *Accidents, and Affections of Substances*. As for example First, the *Passions of the Mind*; τὰ πάλῃ θεοὺς ἐνόμισαν, ἢ θεοὺς ἐτίμισαν, saith *S. Greg. Nazianzen*, *They accounted the Passions of the Mind to be Gods, or at least worshipped them as Gods*; that is, built Temples or Altars to their Names. Thus was *Hope*, not only a *Goddeß* to the Poet *Theognis*,

\* Ἐλπίς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μόνῃ θεὸς ἐσθλή ἔνεστιν,  
\* Ἄλλοι δ' ἔλυμπονδ' ἐκπερὸς γλιπόντες ἔβαν.

(Where he Fancifully makes her, to be the *only Numen that was left to men in Heaven*, as if the other Gods had all forsaken those Mansions and the World) but also had Real Temples Dedicated to her at *Rome*, as that consecrated by *Attilius* in the *Forum Oltorium*, and others elsewhere, wherein she was commonly pictured or feigned, as a *Woman, covered over with a green Pall, and holding a Cup in her hand*. Thus also *Love and Desire* were Gods or Goddeses too, as likewise were *Care, Memory, Opinion, Truth, Vertue, Piety, Faith, Justice, Clemency, Concord, Victory, &c.* Which *Victory* was together with *Vertue* reckoned up amongst the Gods by *Plautus* in the Prologue of his *Amphytrio*; and not only so, but there was an Altar erected to her also, near the entrance of the Senate-house at *Rome*, which having been once demolished, *Symmachus* earnestly endeavoured the restauration thereof, in the Reign of *Theodosius*: he amongst other things writing thus concerning it, *Nemo Colendam neget, quam profitetur Optandam, Let no man deny that of right to be worshipped, which he acknowledgeth to be wished for, and to be desirable*. Besides all which, *Eccho* was a *Goddeß* to these Pagans too, and so was *Night* (to whom they sacrificed a *Cock*) and *Sleep and Death* it self, and very many more such *Affections of things*

things, of which *Vossius* has collected the largest Catalogue, in his eighth Book *De Theologia Gentili*. And this *Personating* and *Deifying* of *Accidental Things*, was so familiar with these Pagans, that as *St. Chrysostome* hath observed, *St. Paul* was therefore said by some of the *Vulgar Athenians*, to have been a *Setter forth* of *strange Gods*, when he preached to them *Jesus and the Resurrection*, because they supposed him not only to have made *Jesus a God* but also *Anastasis* or *Resurrection*, a *Goddeſs* too. Nay this *Humour of Theologizing the Things of Nature* transported these Pagans so far, as to *Deiſie Evil things* also, that is, things both *Noxious* and *Vicious*. Of the former *Pliny* thus, *H.N.L. 2. c. 17.*

*Inferi quoque in genera describuntur, Morbique, & multa etiam Pestes, dum esse placatas trepido metu cupimus. Ideoque etiam publice Febri Fanum in Palatio dedicatum est, Orbonæ ad ædem Larium Ara, & Malæ Fortunæ Exquiliis: So great is the number of these Gods, that even Hell or the state of death it self, Diseases and Many Plagues are numbred amongst them, whilst with a trembling fear we desire to have these pacified. And therefore was there a Temple publickly Dedicated in the Palace to the Fever, as likewise Altars elsewhere erected to Orbona, and to Evil Fortune.* Of the latter *Balbus* in *Cicero*, *Quo ex genere Cupidinīs & N.D.L. 2.*

*Voluptatis, & Lubentina Veneris, Vocabula Consecrata sunt, Vitiosarum rerum & non Naturalium: Of which kind also, are those Names of Lust, and Pleasure, and Wanton Venery, things Vicious and not natural, Consecrated and Deified.* *Cicero* in his Book of *Laws* informs us, that at *Athens* there were *Temples Dedicated* also to *Contumely* and *Impudence*, but withal giving us this censure of such practices, *Quæ omnia ejusmodi detestanda & repudianda sunt, All which kind of things are to be detested and rejected, and nothing to be Deified but what is Vertuous or Good.* Notwithstanding which, it is certain, that such *Evil Things* as these, were *Consecrated* to no other end, than that they might be *Deprecated*. Moreover as these *Things of Natures, or Nature of Things*, were sometimes *Deified* by the Pagans plainly and nakedly in their own *Appellative Names*, so was this again sometimes done *disguisedly*, under other *Counterfeit Proper Names*: as *Pleasure* was *Deified*, under the Names of *Volupia*, and of *Lubentina Venus*; *Time*, (according to the Opinion of some) under the Name of *Cronos* or *Saturn*, which as it *Produceth* all things, so *devours* all things into it self again; *Prudence* or *Wisdom* likewise, under the Names of *Athens* or *Minerva*. For it is plain that *Origen* understood it thus, when *Celsus* not only *C. Cels. L. 8. p. 421.*

approved of *Worshipping God Almighty*, in the *Sun* and in *Minerva*, as that which was *Lawful*, but also commended it as a thing *Highly Pious*; he making this Reply; Ἀφαιμῶν ἡλιον ὡς καλὸν θεῶν δημιουργίαν, &c. Ἀθηνῶν μὲντοι μετὰ ἡλίου ταξομῆσω, ἐμυθοποίησαν οἱ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι, εἴτ' ἐν ὑπονοίαις, εἴτε γὰρ ἐν ὑπονοίαις, φάσκουσιν ἐκ τῆς Διὸς γενεῆσθαι κεφαλῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ πλινθίων, &c. *We speak well of the Sun, as a good work of God's, &c. but as for that Athens or Minerva, which Celsus here joyneth with the Sun, this is a thing Fabulously devised by the Greeks (whether according to some Mystical, Arcane and Allegorical Sence, or without it) when they say that she was begotten out of Jupiter's Brain All Armed.* And again afterwards, ἵνα ἡ κτ. τροπολογητοὶ κτ. λέγεται φρένας εἶναι ἢ Ἀθηνῶν, if it be granted that by *Athens* or *Minerva*, be *Tropologically* meant *Prudence*, &c. Wherefore not only according to the *Poetical*, but also

Gruter's Edition a little otherwise.

to

L. 2.

to the *Political and Civil Theology* of the Pagans, these *Accidental Things of Nature*, and *Affections of Substances*, *Personated*, were made so many *Gods and Goddesses*, Cicero himself in his *Book of Laws* approving of such *Political Gods* as these; *Benè verò quod Mens, Pietas, Virtus, Fides, consecratur manu: quarum omnium Romæ dedicata publicè Tempa sunt, ut illa qui habeant (habent autem omnes boni) Deos ipsos in animis suis collocatos putent: It is well, that Mind, Piety, Virtue and Faith, are consecrated, (all which have their Temples publicly dedicated at Rome) that so they who possess these things (as all Good men do) may think that they have the Gods themselves placed in their minds.* And himself makes a Law for them, in his own *Common-wealth*, but with a *Cautionary Provision*, that no *Evil and Vicious Things* be *Consecrated* amongst them; *Asi olla, propter quæ datur homini adscensus in Cælum, Mentem, Virtutem, Pietatem, Fidem, earumque laudum delubra sunt. Nec ulla vitiorum Solemnia obeunto: Let them also worship those things by means whereof, men ascend up to Heaven, and let there be Shrines or Temples Dedicated to them. But let no Religious Ceremonies be performed to Vicious things.*

P. 422.

Notwithstanding all which according to that *Theology* of the Pagans which was called by *Varro Natural*, (whereby is meant not that which was *Physiological* only, but that which is *True and Real*) and by *Scævola Philosophical*; and which is by both opposed, not only to the *Poetical and Fabulous*, but also to the *Political and Civil*; I say, according to this *Theology* of theirs, these *Accidental Things of Nature Deified*, could by no means be acknowledged for *True and Proper Gods*; because they were so far from having any *Life and Sense* in them, that they had not so much as  $\upsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$   $\eta\zeta$   $\delta\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$ , any *Real Subistence or Substantial Essence* of their own. And thus does *Origen* dispute against *Minerva's Godship*, as *Tropologically* interpreted, to *Prudence*,  $\iota\nu\alpha$   $\delta$   $\eta\zeta$   $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\iota$   $\eta\zeta$   $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\iota$   $\phi\rho\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$   $\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota$   $\eta$   $\text{Ἄθηνᾶ}$ ,  $\omega\delta\omicron\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\tau\omega$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\tau\iota\omega$   $\upsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$   $\eta\zeta$   $\tau\iota\omega$   $\delta\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$ ,  $\omega\varsigma$   $\upsilon\phi\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$   $\eta\zeta$   $\tau\iota\omega$   $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha\nu$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$ . *If Athena or Minerva be Tropologized into Prudence, then let the Pagans show what Substantial Essence it hath, or that it Really Subsists according to this Tropology.* Which is all one as if he should have said, Let the Pagans then shew how this can be a *God or Goddess*, which hath not so much as any *Substantial Essence*, nor *Subsists* by it self, but is a *meer Accidental Affection* of *Substances* only. And the same thing is likewise urged by *Origen*, concerning other such kind of *Gods* of theirs, as *Memory* the *Mother of the Muses*, and the *Graces* all naked, in his *First Book*; where *Celsus* contended for a *multiplicity of Gods* against the *Jews*; that these things having not  $\upsilon\pi\omicron\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$   $\eta\zeta$   $\delta\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$ , any *Substantial Essence or Subistence*, could not possibly be accounted *Gods*, and therefore were nothing else, but  $\text{Ἑλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα σωματοποιήθεντα ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων}$ , *meer Figments of the Greeks; Things made to have Humane Bodies, and so Personated and Deified.* And we think there cannot be a *truer Commentary* upon this *Passage of Origen's*, than these following verses of *Prudentius*, in his *Second Book* against *Symmachus*,

P. 285.

Desine,

*Desine, si pudor est, Gentilis ineptia, tandem  
Res Incorporneas, Simulatis Fingere membris.*

Let the Gentiles be at last ashamed, if they have any shame in them, of this their folly, in describing and setting forth Incorporneal things with Counterfeit Humane Members. Where Accidents and Affections of Things, such as Victory was, (whose Altar Symmachus there contended for the Restauration of) are by Prudentius called *Res Incorporneæ*, Incorporneal Things, accordingly as the Greek Philosophers concluded, that ποιότητες were ἀσώματα, Qualities Incorporneal. Neither is it possible, that the Pagans themselves should be insensible hereof; and accordingly we find, that Cotta in Cicero doth for this reason utterly banish and explode these Gods out of the Philosophick and True Theology, *Num censet igitur subtiliore ratione opus esse ad hæc refellenda? Nam Mentem, Fidem, Spem, Virtutem, Honorem, Victoriæ, Salutem, Concordiam, cæteraque ejusmodi, Rerum Vim habere videmus, non Deorum. Aut enim in nobismet insunt ipsis, ut Mens, ut Spes, ut Fides, ut Virtus, ut Concordia; aut optanda nobis sunt, ut Honor, ut Salus, ut Victoria. Quare autem in his Vis Deorum sit, tum intelligam cum cognovero.* Is there any need, think you, of any great Subtilty to confute these things? For Mind, Faith, Hope, Virtue, Honour, Victory, Health, Concord, and the like, we see them to have the Force of Things, but not of Gods. Because they either exist in us, as Mind, Hope, Virtue, Concord; or else they are desired to happen to us, as Honour, Health, Victory (that is, they are nothing but meer Accidents or Affections of Things) and therefore how they can have the Force of Gods in them cannot possibly be understood. And again afterwards he affirmeth, *Eos qui Dii appellantur, Rerum Naturas esse, non Figuras Deorum*, That those who in the Allegorical Mythology of the Pagans, are called Gods, are really, but the Natures of Things, and not the True Figures or Forms of Gods. N.D.L.3.

Wherefore since the Pagans themselves acknowledged, that those Personated and Deified Things of Nature, were not True and Proper Gods; the meaning of them could certainly be no other than this, that they were so many Several Names, and Partial Considerations of One Supreme God, as manifesting himself in all the Things of Nature. For that *Vis* or Force, which Cicero tells us, was that in all these things, which was called God or Deified, is really no other, than Something of God in Every Thing, that is Good. Neither do we otherwise understand, those following words of Balbus in Cicero, *Quarum Rerum, quia Vis erat tanta, ut sine Deo regi non posset, ipsa Res Deorum Nomen obtinuit;* Of which things because the Force is such, as that it could not be Governed without God, therefore have the Things themselves obtained the Names of Gods, that is, God was acknowledged and worshipped in them all, which was Paganically thus signified, by Calling of them Gods. And Pliny, though no very Divine Person, yet being ingenious, easily understood this to be the meaning of it; *Fragilis & laboriosa Mortalitas, in Partes ista digessit, Infirmitatis sue memor, ut Portionibus quisque coleret, quo maxime indigeret;* Frail and toilsom, Mortality, has thus broken and crumbled the Deity into Parts N.D.L.2.  
Nat.H.L.2.  
c.7.





*Substantial Minds (or Spirits) not Independent and Self-existent, nor indeed Eternal neither; but Created by One Supreme Mind or God and appointed by him to preside over the several Parts of the World and Things of Nature, as his Ministers. Which same thing he affirmeth also, of those Deified Accidents and Affections, that by them were to be understood, so many Substantial Minds or Spirits Created, presiding over those several Things, or dispensing of them. His words in the beginning of his Eighth Book (where he speaks concerning these Affections and Accidents Deified by the Pagans) are as followeth. Hujusmodi Deorum propè immensa est copia. Ac in Civili quidem Theologia, considerari solent, tanquam Mentis quaedam, hoc honoris à Summo Deo sortitæ, ut Affectionibus istis præessent. Nempe crediderunt Deum, quem Optimum Max. vocabant, non per se omnia curare, quo pacto, ut dicebant, plurimum beatitudini ejus decederet, sed, instar Regis, plurimos habere Ministros & Ministras, quorum singulos huic illive curæ prescisset. Sic Justitia, quæ & Altræa ac Themis, præfecta erat actibus cunctis, in quibus Justitia attenderetur: Comus curare creditus est Comestationes. Et sic in cæteris id genus Diis, nomen ab ea Affectione sortitis, cujus cura cuique commissa crederetur. Quo pacto si considerentur, non aliter different à Spiritibus sive Angelis bonis malisque, quam quòd hi reverà à Deo conditi sint: illæ verò Mentes, de quibus nunc loquimur, sint Figmentum Mentis humanæ, pro numero Affectionum, in quibus Vis esse major videretur, comminiscens Mentes Affectionibus Singulis præfectas. Facile autem Sacerdotes sua Commenta persuadere simplicioribus potuerunt, quia satis videretur verisimile, summæ illi Menti, Deorum omnium Regi, innumeras servire mentes, ut eò perfectior sit Summi Dei beatitudo, minusque curis implicetur: inque tot Famulantium numero, Summi Numinis Majestas magis eluceat. Ac talis quidem Opinio erat Theologiæ Civilis. Of such Gods as these, there was an innumerable company amongst the Pagans. And in their Civil Theology they were wont to be considered, as certain Minds (or Spirits) appointed by the Supreme God, to preside over the Affections so Things. They supposing, that God, whom they called the Best and the Greatest, did not immediately himself take care of every thing, since that must needs be a distraction to him, and a hinderance of his happiness: but that he had as a King, many He and She-Ministers under him, which had their several offices assigned to them. Thus Justice which was called also Altræa and Themis, was by them thought to preside over all those actions, in which Justice was concerned. And Comus over all Revelings, and the like. Which Gods, if considered after this manner, will no otherwise differ from Angels good and bad, than only in this, that these Latter are Beings really created by God; but the former the Figments of men only; they, according to the number of Affections, that have any greater force in them, devizing and imagining certain Minds to preside over each of them. And the vulgar might therefore be the more easily led into this persuasion by their Priests, because it seemed reasonable to them, that that Supreme Mind, who is the King of all the Gods, should have many other Minds as his Subservient Ministers under him, both to free him from Solicitous Care, and also to add to his Grandeur and Majesty. And such was the Doctrine of the Civil Theology. Where though Vossius speak Particularly, of that kind of Pagan Gods, which were nothing but Affections and Accidents Deified, (which no*

man in his wits could possibly suppose to be themselves *True and Proper Gods*, they having no *Subsistence* of their own) That these by the generality of the *Vulgar Pagans*, were conceived to be so many *Created Minds or Spirits*, appointed by the *Supreme God*, to preside as his *Ministers* over those several *Affections of Substances*; yet does he plainly imply the same, of all those other *Political Gods* of these *Pagans* likewise, that they were not look'd upon by them, as so many *Unmade, Self-existent, and Independent Beings*, but only as *Inferiour Minds or Spirits*, created by the *Supreme God*, and by him appointed to preside over the *Several Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*, and having their *Several Offices* assigned to them. Wherefore as to the main, We and *Vossius* are now well agreed, *viz.* That the ancient *Pagans* asserted no such thing as a *Multitude of Independent Deities*; so that there only remain, some *Particular Differences* of smaller moment, betwixt us.

Our selves have before observed, that *Æolus* was probably taken by *Epictetus* in *Arrianus*, (not indeed for *One*, but) for *Many Created Ministers* of the *Supreme God*, or *Demons Collectively*; appointed by him to preside over the *Winds*, in all the several *Parts of the World*. And the *Pagans* in *St. Austin*, seem to interpret those *Deified Accidents* and *Things of Nature* after the same manner, as the *Names* of certain *Unknown Gods or Demons* (one or more) that were appointed to preside over them respectively, or to dispense the same. *Quoniam sciebant Majores nostri nemini talia, nisi aliquo Deo largiente concedi, quorum Deorum nomina non inveniebant, earum rerum nominibus appellabant Deos, quas ab iis sentiebant dari; aliqua vocabula inde flectentes: sicut à Bello Bellonam nuncupaverunt non Bellum; sicut à cunis Cuni- nam non Cunam; sicut à segetibus Segetiam non Segetem; sicut à Pomis Pomonam non Pomum; sicut à bobus Bobonam non Bovem. Aut certè nulla vocabuli declinatione sicut res ipsæ nominantur: ut Pecunia dicta est Dea quæ dat pecuniam, non omninò pecunia Dea ipsa putata: Ita Virtus quæ dat virtutem, Honor qui honorem, Concordia quæ concordiam, Victoria quæ victoriam dat. Ita, inquit, cum Felicitas Dea dicitur, non ipsa quæ datur sed, Numen illud attenditur, à quo Felicitas datur. Because our Forefathers knew well that these things, do not happen to any, without the special Gift and Favour of some God; therefore were those Gods, whose names they knew not, called from the names of those very things themselves, which they perceived to be bestowed by them, there being only a little Alteration made in them, as when the God that causeth War, was called not Bellum but Bellona; the God which presideth over Infants Cradles not Cuna but Cunina; that which giveth Corn Segetia; and that which affordeth apples Pomona, &c. But at other times, this was done without any Declension of the Word at all, they calling both the Thing and the God, which is the Bestower of it, by one and the self same name. As Pecunia doth not only signifie Money, but also the Goddess which giveth Money; Virtus the Goddess which giveth Virtue; Honor the God that bestoweth honour; Concordia the Goddess that causeth Concord; Victory the Goddess which affordeth Victory. So also when Felicity is called a Goddess, by it is not meant, that thing which is given, but that Divine Power, from whence it is given. Here, I say, the Pa-  
gans*

Civ. D. L. 4.  
c. 24.

gans may seem to have understood, by those *Deified Things* of Nature, certain Inferiour *Gods* or *Demons* (One or More) the Ministers of the Supreme God, appointed by him to preside over those several Things respectively, or to dispense the same. Neither can we deny, but that in so much ignorance and diversity of Opinions as there was amongst the Pagans, some might possibly understand, those Political Gods and Deified Things also, after the way of *Vossius*, for so many *Single Minds* or *Spirits*, appointed to preside over those Several Things respectively, throughout the whole World, and nothing else. Nevertheless it seemeth not at all probable, that this should be the General Opinion amongst the Civilized Pagans, that all those Gods of theirs, were so many Single Created Minds or Spirits, each of them appointed to preside over some One certain thing every where throughout the Whole World, and nothing else. As for Example, that the Goddess Victory, was One Single Created *She-Spirit*, appointed to bestow Victory, to whosoever at any time enjoyed it, in all parts of the World: and so, that the Goddess Justice should be such another Single Mind or Spirit, created to dispence Justice every where and meddle with nothing else. And the like of all those other *Accidental Things*, or *Affections Deified*, as *Virtue*, *Honour*, *Concord*, *Felicity*, &c.

And *Lactantius Firmianus*, taking notice of that Profession of the Pagans, to worship nothing but *One Supreme God* and his *Subservient Ministers* Generated or created by him, (according to that of *Seneca* in his Exhortations, *Genuisse Regni sui Ministros Deum*; that the Supreme God had generated other Inferiour Ministers of his Kingdom under him, which were called by them also Gods) plainly denies all the Pagan Gods save One, to be the *Created Ministers* of that One Supreme, he making this Reply; *Verum hi neque Dii sunt, neque Deos se vocari, aut coli volunt, &c. Nec tamen illi sunt qui vulgo coluntur, quorum & exiguus & certus est numerus*: But these Ministers of the Divine Kingdom, or Subservient Created Spirits, are neither Gods, nor would they be called Gods, or honoured as such, &c. Nor indeed are they those Gods, that are now vulgarly worshipped by the Pagans, of which there is but a small and certain number. That is, the Pagan Gods, are reduced into certain Ranks, and the Number of them is determin'd by the Utilities of Humane Life; of which, their Noble and Select Gods, are but a few. Whereas, saith he, the Ministers of the Supreme God, are according to their own Opinion, not *Twelve* nor *Twenty*, nor *Three Hundred and Sixty*, but *Innumerable*; Stars, and Demons.

Moreover *Aristotle* in his Book against *Zeno* (supposing the Idea of God, to be this, the *Most Powerful* of all things, or the *Most Perfect Being*) objecteth thus, that according to the *Laws of Cities and Countries* (that is, the *Civil Theology*) there seems to be no One absolutely Powerful Being, but *One God* is supposed to be most Powerful as to one thing, and another as to another: *ἔπειτα ἀπαντὰ ἐπιμεράσιον ἢ θεὸν λαμβάνει τὸ δυνατώτατον ἢ βέλτερον λέγων, ἃ δοκεῖ τὸ πρῶτον ἢ νόμιον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ κρείττερος εἶναι ἀμύλων οἱ θεοί· ἔκκεν ὅτι τὸ δοκῶν εἴληφε ταύτην ἢ τὸ θεὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν*. Whereas *Zeno* takes it for granted, that

men have an Idea in their minds of God, as One the most Excellent and most Powerful Being of all; this doth not seem to be according to Law, (that is, the Civil Theology) for there the Gods are mutually Better one than another, respectively as to several things; and therefore Zeno took not this Consent of mankind concerning God, from that which vulgarly seemeth. From which passage of Aristotle's we may well conclude, that the Many Political Gods of the Pagans, were not all of them vulgarly look'd upon, as the Subservient Ministers of One Supreme God, and yet they generally acknowledging, (as Aristotle himself confesseth) a Monarchy, and consequently not many Independent Deities; it must needs follow, as Zeno doubtless would reply, that these their Political Gods, were but One and the same Supreme Natural God, as it were Parcel'd out, and Multiplied; that is, receiving Several Denominations, according to Several Notions of him; and as he exerciseth Different Powers, and produceth Various Effects. And this we have sufficiently prov'd already to have been the general sence of the Chief Pagan Doctors; that these Many Political and Popular Gods, were but the Polyonymy of One Natural God, that is, either Partial Considerations of him, or his Various Powers and Vertues, Effects and Manifestations in the World, severally Personated and Deified.

And thus does Vossius himself afterwards confess also; That according to the Natural Theology, the Many Pagan Gods, were but so many Several Denominations of One God; though this Learned Philologer doth plainly straiten and confine the Notion of this Natural Theology too much, and improperly call the God thereof, the Nature of Things; however acknowledging it such a Nature, as was endued with Sense and Understanding. His Words are these, *Dispar verò sententia Theologorum Naturalium, qui non aliud Numen agnoscebant quàm Naturam Rerum, eoque omnia Gentium Numina referebant, &c. Nempe mens eorum fuit, sicut Natura esset occupata, circa hanc vel illam Affectionem, ita Numina Nominaque Deorum variare. Cum igitur ubicunque Vim aliquam majorem viderent, ita Divinum aliquid crederent: eò etiam devenere, ut immanem Deorum Dearumque fingèrent Catervam. Sagaciores interim hæc cuncta, Unum esse Numen aiebant: putà Rerum Naturam, quæ licet una foret, pro variis tamen Effectis varia sortiretur nomina, vario etiam afficeretur cultu.* But the Case is very different as to the Natural Theologers, who acknowledged no other God but the Nature of Things, and referred all the Pagan Gods to that. For they conceived that as Nature was occupied about several things, so were the Divine Powers and the Names of Gods, multiplied and diversified. And where-ever they saw any Greater Force, there did they presently conceit something Divine, and by that means came they at length to feign an innumerable company of Gods and Goddeses. But the more sagacious in the mean time affirmed, all these to be but One and the same God; to wit the Nature of Things, which though Really but One, yet according to its various Effects both received divers Names, and was Worshipped after different manners. Where Vossius calls the Supreme God of these Natural Theologers, the Nature of Things; as if the Natural Theology had been denominated from Physicks, or Natural Philosophy only, whereas we have already shewed, that the Natural Theology

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logy of *Varro* and *Scævola*, was of equal extent with the *Philosophick*; whose only *Numen*, that it was not a *Blind and Unintelligible Nature of Things*, doth sufficiently appear, from that History thereof before given by us: as also that it was called *Natural* in another sence, as *Real*; and as opposite to *Opinion, Phancy and Fabulosity*, or what hath no Reality of Existence any where in the World. Thus does *St. Austin* distinguish betwixt *Natura Deorum*, the True Nature of the Gods, *C.D.L.6.c.3.* and *Hominum Instituta*, the Institutes of Men concerning them. As also he sets down the Difference, betwixt the *Civil and Natural Theology*, according to the Mind of *Varro* in this manner, *Fieri potest ut in Urbe, secundum Falsas opiniones ea colantur & credantur, quorum in Mundo vel extra Mundum Natura sit nusquam: It may come to pass, that those Things may be worshipped and believed in Cities, according to False opinions; which have no Nature or Real Existence any where, either in the World or without it.* Wherefore if instead of this Nature of Things, which was properly the God of none but only of such *Atheistick Philosophers* as *Epicurus* and *Strato*, we substitute that *Great Mind or Soul of the whole World, which Pervadeth All Things, and is Diffus'd thorough All*; (which was the True God of the Pagan Theists) this of *Vossius* will be unquestionably true, concerning their *Natural Theologers*, that according to them, those Many *Poetical and Political Gods* before mentioned, were but One and the same *Natural or Real God*; who in respect of his Different *Vertues, Powers, and Effects*, was called by several *Names*, and worshipped after different manners. Yet nevertheless so, as that according to those *Theologers*, there were Really also Many other *Inferiour Ministers* of this *One Supreme God*, (whether called *Minds or Demons*) that were supposed to be the *Subservient Executioners* of all those several Powers of his. And accordingly we had before, this full and true account of the *Pagans Natural Theology* set down out of *Prudentius*.

In Uno

Constituit jus omne Deo, cui serviat ingens  
Virtutum ratio, Variis instructa Ministris:

Viz. That it acknowledged One Supreme Omnipotent God, ruling over all, who displayeth and exerciseth his *Manifold Vertues and Powers in the world*, (all severally Personated and Deified in the *Poetick and Civil Theologies*) together with the *subservient Ministry* of other *Inferiour Created Minds, Understanding Beings; or Demons, called also by them Gods:*

It is very true, as we have already declared, that the more *High-flown Platonick Pagans*, did reduce those Many *Poetical and Political Gods*, and therefore doubtless all the *Personated and Deified Things of Nature* too, to the *Platonick Ideas*, or *First Paradigms and Patterns of Things in the Archetypal World*, which they affirmed to have been begotten from the *Supreme Deity*, that is, from the *First Hypostasis* of the *Platonick Trinity*; and which were commonly called by them *νοητοὶ θεοὶ, Intelligible Gods*, as if they had been indeed, so many *Distinct Substances and Persons*. And as we have also proved out of *Philo*, that this *High-flown Paganick Theology*, was *ancienter than*

Orig. C. Cels.  
L. 3. p. 120.

than either *Julian* or *Apuleius*; so do we think it not unworthy our Observation here, that the very same Doctrine, is by *Celsus* imputed also to the *Egyptian Theologers*, as pretending to worship Brute Animals no otherwise, than as *Symbols* of those *Eternal Ideas*; ἡ φησὶ γε ἡμᾶς τῶν μὲν Αἰγυπτίων κατὰ γελᾶν, καὶ τοὶ πολλὰ ἢ ἑ φαῖλα παρεχόντων ἀνιγμῶντα ἐπὶ ἰδεῶν αἰδίων, ἢ ἔχ' (ὡς δοκεῖ οἱ πολλοὶ) ζώων ἐφιμερίων τιμὰς εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα διδάσκουσιν. *Celsus* also addeth, That we Christians deride the Egyptians, without cause, they having many Mysteries in their Religion, for as much as they profess, that perishing Brute Animals are not worshipped by them, but the *Eternal Ideas*. According to which of *Celsus* it should seem, that this Doctrine of *Eternal Ideas*, as the *Paradigms* and *Patterns* of all things here below in this Sensible World, was not proper to *Plato* nor the Greeks; but common with them to the *Egyptians* also. Which *Eternal Ideas*, however supposed to have been Generated from, that First Divine *Hypostasis* of the *Platonick* and *Egyptian Trinity*, and called *Intelligible Gods*; were nevertheless acknowledged by them, all to exist in One Divine Intellect, according to that of *Plotinus*, ἢ ἔξω τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ νοητὰ, that the *Intelligibles* exist nowhere of themselves, without *Mind* or *Intellect*; which *Mind* or *Intellect*, being the *Second* Divine *Hypostasis*, these *Intelligible* and *Invisible Gods*, (however Generated from God) yet are therefore said by *Julian* in his Book against the Christians, both to *Coexist* with God, and to *Inexist* in him. To which purpose also, is this other Passage of *Julian's* in his Sixth Oration, πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔστιν, ἕως ἢ ἐν ἐαυτῷ καὶ παρ' ἐαυτῷ ἔχει τῶν ὄντων τὰς αἰτίας. εἴτε ἀθάνατων ἀθανάτους. εἴτε ἄπικύων ἢ θνήσκουσιν ἢ δὲ ἄπικύων, αἰδίων ἢ καὶ μενέσας αἰὲ, αἰ καὶ τῶν αἰώνων αἰώνων τῶν ἀεὶ ἰσχυροῦς. For God is All things, forasmuch as he containeth within himself, the Causes of all things, that any way are; whether of *Immortal things* *Immortal*; or of *Corruptible* and *Perishing things*, not *Corruptible* but *Eternal* also, and always remaining; which therefore are the Causes of their perpetual Generation, and *New production*. Now these Causes of All things contained in God, are no other than *The Divine Ideas*. Wherefore from hence it plainly appears, that these *Platonick* and *Egyptian Pagans*, who thus reduced their Multiplicity of Gods to the *Divine Ideas*, did not therefore make them to be so many *Minds* or *Spirits*, really distinct from the *Supreme God*, (though dependent on him too) but indeed only so many *Partial Considerations* of One God, as being *All things*, that is, containing within himself the Causes of all things. And accordingly we find in *Origen*, that as the *Egyptian Theologers* called their Religious Animals, *Symbols* of the *Eternal Ideas*, so did they also call them, *Symbols* of God. τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων σεμνολογούντων καὶ τὰ ὡς τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων, καὶ φασιόντων εἶναι τινα αὐτὰ καὶ θεῶν σύμβολα. *Celsus* applauds the *Egyptian Theologers* talking so magnificently and mysteriously of those *Brute Animals* worshipped by them, and affirming them to be, certain *Symbols* of God.

Or. C. Cels.  
p. 120.

And now we have given some account of the *Polyonymy* of the *One Supreme God*, in the Theologies of the Pagans: or of his being called by *Many Proper Personal Names*, carrying with them an Appearance of *So many several Gods*. First, that God had many several Names bestowed

bestowed upon him, from many *Different Notions* and *Partial Considerations* of him, according to his *Universal* and *All-comprehending Nature*. *Janus*, as the *Beginning* of the *World*, and *All things*, and the *First Original* of the *Gods*. Whom therefore that ancient *Lyrick Poet*, *Septimius Apher*, accordingly thus invoked ;

O cate rerum Sator ! O PRINCIPIUM DEORUM !  
 Stridula cui Limina, cui Cardinei Tumultus,  
 Cui referata mugiunt aurea Claustra Mundi.

*Genius*, as the *Great Mind* and *Soul* of the whole *World*. *Saturn*, as that *Hidden Source* and *Principle*, from which all *Forms* and *Lives* issue forth, and into which they again retire ; being there laid up as in their *Secret Storehouse* : Or else as one of the *Egyptian* or *Hermack Writers* expresseth it, that which doth, πάντα ποιῆν ἔ, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀποποιῆν, *make all things out of it self, and unmake them into it self again*. This *Hetrurian Saturn*, answering to the *Egyptian Hammon*, that likewise signified *Hidden*, and is accordingly thus interpreted by *Jamblichus*, ὁ τῶ ἀφανῆ τῆς κρυπτομένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, *he that bringeth forth the secret Power of the Hidden Reasons of things (contained within himself) into Light*. God was also called *Athena* or *Minerva*, as *Wisdom* diffusing it self through all things : and *Aphrodite Urania*, the *Heavenly Venus* or *Love*. Thus *Phanes*, *Orpheus* his *Supreme God*, (so called according to *Lactantius*, Quia cum adhuc nihil esset, Primus ex Infinito apparuerit, *because when there was yet nothing, he First appeared out of that Infinite Abyss*, but according to *Proclus*, because he did ἐκφαλεῖν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἐνώδειαι, *discover and make manifest the Intelligible Unities (or Ideas) from himself* ; though we think the *Conjecture* of *Athanasius Kircherus* to be more probable than either of these, that *Phanes* was an *Egyptian Name* ; ) this *Phanes*, I say, was in the *Orphick* and *Egyptian Theology*, as *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus* informs us, styled ἀεὶ ἔως ἔως, *Tender and Soft Love*. And *Pherecydes Syrus* likewise affirmed, εἰς ἔρωτα μεταβελήσασθαι τὸ Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, *That Jupiter was turned all into Love, when he went about to make the world*. Besides which, there were other such *Names* of the *Supreme God* and more than have been mentioned by us ; as for example, *Summanus* amongst the ancient *Romans*, that afterward grew *obsolete*, : of which *St. Austin* C.D.L.4.6.23 thus ; *Romani veteres nescio quem Summanum, cui Nocturna Fulmina tribuebant, coluerunt magis quam Jovem, ad quem Diurna Fulmina pertinebant. Sed postquam Jovi Templum insigne ac sublime constructum est, propter ædis dignitatem, sic ad eum multitudo confluit, ut vix inveniatur qui Summani nomen, quod audiri jam non potest, se saltem legisse meminerit : The ancient Romans, worshipped I know not what God called Summanus, more than they did Jupiter. But after that a stately and magnificent Temple was erected to Jupiter, they all betook themselves thither ; in so much that the Name of Summanus now not at all heard, is scarcely to be found in any ancient writings.*

Again as the *Pagans* had certain other *Gods*, which they called *Special* ; so were these but *Several Names* of that *Supreme God* also, according to *Particular Considerations* of him, either as *Presiding*



ding over certain *Parts of the World*, and Acting in them; or as Exercising certain *Special Powers and Vertues* in the World; which Several *Vertues and Powers* of One God, *Personated and Deified* by the Pagans, though they had an appearance also of *Many Distinct Gods*; yet were they really nothing but Several *Denominations* of One Supreme God: who as yet is considered as a *Thing distinct* from the World and Nature.

But Lastly, as God was supposed by these Pagans, not only to *Per-vade All things*, and *To Fill All things*, but also, he being the Cause of All things, to be Himself in a manner All things; so was he called also by the Name of *Every thing*, or *Every thing called by His Name*: that is, the several *Things of Nature* and *Parts of the World* were themselves *Verbally Deified* by these Pagans, and called *Gods and Goddeses*. Not that they really accounted them such in themselves, but that they thought fit in this manner to acknowledge *God in them*, as the Author of them all. For thus the Pagans in *St. Austin*, *Usque adeone, inquit, Majores nostros insipientes fuisse credendum est, ut hæc nescirent Munera Divina esse, non Deos? Can you think that our Pagan Ancestors were so sottish, as not to know, that these Things are but Divine Gifts, and not Gods themselves?* And *Cicero* also tells us, that the meaning of their thus Deifying these *Things of Nature*, was only to signify, that they acknowledged *The Force of all things to be Divine*, and to be *Governed by God*; and that *whatsoever brought any great Utility to Mankind, was not such Without the Divine Goodness*. They conceiving also, that the *Invisible and Incomprehensible Deity*, which was the *Cause of All things*, ought to be worshipped in All its Works and Effects, in which it had made it self *Visible*, accordingly as they declare in that place of *Eusebius* before cited in part, *μη τὰ ὁράματα σώματα ἢ λῆς καὶ σελῶν καὶ ἄστρον, μηδέγε τὰ αἰσθητὰ μέρη τῆ νόμου φύσεως θεοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἀορατοῦς δυνάμεις, αὐτῶ δὲ τῆ ἐπι πᾶσαν· ἕνα γὰρ ὄντα θεόν, παντοίας δυνάμεις τὰ πάντα πληροῦν, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκειν, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἑπιστατῆν· ἀσώματος ἢ καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐν πᾶσιν ὄντα, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκουσα, καὶ τῶτον ἐκόντως διὰ τῆ δεικλωμένων σέβειν.* *That they did not Deifie those Visible Bodies of the Sun, and Moon and Stars, nor the other Sensible Parts of the World themselves, but those Invisible Powers of the God over all, that were displayed in them. For they affirm, that that God who is but One, but yet Filleth all things with his various Powers, and passes through all things, soasmuch as he is Invisibly and Incorporeally present in all, is reasonably to be worshipped in and by those Visible Things.*

*Pr. Evan. L. 3.  
c. 13.*

*Athanasius B<sup>p</sup> of Alexandria*, in his Book against the Greeks, reduces all the *False Gods* of the Pagans, under Two general Heads; the First, *Poetical, Fictitious or Phantastical Gods*; the Second, *Creatures or Real Things of Nature Deified* by them. His words are these; *εἰ γὰρ δὲ τὰς ὁρατὰς ποιηταῖς λεγομένους θεούς, οὐ εἶναι θεούς ὁ λόγος ἔδειξε, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁλῶν θεοποιεῖντας ἠλεγξε πλανωμένους, &c.* *Since this Reason or Discourse of ours, hath sufficiently convinced, both the Poetical Gods of the Pagans to be no Gods at all; and also that they who Deifie the Creatures, are in a great Error; and so hath confuted the whole Pagan Idolatry, proving it to be meer Ungodliness and Impiety, there is nothing*

*now*

now but the True Piety left; he who is worshipped by us Christians, being the only True God, the Lord of Nature, and the Maker of all Substances. From whence we may observe, that according to Athanasius, the Pagan Poetick Gods, were no Real Things in Nature, and therefore they could be no other, than the Several Notions and Powers of the One Supreme God Deified, or several Names of him. So that Athanasius his Poetick Gods, or οἱ ὑπὸ ποιηταῖς μυθολόγηται θεοὶ, Gods fabulously deified by the Poets, were chiefly those Two Kinds of Pagan Gods, first mentioned by us; that is, the Various Considerations of the One Supreme Numen, according to its general Notion, expressed by so many Proper Names; and Secondly his Particular Powers diffused thorough the World, severally Personated and Deified. Which considered, as so many distinct Deities, are nothing but meere Fiction and Phancy, without any Reality. And this do the Pagans themselves in Athanasius, acknowledge, ἵστας γὰρ ὡς αὐτοὶ φασὶ, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πέπλασαι, P. 14. καὶ ἐκ ἑστὶ μὲν ὅλος Ζεὺς, ἔστι Κρόνος, ἔστι Ἥρα, ἔστι Ἄρης. πλάθοντα ἢ τέχνας, ὡς ὄντας οἱ ποιηταὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην τῶν ἀκούοντων, They say, that the names of those Gods are meerly Fictitious, and that there does no where Really Exist any such Jupiter, or Saturn, or Juno, or Mars; but that the Poets have feigned them to be so many persons Existing, to the deception of their Auditors. Notwithstanding which, that Third Sort of Pagan Gods also mentioned by us, which were Inanimate Substances and the Natures of Things Deified, may well be accounted Poetical Gods likewise; because though those things themselves be Real and not Feigned, yet is their Personation and Deification meere Fiction and Phancy: and however the first occasion thereof sprung, from this Theological Opinion or Perswasion, That God who is In All Things, and is the Cause of All Things, ought to be worshipped In All Things, especially he being himself Invisible; yet the making of those things themselves therefore to be so many Persons and Gods, was nothing but Poetick Fiction and Phantastry, accordingly as their old Mythology and Allegorical Fables of the Gods, run much upon this strain.

XXXIV. Hitherto have we declared the Sence of the Pagans in General, those also being included, who supposed God to be a Being Elevated above the World, That they agreed in these Two Things. First the Breaking and Crumbling as it were, of the Simple Deity, and Parcelling out of the same into Many Particular Notions and Partial Considerations, according to the Various Manifestations, of its Power and Providence in the world; by the Personating and Deifying of which Severally, they made as it were, so Many Gods of One. The chief Ground whereof was this, because they considered not the Deity according to its Simple Nature, and Abstractly only; but Concretely also with the World, as he Displayeth himself therein, Perwadedth all, and Diffuseth his Vertues thorough all. For as the Sun reflected by Grosser Vapours, is sometimes Multiplied, and the same Object beheld through a Polyedrous Glasse, by reason of those many Superficies, being represented in several places at once, is thereby rendred Manifold to the Spectator; So One and the same Supreme God, considered Concretely with the World as Manifesting his Several Powers and Vertues in it, was multiplied into Several Names, not with-

out the Appearance of so *Many Several Gods*. Whereas *πλυώνυμον* with those ancient Pagans, was the same thing with *πολυδύναμον*, That which hath *Many Names*, all one with that which hath *Many Powers*: According to this of *Callimachus* concerning *Diana*,

Δός μοι παρθενίω αἰάνιον, ἄππα, φιλάσσειν,  
καὶ Πολυωνυμίω.

And this of *Virgil* concerning *Aleſto*,

————— *Tibi Nomina Mille,*  
*Mille nocendi Artes.*

And accordingly the *Many Pagan Gods* are in *Plato's Cratylus*, interpreted as the *Many Powers* of *One God Diffused* through the *World*. And the *Pagan Theologers* seemed to conceive, this to be more suitable to the *Pomp, State and Grandeur*, of the *Supreme God*, for him to be considered *Diffusively*, and called by *Many Names*, signifying his *Many Several Vertues and Powers* (*Polyonymy* being by them accounted an *Honour*) rather than to be contracted and shrunk all up, into *One General Notion*, of a *Perfect Mind*, the *Maker or Creator of the whole World*. The *Second Thing* in which the *Pagans* agreed is, their *Personating* and *Deifying* also the *Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature* themselves, and so making them so many *Gods and Goddesses* too. Their meaning therein being declared to be really no other than this; That *God* who doth not only *Pervade all things*, but also was the *Cause of All things*, and therefore himself is in a manner *All things*, ought to be worshipped in all the *Things of Nature* and *Parts of the World*: as also that the *Force* of every thing was *Divine*, and that in all things that were *Beneficial* to mankind, *The Divine Goodness* ought to be acknowledged.

We shall now observe how both those forementioned Principles, of *Gods Pervading all things*, and his *Being All things*, which were the *Chief Grounds* of the *Seeming Polytheism* of the *Pagans*, were improved and carried on further, by those amongst them, who had no *Higher Notion* of the *Supreme Deity*, than as the *Soul of the World*. Which Opinion that it found entertainment amongst so many of them, probably might be from hence, because it was so obvious for those of them that were *Religious* to conceive, that as themselves consisted of *Body and Soul*, so the *Body of the Whole World*, was not without its *Soul* neither: and that their *Humane Souls* were as well derived from the *Life and Soul of the World*, as the *Earth and Water* in their *Bodies* was, from the *Earth and Water of the World*. Now whereas the more refined *Pagans*, as was before observed, supposed *God* to *Pervade and Pass thorough All things ἀμυγῶς Unmixedly*; these concluded *God* to be, (according to that Definition of him in *Quintilian*, taken in a rigid sence) *Spiritum omnibus Partibus Immistum*, a *Spirit Immingled with all the Parts of the World*: or else in *Manilius* his Language,

*Infusumque Deum Cælo, Terrisque Fretoque,*

*Infused*

*Infused into the Heavèn, Earth, and Seas : Sacroque meatu Conspirare Deum, and intimately to conspire with his own Work the World, as being almost one with it. Upon which account he was commonly called Nature also, that being thus defined by some of the Stoicks, Deus Mundo permixtus, God Mingled throughout with the World, and Divina Ratio toti Mundo insita, The Divine Reason inserted into the whole World. Which Nature notwithstanding, in way of distinction from the Particular Natures of things, was called κοινή φύσις, and Communis Natura, the Common Nature. And it was plainly declared by them, not to be a Senseless Nature; according to that of Balbus in Cicero, Natura est quæ continet Mundum omnem, eumque tuetur; atque ea quidem non sine Sensu, atque Ratione : It is Nature by which the whole World is contained and upheld, but this such a Nature as is not without sense and Reason. As it is elsewhere said to be, Perfect and Eternal Reason, the Divine Mind and Wisdom containing also under it, all the λόγοι σπερματικῶν, the Spermatick Principles by which the things of Nature (commonly so called) are effected. Wherefore we see that such Naturalists as these, may well be allowed to be Theists; (Moses himself in Strabo being accounted one of them) whereas those that acknowledge no Higher Principle of the World, than a Senseless Nature; (whether Fortuitous, or Orderly and Methodical) cannot be accounted any other than Absolute Atheists. Moreover this Soul of the World, was by such of these Pagans as admitted no Incorporeal Substance, it self concluded to be a Body too, but λεπτότατον ἔ, τάχιστα, a Most Subtil and Most Swift Body, as was before observed out of Plato (though endued with Perfect Mind and Understanding, as well as with Spermatick Reasons) which insinuating it self into all other Bodies, did Permeate and Pervade the whole Universe, and frame all things, inwardly Mingling it self with all. Heraclitus and Hippasus thinking this to be Fire, and Diogenes Apolloniates Air; whom Simplicius, who had read some of his then extant Works, vindicates from that Imputation of Atheism, which Hippo and Anaximander lye under.*

Again, whereas the more Sublimated Pagans affirmed the Supreme God to be All, so as that he was nevertheless something Above All too, he being Above the Soul of the World; (and probably Æschylus in that forecited passage of his, is to be understood after this manner, Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα καὶ τι ἤδ' ὑπέπερον, Jupiter is the Ether, Jupiter is the Earth, Jupiter is the Heaven; Jupiter is All things, and yet something Higher than all; or Above all;) those Pagans who acknowledged no Higher Numen, than the Soul of the World; made God to be All Things in a grosser sence, they supposing the whole Corporeal World Animated to be also the Supreme Deity. For though God to them, were Principally and Originally, that Eternal Unmade Soul and Mind, which diffuseth it self thorough all things, yet did they conceive, that as the Humane Soul and Body, both together, make up one whole Rational Animal, or Man; so this Mundane Soul, and its Body the World, did in like manner both together, make up One Entire Divine Animal, or God.

*As Simplicius describeth God, to be πάντα πρὸ πάντων, Omnia ante omnia. In Epictet. p. 234*

It is true indeed, that as the *Humane Soul* doth *Principally* act in some one Part of the *Body*, which therefore hath been called the *Hegemonicon* and *Principale*, some taking this to be the *Brain*, others the *Heart*, but *Strato* in *Tertullian* ridiculouſly, the *Place betwixt the Eye-browes*; ſo the *Stoicks* did ſuppoſe the *Great Soul* or *Mind* of the *World*, to act *Principally* in ſome one Part thereof, (which what it was notwithstanding they did not all agree upon) as the *Hegemonicon* or *Principale*; and this was ſometimes called by them, *Emphatically*, *God*. But nevertheleſs they all acknowledged this *Mundane Soul*, as the *Souls* of other *Animals*, to *Pervade*, *Animate*, or *Enliven* and *A-ctuate*, more or leſs its whole *Body*, *The World*. This is plainly declared by *Laertius* in the *Life* of *Zeno*. τὸν δὲ κόσμον διοικεῖσθαι καὶ νῦν καὶ παλαιότερον, εἰς ἅπαν ἄνευ μέτρου διήκοντα τῆς νῦν, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τὸ ψυχῆς ἄλλα ἢ δὴ δι' ὧν μὲν μάλλον, δι' ὧν ἢ ἥπιον, δι' ὧν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἕξις κεχρημένον, ὡς διὰ τῆς ὄσων καὶ τῆς νύκτων. δι' ὧν ἢ ὡς νῦν, ὡς διὰ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ὅλον κόσμον ζῶον οὐκ ἄνευ ἐμφυχον καὶ λογικόν, ἔχειν ἡγεμονικόν μὲν καὶ αἰθέρα, ἢ τὸ ἄραρον, ἢ τὸ ἥλιον. ὃ καὶ πρῶτον θεὸν λέγουσιν αἰσθητικῶς ὡς περὶ κεχρημένον, διὰ τῆς ἐν αἰθέρι, καὶ διὰ τῆς ζῶον ἀπολύτων καὶ φυσικῶν, διὰ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς καθ' ἑξίς. *The Stoicks affirm, that the World is governed by Mind and Providence, this Mind passing through all the Parts of it, as the Soul doth in us: Which yet doth not act in all parts alike, but in some more, in some less: it passing through some parts only as a Habit, (as through the bones and Nerves) but through others as Mind or Understanding, (as through that which is called the Hegemonicon or Principale.) So the whole World being a Living and Rational Animal, hath its Hegemonicon or Principal Part too, which according to Antipater is the Æther, to Possidonius the Air, to Cleanthes the Sun, &c. And they say also, that this First God is, as it were, sensibly Diffused through all Animals and Plants, but through the Earth it self, only as a Habit. Wherefore the whole World, being thus Acted and Animated by one Divine Soul, is it self according to these Stoicks also The Supreme God. Thus Didymus in Eusebius, ὅλον ἢ τὸν κόσμον προσεγορεύουσι θεόν, The Stoicks call the whole World God; and Origen against Celsus, ἡ σαφῶς δὲ τὸ ὅλον κόσμον λέγουσιν εἶναι θεόν, Στωικοὶ μὲν καὶ πρῶτον. The Greeks universally affirm the World to be a God, but the Stoicks, the First and Chief God. And accordingly Manilius,*

P. Ev. L. 15.  
c. 25.  
L. 5 p. 235.

*Quâ pateat Mundum Divino Numine verti  
Atque Ipsum esse Deum:*

Whereby it may appear the *World* to be *Governed* by a *Divine Mind*, and also it self to be *God*. As likewise *Seneca* the *Philosopher*, *Totum hoc quo continemur, & Unum est, & Deus est; This whole World, within which we are contained, is both One thing, and God.* Which is not to be understood, of the *Meer Matter* of the *World*, as it is nothing but a *Heap of Atoms*, or as endued with a *Plastick* and *Sensless Nature* only; but of it as *Animated* by such a *Soul*, as besides *Sense* was originally endued with perfect *Understanding*; and as deriving all its *Godship* from thence. For thus *Varro* in *St. Austin* declares, both his own, and the *Stoical Sence* concerning this *Point*, *Dicit idem Varro, adhuc de Naturali Theologia præloquens, Deum se arbitrari esse*

C. D. L. 7. c. 6.