

EUSEBIUS

BISHOP OF CAESAREA  
ON  
THE THEOPHANIA  
OR  
DIVINE MANIFESTATION  
OF

OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST,  
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH NOTES, FROM AN ANCIENT SYRIAC VERSION OF  
THE GREEK ORIGINAL NOW LOST ; TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A VINDICATION OF THE  
ORTHODOXY, AND PROPHETICAL VIEWS, OF THAT DISTINGUISHED WRITER.

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INSCRIBED BY PERMISSION TO  
**HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,**  
CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

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TO HIS GRACE  
**HUGH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,**  
&c. &c. &c.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, THIS ENDEAVOUR TO RESTORE TO  
THE Christian Church A LONG LOST WORK, AND TO VINDICATE THE OPINIONS, OF ONE OF  
ITS MOST LEARNED AND LABORIOUS PRELATES, IS, IN TESTIMONY OF A DEEP SENSE  
OF OBLIGATION FOR THE MANY MUNIFICENT FAVOURS CONFERRED ON THE  
UNIVERSITY, IN WHICH HE HAS THE HONOUR OF BEARING OFFICE, BY HIS GRACE'S  
PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED, BY THE TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR.

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## PREFACE.

HAVING now to discharge the very agreeable duty of presenting to the Christian Church (in a translation), a long lost work of one of its most learned and laborious Pastors, my first duty will be, to give the best account I can of this Work ; my second, to describe the Manuscript from which it has been taken ; my third, to lay down the principles by which I have been guided, both in editing the Syriac text of this Manuscript, and in making and illustrating my English Translation of it. When I shall have done these things, I shall,--because some of the opinions of my author have been branded as heretical, and some others will in all probability be considered as groundless and untenable, I mean those which contain his views on Prophecy,--give as brief and candid a review of these opinions as I can : leaving it to the reader to make the conclusions for himself, which he shall deem right and just.

I am well aware of the responsibility attaching itself to an undertaking so perilous, as that of offering to the learned of Europe, for the first time, a work coming from a man so learned, so celebrated, and so often eulogized and condemned, as was the Bishop of Caesarea and Father of Church History. But, for the purpose of satisfying this responsibility to the best of my power, I now proceed, in the first place, to give all the account I can of the Work which I have the honour and pleasure of presenting to the public.

The first, and probably the only, mention of this Work which occurs in any ancient Father of the Church, is to be found in the catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers' by [4](#) Jerome. And in this, all that this Father says,--after speaking of some of Eusebius's other works,--is, "*qeofanei/aj libri quinque*," i. e. Of the Divine Manifestation, five books. After him, Suidas says "*qeofanei/aj lo&goi e/*," which is a mere echo of the words of Jerome. Harles, in his edition of the Bibliotheca Graeca of Fabricius, speaks of it in this manner. (Vol. vii. p. 408). "*Eu0aggelikh\_ qeofa&neia*, bis citatur in catena in Lucam in cod. *Vindobon.* caesareo xlii., teste Lambecio comment, tom. iii. p. 166. not. 4. conf. supra nr. 8. Harl".--"Fragmentum ex Eusebii opere deperd. Theophania Evang. e cod. Coislin. Gött. 1740. 4". And again, p. 395, nr. 8, speaking of the work of our author against Marcellus, he says: "Hos quinque Libros adversus Marcellum Labbeus putat innui ab Hieronymo in Catalogo cap. 81. et Suida, quando inter Eusebii Scripta memorat libros quinque *peri\ qeofanei/aj*. Videtur enim hoc idem illi esse quod *qeofanei/aj*. Sed id tamquam incertum omitto, quum Hebed Jesu quoque in catalogo Librorum Chaldaicorum memorat Eusebii librum *de ortu divino*"

The Catalogue of Hebed Jesu, here referred to, will be found in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman, tom. iii. pt. 1, and the place in p. 18 of this: where, after speaking of the Ecclesiastical History of our author, Hebed Jesu says, [Syriac], i. e. *and the Book on the Divine Manifestation*. Asseman refers us, in a note, to Cave's Historia Literaria, p. 95, where mention is made of this work of Eusebius, entitled *peri\ qeofanei/aj*, libri quinque; but Cave tells us nothing more about it, than that it is a work not now extant.

But the thing most worthy of remark here, is Asseman's referring us to Cave at all; when, if the work had existed in the Library of the Vatican, he would, in all probability, as he has done in many other places, have given us a detailed description of it. It may be added that, although Asseman has given us very extensive lists, in this work, of [5](#) Syriac books deposited in the Vatican, he has never once spoken of this as being there. And the same might be said, with respect to the present very learned librarian of the Vatican, who has, in his erudite and laborious work entitled, "*Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio*," said much, and edited some works, of Eusebius, and even given several fragments from our

*Theophania*; yet he has nowhere informed us, that either the Greek text, or the Syriac version, of this Work is to be found there. I may perhaps conclude therefore, that it is not *known* to exist in that library.

The Citations as noted above in Fabricius, will be found in the following Work, pages 216, 321-2. The Fragment printed at Göttingen in 1740, also mentioned by him, will be either reprinted or noticed hereafter in this Work, if it can be obtained before the last sheet goes to press.

It must be evident, I think, from what has now been said, that the work of our author entitled *the Ecclesiastical Theology*, noticed above, could not be the same with that entitled the *Theophania*, or *Evangelical Theophania*,--for by this latter title is our Work designated in the Catena of Vienna:--while it must be equally certain, that a work by Eusebius bearing the title assigned to it by Jerome, did exist in the Syrian Church : and, as no reason can perhaps be assigned why the Syrians should forge such a work, it is probable, that this is the very work so described by Jerome.

Again, from the fragments of this Work hitherto brought to our notice, (see the places referred to above,) it seems sufficiently certain, that this is the work of Eusebius so described by Jerome. I would add, let the reader also examine in the following pages, the very many places marked as corresponding word for word, with several in the undoubted productions of our author. In our Second Book, for example, a very considerable number of the Sections or Paragraphs, are found to be identically the same with many [16](#) occurring in the "Oratio de laudibus Constantini:" while in our Fifth Book, the far greater part is also found word for word in the " Demonstratio Evangelica;" not to insist on several others, found either in the "Praeparatio Evangelica," the Ecclesiastical History, or some other work of our author, as shewn in the Notes.

There are also certain peculiarities in the writings of Eusebius which may be mentioned here; they are these: It is customary with him, though not constantly, to commence a subsequent book with the matter, and occasionally with the words, which closed the preceding one. The close and commencement of the First and Second, and of the Second and Third books, respectively, of the "Praeparatio Evangelica" will supply examples of this; as will the corresponding ones of our following Work, and more particularly those of the Fourth and Fifth.

To this may be added the Style of Eusebius, which is universally allowed to be any thing but simple and obvious. His periods are often long, and his style both inverted and involved. He seems moreover, to have been studious to avoid the language in common use, and often to have be-iaken himself to that peculiar to the poets. This latter consideration could not have affected our original text, which is only a translation; while the former has, to a very considerable extent. For our Translator, anxious to shew himself faithful in the discharge of this his duty, has so closely followed his original by endeavouring to render it word for word, that his translation may occasionally be considered as obscurity personified ; the Syriac very ill admitting of either inversion, or involution, of style. Several instances of this sort,--to which many more might have been added,--will be found in the Notes attached to the English Translation. Another consideration is, his Platonic manner of speaking of the Deity as a *self-existing Being*, and with reference to which, no other can be said (properly) to exist, [17](#) of which we shall speak more particularly a little farther on. His manner of speaking of the Son has too its peculiarities; His being *God of God, begotten of God, proceeding from the Father*; hence *complete*, and *in all respects like Him*; His having *ever been*, and *still being, with, and in, the Father* ; extending Himself nevertheless throughout all things, and meekly lowering Himself to converse with men, and the like ; which will be more particularly noticed hereafter. His occasional allusions moreover to the things passing under his own eyes, as the sufferings of the Martyrs (p. 50) ; the state of the Church of Caesarea over which he presided, may all be considered, I think, as genuine evidences that Eusebius was the author of this Work ; and to these may be added his reasoning generally after the manner of Plato, and in many instances, his adopting the terms used by that philosopher.

From these considerations, I think it must be sufficiently evident, that our Work is a copy of the genuine Greek work of Eusebius, so long lost.--But if not, let it be supposed for a moment that it is a forgery, and that some Syrian was the author of it, who, the better to secure its reception, attached the name of Eusebius to it. I would now ask, Where are we to look for the man, among the writers of the Syrian Church, equal to this task ? Philoxenus of Mabug, and Jacob of Edessa<sup>1</sup>, had, no doubt, ability sufficient to compose a work on the same subject; but neither of them, [8](#) nor yet any other Syrian writer, of which I have any knowledge, had any thing like the vigour and learning evinced in this. Much less likely is it, that in such an attempt the Syriac language would have been subjected to the unnatural contortions and involutions so visible in this Work, or that it would be found to have copied Eusebius word for word, to the extent noticed above.

Nor is it in any degree probable, that such an imposition could ever have been practised upon the learned of the Syrian Church. Besides, the original of the *Theophania* must have been in existence when this Syriac work first made its appearance, and indeed for a long time after; which would have effectually given the lie to any attempt of this sort had it been made. And to this, its unquestioned reception in the Syrian Church, affords full and sufficient testimony.

Having then disposed of this question, let us now approach our second, which is to give some account of the Manuscript from which our Work has been taken.

Sometime in the year 1839, the Rev. Henry Tattam of Bedford, who is an excellent Coptic scholar, formed the resolution of visiting Egypt for the purpose of procuring Coptic manuscripts, in order to complete, if possible, an edition of the Coptic Scriptures. At the suggestion of his friends a subscription was set on foot, for the purpose of assisting in defraying the expense of this undertaking, and this subscription was headed by a contribution of £300. by government. Individuals contributed to a small extent: and Mr. Tattam accordingly set out for Egypt. In a short time he returned, having procured some good Coptic manuscripts, of which a list has been printed and circulated; and also about 50 volumes of Syriac manuscripts<sup>2</sup>, some of which were of an extreme age, and very valuable. [9](#)

These manuscripts Mr. Tattam sent to me, with the request that I would give him some account of their contents ; and, at the same time, say what I thought their value might be: which I did as soon as my other engagements would allow. It was in looking over these manuscripts that I had the extreme pleasure of discovering that of which the following Work is a translation. Knowing then, as I did, the extreme rarity of this Work; in other words, that no other copy of it *was known to exist*, I requested Mr. Tattam to allow me to take a copy of it before it should leave my hands, in order that the *Work* might not be lost, whatever might happen to this MS. Mr. Tattam, with the disinterestedness for which he is so remarkable, instantly gave his consent, allowing me moreover to retain the MS. as long as I might want it: and, although he soon after disposed of the collection generally to the trustees of the British Museum, he was so obliging as to make this stipulation, that I should be allowed to retain this MS. as long as I might deem it necessary.

My first business now was, to make a correct copy of this very rare and valuable Codex, as far as our work was [10](#) concerned ; and I accordingly copied it out myself with all the expedition I could command. Soon after I had done this, I applied to the Society lately established in the Metropolis for printing Oriental Texts, requesting they would print it, and thus multiply the copies, so as to ensure the safety and permanency of the work. To this request the Committee of that society very graciously acceded. The work was accordingly put to press, and printed by Mr. Richard Watts, a tradesman long and well known for his ability in printing Oriental works generally<sup>3</sup>. In his hands it had moreover the advantage of being printed in a Syriac type, which was made some years ago under my own inspection, for the purpose of printing a Syriac Bible for the use of the Syrian churches in Malabar. I will add here, that during the passing of the sheets through the press, I collated every one of them with the MS., so

that I do trust the Syriac text, now some time completed, will be found as neatly and correctly printed, as the greatest care on the part of both the editor and printer could be expected to insure.

The MS. containing our Work, is very neatly written in the Estrangelo, or old Church-hand-writing of the Syrians, on very fine and well prepared skin. It is of the size of large quarto, each folio measuring about 14~ inches by 11~, and containing three columns each of the width of 2l inches, as may be seen in the fac simile prefixed to this Work. The exterior margins average 2~ inches in width, the interior 1l; and the space between the several columns is about 5/8 of an inch. The MS. contains 245 folios; 71 of the first of which contain a Syriac translation of the Recognitions of St. Clement, as they are called.

The 83 [11](#) next following, the work of Titus Bishop of Bostra<sup>4</sup>, (or Bozrah) against the Manicheans ; the next 76 folios contain our Work of Eusebius ; the next 14, Eusebius's account of the Martyrs of Palestine, as published in the 8th book of his Ecclesiastical History ; and the last folio, Encomiums on their excellencies, entitled, [syriac]. This last work is incomplete, some leaves having been lost from the end of the MS., and on this account the original date of the MS. has not come down to us in its close, as is usually the case.

We have nevertheless on the reverse of the fourth folio, after the conclusion of our Work, written on the outside margin of one of the folios of the Tract on the Martyrs of Palestine, the following Inscription in a bold, but rather unsightly hand, and in the common Peschito character ;

[Syriac]

See, my brethren, if the latter part of this ancient book has been cut off, and has perished together with that (with) which its writer closed and completed it ; it was thus written at its end, viz. that "*This book was written in the city [12](#) of Edessa of Mesopotamia, by the hands of a man named Jacob, in the year seven hundred and twenty and three, (and) was completed in the month of the latter Teshrin.*"

(February). And, just as that which was written there, I have also written here without addition. And the things which are here, I wrote in the year 1398, in the (aera) of the Greeks (i. e. the Seleucidae).

If then we are to take the first of these dates, as given in the aera of the Seleucidae, and this Note as containing a true statement respecting the age of our MS., A. D. 411 will be its date, and its age 1432 years ! The date of this Note is, we are told, that of the Greeks (or Seleucidae), that is, A. D. 1398, corresponding to A.D. 1086, just 757 years ago, when, as its author tells us, this manuscript was such as to merit the appellation of *ancient*!

I was once inclined to think that our MS. could not be so old as this first date made it, and that the year 723, must be that of our common aera; which would give 1120 years for its age; and that this, both from the appearance of the MS., and from some other considerations, was nearer the truth. Yet I must confess, as I have never seen, or heard of, a Syriac MS. bearing a date in our common aera; and, as all Syriac MSS. said to be written at Edessa, do,--as far as I know,--always bear dates according to the aera of the Seleucidae; I do not see how this date can be given in our common aera.

As to the appearance of the MS., although it certainly is in very perfect and clean condition, yet as the climate of Egypt, in which it has been kept probably for many centuries, is extremely dry, it is by no means impossible that the fresh appearance of the MS. is anything more than the nature of the case requires. There certainly are MSS. in the same collection bearing a date, making them but little short of 1300 years old, and yet appearing in quite as sound a state of preservation as this does, but which, as written on [13](#) skins of a description greatly inferior to this, do not present so clean and bright an appearance. Asseman too, gives us an account of a Syriac MS. of a gospel, preserved in the library of the Vatican, which was written in the year of our Lord 78 <sup>5</sup>: and this he affirms was, in his day,--about 100 years ago,--as plain and perfect as ever it was.

From this it should seem, that it is impossible to say how long a MS. written on good skin and well



preserved may endure; and consequently, how unsafe it is to pronounce positively on the age of any MS., merely from its appearance. The colour of the ink must in all such MSS. as Montfaucon and others have well remarked, necessarily have faded ; but to what precise extent, it must, as before, remain undefined for many reasons. The ink in our MS. is so faded though not, I think, to so great an extent as is observable in the Beza MS. at Cambridge. But this might have been occasioned by the place, or manner, in which that MS. was preserved, which was apparently less favourable than that of ours. This question therefore, I am disposed to leave in the state of uncertainty, in which I found it.

I said, in my Preface to the Syriac edition of our Work, that the MS. from which it was taken was, probably not less than *a thousand years old*. I was not then aware that [14](#) a date was to be found in it. I am not sorry however to find, that I had greatly underrated its age, as this must be a good evidence to my readers, that I had no disposition to exaggerate.

It may be suggested however, that this very early date might be that of the MS. from which it, or some other prior to it, was copied: it being no uncommon thing with copyists to transcribe, with MSS. which they copy, their dates also; so that a MS. of very modern date, may, in its epi-graphe, carry with it one of the highest antiquity. To this I would answer: If we are to ascribe any credit to the Note given above, this MS. must have been considered an *ancient one* 757 years ago: and to such a MS. we cannot, perhaps, ascribe an age less than 600 or 700 years: if we take the least of these, the age of our Codes will be 1357 years: if the greatest, 1457 : while the date, actually ascribed to it by the Note, makes it 1432 years old, just *twenty-five* years less than this last computation would make.

There are however some considerations, which would at first sight seem to prove the contrary, and which indeed operated forcibly on my mind in this way, when the very early date given to our MS. first occurred to me: they are these: First, Eusebius died about A.D. 340. If then our MS. was written A. D. 411, this must have happened 71 years only after the death of the author of the original Greek work. We shall now have therefore 71, or a few more years, for the period within which our Syriac translation was made, and, as it appears to me, must have been copied<sup>6</sup> out several times [15](#) before our MS. could have been written; which might seem too little. I see no reason however, why this Work of Eusebius,-- which must have been a popular one,--could not have been translated into Syriac very soon after it was published : and if so, the Syriac version might have been copied out times innumerable, before the date of our MS.

When the school of Edessa was first founded, I have not been able to discover. It is certain however that it was, and had been, a considerable time in vigorous operation before A. D. 411, the date assigned to our MS<sup>7</sup>. Our Work might therefore have been translated into the Syriac at Edessa, even during the lifetime of its author, or at least early enough to have allowed of our MS. being copied there in A.D. 411, after innumerable copies had been taken from the autograph of the translator, and from one another.

But there are, I think, better reasons for supposing that our translation was not made at Edessa at this early period, but rather in Palestine. We are told by Asseman (*l. c. p. CMXXV.*), that there were, both at Caesarea and at [16](#) Scythopolis, (the Bethshan of the Old Testament) in Palestine, schools of sacred literature; and that at Scythopolis the business of interpreting from the Greek into the Syriac language, was vigorously carried on; and, that to this fact our author himself has given his testimony<sup>8</sup>: as also have both Socrates and Sozomen the historians.

If this may be relied on, it is not improbable that our translation was made during the lifetime of Eusebius, and it might be under his inspection, and that of Patrophilus who was then Bishop of Scythopolis. And I think there are certain peculiarities of language in it, tending to shew that it was not made at Edessa, which are these: We never find the form of the feminine plural in verbs<sup>9</sup>, as we

constantly do in the works of Ephrem, Jacob of Edessa, and other writers of that school. The pronoun of the first [17](#) person plural is rather of the Hebrew, than the Syriac, form. The pronominal forms, [Syriac], never occur in the language of Edessa; nor does the adverbial [Syriac], nor the impersonal [Syriac], nor the combination [Syriac] in the sense of *immediately*, nor the occasional redundancy, and even defect, of the relative pronoun [Syriac], as far as my knowledge goes: all of which will be found marked in the Notes. I am therefore inclined to believe, that our translation was not made at Edessa, but in Palestine.

The language of this translation,--allowing for the instances just mentioned,--appears to me to be the purest Syriac<sup>[10](#)</sup>, and such as might be well expected in a work of so ancient a date. I have already remarked, that its order is very greatly inverted, and its collocation involved, from its having been made servilely to follow the Greek original. Of this any one will satisfy himself, by comparing any of its sections with the places pointed out, as found in Greek, in some of the still existing works of Eusebius : which,-- although it has had the effect of giving me a great deal of trouble, as it will any reader of the Syriac text,--is nevertheless a circumstance of infinite value in other respects; and particularly, as it has preserved to our times a most *exact copy* of an original Greek work of our author, which has, no doubt, been long ago lost.

There is another advantage arising from the circumstance of so much of this work's being still found in the [18](#) Greek of its author, which is this; we are hence enabled to judge of the extent of Greek learning possessed by the translator. And this, I am induced to believe, was very considerable. I have pointed out in my notes, some instances in which I think he has erred; I am nevertheless bound to say, that I believe his translation to be, upon the whole, quite as accurate as are the best translations hitherto published of the Greek works of Eusebius.

It has been stated above, that our MS. is written neatly and correctly for the most part, and in the ancient character termed Estranghelo. I have now to say that it is entirely without vowel marks, and that the interpunctuation is frequently such, as to supply nothing whatever towards a just conception of the construction of the text. That the Syrians had a system of interpunctuation answering, in some respects, to that afforded by the accents of the Hebrew Bible, I have no doubt; yet I must say, that hitherto this has not been satisfactorily developed. Mr. Ewald has indeed endeavoured to do this, in a work published at Gottingen in 1832, entitled "Abhandlungen zur Orientalischen und Biblischen Literatur;" in which, at p. 103 and following, he has treated on the "accentuationssystem" of the Syrians according to some MSS. found in the Royal Library at Paris; and this, I have no doubt, he has done with all good fidelity. Yet I must say, the system made out by him, receives but very little countenance from any ancient MS. hitherto seen by me. The older writers seem to have adopted a system much more simple, and less encumbered with marks ; the more modern ones, particularly the Maronites,--to whom we owe the interpunctuation of the greater Polyglotts,--appear to me to be the real authors of his system. However this may be, all I have done in printing our Syriac text has been, to follow the MS. as closely as *I possibly could*; I say this, because cases occur in which it is *scarcely possible* to say, whether the Copyist intended the [19](#) point to stand on the line of the text, above it, or below it. Some remarks will be found, in my notes, on the use of Ribbui, ( [Syriac] ) the mark commonly attending the plural number in nouns, and occasionally in verbs, in which our MS. seems to be singular. In this case too, I have rigidly adhered to the MS.

The rules, under which I have proceeded in making my translation from the Syriac, are the following. As I professed to undertake the office of a translator, and not of a commentator, I thought it right to confine myself as closely to my original, as the nature of the case and my best endeavours would enable me. If therefore, I have followed my original as closely as I could, I trust I have not done this to such a degree, as to have made my English either harsh, or difficult of apprehension. Where I found the Syriac greatly obscure, I generally added a note, and referred to the Greek, if accessible. And, for the

better understanding of the mind of my author, I have occasionally pointed out parallel passages occurring in the Fathers, who were either prior to him, and therefore probably imitated by him, as Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others; or, who succeeded him, particularly Theodoret, who was evidently a great imitator of him. I have also cited such passages from the classical, and other writers, as my author either referred to, or commented upon, as Herodotus, Thucydides, Diogenes Laertius, Plato, Aristotle, Josephus and others; which cost me much time and trouble. I did not however deem it necessary to make a collation of all, or of any, of the Greek or Latin Fathers for this purpose: all I have done, or intended to do, was, to mark down such coincidences as occurred generally in my reading, during the time in which I was engaged in this work. Many other similar passages might doubtless be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly in Justin [\[20\]](#) Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, which I leave to the greater industry and time of others, who may choose to follow out the enquiry. Such illustrations and notes as are given on the Syriac text, were intended for the use of students who may be induced to read that work. I trust I have, in this way, provided a very useful Chresto-mathy for the advancement of Syriac literature.

The divisions, *i. e.* the paragraphs, or sections, which I have made in my text, both of the Syriac Edition, and of my English Translation, are in all respects exactly what I found them in the MS. I have however added numerals for the purpose of facilitating reference, either from the Syriac Text to my Translation, or from either of these to the original Syriac Manuscript. I might indeed have made a more equal distribution of these paragraphs or sections, but I thought it would be best, for the reasons just now given, to abide by the old one. I thought too, that, if the original Greek should be discovered hereafter, it might be as well not to alter this division of the text,-- particularly as it is one of a very ancient date,--for the purpose of affording the fullest opportunity for seeing what its ancient state was, and thence the more easily to verify the identity of such work, should it indeed ever be found.

I will now add a few remarks on the Work itself, and as to the period at which it was probably written. I think I may say, that the Work itself is worthy of the piety and learning of the deservedly celebrated Father of Church History. As a brief exposition of Christianity, particularly of its *Divine authority*, and *amazing influence*, it has perhaps never been surpassed. The work of Theodoret, entitled "*Graecarum affectionum curatio*" lately reprinted by Dr. Gaisford, is certainly more full on the particular points which it was intended to illustrate: but then it owes much to the industry and learning of our author, and is less comprehensive in its [\[21\]](#) context. The *Stromateis* of Clemens of Alexandria, and the "*Civitas Dei*" of Augustine, are perhaps more abundant on particular questions; while the work of Clemens is less orderly, and both of these take a less extensive range of inquiry, and are not so well adapted for general reading. When we consider the very extensive range of enquiry occupied by our author, the great variety both of argument and information which it contains, and the small space which it occupies; we cannot, I think, avoid coming to the conclusion, that it is a very extraordinary work, and one which is as suitable to our own times, as it was to those for which it was written. Its chief excellency is, that it is argumentative, and that its arguments are well grounded, and logically conducted. If it once or twice appeals to the power of Christianity in inducing many to devote their lives to a state of virginity, and to some other things quite unessential to vital religion; we should bear in mind, that this was the foible of his day, and that, of the thousands who may be found both able and willing to deprecate and blame this, not so much as one perhaps will to follow his virtues, or give any thing like such evidences of real learning, and of Christian piety and zeal.

As to the period at which it was written, I think it must have been, after the general peace restored to the Church by Constantine, and before either the "*Praeparatio*," or the "*Demonstratio Evangelica*," was written. My reason for the first of these suppositions is: Our author speaks repeatedly of the peace restored to the Church; of Churches and Schools restored, or then built for the first time: of the



nourishing state of the Church of Caesarea; of the extended, and then successfully extending, state of Christianity : all of which could not have been said during the times of the last, and most severe persecution. My reasons for the second of these suppositions are, the considerations that whatever portions of this Work are found, either in the "Praeparatio," [\[22\]](#) the "Demonstratio Evangelica," or the "Oratio de laudibus Constantini," they there occur in no regular sequence of argument as they do in this Work: especially in the latter, into which they have been carried evidently for the purpose of lengthening out a speech. Besides, many of these places are amplified in these works, particularly in the two former as remarked in my notes; which seems to suggest, that such additions were made either to accommodate these to the new soil, into which they had been so transplanted, or, to supply some new matter, which had suggested itself to our author. And again, as both the "Praeparatio" and "Demonstratio Evangelica," are works which must have required very considerable time to complete them, and which would even then be unfit for general circulation ; it appears probable to me, that this more popular, and more useful work, was first composed and published, and that the other two,-- illustrating as they generally do, some particular points only,--argued in order in our Work,-- were reserved for the reading and occasional writing of our author during a considerable number of years, as well for the satisfaction of his own mind, as for the general reading of the learned. It appears probable to me therefore, that this was one of the first productions of Eusebius, if not the first after the persecutions ceased.

Of the authors cited in the following pages, I have not always had it in my power to quote either the latest or the best Editions. In many cases I could consult those only which happened to be in my own possession, not only because it is not always in my power to be within the precincts of the University, and to avail myself of its Libraries; but also, even when there, its Libraries are neither large nor rich in this respect.

I have in some instances written the proper names as I found them in my Syriac original, which I could hardly avoid, both as it appeared to be my duty to represent this [\[23\]](#) rather than any other exemplar, and also because the nature of the passage occasionally required this.

If I have in any instance failed to seize the sense of my author, I can only say, by way of defence, that I have done the best in my power to ensure accuracy in this respect. I have spared no pains, and have thought no inquiry too great, to do justice to him. Still, as Syriac Literature is but in a state of infancy among us, whether as it respects the character of the Grammars, Dictionaries, Authors, or other helps of this sort; if I have any where failed, I may perhaps hope for the indulgence which the nature of the case requires: and nothing beyond this do I wish. In all such cases, I shall be most happy in receiving suggestions which may improve my Work, and shall be as ready both to adopt these, and to be thankful for them. Of the Work itself I may say, If it has cost me much labour and research, and crowded upon me an increase of labour, depriving me in many instances even of necessary relaxation and exercise; it has nevertheless brought with it pleasures, which I shall ever remember with the greatest thankfulness. To have had the privilege of restoring to the Christian Church, a Work of one of its brightest ornaments as a Scholar and Theologian in the best of its days, is indeed an honour of which few can boast: while the satisfaction of hoping, that it may be instrumental for ages to come, in bringing many to the knowledge of the truth, is more than sufficient to repay any labour which its restoration might have cost.

I have now to express my thanks to the Syndics of the University Press, for their liberality in taking upon themselves the principal part of the expense incurred in printing this Work ; and to add, that I hope this will not have been thrown away on the present occasion.

'Preliminary Dissertations', taking up pp.xxiv-clix: over 130 pages! These are somewhat diffuse, but not without interest. They deal with topics such as Eusebius' opinions on various theological issues, but I believe most people will not find them interesting, and it would take more time than I have to spare to transcribe them. If anyone really wants them and is prepared to share in the labour of proofing them, by all means contact me. Otherwise I will save myself the labour. RP.

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[Selected Footnotes: some were omitted which required transcribing Syriac but were of no interest to the non-Syriac speaker]

1. <sup>1</sup> If we may rely on the date of our MS. however, presently to be noticed, this Translation must have existed long before the times of either of these writers.--It is worth remarking too, that not only was this work written long before the appearance of Mohammed, but, the MS. itself was written nearly 200 years before he was born!--which may be considered as supplying tolerably good matter for proof, that no expectation was then entertained of the coming of such a Teacher as he was, or that the Scriptures underwent any alteration afterwards for the purpose of opposing him. This argument has been stated more at length in the latter part of my "Martyn's Persian Controversies."
2. <sup>1</sup> These he purchased at the monastery of the Blessed Virgin in the desert of Nitria (or Askit. The Coenobium Scetense of Asseman.), situated on the west of the Nile, and somewhat more than 80 miles from Cairo. Asseman visited this Monastery in 1715, when he tells us its Library did not contain more than about 200 Volumes. Of these he requested to have a hundred, but could not get more than nine or ten good authors, with a few others. (Bibl. Orient. Tom. i. Pref.) But in his Catalogue of the " Codices Nitrienses," ib. pp. 561--572, he gives an account of 34 Codices. Some of which were perhaps obtained on a former occasion by his Cousin Elias (ib.); from which, according to Peter Benedict their Editor and Translator, were the Works of Ephrem Syrus published at Rome, in 1737--43. I am greatly rejoiced to find, that Mr. Tattam has just returned from *a second visit* to this same Monastery, and has brought with him another collection of Syriac Manuscripts, from which, I trust, much valuable matter will be extracted and brought before the public.--It is evident that many of the MSS. brought to England by Mr. Tattam, had passed through the hands of Asseman, from certain marks found in them: and this I think is true of ours, as certain pencil-marks are found in it, which could hardly have been placed there by an Oriental.
3. <sup>1</sup> London, printed for the Society for the publication of Oriental Texts, sold by James Madden and Co., 8, Leadenhall-street. 1842. To this I prefixed a short Preface, referring the reader to the more ample one intended to go forth with this Work.
4. <sup>2</sup> The Metropolis of Arabia Petraea. Syr. [Syriac] or [Syriac] Gr. and Lat. *Bostra*. Arab, [Arabic] *Basra*. Assem. Bibl. Orient. Tom. iii. p. ii. p. DCCXXX. Not to be confounded with the Bozrah, [Hebrew] of Jerem. xlix. 13, of the Idumeans, nor with that of the Moabites, ib. xlviii. 24. Reland's Palestine, Lib. in. p. 666. Edit. 1714. Where we are told that this Bishop was present at the Council of Antioch, A.D. 363. This work of Titus was printed by Canisius, in the original Greek : the text, however, is any thing but good and exhibits many Lacunae, which this very ancient Syriac translation would well supply.
5. <sup>1</sup> Assemani. Bibl. Orient. Tom. ii. p. 486. His words are: "*Erat quoddam Evangelium Edessenum (hoc est Syriacum Edessae exaratum) pervetustam quidem, sed clarum ac dilucidum, ex quo ne jota quidem unum deletum fuerat, legebatur autem clarius quam libri recens exarati, et unus dumtaxat prior quinternio prae antiquitate ex eo exciderat. Ad ejus vero calcem ita scriptum erat.*" (I omit the Syriac, and give Asseman's translation of it.) "*Absolutus est sanctus iste liber Feria quinta, die 18.*

*Canun prioris* (hoc est, Decembris) *Anno Graecorum* 389. (Christi 78.) *propria manu Achaei Apostoli, socii Mar Maris Discipuli Mar Adaei Apostoli, cujus Oratio nobiscum sit Amen.*" If any reliance is to be placed on this document, it will follow, that this Syriac Gospel (and it does not say which Gospel is meant) was translated from the Greek probably before the death of the last Evangelist!

6. <sup>1</sup> My reason for this opinion is grounded on the fact, that many of the proper names found in this MS. are so deformed by the mistakes of the Copyists, as to make it extremely probable that many Copies had been made from the Translator's Autograph, before our Copy was written: e.g. p. 71, we have [Syriac] for [Syriac] or the like: p. 131, [Syriac] for probably; a corruption so great as to bid utter defiance to critical conjecture, had we indeed had nothing else to rely upon: p. 148, [Syriac], *Herododus*, for *Herostratus*: to which many others might be added. There are also some other errors, such as [Syriac], for [Syriac] see pp. 187, 223, 302, 276, &c.,--all of which, as far as they have occurred to me, I have corrected in the notes.

7. <sup>2</sup> According to Asseman (Bibl. Orient. Tom. iii. p. ii. p. lxi.) it had been established from *time immemorial*: his words are, "In urbe Edessa Scholam fuisse Persicae gentis, ab immemorabili conditam, in qua sacras literas Christiani Juvenes.....docebantur." And ib. p. CMXXIV--v. we are told, that Eusebius of Emesa studied during his infancy at Edessa, but finished his education under our author in Caesarea of Palestine. His words are (after Socrates, Lib. ii. cap. 6), "Eusebium Emessenum Episcopum testatur ab infantia imbutum fuisse literis in schola Edessenae urbis, quae illi patria erat, humaniores deinde hausisse literas, sed tandem reversum esse ad scripturas sacras sub magisterio Eusebii Caesareae Episcopi, et Patrophili Episcopi Scythopolitani."

8. <sup>1</sup> L. c. quoted by Asseman. His words are, "Scholae sacrarum literarum in utraque urbe erant. Caesareae nimirum, ubi Pamphilus martyr bibliothecam, ut supra dixi, instituerat et Scythopoli, ubi officium Interpretis de Graeca in Syriacum linguam vigeat, ut in Actis Martyrum Palaestinae ab Eusebio Caesareensi collectis de S. Procopio martyre legitur," &c. "Socrati suffragatur Sozomemis," &c. Lib. in. cap. v. The martyrdom alluded to, occurred in the first year of the persecution of Dioclesian, and it is the first in our author's work on the Martyrs of Palestine. The passage is, as found in our MS., in these words : --

[Syriac]

His family was of Baishan (Bethshan), and he ministered in the appointment of the Church in (three) different particulars. First he was a Reader: in another appointment, *he interpreted the Greek Language in the Aramaic* (Syriac.) And (in) the last, which was superior to the former ones, he was opposed to the powers of wickedness, and the Demons trembled before him.-- Asseman gives, "*Hic genere quidem Hierosolymitanus erat; in Basan autem urbe.--morabatur*": differing considerably from our MS.

9. <sup>2</sup> As [Syriac]

10. <sup>7</sup> It partakes in no respect of the corrupt dialect, termed by Adler "Hierosolymitana," as noticed in his work on the Syriac Versions of the Scriptures, and as found in a MS. discovered by him in the Library of the Vatican.

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## THE FIRST BOOK OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA ON THE DIVINE MANIFESTATION.

1. THOSE who say on the constitution of the whole of this great and beautiful world, and on the diversified subsistence and manifold structure of the heavens and the earth, that it has neither beginning nor governour; and that there is no Lord, and no Providential care (existing); but that it has arisen of itself, casually, undesignedly, and by blind (lit. foolish) accident, however this may have, happened, are altogether impious and godless<sup>1</sup>: on which account they are excluded from the divine assemblies, and with propriety shut out from our holy temples. Because, neither can they themselves possess a house without contrivance and care; nor can a ship be well constructed with its appurtenances, without a shipwright; nor a garment be woven, without the art of weaving; nor a city <sup>2</sup> be built, when the science of the architect is wanting. And, as they themselves confess these things, I know not by what estrangement of the intellect it is, that they do not consider the courses of the sun (as being) according to their manner; the changes of the moon, according to their appointments; the (several) orders of the stars, as in their due course; and the revolutions of the curvatures of the heavens, and the recurrence and changes of times and seasons<sup>2</sup>. And again with these, that (they do not consider) the weight of the mountains (as regulated) by the balance<sup>3</sup>; the equalization of days and nights; the unimpeded production of the animals; the traditionary and unchanging succession of life of long duration; the herbs of every sort of flower which spring out of the earth; the provisions for all the animals, as suitable for each; their several senses; the members of the body; their properties of excellence, and as located in their (several) situations, so that (men) see with their eyes, and feel with their hands: which they also say, is obvious to the blind. So that with atheistical affirmations, and injurious wickedness of mind, <sup>3</sup> (they assert) that there is no work either of wisdom, of the WORD OF GOD, or of Providence (evinced in all this); but they imagine on the contrary, that (all) is of blind fortune, and happens just as it may be, without object or end. These same therefore are, as being atheistical, driven far away from the Divine hearing (of the Word), and entirely from the society of those who fear God.

2. The company too of the Polytheists, on the other hand, set in order against the preceding, seems to me to be in extreme error;---that they err, as children in intellect, who change the worship of the Maker of the world, the Governour of all, the God who is over all, for (that) of the things which are of Him; and (hence) honour the sun, the moon, and the rest of the parts of the universe, the primary elements, the earth, water, air, and fire, with the name due to Him, who is their Maker and Creator; and call those Gods<sup>4</sup> which never existed; nor had existed, nor had been (so) named, had not the Maker<sup>5</sup> of the universe, THE WORD OF GOD, willed that they should exist. Nor do they appear to me better than those who leave the chief Architect, to admire the excellency of workmanship (visible) in the houses of kings; the wrought cielings<sup>7</sup> and the walls; their many coloured and flowered pictures; their roofs variegated with gold and sculpture of precious stones; and attribute to these the praise and wisdom due to their Artificer; which they ought to ascribe, not to the things seen, but to Him alone who is their chief Architect; to confess Him to be the cause of their wonder, and of these many works <sup>4</sup> of wisdom. For He alone is wise who supplied the cause, that these many things should thus be. These differ, therefore, in no respect from mere infants. Nor do those whose admiration is expended on the lyre with its seven strings,---the (mere) instrument of music,---but not on him who is the inventor of its structure, nor on him who knows its use, nor yet on his wisdom. Nor (again) do those who leave him who is eminent in war, to adorn his spear and shield with the crowns of victory. Nor do those who honour the streets, squares, buildings, temples, gymnasia---things inanimate---with the admiration due to the great king, who caused the erection of such chief city of his kingdom: when it was right they should admire, neither the pillars nor the stones, but the great maker and lawgiver<sup>6</sup> of these instances of wisdom.

3. In<sup>7</sup> conformity with these (considerations) also, we make this same (Being) the (efficient) cause of all which we see with the eyes of the body; not the sun, the moon, nor any other of the things in the heavens. It is becoming too, that we should confess them all to be the works of wisdom: but not, that we should honour or worship them by means of any similitude of Him, who is their Maker and Creator. From the contemplation of these too, we both praise and worship, with the whole affection of the soul, Him who again is known, not by means of the bodily eyes, but only by the mind which is pure and enlightened; <sup>5</sup> Him (I say) who is the King of all, THE WORD OF GOD. For no one ever graced the (mere) body of any wise and intelligent man, (or) his eyes<sup>8</sup>, head, hands, feet, or the rest of his flesh, much less his external clothing, with the title of wisdom; nor yet has termed the vessels in the houses, nor the service-vessels, of the philosophers, wise; while every thinking person has expressed his wonder at that concealed, and unseen, mind which is in man.

4. Thus, and more particularly,---before these visible ornaments which are (but) the bodies of this whole universe, and which have been fabricated from one (species of) matter,---let us express our wonder at that unseen and invisible WORD, that Maker and Adorner of the exemplars<sup>9</sup> of all things, who is the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD: whom, the Maker of all, He who is beyond all, and above all being, generated of Himself as a ray of light from His own Godhead, and constituted Him both the Leader and Governour of this whole (world). <sup>6</sup>

5. For it was impossible that this perishable being of bodies, and this Nature of reasonable creatures (such) as it now is, could be brought near to God the Governour of all, on account of its exceedingly great imperfection. For He is an Essence beyond and above all, which can neither be described, comprehended, nor approached; and (which) dwells in the glorious light, to which nothing can be compared,---as the Divine words declare<sup>10</sup>. For this had no existence, and out of nothing did He send it forth. And (hence) it was greatly different, and very far removed, from the nature of (His) Essence. Well therefore did He, the fulness of all good, the God of all, first appoint a Mediator<sup>11</sup>, the Divine Power, His ONLY (begotten), who should be sufficient for all<sup>12</sup>; who could accurately, abundantly, and as present, hold converse with His Father<sup>4</sup>, receive of His inward and secret (nature), and be meekly lowered to the form and manner of those who were (so) far removed from His princely state. In no <sup>7</sup> other way could it be either glorious or right, that He, who is beyond and above all, should be mixed up with matter that is perishable, and with a body. On this account, the DIVINE WORD entered by a (sort) of commixture into this whole, and bound together the bands (as it were) of all things, by means of the Divine power which is incorporeal: leading on and carrying forward, and governing (the whole) by every species of wisdom, as it seemed good to Him.

6. The proof then, of this conclusion is obvious. For, if those which we usually term the primary elements of all,---the earth, water, air, and fire, were themselves the constituent portions of the universe, and are constituted of a mixed nature, which we even see with our eyes is the case,---and, if the essence of all were one, and that comprehending the whole, and were (as) the Mother and Nurse (of all these things), as those who are subtle in these matters love to term it; and were without figure and visibility, and wholly destitute of soul and of reason;--- Whence, one may ask, was it, that this world was made to consist of that of which it now does? Whence also the distinction of the (several) elements? And whence the <sup>8</sup> concordant course of those things which were adverse to agreement? And, Who commanded this heavy element of earth, to ride over that of humid matter?

7. And, Who is He that has caused water, the nature of which is to run downwards, to take an opposite course, and to ascend to the clouds?

8. And, Who is He that has so constrained the power of fire, that it shall insinuate itself into wood? and has made it to mix itself up with things which are in their natures opposed to it?



**9.** And, Who has attempted this cold air with the power of heat; has released these from their (natural) contentions with one another, and has reconciled them (as it were) to love?

**10.** Who is He that has distinguished the race subject to mortality with the character of extension, and drawn it out to the length of the life which is immortal?

**11.** Who is He that has so formed the Male, fashioned the Female, and associated them both as one compound, and (thus) discovered one source of generation for all animal life?

**12.** Who is He that changes this fluent generating seed from its fluid, perishing, and senseless state, and makes it (that) of the generation of animal life?

**13.** Who is He that performs even to this time all these things, and innumerable others beyond them, and which exceed all wonder and astonishment?

**14.** Who is He that daily and hourly, secretly and by a power that is invisible, effects the generation and changes of these things?

**15.** But, the efficient Cause of all things is justly said to be that worker of miracles, THE WORD OF GOD. For THE WORD OF GOD who is Almighty, has in truth [9](#) extended himself into every thing: above into the heights, and beneath into the depths, has He drawn out His incorporeal soul. He also holds, as it were in His hands, the breadth and length of all in (its) extent. This whole has He brought, and bound up together; and has (thus) set up for himself this (immense) vessel filled with every sort of compound. He too, by every species of wisdom, and by means of the power which is rational, has made well to combine and to harmonize, according to their several measures, this essence of bodies destitute of reason, form, and visibility; governing by words unutterable, and directing for the advantage of all<sup>[13](#)</sup>, the Sun, the Moon, and those (other) luminaries that are in the heavens.

**16.** This selfsame WORD OF GOD too brought himself down also upon the earth, and (there) set up all the various kinds of animals, and every beautiful form of plant.

**17.** This selfsame WORD OF GOD also immersed even into the depths of the sea<sup>[14](#)</sup>, and determined those swimming natures: and here again he made the myriads of forms which are innumerable, with every various kind of living creature.

**18.** The selfsame also completes, by the effectuating art of nature, those (beings) which are inwardly [10](#) conceived in the womb, and forms (them) into animals. The same too makes to ascend to the heights as light, this humid, heavy, and naturally descending, matter (of sea-water<sup>[15](#)</sup>), and thus, completing the course of his government, changes it to sweetness, and brings it (again) in due measure, and at determined seasons, upon the earth: and, like the excellent husbandman who waters his land well, and attempts the wet with the dry, he changes (things) into every sort of form: at one time, into beautiful flowers; at another, into the forms peculiar to each species; at another, into delightful scents; at another, into different and diversified sorts of fruits; at another, into every kind of taste which gives pleasure.

**19.** But why need I take upon myself to discuss the powers of THE WORD OF GOD? or, venture upon a thing, the doing of which is impossible, and, it is clear, greatly surpasses all mortal mind?

**20.** Others indeed name this same (Being) Universal nature; others, the Universal soul; others, Fate; and others say, that He is the God who is beyond all. But, I know not how they confound together the things, which are so greatly and widely different; and (thus) cast down to the earth, and mix up, that Governour of all, that Power of (eternal) existence which is above all, with bodies, (and) [11](#) with perishable matter; affirm, that He is the medium both of irrational and rational animals, and is comprehended both in those that are mortal, and immortal. But these things they (do).

**21.** The Divine doctrine, however, declares that He who is above all that is good, the same is the

(efficient) Cause of all, and is beyond all comprehension; and that on this account He cannot be described, enounced, or named: and, not only that He is elevated above all verbal description, but also above all mental apprehension; that He is neither contained in place, nor existing in body, neither in the heavens, nor in the aether, nor in any one portion of this whole. But that He is at once within, and independent of all, reserved in the unseen depth of (His own) knowledge. The Divine declarations teach us to recognize Him alone as the God of truth, who is far removed from all essence of body, and a stranger to all service of government. It has, therefore, been delivered to us, that all is *of* Him, but not that it is *by* (or through) Him<sup>[16](#)</sup>.

**22.** But He, as a king within the concealment and privacy in which He is incomprehensible, sits in the elevation of His own splendour, governing and ordering (all) solely by the power of His own will. For, by His will exists whatsoever does exist; and, had He not (so) willed, neither had it (so) existed. He wills, however, every good thing, because He is also good in His own essential being. [12](#)

**23.** He therefore, *by whom* are all things, THE WORD OF GOD, proceeded forth from above, from His good Father, as a river ever flowing from an unlimited fountain, and distilling as rain, in words unutterable, to those who were perishing, completely furnished for the common salvation of all. And, as in the case with ourselves, that secret and invisible mind which is within us, no man ever knew, either how, or why, it exists in its own essential character, but (which) sits as a king within the secrecy of its chambers, and considers of the things to be done; so the only word then proceeding from it, begotten as it were of a Father in the privacy of retirement, and being the primary angel (messenger) to all, of the mind of its Father, openly publishes those things which its father considered in secret; and, passing on into the hearing of all, brings to full effect the will (so made known). These (hearers) then receive the benefit of the word, while the secret and invisible mind, this father of (such) word, no one had ever seen with the eyes. So also,----that is, (in a manner) surpassing all examples and comparisons, that completing WORD OF GOD, the King of all,----was, as being the only (begotten) Son of His Father, established, not by any mere emanating virtue; nor constituted in his nature by the enunciation of names and words; nor designated by any sound produced by the percussion of the air: but THE WORD is living, and is the minister of God who is [13](#) over all, and in His essence, He is "*the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God.*" He proceeds moreover from the Godhead and rule of His Father; and is the<sup>[17](#)</sup> good offspring of the good Father, and the common Saviour of all. He also waters all, pouring out from his own fulness upon all, life, and reason, and wisdom, and light, and every good thing. He waters too, not only the things that are before Him and near Him, but those also that are removed far away on the earth, and in the sea; and if there be any other creature, in any thing that exists. He too keeps in order, by His justice and the power of His rule, every border, place, law, and possession: to each and every thing does He distribute and give that which is suitable: apportioning (this) to some who are in the sphere above the world; to others, who reside in the heavens; to others, whose habitation is the aether; to others, that are in the air; and to others, on the earth. Then passing on from these, He again well distinguishes, in other quarters, the lives of all; carrying forward with due discrimination, their customs and various observances. He also provides the food for the animals, not only for those that are rational, but also for those that are not so: (and this) for the advantage of those that are.

**24.** To some he gives the comforts of a mortal and temporary life; to others, that they may partake of immortality: and of every thing, as THE WORD OF GOD, is He the Doer. And, being near to every thing, and [14](#) pervading all with a power which is rational, and, looking up to His Father, He governs the things that are below according to His intimations, and after Him accordingly as the Saviour of all. And thus, mediating and bringing near to the (eternal) Being this essence of things, He constitutes the bond which cannot be severed. THE WORD OF GOD (I say), which is in the midst, which binds together those which are diverse, and suffers them not to fall off (and) away, He is the Providential care which is watchful over all, He is the Director of all: He is "*the Power of God, and the wisdom of God*":

He is the only (begotten) Son of God; the God which is begotten of God, THE WORD. For, "*In the beginning was THE WORD, and THE WORD was with God, and THE WORD was God. Every thing was by Him, and without Him was not any thing:*"---- the glorious words of the divine men (so) teaching.

**25.** This is the common Saviour of all, on whose account this universal essence is productive, and rejoices that it ever drinks from his dewdrops; is always youthful in its stature, and ever presents the appearance of beauty. He therefore holds its reins, and, at the intimations of His Father, rightly guides the mighty ship of this universe, [15](#) (and) with His own helm He governs it. This (Being) excellent of art, did He who is God above all, as a good Father beget as good Fruit, the ONLY (begotten) SON, and give (him) to this world (as) a most excellent gift; did cast as a Soul into a body destitute of soul, and into the nature of irrational bodies, His own rational WOHD: and (so), by virtue of the DIVINE WORD, did He both enlighten and enliven this (otherwise) shapeless, unsightly and colourless, being ----by Him, (I say) whom we ought, both to know and to worship, as being ever near to the matter and elements, of (all) bodies. Thus, that which was immaterial, bodiless, and unconscious (lit. unwise), became, as from others, endued with consciousness (lit. became wise). But He is THE LIFE, and He is THE LIGHT; the intelligent offspring of THE LIGHT which cannot be described. He too, is ONE in His Essence, even as He is [16](#) from ONE Father. He possesses however many powers (virtues) within His own person. For, we should not suppose that, because the (constituent) parts of the world are many, they therefore constitute many powers<sup>1</sup> (Demons): nor, because the operations are many, we ought therefore, to set up for ourselves many Gods.

**26.** Those therefore who follow many Gods, commit, as children in soul, a grievous mistake when they make into Gods the (constituent) parts of the Universe, and (virtually) divide the one world into many [18](#). As if one should take from the person of a man the eyes only, and then affirm that these were the man; and again, that the ears were another; and so again, the head (another); or, should gradually sever the neck, the breast, the shoulders, the feet, the hands, or the rest of the members; or, that he should (so) divide the faculty of sense by [17](#) process of reasoning, and then affirm on this one man, that these (portions) really were many men: he would deserve nothing better of the wise, than the ridicule due to folly. Such as this man would be, would he likewise be who fabricated for himself many Gods out of the (constituent) parts of the one Universe, and would sever into many sections those Bodies of all, whose nature is fleeting and dispersive, and which are fabricated out of one primary material; and then again, would by an effort of reason make these his Gods<sup>?</sup>.

**27.** Much worse than this would he be, who would also imagine that this entirely made world,---- constituted as it is wholly and altogether of many parts,----is God: not considering that the Divine nature could never subsist of parts or be complex, or could stand in need of some other to compound it: nor again, that if it consisted of parts, could it be Divine. For, How can it consist of things different and dissimilar, faulty and excellent? Because that which is compounded, must also be dissoluble; and that which consists of many parts, is of necessity dissimilar<sup>19</sup>: while that which is equal in all and unchanging in all, is simple and incomplex. That too which is complex, is compounded of things dissimilar. And that which is dissimilar has in itself something faulty, opposed to that which is excellent. For if the whole were excellent, it would (then) be equal and similar. And, if it were so in the whole, it would in the whole be consistent with itself: and thus would it be in essence simple, [18](#) and without parts. But this nature (of things) does not shew itself to be such, since this world is viewed as wholly subject to sense: for it is constituted of many parts, and is (therefore) compounded; it is too, in many of its parts, changing. And where it is thus, there is also the capability of a nature of an opposite description. And hence this world associates beings, at once both mortal and immortal, rational and irrational; in matter too, both cold and hot; wet and dry. From all which, God is (necessarily) free. For, if the nature of God be simple, it is also without parts, and is uncompounded; (placed) beyond, and far

removed from, every ordinance of this visible world. On this account the Preacher of Truth thus openly says: "*The Word of God proclaimed, He who is before all, is alone the Saviour of all rational beings.*" But God who is beyond all, is the head (source) of the generation of THE WORD. He alone is the Cause of all; and, of His ONLY (begotten) WORD, He is truly styled THE FATHER. Above Him therefore, no other Cause can be assigned. He therefore is God alone<sup>20</sup>; and from Him proceeded forth, by (virtue of) His own secret will which is unutterable, the ONLY (begotten), the Saviour of all, the one WORD of God, who (is) through all.

**28.** This sensible world is therefore, not unlike the lyre of many strings, consisting of many dissimilar portions:<sup>19</sup>---of acute and grave, lax and intense; and of others between these, all well combined together by the art of the Musician. Such then is also this (universe), collected (as it is) into one compound, consisting of many parts, and many compositions; of cold at once, and warm its opposite; and of matter, wet and dry. It is moreover a mighty vessel, and is the work of the God of all.

**29.** But the DIVINE WORD has not been constituted of parts, nor has it been compounded of any opposing (nature), nor does it consist of (either) part or compound; but both wisely and well does He in every thing resemble His Father; and to the King of all does He give back the praise, which to Him is both suitable and due. (And) as in one body there are many parts, members, viscera, and bowels, collected together, and one invisible soul (only) is diffused through all; and one is the mind which (consists) of neither body nor parts; so also (we say) of this one world, which is constituted of many parts. So also the WORD OF GOD, manifold in power and Almighty, is one extended into all things, and is invisibly diffused throughout them: and of all, in which He (thus) subsists, He is the (efficient) Cause.

**30.** Do you not see with your eyes, that one heaven surrounds the whole world? and that many orders of stars revolve in this? And again, (that) there is one sun, not many? and that this eclipses the splendour of them all by its superior light? So likewise is there one Father, the WORD of whom also is one, who must be the good <sup>20</sup>offspring of the good Father. If therefore any one complain, that there are not many Sons; so should he also complain, that many suns, moons, and worlds, are not established, and at many other things, after the manner of madmen, who endeavour to subvert those of nature which are right and good. But, as in things visible, one sun gives light to the whole sensible world; so also in things intellectual, the one WORD OF GOD, filled with all power, secretly and (in a manner) imperceptible to us, gives light to all. For Why should many suns be required, when one is sufficient to effect every thing? And again, What need can there be of many Sons of God, when the ONE, the only (begotten), is sufficient to effect the will of His Father? For, if there were many, then would they be either similar, or dissimilar<sup>21</sup>. And if they were similar, then would their multiplicity be in vain; because one Effectuator, and this Almighty, would be sufficient for the performance and due ordering of all. But the WORD OF GOD, and the WISDOM OF GOD, which is ONE in its essence, brings along with it the light, and the life, and (indeed) all the fulness of goodness. The multitude (then) of those who were (thus) vainly, and not well joined together in a power that were similar, could have no advantage. But, if it were necessary they should be dissimilar, How then could that which were dissimilar, or incomplete and defective in its nature, be on the <sup>21</sup>other hand an Effectuator, and that sufficient for all? But nothing which is horn of God is incomplete. The only (begotten) of God is therefore complete (the Efficient). Nor are there many WORDS OF GOD. On the contrary, THE GOD who is OF GOD is sufficient for all, and is Almighty; is the one Image of the light of His Essence, as the divine words declare; who, for the convenience of governing and healing all existing beings, was necessarily appointed; who is also in His essence one, but in His powers manifold. And Him alone do we declare to be sufficient for the adorning of all things.

**31.** Because too, there is in man (but) one Soul and one reasoning faculty, and this at the same time capable of comprehending many things; whether (for example), it cultivate the earth, or fit up a ship, or

guide it, or build (a house), still it is one and the same: or, whether it learn and do many things, still there is but one mind and cogitative faculty in man. It is moreover capable at once of many sorts of knowledge: the same man will be the geometrician, or will be skilled in the courses of the stars, or be perfect in the precepts of the grammarians and rhetoricians; or, he will become a leader in the science of healing, or in its manual operations. Nor has any one ever yet imagined, that there are many souls in (any) one body: neither has it been made matter of wonder, that there exists many essences in man, because of his [\[22\]](#) capability of many sorts of knowledge. For, should a man find a shapeless piece of clay, and afterwards so model it with his hands, as to impress upon it the forms of certain animals; on one figure, the head; on another, the hands, the feet, or the eyes (of a man); and again, that he otherwise imitate by the art of the modeller, the cheeks, ears, mouth, nostrils, breast, and shoulders, Would it be right also to suppose that, because many forms and members had been (so) wrought in this one body, many were therefore their makers? We ought rather to bestow the full meed of praise on the one artificer of the whole, who had by one train of thought, and the exertion of one executive power, (so) disposed the whole:----

**32.** So also, of this universal world which is one, consisting nevertheless of many parts, it cannot be right to erect the many powers (visible within it) into makers; nor again to call these many Gods: but rather, to bless the ONE who abounds in every species of wisdom, and every sort of compounding (power): Him (I say) who is in truth "THE POWER or GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD;" who, by means of one (almighty) power and virtue, pervades, and remains in, the universal whole; who also gives establishment and life to all: and who, for the whole and singular of [\[23\]](#) these bodies and elements, in their several situations, produced at once from himself, the several and various means of subsistence.

**33.** So also the light of the Sun is one; yet, by its one incidence, it at once illuminates the air, affords light to the eyes, warmth to the touch, ripens the (produce of) the earth, gives growth to the plant, and fixes the several periods of time. It also precedes the stars (in its course), makes the circuit of the heavens, rises upon the world, and clearly establishes the power of God with respect to all things<sup>[22](#)</sup>. All these things it completes in a momentary period of nature. Thus too, the nature of fire (is such) as to purify gold, to melt lead, to dissolve wax, to dry (wet) clay, and to consume dense (bodies): by means of one burning power, it effects all these things.

**34.** So likewise THE WORD OF GOD, the King of all, He who is extended throughout all, is in and pervades all, that is both in the heavens and the earth; He is the governour of the things which are invisible and visible, and He directs by powers unspeakable", the Sun, the Heavens, [\[24\]](#) and the whole Universe. He is present to all things in His effectuating power; and He remains throughout all. He also makes to distil as rain, from His own resources, the never-failing light to the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars. He has established, and perpetually holds fast, the heavens (as) an image of his own greatness. He also fills from the treasury that is with Him, those hosts of Angels and Powers of intelligent and rational spirits, at once with life, light, wisdom, and all the abundance of every species of beauty and of goodness. And by one and the same effectuating art, He never fails to supply substance to the material elements, and to Bodies (their) commixture and concurrence; (their) forms, appearances, and characters. He otherwise varies also and time after time, (His) innumerable operations, (whether) in the animals, the plants, or in the beings rational or irrational: at once He provides every thing for all, by (His) one power; and clearly shews, (that this) is not a mere Lyre (as it were) of seven or many strings, but is the one universe of manifold composition, the workmanship of the ONE WORD, the Maker of the world<sup>[23](#)</sup>.

**35.** Such therefore, is the common Saviour of all, THE WORD or the GOD of all, of whom one discoursing on God<sup>[24](#)</sup> thus mysteriously speaks: "*He<sup>[25](#)</sup> was in the world, and the world was (made) by*



*Him; and the world knew Him not"* For, from ancient times (and) hitherto, it knew Him not, until He manifested Himself, in the latter times, to those who were holden in the darkness of vice. But He, the Maker of the whole world, He, who is the common Saviour of all, has been directly made known to us, as thus existing; and as affording to this whole, all this assistance. But, as to this whole world which is [1](#) [25](#) governed by one Ruler, (and) which consists of the heavens, the earth, and of the things therein, it is now necessary we should shew in a few words, what the nature of the being is which He has assigned to it.

**36.** This (universe) then, partakes of two natures; of the essence which is more excellent and is allied to THE DIVINE WORD; which, being intellectual and rational, is perceived by the mind, and apprehended by the reason: and to this is possible all that is superior to (material) Bodies. (It partakes) also of that which was necessarily brought forth for the use of this; which is matter,---is the offspring of Bodies, and is understood by the sense of reason, both to exist and to be perishable: and which, as I think, has been well said never to have had any (independent) being<sup>[26](#)</sup>. But this, which is visible to the bodily sense, designates the one Universe. This same (too), the whole of which is visible, as well as that which is invisible, may thus be well said to constitute one family of rational beings; just as in the things that are visible, the nature of bodies is one; while of tin's, some are in the heavens and the aether<sup>[27](#)</sup>,---those among these being distinct, and different;---some in the air and on the earth; and of which, the things visible are the animals and plants. So also, in the essence which is intelligent and invisible, the common kind of them all is one. One also is the nature of the generation of the rational and intelligent faculties, while many and various are the distinctions existing in this<sup>[28](#)</sup>.

**37.** This same therefore, which has been fabricated out of matter, and (material) bodies; this, which we usually [26](#) name the sensible world, which consists of the heavens the earth and of the things therein, may be likened to an imperial city in which there are many citizens, the houses of some of which have been distinguished (as) apartments of the state. Of these, the inner ones are neither entered into, nor trodden, by the many. Some again are for stations without, (set apart) for the keepers of the middle portions. Others again, are far distant from the court, and are left for the inhabitants (generally) and their various assemblies<sup>[29](#)</sup>. Many are (thus) the stations in the heavens, and many are those inferior to these in the sether, and in the air above the earth. The habitable [27](#) part of the earth, (assigned) to those who walk upon it, is this broad space known to us all. Those (places) however which are beyond the heavens, are (exalted) above all mental apprehension, as are those also which are distinguished as inner apartments of the divine house of rule. But those (beings) who surround the King of all, and exult at the side of THE DIVINE WORD, are both enlightened and upholden by means of the rays which are drawn forth from Him, as from unfailing fountains of light; and are established in the fulness of light. (Thus) too all the enlightened, with the incorporeal assemblies of light, hold that rank of station which is beyond the heavens, and honour with the highest praises, (and) which are worthy of God, the God who is King of all. <sup>[30](#)</sup> In the midst moreover, has He cast (spread) forth the vast heavens, the curtains (as it were) of the azure threshold, which exclude those who are without from the mansion of rule; while the keepers of the intermediate part perform (their) rounds in this, as being without the gate, with those who in the heavens are [28](#) invested with light and holding lamps, as the sun and the moon, honouring Him who is beyond all, the King of all. And, at his intimation and word, these supply light by means of lamps which cannot be extinguished, to those whose lot it is to be in the place of darkness, and without the heavens. Thus are brought near to Him the powers of the air, which are invisible to bodily eyes, as also the animals and other earthly things (which are visible): so is man also the chief of them all, whose race was no stranger to that intelligent and rational Essence which is invisible, and who was created on the earth to render praise to the Godhead and rule of Him who is the Cause of all things. Like as on earth therefore, there is spread over the whole world but one, and that the same human nature; and, as many nations have arisen out of this, and the manner of life of every race, its fashions,

modes, and governments, are different, not only of the barbarians and wild, but also of the peaceable, fashionable, and wise; and, (as) there are among these both slaves and freemen, poor and rich; those also who differ in colour, as the Scythians, and those whose lot it is to dwell without, in the west; the Hindoos also, at the rising of the sun, and the Ethiopians at its setting; Greeks, too, and others whose destiny it is to reside among princes; and, among all these again, some bear rule over portions of the nations, and others are wholly subject: with the great king of all moreover, some are considered as in the place of friends, some are elevated to the greatest honours, others are more especially ennobled for their virtuous deeds: some, again, fill the rank of slaves; and others, bearing spears and shields, surround the sovereign: others again, are military officers in the cities, while others fill the situation of rule in these: others too, have met the fate of the [29](#) vulgar; and others are considered as in the place of enemies and haters: still, the whole of these are men, and one is the common species of them all. Over them all too, is there one king, one only power, vested with his own authority which is all-supreme. And to this same, according to the law and edict of the state,---to him alone, the Father and Lawgiver,---is (the title of) great king ascribed: while He (the WORD) descending from above, and running (as it were) throughout the whole of the governours and governed, subjects to the one yoke of rule every race (placed) under his hand; elevating some to the highest honour, and to others rendering that which is their due<sup>[31](#)</sup>.

**38.** As it is with these things, (so) one is the generating, intelligent, and rational Essence which is over all. And well might it be said, that one is the kind (genus) even of these, and that they all are nothing more than brethren (derived) from one, as made of Him who is the Father of THE WORD OF GOD<sup>[32](#)</sup>. There are then, multitudes of nations, and of kinds (of these); and there is a portion the more virtuous, and the contrary. The differences too of these, as to mind (opinion) are innumerable, as are the fashions, modes of life, constitutions, and the contrary; but not as to their natures, for the nature of them all is one, and the kind is one. It is of the variety of their wills, that they have found out many and different fashions and modes of life. Hence, are the companies of angels, of spirits, and of incorporeal and invisible powers; some of which are resplendent and glorious, as enlightened by the splendour of THE DIVINE WORD; others are dark, blacker than any Ethiopian, and [30](#) destitute of all rational light. This kind is quite deserving of the middle place, as capable at once of both the excellent and the base. But the King is one, that ONLY power which is God above all, both of those who are in the heavens, and above the heavens. And He it is who holds by the law and edict of sovereign rule, the things that are in the air, on the earth, and under the earth, and which are of all, and in all. This law and edict is moreover one, (viz.) He who lives in all, THE WORD OF GOD, the minister, (lit. agent): not as that dying (utterance) which is sent forth from the mouth of mortals into the air<sup>[33](#)</sup>; but is,---as it has now been made known to us (by the Gospel)---of things (in their nature) possible, the Governour of all in all wisdom and power. He (I say) who, as THE WORD OF GOD, distributes fully and in justice to all, the things which are most suitable to them; and gives to each, and to every one of them, the stations which are suitable: to those which are near, (those) of happiness; but those of the contrary, to them who have fallen from virtue, as they may have (severally) deserved. He at once gives to all--- like those who are on the earth,---to reside in different localities; to some, to exult at the side of the heavenly sovereignty; to others, to keep watch without; to others, to dwell beyond (these), and at a distance: while all with one mouth, and according to the doctrine and instruction of each, celebrate the praise of the King and God of all: --- (all I say) who bear this law in their hearts and in the mind of their nature, that they should confess that ONE, who is the likeness of the image of sovereign rule, who is the only (begotten) WORD,---Him " *who is the Image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature*<sup>[34](#)</sup>, "---as the divine words mysteriously teach.

**39.** And to the honouring of Him are all, whether the rulers or the ruled in every house and city, at once devoted: not, with inanimate colours variously set forth in pictures (or images,) but within, on the

hearts of their [31](#) intellectual faculties as upon intelligent tablets, is the worship of His Godhead inscribed. Thus do all those, who are subject to His power, tender their worship, irrespective of those vicious Demons, and wicked Spirits, and "*Rulers of this world*," who consider themselves as in the situation of enemies and haters; those who have assimilated themselves to the image of fraudulent rule<sup>35</sup>, and put forth various books in the place of others<sup>36</sup>; that is, innumerable false scriptures (ascribed) to that fearful name, and to that expressed name, which governs the Law. But far superior to the Law is the name (which) they have surreptitiously assumed to themselves. Thus do they succeed in casting down to the earth among bodies, elements, and the portions of the world, the (whole) race of mortal men. Hence have men feared and served the creatures, more than the Creator of these<sup>37</sup>.

**40.** And again, they named (as gods) for themselves, these very powers, contenders and rebels against God, which in their perverseness so became gods; these (I say) which never existed (as such). And well may those be considered as enemies and haters, from whom the law of truth has commanded us to flee, and to take refuge in Him alone who is the WORD, the Saviour of all;---Him, who has cast forth the seed which is of Himself, in order that it may produce, not only in the heavenly places, but also on the earth; and has assigned both to those that are in the heavens, and to those that are in the elements of [32](#) the earth, one and the same portion of kind. So that the rational mind which is in man, (and) is of that incorporeal intelligent essence, and of the kind of the DIVINE WORD which pervades all that has hitherto been generated, is nourished on earth by its meditations on Him, and previously trained for its transition (conversion) to virtue. Hence too, is it previously instructed and taught, to provide for its passing to the children of its own kind. Wholly therefore is this alone, of those that are on the earth, through its participation with THE DIVINE WORD, worthy of the name of rational. He has then, necessarily assigned a place on earth (to) the mind and rational soul; so that a small image of the great City of God, mentioned in the example a little while ago (given), has been set up on earth: nor is there in the whole empire of God, nor even a place on the earth, exempt from this lot. And it was right, that praise should be ascribed in every part of the universe to THE WORD, the common Father of all, by those who had been generated of Himself. Hence, even the element of earth is not exempt from being entrusted with this rational portion. Not only by those who are beyond the world, and in the heavens, and the rational (beings) that are in the air; but also by those that dwell on the earth, is that just praise sent up to the Maker and Father of all: which indeed the Divine Word teaches, when it thus commands every man to sing the praise which is due to God<sup>38</sup>: "*Praise ye God from the heavens; praise ye him in the heights. Praise him all ye his angels; praise him all ye his hosts. Praise him sun and moon; praise him all ye stars and light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens.*" After the things which are upon the earth, he (the Sacred Writer) reasons thus: "*Praise ye God from the earth (all)*" other things. He then also (reasons upon) this rational family of man,---this (I say) which divides itself from every thing else into various companies and orders of rank,---in this manner:---" *Praise him, ye Icings of the earth, and all* [33](#) *people: ye great, and all ye judges of the earth: young men and maidens: old men with children. Let them praise the name of the Lord; for great is his name alone; and his praise is in the earth, and in the* "heavens."<sup>39</sup>

**41.** With these (words) therefore, he leads over against and along with the companies that are in the heavens, those also that are on the earth, to the praise of the King of all. For to Him alone in truth, and to no other God,---(to) Him who is beyond all the heavens above,--- do the companies that are above the curvatures of the heavens ascribe honour and praise. To Him (as) their Father do the hosts of angels and spirits, the offspring of the light which is intelligent, render the praises which are unutterable. To Him also the sun, the moon, and the stars which are in the circuits of distant worlds, and run their lengthened courses in the spaces of aether, and form a crown (as it were) to Him;---the invisible powers also, which wing their way in the free expanse of air,---proclaim the meed of praise and blessing which is (both) due and becoming.

**42.** How then, after (the detail of) these things could it be becoming, that the element of earth alone should be wanting in the provision which (prevails) in all? Or, that this nature which is generative of all these fruits, [\[34\]](#) should stand alone, in withholding its meed of praise? Or, that the life which is (passed) on the earth, bearing every sort of fruit, should be barren as to (that of) the intelligent creature? Would it not rather appear that this would seem good to Him,----who is the fulness of all wisdom, the Maker of all,----that He should for His own sake, sow this locality of earth with beings intelligent and rational? and should, for the use of these, provide the rest of the creatures, as also that which is generative of fruits and flowers? And that He should here also join the praise of men, to that which is rendered by the companies of all (else), to His own Father? And this was so done in former times:----this, that man, who had been made in the image of God<sup>40</sup>, honoured with hymns and songs THE WORD, his Father, together with the divine and rational assemblies, and with the several orders of angels. His mind had not then erred in the setting up of inanimate images under the phantasms of demoniacal deception, nor under the stories of error common to polytheism: for these things recently, and after a time, became known through the vain babblings of the poets. Those primitive chiefs of our race, who hitherto had not learned the arts of modelling, hewing, and carving, and had made no use of this extreme metal-working art of evil deeds, called upon the Maker of the whole universe and their Lord, in the simplicity of their souls, and in the mind of their (unsophisticated) nature: and Him alone did they confess, in their instruction which was mental<sup>41</sup>, to be the Lord and God of all. And as these did, so did the chief of our nature (Adam), as also did the Hebrew race, which was in ancient times beloved of God, and received, [\[35\]](#) as a son from his father, the good inheritance of the observances of the fear of God. But these honoured nothing with purity of life, and with the observances of the fear of God, except the one God, the King who is above all, and His WORD who is the Saviour of all. On this account, they were considered worthy of the revelation of the Word of God, of prophecy, and of the doctrines of righteousness.

**43.** Thus therefore, THE WORD OF GOD, the Maker of all things, fills, with His seed of intelligent and rational being, all parts and places that are above the world, that are in the heavens, and on this element of earth. That seed then, which falls upon the earth, constituting the intelligent and rational plant, is itself the knowledge which belongs to man, (and) which is now contained in the multifarious stem and herbage (as it were) of an earthly and perishable body: many stars of the life which is mortal surrounding it. If then, an enlightened cultivation meet it, so that it be cleansed from the obstinacy of matter, and recognize the Sower, THE WORD, who is above the heavens, and henceforth render praise to Him, meditating as a child on His primitive teaching, and in due time rendering the corn-ears of its superiority, the complete fruit of its rational nature; it shall as in the time of harvest lay down, by the death of the life which is mortal, those luxuriations of the stem that are without, together with the earthly and corruptible clothing of the body, which it shall have now well employed for the growth and perfection of the fruit. And happily shall it put off this in due time. The same too, as he becomes more excellent, and collects the powers of his superiority into the treasury of things that are good, is preserved (as) the perfect, that with the perfect he may be led on. To Him also, who is the Sower and the Cultivator of all, he renders the perfect fruit of that praise which is due to God. And, because he has in this- life recognized Him alone as his Father, King, and Lord, and has, together with his relative and sister beings (already mentioned), confessed Him alone to be God, his Maker and Creator; He will,----that he also may (as) in the place of the society which is more excellent, exalt and honour Him with the [\[36\]](#) honour that is becoming and just,----not name any other thing God, which it is not right should be called God, but Him alone to whom all things give (a similar) testimony; Him, whom all creation, visible and invisible,----even as He alone is the efficient Cause of all,----names its God, and whom it worships.

**44.** These things then being such, let us now again approach our subject afresh, as already laid down.

These heavens then, and places in the heavens which are viewed by the bodily senses; this earth also, and air, as well as this whole constitution (of things) which is of them, (and) which may be likened to a great city, differ in no respect in their nature from those inanimate elements which are in its portions, the earth, the waters, the air, and fire. But it is not necessary, that the denizens of this great city should be considered as of the same material; nor is it, that we should affirm the seed of the rational soul, and of the perishable body, to be one and the same. For the mind, the reason, the rational soul, and the whole of the nature which is intelligent, may accurately and well be affirmed to be the seed of THE WORD OF GOD, the Creator of all. Nor were these any part of the earth, or of the air; nor, of any essence cold or hot; but, of those superior faculties, by which they were made worthy to partake in things most excellent. Because things prior in order, are the causes of those which succeed them. And the first things were those generated of THE WORD: after these, those that are irrational. After the primary essences therefore, were those latter ones, which followed (these as) causes. But these primitive ones,---the origin of production,---exist (only) in intelligent souls; on whose account it was, that the seed of passive bodies was also prepared. For it was necessary, that a sufficient house or residence should be prepared for these. Hence the primary heavens appeared to be a place suitable to the people of this city, who were both above it and in it; and the curvatures<sup>42</sup> within the heavens, for those <sup>[37]</sup> inhabitants who should be distinguished accordingly. But thou (reasonable soul), wouldest never designate as denizens of the city on earth, either the sensitive being of the fierce animals, or any kind of reptile refusing instruction; or indeed, any of all those that partake in the nature and name of irrational. For these are thy slaves, which have been subjected by the law of nature; and they necessarily render the service which is due to rational beings, as to their lords. For the agricultural ox places his neck willingly in the yoke, for the purposes of agriculture for man; the carrying ass too, confesses his own nature; the horse also, on which his lord rides, exults<sup>43</sup>; and the hunting dog fondles on him who feeds him.

**45.** The flocks too, and herds, (and) again, all sorts of possession (in animals), are given to men; even the fierce beasts are (at his ready) service. These same too, we kill and reduce to subjection. We also take, by means of reason, the bird that flies in the heights. We also bring up those (beings) which are beneath in the depths of the sea, and (otherwise) within it. And nature plainly teaches, that all these things have been established for the sake of man. Man is therefore the progeny of the DIVINE WORD; not for the sake of any other thing, but <sup>[38]</sup> for that (only) of his Father, THE WORD; in order that he might see, and by his knowledge distinguish, all the wisdom of his Father, which (consists) in the workmanship visible throughout all creation; and that he should assimilate himself to this same, while hitherto youthful, and should in every thing emulate his Father, as to law, reason, knowledge, and wisdom; should live as taught, (that he is) the image of excellence; and should learn that, together with the companies that are in heaven, he should, as a prophet and priest, send up from the earth those praises which are due to the King of all, and to God who is the Cause of all.

**46.** In representations not unlike these therefore, does THE WORD, the instructor of all nature,---wondering at the various excellency of the nature that is in man,---cry out, and say in the divine praises, " *What<sup>44</sup> is man that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that Thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little less than the Angels: with honour and glory hast Thou clothed him, and hast given him dominion over the work of thy hands, and hast placed all beneath his feet: all flocks and herds; even the wild beasts of the desert, and the birds that are in the heavens, and the fishes of the sea, which dwell in the paths of the sea.*"

**47.** It is this rational species alone, beloved of God, of those that are on earth, respecting which another prophet speaking of God, teaches, thus plainly (but) mysteriously, that in his essence he is in the image of God: " *And God said, Let us make man in our Image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fishes that are in the sea, and over the fowl of the heavens, and over the beasts, and*



over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." And to the word He also added the deed: " So God made man," and said that He made him in the image of God. And again more particularly, He established (the fact) that the image was in the likeness of God, from [39](#) the Divine inbreathing, when He said, " And he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living soul<sup>45</sup>." He also teaches, that He gave to him the more excellent authority and rule, in these words when saying, *Let them have dominion over all that is on the earth, over the beasts, the fowls, the creeping things, (and) the animals.* And, to all these words does that nature give (its) testimony, which has put every thing under his hand, and has subjected all (things) to this rational creature. But, if the Divine words can obtain no hearing with thee, still, I cannot think that thy mind is so entirely darkened, that thou canst not think within thyself, How it is, that bodies and bodily substances,----or, whatever other divine thing it is which moves the body,----should consist of this possible excellence,----this, I say,----that (such body) should know how to avail itself of a discriminating reason, as to what its own essence is?----this, that it should deliver instruction by memory?----this, that it should extend itself to the contemplation of all things? But, be thyself and ask, whether the nature of the body can understand the constitution of the world; the operations of the primary elements; the beginning, the end, the middle portion, enumeration, and succession of the seasons; the changes of times; the revolutions of the year; the appointed order of the stars; and (I know not) how many other things, which men have by the experiments of geometry, computation, and enumeration, pointed out. For these (results) are incorporeal, and the contemplation of them is (purely) rational: that any one should make them adjuncts of the bones, the flesh, or the blood, would be folly infinitely great. And, well might they be asked, who thus think of these things, since these five senses comprehend all the faculties of the body, Which of them is it that can teach man the contemplation of any doctrine? Is it the sight of the eyes? But this distinguishes between colours and forms only. If you say, The hearing; you (only) name the recipient of sounds acute and grave, but not of any rational perception. And again, in like manner, the taste is the sense discriminative of sweetness, or of food, as it might [40](#) be. The smell too, is the trier of scents, but not of doctrines. And again, this sense which is extended over the whole body, will touch (and discriminate) things cold and hot, hard and soft; but not virtue, nor (yet) that wisdom which is much more excellent. And, How is it with the irrational animals? Have they not eyes, ears, and nostrils? the sense of taste, and of touch? But nothing of these can be brought near to the efficiency of reason: because the doctrines, which philosophy alone can apprehend, are not of the body, nor of the sense that is irrational: they belong solely to that superiority which attends the rational soul; which is superior to the nature of the body, and which takes up its abode in mankind alone. If however, any one wish impudently to persist by way of reasoning, and affirm, That we possess nothing beyond these irrational animals; that like these we are born, and are subject to corruption; because the one provision of us all, is of the earth: the passive nature of the body is the same; the sense is in nothing superior; the labour again, and rest is, in the same manner, one; as is the blood of us all, the corruption of the body, and (its) dissolution into the primitive elements. Hitherto however, you do not say, that any one of these can, like the rational animal, be brought near to the contemplation of things incorporeal; can bear about it any rational instruction, or lay up learning in its memory; can consider discourses about virtue and vice; and, as to philosophy, that it ever even entered its mind. But all these things I might omit, because all men do not possess them. I (only) ask your reason these things: Was there a city ever (yet) constructed by beings destitute of reason? Or, is there in these the mind of the Artificer, of the Builder, of the Weaver, or, of the Agriculturist? Or, has a ship ever been fitted up by them? Or, has the astonishing art of governing (such vessel) so much as even entered their minds? When, [41](#) behold! the things which are bodily (only) are with them, far more excellent than with us: because, of all animals, man is the most defective, and, as the Poets sing, "*The human race is infirm*<sup>46</sup>," Nor can we say how much he is inferior, in magnitude of body, to the Elephant; or, to be thought of, as to strength and abundance, with the Camel species. And, to many other animals must

he cede the victory, both as to power, and swiftness of foot. What can they scent better than the tracing dogs, which are taught to course by the smell? or, be said to see better than any Antelope; which, because they see (well) are, in the Greek, named "*the Seers*?" And, is it necessary we should hence say, how much weaker the body of man naturally is, than that of the Bear, the Lion, the Panther, and of many other animals? or, how quickly or easily he is deceived and overcome by those that attack him? Nevertheless, this diminutive (creature) will, whenever he pleases, subdue any of those already mentioned; not by bodily or corporeal [42](#) strength, for (in this respect) he is greatly the inferior, and is insufficient to fill the stomach of even one Bear. But there is a certain nature within him, more excellent than the body, the power of the mind, and of the intelligent soul. And it is by the superiority of wisdom that he effects these astonishing things. By means of these (things) hast thou, as a dear child, been honoured of God. Why (so) despisest thou thy greatness as to think, that this thy whole is (mere) flesh? and likenest this body, with the divine and rational knowledge which is within thee, to these irrational beings, the whole of which is perishable? Will then, neither the irrational nature of the animals, nor this common name *irrational*, nor (yet) the openly apparent useful servitude, under which these have never sought excuse from the bearing of burdens or of labour, suffice to persuade thee, (that all is thus) because God has given to thee the dominion and sovereignty over them all<sup>[47](#)</sup>?

**48.** Man alone therefore, of those that are on the earth,---he who is in the image of God, carries on and introduces (his matters) wherever he pleases: at one time, he trains the animals that are suited to the chase; at another, he pastures the flocks that are adapted to this: at another, he avails himself of the tame animals for (his) service; reducing (their) fierce nature to peaceable subjection: at another, having so reduced them, he brings them into peaceable proximity with himself: at another, having brought them together by the multifarious means of reason, he confines them to the house. And not (this) alone, but he will also take into his hands the injurious reptiles, and play with them: and of those that breathe out death, and reject instruction, will he make his sport.

**49.** Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is not to be persuaded to take up his residence in the caves that are in the deserts, or in the heights. He accordingly builds cities with walls, and adorns (these) with streets, palaces, mansions, and other edifices.

**50.** Man alone, of those that are on the earth, considers not of (his) provision after the unchangeable manner and [43](#) usages of the irrational animals. For these, destitute (as they are) of knowledge, avail themselves of the aid of nature alone, and receive their provision from the stem, unprepared by agriculture, and uncleansed from the weed. He however, by his knowledge cleanses (this); thus too does he pulverize, fully season, and make it well to pass the fire. Of the wheat also he will, whenever he pleases, make bread. He is moreover, careful so to provide, that a healthy provision of food may be secured. And every profitable commodity, either of the vine, the olive, or of the fruit tree of every flavour, does he appropriate; and these does he alone apply to the sanative uses of the body.

**51.** This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, has, by means of rule and reason, discovered that mode of life which is regular and orderly:---has become a leader of armies; has engaged in the public conflicts, and in the subsidiary arts: and these very many (things), pertaining to doctrine, has he, by his rational superiority, put forth.

**52.** This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, preserving (in himself) the model of excellence, has determined the measure, the weights, the extents, and several sorts, of justice. He too, distinguishes,---governing (all) by reason,---the things which should, and should not, be done: and (hence) he knows, how to give to every one, as it shall be right. The fishes however, the birds, and the animals, will devour one another: because no law (prevails) among them. But to men has (God) given justice, which is their supreme excellence, as says one of the poets<sup>[48](#)</sup>, (and) according to my opinion, extremely well. [44](#)

**53.** This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, evincing within himself the image of THE WORD OF GOD, erects on high a house of judgment; and, acting after the manner of God's just Judge<sup>49</sup>, duly determines (the award) of life and of death; apportioning life to some, and assigning death to others.

**54.** This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will confide his life to the small section of a tree<sup>50</sup>. He has also discovered the science of ship-building. He too will guide the ship on the back of the sea; will commit his person to the depths of the humid element, and beat back the death that stands at his side. He (alone) looks up to the heavens, and to that Governour of all, who binds together all distances, as to the safety of those who navigate (the seas).

**55.** Man alone, of those that are on the earth, has discovered the doctrines of astronomy: has, while moving below in the body, and clothed with the weight of mortality, ascended up in his mind on high; and, making the circuit of the sun, the moon, and the stars, foretells<sup>1</sup> what shall come to pass, as he also does the eclipses of the moon, the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the changes of times. [145](#)

**56.** Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is viewed (as) the assistant of nature; has discovered the means of healing; and has, by his understanding, applied (to this) the powers of roots, and of drugs, with their combination and mixture by weight and due proportion. He too has become skilful in the healing of infirm bodies, and the helps of the life of man.

**57.** This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, not having arrived at the manner of life of the graminivorous (animals), has well applied (himself) to (the requirements of his own) nature. In the winter season he accordingly casts the seed into the earth; and, applying the sweat of his labour to agriculture, is repaid in the autumn with the fruits consequent upon his toil.

**58.** This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, collects together, by (his) rational knowledge, the doctrines relating to all (things); the science and composition of music, as well as (that of) investigation by discussion. He also proceeds on to the manner of life, and to the fame attendant on philosophy; and (thus) he hastens forward the love of that superiority, which is vested within him: availing himself, not of the bodily sense, but of the faculty of knowledge, and of the stimulating power of reason.

**59.** Man alone, of those that are on the earth, bears about him, by means of his memory, the histories of things done in former times; converses with those who are (now) no more, as with those who are at hand: examines the opinions of the wise who have existed at any period; and from these, rather than from those who are his contemporaries, does he receive profit. And (thus) by the faculty of reason,----cognate with that of thought,----does he exist with those who have long ceased to be.

**60.** This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, duly regulates the voice of the chant, by the divisions [146](#) of the chord. He also has divided the primary letters (of the alphabet) by the grammatical art, and has discovered the powers and province of reason. He too, has determined the combination of verbs and of nouns, as well as the precepts of rhetoric and grammar. All these moreover, does he bring together, preserve in his memory, and bring forward, as stores filled with every sort of treasure. In one mind too, does he comprehend both the events and histories of former times; and these will he bring forth whenever he pleases, as a river from an unfailing source, and inundate (therewith) the hearing of all present.

**61.** Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is, in his works, like unto God who is over all. Any thing which he pleases will he form into animals; even this inanimate matter will he change into the form, figure, and fashion, of every sort of creature. By means of this instructive nature, (and) the reasoning faculty, will he set about emulating (even) the Maker of all things; and man will make man, at one time in stone; at another, in wood; at another, in flowers of (many) colours; as well as in the forms that are impervious to change: and (indeed) every sort of animal and of plant, will he, by the same means, imitate: shewing forth fully, by his works, the power (vested within him) of the image of God.

**62.** This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will imitate on the earth whereon he walks, the celestial sphere, and will engrave on the matter of brass the likeness of the very heavens, and on this will he impress a copy of the stars, both wandering and fixed. He will also appoint, by the modeller's art, the limits both of times and of seasons; and will surround the exterior (of his sphere) with the images of (various) animals. By the abundance of (his) knowledge moreover, and the means of (many) observations, will he imitate the heavenly sphere; and,----like God,----will allow the heavens whose revolutions [47](#) are above the earth, and with the universal whole,---- and whose revolving is an unceasing miracle,----to revolve with the things that are on the earth, (in) the similitude which is of earthly material. The angel of the seasons too, will shout (as it were) with a loud voice, and all, at once and in a moment, are in motion; the doors, too, at the coming in of the seasons<sup>[51](#)</sup>, throw themselves open (as it were) of their own accord, and the inanimate images of the birds, placed round about it (the sphere), speak out in chirpings<sup>[52](#)</sup>. The moon also which is on the earth, runs its course with that in the heavens; and the (mere) brass of itself, changes its fashions, after the manner of the moon; shewing itself now dichotomized, now on the wane, and now in its full light. Thus the images of the seasons follow the analogy of those in nature, and the human-made world contends with (that of) the workmanship of THE WORD OF GOD!

**63.** Man alone, of those that are on the earth, can, by means of words not to be uttered, of prayers acceptable to God, and by virtue of the fear of God, (evinced) both in word and life, drive far away the invisible nature of concealed demons<sup>[53](#)</sup>. But further, when he had even departed [48](#) from the right way, he could effect all this by a power, such as would, by songs and incantations, subject the kind of these which flies in the air; and, again, would seize, by means of force, and the appetencies restrictive<sup>[54](#)</sup> of nature, those unembodied powers which fly over any part of the earth, just as they would the flying sparrows. He would lead on, or bind, (these), whenever he chose: and, sitting upon the images of fabricated gods, would shew by these his doings, that his own power was far superior to that of the fabricated deity of such.

**64.** Man alone shews of what kind the superiority of (his) intellectual and incorporeal being is, and establishes (the fact) that (this) his power is impervious either to subjugation or deterioration by calamity. For, he will prepare his body for the fire, the sword, the fierce beasts, (and) the depths of the sea; and he will approach every species of torment. He knows too, this his nature, that it is perishable and fleeting, transient and dissoluble. But that which resides within, is unyielding; and, that this is different from that which perishes, he proved who cried [49](#) out, "Bruise, bruise the form<sup>[55](#)</sup>; but me thou wilt not bruise." And again another, proclaiming with freedom of speech: " Burn or roast the body, and be satisfied with me when thou hast drunk my blackened blood; but, before the stars descend to the earth, and the earth ascends to the heavens, I will present to thee no one conciliating perturbed expression." One of the friends of God moreover, when suffering evils, put forth these words: " *What shall separate me from the love of God? (shall) tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or hunger, [50](#) or nakedness, or cold, or the sword [56](#)?*" I myself too have seen, in these times, some whose eyes were digged out; others, who were deprived of their legs by the cautery; and others who were crucified; their whole bodies hastening to dissolution, and their mortal nature subject to rebuke; while the conscious mind residing within them, attached to God, was immoveable, impervious to subjection, and unyielding to these hardships<sup>3</sup>; clearly proving to those of sound minds, that their faculty of excellence was a thing altogether different from that which was perishable.

**65.** This alone, of the animals that are on the earth, partaking of the divine inbreathing<sup>[57](#)</sup>, is worthy of the favour<sup>[57](#)</sup> of the Deity. He too, will hold converse with the Angels of God, and will apprehend the foreknowledge of things to come to pass; at one time, by means of dreams; at another, when so invested by the power of God with the Spirit, that he will even enounce the prophecy of things future;

and, by the manifestation of deeds such as these, he will confirm (the fact of) his fellowship with Deity.

**66.** This (animal) alone recognizes in every thing, something greater and more excellent than any that is visible;---Him who is invisible to the eyes, and imperceptible to the touch, as well as to every faculty of bodily sense; but is visible to the mind and understanding alone. Him does he, by His (special) teaching, and the learning of which his nature is capable, confess; and Him does he call God: to Him also does he render praise; and shews, by means of this (his) knowledge, his relationship with the Deity.

**67.** This (being) alone has arisen (to be) the spectator of the great works of THE WORD OF GOD, and is [51](#) fitted to worship his Father---Him (I say) who is higher than the heavens,---with the praises which are proper for the Deity; and to be assimilated to the company of the Angels in heaven. Because to him alone, of the animals that are on the earth, has this superiority been assigned. By means of this he recognizes, from the mind of his nature, Him who is the cause of every good; and is enjoined to render, as the return due to a Father, the praises of thanksgiving and blessing which are becoming.

**68.** The testimonies to all these things, does that word of the doctrine and erudition which is divine, confirm: (viz.) that of this undying nature, and equal of the citizens that are in heaven, is this (being) alone of those that are on the earth; this intelligent and rational essence (I say) which is in man: and, that he is the dear child of THE DIVINE WORD, the common Saviour of all; and that in his nature, he agrees both as to image and form with (this) his Father.

**69.** For if this rational animal,---this, who has become partaker in all this superiority; this, which alone of those that are on the earth, is in the image of God; this Brother of the divine hosts, and of the Angels, which are in heaven,---had been duly led by his nature, and had from ancient time adhered to the divine law; he would indeed have been freed from this earthly and corruptible (mode of) life<sup>4</sup>, and would have continued in his conversation on earth, as in a state of migration. Had he first (of all) studied divine things (only), he would indeed have effected his departure hence to those things which belonged to him; and would have been registered (as) among those that were perfect, apart from this his state of defect, and of infantine constitution. Thus therefore has man, of necessity, put on a corruptible and dissoluble body, (and this) through the mercy of his Father, that calamity may not be his permanent lot, and that he may not be tied interminably to corruption. Soon therefore, shall this corruptible be [52](#) dissolved, and shall receive a participation with those who are incorruptible. For, just as that which is conceived in the womb, puts on the clothing of its locality; and the infant to be born, when the period of its destined months has arrived, casts this off, and accordingly comes forth into the light, inhales the purer air, and henceforward is considered as of the nature of man; so also is this perfectible species, (as) believed to be among men, (and as) opposed to the (still) superior one,---a mere infant, and as yet a foetus (only) conceived on earth,--- clothed in this corruptible skin; which, by the mercy of the great gift of God, it is necessary it should cast off, in order that it should not be for ever harassed with these defective things, but should, in due time, go forth into the light, and pass on to the life, which is impervious to corruption. On this account, well have the companies of the wise, the attached to God, pressed (as) they have been by a participation in these corruptible bodies, desired their change for the better, and followed after their equals, the children of their city which is above, even as he was (circumstanced) who said in the divine word, "*Wretched*<sup>[58](#)</sup> *man that I am! Who shall deliver me from this body of death?*" And again, "*Even*<sup>[59](#)</sup> *if we live in the body, still we labour not in the flesh.*" He adduces his reason too, and says, "*For our labour* (of culture) *is in heaven*<sup>[60](#)</sup>; *and we*<sup>[61](#)</sup> *draw near to the city of the living God which is in heaven, and to the assembly of myriads of angels, and to the church of the firstborn who are written in heaven.*"---These are the words of a notable man, and of (all) those who love God.

**70.** If however, many are so foolish as to be attached to the lusts that are here, that they are to the



present time but infants in intellect; What has this to do with right reason? For, that which is conceived in the womb, exults in this its usual locality, fears its departure from it, and lest it should be extracted from internal [53](#) darkness, and weeps when it comes forth to the light. Still even these, did but those things which happen to their natural birth duly take place with them, would come forth from darkness to light, well and elegantly born. Thus would they, at the due time and season, be brought forth, (each) receive the natural air and breath, and bear about him the healthy vigour of man. Thus would (each) be delighted with the provisions of the breast, and of infancy; then be placed under the hands of a nurse, and be delivered over to instructors, teachers, and doctors, until he came forth a man complete. Thus too would he pass a virtuous and honourable life, great in wealth, in the abundance of possessions, in power, rule, and the other stages (of distinction), in the increase of (all) those things which result from a happy birth; of those which multiply by means of instruction, and of those other innumerable things, which conduce to the experience of a happy life.

**71.** But, if any unnatural contortion should happen to that which is conceived in the womb, so that it affect such an one at his coming forth in birth; What need can there be for my saying, that the infant was distorted within (the womb)? and refused to come forth to the light? and that it must suffer,----by the iron instruments prepared for parturition, which shall violently and painfully be placed upon it,----the revulsion which is also unnatural? Nor would it be worthy even of the one birth,----even of the life of man,----or of the things belonging to this: but, on the contrary, that it should go forth from darkness to darkness, and not only be deprived of the life of man, but also of the name.

**72.** As are these things, so is he who passes the life which is human on earth, differing in nothing from the irrational and ignorant infant, or, from that [54](#) which is yet, but a foetus in the womb. Nor can he be compared with those bodies which are without, the Angels and Divine spirits. He is even (as) an ignorant child; and, because of the excess of his childishness, he exults in the clothing of the body which is about him; loves the womb his (place of concealment), and knows not the locality which surrounds him, where murder, darkness, and (all) the other species of mishap, feed, as it were, in the pastures of wickedness. One of the ancients says,----when shewing that the air, which is on the earth, is humid and unclear,----that "*it consists of many compounds, (resulting) from the innumerable vapours which (arise) from the earth*"[62](#)." One would think too that (man were such), although as an infant good. Nevertheless, if he pass the present life as it is becoming to his nature, and evince accordingly the conduct which is suitable to its law, "*that he think not beyond the measure of his stature,*" nor spurn the nature which has borne him as a mother; nor again, remain ignorant of his Father, but recognize his Father who is in heaven, the common Saviour of all, and render to him the service of thanksgiving, because he has made him to partake in the things which are good;----be brought up in the instruction of righteousness, and previously study in his conversation which is on the earth, the life of heaven; well shall such an one, when he shall depart this mortal life, and shall put off the body, have the Angels of God for his obstetricators;----when he is to be born to the life to come, then shall both the good Powers receive him as the nurse, and the Divine assemblies teach him; that WORD OF GOD too, that teacher of the conversation which is in heaven, shall lead him on, as a dear child, to the completion of every thing that is good, and shall instruct him in the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven. And, when He shall have made him complete and wise, He shall give him up to His Father, the King of all: and shall clothe him, both in body and soul which are (now) incorruptible, with a vesture of light exceeding description. [55](#) So that henceforth, he shall be even for the common advantage of all. Such is the last state of such an one.---- But he who exults against the course of his nature, participates in the perversion which is not good, and despises the earth, the mother that bore him; and again, impiously recognizes not THE WORD OF GOD, the common Saviour of all, but subscribes to a multitude of fathers who have no existence, instead of that one who is; and calls those gods which never had any being, instead of that one who alone is true; and again, wholly plunges in pursuit of the things of this moist, humid and corruptible being, into the filthy and lawless lusts; and this not as the infant, involuntarily; but

willingly, and of his free counsel, chooses to himself these vices, and so acts; his latter state shall clearly be but the counterpart of that pointed out by the example (above given). For no happy countenance, or smiling of good Angels, shall greet him; nor, when he goes forth into light, shall the Divine Powers receive him as fosterfathers. On the contrary, endeavouring in his extreme state to escape egress, and to hide himself within, in the concealment of the body and members:---when the dissolution of the body draws near, and he would assume the perversion which is out of nature;---(then) shall those who are appointed to this, forcibly attach themselves to him, and drag him forth. Then too, after his departure hence,---his miserable soul being reduced to sighing and lamentation,---shall he not have the light and life which is good, for his receptacle; but, on the contrary, darkness and the place of corruption. The judgment of God moreover, shall consign him (thus) impure and unclean, as filthy and abominable to the purification<sup>63</sup> and punishment which is by fire: because he would not be instructed by THE WORD (or Reason), nor <sup>56</sup> adhere to the Divine law, when it was in his power to do so.

**73.** He therefore, who, in the example (above) was, as an infant conceived in the womb, in every thing so defective, and in every respect so destitute of power, that hitherto he could make no use either of the thoughts of his soul, or the senses of his body;---that mind, indeed, which is hitherto but (as) an infant in man;---may well be said, by way as it were, of experimental comparison with those incorporeal and Divine rational (beings) that are in heaven, to be altogether a child. Even, if (such) were the wisest of men, or even more perfect than those that are on the earth; still he would, when compared in himself, with his (future) perfect state, be nothing better than an infant. For, what his state of excellence shall be when he arrives at manhood, it will be easy thus to shew:--- For if, when hitherto (as) an infant, and confined within this unyielding wall of earthly and corruptible being, he bears about him such a faculty of excellence, that he knows, not only the things that are on earth, and fabricates them by art, but also anticipates the life which is in heaven, <sup>57</sup> and becomes like to God himself; makes too, whenever he pleases, likenesses of the things in the heavens, and of those on the earth;---can do all these things, just as those which have already been recounted<sup>64</sup>:---these (I say), when immersed (as he is) in all this refuse of the body and blood; What then, ought we to suppose he will do, when he shall have proceeded to the perfect measure of man's estate, and shall have been liberated from these injurious bonds of corruption?---these humid and wasting properties of the body? and is made a partaker of the life which is incorruptible, and of a body which is impervious to death? For, if this seed alone of the reasoning faculty be thus all-able and powerful on earth, when as yet it is incapable of rendering the full return (of fruit), but has even been cast forth into the moist locality of the refuse of a corruptible body; it shall henceforth be able (fully) to know, of what sort the return of perfect fruit of this seed shall be as (sown) in the soul, when it shall have been made to partake of an adequate culture; shall have been removed hence, and have been planted in a superior locality, in land good and fertile; where that heavenly WORD, that Sower of all things, and Planter of every good thing, shall receive (back) his own seed, and shall, in the pastures of incorporeal and unembodied souls, as in the Paradise of them who love God, Himself water his own plant, shall nourish it to perfection, and make it arrive at the increase of goods innumerable.

**74.** You will perceive therefore, the greatness of the complete state of man's superiority, from his changes and increments here, if you will consider, that the infant just born is in no respect superior to the worm; that it cannot, after the manner of the irrational animal, even make use of the bodily senses. Nevertheless this defective, lame, infirm, and thoughtless being, will, when grown in his stature, arrive at all this change and variation in the course of time, --- will receive all this superiority, power, and beauty both of body and soul,---so, that should those who begat him see him, they could not distinguish whether this <sup>58</sup> were he, who was sown (by them) in the womb, and conceived in darkness:---whether this were he, who came forth out of (this) darkness, to be brought up with milk

and the swaddling bands; this,----who is now the man, who in wisdom and knowledge contemplates the whole world;---this, who subjugates every thing that is on the earth. And should any one by comparison, as it were, of the Divine faculty and of the Angels, and of the child just now born, place the complete man in the midst; he would not find a perfect equality as to the child, with respect to the perfect man; and of the perfect man, with respect to the superior power; but, the inferiority of the person of the child to the man, to be much greater, than is the inferiority of the man to the faculty of the Angels. For, the human infant lately born, cannot be compared in its being even with those irrational animals, which may just now be brought forth. But he, who has come out the perfect man, and is contemplated as the friend of God, will henceforward become a partaker in the divine Spirit, and will hold converse with the Angels: will arrive at a love and attachment to the conversation which is in heaven, and will previously prepare himself by purity of life, and the fear of God,----not (placed) at any great distance of limit,----for an equality with the Angels, and will be made a partaker both of (their) life, and superiority: which the Divine Word also shewed, when it said, "*What<sup>65</sup> is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels: with honour and glory hast thou crowned him.*" is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels: with honour and glory hast thou crowned him."

**75.** If then the child, when brought up to the (full) stature of his nature, and supplied with the provision and instruction proper for it, receives all this change and variety;----and no one can disbelieve (this) his change, on account of the openness of the experiment;---- Why need we wonder, if even this perfectible mind which is in man, such as it is when still in <sup>[59]</sup> childhood, with respect to its more complete and perfect growth, should, when it comes forth to the full growth of its stature, be in dignity as the Angels? We do see however, that the nature of man undergoes dissolution by death. But, What of this? Is it not that we are the more convinced by it, that the soul is immortal? For if, when immersed in a corruptible and mortal body, it evince all this force of superiority, which we have already shewn; How shall it not, when it shall have separated itself from its participation in corruption, and shall have laid down mortality as a bandage, then act in its own power, in a manner less impeded than it now does? Do you not perceive, that so long as it entertains an attachment to the body<sup>66</sup>, it thence acts basely? But, if it refuse participation (with the body), it (then) subsists within itself. And hence, is its essence clearly known to be incorporeal. For, How can that which is opposed to the body, be of (its) nature? The thoughts too of the soul are healthy, so long as the bodily passions are infirm, but the same will be dark and obscure when the body labours under the lusts. Hence, so long as the soul is infatuated, its whole attachment will be to the body; and, when attached to the body, it will be shorn of its excellence. When however, it becomes strong in opposition to the body, and flies from the lustful passions, it (then) becomes wise; and, when it has become wise, it turns away its face from a participation in mortality, and forthwith gives up itself to the knowledge which is pure, and, in a small degree, withdraws itself from the stimulating nature of the body. When moreover, it is powerful with respect to the riches which are its own, it (then) happily becomes more abundantly enlightened, directed, and stirred up. Then too, will it partake in knowledge, wisdom, and every sort of excellence, when it has ceased to countenance the motions of the bodily passions. And, so long as it counts upon (this) <sup>[60]</sup> excellence, it deigns not to draw near with the eyes of the body; nor will it act by any other of its senses. When moreover, it (thus) vigorously shuts itself up, carries itself within, and withdraws to a distance from the things which affect the senses, and are visible; and (when) near only to the body, still turns with the eye of the soul to another quarter, and is itself united with itself; then again, will it avail itself of the mind that is enlightened, and of the recollection which is pure; and will put forth, and nourish for itself, the reason which is imperturbed: and (thus) will every reasoning power exert itself without controul. But, should any of the things which are hurtful suddenly happen to the body, so that a mote should injure the sight of the eyes<sup>67</sup>; immediately would the sight of the soul be disturbed: and, should remissness be given to

the body, and the soul partake in the drunkenness, gluttony, lusts, and the rest of its pleasures; (thus) reduced in itself to vice---the corruptible body too domineering over it like a wild and fierce beast, and itself remaining below (as it were) in the depths,----will be filled with error, folly, and every sort of infatuation. What necessity then is there, that we should fear death, which is (only) the determination of the freedom of the soul from the body<sup>68</sup>? And, for What (purpose) is the laying down of that which is faulty? Is it not for receiving the aid of that, which is more excellent? and, that we should confess the lives of those who loved God, then to be in truth, holy and happy, when nothing of an adverse nature shall controul them? If then, while this rational nature continues in this locality,----and resides in this vessel (as it were) on the earth, clothed with a dense and earthly body, not unlike some earthen<sup>69</sup> vessel, <sup>61</sup> (and) wholly compressed within this its vesture,----it be such that it will mount on high in thought, will mortify the members of the body together with their lusts, by means of patience, and the restraint of the desires; will be hastened, and hastening on, to the life of those that are incorporeal; will separate and deliver itself at all times, by the precepts of wisdom from an admixture with that which is vile; and will ever delight itself beforehand (with the thoughts) that it shall soon submit to death:----if indeed (such) be, at any time, released from the bonds and agitation of wing (common to) the cares and anxieties that are here, and thus fly away in his departure, and change the place on earth, and meet with that which he loved:---- how he will then be circumstanced, ask not. For, when he shall receive his body, and shall have changed his nature from corruption to incorruption; his shall be a conversation which is equal to that of the Angels in heaven: in the semblance of light, and of the sun-beam, shall he be; and of the form, in which even the Angels of God live; and, as reason with probability holds, he shall partake at once in their superiority and immortality<sup>70</sup>.

**76.** For, just as the form (assigned) to the seed which falls upon the earth, is given for many: the WORD, which is called the seed, now secretly exerting itself within the same seed, but silently after the manner of a spark confined within some dense body;----and (as) this same seed, when it shall fall to the earth, and its dense clothing which encircles <sup>62</sup> it from without shall dissolve through corruption;---- then will it shew itself to be lively (vigorous), put in motion the power that is vested within it, and take of the material which is beneath it: then too will it begin to act, and assume its lively (energetic) nature: its old dense clothing, which is without, will it also cast off, and put on the new, which is greatly its superior;----

**77.** So also is the nature of the rational faculty, which is in man, (circumstanced), that it is now bound up in a corruptible body, and of its own power acts but feebly. But, should it be freed from the corruption which surrounds it, and receive (as a possession) the locality which is in heaven, and henceforth be sown and planted (as it were) in the society which (is far) beyond it, and be fitted for the clothing of heaven and of the Angels;----of what sort it shall be, when it shall partake of the life that is pure, and shall be freed from a participation in mortality, it is neither becoming in me, nor necessary for me, to say: for this will be obvious to all who can see, from the example (given). For the whole of the wheat (seed) is not subject to corruption: it is only the part that is without which perishes, when it falls to the earth: while that concealed WORD and living power which is within it, lives and remains; and the excellence which is of this is such, that it will give forth vigorous corn-ears. Of plants too, the same is the WORD (invigorating cause), and so it is with every sort of seed. And, Shall man alone be wholly and in every thing subject to corruption, when released by death<sup>71</sup>? And, Shall the clothing which is without, at once and together with that WORD which resides within him, cede to corruption? And, as to the knowledge which is incorporeal,----that which partakes in all these powers; that, which on account of its superiority, is likened to God himself;----Shall it not be (considered) even as one of those seeds which fall to the earth? or rather greatly (their) superior? for it is not the beard, nor yet the blade, but those mature and fat corn-ears of his superiority, which he shall give forth. Then, when he shall be taken away <sup>63</sup> from the corruption which is of the earth, and shall have been delivered as from bonds,

and shall not imprudently have bartered the conversation which is in heaven, for that on the earth; and, when he shall be at the side of God; (then) shall he in truth render as the Angels do, the fruits which are acceptable to God: those (I say), the seed and power of which he possessed from ancient times in a mortal body, and contained as it were in an oven<sup>72</sup>.

**78.** All these things having been said for the purpose of shewing, that the essence which is in man is intelligent and rational; let us now proceed in our discourse to those consequent upon them. Had man then, brought up as he is in the conversation that is on earth, (but) known his own greatness, and continued careful of the teaching which is of God; there could have no impediment happened to him, that when taken hence, he should not delight himself in a conversation like that of the Angels, and take part in the life which is in the kingdom of his Father who is in heaven. But, because it is not one man, nor two, nor is the multitude small;---on the contrary, it is the whole rational family on earth which has received the power to govern self---(and) because his nature, which has received the seed of the kingdom from the DIVINE WORD the King, is free; (nevertheless) he has not well availed himself of his power; but has, by means of the subsidiary arts, laboured in all vain glory, <sup>[64]</sup> after those other things, which impel men to the bodily desires, and are advantageous to life; has become skilful in agriculture, in the building of ships, in merchandise, and in the purchasing of possessions: nor (this) only, but he has also become great from every quarter, in the abundant increase of the wealth which puts forth no zeal against any kind of lust. All these things however, which conduce to the salvation of the soul, and to that life of righteousness which is well-pleasing to God; all these, (I say,) has he annihilated in his mind from their very roots; has disregarded his own excellency, and that of the race of his brethren who are in heaven, and has honoured, through the freedom of his will, those abominable bodily lusts, more than (this) his own greatness: of the righteousness of his Father who is in heaven, and of His praise, he has also been unmindful. These irrational itchings and delusions of childhood has he chosen: these which the fools of childhood usually do, who fly from the instruction and careful training of those who would enlarge their minds; extravagantly to honour the things which are sweet for the present, but which corrupt at once both the body and soul; and to hunt out for themselves the error and foolish knowledge of that voluptuousness, which is too vain to be conceived. All mankind being then, thus (circumstanced), the Increment of wickedness, that envious (being), the hater of every good, and deceiver as to every thing lovely, in conjunction with the wicked Demons, became their waylayer: this same, in his wicked zeal, prepared the nets, and snares, and riches,---the abundant means of every sort (of sin,)---against the salvation of all; and so drove them down from above into the depths of evil, that none on earth could see, but transgressed the law of their nature: and (thus), the germ of wickedness, instead of the seed of excellence, sprung up within them; and he that was more peaceful, more wise, and more rational, than all that were on the earth, so fell into the last stage of brutality and irrationality, that one of those beloved of God <sup>[65]</sup> wept over this overthrow of their fall, and cried out saying; "*Man understood not his own honour; but was given up to be as the brute*<sup>73</sup>, *and became assimilated to it.*"

**79.** On these accounts therefore, a mighty Saviour, greater than any son of man, was evidently needful to them. And such is He who anxiously undertook to provide for all, THE WORD OF GOD: He who has, like a good and loving Father, shewn by deeds His providential care over the rational souls that are on the earth; and who hastened, in the mission of Himself, to the call, and for the healing, of those who were thus fallen and perishing.

*The End of the First Discussion (Book) of (Eusebius) of Caesarea.*



1. <sup>2</sup> "Cujus sententiae," says Lactantius, de falsa religione, Lib. i. cap. ii., "auctor est Democritus, confirmator Epicurus, sed et antea Protagoras, qui Deos in dubium vocavit; et postea Diagoras, qui exclusit," &c. These are the Atheists, ἀθεοὶ, of the ancients, on whom some excellent remarks from Plato's xth Book of Laws will be found quoted, Pref. Evang. Lib. xii. cap. 1. p. 621. Edit. 1628. ---- But more on this subject when we come to our second Book. It does not appear that this exclusion took place, except at the celebration of the Lord's supper.
2. <sup>1</sup> This argument is also used by Athenagoras. Legat. pro Christ. p. 60. seq. and by Theodoret in the place just cited.
3. <sup>2</sup> Alluding to Isai. xl. 12. Theodoret's comment on the place is, [Greek]: "nihil enim otiosum, nihil redundans, in lucem productum est." The Mohammedans----who borrowed most of their early notions from the Christians, (see my Persian Controversies, p. 124. seq.),----tell us, moreover, that the mountains are placed as studs on the earth, for the purpose of giving it stability, and of restraining one part from moving off to another. See M. de Sacy's Notes on the Pandnamah of Attar, p. 35. sen. Some beautiful remarks on this subject generally, will be found in Theophilus of Antioch, addressed to Autolycus, near the beginning. Among our own writers, Paley, Tucker on the Light of Nature, and the authors of the Bridgewater Treatises, will be read with interest.
4. <sup>5</sup> Not unlike this, our Author in his "Oratio de laudibus Constantini," cap. vii. p. 512. D. Edit. 1695: and particularly cap. xi. p. 524. A. seq. which is identical with it.
5. <sup>6</sup> It is common with our Author to consider Christ as the Maker of the World, and Father of the intelligent creature man.
6. <sup>1</sup> Syr. [Syriac] which is an error, for [Syriac]. And here I may inform the reader, that where I have supposed an error to exist in the Syriac text, I have generally proposed its emendation in brackets thus [].
7. <sup>2</sup> See Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. p. 524. C. D. from which our text slightly differs.
8. <sup>3</sup> Imitated apparently by Theodoret,----Graec. affect. curat. Edit. Gaisford, p. 183, &c.:----who, it may be remarked, is a very constant imitator of our Author.
9. <sup>4</sup> The Greek text (I.e.) of the Orat. de laudd. Constant, (p. 525. A.) has no term corresponding to this. Syr. [Syriac].
10. <sup>1</sup> Alluding to 1 Tim. vi. 16.
11. <sup>2</sup> Our Author argues in his tract against Marcellus, pp. 8, 9, that even before the incarnation, Christ was a Mediator between God and the angels, and this he grounds on Gal. iii. 19,----"*ordained by angels in the hand of a Mediator.*" His words are: "[Greek]." He has misunderstood the Scripture here.
12. <sup>3</sup> This sentence is not found in the Greek, Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. p. 525. B. See the note of Valesius on this place. It is, however, in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. vi. p. 155.
13. <sup>6</sup> Alluding to Job xxxvii. 7. See my Translation and Notes.
14. <sup>9</sup> Alluding to Job xxxviii. 10.
15. <sup>1</sup> It is evident, from what follows here, that the sea-water is meant: for, in no other case, can we suppose the water spoken of to be changed into sweetness. Syr. [Syriac] This argument is also beautifully and powerfully urged by Theodoret. Serm. de Provid. i. Tom. iv. p. 330. C.

16. <sup>10</sup> By this is meant, that all is OF the Father as the great source of Divinity; but is BY the Son as the Creator, Upholder, and Governour of all things.
17. <sup>5</sup> So Didymus on the Holy Spirit, as preserved in the works of Jerome: " Bonus Dominus uoster Jesus Christus ex bono Patre generatus est."
18. <sup>2</sup> This place may be adduced to shew how literal our Syrian translator has endeavoured to be, and how very greatly he has distorted the order of his Syriac, in order to suit it to that of his Greek original. The Syriac stands thus: [Syriac]. Than which nothing can be more preposterous. The Greek is this: [Greek] Which is not a bad specimen of Eusebius's want of simplicity. ---- This argument is also given in the Demonst. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 150. D. seq.
19. <sup>5</sup> Anaxagoras imagined that the origin of all things consisted of *similar* parts. (Plutarch, p. 876. Vol. ii. Edit. 1620.). His theory is manifestly taken from the Bible. He says, [Greek] *All things were* (confused) *together*: but MIND *divided and adorned them*: i. e. the " *Spirit*" of the Bible. Zeno too, according to Aristotle, argued thus, (cited at § 30. infra.)
20. <sup>3</sup> It may perhaps be supposed that our author shews his Arian propensity here. But the same might be said of Justin Martyr, and, indeed, of the Fathers generally, if this were allowed. See Whitby on Eph. iv. 6. and the note on Book ii. sect. 3. below.
21. <sup>1</sup> There is much reasoning of this sort in Aristotle's Tract on Xenophanes, Zeno, and Gorgias; and which cannot but be read with interest here, particularly the part on Zeno. See also Diog. Laert. Life of Plato near the end. This same argument is also urged by Lac-tantius, Lib. i. cap. iii. A little lower down, cap. v., he shews how some of the greatest poets and philosophers taught, that ONE supreme God formed and governed all things. Among the poets, Orpheus, Virgil, Ovid, &c.: among the philosophers, Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Antisthenes, &c. See also Prep. Evan. Lib. ix. capp. ix.----xiii. Ib. Lib. in. capp. ix. xii. xiii. &c.
22. <sup>7</sup> Alluding to Ps. xix. 4----6.
23. <sup>2</sup> Our Greek (Orat. de laudd. Constant.) leaves us here, and does not join us again till we come to Book 11. Sect. 3.
24. <sup>3</sup> Syr. [Syriac], a paraphrase for *Theologian*: a title very applicable to St John, who spoke much of the Lo&goj tou~ Qeou~.
25. <sup>4</sup> John i. 10. with the Peschito.
26. <sup>6</sup> Alluding to the reasoning of Plato, see Book ii. § 33. seq.
27. <sup>7</sup> See the Note to sect. 41. below.
28. <sup>8</sup> So also Aristotle, Lib. de Juventute et Senectute, cap. ii. "Necesse autem est, ut anima vegetatrix in haben-tibus, actu simplex unaque sit, potentia multiplex ac plures."
29. <sup>2</sup> Our Author knew how to accommodate his reasoning to the class of readers whom he was addressing, who were the classical scholars of his day.----Homer's councils of the Gods gave the first outline perhaps of the sketch given here: so Ovid----

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The Stoics in like manner affirm, that the world is a sort of city, consisting both of Gods and men: the Gods being the rulers, men the subjects, &c. [Greek]. From the epitome of Arius Didymus. Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xv. so also Philo, ib. Lib. xiii. cap. xviii. Ed. Viger. p. 704. making the heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, &c. a sort of ministry to the whole. A passage similar to this is also to be found in the Oration of our Author, "de laudibus Constantini," cap. i. near the beginning. The most complete discussion on this subject is, perhaps, cap. vi. of Aristotle's Liber de mundo. See also Plato's *heavenly earth*. Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxxvii.

30. <sup>3</sup> This passage has been introduced into the Oratio de laudd. Constant. cap. i. p. 409. C. D. And, as it is extraordinary, and not very clear, I give both the Syriac and Greek of it: [Syriac, Greek] Matt, xxvii. 51. &c. The place is apparently an imitation of Job xxvi. 9. See my Translation and Notes, and the Greek of the LXX.

31. <sup>2</sup> Much to the same effect though not so full, Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 704. who compares the all-pervading power of Christ to that of a magnet acting upon a series of iron rings, and affecting at once both the least and the greatest.

32. <sup>3</sup> The Syriac is ambiguous here [Syriac], which may mean, either as given in the text, or, *as being made by its Father, who is the Word of God*: ascribing the creation of all, as is frequently the case in this work, to Christ. I think the former, however, more likely to be the true meaning.

33. <sup>1</sup> To the same effect, our Author in his work against Marcellus, Lib. i. cap. i. p. 4. C. seq.

34. <sup>2</sup> Col. i. 15.

35. <sup>3</sup> Syr. lit. who have assimilated to themselves the Image of fraudulent rule. [Syriac], which is only a peculiar way of making the comparison: the Person meant is Satan, as opposed to Christ.

36. <sup>4</sup> The Syriac is peculiar here, and stands thus: [Syriac]: a practice common to many of the early heretics.

37. <sup>6</sup> Alluding to Rom. i. 25.

38. <sup>1</sup> Cited from the cxlviii<sup>th</sup> Psalm, with a few variations from the text of the Peschito.

39. <sup>1</sup> Syr. [Syriac], lit. In the Stadia: i. e. places appointed for racing. The aether has been usually supposed to constitute that portion of the upper regions which approximates to that of the fixed stars: by some it has been thought to consist of fire, by others of a very subtile fluid. Aristotle's opinion may perhaps, be taken here as the most authoritative. He says, then, (Lib. de Mundo, cap. ii.), [Greek] "Coeli porro siderumque substantiam appellamus setherem: non quidem ideo quod ignita flagret ipsa, ut aliqui censuerunt, plurimum utique aberrantes circa potentiam illam maxime ab ignea natura abhorrentem: origine vero hujus vocabuli inde ducta, quod semper aether currat motu circumductili: cum sit illud elementum a quatuor illis diversum: tum divinum, tum interitus expers."

40. <sup>1</sup> Gen. i. 27, 1 Cor. xi. 7. The argument shewing that revealed religion is much more ancient than the vanities of idolatry is admirably prosecuted in the Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. iv. Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. I. p. 302. A. seq.

41. <sup>3</sup> Syr. [Syriac], lit, *in the doctrine of their mind*: which, as it is intended to be opposed to image worship, seems to me to imply doctrine mentally received and applied.

42. <sup>1</sup> This expression will be understood, when it is considered that the ancients supposed the heavens



to consist of sphere upon sphere, encircling each other, like the coats of an onion.

43. <sup>3</sup> " Shares with his lord the pleasure and the rifle."----POPE. This argument is similarly urged by Plutarch, (De Fortuna,) p. 98. Edit. 1620.) [Greek, Latin]

44. <sup>1</sup> Ps. viii. 5. varying in some respects from the text of the Peschito.

45. <sup>3</sup> Gen. ii. 7.

46. <sup>2</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. Similar, though not identical, sentiments will be found in extracts given by Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. v. p. 492. Edit. 1029; by Theodoret, Gr. Affect, curat. Serm, i. p. 477. Edit. 1642. Ib. Edit. Gaisford, p. 193. The nearest is, perhaps, to be found in a Fragment of Menander preserved by Plutarch, (De consolat. ad Apoll. p. 103. Edit. 1620.)

..... "a0sqene/staton ga\_r o2n ( zw~|on )  
Fu&sei."  
....."cum sit infirmissimum (animal)  
Natura."

Another not unlike it is (ib. p. 104) cited from Homer:

" Ou\_de\ n a0kidno&teron gai~a tre/fei a0nqrwpo&io ."  
" Nil homine in terris infirmius aetheris aura vescitur."

47. <sup>1</sup> Matter, in some respects similar to this, will be found in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. Cap. v. p. 509. B. seq. and Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxviii. p. 556. seq.

48. <sup>3</sup> There is a passage in Plutarch very nearly allied to this, who probably has in view the same poet (Pindar), it is as follows: [Greek] "Medicinam enim animae, quae Justitia cognominatur, omnium esse artium maximam, praeter sexcentos alios etiam Pindarus testatur, principem et dominum omnium deum appellans Aristotechnam, id est, artificum praestantissimum: quippe justitiae administratorem, quae jus habet determinandi quando, quomodo, et quatenus quilibet malorum sit puniendus." It is not improbable, I think, that our author had this place in his eye when he wrote the above paragraph. Clemens Alexand. also cites the place in Pindar, Strom. Lib. v. p. 598. B. but in a different sense. Plutarch, de his qui sero, &c. ib. p. 550. A.

49. <sup>1</sup> That is, considering Christ as appointed the final Judge of all, man here acts like him.

50. <sup>2</sup> i. e. the section of a tree formed into a boat, as was much the case in former times. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 35. A.

51. <sup>2</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. lit. *hours*, a literal translation, in all probability, of the Greek w[rai, signifying *seasons*.

52. <sup>3</sup> One would think from this, that the ancient Astrolabes were furnished with an apparatus for the purpose of exhibiting animated nature, while they presented the places and groups of the stars; not unlike, perhaps, our modern Orreries, supposing them accompanied by a sort of cuckoo-clock. Lactantius thus describes the sphere of Archimedes, Lib. n. cap. v. p. 115. Ed. 1698. "An Archimedes sculus concave sere similitudinem mundi ac figuram potuit machinari, in quo ita solem, ac lunam composuit, ut inaequales motus et coelestibus similes, conversionibus singulis quasi diebus efficerent: et non modo accessus solis, et recessus, vel incrementa, diminutionesque lunae, vel etiam stellarum, vel inerrantium vel vagarum, dispaes cursus, orbis ille dum vertitur exhiberet," &c. According to the

Greeks the sphere was invented by Anaximander: Diog. Laert. in the life of this philosopher.

53. <sup>4</sup> So Porphyry, Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. [Greek] "Qui...nec oculis, nec alio quovis humano sensu attingi omnino possunt." Eusebius, perhaps, first alludes here to the practice of Exorcism, as had recourse to in the primitive Church: see Suiceri Thesaurus, sub voce, *Exorcismo* -- There was moreover, a very general belief that a sort of magic virtue consisted in the pronunciation of certain words. Origen (contra Cels. Lib. v. pp. 261----2) tells us that any name, or word, having effect in incantations, if changed or translated into any other language, immediately lost its whole magical efficacy. His instances are, *The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*: the names *Israel, Adonai, Sabaoth*, &c. Nor does he restrict these usages to the professors of the true religion. See also ib. p. 374, and Spencer's very curious note on pp. 17. C. 41: notes, p. 16----19, where we have every thing we can require on this subject.

54. <sup>1</sup> This is perhaps, an instance of *hypallage*, as occasionally met with in the Scriptures (see the note to §. 57 above.) So Rom. vii. 24. [Greek] Syr. [Syriac]. Here, the [Syriac], *by the desires of the bonds* (the lusts) *of nature*. Our author probably means, (by hypallage) the mortifications to which persons of this sort usually submitted, just as it is the case with the devotees of Hindustan at this day; all of whom generally hold, that they have power over demoniacal agents. A belief however, in these things as expressed here, must be classed among those, which more enlightened times have very properly rejected. Our author might, however, have intended this as a sort of argumentum ad hominem, it being religiously held by the heathen of his times, as may be seen Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. C. xxii. seq. Where (p. 173. D.) he tells us that in this ease he used not the testimony of Christians, but of the heathen Philosophers themselves, [Greek]. See ib. cap. xxiii. on the means used for expelling and opposing these Demons, from Porphyry. See also Sect. 12. Book ii. below.

55. <sup>2</sup> According to Celsus (Origen contra Cels. Lib. vii. p. 367,) Anaxarchus was thrown into a mortar, and, when beaten there, uttered these remarkable words. The tyrant who reduced him to this, was Aristocreon of Cyprus (ib. p. 368.). Epictetus is here also celebrated for a similar act of fortitude. This account, moreover, of Anaxarchus will be found at length in Diogenes Laertius, under his life.

56. <sup>1</sup> Rom. viii. 35. differing considerably from the text of the Peschito and Philoxenian Versions.

57. <sup>3</sup> See §. 47, above.

58. <sup>1</sup> Rom. vii. 24, as in the Peschito.

59. <sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. x. 3, differing considerably from the Peschito.

60. <sup>3</sup> Phil. iii. 20, as before.

61. <sup>4</sup> Heb. xii. 22, cited from memory, apparently.

62. <sup>1</sup> Several passages similar to this, though not identical with it, are to be found in Plutarch, and other writers.

63. <sup>2</sup> The views of some of the Fathers on this subject were extremely dark and perplexed, out of which evidently grew the *Purgatory* of the Roman Catholics. How far our author partook of this, I have not been able to ascertain. Origen tells us in his 24th Hom, on Luke, that, as John baptized with water, so shall Christ baptize in a river of fire all who shall pass to Paradise; but here, the baptism by water must first have taken place. In this case all must submit to this second purifying baptism. Again, near the end of his 8th book of explanations of the Epist. to the Romans, he says, that he who spurns the purifications of the Word of God, and of the Gospel-teaching, will reserve himself to the *sad and penal purifications of the fire of hell*: in conformity with the Scripture, "*I will purify thee with fire even to*

*purification.*" (Is. i. 25. Sept.) He goes on to tell us, that, how long this *purifying by fire* with sinners shall continue, He only, to whom the Father hath delivered all judgment, can know: evidently inclining to the notion that it is not eternal. This is however, according to him, one of those things which the Apostle considered as a mystery, and to be held as such by the faithful, secretly within themselves: and, for this he cites "*Mysterium Regis (ut ait Scriptura) celare bonum est.*" (Prov. xxv. 2?). But, who does not see that all this is a miserable perversion of Scripture? See Spencer's Notes on Origen contra Cels. pp. 47-50: it. p. 77. The Bishop of Lincoln's Eccl. Hist, illustrated from Tertullian, p. 342. seq. Camb. 1826. Out of this also grew the Mohammedan purgatory, styled [Arabic]. Elaraf. They have also a Bason (pond), styled [Arabic] out of which all the faithful are to drink before they enter Paradise. Our author however, does speak also of earthly plagues sent as purifiers. See Book ii. §. 80, below: and so does Origen contra Cels. Lib. iv. p. 173, where Plato is cited as using similar phraseology.

64. <sup>1</sup> See §. 62, seq. above.

65. <sup>1</sup> Ps. viii. 5, 6, differing slightly from the Peschito.

66. <sup>2</sup> Similar reasoning will be found in the Phaedo of Plato, Edit. Lond. p. 170; and in Plutarch de consolat. ad Apollonium. (p. 107. seq. Edit. 1620) beginning with, [Greek]

67. <sup>1</sup> Alluding to Matt. vii. 3, 4, 5: and meaning apparently that, should light be impeded by any means from passing through the natural inlets to the soul, so far must the soul remain unenlightened, and in intellectual darkness.

68. <sup>2</sup> Plato's [Greek] Phaedo. Edit. Lond. p. 183. And so a Poet cited by Plutarch, (de consolat. ad. Apoll. 108. E.) [Greek]

69. <sup>3</sup> Alluding to 2 Cor. iv. 7.

70. <sup>4</sup> Much to the same effect Plato, Phaedo. Edit. Lond. p. 178. seq. So also Clemens Alexand. (Strom. Lib. v. p. 740.)... [Greek] ... "Quinetiam precatur cum Angelis, ut qui jam sit etiam aequalis Angelis, neque est unquam extra sanctam custodiam, et licet oret solus, habet chorum Angelorum una assistentem."

71. <sup>1</sup> It was one of the errors of Tatian, that he believed the soul partook of the matter of the body: Orat. contra Graecos, p. 169. B. seq. Edit.

72. <sup>2</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. Ovens in the East are not unlike large stone jars, as may be seen in Mr. Taylor's Fragments to his Edition of Calmet's Dictionary, No. cix. Plate 38. fig. 5. Edit. 1838. The allusion, made to the spark of fire, in the last section, is perhaps intended to be kept up here, with the notion of a silent process going on, as in baking any thing in an oven.

73. <sup>2</sup> Ps. xlix. 21. according to the Peschito, except that we have [Syriac] instead of [Syriac]: but differing slightly from the Septuagint, as it also does from the sense of the Hebrew.

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## THE SECOND BOOK AGAINST THE PHILOSOPHERS.

1. THE human race, O my friends, stood (thus) in need of God the Saviour : and God alone was the helper, who, could give abundance to those who had suffered loss, and life to them who had become subject to death. The advent therefore of God, and the divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all;----of him who arose (as the sun) upon mankind was necessary, because all that was upon the earth, had, through the insanity (inculcating) a plurality of gods, and the envy and solicitation of demons, become corrupted to the last stage of vice, and (immersed) in the depth of ungodly error.
2. But again, that the cause of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all among men, might the better be known, let us first of all speak on the great fall of the human race, on their lawless wickedness and iniquity : and then let us pass on to the hidden mysteries of the doctrine of this divine Revelation.
3. For, it was not as some disease which (lay) on man, and was mighty as opposed to every other; but it was, that the evil <sup>1</sup>Demon so led, and ruled over, the whole human race, like a pestilence that is mortal, (and) far surpassing every thing that is (generally) evil and hateful, that he drove him who was more peaceful than any other being, to the last stage of brutality; and him who was rational, to that of being the most irrational of all. Hence<sup>2</sup> it was that men, in the blindness of their souls, recognized not the God who is over [\[67\]](#) all; The Cause and Maker of all; The Reverend Name of that nature of the ONLY (Begotten) which had no beginning, Him who was before all<sup>3</sup>, THE WORD OF GOD; The Father of the essence which is intelligent and rational; Him who rules both in heaven and earth ; Him who is at all times present to this world, and is in it, and is the (efficient) Cause of every good to all; That providential care ; That Saviour; That Upholder; That Giver of rain, and Dispenser of light, and Prince of life; That Creator of this whole (they recognised not, I say), but gave that Reverend Name to the Sun, the Moon, the very Heavens, and the stars; nor did they confine themselves to these<sup>4</sup>,----
4. But also, to matter warm and cold, wet and dry, to the very waters, the earth, the air and fire;---- things which we perceive with our eyes, have neither soul nor reason ;----and to the rest of the (constituent) portions of the world, they likewise gave the names of Neptune, Vulcan, Jupiter, Juno, and of others, and honoured them with the title of god: nor did they confine themselves to these,---- [\[68\]](#)
5. But, they also made Gods of the earthy nature of the fruits of the earth, and of the provisions intended for the bodies of every kind (of animal, and named them) Ceres, Proserpine, Bacchus : and, of other things allied to these, they made Idols: nor did they confine themselves to these,----
6. But, they hesitated not to call the cogitative faculty of their minds, and their reason, which is the interpreter of of these, also Gods. Their faculty of thought they named Minerva, and their speech Mercury. The powers inventive of moral doctrines, they called Memory, and the Muses : nor did they confine themselves to these things,----
7. But, increasing in manifold impiety and the excess of wickedness, they made themselves Gods of their own passions; which it was becoming they should have put away, and have cured by the effort of pure reason :----of their lust, their baser infirmities and passions; of their grosser members also fitted for corrupt acts, and of the different parts of the body. And again , the appetency to the intemperate [\[69\]](#) lusts, they named Cupid, Priapus, <sup>5</sup>Venus, and other things allied to these: nor did they confine themselves to these,----
8. But, they also prostrated themselves to that which was born<sup>6</sup> of the human body, and to the life

which is subject to death; they made men into Gods; and published of these, after undergoing a common mortality, that they were Gods and Demigods; imagining that the divine and immortal essence moved about the sides of graves, and among the monuments of the dead: nor did they confine themselves to these things,----

**9.** But, they also honoured with the Reverend name, every species of irrational animal, and noxious reptile<sup>7</sup>! nor did they confine themselves to these ",---- [70](#)

**10.** But, they also cut down trees<sup>8</sup>, and hewed the rocks: the metals too of the earth, brass, iron, and other matter, they sought out, and formed into the appearances of women, forms of men, and into the likenesses of wild beasts, and of reptiles; and to these again they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these,----

**11.** But, they also ministered, by means of libations and the fumes of sacrifices, to the evil demons which had insinuated themselves into these same images<sup>9</sup>, which had been set up in the innermost recesses of darkness; and to them they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these,----

**12.** But, they also drew over to themselves, by means of the ties<sup>10</sup> of those who used abominable incantations, by [71](#) songs and other forcible and lawless enchantments, those invisible Demons<sup>11</sup> and Powers which fly in the air: and again, they availed themselves of these, as abettors of the error of the deities, which they had (so) fabricated. And thus did they set up mortal men, as the Gods of Others. For the Greeks honoured Bacchus, Hercules, Aesculapius, Apollo, and other men, with the names of Gods and Demigods ; while the Egyptians<sup>12</sup> imagined of Horus, Isis, Osiris, and again of other men such as these, that they were Gods. Nor did their wise men, who are boasted of for their excessive wisdom, and the invention of Geometry, Astrology, and Arithmetic, know or understand how to weigh or to discriminate in their minds, between the distinguishing measure of the Divine power, and that of irrational mortal nature. On this account, they hesitated not to give the name of Gods, to every frightful image of the animals ; to every sort of untamed beast, and reptile; and to the fiercest animals. The Phoenicians too, named <sup>13</sup> Malkuthrudun, [72](#) <sup>14</sup> Ousurun, and other mortal men more contemptible than these, Gods ; while the Arabians did the same to <sup>15</sup> Dusarin, and <sup>16</sup> Oubadon; the Getas (Goths), to <sup>17</sup> Zalmacusin : the Cilicians, to <sup>18</sup> Mopsus ; the Thebans, to <sup>19</sup> Amphiaraus. And with others, again, others,----who differed in no respect from mortals, but were in truth men only,----they also honoured with the name of Gods. [73](#)

**13.** The whole of the Egyptians, therefore, at once with the Phoenicians and the Greeks, (thus) availed themselves, contrary to humanity, of every mortal species,----even as the rising of the sun illuminates (all) the portions of the universe,----of the very elements, of the fruits<sup>20</sup> which grow out of the earth, even of their own passions<sup>21</sup>; and again, even of the madness of demons, and (other) delusions; and before these, of mortal men<sup>22</sup>! Nor did they set up, during their lifetimes, the doctrine which is excellent; nor did they point out to men, the instruction which attends purity of life; nor did they shew forth the requirements of (true) philosophy, or discover the practices favourable (to this) : nor did they leave behind themselves any disciples of their superiority, or deliver either precepts or writings conducing to happiness of life<sup>23</sup>. On the contrary, they busied themselves with women, and the baser lusts ; and, as it happened,----I know not by what error of the participation in the deeds of Demons,----they named (these) Gods and Demigods, and honoured (them) with sacrifices, and services (connected) with the error of enchanters! They also built Fanes and Temples (to these) both in the cities and villages: but Him who alone is beyond the universe, THE WORD OF GOD in verity, the King of all, and Maker of all, they set at nought! [74](#) These same multiplied all this, in the madness and corruption



of (their) mind, to such an extent, that they forthwith called any men, with whom they happened to meet, Gods; and immediately attached themselves to these same passions of mortals! And to these did they ascribe lawless adulteries, abominable deeds, and perverse lives and deaths. Nor did these things come from others, so that they could say these were their calumniators; but they themselves are the witnesses of these things, confessing the error, the sorrows, the deaths; and prior to these, the adulteries, the corruptions, of men (with men), and the rapes of women<sup>24</sup>. Nevertheless, they filled all their cities, villages, and (other) places, with the Fanes, Images, and Temples (of these)!

14. Nor<sup>25</sup> was it this only, but also, from the speeches which they made about their Gods, they received every provision for the life which was lawless and base; and, in the first place, corrupted by every sort of abomination, at once both their souls and bodies. And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phoenicians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck; the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time; so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus<sup>26</sup>. Now indeed, this city alone <sup>[75]</sup> remains in this sickly state of folly, by way of proof of these ancient vices; when, from ancient times, many thus suffered while the disease inflicted by Demons had more abundant hold.

15. Nor was it this only, but also, the very men who rejected the gods mentioned (above), preached up, by means of hymns, elegies, sacrifices, mysteries, books, and votive offerings to Idols, that Father and Leader of all the Gods, who was overcome by bodily lust, and fell in love with Ganymede<sup>27</sup>: and, as it were in emulation of their Gods, they transgressed the bounds of nature, and remained in this excess, at a distance not to be described, or (received) as real into the hearing. They fearlessly abused each other, as the Divine declarations affirm : "*Man with man working that which was shameful, and receiving in themselves the return of reward, which was due to their error*"<sup>28</sup>.

16. Nor was it this alone, but they also subverted <sup>[76]</sup> the common mind of all, placing under an irrational Fate, and natural necessity, the constitution and essence of every thing. They led too, the lives of beasts, even the life which was no life. Nor did they enquire into the essence of the soul, or think on the righteous judgments of God. The victory attendant on virtue, they never called to mind, nor again, the punishment due to a wicked life.

17. Nor was it this alone, but they also ran as herds into the midst of the theatres, old and young together ; mothers with their sons and daughters; and, conformably with the doings (there), they contracted every base and intemperate disposition. Men and women too, being (thus) congregated together, became at once filled with intoxication (as it were) and lasciviousness! How then, could they do that which was good, when they stored not their hearing by listening to words that were pure, inculcating the fear of God? and applied not their eyes for the advantage of their souls? but (the hearing), to the instruction of sentiments that were base; and the sight, to the representation of every (sort) of lascivious-ness? For, things such as these, were those which (were presented) to the sight; (and), on which whole multitudes so fixed their attention, that in them (was evinced) the maddened excitement of the stallion, the vile pleasure (felt) over those devoured by wild beasts; (the <sup>[77]</sup> excitement) of grains of corn parched<sup>29</sup> (by the fire); (or over) those killed in the lion-hunt; but not (any feeling) belonging to human beings! And again, the impudent laugh (set up) at the vilest things; the intense and foolish desire excited by the music; the lascivious shows personating women; and the loud uproar set up at the songs! For these, indeed, and such like things, were immense multitudes of the ignorant inhabitants brought together, with those who were their Princes, their Generals, and their Governours, and became saturated (as it were) with the corruptions which debase the soul<sup>30</sup>.

18. Nor was it this only, but they also built seminaries of the precepts of ungodliness both among the (country) people, and in the cities<sup>31</sup>. Instead of the precepts of righteousness, and those which were advantageous to the world ; and, instead of the doctrine which was pure, and the love of God; they received into the memory,----through the impious babblings of the poets, in which there were <sup>178</sup> corrupt recitations, and stories about their male and female deities,----passions filled with every thing shameful, as well as hard sufferings<sup>32</sup>, differing in nothing from (those of) mortal nature; (I say), through the instruction and study of the lying writings of the Dramatists, both tragic and comic, these things, corrupting and injurious (as they were) of life, they first sowed in their own souls, and afterwards in those of the young. And accordingly, (through) the iniquity, which was the first and last of every other,----which was, at once and entirely, that of all men, of Princes and Subjects, of the Sovereigns of nations, of Lawgivers, of Armies, of the Inhabitants both of villages and cities, among both Greeks and Barbarians;----the praise which was due, and was suitable to Him alone who is King of all, they perversely gave to that which was adverse (to Him), and called the demons that had corrupted them, (their) Gods! They sang hymns moreover, to earthly and wicked spirits, to the inanimate elements, and to the sensible portions of the universe! And (thus), the companies of the rational animals which were on the earth, rendered not the praise of the officiating priest; nor, with their brethren who are in heaven, the holy Angels and Divine Spirits,---- those who praise the King of all,---- did they render praise, the praise (I say) which is proper for such : but, on the contrary, they sang, both in their feasts and festivals, that which was foreign to propriety, and was unsuitable, to those seducing Spirits which had led the world astray! To them, too they gave the honour of worship; insomuch, <sup>179</sup> that henceforth, the whole element of the earth, uniformly with all nations throughout the whole of creation, became nothing better than the vessel in the storm, whose entire and violent wreck in the extreme depths of perdition, is momentarily threatened!

19. Much therefore, on account of all these things, was God the Saviour and (only) helper, needed by mankind. Had some societies only been led to this state of error, the evil would indeed have been (but) small. But now, the Princes of cities, the Leaders of the nations, the Kings of countries, the Heads of territories, and the Honourable of the nations, had at once become fully, and completely, diseased in this same error of Demons, and of a plurality of Gods. And behold! again, even those,---- who boasted themselves among the Greeks of (their) philosophy, and made the profession, that in them was knowledge superior to any that was in the many ; were pompous in the streets, swelling with pride, and casting their mantles loosely about them ; had wandered in the great and wide earth; had freely taken from other nations this magnificence of doctrine about things; from this place, geometry; from another quarter, arithmetic; and again from another place, music, the art of healing, and those other things, which have their being in rational experiment<sup>33</sup>: for, these things, and others like them, they <sup>180</sup> got together from every place:----these fell (nevertheless), into a deadly and ungodly state of mind! By the mere discovery of persuasive words moreover, some of these set it up,----as if they would make no experiments even after the truth,----that indivisible<sup>34</sup> bodies (atoms), having no extent, or having projecting parts, and infinite, were, forsooth, the origin of all things! These same too, determined <sup>181</sup> *Rest* to be the extreme good : that which is, and <sup>181</sup> evidently (so), a greater corruption than all the (other) vices. For, What could be more worthy of honour than *Rest*, with those who laid it down, that there is in this something which exists, neither Providence, nor God, nor soul that is immortal, nor intelligent essence, nor WORD OF GOD which is above all, nor (yet) beginning, nor end? and, that the things alone that are irrational and inanimate, which are indivisible and subtile bodies (atoms), and fall not, on account of their excessive smallness, under the (observation of the) senses;----that they should predetermine these very things, which are inanimate, irrational, as being without beginning, ungenerated, and in their multitude infinite, and as having, from times not to be comprehended, been dispersed just as it has happened?---- still, things being thus, have affirmed, that these were the cause of

this universal order; and, that there was neither God, nor Providence, nor Reason which viewed, or which governed, the whole? But, even if there were, that He would not possess the being of any one thing; neither would He give it to others<sup>36</sup>! And, as my judgment is, the "*Rest*" which was (so) lovely to them, and which they also attributed to God Himself<sup>37</sup>,----just as the doings [82](#) of those were who arose as Philosophers of the school of Epicurus and Democritus, and as was the whole traditionary (doctrine) of those amongst the Greeks,----was that of (this) life. And, being thus eminent, they approached the multitudes; at one time, walking to the temples with the inhabitants (generally) ; at another, shewing themselves to be those who feared the Gods; because of the fear of punishment (otherwise to be expected) from the law<sup>38</sup>. But such were these, who contended for *Rest* (as the extreme good).

**20.** Others too, fixed the limits of Providence as far off as the moon<sup>39</sup>; the company of those too, who were of the school of Aristotle, excluded it from every other portion of the world: which same also, determined the extreme good to be, neither Virtue, nor Philosophy, unless indeed, it happened to be attended by wealth of possession<sup>40</sup>, abundance of gold and of silver, Family, and and the glory which takes with the many! And, What could hinder such from boasting themselves in these things? ---- men, who had shut up, as with bolts and doors at the distance of the moon, the Providence which is over all? or, that they should affirm, that the intelligent and [83](#) rational soul<sup>41</sup> which is in man, is mortal; and, that it is nothing, but even as the body, or as its colour, or its form? They usually term it moreover, *Entelechia*<sup>42</sup>. Nor did they, by any means, place in apposition with the chief good, either the life of Philosophy, or the superiority of rule: on the contrary, they lapsed into the things of accident, riches, greatness, and family: (affirming), that with these existed the superiority that was worthy of reason ; and that, without these things, it was nothing! Nor had the wise man any thing superior, unless he were also rich : nor had he, who was careful about purity of life, any thing good about him, unless he were a person of family! nor, would justice itself, or the complete [84](#) beauty of virtue in the person of any one, be sufficient for the life of happiness, unless he happened to have a complete symmetry of bodily limbs! These men then, considered these things as being apart, in a place (removed) from the things pertaining to men, (and) higher than the moon : that a Godhead existed; but affirmed, that the providence of God looked not to the things on earth. Nor did they recognize the common Saviour of all, THE WORD OF GOD, the Preserver of all things; but drew near for the purpose of reverencing those Deities, that were in certain places, and in the cities<sup>43</sup>: professing themselves to be wise in some things, with those who knew them ; but performing others in their deeds. In their writings and common conversation, they made the oaths of their Gods: but, in their minds, no such thing existed. On the contrary, they submitted to this for the sake of the applause of the many<sup>44</sup>. So that hence these same were Demons, rather than men, (and) to be despised by every sort of sound Philosophy.

**21.** Others also, besides these who boasted themselves (as being) the best of Philosophers, dared with ungodly [85](#) mouth to affirm, that God is a body; and, that His nature differs in no respect from fire. And this is the extreme error of the Stoics, who say of this sensible world, that it is God : and (so) set up a doctrine, which is impious and all-corrupting. For (they affirm), that the operative Cause, and the passiveness<sup>45</sup> of matter, are of one and the same essence; and, that the maker and the made, are both bodies : and also, that the King of all, God who is above all, differs in nothing from sensible fire; but, that he mixes Himself up at once, with every thing,----just as fire does in (its) progress,----at the appointed times. But great is the [86](#) sin (to affirm), that God is subject to change; and again, to combustion! This therefore, is the doctrine of the Stoic Philosophers, that all being, even the whole world, shall in time be mixed up with God<sup>46</sup> in fire: and, (that) the whole shall effect a change, as in seed; and, that out of this, universal order shall again be produced, just as it was at the first: and that all these are Gods, as are all the portions of the world; and, because the whole consists of all its parts, the

entire universe itself wholly constitutes the Deity<sup>47</sup>! These same again affirm, that this intelligent and reasonable soul which is in man, is corruptible, just as it is corporeal. What then, could hinder such from daring to speak against God, the King of all? or again, from determining, that these souls (consist) of matter, and body? and, that they are nothing else but the dense smoke, and fumes of bodies<sup>48</sup>? and again, that after the close of life, they <sup>87</sup>shall continue, during the times destined for them? and (this) not of all, but only of the souls of the Philosophers <sup>49</sup>? and, that at last, with the general conflagration, these also shall burn together with God, and the whole universe? and, that at the same time, the souls of the wicked and of the just shall be dissolved ; the thing's also of the just, together with those of the atheists, shall be fused, as it were, by one and the same fire? and again, that the worlds shall be reborn from this consumption of universal fire, differing in nothing, but in every thing, similar to the former; so that again, as from a beginning<sup>50</sup>, these (worlds) shall in those be reproduced; as shall this same traditionary (life). Modes of life again, such as shall in all respects be similar, and not differing: the same fashions too, customs, regulations, and passions, shall exist within these. In the same manner also, the same sorrows, honours, recreations, oppressions, shall subsist among these, and happen to the same individuals. So that Helen<sup>51</sup>, and the calamities of Ilium, (Troy) may again be expected: and again, <sup>88</sup>Anytus <sup>52</sup>, and Melitus, and the deadly poison of Socrates: again too, the contentions of the Philosophers themselves: the same divisions on the same subjects; and, at last again, shall the whole be consumed by fire ; and again, after it has been burnt, again shall it be restored anew: and again shall consist of the same reducible materials<sup>53</sup>. And indeed these, adhered thus violently to their error!

**22.** The descendants however, of the Philosophers, who were named the "primitive (students of) Physics"<sup>54</sup>, (and) who preceded all (others), laid the origin of all upon the inanimate Elements, and recognized neither God, nor Providence, nor Creator, nor Maker of any thing; but vainly, emptily and falsely, arrogated to themselves the name and show of Philosophers: some of them affirming the earth, and dry substance, to be the origin of all; others the ocean<sup>55</sup>, the Parent of all ; for thus they named the humid substance and waters : others, fire<sup>56</sup>; others, the <sup>89</sup>air<sup>57</sup>; and others, a compound<sup>58</sup> of these. They also introduced many male, as they likewise did, female Deities. Marriage too, and the bringing forth of children, they perverted by natural metaphors, and the specious diction of the fictitious stories of the Poets, to the adorning of (this their) vain glory<sup>59</sup>. So that these also, fell down again, as it were by perverseness, from the heights above, upon the material elements and sensible portions of the universe!

**23.** Others however, exclusive of these, determined the reverse of all those mentioned ;---that there was nothing divine in (all) this which exists; neither God that was over all; nor the (Deities) which were in certain places, nor that superior name, nor the imposition of (plastic) hand upon matter, were things really existing: so that they proceeded to the greatest extent of impiety<sup>60</sup>.

**24.** Plato alone, of all the Greeks, (as) it seems to me, adhered more eminently to (the true) Philosophy ; and held correctly, respecting that good Being who is the First, and Cause of all; and became truly wise, respecting the Second (<sup>61</sup>Cause), who is the Creator of all. <sup>90</sup>

**25.** He also established (it) justly and well, that the heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and wholly and at once, the whole world, were made by the God of all<sup>62</sup>. <sup>91</sup>

**26.** He also affirmed of the essence of the soul, that it is incorporeal and foreign to corruption. He was also cognizant of the intelligent Essences; and confessed, that the mind which is over all, (and) which we call THE WORD OF GOD, is King of all. To the same he gave the Rule over all, after the manner of a shipmaster, who well and duly provides for all: Him he also shewed was Governour<sup>63</sup>. This man alone, of all the Greeks, confessed---just as we do,---of THE WORD OF GOD the Creator of the

world. But, he is at hand, and we may hear (this) from himself, when discoursing of God thus :---

**27.** "<sup>64</sup> Let us render honour, neither to that (heavenly body) which is of the year, nor to that of the month. Nor let us cut off to these indeed, any portion : neither the time in which it proceeds in its orbit, and completes the visible world, which THE WORD OF GOD has set in order. Of all who are in it, he who is happy will have wondered <sup>92</sup> (at Him), and afterwards acquired such love, as to investigate (Him) as far as mortal nature is able.

**28.** This man moreover, now calls THE DIVINE WORD, the Father, the Lord of all, and also Governour of all, in the very same words, and names Him just as we do ; expressing himself thus :---

**29.** "This<sup>65</sup> Epistle, all you who consist of three should read, particularly in society: but, if not, between <sup>93</sup> two in common, as each may be able. As often as ye shall be able, avail yourselves of compact (together), and of the Law; and, by that Lord, who is justice (itself) swear ye, at once with care ;---not without wisdom,---and with erudition the sister of care; and, by that Governour of all, of the things that are, and of those that shall be; and, by the Father of the Governour and of the (efficient) Cause, the Lord, swear ye:---Him, whom, if we are truly Philosophers, we shall all clearly know, as our power (may be, being) of those who are happy men."

**30.** This (philosopher) also taught, that there was a just Judgment of God, and that He would render to every man as he should deserve: he very divinely shewed too, that the extreme good was this, that (men) be like to the Godhead<sup>66</sup>, be attached, and made (as it were) twin brothers, to virtue. Nevertheless, he also fell justly<sup>4</sup>, (and as it was) likely, more than they all under reprehension. Why? Because he knew God as He was; but honoured Him not as God. He concealed the truth too, and put forth falsehood to the many. To those whom he loved, he spoke openly and well, as a Philosopher, of the Father and Creator of this whole. But, with the inhabitants of Athens, he conducted himself as no Philosopher; and went down to the Piraeus to Socrates, at his word, to pray to the Goddess, and, at once, to complete the festival of Bendis<sup>67</sup>, together with all the inhabitants. And again, <sup>94</sup> he himself said of his master, that, when the end of his life drew near, he commanded them to sacrifice a cock! Nor did the best of Philosophers blush;---nor was it concealed :---that, the Father of his philosophy commanded them to propitiate the Deity, by means of fabricated earthly matter, and a little blood ;---the body of a dead bird<sup>68</sup>! And again, he called those (Deities) that were honoured in the cities, Demons: and this he did well. But, he further confessed, that these same were, and that they were formerly known as being, mortal men. And (here) he spoke the truth. Nevertheless, he advised that (men) should worship these same as Gods! And, because he submitted himself, with the multitudes, to the error of these, he may well have been memorialized as (implicated) in their pretences, because he concealed the word of truth under the show of Philosophy, and attached himself to <sup>95</sup> falsehood. Hear therefore, the things that he has said in the Timaeus:---

**31.** " To speak of the other Demons, and to know their power, is too great for us. We assent however, to those who have said before us, that they were the sons of the gods, even as they have affirmed : and they well knew their own fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the gods, when behold, they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs<sup>69</sup>. But, as they affirmed, that they narrated respecting those who were their own (fathers) ; (so) we, adhering to the law, believe. Thus therefore, as these affirmed a generation respecting these gods, (so) let it be; and be affirmed, that the Ocean and <sup>96</sup> Tethys were the sons of the Earth and the Heavens; and of these same, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea (Ops): and of Saturn and Rhea, Jupiter and Juno: and those others, whom we know were all of them brothers of those mentioned: and others again, the children of these."

**32.** You (now) view the very Philosopher---who is from above<sup>70</sup>, and of the exemplars that are above the world, and of the intelligent essences which are incorporeal,---beneath on the earth and on the



ocean, immersed as it were in the depths of error<sup>71</sup>! He has moreover, introduced a generation of the gods,----him who could himself alone, say with a mind, the voice of which was more elevated than that of man,----

"What is that which always is, but that it might <sup>97</sup> exist, has no being? And it is this same which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and exists in all time according to itself. But, that which is to be considered by the sense that is irrational, and was, and is corruptible; that it might fully exist, it never had even being."

**34.** This selfsame Combatant therefore, now honours this identical (something,)----this which was, and is corruptible, but never fully existed, on account of its elemental and dissoluble character,----with the name of gods! And again the very same, (virtually) reprehending the expositors of this story of the gods, says of them, that it was neither from probabilities nor from strong proofs, that they spoke and put forth the error of these Deities. And, having accused them in this manner, he afterwards says, "We give our assent to them, and approve ;" when, behold! they had said nothing truly! Besides, when he called them the sons of the gods, <sup>98</sup> he clearly knew, that he was introducing their fathers who were, like all (other) men, subject to mortality! And again, he memorializes mortal gods, and mortal sons, who were like to their fathers, and who plainly said that they knew their own fathers. Nor does he conceal himself when he says, "It is impossible therefore, that we should not believe the sons of Gods;" still, he immediately accuses them, that they had advanced neither probabilities, nor strong proofs, and adds, "We approve of them, as saying that they narrated respecting their own" (fathers.) He says not--- and (this) fully and carefully,----that they narrated; but, as "they said that they narrated;" and, we "assent to them as saying, that they were the sons of the gods." And, Whence had he learned this, that he should affirm just as they had said? For (says he) they said this: It was not I. That is; Still to them, when speaking of themselves, and unable to establish (the assertion) respecting themselves, either by probabilities or strong proofs, we nevertheless give our credence! He says too after this: " Thus therefore, as these affirmed the generation of the gods, (so) let it be;" necessarily, says he, just as these say! Not indeed as my opinion is, but as theirs (was,) let these things be affirmed<sup>72</sup>!

**35.** You perceive therefore, that he advises it as proper, that we should adhere to error! And, For what cause does he set this up? Not because of any other thing, except the Law : that is, because of the death that was suspended on the Law! And this he openly acknowledges when he says, " We, adhering to the Law, believe." The fear then of man, and of the Law, dismissed from the Philosophers, that Fear, and Law, which (were) of the truth! Where then, are those excellent and wise things, <sup>99</sup> which the same elegant tongue,----(and) wholly for the sake of which,----said in astonishing language, and thus magnificently?----

**36.** " For<sup>73</sup> there is neither law, nor any one ordinance superior to erudition; nor is it just, that the mind be subservient or subjected to any thing: it is, on the contrary, Prince of all, if indeed it be free in its nature." This same too, is he who said, that "Wheresoever<sup>74</sup> a man places himself, thinking it to be best, there he ought, as I think, to remain, (even) in the storm; making no account of any thing, neither of death, nor of any other thing, before things hateful." He also said afterwards; "For<sup>75</sup> this, that one should fear death, O men, would be nothing else, but that we should suppose him to be wise when he is not so."

**37.** How then can you, O Philosopher! be moved by death after these expressions? or, draw near to <sup>100</sup> honour" mortal Gods, on account of the Law? And, How can you dignify these, as sons of the Gods, in order that we might approve, and give (our) assent to them? In your own words you both reproach, and chastise (them), as having said nothing soundly, or by way of proof, respecting (these) their own Fathers. How then, having thus accused them, can you now advise men to approve of them? But, of these their Fathers, let us make inquiry :----



38. Of the Earth, you say, and the Heavens, the Ocean and Tethys were the progeny: and again, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea. And so after all these, Jupiter and Juno! Jupiter, after the Earth and Heavens! Jupiter, after Saturn! and Rhea, after the whole of these! What say you, O Combatant?---- Where is the great Jupiter, who drove the flying chariot in the Heavens? Or, Is not that a sentiment of thine, over which every body cries out and wonders, when thou thus sayest:----

39. " The same great Jupiter therefore, drove and guided the flying chariot in the heavens, and to the same adhered the hosts (both) of the Gods and of the Demons<sup>76</sup>?"

40. But, I know not whence Jupiter is to be viewed, after these (viz.) the Earth, the Sea, the Ocean, Rhea, and [101](#) Saturn, mortals! or How, according to this sentiment of thine, we can give our assent to that of those who said before us, that " they are the sons of the Gods, just as they affirmed; as they clearly knew their own Fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the Gods, when, behold! they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs." And he adds; "Thus therefore just as they affirmed a generation, respecting these Gods (so) let it be, and be affirmed." After this he makes a long story, which is that of the generation of the Gods, (as) related by the Poets. And, upon this He assures us and says, that from Saturn and Rhea were Jupiter and Juno, and all those whom we know ; and the brothers of these, are they all said to be; and others again, who were the children of these.

41. Do you observe then, how this man goes on stating, ---- stating too not things that are not difficult, but impious, and those which are directly opposed to his own Philosophy? For this is he who in the Republics, drives [102](#) away contemptuously (and) entirely from his commonwealth, those whom he here calls the sons of the Gods! ----those ancients (I say) who spoke of the Divinity of these; Homer himself, Hesiod, and prior to these, Orpheus! But now, the same Philosopher advises, that we give credence to these; calling them the sons of the Gods! He supplicates too,----subsequently to the earth and the heavens, and to that humid substance which he names the Ocean, (implicated) in generation and corruption!----that Father of all, both of men and Gods; and Juno, with those others succeeding them, who----as he affirms----are said to be their brothers; and confesses, that they are the sons of those who are of the Earth, and of the Ocean: and he afterwards advises, that we should worship these as Gods<sup>77</sup>! Where then is that multitude of intellectual Essences? And, Where that incorporeal Form which is beyond the world? or, that Divine story about the nature that has neither colour nor form<sup>78</sup>? And, if indeed every soul be immortal, Why dost thou subject to mortal beings, those that are immortal? And, to the bodies of Demons, that which is Incorporeal? The intelligent and rational Essence too, to those that are of sense, and subject to corruption? It seems right to me therefore, to consider this man more reprehensible than (all) the rest; since an attachment, on account of the kindred character of his doctrines, drew me to him. For, as it appears to me, this man alone of all the Greeks, attached himself to the outward portals of the truth, and shewed, in many (of his) sentiments, a relationship with us. Nevertheless, such cannot be honoured by the truth; because he is, as it appears to me, more reprehensible by it than all [103](#) others. For he,----whose (main) desire was to live, while those things which attached themselves to his doctrine (virtually) effected his condemnation to death; and, while his opinion was that, (these) were no Gods;----he did nevertheless submit himself (to them), as if he recognized no other life, but that only which was present.

42. The Peripatetics<sup>79</sup> too, so attached themselves to a belief, similar to that of the Originator of this Philosophy, that they supposed the soul which is in man to be mortal; and affirmed, that its form and body, was (what they termed) the *Entelechia*. For the sake of the present life,----which alone they acknowledged,----they submitted to the many. They believed too, that those were never Gods, which were (made) such by the law of the commonwealth: they submitted themselves (nevertheless to these) through the fear of death, and of the punishment of the Law.

43. The Stoics again, who taught that all was body, and that this sensible world alone was God, and that the (constituent) portions of this were Gods, persuaded themselves to do the things----although these might be odious,---- which were conformable to these their precepts! And, because they called the (constituent) portions of the world Gods, and worshipped the earthy substance, How could [104](#) they escape severe reprehension? These too, as they determined that the Elements were the origin of all things, worshipped the Elements accordingly.

44. He however (i. e. Plato) determined, as by divine revelation, what that is "which exists in all time, but which could not be (of itself) ;" and what that is "which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and (is) in all time according to itself." He also said, in what way it exists; stating openly, well, and wisely, (and) in plain terms, the true account of the Deity, as (its) nature is, in these words: "God<sup>[80](#)</sup> therefore, according to our former discourse, holds the beginning, middle, and end, of this all which exists: and, proceeding according to nature, He rightly disposes (it). And to Him does justice ever adhere, awarding punishment to those who swerve from the Divine Law." But, How came he to swerve from the Divine Law, and to think defectively of the justice which is over all? and to put forth for us, these laws of mortal men? this Philosopher too,----this (I say), who could send the soul above the curvature of the heavens,----to fear Death? Besides, I cannot think that this same man held soundly of [105](#) the immortality of the soul, because he made the notion of the vulgar his own. For, it was not (according to this) that the souls of men only were immortal; but also, (those) of dogs, hedgehogs, ants, horses, asses, and of the rest of the irrational animals ; and, that (these) differed in nothing, as to their essence, from the souls of the Philosophers! He (also) affirmed after the Egyptian manner<sup>[81](#)</sup>, that these same effected a change into every sort of body ; those of men being transfusable into the beastly nature. On these accounts, he is as worthy of reprobation in this case, as in that in which he gave his approval<sup>[82](#)</sup>, but lied on the other side! And, although this was (such) an astonishing man, that he could apprehend the Maker and Creator of this whole; nevertheless, as he put not forth the word of righteousness, he is particularly deserving of the reprehension of every man : because " *he knew God<sup>[83](#)</sup>, but honoured Him not as God; but worshipped and served the creature, exclusive of the Creator.*" He also named those Gods, and worshipped them (as such), which were (supposed to be) fixed in visible bodies; the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, confessing at once, and at the same time, that they were made, were perishable, and compounded in their nature of fire, earth, and at the same time, of the rest of the elements! And these same he worshipped, he honoured, and called them Gods! And then again, he afterwards [106](#) confessed that these very same (Deities) were both dissoluble, and subject to corruption! But we may hear him,----as the thing said is at hand,----saying in the Timaeus:----

45. "Gods<sup>[84](#)</sup> of the Gods, of whom I am the Creator: every thing therefore, that has been bound together, is dissoluble; hence, because you came into being, in order to exist, you are not immortal: neither (are you) wholly indissoluble." And again (speaking) on their being, whence this is, and how to be determined, he says: "What fire is to air; such the air is to the water; and the water to the earth : out of which He bound up and established the visible and sensible heavens. And, by means of these things, and out of them, which are thus and [107](#) the number of which is four, the body of the world came into being." After this he says : "And, as to the existence of time, in order that time might be, the Sun, the Moon, and the five other Stars, which have the title of wandering (planetary), came into existence; (and this) for its determination, preservation, and calculation. So God made each one of these bodies, and placed them (each) in (its) course." And again, he says of the heavens, how they existed in all time; there being no beginning of the essence (of these) not even one: or being, of what sort this was in its primitive commencement. He then turns his discourse to his soul, and says, "it became existent, is visible, is subject, to sense, and has a body: and, that all such things are thus subject to sense, and, that those which are subject to sense, are apprehended by thought, and (so) perceived to be existences".

46. Was it not therefore, lapsing far from soundness of mind, that he, who spoke so orderly and well of

these things, should call them Gods? that he should confess also, that they were made out of the perishable and corporeal matter of fire, water, air, and earth? and affirm that they were subject to dissolution, and in their nature corruptible? and, again, should name these selfsame beings Gods to be honoured<sup>85</sup>? For, What participation can that Name and Honour have, which is the Cause of [108](#) all things, with bodies that are subject to sense, and to dissolution? Or, What sort of companionship of the WORD, inseparable from Him who is in all time, but cannot be<sup>86</sup>, (i. e. as we are, subject to corruption), with that which always was, but never had an existence (of its own), so that he should call these Deities God? For, if He is truly God, He who exists in all time, but has not that he might be (as we are) ; so far as He existed not thus, He was no God. But if he be God, who was at all times, but never existed (of himself): whatever he might otherwise be, he is no God. And, What sentiment can be more impious than this? For, the two things are opposed in their natures ;---this, which is apprehended by reason and knowledge; and that, which is to be considered by irrational sense:---this too, which is capable of action : and that, which is passive. How (I ask) can such opposites deserve one (and the same) name? For, this would be, as though a man should wonder at the science of the architect, but should attach the honour (due to him) to the work that was by him ; and (so) invert the order (of things)! And, should any one name the ship, the shipmaster; or the coachman, the chariot with its horses; so likewise, would he act most foolishly, who should dare to name the Creation of God, Gods; when behold! it had not escaped him,---but he had openly confessed,--- that they were bound up in the bands of God the Creator of all, and (affirmed, that they) were constituted out of the inanimate elements, fire, water, air, and earth! Nevertheless even this man thus (taught)!

**47.** But, What necessity can there now be, that I should bring to light, how the wise men collected themselves together in ranks, as it were, sectioned themselves off, separated, and mightily armed themselves against one another, just as in battle array, and met [109](#) with shields, spears, and hosts,--- as one of the Poets says, "Behold the abundance of the uproar thickened---of the destroying and the perishing?"---for Plato termed their warfare with one another, the conflict of Giants when he thus spoke,---

**48.** "And behold! the conflict between them might be assimilated to that of Giants, because of the contention they had with one another about matter."

**49.** Nevertheless, Plato himself said these things either against the Philosophers who were before him, or against those who were his contemporaries: and, that these also,---(as) he also afterwards cries out,---were those who took up arms against him, the evidence is clear. For Aristotle, who arranged himself against Plato, went off with his whole school from his doctrines. [110](#) Others again, the Juniors<sup>87</sup> afterwards arose, who attacked the philosophical notions of Aristotle; and, on the other hand, animadverted on the Stoics. Others, the Sceptics, put forth Pyrrho<sup>88</sup> and *the reserve*<sup>89</sup>: and, at once, ridiculed every body! For, they all fully equipped themselves for a mighty war of soul against one another: and (this) by means of words, fell moreover, but little short of arming themselves, fighting, and attacking one another, with spears and shields! Where it was any thing but right, they divided: but, where it was necessary they should contend with all their power,---I know not how it was,---they agreed; and particularly in the error of a multiplicity of Gods! They agreed (I say) in that, which before all men, and more than all men, they knew was a non-entity! That is to say, the Epicureans, (agreeing) with the Stoics: the followers of Aristotle, with those of Plato: the professors of Physics, with the Sceptics; (these) one and all, together with their wives, their daughters, and the ignorant crowd, going to the Temples, and presenting themselves for the purpose of worshipping with (their) vows, as Gods, the inanimate Idols, (formed) [111](#) in the likeness of men: and these they honoured with libations, fumes, blood, and the sacrifices of irrational animals: shewing by this means,---and in this one thing only did they relax their enmity towards one another,--- that they all studiously gave their assent to this their error. And (again), when the truth was laid open to them, they opposed it! For it was right, that

where their knowledge was correct, there should they have shewn their character to be firm: that they should have contended and warred for the truth; and, had it been necessary, they should have even died for it: (and) should have received it readily in the love (thereof), as men boasting themselves that they were Philosophers. These same persons were therefore, friendly to one another in this, that they brought themselves together for the sake of falsehood: and, about those things, on which it was unbecoming they should contend,----because of the hidden and unknown properties of these,----they contended as if it had been for the truth; readily too was their contention carried on about shadows, while they attacked and reproached one another, with innumerable wounding expressions. But, What need can there be, that (I should record) the contentions of the Philosophers against one another, their controversial expressions, and the common warfare which they set up, and in which they fell; since they availed themselves of human wisdom (only), and of the reasoning of the mortal mind: God the Teacher not having presented himself to them? [112](#)

**50.** How was it then?----How, that those who contended about these things, had no God; when, behold! there was a multitude of Deities among them?----since that of Delphos<sup>[90](#)</sup>, and that of Lebadia<sup>[91](#)</sup>, was (each) a Diviner? ----that of Colophon<sup>[92](#)</sup> gave responses?----'that of Miletus<sup>[93](#)</sup> was also a Diviner?----and another was crying out from another quarter? Nevertheless, not even one of these could so teach these wise men, that they could apprehend the truth! All of them too worshipped these, as did their Fathers; and all the Greeks confessed, that they were gods: yet, they were not the more assisted in the discovery of the doctrines which are divine; when, behold! there was nothing hindering them from being forthwith (so) instructed in the truth, (or) from availing themselves of the Gods, who were on the earth and at hand, as (their) Teachers. Nor should they have injured, and reviled one another ; but, should have ceased from dispute, and have enquired of the Gods about the matters of contention; and so have learned the truth, as it were from Physicians, and (thence) have received advantage. And first, it was [113](#) the duty of the school of Epicurus to have learned not to be godless, and not to have subjected themselves to "*Rest*"<sup>[94](#)</sup> (as the chief good) : nor so to have infatuated themselves with ridiculous (notions), as to ascribe to subtile and indivisible bodies<sup>[95](#)</sup> the power of making the universe; but to have persuaded themselves from the Gods, when (so) taught of the things respecting them. It was also the duty of the school of Aristotle,----who saw with their own eyes the Temples, Fanes, and Idols (that were) on earth : not one (only) but myriads (of these), in every city and place,----to have examined them as to their power: and, from the fact, no more to have confined their discussions about Providence, either to the (regions) above the heavens, or even to (those) above the moon<sup>[96](#)</sup>; but, to have persuaded themselves, that there were Gods also on the earth, and that they exercised a providential care over the men among whom they resided. And, as it was in their power to learn from these same their own (Deities), they should no more have contended with those that were arrayed against them, as to whether the soul was mortal, or immortal. They should therefore, have asked the God who was at hand, and (so) have received, as from the Gods, the true decision (of this question). Thus also, (it was the duty) of the Stoics; and thus too, of the Platonists: thus also, of the Sceptics who are termed Pyrrhonists : and thus also, of those who were in former times styled the Philosophers of Physics, that they should not have desisted from inquiry as to the truth, nor have supposed, as those do who play at chess, that every thing coming into their mind was truth. They should, on the contrary, have asked the Gods who were residing among them about every thing that was unknown: but not even one of the Wise Men has done this, nor did it even [114](#) enter his mind! Was it then, that they were godless, and evil-minded towards the Gods, that (the task) was unwelcome to them, and (that) they acted thus? But, thus were they all at once godless; and the Philosophers appear to have been particularly so, and much more wicked than those who were unintellectual: those (I say), who made it no unwelcome task to enquire of the Gods about the taking of wives; the taking of a journey; blindness, or the infirmity of the body :----these too, were readily heard: and to those, who so sought did (the Gods), not invidiously,

give their divinations. But, behold! it was any thing but becoming in the wise, to have enquired of those Gods who were among them, and to whom they rendered worship and honour, respecting their bodies (only) ; but not about the healing of their souls. And, as not even one of these marvellous Philosophers did this ; it remains, that we assure ourselves of one of two things; (viz.) Either, that these men were no Philosophers; or, that those (Deities) were no Gods. For if, when (these) were really Gods, they set them at nought; they were no Philosophers, but were fools and ignorant men: but, if they had in truth made any approach to the love of wisdom, and abounded in knowledge more than the many; it is clear that they would, with pure conscience, have laughed at the folly of the many ; and it is likely (they did so).

**51.** But, if those who have been mentioned, were really Gods; Why was it, that the conversation which is on earth, happened to be that of their lives? Was it for the common advantage of all? If indeed this was the case; Why did they not give up those (their) vain stories, and preach to all men the things, that would aid in the acquirement of virtue? And, Why did they not give themselves to the enacting of laws for man, corrective of the common conduct? and (to the performance) of deeds, pointing out the life of virtue to all? And, Why was not their care more particularly exerted for healing the passions of the soul, than (the sufferings) of the body?----rather to deliver those who fled to them, from foolishness and ignorance, than from the loss of possessions, when they saw that men desired wisdom ; that they were labouring night and day [115](#) for the discovery of the truth ; and were seeking (both) by labour and contention, for a decision as to the reverence due to these same Gods? And again, (these) went in among the Diviners, and offered sacrifices just as their Fathers had done; and honoured those (Gods) with the honours which they had by custom retained. Why then, did they not receive these with terms of affection? praise them for their labours? and, so delivering them from the contention which they had with one another, give them such aid from their labours, that they should become truly wise in God, and be (real) Philosophers?----and (thus) teach them the science of that true Philosophy, which is free from falsehood? But, as they did not this, they made it plain to every man's perception, that they were no Gods: and, that those who boasted that they were Philosophers, were unworthy of that name! For, had they been truly wise, they never could have supposed that these were Gods: inasmuch as they had afforded to them nothing worthy of Deity, nor had it in their power to teach those, who were anxiously careful about the knowledge respecting them, the things pertaining to Deity.

**52.** Thus these (Philosophers) became in (appearance) what they (really) were not: besides, they presented themselves to the many, and called those Gods, which they knew more accurately than all (other) men, were no such things! What sort of name these deserve, it is not necessary for me further to say, except, that those who made their locks to flow down<sup>97</sup>, frequented the Temples together with [116](#) tavern-keepers, with men the refuse (of society), and harlots! And, Did these wise men (then) ask of the Gods the things advantageous to the Philosophers? There is no one who will say this of them!----nor, in like manner, how it was, that no instructing Deity presented himself to afford the erudition which would aid them. But (the things asked) were,----as the Diviners (themselves) say,----the commodities and helps of life generally; the discovery of a slave, if one had happened to run away; of a broken vessel; the purchasing of an estate; merchandise; the taking of a wife; or, other things similar to these. About these it was, [117](#) that their admiration and reverence were called forth to their Gods; (and this) in the little blood of a cock, the immolation of a ram or of a bull; the (offering of) cups and bowls, or of a little wheat flower, or of purchased crowns! And, Had they any truth----teaching Deity, as to the things (comporting) with virtue, or to those which respected the healing of the soul? No, not (even) one! On this account, these Philosophers appear to me, to have laboured insolently in (their) warfare against one another, greatly to have aggravated their mutual differences, and to have departed (willingly) from the real knowledge of God : and accordingly, one might hear from them in words, of the Gods, the sons of the Gods, of Demigods, and of good Demons : but in deeds, every thing was adverse: and in opposing, they boasted themselves of opposition! Just as if one should be willing to



point out the sun, with the luminaries that are in the heavens; but be unwilling to lift up his eyes to Him who is above (these): should cast down both his hands and soul to the earth, and seek among the clay and mud, the Powers that are in the heavens! In this manner therefore, had the whole race of men persuaded themselves, together with their Philosophers, and Kings,----through an estrangement of the intellect, and the error of wicked Demons,----that the rational and Divine Essence which is above the heavens, and beyond the universe, existed in place, below, among material bodies, and subject to the passions of both mortals, and immortals! And, since this entire estrangement of mind had infected the whole human race, Have we not soundly affirmed that God the Saviour, a Divine Revelation, and a common Helper of all, was required for this our state of life?

**53.** And<sup>98</sup> again, all had been led to such a state of insanity, that they even sacrificed their friends to those who were thought to be Gods: nor did they spare their own nature; on the contrary, they put to death, through [118](#) the madness and bondage of their minds, even their only children<sup>99</sup>, and the friends of their children! And, What madness can be greater than this, that (men) should sacrifice human beings, and pollute all their cities and houses with their own blood? And, behold! Do not all the Greeks bear testimony to these same things? And, Is not the whole of their histories filled with the records of them<sup>100</sup>?

**54.** For, the Phoenicians annually sacrificed (some of) their friends, and their only children to Saturn<sup>101</sup>! To the same again, was a man also sacrificed in Rhodes on the sixth of the month Conun (March)<sup>102</sup>! This same custom too [119](#) greatly obtained, and was thus changed : They kept one of those, who had been publicly condemned to death, until the feast of Saturn; and, when the feast arrived, they brought the man out beyond the gate, over against the Image of Aristobule (Diana): they then gave him wine, and put him to death.

**55.** In the (place) also which is now called Salamis<sup>103</sup>, but formerly Coronea, was a man sacrificed in the month named among the Cypriots Aphrodisius<sup>104</sup>, to Argaula the daughter of Cecrops and daughter-in-law of Argaulis! And this custom continued to the time of Diomedes; and was (then) so changed, that they sacrificed the man to Diomedes! And in one (and the same) inclosure was the Temple of Minerva, of Argaula, and of Diomedes. He then, who was to be sacrificed, was accordingly----when his equals in age had led him three times round the altar, ----stricken on the stomach with a lance by the priest. He was then wholly burnt on a fire that had been got together. This law however, Diphilus,----who was king of Cyprus in the times of Seleucus the Theologian<sup>105</sup>,----abrogated: He also changed this custom for that of sacrificing a bull. [120](#)

**56.** The law too, whereby men were sacrificed in Heliopolis (a city) of Egypt, was abrogated by Amosis, as Manetho attests in what he wrote about primitive justice<sup>106</sup>.

**57.** Men were also sacrificed to Juno, and were chosen just as immaculate calves were sought after, and were slain! There were three moreover, sacrificed in one day! But Amosis commanded that equivalents of wax, resembling these, should be substituted for them<sup>107</sup>.

**58.** They also sacrificed a man to the Omadian Bacchus in Chios, when they had torn him (to pieces)! and also in Tenedos, as Euelpis the Carystian affirms! [121](#)

**59.** The Lacedemonians also, as Apollodorus affirms, sacrificed a man to Mars! The Phoenicians too, in their greater calamities, whether wars, pestilences, or famines, sacrificed one of their friends, who was selected (for this purpose), to Saturn. The history too of the Phoenicians ----composed by Sanchoniatho in the language of the Phoenicians, and (which) Philo Biblius translated into the Greek, in Eight Books,----is full of this, (viz.) as to those who were (so) sacrificed.



60. Ister<sup>108</sup> also says, in (the) collection of select sacrifices, that the Curetes formerly sacrificed boys! And Pallas, who collected abundantly on the mysteries of <sup>122</sup>Mithra<sup>109</sup>, affirms, that the sacrifices of men entirely ceased every where, in the days of Hadrian the Emperour.

61. A Virgin was also annually sacrificed to Minerva, in Laodicea of Syria; but now a hart is.

62. The Carthaginians also, who were of Libya, made the same sacrifice ; which Iphicrates<sup>110</sup> caused to cease. The Dumatians<sup>111</sup> too, of Arabia, sacrificed a boy annually: him they buried beneath the altar, and this they used as an Idol!

63. Philarchus too has left it on record, that all the Greeks commonly sacrificed men, before they went out to battle!

64. But I omit the Thracians and Scythians; and also the Athenians, who put to death the daughter of <sup>123</sup>Erectheus and Praxithia<sup>112</sup>. But, Whom has it escaped, that even to this time, a man is sacrificed in the *Great City*<sup>113</sup> (Megalopolis) at the feast of Jupiter Latiaris? For even up to this time, it was not only to Jupiter<sup>114</sup> in Arcadia, nor to Saturn in Carthage, that they all commonly sacrifice men ; but, through the remembrance of the law, they shed their own blood upon the altars every year<sup>115</sup>! The most select Philosophers also attest, that things were thus: for Diodorus<sup>116</sup> who abridged the Bibliotheca has affirmed, that the Libyans<sup>117</sup> publicly sacrificed two hundred of the sons of the nobles to Saturn! Nor did they add to the sacrifices, fewer than three hundred others<sup>118</sup>! He <sup>124</sup>too, who wrote the history of the Romans, whose name is Dionysius (of Halicarnassus) has said, that Jupiter and Apollo required upon a time, human sacrifices from those in Italy who were called the Aborigines. These however, had sacrificed to the Gods that select part (Tithes) both of their fruits and flowers, which was required of them. But, as they had offered no human sacrifices, they fell into every sort of calamity. Nor did they obtain any relief from these evils, until they had decimated themselves<sup>119</sup>! Thus therefore, having selected a tithe of the <sup>125</sup>men, and sacrificed them to Jupiter and Apollo, they became the cause of (their) country's ruin! And, so far had this entire corruption of soul destroyed human life, that no other hope of salvation could be prescribed, except that which was from God the Saviour: this alone, and no other, was wanting to the race that is mortal.

65. And thus, in these (distresses) of soul were all men, in every place : nor, was it enough for them, after these things, to act basely ; but, they were also harassed by innumerable other incurable calamities from without, in every place and city. For, all nations at once, throughout the whole creation, Barbarians and Greeks, were so inflamed by means of the maddening deeds of Demons,---- <sup>126</sup>were so stirred up by the grievous and calamitous disease (of these), that neither intercourse nor agreement existed among men,----that so far,----and farther,----was the great body of (our) common nature forcibly urged on, that, in every corner of the earth in which men lived, they were, both from their usages and laws, in a state of warfare with one another. Nor was it this only, but they were also so fierce in the commotions and wars, in which they opposed each other, that, always and throughout their whole lives, they so engaged themselves that no one who desired (this), could take a voyage for the purpose of merchandize to any place, unless he (first) armed himself as for war. In the villages and fields too, the Agriculturists put on swords, and furnished themselves with an excess of equipment, over and above that of the implements necessary for the cultivation of the earth. Men considered it (also) a virtue to rob, and steal from, their neighbours<sup>120</sup>: and, to our affirmation do all the writings, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, give testimony. The Books also, which are among the Jews, teach (us), that, from times prior to Augustus and Tiberius<sup>121</sup>,----in whose days our Saviour appeared,----there were in the world, in every city and village, kings and Toparchs fully (established) from the earliest times.

**66.** The Jews therefore, immediately after the egress from Egypt by Moses, when they had come into Palestine, expelled the Kings, thirty<sup>122</sup> in number, from their cities. Those however, who were not extirpated, remained and availed themselves of their population, local residences, and <sup>127</sup>kings: those (I say), who resided apart in Gaza, Ashkelon, Joppa, and Azotus, again rebelled among themselves. Scythopolis<sup>123</sup> too, and the cities about it, were accordingly so governed, that hence it happened, that their study was in contention and wars with their neighbours. And also, when in Jerusalem the wonderful Temple was built, (and) which Solomon erected, What necessity can there be for saying, how many subsequent wars (happened) and dealt vengeance even on the Jews, on account of their dissimulation in the worship of their God; and on which account, they became divided from each other? They also arose against themselves, and availed themselves of (the aid of) various Kings and enemies ; some of whom took the metropolis formerly called Samaria, but now Sabastia<sup>124</sup>; others again, resided in Jerusalem, and were always engaged in wars with their own people, and these with them<sup>125</sup>.

**67.** Not unlike these too, did those suffer who resided in Arabia : for, among these also, there was a multitude of local Princes<sup>126</sup>. The same also was the case with the Syrians, who were in subjection to their (many) kings. The Phoenicians again, so guarded their territories, that no one could mix himself with them, or pass through them: while they were continually desolating the lands of those who resided on their borders, and were constantly engaged in the reduction of cities, and in making captives of one another. Nor was it this only, but also the <sup>128</sup>whole of Libya and of Egypt, subjected themselves to all these Princes and Kings, as if they had been Gods! They had too, thousands of different Gods, both in the villages and cities, as they also had of kings, who enacted laws adverse to them, and were the inventors of every form of Deity. These were they, from whom many places in Egypt received their names, as well as laws; which they still retain. These Deities moreover, and Laws, so affected those who were subject to them, that they made them at once, both enemies and haters to those who were in their neighbourhood; and that hence, they gave up the whole period of their lives to contention! And they were as much excited against one another, as if they had employed the many princes of the vilest Demons! Hence also, the error of a multiplicity of Gods<sup>127</sup> began and obtained dominion,----like some evil and destructive disease of soul,----over the rest of the countries of the heathen! The Egyptians were moreover, (occupied) more than all other men in the worship of the Gods; and more able were they than all others, scientifically to honour them. But, that such fruits were the recompence of their worship, Do not thou (now) enquire. For, the causes of peace and mutual agreement, now so visible to the eyes, had no existence in former times; on the contrary, every thing opposed to these. On this account they were, during the whole period of their lives, harassed with wars and contentions against one another; and (hence), they filled their lands with their own blood, and with the slaughter of themselves; these very Deities apportioning to them, as a recompence for their worship, these and similar doings!

**68.** If however, these things are not known to all; yet Who, of those that are fond of reading of the affairs of the Greeks, can be ignorant of them?----of the war (for <sup>129</sup>example) of the Peloponnesians and Athenians, of which Thucydides is the writer?----how Greeks warred with Greeks?----how they subdued the Potidaeans?----how they trampled on the Thebans and Plataeans?----how the Thracians and Macedonians at one time assisted the Athenians, and at another became their enemies?----how the Athenians reduced Corinth, and desolated the country of the Epirotae and Traezenii?----how they wasted the Lacedemonians; and these again, suffered in like manner from the Lacedemonians when they invaded Attica, and depopulated the country of the Athenians? At another time, the Olynthians<sup>128</sup> made war on the Athenians; and these again, on others: and these, on their neighbours! Every species of warfare moreover, abounded among them: fights in ships (by sea), fights by land, and fights with cavalry! All these innumerable things did the Gods,----as one may affirm,----fully bring to pass at that

time among the Greeks! Nor was it (this) only, but they were also conversant among men; they were honoured, and they were served : not as is now the case; but,---as (all) affirm, --- as their fathers worshipped those ancient (Deities), and gave themselves up to them, so as to be their friends and to converse with them, as being Gods (present) with them, and residing with them on the earth. And in many things, both by divinations and revelations, did these assist them. Nevertheless, the fruits of honouring these Gods were these; wars, contentions, desolations, and captivities!

**69.** But, if you wish to investigate things more ancient than these, contemplate with your mind him who was in [130](#) Delphos, and held his seat (there) in the presence of the Greeks. I speak of the Pythian ; of him who was preached to all the Greeks, and who proclaimed to the Lydian (Croesus),---but was infirm when he did so,---[129](#)" *I know the number of the sand, and the measure of the sea: the deaf I understand, and the dumb I hear.*" He therefore, sent to this same (as) a reward for this song, the bricks of gold of two talents (weight), the phials of gold, and bowls in like manner[130](#). Nevertheless, Croesus was, with this his declaration, all infirmity : nor did this Deity in any way help those descendants of his house, so that they might live happily and soberly. On the contrary, Pisistratus[131](#) became embittered against the Athenians, while this Pythian was seer among the Greeks, and the rest of the Gods had dominion over them, and were even partakers in (their) wars! The people of Argus accordingly, fought against the Corinthians; the Lacedemonians, against the Traezenians; the Locrians again, waged war with the other Greeks, and the Corcyreans with others. Messena too, was taken four times by the Lacedemonians; and the Arcadians were reduced! The walls of the Orchomenians[132](#) were also [131](#) rased to the foundations, and the Athenians: overcame the people of Aegina: and again, the Megarians, the Corinthians; the Lacedemonians, the Athenians; the Athenians, the Boeotians; and the Locrians, the people of Phocis! These things therefore, (did) all the Greeks to the Greeks; the Gods nevertheless, sitting at the side of Jupiter while all these came to pass! The Clarion Pythius; that of Dodona, which was in Epirus, did---since they were Demons filled with fumes,--- very gladly receive the sacrifices which were of Demons, both the sacrificial bestial hecatombs of bulls, and those human sacrifices, which were of their own friends! And, while they were inflamed with this vile delirium and love of war, and were (even) rabid against one another; these Grecian Gods,---behold! when with them; these friends, (I say) and provident beings, these lovers and guardians of the Greeks,---restrained them not! But, if we must speak truly, these were the friends of war; these the haters of mankind; these the contenders with God! For, they were the cause of all these things, because they delighted in the slaughter of mankind. And when they had it not in their power to delight in war, they forthwith did so in human sacrifices, and in the libations of human blood, with which they glutted themselves in every city!

**70.** One of two things is, therefore (the case) : Either, they were nothing; and it was grievous error that had then so taken hold of mankind, as to induce them to honour inanimate images as Gods, and vainly, emptily, and by a sort of madness, to sacrifice their own friends [132](#) (to them) : or, if they were possessed of power, it is likely that this would be fully effective, either of good, or of evil. Now, if they were in their nature beneficent Deities, remaining too on the earth, and occupying the middle part of the cities; they would not have evinced this sufficiently, unless for the advantage and safety of those among whom they lived. But, if they were wicked Demons, they would be engaged in every thing opposed to goodness. What then, can constitute a surer proof as to these things, than the fruits which (grew) out of their government; for, "*from its fruits is the tree known*[133](#)."

**71.** It is time therefore, that we enquire whether the wars and contentions---not of enemies, nor yet of Barbarians who arose against the Greeks, but of the Greeks themselves, who subscribed to the Gods of their fathers, and were infuriated against one another; --- were these fruits: the Gods too being within (their cities), and nearer than the (very) gates, and daily honoured by their citizens. What (then) did

they give, worthy of this worship, to those who so worshipped them? Was it, first of all, peace? that they might live a life of ease and comfort? ---- and thence, laws that were efficient, arid preservative of every thing good? If indeed, the things just now said were of this sort; there is no necessity we should doubt of the existence of good governours. But, if the extreme of evils had taken hold of the whole family of the Greeks:----the Gods being more numerous than the inhabitants: nor was it, that they were honoured in every city only, but also in every house:----and, (if) when they were (so) honoured, they supplied nothing more to those who honoured them, than the slaughter of wars, the desolation of villages, the rasing of cities, captivity, and spoil; the Greeks being inflamed against the Greeks by these things:----What can there be wanting to our knowing, and (thence) affirming, one of the two things supposed (above)? For, either these Gods could do nothing, because they were nothing: and thus, were far from being the cause of the evils : or, they possessed some [133](#) power, and were the cause of these: or, that they permitted these things to be so: or, that they themselves did them. If then, they were the doers of these evils, it would thus seem, that they should be styled the *Princes of evil*. But if, when these evils were done by others, they connived (at them), they were again, the betrayers of their Friends: they were not (their) helpers: but (their) deceivers; and were therefore, vicious.

**72.** For, if they were no Gods, and in their nature by no means superior to ourselves, but, were otherwise men who had realized sincerity through their excellency and wisdom ; Would they not have interposed themselves, and have relieved their Friends from contention?---- either persuading them by reason, or, saving them by power, and severing them to a distance from each other? counselling them also in the things which were becoming?---- when acting (I say only) as good men; and, as being their Friends, relieving them from their (mutual) enmity, and bringing them together for peace?

**73.** How then ;----for good men would have done this, had they happened (to be circumstanced as just mentioned): ---- did the Gods (act), being present with the Greeks and conversant among them, and honoured by all? Did they neglect their Friends, giving them up to bloodshed, desolation, and mutual slaughter? and, Why? Because they were unable to help them? or, being able, were unwilling? For if, when able, they were unwilling; it was no office of helpers which they performed for those who honoured them, but of enemies and deceivers! For those, who can deliver from calamities, but do it not, are in nothing better than enemies. But if, when willing, they were unable ; they merited desertion on account of their weakness. And, if they were thus circumstanced, the reputation of their being Gods was superfluous: nor did men truly ascribe to these the title of helpers; inasmuch as they did not help them to salvation, because of the weakness of their own nature.

**74.** But, if they advance a superintending fate<sup>134</sup>, such [134](#) as to take hold of every thing, and even of the Gods themselves, and (affirm), that this was the cause of the wars, and of every thing which came to pass among men ; this will overthrow the whole course of our life, as it will make every thing that is (virtuous) among us, vain ; and a doctrine false and vicious will, instead of this, make its ingress among us. And thus also, will the purposes of the Gods themselves be rendered vain, since they can do nothing hut that which has been fated. The things, which this makes it necessary should happen, (shall happen) even when the Gods will (them) not! And thus again, will the anxiety of those who reverence these Gods become vain and empty, since they render honour to beings who can effect nothing.

**75.** But in this were these astonishing (Deities) caught, that they had not the power to help against the evils of mankind ; that they were openly seen delighting in base and abominable stories about their own divinity, and in the wicked and unlawful sacrifices of men. From these things therefore, it becomes us to judge of these same Gods, as doing such things among the men of those times ; because, as their nature was attached to evils and to wars, they were convicted by their own deeds.

**76.** But now in our times, every anxiety about the Beings just mentioned has suddenly lost its power ; and the things belonging to this ancient disease have been cut off: every city, region, and locality,

among the heathen, now remaining in the profoundest peace! The whole of Asia, Europe, Lybia, and Egypt, which were formerly not better than a ship in a storm, on which the violent winds and tempests had fastened from every quarter, and had thus far, ---- and still farther by the northern blast, ---- contributed to her immersion ; are now so righted by the happy guidance of the helm of peace, in a serenity that is peaceful and a calm that is resplendent, that they subscribe to the ONE Ship-governour of all things. Such are all things now, [135](#) since he that was in Delphos has been desolated; since that Pythian, (I say) has been extinguished, and since the recollection of the rest of the Gods has been wholly withholden from the hearing of mankind. Nor have such things as that necessity of fate, or (those) war-loving Demons, agitated the cities. For, since the doctrine of our Saviour has obtained throughout the whole creation of man, in every city, village, and place ; and again, since no race of Demons, but He alone who is the King of all, God, and that Creator of the whole world, THE WORD OF GOD, has been made known and honoured by all men, Barbarians and Greeks; every word about fate has been rendered unavailing: every war-making necessity too has been removed far away: the Divine peace-making WORD is hymned throughout the whole earth: the race of man is reconciled to God its Father ; and peace and love have been restored to all nations! The things, which pertained to the Gods, are now no more done; ----nor are those which set up the system of warfare (that men carried on) against one another, when those (their) ancient temples occupied the highest positions throughout the whole earth,----(now that these) have fallen under the extremity of desolation, and all those Gods, which formerly uttered their cry in every place, have either from shame or fear, been reduced to silence<sup>135</sup>: every city too, nation, and region, have by means of the right hand of love, been made at once to enjoy peace, and are delighting [136](#) themselves under one government in the deepest established order and agreement. In what manner of life all, both among the Greeks and the Barbarians, existed formerly, when they honoured the Gods far more than their own friends, there is now no need we should shew at length, having shortly laid these things open already, except (to say) that these ancient things are, as such, matters of record.

**77.** But, Why should any one say that these are things of recent occurrence? since, as far back as (the death) of Alexander of Macedon, not long before the manifestation of our Saviour, many governments arose. For Arridaeus<sup>136</sup>, the brother of Alexander, received the Kingdom of Macedon: of those that were in Europe, Antipater took possession ; Ptolemy, of Egypt and Alexandria ; Seleucus became Governor of Phoenicia and Coelo-Syria: Philotos, of Cilicia; Antigonos, of Asia ; Casander, of Caria ; Leonatus, of the Hellespont ; Eumenes, of Paphlagonia ; and Lysimachus, of those parts that bordered upon Thrace. From this time these, with those who had received their governments, poured forth as rivers against one another in war. For, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, marched fifteen times out of Egypt. Seleucus too, met Ptolemy King of the Macedonians, and was killed. Perdiccas also, entered Egypt with an army. Ptolemy took Cyprus, and Demetrius seized upon Syria. Another too, went forth to another place, and, with the violence usually attendant on robbery, seized upon those who resided on his borders.

**78.** Thus therefore, during this same time, were things brought to pass one after another in every quarter of the world. When the worship of many Gods prevailed, there was neither peace nor agreement ; while mutual enmity abounded. Sacred places, Fanes, and Temples too, were abundantly appropriated to these in every city. With [137](#) many votive offerings were these temples adorned. Much talk too was engaged in respecting these Gods, by the kings of those times, as was also by the people, the inhabitants of villages, and of every (other) place; so that they honoured with images and altars these (Deities) of their fathers, in their houses, their very treasuries, and inner chambers. Nevertheless, when thus circumstanced, they were no better than demoniacs whose souls had been perverted by madness, (and) that during their whole lives, they polluted themselves with the blood of their own countrymen! And truly demoniacal were they in their wars with one another, and in their pertinacity in the reduction



of cities: the demons, the leaders astray of the world, being their helpers in these matters!

**79.** Those too who were thought to be Gods, who gave out divinations, and foreknowledge (of things to come) to their worshippers, were not so discerning as to foreknow, or to foretell, their own destruction<sup>137</sup>: which happened to them all, at the manifestation of our Saviour among mankind! This too is a mighty proof of their inferiority, as it is a well grounded reproach on the divinations which were formerly published among all the Greeks. Nor did any one of the Diviners indeed, foretell that manifestation of our Saviour<sup>138</sup>, which (has taken place) among men ; nor yet, the <sup>138</sup> new doctrine which has been given by Him to all the nations. Neither did that Pythian (Apollo), nor any other of the great Demons, foreknow his own destruction; nor did he prophesy respecting Him who was to come (to be) the destroyer and uprooter of them all; nor yet, did he foresee respecting all those of the nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, who should leave the error of a plurality of Gods, and acknowledge the God who is over all.

**80.** What Diviner<sup>139</sup> then, or Enchanter? What Demi-god, Demon, or God, has foreshewn by divination, that these their beauties should be extinguished, when He should be manifested, who was to be a *new thing*<sup>140</sup> in the life of man, and (is) the "*knowledge*<sup>141</sup> of God" who is above and over all, and whose worship has now been communicated to all nations? Who is he (I ask), that has prophesied of the destruction of their Temples, and of their own utter ruin? and, Who,----supposing of these Images of gold and silver which are every where, whose fusion was by fire, and whose change as to appearance was quite useless, were supremely serviceable to man;----that, as (these) their Gods were (but) molten, they should, by way of contempt and derision, be afflictively cut to pieces? Which (I ask) of the Gods has ever put (this) on record? And, How was it with their supporters, that they lent no aid to their Temples, when these were rased to the ground by men? And, How were those circumstanced who, in former times were engaged in creating wars, that in their own calamities they should look with complacency on their uprooters, who were in the profoundest peace<sup>142</sup>? But, the <sup>139</sup> wonder of the matter is this, that, when their Temples were subjected to destruction, a peace, administering increase to every excellency and good, had taken firm hold on the life of men: every thing happening to the contrary, when the Gods were in peace! For, during their prosperity, wars, conflicts, commotions, and the reducing of cities,----as shewn in history, and as we have already said,----(prevailed) among men: but, in their desolation, an entire peace with every good thing without drawback. Whence it must be evident to every one capable of reflection, that these were no Gods, as it also must, that they were not good Demons, but on the contrary, vicious ones. Those must also have been destroyers, whose prosperity was the cause of calamities to mankind, and whose ruin led the way to the bringing in of every good to all. But, how (all was) formerly in commotion among the Greeks, and how the nations throughout the whole earth were agitated, we now know, as to a few things:----

**81.** And hence we may perceive why appointments, the character of which was varying, subverted the lives of all. For the Egyptians had a law, allowing them to take their own sisters as wives<sup>143</sup>: the Persians, to hold shameful and sinful converse with their own mothers<sup>144</sup>: others, to <sup>140</sup> pollute their own daughters in unlawful wedlock<sup>145</sup>: and of these, the extent was such, that ("the natural use of) the woman was interdicted. The wickedness too, of the Philosophers themselves, as also the intercourse with men which is out of nature, had reduced all the Greeks to insanity<sup>146</sup>. Besides there were some, by whom it was thought right to conceal (their own while living) in the earth in Sepulchres<sup>147</sup>; and by others, to deliver (these) to the flames! Others however, gave up these things as impious<sup>148</sup>, and exposed their dead <sup>141</sup> (only) to the dogs and birds of prey. Others murdered those who came to them as guests<sup>149</sup>! Others too, feasted themselves on human flesh<sup>150</sup>! And again, there were those who, when their friends were in the agonies (of death), sacrificed them and feasted on them, before they



expired<sup>151</sup>! Others, who were approaching old age, they threw from rocks<sup>152</sup>! Others they gave up to strangulation<sup>153</sup>! Others<sup>154</sup> they threw <sup>142</sup> to the dogs, while still living; and others, while dying<sup>155</sup>! Others they buried with these (alive<sup>156</sup>)! while others put the living to death on the funeral pile; those (I say), whom those (now) dead had loved <sup>157</sup>!

**82.** Thus therefore, had the whole human race been led on to the last stage of brutality, so that he, who was (once) rational, became the most irrational of all. Nor was there any other (being), of those that were on the earth, more vicious than man; who had been (so) led into every vile affection, and had (so) corrupted his mind with every species of wickedness, that he readily forsook even the reflection which belonged to his nature, and did nothing well, either of the things pertaining to the soul, the body, or of those, which were external to him; but, he every where became subject to vice upon vice!---For, the lives of men are divided among the things which are of the soul, of the body, and of those which are external (to both). But, the error of the Demons had (now) so possessed in every form, and had so corrupted, the lives of men, that the things of the soul were at war with them, through the madness of the Demon-worship which had (so) seized upon them, and through their foolishness and blindness as to the truth,---- about which (truth) even the family of Philosophers was in a state of agitation. And, as to the things of the body, (they consisted) in the human sacrifices which (prevailed) throughout the whole earth ; and again, in the base, lawless, and corrupt practices, which were foreign to nature. The things too, which were external (to both, consisted) in this, <sup>143</sup> that in the cities, localities, and nations, all were, at one time, divided into parties ; at another,----when they were brought together,----they contended against each other, by means of the desolations and reductions of cities, in which they mutually laboured. And, the length of the day would be insufficient for me, were I to relate all the things pertaining to this ancient disease, which had (so) seized upon the whole race of man. And, on this account more particularly, was God the Saviour necessary to this our (mortal) life, as to those who had been cast down to the last extremity of evil: nor was there any other cure or aid (for this), except by means of the glorious and divine manifestation (of Christ).

**83.** What, then, was it right that THE WORD, the Father of rational beings, the Saviour of all, the Guardian, the providential Care, the Shepherd of the rational flock which is on the earth, should, after (the occurrence of) these things, do, in order to raise to great honour the rational and intelligent Essence which is in man, (and) which had (so) fallen into the vast depths of evil? And that he, who had with his own hands (so) dragged upon himself the cause of his ruin, might see (and know Him as) his friend? Would it have been well, that (even) a man should pass over the safety of his friends, and unpitiously neglect them when thus perishing, who had the highest claim to his providential care? No Captain indeed, would ever be termed wise, who should give up his ship with its crew to go down, having by him that which (would secure) the safety of those who sailed with him, but not applying it. Nor was there ever a General so merciless, as to give up, unavenged, the soldiers of his army to their enemies. Nor is there any good Shepherd, who unfeelingly neglects the (single) sheep <sup>144</sup> that has strayed from his flock; but, he leaves those that are not lost and in a secure place, and undergoes every thing for the discovery of that which has strayed ; and, should it be necessary, he will even engage with the wild beasts<sup>158</sup> (in its defence). The providential care, however, of THE WORD, the Saviour,----of Him who has provided every thing for (His) rational creatures,----was not put forth (merely) for a flock that is irrational. For, it is man (only) of the creatures that are on the earth, who is (thus) beloved of God; and it is man also, to whom He has, as a Father, given up every kind of irrational animal in subjection. It is to man too, to whom He has assigned the navigation of the seas; and for whom He has adorned the earth with every sort of plant. To him He has subjected both the (various) kinds of beings that swim in the unseen depths, and of the birds that fly in the heights. It is man moreover, to whom He has granted the faculty of knowledge for receiving every sort of learning. To him likewise, has He made plain the observation of things in the heavens, the (annual) courses of the sun, the (monthly) changes of the

moon, and the progress of the stars both planetary and fixed<sup>159</sup>.

**84.** How then, after (the occurrence) of these things, could it have been becoming, that the fatherly anxiety and providential care which is over all,----which had (so) rightly exerted its care for those other things of the body, and of this sensible world,----should be so crippled as to become inactive, as it respected the healing of the rational Essence vested in man? It had afforded every sort of provision for man, every sort of remedy, and (means) of health, for the body, growth also, strength, beauty, riches, delights, and the increase of possession for (his) convenience. And, Would He put forth not so much as one effort of care, that they might become acquainted with the things which are <sup>145</sup> most excellent in them, with their own souls, and the Essence which is intelligent? But thus, it is likely one would rather blame the imbecility (or) carelessness, not of the sheep wandering from the flock, but of the shepherd: and again, not the infirm of soul, or those calamitously circumstanced ; but the contempt or imbecility of the physician, if he gave not every sort of medicine for the healing and aid of those, who (so) needed (it). Every necessity would therefore call upon Him, who is the Guardian and Saviour of all, for the healing of his (rational) flock.

**85.** It is likely therefore, that the compassionate WORD OF GOD would, as a good Shepherd, Saviour, and Guardian, when His rational flock on earth was (thus) implicated in the greatest evils, deign openly to make a Divine manifestation of Himself; since, behold! He had never allowed even a period to pass, in which He did not fully exert His providential care, for the supply of every good thing to those who were in need. At every period therefore, in all ages of the world, He both looked, and engaged Himself, upon the things belonging to the earth; and gave freely in times of necessity, of the things which were (laid up) with Him: and so without upbraiding, evinced He the promptness of His providential care towards all men, that He even afforded instruction to those among mankind who were worthy (of this), by revelations of Angels, and by raising up holy Ministers of God : by Prophecy also, and familiar intercourse, He preached the Godhead of His Father, and the life that was most excellent, to those who were capable of being taught in the mysteries of the worship of God: at that period, too, he gave the instruction which was from Himself to our Fathers, as to those who were still infants, and inexperienced in evil.

**86.** Because then (men) had by a perversion which <sup>146</sup> was not good (growing) out of their liberty, and from the will of their minds, set themselves up, and (hence) had fallen from the life that is excellent into (many) evils; it is likely, that the same WORD OF GOD, would again,----as the Physician of souls,----by adequate aids succour those who suffered this malady, and bring back by bitter medicines, those who had not benefited by these His gifts<sup>160</sup>. On these grievous diseases of vice therefore, He took vengeance by pestilences, famines, wars, conflagrations, and inundations (of waters); and thus turned back to Himself, those who stood in need of these things. At one time He purged the entire life of all, by destructions of waters: at another, He punished the wicked by excessive rains in (certain) places, by strokes of the lightning, by burnings, or by withholding the (necessary) rains. And again, in the abundance of His mercy, He made certain by these same deeds, both (his) rebukes and teachings against the errors of Demons. The Temples too, of those who were thought to be Gods, and (their) Fanes, together with the images and Gods themselves, did He desolate by destructive strokes of lightning; and thus He put to shame those follies. Nor was it (this) only, but He taught them to distinguish by their own reason, that these never were Gods, and, that it was not in their power even to help themselves: and also, that they were neither of the household of God the King of all, nor friends of Him, who (thus) waged war against them. For, How could He who is the cause of every good thing, give up to destruction by fire, the Temples which (men) had built to His own honour; unless (indeed) He did this for a reproof of their error? For, if it was His will that the Demons which resided in these should be honoured, Why did He destroy their Temples together with their images? By means of the arrows which were sent from above from God, He drove far away from their eminences those who

resided in these (Temples), and fully preached, in this way (and) by these doings, in the hearing of all men, crying out (as it were), Cease ye from the error of Demons, and (from affirming) that there are many [147](#) Gods; and acknowledge that Lord of heaven and earth and of the whole universe, who is God (indeed): that Saviour, that Nourisher, that Preserver;---Him, who, (as) they may see with their own eyes, has openly shewn His providential care over them ; at one time, in the supply of seasonable rains, of fruits borne of all (that springs) out of the earth, of wealth, and of comforts, unsparingly : at another, by the chastisements sent from God, and by the modes of discipline which were from Himself, has He brought back as with a bridle, those who were insensible of the good things, with which He had furnished them. Nor was it (this) only, but He also so cured the error of those who supposed these to be Gods, by a continuance of the lightnings and conflagrations which (came) upon them, that the Temples of the Gods were even burnt, together with those who had fabricated Gods for themselves, by ambushments of men: plainly exhibiting to those who could see, the rebuke which was due to the error of these. Nevertheless, when these worshippers of the Gods witnessed these early (occurrences), they entertained no greater a disposition towards the correction of their impiety!

**87.** And [161](#) again also, when they believed in these Gods, who had (virtually) confessed by their divinations, that they could effect nothing beyond what had been fated;---for Fate is the cause of all (in this acceptance);--- they understood not, nor did they consider, that, as (this) Fate took hold both of themselves and of the Gods, vain must be (every) trust put in these, as they could neither help, nor injure mankind in any thing. And, Only so? ----If it were right to honour Fate, as the cause of every thing; still this, as being a necessity impervious to change, could have no power even over itself! But, He has put forth the knowledge of Himself,---in order that (men) might know Him to be Lord of this (fate), and also of every (other) thing;---at one time, by the supply of every sort of good thing; at another, by chastising the error of a plurality of Gods in thunderings and in [148](#) lightnings. And it has accordingly been made matter of history, that the Temple of Delphos,---of that Pythian (Apollo) who was (so much) preached [162](#) of formerly,---underwent upon one occasion (an entire) conflagration; but these, remaining in their error, raised it up a second time; and God the second time destroyed it! They renewed it also a third time; and He again, expelled entirely from its place, not the Temple, but the Demon that resided within its chamber, by his Divine manifestation! so that now, this is no more a house of divination ; nor does he, who formerly led the Greeks astray, (any more) practise there.

**88.** The Temple of Diana too at Ephesus, came to (its) destruction three several times. On one occasion, the Amazons [163](#) burnt it; on another, Herododotus [164](#) (Herostratus), one of the inhabitants of Ephesus; and lastly, on another, (it was ruined) by God who is over all. So that now, after the manifestation of our Saviour, nothing more [149](#) is visible even there, except the great (and) signal mark of the victory of (its) overthrow.

**89.** They have recorded moreover, that the Temple of Juno in Argus was destroyed on one occasion by fire [165](#); as was also that in Abas [166](#), in like manner, when the Thebans made an incursion and burnt it, and with it five hundred men!

**90.** It is also said, that on one occasion, lightning struck the statue of Jupiter [167](#) in Olympia.

**91.** The Roman histories likewise inform us, that the Temple of Vesta [168](#) which is in Rome, and which is called [150](#) the Pantheon [169](#),---(all) the Gods being assembled together there, as it should seem,--- was again, destroyed by lightning.

**92.** And again, on one occasion, lightning fell from heaven on that which is called by them the Capitol, and destroyed that house of every Temple [170](#). [151](#)

**93.** With all these modes of discipline therefore, has the Providence which is over all, THE WORD OF

GOD, put to shame from all time, those who worshipped Demons. Nor was it (this) only, but He also taught them, from ancient times by doctrines worthy of God, that they should worship His Father. He has likewise, cast forth (as seed) among mortal men, the doctrines conducive to life; divine laws, and precepts of righteousness, as herbs (productive) of things that are good, and as medicines for the salvation of reasonable souls. Thus (did He) in ancient times with the Hebrews through Prophets, men who partook of the Divine Spirit. And again, from a long extended antiquity, through other Friends of God<sup>171</sup>: and again afterwards, through those who were vested with the Divinity, did He call those who had been cast off to death, to (the means of) recovery. He also sowed (as it were) in the souls of men, the rudiments of the Divine laws;---of various kinds of instructions ; of doctrines of every kind; of predictions, and of prophecies of things to come; as also the love of that life (which is devoted) to the worship of God. Hence poured forth as from a fountain, even in every part of the creation, the seed, (and thence) the rational observances (of life): and hence, laws and lawgivers were seen among all the nations; and the name of virtue and of philosophy became known among men. (Now) came into being the love of things most excellent; and, the desire to discover the truth was in such active operation with the many, that the error of their forefathers came into utter contempt, and, with the intelligent, those things which belonged to the worship and love of God, into repute. The truth too had been wanting; and great had been the differences respecting this with the many, as had the contentions and divisions of those, who disputed about doctrines. And thus did these things shew, that the Providence (exerted) over mankind, was from [152](#) all time great, (and) evincing the care for every man, which was both suitable and sufficient.

**94.** Because then, great would be the change for the better in every one, upon human life's becoming tranquillized, and the common conduct (of all) being changed from its former wildness to something approaching to benignity ; it is likely, that the common Saviour of all, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, would more particularly, and the more readily, make his Divine manifestation at a time that would be (most) suitable<sup>172</sup>. He accordingly came in by the mission of himself, and shewed forth to men,---who could by no other means arrive at the knowledge of the truth, by the instrumentality of a human vessel,---the God of truth. The God of truth did then, through the divine operations and astonishing miracles which were evident to all, shew forth the doctrine of heavenly teaching which respected His Kingdom ; in order that by these, He might henceforth,---even as He had formerly afforded aid by means of the things already mentioned,---instruct the whole human race in the doctrine which is heavenly. It was impossible indeed, in ancient times, to make those who had been driven to the last stage of vice, pure by words (only), inviting (them) to the perfect knowledge of God, and to the better life of purity and of righteousness. On this account, just as Physicians prescribe their remedies to those who are sick and debilitated by pains and sufferings, not the healthy food proper for the robust, but things that give uneasiness and pain; and, should it be [153](#) necessary, do not excuse themselves from applying cauteries and bitter draughts, to coerce the disease:---not the aliments proper for the healthy, but those suitable to the sick: but, when they have become convalescent, they will henceforth allow them to partake of wholesome and strengthening food :---

**95.** So likewise the common Saviour of all, as the Shepherd and Physician of His rational flocks on earth, taught those---who had previous to His last divine manifestation entered into the many follies of a plurality of Gods, and had been maddened by the evils and fierceness attending (this) corruption of mind,---by bitter punishments, by pestilences, famines, and the continuance of wars against each other. And again, by excessive rains, by the withholding of the rains, and by calamitous strokes of lightning, did He annihilate these instances of obstinacy : besides, He afforded opportunity to the worshippers of the Demons to see, by the vengeance taken in the strokes of lightning sent upon the Idols, the reproach due to the error of a plurality of Gods.

**96.** He again as a good Father, thus also afforded instruction to the foolish; for He imparted to them

ungrudgingly, the gifts which were from Himself, in the provision of every good and rich thing: rains in their seasons; the production of fruits; the changes of the seasons ; and the carrying forward of animal life. The rational means also of all kinds of art; the seeds of these, and the (due) consideration of them, He cast forth into the souls of men. Again also He sowed (as it were), by means of the Prophets who are preached of among the Hebrews, the rudiments of the Divine precepts; the instruction pertaining to the fear of God; the entrance, the stages, and principal things, attending the Divine laws ; such (I say) as were suitable to the men of those times. He again from his providential care, (and) by means of many others, also gave the aid which was convenient for men as then (existing).

**97.** Because therefore, the life of man had henceforward undergone a change, by means of these things, to a state of peacefulness and rest, and was prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God ; well again, did [154](#) the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth at a time that was suitable, and by these same operations, the Divine manifestation of Himself. But, as these things have been largely set forth already, it is (now) time we should proceed to those that (should) follow them.

*The End of the Second Book of (Eusebius) of Caesarea.*

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[Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

1. <sup>1</sup> This, according to our author, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ix. is the person spoken of, Is. xiv. 12. That the king of Babylon is here primarily meant, there can be no doubt: but whether the " common enemy" of man is secondarily, may be matter of debate.
2. <sup>2</sup> We now come again to certain passages in the Orat. de laudd. Constantini, identical with some in this work. Cap. xiii. pp. 531, D. 632, &c. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x.
3. <sup>3</sup> It must, I think, be sufficiently certain from this place, that Eusebius was no Arian. A passage, similarly strong, is to be found in his Orat. de laudd. Constantini, (cap. ii. p. mihi 501. A----D.) in these words: [Greek] "Et ille quidem unigenitus Dei Sermo, a saeculis principio carentibus, ad infinita usque et interminata saecula regnat cum Patre." See above Book i. §. 4, 30: also iii. 19, 39: iv. 8: v. 51. and, above all, Theodoriti Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. capp. xi. xii. in the latter of which a Copy of the Nicene Creed is given, as emanating from Eusebius, and this for the specific purpose of shewing, that he was no Arian. See also his Eccl. Hist. Lib. i. cap. ii. also the Introduction to this Work. See also, generally, the two Works of our author against Marcellus. In Lib. ii. Eccl. Theolog. cap. xiv. he speaks, indeed, of His having a beginning, but this is with reference to his proceeding from the Father: in other words, his being revealed to created rational existences.
4. <sup>4</sup> This argument is admirably prosecuted in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. xiii. p. 117. seq. as it is also in the "Graecarum affectionum Curatio," by Theodoret, Sermo. I. seq.
5. <sup>12</sup> See also, De laudd. Constant, cap. vii. p. 513. B. where we have a similar recension of these Deities. Our passage, however, is found ib. cap. xiii. 532. A.
6. <sup>13</sup> See also the Homilia Clementina Quinta. xxii. xxiii. seq.
7. <sup>15</sup> Cicero (de Natura Deorum in. 15, 16) has admirably depicted this state of things : " Piscem Syri venerantur : omne fere genus bestiarum Aegyptii consecraverunt. Jam vero in Graecia multos habent ex hominibus Deos ; Alabandum Alabandi ; Tenedii Tenem ; Leucotheam, quae fuit Ino, et ejus Palaemonem filium, cuncta Graecia; Herculem, Aesculapium, Tyndaridas ; Romulum nostri, aliosque complures, quos, quasi novos et ascriptitios cives, in coelum receptos putant...Haec igitur indocti. Quid



vos philosophi? qui meliora? . . . Quare igitur plures adjungimus Deos? quanta autem est illorum multitudo? . . . singulas enim stellas numeras Deos; eosque aut belluarum nomine appellas, ut Capram, ut Nepam, ut Taurum, ut Dionem; aut rerum inanimatarum, ut Argo, ut Aram, ut Coronam. Sed, ut haec concedantur, reliqua qui tandem non modo concedi, sed omnino intelligi possunt? Cum fruges, Cererem; vinum, Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis, utimur usitato: sed equem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, Deum credat esse?"

8. <sup>1</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. B. See also Clemens Alexandr. Admonitio ad Gentes, p. 34. seq.

So Horace Serm. Lib. i. Sat. viii. 1. "Olim truncus eram," &c. Athenagoras Legat. pro Christ, p. 66, gives an admirable account of the first Images, and Image-makers, among the Greeks.

9. <sup>3</sup> So Tertullian, Eccles. Hist. of the second and third centuries, by the Bishop of Bristol, Cambridge, 1826, p. 216. An Image among Idolaters is nothing, until consecrated and a Deity supposed to reside within it. They are then considered as *Temples*. ([Arabic], Pocock. spec. Hist. Arab. pp. 91, 144, seq.) or *Chapels* of the Deity. From the following passage of Lactantius (Lib. ii. cap. xviii. p. 103,) it is obvious, that Images could not have had place in the Church:..." non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, *ubicunque simulacrum* est. Nam si religio ex divinis rebus est; divini autem nihil est, nisi in coelestibus rebus; carent ergo religione simulacra, quia nihil potest esse coeleste in ea re, quae fit ex terra." ...Quicquid enim simulatur, id falsum sit necesse est: nec potest unquam vere nomen accipere, quod veritatem fuco et imitatione mentitur.

10. <sup>4</sup> See sect. 63. Book I.---Gr. (Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib.) " *katade/smoij*;" which, as Valesius shews, ib. notes, p. 255, is a term applied to magical usages. See this note. See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. cap. ix. p. 271. C.

11. <sup>5</sup> Lactantius (Lib. ii. cap. xiv.) says of these, that they were originally Angels sent from Heaven to protect and govern men ; but, falling into lust through the temptations of Satan, they at length became his ministers: which has evidently been taken from the Jews. See the Targums on Gen. vi. 2. He further tells us, that the Grammarians say they are so called, as being *dah&monej*, i. e. *knowing*. Such is, *I* think the *Boot* ([?]) originally *Boodhi, wise* of the East, to this day. ---- Hesiod also makes them *the guardians of men*, "*fu&lakej qnhtw~n aOnqrw&pwn*." (Oper. et Dies. Lib. 1. 122.). This opinion prevails still in the East: and it is affirmed, that whole regions are subjected to their controul, as may be seen in the Dabistan, the Hakk olyakeen ([Arabic] ), and many other Persic and Arabic works. Lactantius tells us, a little lower down, from Hermes Trismegistus, that piety, consisting in the knowledge of the true God, was sufficient to save men from their evil influence. Porphyry tells us (Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. x. p. 197. and Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford. p. 131.) that they are all evil Demons: their Chief being Sarapis, i.e. Pluto, or Hecate: and (Prep. Evang. ib.) much the same is said by Anebo the Egyptian.

12. <sup>6</sup> See Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. : ii. cap. i. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. i. x ---- xiii. Lactant. Lib. i. cap. viii ---- xv. who prosecutes this argument at much length, and gives us even the philosophical Cicero deifying his own daughter!

13. <sup>7</sup> Syr. [Syriac], Gr. *Meli/kamqoj*, the Phoenician Hercules according to Sanchoniathon, Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 38. In the

Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 532. it is written *Melka&qaron*. The word has been greatly deformed by the Copyists in our text. See the note of Valesius to the above place, cap. xiii. p. (notes) 255.



14. <sup>1</sup> [Syriac] Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 533. Oulswron. Prep. Evang. p. 35. Oulswron.
15. <sup>2</sup> Syr. [Syriac], Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 533, Dou&sarij: the Dusa&rhj of the Greek and Latin writers, as noted by Bochart, and, after him, by Pococke, Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 106, and which he thinks is the Arabic [Arabic] *Dhushara*, or Bacchus. See also the note of Valesius ad cap. xiii. Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 255.
16. <sup>3</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. Probably the OObod, *Uranius* of Stephen of Byzantium, as cited by Pococke Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 137, &c. and variously accounted for by him. The passage is found in "Euseb. Orat. de laudd. Constant." p. 532----3. 1Obdon. But see the note of Valesius on this place, ib. p. 255, which is full and valuable.
17. <sup>4</sup> Syr. [Syriac] Gr. Za&lmocij, or Za&molcij. See Vossius de Idololatria, Lib. i. cap. xxxix. Herodot. iv. 94. and Photius. The *Zalmoxis* or *Zamolxis*, of the Getae. The Syriac does not support the conjecture (pai~dej) of Valesius here. In these cases, the Syriac Translator seems to have taken the termination of the Greek accusative case.
18. <sup>5</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. Gr. Mo&yoy. Ovid. Metam. viii. 350. termed *Ampycides*, as being the son of *Ampycus*. It. ib. xii. 456. 528. See also Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 533. Mo&yion, and the note of Valesius.
19. <sup>6</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. Gr. OAmfia&rewn. Laudd. Constant, ib. See the Odyss. O. 244. Hor. Od. iii. 16. Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 3. Ovid. Ex. Pont. Epist. Lib. in. 1. 52. &c. Euseb. laudd. Constant. OAmfia&rewn. Valesius. note ib. OAmfia&rew. The Trojans also, according to Athenagoras, worshipped Hector and Helen, the Lacedemonians Agamemnon, and Phylonae: and so of others. Legat pro Christianis, at its commencement, So ib. p. 60. Again, ib. p. 63, he gives us the story of the mundane egg ; which identifies this mythology, with that of the Brahmins of Hindustan. So also Theophilus ad Autolyicum, Lib. ii., who refers to the "Aves" of Aristophanes as his authority: p. 116. it. Clemens Alexand, Admonitio ad Gentes. p. 35. seq.
20. <sup>7</sup> The Greek text, Orat. de laudd. Constant, is defective here, as Valesius has properly remarked, and as some of the MSS. have intimated by inserting the word " lei/pei ". (p. 533. and 255 notes).
21. <sup>8</sup> . . . "Quod si ita est, Coeli quoque parentes Dii habendi sunt, Aether, et Dies, eorumque fratres et sorores, qui a genealogis antiquis sic nominantur, Amor, Dolor, Metus, Labor, Invidia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebrae, Miseria, Querela, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parcae, Hesperides, Somnia; quos omnes Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt. Aut haec monstra probanda sunt, aut prima illa tollenda." Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 17."
22. <sup>9</sup> "Ergo hi Dii sunt habendi, mortalibus nati matribus? (sc. Apollo, Vulcanus, Mercurius, Hercules, Aesculapius. Bacchus. &c.) Cic. ib. c. 18. Comp. Clemens. Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 18. seq."
23. <sup>10</sup> "Jam vero quid vos illa delectat explicatio fabularum, et enodatio nominum? exsectum a filio Coelum, vinctum itidem a filio Saturnum? &c., Cic. ib. iii. 24. From passages of this sort, occurring in the profane authors, it should seem, that the best informed of those times were growing weary of the follies of heathenism. Nevertheless they adhered to these errors, and even defended them : for which Lactantius, very properly castigates them, and Cicero in particular, Lib. ii. ii.

24. <sup>1</sup> Gr. [Greek] the stealing of women, which proved the cause of so many wars in ancient times. Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 533. A. B.

25. <sup>2</sup> The Greek text of the Orat. de laudd. Constant, leaves us here; but. recurs to this passage, ib. p. 534. D.

26. <sup>3</sup> The most famous instances of this sort was. perhaps, afforded by the Temple of Venus in Cyprus; to which people resorted from all quarters. A similar usage obtained among the Babylonians. Herodot. i. 199.

27. <sup>5</sup> The well-known rape of Ganymede, son of Tros king of Phrygia. Ovid. Met. x. 155. shortly details the matter thus: " Rex Superum Phrygii quondam Ganymedis amore Arsit: et inventum est aliquid, quod Jupiter esse, Quam quod erat, mallet." See also Lactantius de falsa Relig. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 34. Edit. 1698. "Illud vero summae impietatis ac sceleris, quod regium puerum rapuit ad stuprum:" seq. See also Clemens Alexand., who recites several such cases. Ib. Theodoret. Graec. affect. curat. Serm. iii. p. 520. seq. And Arnobius adversus Gentes, Lib. i. p. 165. seq. Edit. 1604.

28. <sup>6</sup> Rom. i. 27. Our text differs so much from the Peschito, as to warrant the assumption, that it was translated for the occasion. It stands thus: [Syriac]. This place occurs in the Orat. de laudd. Constant, cap. xiii. p. 535. A. That our author has *not* overstated this matter, is evident from many ancient writers of the greatest respectability. The following is from Cicero, De Nat. Deorum. i. 16. " Exposui fere, non philosophorum iudicia, sed delirantium somnia. Nec enim multo absurdiora sunt ea, quae Poetarum vocibus fusa, ipsa suavitate nocuerunt; qui et *ira inflammatos et libidine furentes induxerunt Deos, feceruntque, ut eorum bella, pugnas, proelia, vulnera, videremus ; odia praeterea, dissidia, discordias, ortus, interitus, querelas, lamentationes, effusas in omni intemperantia libidines, adulteria, vincula, cum humano genere concubitus, mortalesque ex immortali procreates.*" Nor, according to Cicero himself, were the philosophers in any respect better. Compare the first few sections of the work, De Natura Deorum. To the same effect, Porphyry in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. p. 172. D. And ib. Lib. xii. cap. xlix. p. 618. Origen contra Cels. Lib. vii. p. 365. Plato in his Republics, Lib. x.---- Much of this noxious sort of matter is to be found in some of the Classic authors still extant, and which are too often put into the hands of our youth, e. g. The Comedies of Plautus, Terence, and Aristophanes; the Epigrams, &c. of Martial and Ausonius, &c.----See Theophilus ad Autolyicum, Lib. iii. p. 142. seq.

29. <sup>3</sup> Syr. [Syriac] should perhaps, be the reading of the second word here. The meaning of our author probably is, that the excitement received at these exhibitions was not unlike that---- together with the other things here mentioned,----witnessed in corn parched by a sharp fire: i. e. by having an unnatural stimulus applied, evinced an unnatural action. The whole place however, is obscure.

30. <sup>4</sup> So Tatian (Orat. contra Graecos, p. 176. C. seq.) [Greek] " Quid obsecro fit apud vos egregium, aut admiratione dignum? Obscoena verba naso resonante effutiunt, et motus indecentes moventur, et adulteriorum in scena magistros filias et filii vestri spectant," &c. See the notes to sect. 13 above; some good remarks on this subject will be found, cited from Porphyry, in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. p. 172. D. From Plato, ib. Lib. xii. 49. D. seq. In Theodoret, Gr. affect, curatio, Serm. iii. Tom. iv. p. 511. D. seq. See also Theophilus ad Autolyicum, Lib. in. p. 149. D. where an admirable lesson to Christians will be found on this point.

31. <sup>5</sup> So Eph. iv. 18, 19. " *Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life, of God ... being past feeling, have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness.*" Plato seems to have held much the same opinion on these matters, see the place just pointed out. See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 39. seq.

32. <sup>1</sup> Such for example, as the labours of Hercules; and, in the present day, those of Buddha, Rama, &c.

as abounding in the poetic fictions of the Buddhists, Hindoos, and others. Cicero was so much impressed with the absurdities put forth by the Philosophers, that he confesses, that although he is most willing to receive the truth, yet he doubts, whether it is at all to be found without much admixture of error. His words are, (De Natura Deorum, i, 5.) " Non enim sumus ii, quibus nihil verum esse videtur, sed ii, qui omnibus veris falsa quaedam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certa judicandi et assentiendi nota." Plato's opinions on these foolish and abominable stories may be seen in Gaisford's Edit. of Theodoret. Gr. affect. curat. p. 121. seq. Prep. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. vii.

33. <sup>4</sup> See the Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. i. seq. it. Lib. xiv. cap. ix. p. 740. Also Tatiani contra Graecos Oratio. in its outset, and Theodoret Gr. affect, curat. Sermon. i. For a general account of the Philosophers and their chronological succession, see the Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. xiv. Diog. Laert. Lib. i. pref. seq. Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. i. Our author has shewn pretty much at length, Prep. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. i. p. 45 : ib. 460 ---- 168, that the Greeks were great copyists, and even plagiarists, both from foreigners and from one another. So also Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vi. near the beginning: and, on the succession of the Greek Philosophers, ib. Lib. i. p. 300. C. seq. Edit. 1620.

34. <sup>1</sup> So Epicurus after Democritus, according to Plutarch (de Placit. Philosoph. p. 877. See also their lives in Diog. Laertius.) *Atoms* are, in our work, termed [Syriac] *bodies that cannot be cut*: i.e. indivisible. So called, according to Plutarch, [Greek] i. e. It is termed *atom*, not because it is very small, but because *it cannot be cut, or divided*. The Syrian translator has availed himself of this, and adopted it accordingly. These atoms had, according to Democritus, *figure and magnitude* ; to which Epicurus added *weight* ; without which, as he thought, they could not gravitate. They were supposed too, to be various in form, *round, oval, angular, hooked, &c. &c.* (See Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philos. p. 1263. Tom. i.) : which, I suppose, our author intimates when he says, "*without extent, or, having projecting parts,*" &c. Syr.[Syriac]. Matter similar to this will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. viii. And the whole passage from Plutarch, ib. Lib. xiv. cap. xiv. p. 749. A. seq. which see.

35. <sup>2</sup> So also Numenius, Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxii. [Greek]. Plutarch ascribes the notion about *Rest*, to Archidamus, (Laconica Apophthegmata, p. 218. seq. Tom. ii. Edit. 1620) in these words: *Kalo\_n h9suxi/a* : i.e. *Rest is good*. Again, (ib. Com. repugnant Stoic, p. 1033), he speaks of this sentiment as praised by Hieronymus and Epicurus (see §. 50 below), and blames the Philosophers for adopting it, while they recommended an active life. His words are : [Greek]. And so Diogenes Laertius in his life of Democritus: [Greek]. "Finem vero esse rectum, quietumque animi statum, quam *eu0qumi/an* vocat, quae, ut quidam oblique interpretantur, non idem sit quod voluptas, rerum secundum quam animus magna tranquillitate constantiaque beatus est, dum nullo metu, nulla superstitione, aut alia quavis perturbatione agitur. Eandem vero et *Eu0estw\_* appellat, a bonitate constantiae, multisque nominibus aliis." It should seem also, that he wrote two books on this subject, one entitled, "*De sedatione Animi,*" and the other, "*Euesto.*" See ib. This probably was the origin of the Epicurean tenet, *of Pleasure* being the chief good. See also Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. i. p. 1177. seq. it. 1200: where we are told, that the *pleasure of rest* was the Epicurean tenet: that of *motion*, the Cyrenaic: and, that Epicurus has been greatly wronged, by having been thought *a sensualist*.

36. <sup>3</sup> Which is but an echo of (Diog. Laert. life of Epicurus), [Greek]

37. <sup>4</sup> And so the Hindoos of the present day. Lactantius enters fully, and eloquently on this subject, Lib. i. cap. ii. de falsa religione.

38. <sup>1</sup> Such, according to Plutarch, was Euripides the tragic Poet; not daring openly to profess his notions, through fear of the Areopagus. De Placit. Philos. p. 880. Vol. ii.

39. <sup>2</sup> Much the same thing is said by Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ, p. 71. D. and in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. v. p. 708....[Greek] To the same effect also Theodoret, Serm. de Provid. i. Tom. iv. p. 322. A. Tatian. Orat. contra Graecos, in the outset, and Diog. Laert. in vita Arist. near the end. Theodoret again, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, adds on this subject. [Greek] Inquit enim ad lunam usque Dei gubernationem deferri; quae vero sunt infra lunam fato esse subjecta."

40. <sup>3</sup> Plato, as cited by Laertius, (Lib. iii. segm. 78) makes health, strength, the integrity of the senses, wealth, family, glory, &c. necessary to happiness; but he does not exclude virtue. So also Aristotle, according to Tatian. Orat. contra Graecos. init.

41. <sup>4</sup> The opinions of the Ancients on the soul, are given at length in Aristotle's work, " De anima," Lib. i. cap. ii.

42. <sup>5</sup> Aristotle, De anima, Lib. n. eap. i. seq. Diog. Laert. in vita Arist. prope finem. Plutarch de Placitis Philos. (p. 875.) [Greek] " *Tum ipsa forma, quam vocamus entelecheian.*" The origin of this he ascribes to Aristotle, (ib. p. 878.) as a principle in nature. [Greek] Aristotle made *Entelechia, or form, matter, and privation*, principles, &c. But, how this is said to be ascribed to the soul by Aristotle and his followers, may be seen in an extract from Plotinus, Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. x. Edit. Viger. p. 811. seq. and Bruckeri Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. i. p. 821. seq. Cicero (Tuscul. Qusest. Lib. i. cap. x. 22.), tells us that this was a fifth element with Aristotle: i. e. in addition to those of earth, air, fire, and water: his words are, "Quintum genus adhibet, vacans nomine; et sic ipsum animum *eOntele/xeian* appellat novo nomine: quasi quandam continuatam motionem et perennem." See also Justin Martyr. Orat. Parenet. Ed. Steph. p. 13. 1. 15. Theodoret Graec. affect. curat. p. 195. Edit. Gaisford. [Greek]

43. <sup>1</sup> Lactantius Lib. i. cap. v. 22. Ed. 1698. tells us that, " Aristoteles, quamvis secum ipsa dissideat, ac repugnantia sibi et dicat et sentiat: in summum tamen unam mentem mundo praeesse testatur," which seems to me admirably to suit this place. Brucker,----an invaluable writer on the philosophy of the ancients,----thus speaks summarily on Aristotle, (Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. I. p. 814. Ed. secund.)

44. <sup>2</sup> Again, speaking of the Demonology of Aristotle, he says (ib. p. 831.) "Quibus (i. e. demonibus) an preces et sacrificia offerenda sint,...cautus non explicuit; verisimile tamen, Aristotelem ea inter istas fabulas, ad popellum deliniendum...excogitatas, retulisse." Athenagoras charges him with believing, that the one God consisted both of soul and body ; and that this body was ethereal, or consisted of the Aether. Legat. pro. Christ. p. 54.

45. <sup>4</sup> The doctrine here had in view, is thus stated by Aristocles (Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xiv.) [Greek]. They say that fire is an element of things,----just as Heraclitus did----and that of this (element) the originators were Matter and God,---as Plato had.----But these say, that both are bodies, both the doing and the suffering : while he affirmed, that the first was the active and unembodied cause. They also say, that, after certain defined and fatally appointed periods, the whole world shall be burned, and again be set in beautiful order, &c.----It is added, (ib.) that this fire contains within it, as seed, the properties and causes of all things, past, present, and future. See also, ib. capp. xv. xvi.

46. <sup>1</sup> So Porphyry, (as cited ib. cap. xvi.) God, they say, is a sort of intelligent fire, which will consume, and pervade all things, &c. which he condemns as utter folly. See also Spencer's note on Origen contra Cels. Lib. i. p. 6. lin. 52.

47. <sup>3</sup> So Arius Didymus (as cited Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xv.) [Greek]. They term the whole world, with its parts, God. This, they say, is one absolute, living, and eternal being, and God: that, in this all bodies are contained, and that no void (vacuum) exists in him .. that the world is eternal, and is God,----He goes on to say, that with respect to order, Etc. it is begotten, and, as to the infinite periods of time

through which it has passed, or is to pass, it is subject to change; and may be considered as a sort of mansion for Gods and men: or as a city of which the Gods are the governours; men the governed.

48. <sup>4</sup> Cleanthes affirmed that Zeno, with Heraclitus and others, placed the nature of the soul in sense, or vapour. [Greek]. And again. Souls arise as vapour from things humid. [Greek] Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xx. D. See the whole of the article, with the refutation from Longinus, ib. cap. xxi.

49. <sup>5</sup> The soul, they say, is both generative and perishable; but is not dissolved with the body, but remains of itself for some time: but the souls of the studious will endure till the general conflagration; while those of the ignorant will endure only for a certain period of time. [Greek] Ib. cap. xx. p. 822. B.C. It is added, that the souls of the ignorant, as well as those of the irrational animals, will perish with their bodies. The xxii. Chapter, ib. contains a long and valuable article on these matters from Plotinus.----See also Theod. Graec. affect. Curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 195. seq.

50. <sup>6</sup> There can be no doubt, I think, that this notion, about an universal conflagration, was originally taken from the Bible, and misapplied both by heathens and believers. The first passage occurs in Deut. xxxii. 22---- 24.; the last, 2 Peter iii. 7, which, with all their parallels, cannot by any legitimate interpretation extend to any thing beyond the fall of Jerusalem, and of heathen Rome. In like manner, we have a sort of Millennium and of Antichrist, common to both Mohammedans and Christians, and misapplied by both.

51. <sup>7</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. *That again Helen and the evils of Ilium*. Anaximander also held, that the world would be dissolved and again produced. Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. xiv. p. 548. B.C. seq.

52. <sup>1</sup> Syr. [Syriac], *Anytus and Melitus*. Two persons who were particularly unfriendly to Socrates, and at length brought about his condemnation. See Plato's Apology for Socrates, and Diogenes Laertius ii. 38: Tatian. Orat. contra Graecos, near the beginning: and Origen contra Cels. Lib. iv. p.208. seq.

53. <sup>2</sup> On this general conflagration, see the Prep. Evang. ib. capp. xviii. xix. p. 820. In the former, Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, are said to have been the most ancient teachers of this doctrine.

54. <sup>3</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. Among these Thales the Milesian, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Leucippus, Heraclitus, Epicurus, and others. The person, who according to Brucker was peculiarly styled "*Physicus*" was Strato of Lampsaca, the successor of Theophrastus in the Lyceum. (Vol. i. p. 845. See ib. p. 458. seq.)

55. <sup>4</sup> Syr. [Syriac] So Thales, Brucker, &c. ib. p. 465. seq. So the Brahmins of India of the present, and former times. Which is probably nothing more than the Chaos of the Bible. According to Brucker however, it is very doubtful whether Thales was atheistic, grounding this on the requirements of the emanation system. He got his philosophy in Egypt, according to Plutarch; but see the Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. xiv. the various opinions of this subject, as cited from Plutarch, and followed by the comment of our author.

56. <sup>5</sup> This was the opinion of Heraclitus, and Hippasus, who added, that as fire was the origin of all, so should it be the destruction. Anaximander too, according to Plutarch (de Placit. Philos.) affirmed that God was a globe of fire.

57. <sup>6</sup> This was the opinion of Anaximenes, while Archelaus made both the air and infinity the origin of all things: Anaximander, infinity only. Pythagoras----the prince of Philosophers----number, and its proportions.

58. <sup>7</sup> Empedocles held, that the Elements of all were fire, air, earth, and water; while the Principles were, Friendship and Discord: the one uniting all things; the other dissevering them. For a more

particular account of these Philosophers, see Brucker, Tom. ii. Pars. ii. Lib. ii. cap. i. *seq.*

59. <sup>8</sup> In the abominations practised in most of their mysteries, as of Venus, the Eleusinian, &c. of the Phallus in Egypt, of the Fascinus of the Vestals, and of the Lingam of the Hindoos even at this day; many of which obtained among the Gnostics, and do now among the Druzes on Mount Libanus. See also Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Serm. i. p. 482.

60. <sup>9</sup> These were termed Atheists by the philosophers generally. See Vossius de Idololatria.. Lib. i. c. 3...Brucker, Tom. i. Index Atheus. Lactan. De falsa relig. Lib. i. cap. ii. &c.

61. <sup>10</sup> To our author's fondness of this philosophy, of *First* and *Second Cause*, and to the particularity with which he followed it up, may perhaps be ascribed all the bad names bestowed on him, both by the ancients and moderns. When arguing with the philosophers of his day, he would, naturally enough, seize upon those things which they appeared to hold in common with himself; and might thence be tempted also to adopt their illustrations, to an extent which would prove unfavourable to himself in the end,----a mistake more frequently committed, perhaps, than most men are aware. In his Praeparatio Evangelica he has I think, given good proof of this. In Book vii. ch. xi. and ib. Book xi. ch. xiii. he has shewn, that the Hebrews held, in common with Plato, the doctrine of *One only supreme God*. Again, Book vii. cap. xii. he gives us what he styles the Theology of the Hebrews on *the Second Cause, the second Essence, the Divine power, the first subsistence, THE WORD (logos), the Wisdom, and the Power, of God*. He then gives (cap. xiii.) the opinions of Philo Judaeus on this subject, which are extremely curious; and then (cap. xiv.) those of Aristobulus on the same. Again (Book xi. ch. xiv.) we have Plato (ch. xv.), Philo, and (ch. xvi.) Plato again, and (ch. xvii.) Plotinus on Plato, (ch. xviii.) Numenius on Plato, and (ch. xix.) Amelius reasoning after St John, on the same subject. All of which, our author affirms, is in strict accordance with the mind of the sacred writers. And, I have no doubt, this is to a certain extent true: and, that these views originated in one common source, viz. the Sacred Scriptures. But then, several passages cited by Eusebius, have obviously been misunderstood by him, e. g. Job xxviii. 20; Ps. xxxii. 6, &c. Others have no authority, viz. Wisd. vi. 24: vii. 22: viii. 1. which are apocryphal. And again, in following out these views, (ib. Book vii. ch. xv. p. 325), he has unhappily adopted comparisons, which have brought upon him the charge of Arianism: although he has, perhaps, said nothing more than many of our own divines have, in the trite comparison, which makes the body of the Sun to represent the Father, the light issuing therefrom the Son, and the warmth the Holy Ghost. This subject will, however, be resumed in our Introduction, and entered into more particularly. This doctrine, of a Second Cause, is also to be found in Clemens. Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 708. B.

62. <sup>1</sup> Cicero, nevertheless, accuses him (as our author does) of the greatest inconsistency in these matters, e.g. De Nat. Deor. Lib. 1.13. 20. Ed. 1830. p. 818. " Jam de Platonis inconstantiae longum est dicere..... quod vero sine corpore ullo Deum vult esse, ut Graeci dicunt *ἀσώματος*..... Idem et in Timaeo dicit, et in Legibus, et Mundum Deum esse, et Coelum, et Astra, et Terram, et animos, et eos quos majorum institutis accepimus: quae et per se sunt falsa perspicue, et inter sese vehementer pugnantia." Of this *Maker* of the world, Cicero likewise takes notice; and, as it was not unlikely,----circumstanced as he was,----ridicules. Ib. cap. ix. 18. "Audite.....non fuit commenticiasque sententias, non *opificem aedificatoremque* mundi, Platonis de Timaeo Deum: nec anum fatidicam Stoicorum *Προνοίαν*," &c. For a full and accurate account of Plato, his Philosophy, Writings, &c., the reader is referred to Brucker. Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. i. Index, with the authors cited.

63. <sup>2</sup> See the Prep. Evang. Lib. xii. cap. li. p. 626. B. seq. ib. p. 627. B. C. seq. it. 628. B. seq. it. cap. lii.

64. <sup>3</sup> This passage occurs in the Prep. Lib. xi. cap. xvi. and there said to be taken from the Epimenides



of Plato. But no dialogue bearing that title is now to be found among the writings of Plato, as Viger has remarked in his notes. (Prep. Evang. p. 51. notes.) It occurs, however, in the *Epinomis*, §. 9. (p. 30. Edit. Lond. 1826.) ...The place is cited (as Viger also tells us) by Cyril. *Alexan. Lib. viii.* against Julian, (Edit. Spanh. p. 271. 2.) and by Theodoret, *Graecar. affect. Edit. 1642. Tom. iv. p. 499.* Edit. Gaisford, p. 89. See also the note to the *Lond. Edit.* of Plato, as above.

65. <sup>1</sup> This passage occurs in the sixth Epistle of Plato, (Edit. London, 1826. p. 96.) and is given by Eusebius, (Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xvi. Edit. Viger. p. 534.) also by Cyril of Alexandria, against Julian (Edit. Spanh. p. 271.), by Theodoret---for the most part---(*Graec. affect. curatio. Sermon. ii.* Edit. 1642. p. 498. Tom. iv. Edit. Gaisford, p. 87.) and by (Clemens. *Alexand. Strom. v.* pp. 436, 698: and Origen *contra Celsum Lib. vi.* p. 280. See *ib.* p. 308. [...])

66. <sup>2</sup> The passage here imitated is cited by Laertius, *Plato. Lib. in. Segm. 78.* [...]

67. <sup>3</sup> Syr. [Syriac] The *Bendidi/a e9orth\_* of the Athenians, called also *Bendi/deia*, and *Be/ndeia*. In the *Lexicon to the Timaeus of Plato*, *Bendis* is said to be the same with *Artemis (Diana)*, a Thracian word: and, that *Bendidia* signifies the feast of *Diana*, with the Thracians. [Greek] The term occurs in *Plato's Polit.* (Lond. Edit, p: 326. Tom. vi.---Steph. p. 354.) Eusebius had in view, perhaps, the following passage of Origeri against Celsus, (vii. p. 277.) when he wrote this: viz. [Greek] *But they, who wrote such things about the, supreme good, go down to the Piraeus to pray to the Goddess Diana, and to see the celebration of the feast of Bendis.* I adopt the reading of Hemsterhusius, which receives no small degree of authority from this place of Eusebius. The place of Plato, is probably that on which the Scholiast has thus remarked: (London Edit. Tom. IX. p. 89.) [Greek]. The allusion here is to the *Polit. i.* p. 253. Lond. Edit. It stands thus: [Greek]. See the notes here. On which the Scholiast (Tom. ix. p. 67. seq.) gives some further particulars stating, that this feast was common both to the Athenians and Thracians, and was celebrated at the Piraeus on the 19th day of the month Thargelion. [...]

68. <sup>1</sup> In the *Phaedo* of Plato, §. 155. Lond. Edit. Vol. v. p. 409, see the notes. It, Lactantius, iii. 20, "de falsa sapientia." See also Spencer's note on Origen (*contra Cels. Lib. vi.* p. 277. notes, p. 74.), where we are told, that this is to be taken figuratively.

69. <sup>5</sup> So also Cicero (*Natura Deorum, Lib. in. §. 6.*)..."Majoribus autem nostris etiam nulla reddita ratione, credere." And again, as cited by Lactantius: "non esse illa vulgo disputanda, ne susceptas publice religiones disputatio talis extinguat." *Lib. ii. cap. ii.*

70. <sup>1</sup> It is probable, I think, that Eusebius had a passage, in a work ascribed to Justin Martyr, here in view: viz. " [Greek]. For Plato indeed, as coming from above, and having seen and learned accurately all things in the heavens, says, that the most high God exists in a fiery essence. *Paeren. ad Graecos*, p. 12. Edit. Steph.

71. <sup>2</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. *The "Ideas"* of Plato are perhaps alluded to here. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxiii. xv. xiii. xlv. it. Lib. xii. xix. p. 593. B.

72. <sup>1</sup> This argument is also touched upon by Cyrill of Alexandria in his work against Julian. (Edit. Spanh. p. 284.) The Syriac here speaks in the first person, as is usual with Oriental writers: thus, [Syriac]. *For not as my opinion, but as theirs:* i.e. Plato here makes the statement, not as resting on his authority, but on theirs. See also Vossius *de Orig. et prog. idololatrie, Lib. i. cap. xli.* p. 15]. and the Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. i.

73. <sup>2</sup> Theodoret (*Graec. affect. curat. Sermon. v.* p. 547: Gaisford's Edit. p. 207. seq.) gives the opinion of Plato very much as it is here stated, but he does not cite this place. I have to thank Mr Professor Scholefield for pointing it out to me: otherwise I fear the work must have gone to press without it. It will be

found in the London Edit. Tom. viii. p. 446. Bekk. p. 102. Legg. ix. as follows. [Greek] Our translator does not seem to have read [Greek] in his copy.

74. <sup>3</sup> This appears to be the passage cited from the Apology of Socrates, in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. x. (Edit. Viger. p. 660. B.) thus:---[Greek]

75. <sup>4</sup> This is also taken from the Apology of Socrates, and occurs, Prep. Evang. ib. D. as spoken by Socrates:

76. <sup>3</sup> Justin Martyr (Param. ad Graecos. p. 27.) thus introduces a part of this passage;...[Greek]...which, he says, is copied, from the Cherubim of Scripture. This passage, occurring amongst the most fanciful and silly matter of any in Plato, and honoured probably more frequently by citation than any other, is to be found in the Phaedrus (Edit. Lond. 1826.) Vol. i. p. 78, where it stands thus: [Greek] See the notes here. It has been cited by Clemens Alexand. Cohort. ad Gentes. et Strom. v. 598. Sylb. (T. ii. p. 709. Potter) Stob. Serm. v. p. 67. v. 32. Spanheim. ad Julian. Orat. i. p. 119. and Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ, p. 69, &c.

77. <sup>1</sup> The same too, and in nearly the same words, is given by Theodoret. (Ib. pp. 475, 490. seq. and 512. seq.)

78. <sup>2</sup> Much interesting matter to this effect cited from Plato, will be found, Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. i. seq. See also Vigor's notes. The place alluded to here, is in the Phaedrus, Lond. Edit. Vol. i. p. 82. See the notes: cited also by Origen contra Cels. Lib. vi. p. 288. Edit. Spencer.

79. <sup>3</sup> These were the followers of Aristotle. See sect. 20 above, also Bruckeri, Hist. Crit. Phil. Tom. i. p. 78, seq. Syr. [Syriac].

80. <sup>2</sup> This is taken from the Fourth Book of the Laws [...]

81. <sup>4</sup> Allusion is, perhaps, here made to a passage in the Timaeus, (Edit. Lond. Tom. vn. p. 280. seq.)..." [Greek] " Contra vero agentes cogi in ortu secundo, sexu mutato, fieri mulirem, et qui ne tum quidem finem peccandi faciet, qua tenus depravatur, eatenus in brutorum naturam suis moribus similem permutari." Which is a full recognition of the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. xm. cap. xvi. where the same question is discussed.

82. <sup>5</sup> Sect. 31, above.

83. <sup>6</sup> Passages, it. Lib. xiii. cap. xviii. to the same effect will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. capp. xxxi, xxxii. seq. from the Timaeus, &c. The Scripture cited is, Rom. i. 21, 25, but is rather accommodated here, than exactly quoted.

84. <sup>1</sup> Considerable extracts to this effect are given from the Epinomis, the Timaeus, and the Tenth book of the Laws of Plato, in the Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. xviii.

85. <sup>7</sup> In the tenth Book of the Laws, not far from the beginning, Plato speaks very much as our author does; while he seems disposed to excuse the wanderings of antiquity as to these things. To no one, perhaps, can the words of Ovid be more properly applied ; " *Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor.*"

86. <sup>1</sup> That is, came into being such as ours is. See sect. 33, above.

87. <sup>1</sup> Probably the followers of the New Academy. See Brucker. Tom. i. p. 759. seq.

88. <sup>4</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. *Pyrrho*, who was the originator of this sect. See Diog. Laert. in his life, Bruckeri Hist. Philos. Crit. Tom. i. Pars. ii. Lib. ii. cap. xiii. p. 1317 : and Tom. ii. Per. ii. Pars. i. Lib. i. cap. ii.

Sect. ix. p. 627. Suidas sub. voce *Pu&r0r9wn*, and *Pur0r9w&neioi*. See also Euseb. Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. xviii. seq.

89. <sup>5</sup> Syr. [Syriac] Gr. *e0poxh&* This is the term from which the *0Efektikoi*/, *Ephectics* took their name : it is thus given in the Greek by Suidas : [Greek] This place in Suidas is, cited from Laertius, Lib. ix. seg. 70, who gives, *le/gw de\*, for the *le/gw dh\_*; of Suidas. (Edit. Wetst.) The term (*e0poxh\_*) also occurs Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. iv. p. 512. A.

90. <sup>1</sup> Delphos, Gr. *oi9 Delfoi/*. In Phocis, and said to be in the midst of all Greece, and of the earth as its navel, stood this celebrated city and Oracle, near the springs of Castalia.

91. <sup>2</sup> Lebadia, Gr. *lebadia/a*, and *leba&deia*, was near Phocis in Boeotia: it was famous for the Temple of Jupiter Trophonius, which it contained. Syr. [Syriac]. To the same effect Origen contra Cels. Lib. in. p. 131. seq.

92. <sup>3</sup> Colophon, Gr. *h9 kolofw&n*. Famous for the Clarian Apollo, who gave responses there. Syr. [Syriac] A city of Ionia.

93. <sup>4</sup> Miletus, Gr. *Mi/lhtoj*, an ancient and large city of Ionia, where there was a Temple of the Didymean Apollo, which was burnt down by Xerxes. Ib. cap. iii. Syr. [Syriac]. Some exceedingly interesting and valuable matter on these, and other Oracles of Greece, as well as of other places, will be found in the Prep. Evang. See the index, under Oracula. Also in Theodoret, Graecar. affect. curatio, Sermon. x. Tom. iv. p. 623. seq. The latter is particularly valuable: as is also Origen's account of them, (contra Cels. Lib. vii. p. 333. seq.)

94. <sup>5</sup> See Sect. 19, above.

95. <sup>6</sup> Ib. Atoms. See also Theophilus ad Autolyicum. Lib. III. p. mihi 144 seq. where we have some admirable remarks on this subject.

96. <sup>7</sup> See Sect. 20, above: Note.

97. <sup>2</sup> [...] There is another passage in Plutarch, which speaks of nourishing the hair as commendable: (Life of Lysander, 1st. par.) speaking of the image of Lysander as, [Greek] *well adorning the hair, after the ancient manner, and sending down a noble beard*. It is added, as a saying of Lycurgus, *that hair made the good still more becoming; the vicious, more frightful*. [Greek]. Theodoret (Serm. i. de Providentia, p. 321. Tom. iv.) speaks thus of the *beard* and *hair* of the Philosophers, together with the white robe, (*tribw\_n*.) [Greek] Hence we see too, that the *tribw\_n* was white. It was probably woollen, and the same as that worn by the *Soofee* Philosophers of the East; and so called because made of wool ([Arabic] *soof*.) It should seem from a passage in Diog. Laert. that it was the moral Philosophers only, who wore their hair long and flowing. In vita Carnead...[Greek]

98. <sup>3</sup> Here again we have the Greek text, as preserved in the Orat. de laudd. Constant, cap. xiii. p. 533. C.

99. <sup>1</sup> This clause is wanting in the Greek.

100. <sup>2</sup> See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 27. seq. Edit. 1629. This argument is urged, Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 4. and the Gr. text found as cited above.

101. <sup>3</sup> This appears to be taken from Philo Byblius (Sanchoniathon,) as preserved in the Prep. Evang.

cap. x. p. 40. and Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 156, in these words: [Greek]. We are then told, that *Israel*, who reigned in Phoenicia, and was there only another name for *Saturn*, had so sacrificed his son *Jeud* ( *Oleou&d* ); which in the Phoenician language meant "*only son*," ( *mongenou&j* ). This is apparently told as being the origin of their custom. We may observe however, that the name *Israel* is evidently taken from the Hebrew Bible, as is the name *Jeud* (Judah); for Israel certainly had such son. There is a blunder however, in the application; for, it was *Abraham* who laid his son on the altar for sacrifice; and that son's name was *Isaac*, not *Jeud*. There is, moreover, another blunder here, for Jahid ([Hebrew] Syr. [Syriac]) must have signified only one; or *monogenh\_j* in the Phoenician.

102. <sup>4</sup> This is found in the Gr. as above cited, but defectively, and has been taken from Porphyry, Prep. Evang. p. 155. B. [Greek] Part of this is also found in Cyrill. Alexandr. against Julian, p. 128. seq. Edit. Spanh. [...]

103. <sup>5</sup> Syr. [Syriac], imitating the form of the Greek case in It is worth remarking here, that Porphyry,---from whom this passage is taken (Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. pp. 155, 102.)---says, this place was formerly named *Coronea*, *Korw&neia*: which appears to me, generally to have escaped the Geographers. This was the Salamis of Cyprus, as the context shews.

104. <sup>6</sup> Our March.

105. <sup>11</sup> *The Seleucus who spoke of God*: a periphrasis for the Greek *qeolo&goj*. He was, as Viger thinks, (notes ib.) a Grammarian of Alexandria, who wrote commentaries on most of the Poets, &c. and a hundred books on the Gods; and, that on this last account he was termed the *Theologian*. See also Suidas sub voce. This place is also cited by Cyrill .of Alexandria, Edit. Spanh. p. 128, with considerable varieties of reading from that of Eusebius. [...]

106. <sup>1</sup> This is an exact translation of the passage preserved in Eusebius (Prep. Evang. ib.), so much so, that the very order, ellipses, &c. of the Greek are followed. [...] ----This Amosis was, according to some, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. x. pp. 490, 493, &c.

107. <sup>2</sup> This too is found in Porphyry, the Prep. Evang. ib. and Viger's notes, ib. p. 11. it. Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib.

108. <sup>13</sup> A disciple and interpreter of Callimachus, and an author of many works both in verse and prose. See Vigor's note (p. 11.).

109. <sup>1</sup> Syr. [Syriac] See a very curious note on these mysteries. Origen contra Cels. p. 8. line 44. Spencer's notes, p. 11.

110. <sup>7</sup> It is not very certain who this was: some attribute this to Gelo, a prince of Syracuse. See Viger's notes, ib. p. 12.

111. <sup>8</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. Gr. *Douma&tioi*. See Vigor's notes. Perhaps the Arabian *Doumat* '1 Jandal, Arab. [Arabic]. The latter word is, probably a modern adjunct, given by way of distinction. This place (See Pocock. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 95. Ed. White) was famous for the worship of an idol named *Wadd* ([Arabic]), our *Woden*, or the Indian *Bhuddha*. The sacrifice of the *Boy* was an imitation, no doubt, of that of Isaac, as were evidently the human sacrifices of Phoenicia, noticed above. Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 534. A. but defectively.

112. <sup>12</sup> [...]. According to tradition, Erectheus had two sons and two daughters, all of whom were sacrificed for the good of the State. De laudd. ib., but in some respects differently.

113. <sup>13</sup> [...] It was a city of Arcadia, formed out of many inconsiderable neighbouring places, soon after the battle of Leuctra, under the auspices of Epaminondas. See Cellarius Geog. Antiq. sub voce.----Orat. de laudd. ib., omits much here.

114. <sup>14</sup> [...] The feast of Jupiter must therefore, I think, be meant, and not the lupercalia of Rome, which the translations given of the Greek seem to intimate.

115. <sup>16</sup> The citation from Porphyry ends here. The words immediately following are those of Eusebius.

116. <sup>17</sup> [...] This passage is also given in the Prep. Evang. but much more at length, (pp. 158----161.) and is taken from the Bibliotheca of Diodorus Siculus (Lib. xx. cap. xiv.).

117. <sup>18</sup> Syr. [Syriac] meaning Carthaginians.

118. <sup>19</sup> [...] Lactantius (De falsa religione Lib. i. cap. xxi.) refers to this in these words: "Pescennius Festus in Libris historiarum per satiram refert, Carthaginienses Saturno humanas hostias solitos immolare, et cum victi essent ab Agathocle rege Siculorum: iratum sibi deum putavisse; itaque, ut diligentius piaculum solverent, ducentos nobilium filios immolasse." He gives some other instances too, which may be added to the above: viz. "Apud Cyprios (See Sect. 55, above) humanam hostiam Jovi Teucus immolavit: idque sacrificium posteris tradidit: quod est nuper Hadriano imperante sublatum." Ib. cap. xx.----"Erat lex apud Tauros...ut Dianae hospites immolarentur: et id sacrificium multis temporibus celebratum est." (See Sect. 53,64, above). Ib.----"Ne Latini quidem hujus immanitatis expertes fuerunt, siquidem Latialis Juppiter etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano."----"Non minoris insania; judicanda sunt publica illa sacra, quorum alia sunt matris deum, in quibus homines suis ipsi virilibus litant; ...alia Virtutis, quam eandem Bellonam vocant, in quibus ipsi sacerdotes, non alieno, sed suo cruore sacrificant," &c. which is probably the case noticed above (Note 15.) by Eusebius, and is identical with that of the priests of Baal, mentioned in 1 Kings xviii. 28. To this horrid list of vices, Theophilus ad Autolyicum, (Lib. m. p. 143. seq.) adds several others too disgusting to be mentioned, and yet many of them recommended by some of the most famous Philosophers! See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad gentes. p. 22. seq. which is cited here in the Prep. Evang. p. 157. Similar practices prevailed among the Druids of Gaul and Great Britain as Caesar intimates, as also among the Nomades of Tartary.

119. <sup>1</sup> The account of this is cited at length in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 158. seq. as taken from Lib. i. of the work of Hallicarnassensis: it occurs also Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 534. B. with certain variations. This circumstance is said to have happened to the Pelasgi in Italy, and to have been the cause of their migrating into distant countries. We are told, ib. p. 159. B. that Myrsilus the Lesbian relates much the same things as having happened to the Tyrrhenians. The author tells us moreover, that these offerings were made to Jupiter, Apollo, and the Cabiri: [Greek] and, that this decimation of men (young men, it should seem) was called for by the Oracle, and enforced by the magistrates, ----notwithstanding the migrations which hence took place,----until Hercules put an end to it, by commanding that images of men, dressed up as for the sacrifice, should be annually thrown into the Tibur. (Edit. Steph. 1540. p. 16.) It should seem, from accounts now before the public, that human sacrifices still prevail in the East to some extent. In the district of Ganjam in Hindustan, a tribe of natives called *Khoonds* annually sacrifice a human victim, in order to secure good crops. The Chieftains, it is said, of the different districts, take it by turns to offer this sacrifice annually: at other times, the offering is made to avert, or remove, some evil. These Chieftains then, have a child, sometimes children, purchased, or taken, in their marauding expeditions in the low country, to bring up for this express purpose: the more full grown and perfect, the better. This victim is put to death by the blow of an axe: the blood is sprinkled on the Idol, which is the image of a Peacock,----carved in wood,----with three heads. The body is then divided into as many parts as there are districts, and again

into as many small pieces as there are families, who bury each his portion either in his house, or about his fields. It is stated in a Paper in "the Journal of the Asiatic Society," No. xiii. p. 136, that "this horrid custom ...is in a fair way of being entirely rooted out by the vigorous measures of Lord Elphinstone." The writer of the same paper, tells us of mounds in Southern India, which he thinks are composed of the ashes of sacrificial victims. His words are (ib. p. 1,35.)----"I must admit, though reluctantly, the possibility of some of them being the remains of great sacrificial holocausts performed by the Rishis of old in their solitudes, since the ancient annals of the country abound in allusions both to bestial and human sacrifices... on a fearful scale of magnitude." He alludes (ib.) to the Druidical sacrifices made formerly in our own land.

120. <sup>1</sup> As indeed the marauding tribes of Turcomans, Tartars, Bedouins, and others in the East still do.---Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. D. but with certain discrepancies.

121. <sup>2</sup> This is said also in the Preparatio Evangelica, (Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 10. D.) and is there advanced with reference to the Roman Empire being consolidated under Augustus, and thence enjoying----under one comprehensive government----a peace, unknown to it before. So also here, Book in. Sect. 1. seq. and Book v. Sect. 52.

122. <sup>3</sup> The Kings enumerated in Joshua xii. 24. are in the Heb. Bible *thirty-one*, in the Sept. Greek twenty-nine, in number. Our author thought it sufficient, perhaps, to give the round number thirty.

123. <sup>4</sup> Syr. [Syriac]Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. Tom. ii. Lib. iii. cap. xiii. p. 316. The Bethshan of the Old Testament. Jud. i. 27, &c. situated not far from the Lake of Gennesaret.

124. <sup>5</sup> [...]. So named by Herod in honour of Augustus. See Cellarius. Geog. Antiq. p. mihi 112. with the authorities there cited.

125. <sup>5</sup> This paragraph was probably in the mind of Theodoret, when he wrote the passage, (Serm. x. de Oraculis, p. 633. Tom. iv.) commencing at line 10 from the bottom. Our author here refers to the wars of the Canaanites with one another, and with the Jews, as related generally by Josephus.----This place is not without its obscurity.

126. <sup>7</sup> See Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 178. D. Syr. [Syriac]. lit. *Heads of places*.

127. <sup>1</sup> This seems to assign the origin of Idolatry to Egypt: the plains of Shinar (Gen. xi. 2. seq. comp. Rev. xvii. 5.) seem to me to lay a better claim to this. Egypt may, indeed, have adorned it much with its science : hut so did Babylon. (See Is. xlvii. 12, 13. it. ib. xiv. 12----14. with the Commentators on these places.) Greece perhaps got much of its Idolatry from Egypt, while the East was more particularly supplied with this from Bahylon. See also Vossius de Idololatria, passim.

128. <sup>14</sup> The places of Thucydides here referred to, will be readily found by consulting the Indexes of the best Editions of that writer.

129. <sup>1</sup> This is taken from Herodotus, Lib. i. c. xlvii. who gives it thus : [Greek]. To which three other lines are added. See the notes in the best editions here. The passage is alluded to, and commented upon, by Oenomaus in the Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. xx. p. 210. seq. It is cited ib. p. 230. B. with a few variations, (see Vigor's notes in each place,) as it also is in Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 63.

130. <sup>2</sup> The particulars here referred to, will be found in Herodotus, 1. c. et seq. On these Oracles, generally, see the Index to the Prep. Evang. (sub voce " *Oracula*," Viger's Edit.) Theodoret, Serm. ix. Graec. affect. curatio, &c.

131. <sup>3</sup> Herodot. Lib. i. lix. lxiv. Syr. [Syriac]



132. <sup>12</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. The *Orchomenians*. But I can find no account of this in the histories. An argument not unlike this is urged at length by Cicero (de Nat. Deor. in. 32 - 33. seq.), where Pisistratus is also adduced as an instance either of weakness or wickedness in the Gods.

133. <sup>1</sup> Matt. xii. 33. The reading here, as elsewhere, differs slightly from the Peschito.

134. <sup>2</sup> On this subject, generally, see the Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. Prooem. p. 236. seq. and cap. vii. Theodoret, Graec. affect. curat. Serm. vi. p. 562. Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. iv. p. 495. C. Lactant. Lib. in. cap. xxix. Our author against Hierocles, p. 541. Edit. 1628. Plutarch, Libellus de Fortuna, and Ephrem Syrus, Tom. ii. Syr. et Lat. p. 451. seq. where our form [Syriac], is applied again and again.

135. <sup>2</sup> According to Plutarch,----who lived in the times of Trajan, and wrote a very valuable work on the failing of the Oracles (De defectu Oraculorum),----excepting Lebadia in Boeotia alone, the Oracles had every where become silent, and their fanes ruined. His words are: (Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 205.)... [Greek] This is followed (ib.) by an account from the same author, of the general decay of demoniacal influence, which, according to him, commenced in the times of Tiberius Caesar:----the very time,----as Eusebius proceeds to remark----when our Lord cast them out, and declared that he saw Satan fall from heaven like lightning. He tells us too, (ib. p. 164. D.) that human sacrifices, which had every where prevailed, entirely ceased in the times of Hadrian----when the Christian religion had become generally known----as noticed above.

136. <sup>1</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. This is, no doubt, the Arridaeus, Ar0r9idai~oj of Diodorus Siculus : who, as he says, was the son of Philip, now received the name of Philip, and was made king. His words are:... [Greek]. (Bibl. Tom. viii. ii.) The authors, therefore, of the Universal History are wrong when they say, that this man was the Son of Roxana, and named Alexander.

137. <sup>3</sup> Eusebius does, nevertheless, give a passage from Porphyry, (Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 204.; see also p. 238.) in which Apollo is made to speak of their failing. The context, however, in this case is sufficient to shew, that this revelation was not put forth until the thing foretold had come to pass. This is followed (ib.) by a quotation, noticed above (par. 7C.), from Plutarch, on the general failing of the Oracles. See Viper's notes on both.

138. <sup>4</sup> Yet it is certain that very many intimations of " the coming of the Just One" had got abroad among the heathen; and, of this, the Preparatio Evangelica of Eusebius presents many striking examples. Libb. ix. x. &c. see also the Oratio Constantini ad Sanctor. caet. cap. xviii. seq. These however, did not originate with the Oracles. ---- All this was indeed, foretold by Isaiah (chap. xvii. 7. &c.) according to Theodoret. Edit. Gaisford, p. 395, and fulfilled in the times of Constantine. See ib. p. 412. seq. where he more than intimates that ALL had been fulfilled, just as our author has done in many places.

139. <sup>1</sup> De laudd. Constant, ib. p. 517. D. seq.

140. <sup>3</sup> This is, perhaps, an allusion to Jer. xxxi. 22, where the Syriac Peschito text has, The Lord createth a new thing in the earth, [Syriac]

141. <sup>4</sup> Alluding, perhaps, to 2 Cor. iv. 6.: or, it may be, to the term *Wisdom of God*, 1 Cor. i. 24., so frequently given to Christ in this work.

142. <sup>5</sup> Cicero adduces the tyrant of Sicily, when he had robbed the fane of Proserpine at Locris, and was sailing homeward with a prosperous gale, saying these words: "Videtisne, amici, quam bona a Diis immortalibus navigatio sacrilegis datur?" A similar thing is said of Gelo, and the Olympian Jupiter (ib. Nat. Deor. iii. 34.), and also of Aesculapius, &c. Lactantius too, ---- a contemporary of our author, ----

makes some pithy remarks on this subject. Lib. ii. cap. iv. p. mihi 108. seq. as also does Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 34. ---- If it be said that, neither does revealed religion put forth vindictive powers, on occasions of insult offered by unbelievers, the answer is this : Revealed religion did put forth miraculous powers vindicating its own authority, when it was necessary it should do so. To do so on every occasion, would answer no good end. Unrevealed religion never has, and never could, when it wanted it most, do this. This is the true distinction : and it is an adequate one.

143. <sup>7</sup> Most of the statements made here, will also be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iv. pp. 11, 48, 275 ---- 279, &c. See also Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 53.5. A. B. which will enable us to ascertain the intention of our author here, where he is occasionally obscure. This first is cited from Diodorus Siculus (Prep. Evang. p. 48. D.) in these words : . . [Greek]

144. <sup>8</sup> Ib. p. 11. it. 275. C. where we are told, that the Persian laws allowed  
allowed marriage with sisters, daughters, and mothers, on the authority of Bardesanes. See p. 279. ib.

145. <sup>1</sup> As just cited from Bardesanes. And, in his days, many of these things were practised in Media, Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia, as carried thither by the Magi.

146. <sup>2</sup> See Viger's note (ib. p. 25. " para\_ Pe/rsaj") Bardesanes too, (ib. p. 276. D.) charges the Philosophers of Greece with this detestable crime)... [Greek] (Ib. p. 277.) This is said to have been practised under the sanction of the laws in Gaul. That Socrates, the most virtuous of all the Philosophers, was addicted to this practice, many ancient authors of respectability may be adduced to shew: and Theodoret with others asserts, that it was recommended by Plato in his Republic. See Theod. Graec. affect. curat. Serm. ix. p. mihi 618. I). Tom. iv. Viger is certainly mistaken when he imagines that the *Zerasdas* of Theodoret, means Plato ; it being self evident, as I think, that the Persian *Zerdusht*, ([Arabic]) or Gr. *Zoroaster*, must have been intended. Notes to the Prep. Evang. p. 25. seq. where it may be seen, that Autolycus accuses both the Epicureans and the Stoics of the same crime. Caesarius imputes the same to the Chaldaeans and Babylonians, (ib.) See also the Prep. Evang. (p. 11.) and Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 472. seq. It may be doubted perhaps, whether some of these charges can be substantiated. See Luzacii de Theodoro judicium, prefixed to Dr Gaisford's work. ---- These abominations are again touched upon, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 361, and Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 248. seq.

147. <sup>3</sup> These particulars seem to be resumed more specifically near the end of this section. Our text has [Syriac] here, for [Syriac] I presume. I have, therefore, translated it by *in sepulchres* : alluding, perhaps, to the sacrificing, and otherwise destroying, of children.

148. <sup>4</sup> So, in the Prep. Evang. (p. 11. C).. [Greek] (See also Plutarch, Tom. ii. p. 409.) So also Bardesanes, who attributes this to the Medes, &c. (ib. p. 277.) [Greek] Theodoret says  
on the same subject:...[Greek] (p. 615. see also p. 614.) See also Cicero. Tusc. Quaest. Lib. i. cap. xlv.

149. <sup>5</sup> So Bardesanes. (Prep. Evang. p. 275. B.) [Greek] See also Viger's Note, (p. 25.) where much interesting matter, to this effect, is collected together, it. Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 535. B.

150. <sup>6</sup> This is applied to the Scythians, generally, in the Prep. Evang. (p. 11.) in these words [Greek] Bardesanes affirms that there is also a people in India, who indulge in cannibalism, (ib. p. 278. D.) [Greek]

151. <sup>7</sup> This seems to be applied to the Derbices of Persia, (Prep. Evang. ib. p. 11.) and the Massagetae... [...]

152. <sup>8</sup> This, according to Euseb. (l.c.) and Theodoret, (l.c.) was done by the Tibareni. Theod. [Greek]
153. <sup>9</sup> Mention is made of this (Prep. Evang. ib.) in these words, [...] Lit. Nor, as formerly, do they cast over the aged with a snare (noose, &c.) A practice, perhaps, not unlike that of the Persian hunters and warriors, who threw a sort of noose, ---- called the [Arabic] *Camand*, ---- over the head of the animal they wished to take. [...]
154. <sup>10</sup> So the Hyrcaneans and Bactrians (Prep. Evang. pp. 11, 12, and Theodoret as above.)
155. <sup>1</sup> So the Caspians (Prep. Evang. ib.) and Bactrians (ib. p. 12.) Strabo Geogr. Lib. xi. p. 356. Edit. Casaubon.
156. <sup>2</sup> This, according to Theodoret, (Graec. affect, curat. p. 615.) was done by the Scythians: [Greek] So Ibn Batuta tells us (Travels, p. 220,) that he saw, at the funeral of the Emperor of China, six favourite Mamluks, and four female slaves all buried alive with him! See also Prep. Evang. (ib. p. 156. C.)
157. <sup>3</sup> So the Indians, as Bardesanes tells us, burned the wives, together with the dead body of the husband, on the funeral pile (Prep. Evang. p. 277. D.), just as it is the practice still in Hindustan. See also Plutarch, Tract. [Greek] Tom. ii. p. mihi 499. See also Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 254. seq. as given by Celsus himself.
158. <sup>1</sup> Alluding perhaps to the case of David. 1 Sam. xvii. 34----36.
159. <sup>2</sup> Not unlike this Porphyry. ad Boeth. Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxviii. p. 556. C.
160. <sup>1</sup> See our author's Eccl. Hist. Lib. ix. cap. viii.
161. <sup>2</sup> See Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. capp. i-iii. p. 236; where cap. iii. we have a poem from Porphyry on the conflagrations of the Temples. See also ib. Lib. III. cap. ii. p. 134. D.
162. <sup>1</sup> [...] Eusebius, Prep. Evang. (p. 134. D.) This (Simson's Chron. p. 640) happened A. M. 3457; his words are, "A Pisistratidis incensum prodidit *Philochorus* apud Pindari Scholiastem ad Od. 7. Pyth. Non multo post ab Alcmaonidis instauratum."
163. <sup>2</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. It has been affirmed by some, (Simson. Chron. A. M. 2948,) that the Amazons first built this Temple; others deny this, and state that one Cresus, with Ephesus the son of Carter, built it: while Strabo makes Chersiphron its first builder. I have met with no account, however, of it having been destroyed by the Amazons.
164. <sup>3</sup> Syr. [Syriac] Strabo, however, Lib. xiv. p. 440, tells us, that it was Herostratus, who, to secure fame to himself, burnt it the second time. See also Valerius Maximus, Lib. viii. cap. xiv. Extern. 5. This was the Temple in which the image that fell down from Jupiter (Acts xix. 35.) was said to be preserved: which image, according to Pliny, was made of ebony by one Canitia. (Lib. xix. cap. iv.) So the authors of the Universal History, and, after them apparently Rees's Encyclopedia, Art. Diana. But, I can find no such thing in Pliny, nor any statuary of the name of Canitia. The words of Pliny are (Lib. xvi. 79), "De ipso simulacro Dea? ambigitur: ceteri ex ebene esse tradunt. Mucianus ter consul, ex his qui proxime viso scripsere, vitigineum, et nunquam mutatum septies restituto templo."
165. <sup>4</sup> So Thucydides, Lib. iv. 133; not unlike this too, Pausanias Descript. Gr. Lib. vii. cap. v. This happened (Simson's Chronicon. p. 769.) A. M. 3582----which see.
166. <sup>5</sup> This Temple was, according to Herodotus, very rich, and more ancient than that of Delphos, and was burnt by the Medes in conjunction with the Thessalians, Lib. vni. 33. Eusebius, however, speaks of

an invasion and burning by the Thebans which was, perhaps, on another occasion. See also Pausanias, Graec. Descript. Lib. x. cap. xxxv. This happened A. M. 3658. (Sims. Chron. p. 905.)

167. <sup>6</sup> This was, according to Strabo, (Lib. viii. p. mihi 244.) one of the finest works of Phidias. It was made of ivory, in a sitting posture, and so large, that if standing the Temple could not have contained it, its height would have been so great. See also Pausanias, Lib. i. cap. xviii. This Temple was once destroyed by an inundation of the sea. Pausan. Lib. in. cap. ix. I can find no account of the destruction of this statue by lightning. See Prep. Evang. p. 135. A.

168. <sup>7</sup> An account of this is found in Herodian, as happening in the times of Commodus, (Lib. i. 14.) He first tells us, that the Temple of Peace suffered by lightning after many prodigies had appeared in the heavens, with pestilences, &c. on the earth. [Greek] "Maximum autem nefas cum in praesens dolorem attulit, tum in futurum pessimo augurio universos conterruit. Nam cum neque imbres ulli neque nubes, tantumque exiguus terrae motus antecessisset, seu nocturni casu fulminis, sive igni aliquo in ipso terrarum motu velut extrito, totum de improviso Pacis templum consumptum incendio est: quod unum scilicet opus cunctorum tota urbo maximum fuit atque pulcherrimum: idem templorum omnium opulentissimum...inter qua; etiam Vestae templum, sic ut Palladium quoque conspiceretur: quod inprimis colunt atque in arcano habent Romani, Troja (ut perhibent) avectum." See also Xiphilinus near the end of Commodus. The Temple of Fortune at Rome is said, by Zosimus, to have been burnt in like manner. (Lib. ii. Constantinus et Licinius.) The Temple of Vesta was also burnt in the first Punic wars. See Dion. Hallicarn. Lib. ii. p. 94. Edit. 1546, where this Palladium is also spoken of. See also Clemens. Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 30-85. seq. and Pausan. Lib. v.

169. <sup>1</sup> [...] Xiphilinus tells us in his Epitome of Dion, that in the times of Titus, the Temples of Serapis and Isis; the Septa; the Temple of Neptune; the Baths of Agrippa; the Pantheon; the Diribitorium; the Theatre of Balbus; the Scena of Pompey; the houses of Octavius, with the books; the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with the adjoining Temples, were all destroyed by fire, which the Historian thinks were Divine, rather than human, occurrences. (Edit. Sylburg. Ed. 1590. p. 827.) See also Prep. Evang. Lib. in. cap. ii. p. 134. D. seq. It. Simsoni de Sibyl. Vaticin. disquis. col. 1712.

170. <sup>2</sup> [...] This happened in the times of Domitian, of which Suetonius (Lib. xi. cap. xv.) gives the following account. [...] &c. We are told in the next chapter, that on consulting a German soothsayer concerning this lightning, he was told that it portended *a change of things*. Which harmonizes well with the general expectations those times. The soothsayer, however, appears to have lost his life, on account of this answer. Comp. Tacit. Hist. Lib. iv. 54, and Simson, Chron. Cathol. pars. vii. p. 1674. The Capitol was also burnt in the year before Christ, 80, together with the Chapel and Sybilline books. Simson, Chron. A. M. 3923.

171. <sup>3</sup> In like manner in the Orat. de laudd. Constant, cap. xiii. p. 535. C.

172. <sup>1</sup> To the same effect Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 79.[...]

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### THE THIRD BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA.

1. BECAUSE <sup>1</sup> then, human life had undergone a change, through the things already mentioned, to a state henceforth of peace and rest, and had been prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God; well again, did the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth the divine revelation of Himself by very deeds, and at the time which was suitable. For, immediately and at once, when He appeared in the world, those things which appertained to the ancient service of Demons, were undone by the overthrow as it were, of (some ruinous) war-engine; tidings announcing good things were preached to all nations, and God who is over all, the Propitiator of the children of men, was announced. The whole error of a plurality of Gods was also overthrown, and all the operations of demons were forthwith cast aside. Men again were no more sacrificed ; nor were the slaughterings of human beings, which from former times had ruined the world, (persevered in). Nor again, were there multitudes of Rulers, Princes, Tyrants, and Governours of [156](#) the people. Nor again, existed those things, on account of which wars, and the reduction of cities, had been set on foot in every city and place: on the contrary, one God was preached to all men : the one empire too of the Romans had extended itself over all : and the peaceless and uncompromising enmity, which had so long been the portion of the nations, came to an entire end. And, as the knowledge of the one God, and of one just and righteous conduct resulting therefrom, was, by the teaching of our Saviour, delivered to all men; so also one king, at one and the same time, was established over the whole Roman empire, and a profound peace prevailed in every thing. At once too, and at one period, as it were at the intimation of the one God, two singular advantages sprung up among mankind ; the Instruction that was in righteousness, and the Empire of the Romans. For formerly, this error of the Demons had grievously enslaved the nations: and, as the whole had been divided into many (parts), some taking Syria by way of portion; others bearing rule in Asia; others, in Macedonia; others cutting up and seizing upon Egypt; others, in like manner, upon the country of Arabia: the race of the Jews again, had possession of Palestine<sup>2</sup>. And, in every village, city, and place, they were, as from madness (and) like marauders and demoniacs in reality, careful (only) about warfare and contention one against another;--of which enough has already been said.

2. But (now), two great Powers sprung fully up, as (it were) out of one stream; and they gave peace to all, and brought all together to a state of friendship : (namely) the Roman Empire, which, from that time, appeared (as) one kingdom ; and, the Power of the Saviour of all, whose [157](#) aid was at once extended to, and established with, every one. For, the divine superiority of our Saviour swept away the authority of the many Demons, and many Gods; so that the one kingdom of God was preached to all men Greeks and Barbarians, and to those who (resided) in the extremities of the earth. The Roman Empire too,-- since those had been previously uprooted who had been the cause of the rule of many-- soon subjugated all (others), and quickly brought together into one state of accord and agreement, the whole race of (man). And, behold ! it henceforth brought together such a multitude of nations, as soon to take possession (of all), even to the extremities of the earth; the teaching<sup>3</sup> of our Saviour having, by the divine power, already prepared all parties, and established (all) in a state of equanimity. And this is indeed a great miracle to those, who set their minds on the love of truth, and are unwilling to be envious against that which is good. For at once, was the error of evil Demons put out of sight; and, at the same time, did the enmity and contention of the nations, which had always existed, lose its power: and again, at the same time, was the one God and the one knowledge of Him, preached to all men through the teaching of our Saviour: at the same time too, was the empire of the Romans<sup>4</sup> established among men; and, at once, was the (state or) the whole race of man changed to (that) of

peace; and all, professing a common brotherhood, betook themselves to the instructing of their own nature. Forthwith too, they became born, as it were, of one (common) Father, and as the children of the one God ; of one Mother too, righteousness and truth; and so received they one another with the salutation of peace, that henceforward the whole creation was nothing less than as one household, and as a race governed by one law. It was (now) practicable too, that any desiring to send, for the purposes of merchandise, and to proceed, whithersoever he pleased, to do this with the greatest facility. Those of the West could come without [158](#) danger to the East: and again, those who were here (in the East) could proceed thither as to the house of their own fathers, according to the words of ancient prophecy, and of many other burdens of the Prophets, which we have not now leisure to mention, excepting these respecting our Saviour, the WORD OF GOD, which proclaimed thus: "*He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the extremities of the earth*<sup>5</sup>:" and again, "*In his days shall righteousness spring forth, and abundance of peace*<sup>6</sup>:" and again. "*They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into reaping hooks*<sup>7</sup>, and nation shall not lift up the sword against nation; nor shall they learn war<sup>8</sup>."

3. These things were foretold in the language of the Hebrews, (and) have been published a very long time ago: they are now in our times witnessed in their operation, confirming the testimonies of those ancient declarations<sup>9</sup>. If then, thou desire other proofs of the excellency of the truth, (shewing) that it is not of mortal nature, but is the word of God in truth; and (that) the "*power of God*," the Saviour, has been revealed in the world, not by words (only), but by deeds; accept thou of them. [159](#) Open the eyes of thy understanding, unbar the doors of thy mind; and let thy soul be wholly collected within thee. Consider and ask thyself, as if thou wert interrogated by another, and thus investigate the nature of the things (to be brought before thee).

4. Who, of those that ever existed, is the mortal man, King, Philosopher, Lawgiver, or Prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, who bore all this pre-eminence,--not after his death, but while he was still alive, and drew breath;-- and could effect so much, that he should be preached throughout the whole earth ? and, that his name should fill the hearing, and tongues of every people upon the face of the whole earth ? But this, no man has done excepting our Saviour alone, who said to his disciples by word, and fulfilled it by deed: "*Go and teach all nations*<sup>10</sup>." He said (also) to them,--what He had foretold and previously revealed,--that *it was necessary His Gospel should be preached throughout the whole creation, for a testimony to all nations*<sup>11</sup>. And, with the word, He brought the deed also to pass: for, immediately,--and not at a great distance of time,--the whole creation was filled with His words !

5. Now. What can he have to say on this matter, who dares to oppose the truth; since the testimony which is by means of the sight, is better than that which is by any sort of words? But, if thou give up this first (sort of proof), betake (thyself) to the latter: and now consider with thyself,--

6. What mortal nature has ever appeared, which appointed like Him, by word only and not in writing, laws that were just and pure, and sent these same forth by the hands of His disciples, from one extremity of the creation to another? and, Who so opened out His doctrines throughout the whole earth, that immediately and day by day, the instructions which it was becoming should be delivered by Him, were sufficiently preached in the hearing of all men, Barbarians at once, and Greeks? But, if thou seek, thou shalt find no other: for this is a work, resulting from the power of the Saviour of us all, alone.-- Nor will this [160](#) persuade him who is not to be persuaded. Let the same then say to us, for we are willing to learn--

7. Who, of those who have been praised for the wisdom of their observances, has ever so delivered the barbarous and brutal of barbarous nations, by his merciful laws, that those who became (His) disciples among the Scythians, feast (now) no more on human beings? nor, among the Persians, take their own



mothers (as wives) ? others too cast not their dead to the dogs? nor do others deliver up those that are aged for strangulation ? nor are other brutal and beastly things allied to these, done with others<sup>12</sup>? But these are only small proofs of the revelation of the Godhead of the Saviour of us all. Look now also at others, and consider with thyself:--

**8.** What mortal man, of all the Princes at once, and Kings, and Armies, and Companies, and Inhabitants, and Nations, ever existed during all these periods, who added this also (to his exploits), that even those who were thought to be Gods by the many, should wage war with Him,--and who at all times did wage war with Him;--but, that He shewed his pre-eminence so far to exceed that of man, that day after day there was exultation, and (that) His doctrine took effect throughout the whole world ?

**9.** And, Who is that other (person) who, since the life of man was set up, ever sought to constitute a people after his own name;--a thing never yet heard of:--and this, not in a corner, or obscurely in some part of the earth, but in the whole earth under the sun; (and) did so settle by the power of the rule of his Godhead, and so complete his wish, that he delivered the knowledge of the one God who is beyond the heavens, the King of the whole world, together with his fear, to all men on the face of the whole earth, to the nations both Barbarian and Greek ?

**10.** Who ever set about to teach, and, after he had so engaged himself, brought, as in this marked instance, the matter to its right effect ? and forthwith, through his <sup>161</sup> own efforts, so made known his undertaking, that by the love of God, he closed rather the mouths than the doors of all; and proclaimed God who is over all ? He commanded moreover, that all nations should truly acknowledge Him alone ? And, because he willed that which was acceptable to God, He deigned to give His aid and assistance to him, who was his own ambassador ? The doctrines therefore, accompanying this preaching, were delivered; they were also received into the hearing of all men, and they were by deeds confirmed!--How they were, see thou, and consider;--

**11.** What other person ever arose (as the sun) with his rational light to the souls of men, and so prepared them to laugh at the error of the Demons of their forefathers, that they no more attached the divine name to wood, stone, and matter that is inanimate ?

**12.** What other, excepting our Saviour, persuaded the Egyptians,--more attached as they were to the fear of Demons than any other people, and from whom came the error of a multiplicity of Gods to the Greeks,--that henceforth they should be no more (so) infatuated, and no more give that venerable name to beasts, reptiles, noxious and irrational animals; but should acknowledge that one God alone who is above all, and contend for his righteousness in every sort of death ?

**13.** And Who invisibly, and by the powerful means and force of his doctrine which was every where preached, drove out as evil beasts, from among his own human flock, that injurious and destructive family of Demons, which from ancient time had ruled the whole race of man; and, by means of the exciting power of Idols, had put forth innumerable errors among them, so that these Demons should no more give out their divinations at the springs and fountains ? Nor again, should any earthly spirits, leading the world astray, implicate mankind in error ? The fountain therefore, that was in Castalia became silent, as <sup>162</sup> did the other which was in Colophon<sup>13</sup>: other fountains of divinations also became silent; the Pythian, the Clarian, the Nemean; that in Delphos, and Miletus; that in Colophon, and in Lebadaia, of which (last) so much was boasted from ancient times. To the doctrine of Christ did they all accede. Where are (now) Amphilocus and Mopsus? There is not a man in (either) place! Where are Amphiaraus and Aesculapius<sup>14</sup>? Where is that (Image) of Ammon, and (which was) in the Desert of Lybia ? All these Gods have crept under the earth, being alarmed at the name of our Saviour<sup>15</sup>! not unlike those their Princes who could not, when He went about among men, bear the rays of his Godhead<sup>16</sup>, but grievously complained, crying <sup>163</sup> out, " *What have we to do with thee, Jesus* " (thou)

" Son of God," and saying, " Art thou come before the time to torment me? We know thee who thou art, that thou art the Holy One of God<sup>17</sup>." The Egyptian Demons therefore, when hearing that the doctrine of our Saviour was preached in the whole of their land, confessed that they themselves were nothing ! They gave up accordingly the places subject to their customs to be destroyed, together with (their) Fanes and Images, and betook themselves to flight<sup>18</sup> and departure; driven away as they were by the Divine power. The divinations too of every place were destroyed ; and the Christ of God alone, and the one only God who was preached by him to all men, became the object of divine worship.

**14.** What other (person) moreover, has, like this our Saviour, given such power to those who have, in purity and sincerity, arrived at the life of excellence and of wisdom which has been delivered by Him, that they should by calling on Him, and by means of pure prayers offered up through Him to Almighty God, cast out that superabundance of evil Demons from the human body ?

**15.** What other too, except Him alone, has granted to those who draw near to Him. that they should perform the rational and unbloody services which are (offered) by means of prayer, and the secret (use of) the Divine [164](#) announcements ? and, on which account He has appointed, throughout the whole creation of man, altars without fire, services worthy of God, the setting apart of Churches, and, that intellectual and rational sacrifices should, by means of rites becoming the Deity, be put forth to that one God alone, who is the King of all nations ?

**16.** Who moreover, tacitly, and by means of His invisible power, has abolished those sacrifices which were completed with blood, impurity, smoke, and fire ? -- those abominable shrines also for the slaughter of men ; and so provided, that human sacrifices should no more be offered, and these things be no more done ? -- that the writings of the Greeks also should attest, that it was not from ancient times, but (only) after the divine teaching of our Saviour, in the times of Hadrian<sup>19</sup>, that human sacrifices ceased throughout the whole earth ?

**17.** Since then, all these are clear proofs confirming the divine power of the Saviour of us all, Who is he whose soul (partakes) so much of iron, as not to give his testimony to the truth ? and to confess His divine and living (active) power ? For it is of the living, and not of the dead, that these deeds are. For the visual perception of something distant is, they say, (the effect) of some thing (really) visible. [165](#)

**18.** The Race therefore which contended with God, disturbed the life of man, and introduced, led on, and could effect much, has suddenly, lately, and but a short time ago--because driven out from among men,--been cast to the earth, as an object deserving of the utmost contempt, breathless, motionless, speechless, and again, bereft both of utterance and of remembrance !

**19.** This mortal nature therefore, and again that which has no proper existence, is (as) nothing. And that which is (as) nothing, is likewise inoperative. But, (as to) Him who acts at all times, and is every moment operative, and is more potent than any living creature, How can He be supposed to have no proper existence, although not visible to the bodily eyes? But, discrimination is not by the senses; nor do we try the terms of art, the perception of doctrines, nor yet the mind of man, by the bodily senses: much less can man ever see with the eyes the person, or the power, of God. Nevertheless, these things may be known from the effects of their (several) operations. On this account, it is our duty to inform ourselves respecting the unseen power of the Saviour of us all, to prove His works, and to distinguish, whether we ought to confess that the things which have hitherto been done by Him, are of one living; or, whether we are to affirm, that they are of some one, who had no proper existence; or, whether this same thing be foolish, and the question respecting it inconsistent. For, he who has no proper existence<sup>20</sup> in all his parts, has, it is clear, no proper existence at all, and is unable either to act, or to effect any thing. Such is the nature which is dead ; while that opposed to it is living.-- But, it is now time we should investigate those works of our Saviour which appertain to our days, and to take a [166](#)

view of the living (effective) works of the living God. For the living works of God are life indeed. Learn (then), what those things are about which thou enquirest, and Him (at the same time), who lives in His works.

**20.** Some<sup>21</sup> of the contenders with God did, but a little while ago, rebelliously, forcibly, and with a mighty hand, so rase to the foundation and overthrow His houses of prayer, that the churches disappeared: by every means too, they made war with Him who is invisible to the eyes, attacking and reproaching (Him) with innumerable injurious expressions. But He, while unseen, secretly avenged Himself of them. And they again (felt this), not by one intimation from God (only). They (I say) who, but a short time before, were delighting themselves and happy;-- they who were worshipped by all men, as if they had been Gods, and who, during the revolutions of many years, gloriously administered the affairs of their rule: for before they made war with Him, they had the most perfect peace and friendship (with all) ; but when they became changed, and dared to contend with God, and arranged their Deities before them in battle array against Him who is our (God), in order that (these) might be their strength;-- (then), forthwith--in one moment--and at the intimation of God, and through the power of Him with whom they had contended, did all they who had been thus daring, suffer punishment, so that they gave in to Him on whom they had made war, turned their backs (in flight), and confessed His Godhead ! They allowed also, and persuaded, that (men) should boldly do the reverse of those things which were from ancient time. He therefore quickly [167](#) established throughout the whole earth the signal mark of victory, and adorned (it), as from the first, with Temples which were pure, and distinguished (set apart) as for the prayers of the whole creation; so that He consecrated holy and dedicated places, in every village, city, place, and even in the deserts of the Barbarians, to the One God (and) King of all; -- to Him who is the Lord of all<sup>22</sup>;-- that He might hence dignify the things (so) set apart, with the name of Him who was their Lord. Nor was it of man, that (this) happy appellation fell to their lot; but it was of Him who is Lord of all, that hence they were each dignified with the name of "the House of the Lord<sup>23</sup>." Let any one who wishes then, stand forth in the midst and learn, who it was that, after all this subversion and destruction, raised up on high from the earth, buildings such as these throughout the whole creation; and who it was, that vouchsafed to afford to these things, of which every hope had been cut off, a renovation far better than they formerly had! Nor was the great miracle of THE WORD, which renewed these, delayed until after the death of those who contended with God, but (took place) during their stay in the world. Those very persons (I say) who rased (the churches), did by their words and writings preach the new birth, which directly opposed their own (former) darings : and this they did, not [168](#) when enjoying rest, so that any one should imagine that it was of the friendship of men; but when driven forth by the stroke of God.

**21.** He then, even after all these storms of persecution, did, by means of sharp calamities and His divine teaching, so enlighten and set up throughout the whole creation, men zealous of the life of wisdom, multitudes both of men and of ministering women, and of congregations of virgins, that they (all) were (thus) established throughout the whole of their lives in perfect holiness.

**22.** Who moreover persuaded women, multitudes of children, and of men, voluntarily to suffer the privation of food and of wine for many days ? to sleep on the earth ? to have recourse to a hard and robust discipline, coupled with chastity ? and made them exchange the food of the body, for those spiritual and rational provisions of the soul,--the one for the other,--which are obtained by the divine reading ?

**23.** And, Who taught men, barbarian and rustic, as well as women, children, and innumerable multitudes of heathen slaves, to despise death ? to be persuaded that their souls were immortal ? that the eye of justice was open, viewing the deeds of all men, just and unjust ? and to hope for the judgment of God ?--That it was, on account of these things, their duty to be careful as to the life of

righteousness and temperance ? And, that if they were [169](#) not so, they could not otherwise be brought under that yoke of righteousness, which hitherto had been brought into operation by Him alone whom we call God ?

**24.** But, let us dismiss these things, and let us otherwise approach him whose mind is (as) the rock; and let us interrogate him thus, with the questions (growing) out of these things (following):--O bring thou forth the word of reason, not from a heart implicated in error<sup>24</sup>, but advancing (this) as the fruit of the intelligent and rational soul; and, having meditated much, say between thyself and thy soul,--

**25.** What other, of those preached of from ancient times, ever did like Him who is called God by us, become known, established, and declared, by the enouncements from above of the Prophets many ages ago, among those ancient friends of God, the Hebrew family ?--those (I say), who also previously delivered in writing, in the divine scriptures, the place of His manifestation, the time of His advent, the manner of His life, His power, His words, and His deeds?

**26.** Or, Who so suddenly appeared as an executor of vengeance against those who dared to oppose Him, that, upon the Jews acting (thus) impiously, He forthwith dealt out punishment by means of His unseen power on their whole nation ? and overthrew to the foundations, both their place and rule ?--For He at once levelled to the ground, both their Temple, and their sacred (things) !

**27.** And Who, like this our Saviour, has clearly foretold the things that respected the impious (Jews), and respecting the Church which was established by Himself throughout the whole creation, and in the very things themselves? and has shewn their confirmation in their effects?--who said of the impious (Jews), "*Behold, your house is left desolate<sup>25</sup>; nor shall stone remain upon [170](#) stone in this place, which shall not be thrown down<sup>26</sup>.*" And of His Church He said; "*Upon this rock I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it<sup>27</sup> ?*"

**28.** And this also, that He should change men poor and rustic, from the occupation of fishing, to that of rule ? and, that He should make these into Lawgivers, and Teachers, of the whole creation of man ? How is it to be imagined by thee, that He then (so) made the promise by word, and brought it to pass in deed, that He made them "Fishers of men?" He gave them moreover, all this excellency and power, that they should compose and complete Books; and, that they should give such confirmation to these, that they should be received throughout the whole creation, in the languages of both the Greeks and Barbarians ? and, that in all nations they should be taught, and believed, as containing the written words of God<sup>28</sup>?

**29.** And, How does it appear to thee, that He should foretel what was about to take place ? and should previously testify to His Disciples, that, because they should give their testimony to Him, *they should come before Kings and Governours: and that they should be punished, and undergo grievous torments<sup>29</sup>?*--

**30.** And this also, that He should so prepare them, that they should voluntarily suffer ? and, that they should [171](#) so firmly arm their souls with the armour of righteousness as with adamant, that they should be seen (engaged) in conflict against those who opposed them ;--How does not this surpass all description ?

**31.** Nor was it only, that He impressed on the souls of those who (immediately) followed Him such power, that when, having clone nothing worthy of death, they willingly underwent every species of punishment and torment, for the sake of the righteousness of that God who is overall; but also, on those who received (it) from them; and so again, on those who came afterwards; and on those even to this present, and (who live) in our own times;--How does this not transcend every sort of miracle<sup>30</sup> ?

**32.** Besides, Which of the kings ever remained prosperous in his rule, throughout all this length of

time ? And, Who is he, who so conquered after his own death, and established the mark of victory over his enemies, that he subdued every region, place, and city, both of the Greeks and Barbarians? and beat down, by the hidden and invisible power of (his own) right hand, that which opposed him ?

**33.** But<sup>31</sup>, the chief of all the things that have been mentioned, is that peace which was, by His power, supplied to the whole earth; of which we have already said what was proper. And, What mouth of the calumniator would not (the consideration) close, that love and concord so ran together with His doctrine in (effective) operation, into all nations ? and, that the peace which took place among the nations throughout all the world, and the word, which was sown (as seed) by Him among all nations, had formerly been so foretold by the Prophets of God ? But a (whole) day would be too short, were I to attempt to collect and shew within it, the open proofs of the divine power of the WORD OF GOD, the Saviour of all, which have been put forth up to this time. So that there never was a man at any time, no not among the Greeks, who has shewn forth such transcendent and divine power as He has, who has been preached to every man, and is the Saviour of all, and the [172](#) only (begotten) WORD OF GOD who is above all. But, Why do I say "of men ?" when behold! no such nature as His has appeared upon earth, even of those who have been named Gods by all nations? If (not so), let him who wishes shew (this): let every existing Philosopher too come forward and tell us, What God or Hero has at any period, or ever, been heard of, who delivered the doctrine of eternal life, and of the kingdom of heaven, --a thing not of recent occurrence,--to mankind, as this our Saviour (has done) ? who has caused innumerable multitudes, throughout the whole creation, to be instructed in His own doctrines of wisdom ? and has persuaded them to follow after the life which is heavenly, and to despise that which is of time (only) ; and to hope for the heavenly mansions, which are kept for the souls that love God?

**34.** What <sup>32</sup> God or Hero is it, that has ever so fully arisen (like the sun) and given light from the East even to the West by the bright rays of his doctrine, that, immediately and with the swiftness as it were of the course of the Sun, all the nations of the earth (thence) rendered to the one God, one and the same service?

**35.** What<sup>33</sup> God or Hero is it, who ever contended with all the gods and heroes both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and laid down a law, that not one of them should be thought a God ? and, having so legislated, persuaded (men of this) ? and who, when they all afterwards waged war against Him, being one and the same, overthrew every power opposed to Him; and shewed that He was superior to all, both gods and heroes, that ever existed, so as to be called throughout the whole creation of man, and by all people, the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD ? [173](#)

**36.** What God or Hero was it, who ever delivered to all nations dwelling on the great element of the whole earth,--to those on the land, and on the sea<sup>34</sup>,--that they should make a feast in holiness, both of the body and the soul, on the day of every week which is called among the Greeks the Sun's day<sup>35</sup>? And, that they should assemble themselves together, not that their bodies should hear-- but their souls-- that it was by means of the divine teaching, they should live ?

**37.** What<sup>36</sup> God or Hero was it who, when they so made war with him, set up, as our (Saviour) has done, such a mark of victory in opposition to his enemies ? For they ceased not to contend both with His doctrine, and His people, from first to last: while He, being invisible, secretly overthrew them, and advanced His own, together [174](#) with the houses of God, to great glory ! But, Why should we wish to circumscribe by words, the divine powers of the Saviour of us all, which exceed all description ? When behold ! should we remain silent, the things themselves would cry out to those, whose souls have ears ?

**38.** This<sup>37</sup> is strange indeed, and something not to be imagined; at any period too, it must be a singular thing (which) He brought to this world of mankind, and, that the only Son of God should in truth, ever have appeared to those that are on the earth:--and that the whole race of man should through Him,



receive one who should in his own (human) nature, so introduce him to the righteousness which is true, that henceforth there should be set up throughout the whole creation of man, places for instruction in the Divine enouncements and teaching ; and that men, barbarous and fierce, should so change their minds to peacefulness, that the rational disposition of their souls should receive of His virtue; and, by His means, acknowledge their Father who is in heaven, with the Saviour of all, the ONLY (begotten) | [175](#) WORD OF GOD, the King of all; and that to Him, and through Him who is the Cause of every good thing, they should *so* render the praises that are due, and the blessings and thanksgivings which are right, that henceforth the righteous praises and thanksgivings, which are suitable to the companies of the Angels that are in heaven, should also be put up, day and night, by the inhabitants of this element of earth !

**39.** These acts, therefore,--pertaining to salvation, and advantageous to the world, and to the Divine Manifestation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, as well as innumerable others like them, on account of which he came into the world of men<sup>[38](#)</sup>--He performed not in His usual manner, that is, incorporeally; for, He had acted throughout the whole world secretly, and, by these his works, shewed both to them who are in the heavens, and to them who are on the earth, His innumerable operations. But recently, (he has done this) in a manner foreign to His own custom. For He has, by means of a mortal vessel,--not unlike the king, who (acts) through an Interpreter,--openly declared His edicts and methods of government among men; in order that He might evince His providential care for mortals, by that which was like to themselves, (and) that they might find life. But, as it has been seen that not one, but many were the causes, why the Saviour of all made His Divine manifestation among men; it becomes necessary, that we should also say in a few words, in their order, why He availed himself of this human vessel, and came for the purpose of ruling among men. How then, could the Divine, concealed, invisible, and untangible, Essence,--that unembodied and incorporeal mind, THE WORD OF GOD,--otherwise exhibit himself to men immersed in the depths of evils, and the corporeal substances (of nature), seeking God upon earth, but otherwise not finding Him;--or, being unwilling to search after the Maker and Creator of the whole creation<sup>[39](#)</sup>, --if not by means of (some) human compound, and in some form known to ourselves, and, as it were by an [176](#) Interpreter ? For otherwise, How could the eyes of the body look upon the incorporeal nature of God ? And, How could mortal nature discover Him who is concealed, (and) invisible, whom they knew not from the multitude of His works ? On, this account therefore, He required a mortal vessel, a help which would comport with the conversation (had) among men; because, this would be agreeable to them ; for they say, "Every thing loves its like <sup>[40](#)</sup>." For, just as some great king might stand much in need of an Interpreter, who could enounce his words to the inhabitants of both countries and cities, whose understanding (of languages) was diverse; so also did THE WORD or GOD,--who was about to be for the healing of souls,--that He should exhibit himself in a body, and upon the earth. He would want a Mediator, not unlike an Interpreter, and a bodily compound. And this would be some human instrument, by means of which He could make known to men, what those concealed (properties) of the Godhead were. Nor was it (this) alone, but also that He, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, should exhibit Himself to those who delighted in the sense of things seen, and were seeking God by means of inanimate Images, and carved Idols; and imagining, through (mere) material bodies, that there was a God; but, from the infirmity and deficiency of their minds were giving to men, mortal in their nature, the name of Gods. On this account, He prepared for himself a Temple more holy than all ; a bodily vessel, and sensible habitation, for the rational Power ; an Image pure, and in every thing excellent, and more honourable than the whole of inanimate images<sup>[41](#)</sup>. For that which was of inanimate [177](#) matter, and in the form of an Image of brass, iron, gold, ivory, stone, or wood, was fabricated by the hands of artificers of (mere) matter, altogether for the residence of Demons, and to administer to the error of fools. But the Divine Image, variously adorned by the wisdom of the Divine Power, partook of life and of the Essence which is intelligent: the Image, filled with every excellence,--the Divine Image, the habitation of THE WORD



OF GOD, and the holy temple of the holy God,--was prepared by the power of the Holy Ghost, in order that He, who resided therein, might become known among mortal men by means of one who was their equal, as it were by an Interpreter; but who should not fall after the manner of their passions, nor be bound in the body, as the manner is with the soul of man : nor yet, when appearing small (in reputation), should undergo any change on that account as to his Godhead. For<sup>42</sup>, as the rays of the sun's light suffer nothing from their filling every thing, nor when they permeate the unclean bodies of mortals; so, in a far higher degree, the Power which is incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, suffers nothing in its own Essence, neither is it mutilated, nor is it ever diminished, when, incorporeal as it is, it permeates that which is corporeal. In the same manner therefore, the Saviour of all presented himself to every man (as) the helper and Saviour, by means of the human vessel which He put forth, just as the musician<sup>43</sup> (does), who is willing to shew his skill by means of his lyre. History too among the Greeks teaches (us), that Orpheus moved by his song every sort of animal, and pacified their angry feelings by means of a hollow instrument, the strings of which he struck. This is moreover sung in the assemblies of the Greeks; and it is believed, that an inanimate lyre soothed both the animals and trees, and so changed even the oaks that they became imitators of music. This (personage) <sup>178</sup>therefore, filled with all wisdom and all prudence, THE WORD OF GOD, put forth every sort of healing for the souls of men which had been reduced to all kinds of evil. He took into His hands the instrument of the musician, the work of His own wisdom : this He struck with His hand, (producing) songs and sweet strains to rational man, not to animals that are irrational; and healed<sup>44</sup>, by the medicines of His heavenly teaching, every kind of the fierce, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, as well as the rude and beastlike passions of the soul; and did, as a skilful physician, shew by the aid<sup>45</sup> of one of their equals, and who was like to themselves,-- to the souls which were implicated in disease, and seeking God among bodies and substances which were elemental,--God in man ! Nor again, was He less careful as to the body, than He was as to the soul. For He provided, that the things which He did by means of the Body<sup>46</sup>, should be apparent to men's bodily eyes; (that is) that they should see astonishing miracles, signs, and (other) divine powers. And again, He preached to the hearing of the body, these doctrines through a bodily tongue<sup>47</sup>. All these things therefore, He delivered by means of the Body which he bore,--as it were by an Interpreter,--to those who otherwise could not,--except only in this way,--be made sensible of His Godhead. These<sup>48</sup> things too, were (thus) administered by the will of His Father: He still remaining with His Father, as He was before, immaterial, incorporeal, (and) unchanged as to His (eternal) Essence. Nor did he suffer corruption from His <sup>179</sup>(former) nature; nor was He confined by the bonds of the body ; nor was He here, only such as His human vessel was ; nor was He restrained from being in other places of (this) whole: on the contrary, even then, when He conversed among men, did He fill all things: was with His Father<sup>49</sup> and was in Him; and then also, He fully and providentially took care of all things, whether in heaven, or on the earth. Nor was He ever, as we are, withholden from being near to every thing; nor was He hindered from acting, after His own divine manner. On the contrary, the things that were of Himself He gave to man; but, those which were of man, He took not. Of His divine power too, He provided for mortals; while from His participation with the mortal, He received nothing. Neither<sup>50</sup> was He who was incorporeal, polluted when born in the body. Nor again, did He who was impervious to passion, suffer in His (eternal) Essence, even when mortal nature had been assigned to Him. For, neither does he who strikes the lyre become in any thing subject to suffering, although the instrument should be broken, or the strings be cut: in like manner too, we do not say when punishment is inflicted on the person of a wise man, that the wisdom of the wise man, or the soul which is in his body, is either cut off, or consumed. So, much less is it right we should affirm, that the Power of the Divine WORD can receive any thing like loss from the sufferings of the body. Nor, does any thing forbid our affirming that,-- since, in our example, the rays<sup>51</sup> of the Sun sent down from heaven to earth, permeated the clay, mire, and every sort of impurity,--the light was therefore in no

respect polluted, although these things received light from its splendour. For the light did not (thus) become clay, nor did the Sun become polluted, by its commixture with (such) body; because these things are not foreign in their nature to bodies. [180](#) But <sup>52</sup> He,--who is immaterial and incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, who is both the life, and intelligent light,--impels, by the divine power which is incorporeal, every thing He approaches, both to live and to remain in this rational light. In like manner also, the body to which this is near becomes sanctified; and quickly does He enlighten it: all diseases too, pains and sufferings, pass away (from it) ; and that which was defective is supplied from (His) fulness. On this account He gave up His whole life, at one time exhibiting His image under sufferings like those common to ourselves; at another, revealing himself, God THE WORD, in great and astonishing works and acts, as God. And, when He foretold something by His prophetic words which should come to pass, He likewise exhibited Him who was invisible to the many, THE WORD OF GOD, by works, and by astonishing deeds; by signs, wonders, and extraordinary powers (put forth) : and again, instructing the souls of men by the divine doctrines, He prepared them to draw near to the heavenly city which is above <sup>53</sup>, and to hasten to those their fellow-citizens there, as to their own brothers and equals : also, to know their Father who is in heaven, and the excellency of their kind, which is of the Essence that is intellectual and rational: teaching them also, that they should no more err, but henceforth so live in all purity and holiness,--so (I say), that they might make their departure hence to that place easy, and without hindrance; and, that they should be prepared to receive forthwith, with the companies of the holy Angels, everlasting life with God the King of all, and the light which cannot be described, and the kingdom of heaven.

**40.** Thus therefore, the ONLY (begotten) WORD or GOD, who availed Himself of a human instrument, and set up His own Interpreter, administered every thing for the healing of men by the will of His Father; still remaining immaterial and incorporeal, just as He formerly was, with His Father <sup>54</sup>. By means of a man also. He shewed forth [181](#) God to man, through mighty acts and wonderful works. In the divine Power and in true Wisdom, He scattered His doctrine (as seed); and taught these things, with others allied to them. Nor became He inferior, from what He did: nor, (as so) doing, became He the less dignified from what He taught and delivered.--The doctrines of life and words of light, He laid not down in any book of paper, nor in the perishing skins of animals; but He inscribed on the very souls of His disciples, as upon intellectual tablets, the doctrines respecting the kingdom of God. In the whole of His instructions on heavenly things, hidden enouncements, and which had never before been heard, were delivered. It was also by means of these things, that He taught that the souls which were on the earth, were beloved of God; delivered the memorial of the life that is with God the Father, in heaven; and also, stirred (men) up to cry in prayer and to say, "*Our Father who art in heaven,*" and, that they should be cognizant of their family which is above. If then, thou art desirous of being a partaker in the contemplation of these things, there is no feeling of jealousy hindering thy approach to the hearing of the Scriptures of His Disciples, and to the knowing of His record in all its parts, both as to His deeds and words ; so that thou mayest in truth, view God, and THE WORD OF GOD ; and see, how He existed by means of an Interpreter with men, in the example of (His) sufferings ; how He, who was immortal, conversed with mortals; how the Image (of God), which is incorporeal, became vested with the nature which is human: and, how the Image of God, which was in Him, moved (Him): how He sent forth enouncements, and made public the Divine teaching; and (how) the Saviour of all, healed every sort of disease and infirmity: and, how ready He was, in whom there was no sin, to good works; and, how those things which eyes had [182](#) not seen, and which had not entered into the hearing of men, He delivered in mighty deeds; and thus made His Disciples to approach the very summit of excellency with God; made them wise through the power which cannot be described, and constituted them true preachers of His Godhead. Thus again He healed those, whose souls were corrupted by every sort of sin; at one time, inflicting the sufferings (which were) helpful and right <sup>55</sup>; at another, delivering a view of the mystery and doctrine of His Godhead to those who were able to receive it. And, What need is

there we should say, how easily and well, and with (what) just rebuke, He received those who were enemies to the truth : at once healing and instructing even these, by the open enunciation of His words ? and, how meekly he presented His person to all as a helper, and as long suffering and passive ? as a Physician also, not of souls only, but also of bodies ? On this account, the name of JESUS was previously imposed on our Saviour<sup>56</sup>;--which is a Hebrew word, designating JESUS as the Physician<sup>57</sup> of all. Now, the (propriety of the) imposition of the name designating *healing* on Jesus, He evinced by the works (which He did); for He instructed the souls of men by the Heavenly doctrine, while he healed the Body of all sufferings, pains, and infirmities, by the power of the healing WORD. At one time, He cleansed the leprous in body<sup>58</sup>: at another, He cast out by (His) command the Demons that (possessed) men<sup>59</sup>: and, again at another, He freely healed those who had been reduced by disease ! At one time also, to him-- whose body was debilitated, and all his limbs powerless,-- [183](#) He said by word only, "*Arise, take up thy bed, and walk*<sup>60</sup>;" and this (man) did what He commanded ! And again at another time, He gave the perception of light to the Blind<sup>61</sup>! And thus again, at another, a woman<sup>62</sup>,--who had been afflicted with an issue of blood, and had during the revolution of many years been reduced by her complaint, seeing that great companies were round about Him, and not allowing her to kneel and pray that she might be healed of her complaint,--thought, that if she could but touch the border of His garment, (she should be healed) ; she accordingly pressed in, and touched the border of his garment; and at once, she was both healed of the evil, and immediately became healthy; bearing (away with her) a mighty proof of the power of THE WORD OF GOD ! Another man<sup>63</sup> also, the servant of a king,--because his child was grievously afflicted,--fell down before Him, and He forthwith took and healed him ! There was another again, the chief of a synagogue<sup>64</sup> of the Jews, whose daughter (He restored) ; but this was after she was dead ! And, What need can there be, that we should tell how another arose<sup>65</sup> by the power of the Saviour of all, who had been dead four days, hearing only the voice of the all life-giving WORD which called him ? Or, how He made His paths upon the sea as upon dry land, causing His Vessel to traverse the back of the waters<sup>66</sup>? Or, how<sup>67</sup> when His Disciples were sailing and the storm was against them, He rebuked the sea, the storm, and the winds;--gave the commandment by word; and they were instantly silent, so that they were wrought upon, as by the voice of their Lord ? (How) He so filled<sup>68</sup> and satisfied five thousand men,--when there was with them a company of many women and children,--with five loaves, that they took up an entire remainder which would suffice to fill twelve baskets ! To Whom is not this astonishing ? and Does it (not) likewise challenge the inquiry which relates to his unseen power ? [184](#)

**41.** Let any one therefore who will, take up the true faith, together with the open proof of the revelation of our Saviour's Divinity, from many other great miracles; and particularly from this,--if he will also consider,--that He foreknew by the divine power what should come to pass, and openly foretold the great change to His better (doctrine) which should take place among men throughout the world; and also predicted, that He himself would be the doer of this: and from these very deeds, let such place faith in (this) His promise. Many other great and evident proofs of His Godhead moreover, (afforded) in many things similar to these, will any one, carefully enquiring, find from His predictions with their fulfilment: which we ourselves shall also examine in this work at the proper time. But, that which we now have before our eyes,--that our discourse may not lengthen itself greatly out, so as to detain thee upon all His mighty works--is the death, which (His) Interpreter,--the clothing of THE WORD OF GOD, and the Image that was openly revealed,--underwent, and which (event) every one acknowledges.

**42.** This His death therefore, which has been made public, was (so) accompanied by the miracle, that it was unlike that of the rest of mankind. For it was not, that He perished by disease, by strangulation, or by fire; or was, even on the cross itself, cut off by the sword, as a mark of victory, in the manner of

others who are evil-doers; nor yet, did he suffer less than any one of those whom they usually put to death; for He suffered a death of violence: but He himself alone, by his own will, delivered up His Vessel to those (his) accusers; and forthwith He raised Himself from the earth ;--

**43.** For said (the Evangelist,) *"He cried out greatly, and gave up His Spirit to His Father<sup>69</sup>*: and (so) effected a release from His soul, and made His departure from the body. On this account, He had previously delivered this same His death to his disciples, when teaching (them) and saying; *"No man taketh my life from me;"* and, *"I have power to lay it down:"* and again, *"I have power [185](#) to take it up<sup>70</sup>*: and again, *"I am the good shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me; and I lay down my life for my sheep<sup>71</sup>*." The cause of His death too, He establishes in a few words, when saying, that, *"Unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it remaineth alone ; but, if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit<sup>72</sup>*."

**44.** Having then, delivered representations of this sort respecting His own death, He effected the release from his soul, and made (His) departure from the body. After this, His body was taken up by his acquaintances, and was consigned to (its) due interment. Again on the third day, He resumed that (being) from which He had before, by the exertion of His own will, departed. And again, He shewed to his Disciples the selfsame person, both in body and substance, just as it formerly was:-- to them (I say) with whom He conversed a little, and with whom He remained a short time. He was then taken up whither He was before : and, before their eyes, did He make his departure and ascension to heaven, in order that they, to whom He had delivered (His) pledge as to deeds, might be made the Teachers of the fear of God who is above, to all nations.

**45.** Now<sup>73</sup>, What can be wanting after these things, except that we should state the cause of THIS, which was the chief of all ? I (now) speak of the close of His life, which has been spoken of by all; of the manner of His passion, and of the great miracle of His resurrection after [186](#) death. After viewing these things then, let us now come again to our proofs; and let us confirm these same by open testimonies. He availed Himself therefore, of a mortal Vessel,--for the reasons already given,--as of an Image becoming the Deity; and this He both put forth into life, and by means of this, as some great king by means of an interpreter, He performed every thing that was worthy of the Divine Power.

**46.** For, if He had done otherwise,--after His dealings among men,--so as not to have been seen, and had suddenly taken flight, and secretly stolen away His Interpreter; or had, in escaping, been careful to convey away His Image from death; or again, had led on that mortal (being) by means of His person, to corruption and perishing ; He would have seemed to the many (but) as a spectre.

**47.** Nor could He have done any thing, which it was right He should do, as being the LIFE, the WORD and the POWER of God; having given up His Interpreter to corruption and ruin.

**48.** Nor, could those things which He did against the Demons, (or) in His contention with death, have been worthy of completion.

**49.** Nor could it have been known, where He remained.

**50.** Nor could it have been believed by those, to whom He had not delivered (it) ;--nor had it been seen,--that His nature was superior to death.

**51.** Nor, could He have delivered mortality from its own (mortal) nature.

**52.** Nor, could He have persuaded His disciples to despise death. [187](#)

**53.** Nor, could He have established a hope of the life that is with God after death, with those who drew near for (the reception of) His doctrine.

**54.** Nor, could He have fulfilled the promises of His own words; nor have given to the prophecies,



which went before respecting Him, a due fulfilment.

55. Nor<sup>74</sup>, could He have overcome in the last conflict of all, which was opposed to the death that exists in all these things. For it was above all things right, that this mortal vessel should, after it had completed the service which it rendered to THE WORD OF GOD, obtain to itself an end worthy of God, (and that this) be through this same ordinance of death. For, there were two things resting upon (this) consummation ; (viz.) either, that He should deliver up (His vessel) to entire corruption and destruction, and (so) make His whole conflict, and egress from this world, matter of shame; or, that He should afford proof, that this same was superior to death; and (so), by the divine power, make immortal that which was mortal. The first however, was incompatible with the promise. For, it is not the property of fire, to be cold; nor, of light, that it be dark : neither is it of life, that it should die; nor, of THE WORD OF GOD, that He should act with impropriety. For, What cause could He have, who promised life to others, for being unmindful of His own vessel when subject to corruption:--for delivering up His Image to destruction, and for surrendering the Interpreter of His own Godhead, to the corruption of death ?--for Him to do so, who had [188](#) previously promised to those, who should take refuge in Him, the life which is impervious death ? This (one) then, of two things was necessary :--this, I say, that He should shew him (His Interpreter) to be superior to death. And, How was it, that it was necessary He should do this ? Secretly, and by stealth ? or, openly before all men, and manifestly? But, if this fact had taken place covertly and secretly; it would then have remained unknown, and unprofitable to man. But, as it was preached (to all), and heard of by all; it afforded to all, the advantage which (grew) out of the miracle. Well therefore,--because it was necessary He should shew His vessel to be superior to death,-- did He also do this, not secretly, but before the eyes of (all) men. He escaped not from death; for this would have been pusillanimous, and it would have been thought that He was inferior to death. But, by this contention with Death as with a contemporary, He established the immortality of that which was mortal; and, this last conflict which was for the salvation of all, secured (for all) the life which is immortal. For this was done, in the first place, against the Demons, for the destruction of the error of a multitude of Gods, when He began to be known among men. It also appeared particularly necessary to Him, that, as He was to make His circuits among the flocks of men, He should immediately, (and) in the presence of all, drive out the enemies and haters of mankind,--as being the princes of wickedness, and like to cruel and fierce beasts, those (I say),--who had, from former times and falsely, been esteemed Gods. He therefore, [189](#) THE WORD OF GOD, immediately led out His Vessel into the land of these enemies and haters,--that (land I say), which the words of mystery style "*The Desert*" as (being) destitute of every good thing; and there "*forty days, and as many nights*<sup>75</sup>," He wrought and performed those things of which no mortal knew, and which the eyes of man did not see. The testimonies however of prophecy teach, that to these things the declarations of the prophetic Scriptures agree, where it is written, that "*Jesus was led of the Holy Ghost into the desert, that he might be tempted of Satan. And He was there forty days and forty nights*<sup>76</sup>, *and was with the wild beasts*<sup>77</sup>." And, What are these but the [190](#) princes of the Demons, whom the Holy Ghost has said are,--and has named by way of figure,--"*Serpents*" "*Adders*" "*Lions*" and "*Dragons*" on account, of the similitude to the viciousness of each of these: (saying) "*Thou shalt tread on the serpent and adder, and shalt trample on the lion and the dragon*<sup>78</sup>?" The other things also which were done in the desert, this declaration intimates, saying thus in the person of the Vessel which He bore, "*His truth shall gird thee* (as) *a weapon: neither shalt thou be afraid of the fear of the night, nor of the arrow that flieth by day; nor of the thing that walketh in darkness: nor of the wind that bloweth at noon. Thousands shall fall at thy side, and tens of thousands at thy right hand: but they shall not touch thee*<sup>79</sup>."

56. These things have been said in parables and mystically, on the conflict which (took place) in the desert between the Vessel of salvation, and the invisible spirits. During all these nights therefore, and days in like number, He contended with the whole race (of Demons) that was beneath the air. Nor was

it tardily that THE WORD OF GOD drove these out, nor, that He pursued the whole congregation of the enemy; nor, that (He did this) as God in his abstract and unembodied power, but, by means of the body which He took. Because the whole race of man had, from ancient times, been subjected to these as to Gods: on this account therefore, principally, He subjected all the families of the Demons to this (His Vessel). For it was right, that He should make him who had been conquered, and iniquitously subdued to his enemies, not only (man's) Deliverer, but also the Conqueror of his enemies; and that He (THE WORD) should shew, [191](#) that His Friend, whom He had made in His own Image and similitude, was, on account of his participation in THE WORD, superior to the Demons who were formerly thought to be Gods; just as it is written in the words of mystery<sup>80</sup> (the Scriptures).

**57.** Because then, the Saviour of us all had completed the conflict which was opposed to these (spirits), He went up thence, clothed (as it were) with victory, entered upon the life common to men, and delivered their souls: having relieved them from the bonds of the Demons: and, having revealed to His Disciples those other secret things,--as well as these which he performed in opposition to the enemies that are unseen,--He thus spoke, and He established (it), *"Be of good courage, I have overcome the world"*<sup>81</sup>. The manner too of His victory, He taught by those things which He said to His Disciples in parables (viz.): *"No man can enter the house of a strong man and spoil his goods, unless he first bind the strong man; and then he shall spoil his house"*<sup>82</sup>. He therefore bound the strong man, and drove out the whole race of Demons. And forthwith, He (so) wrought on the souls of those who were His, that He freed them from the bitter state, slavery, and error, of a multiplicity of Gods. This His first conflict however against the Demons, was completed at the outset of His manifestation among men. But the last (His crucifixion), was the commencement of His sovereignty over Death. [192](#) For it was right that He,--who was superior to (that which was) no God, and to the error of Demons, and, had been attached to GOD THE WORD,--should receive the honour compatible with this His deed (viz.) the victory over Death. For the Demons, which had assembled together against Him, with their Head, and with the spirits residing above the earth in the air, (and) invisible to mortal eyes, turned their backs (in flight) in His first conflict (with them) ; directing their view to the second, and waiting for His last egress, and departure by death, from the world, which they expected would be like that of other men. For, they had no notion that the mortal nature could ever exist, which should be superior to death ; or, that Death was (not) the common king of all those, who had once experienced the birth of mortals. They thought too, that this was, of all evils, that which no man could either avoid, or evade. But, immediately after the signal mark of His first victory over the Demons, He engaged also in conflict with Death. And<sup>83</sup>, just as one wishing to shew that some vessel was incombustible and its nature superior to fire, could in no other way establish this astonishing fact, except by placing the one which he held in his hand in the fire, and then taking it out of the fire, safe and sound; so also THE WORD OF GOD, the life-giver of all, willing to make it known that the mortal Vessel, of which He had availed Himself for the redemption of man, was superior to death, and, to shew that He made it to participate in His own life, conducted the matter both well and virtuously as it was most convenient. He left the body for a short time, and consigned mortality to death, for the rebuking of its (sinful) nature ; and again, [193](#) He soon raised up the same from death, for the purpose of proving that the Divine power, which was by Him,--that eternal life, (I say) which was preached by Him,-- was superior to every kind of death.

**58.** This<sup>84</sup> therefore was the first cause. The second was, to shew that the Divine power resided in the human body. Because men had formerly made gods for themselves of those who were men mortal in reality, had been overcome by death, (and) in whom the last common extremity had been witnessed ; and had named those heroes and gods, who had been taken away by death; on this account therefore, He happily shewed Himself; and for this cause, the same compassionate WORD OF GOD exhibited to men, the nature which was superior to death, and brought in mortality--after its dissolution--to a second life. He also afforded to all, the means of viewing the signal victory of life immortal over mortality; and



taught (them) by (His) death to confess Him alone to be the God of truth, who had (so) bound the crown<sup>85</sup> of victory over death, about His own head.

**59.** The third cause of (His) death was, the redemption that is (taught) in hidden (mystical) terms, which are these in effect: He was the sacrifice which was consigned to death, for the souls of the whole race (of man) : the sacrifice (I say) which was slain for the whole flock of [194](#) mankind: the sacrifice turning (men) back from the error of Demons. The sacrifice therefore,--the great offering, and that which was superior to all (other) sacrifices,--was the Body of our Saviour which was sacrificed as a Lamb, for the whole race of mankind: and it came up for the souls of all the nations that had been held in the impiety of their forefathers, the error of the Demons. And thence, the whole impure and unholy power of Demons was destroyed ; this whole vain and earthly system of error, was instantly dissolved and ruined by a superior power! He therefore who was, from among men, the sacrifice of Redemption,--the bodily Vessel of THE WORD OF GOD,-- was sacrificed for the flock of all mankind. And this is He, who was, by the accusation of men, delivered up as a sacrifice to death; of whom the Divine words exclaim, speaking at one time thus: "*Behold! The Lamb of God: behold! He (it is) who taketh away the sins of the world*<sup>86</sup>." And at another, thus previously enouncing: "*As a Lamb He was led to the slaughter; and, as a sheep before the shearer, He was silent*<sup>87</sup>." And the same (Divine word) teaches the cause, saying: "*Truly He underwent our sufferings, and bore our pains; but we considered Him bruised and stricken of God, and humiliated. He was slain because of our sins, and was humbled because of our iniquity. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes are we healed. All we have strayed like sheep, and (each) man has turned to his part; and the Lord has made to meet in him the sins of us all*<sup>88</sup>." This bodily vessel therefore of THE WORD [195](#) OF GOD, was, for these reasons, sacrificed. But He, the great High Priest who officiates as Priest to God, the King of all, and Lord of all, is another distinct from the sacrifice, (viz.) THE WORD OF GOD, THE POWER OF GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD : He too, after no long time, raised mortality from death, making him (so raised) by participation, the beginning of the redemption of us all, and of that immortal life which is with God. Him too, (thus) vested with the mark of victory over death, and the deeds of the Demons; of those human sacrifices which had been delivered down from ancient times, did He constitute the Destroyer, for the sake of all mankind. Hence also was the name of *Messiah* (Christ) given to Him; which, among the Hebrews, attaches<sup>89</sup> in like manner to the chief priest. He therefore received the two names: the name of *Jesus*, implying the sacrifice of *salvation*; and that of High Priest, the WORD OF GOD, who officiates as Priest for us all:--the custom of the Hebrews intimating (this) of the Messiah (Christ.)

**60.** After the things which have been said, the latter was the great cause of (His) death, viz. the Redemption spoken of<sup>90</sup>: because, it was necessary to the disciples that [196](#) they should see, with their own eyes, the life which was after death, He (thus) openly taught them to place their hope in this second birth. And, because He also encouraged them to be strong in the yoke of righteousness, He well delivered this, in order that they might, with their own eyes, see it. For it was necessary for these, who were about to be brought to the life of righteousness, that, first of all, they should receive this most necessary doctrine by means of open view; and much more, for those who were soon to preach it throughout the whole creation, and to cause the knowledge of God, (so) given by them, to arise (as the sun) in all nations, (and) among all men. It was necessary, that these men should receive the strongest persuasion of the life which is after death, so that they might accept fearlessly, and unmoved in their minds by death, the conflict against the error of many gods. For, if they had not been taught to despise death, neither would they have ever been prepared to approach afflictions. On this account, He the more particularly armed them against the power of death. Nor was it by precepts and words (only), that He delivered to them this doctrine: nor, in persuasive terms or similitudes, that He composed (his discourses) as men do, on the immortality of the soul; but He shewed them in the deed itself, the signal

mark of the victory (obtained) over death.

**61.** For death had been, from ancient times, fearful to all men as the destroyer of our mortal race; its power being considered the undoing of the whole nature of man, both soul and body. Nor was there ever a man, who could relieve human nature from this fearful being. All were pierced, [197](#) (as it were,) small and great, Princes and Subjects, Kings at once and People, as well as the Inhabitants and Societies of all nations and families, by the fear of death. Nor had mankind any solace for this evil, either in word, or form, or manner of life, opinion of the wise, writing of the Ancients, prophecy of the Prophets, or revelation of Angels. He was superior to all, supreme over all, and victorious over all! Death, like an inflated boaster,--who had subjected to himself the whole mortal race,--was conversant with every species of iniquity, both the impurities of blood-shedding, and the deeds which were unrighteous; with the error also of every sort of vile (and) ungodly impiety. For, of all these things he was the Cause; and, as if there were again no existence after death, the many did in their conduct the things which deserved death, and as if unsubdued by (the fear of) any impending punishment. On account of this dissoluteness (resulting) from death, they lived a life which (in reality) was no life: they entertained not God in their thoughts, nor the righteous judgment of God : nor did they cherish the remembrance of the rational Essence of their own souls. They were conversant (only) with the one hard Ruler, Death; and were reconciled to the corruption resulting from this, which was the undoing of their whole soul. On this account it was, that they gave the name of Pluto<sup>91</sup>,-- the god of riches,--to Death : and Death became their god ! And not he alone, but also those precious things which were in his presence, and contributed to a life of lust, became their Gods ! The very lust of the body therefore, became to them a God ! the common aliments, a God ! the seed which fell into the earth, a God ! the pleasant blossoms of this, a God ! the flowers of the apples, a God ! the pleasure that was in drunkenness, a God ! the love of the body, a God ! and the very lust of these things ! Hence, the mysteries of Demeter and of Proserpine: as also the rape of the Maid<sup>92</sup> to Hell; and again, her return. Hence the feasts of Dionysus (Bacchus)--and of Hercules--who was overcome as by some great god by drunkenness ! Hence the mysteries of the adultery of Mars and Venus ! Hence the [198](#) madness of Jupiter after women, and his love of Ganymede! the rambling stories about Gods lovers of lust, and attached to the vilest affections! And of all these, was Death the (originating) Cause: for they believed Death to be the end and conclusion of all, the dissolution and corruption both of bodies and souls; and that there was no other life, except this of the body, and which is corporeal:--living a life worse than that of the whole irrational nature of beasts! On these accounts, it became the desire of the universal King, THE WORD OF GOD, at the intimation of His merciful Father, and for the purpose of affording help to these, to hasten,--as a king great in mercy,--and to undertake the reprehension of Death, by means of human nature; being as He was, THE LIFE, THE WORD, and THE POWER. OF GOD. Nor was it but that help should be obtained, that He caused that fearful being among men to be reproved: on this account, He, who was incorporeal,--availing Himself of human armoury, and of a mortal body,--by means of mortality overcame mortality. Hence His primary mystery, that of His Body, was instituted; and hence, the signal mark of the victory of the Cross; hence too, the commemoration of the life which is eternal and immortal, He named *His remembrance*. Of the armoury which is mortal, He availed Himself, and exhibited that greatest of miracles to all men, the mark of victory of eternal life, which He established in opposition to Death. For, He gave up mortality to be food for the beasts<sup>93</sup>; and He himself was forthwith affixed to the cross of crucifixion, in order that to all might become known the nature of mortality. Nor was that which was done concealed by any means; neither from men, [199](#) nor from Demons, nor from the Powers which are superior. For it was necessary, that all should take an accurate view of mortality, as in a great theatre<sup>94</sup>, when He (thus) testified of the nature of His (human) person ; and afterwards (see) Death coming in like a fierce beast: and (also see), why it was that it slew Him : and (that) then, the Power of life came in after Death, and again established for all the victory

which is over Death, when he had thus made that which was mortal, immortal. The Power therefore, which had taken hold of him, (viz.) THE WORD OF GOD, left the Body for a short time; and it was suspended for a short space on the Cross, and became a corpse. But the WORD, which gives life to all, became not a corpse. He therefore (thus) attested the mortal nature of his Person. This corpse too, of which Death had (so) taken possession, was now borne by men ; and--being worthy of the usual care--was afterwards consigned, according to the laws of men, to burial. The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out; a cave that had now been cut out in a rock, and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that Corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even this rock, standing out erect and alone in a level land, and having only one cavern within it; lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame Death should have been obscured. The Corpse was therefore laid there, the Vessel of the living WORD ; and a great stone held (the entrance of) the cave. And much did Death exult in this, as if, behold ! he had (now) taken even this (Personage) under his power, together with those whom he had ever (so taken). But, when the period of three days had not yet passed, the same life shewed itself, after the rebuke which was sufficient against Death<sup>95</sup>. For, if He had [200](#) risen earlier (and) immediately, He would not then have been believed to have been dead. But, since He was (thus) in reality raised, He had also in reality died; and had, for a time, been in reality subject to Death ; then also did the all-life-giving WORD OF GOD evince the hope that is laid up for all men, by means of the second birth of this selfsame mortal (body) !

**62.** What things then came to pass after these, as to their being (actually) performed, it is not my intention henceforward to be thy teacher. Those who saw them will be the witnesses best fitted for the truth (in this respect); those (I say) who, from having seen the acts themselves, did, both by their blood and persons, attest their faith in Him; and who, by the power of Him, to whom they gave their testimony, filled the whole creation with the righteousness which was preached by them. Those therefore, who were spectators of the things then done, and who saw with their own eyes the Second Birth which became theirs <sup>96</sup>, have delivered (this) by their own testimonies. It was not indeed, that the things done had been heard of by them, as far as word or enunciation (went); but, they had been seen, and accurately felt by those who testified respecting them: and on this account, these same, who had by open vision and in reality apprehended (these things), and had received the signal mark of victory over Death, learned well to be daring against Death; and taught this same thing to their Disciples, (viz.) that they had received from their Saviour, the truth pertaining to life immortal. And thus also, was the whole mortal race thence refreshed (as freed) from the fear of Death: because he, who had formerly been terrific, had suffered rebuke in the presence of all; and the life which was after death, bad (now) received certain credibility ; not from the artificial enouncements of Sophists, nor from the discovery of persuasive words; but, by the deeds which came forth to light. Nor again, did (men) as formerly tremble at death, but they laughed much and greatly in the hour of this fearful being; so much so [201](#) that they even followd after death, on account of (their) desire of that immortal life, which should succeed it.

**63.** Hence indeed, originated the care of mankind for the life which is holy and pure, and the diligence to attain to every (sort of) excellency : the (constant) recollection of God, and of the many enouncements respecting the righteousness of truth, and of the turning away from vice and ungodliness. Nor was it this only, but also the true notion of the life which is after death, was stirred up among all men, and (so was) the right and true state of mind, respecting the righteous judgment of God, the King of all. On this account did the whole race of man,--which had (now) been changed to a state of virtue by means of enouncements not to be described,--henceforward spit in the faces of the Idols, trample under foot the unjust laws of the Demons, and laugh at the ancient traditionary system of error of their forefathers.

**64.** Henceforward therefore, men became so instructed in the heavenly doctrine, and the enouncements respecting the knowledge of God, that they no more reverentially viewed this visible creation with the bodily eyes; nor, when looking upwards and seeing the Sun, Moon, and Stars, did they address their veneration to them: but they acknowledged Him who is beyond these;--Him who is secret and invisible,--Him who is the Creator of all, and the Maker of every thing: even as they had been taught to fear Him alone.

**65.** Nor did he, who had been instructed in the new doctrine, again imagine as formerly, that this nature of the body, which is fleeting and corruptible, inanimate (in itself,) and irrational;--nor, that the primitive elements, Earth, Water, Air, and Fire,--were Gods; since he had also been taught, that the superiority of his own soul greatly excelled these.

**66.** Nor is he as formerly, a slave to his own lusts; nor is he overcome by the baser desires: for he was then vanquished, and could not overcome: (nor<sup>97</sup>) can he, who has [\[202\]](#) been commanded to be careful to root up the sin (of idolatry) from his mind and soul, together with every evil desire and folly, again fabricate Gods to himself, or, even dare to look upon a woman lustfully.

**67.** Nor will he again as formerly, venerate the Interpreter <sup>98</sup> of his own soul, or dare to call it a God: nor will he name his own mind Minerva<sup>99</sup>; nor indeed, any of those other things, which are in like manner but for an hour; but Him alone who is beyond all, the WORD OF GOD, the Artificer of all, the WISDOM OF THE GOD OF ALL, will he recognize and bless, as his Saviour.

**68.** Nor again as in former times, does he,--who has subscribed to the one who alone is superior to Death; to the Conqueror, who has possessed himself of the signal mark of Victory over the power of Death; to his Saviour; --give the names and appellations of Heroes and Gods, to mortals who left this world in shame, and surrendered their lives to the dominion of Death.

**69.** Nor again as in former times, will he revere inanimate Idols. Nor will he honour the nature which is irrational, and of Beasts, through that fear of Demons which is out of nature. But, he will laugh at the error of his forefathers, and will turn his face from their manner (of life), which was destitute both of the knowledge of God, and of the contemplation (of this).

**70.** Nor will he again as in former times, express terror at the images of evil Demons, nor at the vain and erroneous phantasms of earthly spirits:--he (I say) who [\[203\]](#) is constrained by the prevailing power of THE ONE WORD the King of all, has been taught to undo through Him, the whole race of the accusers of men, and (so) to abolish and expel, both from souls and bodies, these (causes of) injuries.

**71.** Nor will he as formerly, again pollute himself with libations, fumes, blood, and sacrifices; nor yet with the sacrifices of irrational animals: much less will he delight himself with the slaughter of men, and with human sacrifices. He has been taught, that God stands in need of nothing.--Nor will he delight in bodily matter, nor in the fumes of earthly sacrifices; but only in the enlightened mind, in purity of soul, and in holiness of life; in the sacrifices also which are without smoke and blood: those which are in the words of the mysteries: those (I say) which the Saviour of all has appointed to be delivered throughout the whole creation of man, for a *remembrance of Himself*<sup>100</sup>. [\[204\]](#)

**72.** Nor again will he, who has been taught by the words of his Saviour, to "*mortify his members that are on the earth*<sup>101</sup>" dare, as formerly, to give the title of gods to the aliments of the body, and to drunkenness; nor yet to the lusts and passions.

**73.** Nor again will he,--who has subscribed to the only *One* who is above all, the life-giving WORD OF God, who is his Saviour, and the Conqueror of Death,--be afraid of the solution of his soul, from the body which (now) accompanies it. Nor will he call Death, God.

74. With all these instructions of righteousness therefore, will he be armed who has been taught in the new doctrine. Nor will he, in opposition to the truth, give in [\[205\]](#) to those who dare to contend with God; but will stand up, in the mind (so) confirmed, against fire and sword; will bear up in the presence of fierce beasts, of the depths of the sea, and of every other terror of death. Those too, who in their natures are (mere) children and women, will sport with that death which was formerly (so) grievous, and the hearing about which was (so) dreadful. Barbarians at once and Greeks, who have received the powerful persuasion respecting the life which is immortal, by means of the resurrection of our Saviour, do follow after the life of that better wisdom, the fear of God, the signal mark of their victory over death, and of the eternal life which follows, having subscribed to their Saviour.

75. [102](#) Hence it is, that this rational race of man,-- since it has been its lot to reside on the earth,--this same (I say) acts henceforth according to its nature; being taught to live in the remembrance of God, in the fulness of every good, and in accordance with the prediction of the prophets, who, many years ago (inspired) from above, thus previously preached : *"All the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and be turned to the Lord their God; and before Him shall worship all the families of the nations: because the kingdom is the Lord's, and He is Governour over the Gentiles"*[103](#).

76. Hence, places of instruction have been established throughout the whole creation of man ; so that the words of God, the doctrine of purity of life and of the fear of God, are preached in the hearing of all nations.

77. Hence, in every city and place, congregations (assembled) from among all, ascribe, in songs of victory, honour to the all-life-giving WORD of God.

78. Hence, the hymns which are suitable to the assemblies of Angels in heaven, even the race of mankind tenders to God the King of all. And henceforth,--together [\[206\]](#) with those spirits, the intelligent and unembodied powers that are with God who is above all; those also, whose lot it is to reside below on this element of earth, as also the rational souls of the just,--do, by means of the body, as by an instrument of music, send forth the hymns which are becoming, and the blessings which are due, to their one Saviour, the cause of every good. And that, which never (before) existed, the fruit which is due to God the universal King, is now daily rendered (to Him) throughout the whole creation of man, by every race as by one general agreement, and at the same befitting hours and seasons[104](#).

79. Those genealogies of the Demons, and stories about the Gods, which are now superannuated, perished when (so) consigned to oblivion. But, the word of Christ is renewed, and in (vigorous) youth with all. Now are the Divine Laws and Lessons preached throughout the whole earth, and they succeed in purifying all men. The instruction too, of the fear of God in truth, has filled all places, both of the Barbarians and the Greeks. Now do those of foreign, as well as those of many, languages, send forth in one manner of life, and with one consent, the ascriptions of blessing which are becoming, to the Creator of all:--one enunciation, the same Law, and one mystery[105](#), suitable to God: and to this same conduct do they adhere. Now has there been established, throughout the whole creation, one combination of souls, and one accordance of doctrine. And hence, at one moment of time do those whose lot it is to reside together in the east, along with those at the setting of the Sun, glorify, by means of the same doctrines, the One God who is beyond all, the Lord of the whole world. Nor do they subscribe to any other, except only to the Christ of God, who is the cause of their happiness. Those also, who have possession of the northern parts, together with those who are in the south, at once call Him THE SAVIOUR. And, so do they honour God in the same (forms of) words, that no difference will [\[207\]](#) again soon be made--although it might be imagined as to speech,--between the Barbarian and the Greek[106](#); nor, that the Greek be a person to be distinguished from the Barbarian; for with God *"there is neither Barbarian nor Greek"*[107](#). For every one fearing God, is (here) a wise man. And now Egyptians,



Syrians, Scythians, Italians, Moors<sup>108</sup>, Persians, and Hindoos, all and at once, have be-become wise by the doctrines of Christ. In these things too are they all, at once made wise, and (so) instructed, as to be intrepid against Death; to despise the things of this life, and to put forth the one good hope, which is in the promise of the word of our Saviour. But they also learn, that they shall receive that life of the soul which is immortal, and which has henceforth been promised to them as a deposit, in the habitation of the circle of the heavens, and in the kingdom of God. This promise, their Saviour confirmed by deeds in His conflict with Death ; by which He proved to his Disciples, that Death which had (hitherto) been so fearful to all men, was nothing. The life moreover, which had been promised by Him, He established by open view to their very eyes; so that they should even see it; and made this His Image (body), by its resurrection, the commencement of our hope,--of the imperishable life of our bodies, of the soul as being immortal, and of our greatness as like to that of the Angels.

**80.** The deeds therefore, pertaining to Redemption and affording aid to the world, as to the Revelation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, are these. If however, any one require a greater abundance, so as to be supplied with many other proofs of the Divine power (in this respect), personal leisure will be requisite, for the examination of the things which have been written respecting Him. Of these I will select a few from the writings <sup>[208]</sup> of His Disciples,--which he previously preached as predicting the things which should be done by Him,--in proof of his Godhead: and will so lay before those, who do not acknowledge the conclusiveness of my former statements, this as the last (and greatest).

*The End of the Third Book (of Eusebius) of Caesarea.*

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[Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

1. <sup>1</sup> See also Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 10. seq. recurred to again, Book v. par. 52.
2. <sup>2</sup> Alluding to what had been said above, about the successors of Alexander, Book ii. sect. 77. Matter nearly allied to that in this paragraph, will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 178. seq. also, in the Demonstratio Bvangelica, Lib. III. near the end, and above, Book ii. sect. 66.
3. <sup>3</sup> Alluding to the judgments, &c. spoken of above. Book ii. par. 80.
4. <sup>4</sup> Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 178. D.
5. <sup>3</sup> Ps.. Lxxiii. 8, according to the Peschito.
6. <sup>4</sup> Ib. ver. 7.
7. <sup>5</sup> Both these places are cited by Origen, Philocalia, cap. i. p. 4. Edit. Spencer.
8. <sup>6</sup> Is. ii. 4. according to the Peschito, [...]. A large number of predictions to this effect will be found collected in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. capp. i. ii.—I will remark here, that, from the manner in which sentiments, similar to those occurring in this work, are given elsewhere by our author, this was probably his first production.
9. <sup>7</sup> So Lactantius, who was contemporary with our author: " Atqui impleta esse implerique quotidie illorum" (Prophetarum sc.) " vaticinia videmus." De falsa religione, Lib. i. cap. iv.
10. <sup>8</sup> Matt. xxviii. 19.
11. <sup>9</sup> Ib. xxiv. 14.



12. <sup>2</sup> Alluding to what was said above. Book ii. par. 81.

13. <sup>1</sup> So Clemens Alexandrinus, as cited, Prep. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. iii. [Greek] See the notes here to Viger's Edition, p. 3. See also Theodoret (Graec. affect. curat. Sermon. x. p. 623. Tom. iv.), who goes much more at length into this subject, and mentions a greater number of these Oracles. Ib. p. 624, he cites a passage from Plutarch (De defectu Oraculorum) which affirms that Demons, ministers of the Gods, not the Gods themselves, presided in these places; but disallows the bold assertion of Empedocles, that they were evil and injurious to men. See the rest of this Tract. See also Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i.

14. <sup>2</sup> See Prep. Evang. Lib. v. i. p. 180. A. where similar matter will be found.

15. <sup>3</sup> Alluding evidently to Is. ii. 18—22.

16. <sup>4</sup> Prep. Evang. Lib. v. i. p. 170. C...[Greek] The Syriac speaks here much stronger on the divinity of our Lord. His words are, [Syriac], which is rendered sufficiently literal above. These Demons were considered as constituting various classes among the Greeks: the first residing in the Stars: the second consisting of those who had benefited mankind by their labours, and were termed Heroes, as Hercules, the Tyndarides, Bacchus, &c.; the third consisted of those fabulous beings which had, under the garb of philosophy, been deified by the Poets. The fourth contained, Venus, Mercury, &c. The fifth contained those said to be famous for art, as Vulcan, Mars, &c. To these they added a sixth and seventh, who took at one time the forms of Gods, at another, those of Ghosts (manium). These all again, were divided into two classes, the one consisting of good, the other of evil Demons. Prep. Evang. Lib. v. in. p. 182. seq. It is added, from the authority of Plutarch that, from this last sort, all the Grecian oracles were given out. See also, ib. Lib. iii. cap. v. p. 141. Of all these,—according to our author, Demonst. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. viii. p. 157. IX seq.—Satan is the chief head and prince: and the rest generally fallen spirits.

17. <sup>5</sup> Matth. viii. 29; Mark i. 24; Luke iv. 34. Our passage, however, agrees with neither of the places exactly. It was most likely, quoted by memory only. See also Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 179. D. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 103. D.

18. <sup>6</sup> Ib. Prep. Evang. Lib. v. i. p. 180. A. The whole subject of Demonology is discussed at great length in the Prep. Evang. to which I must refer the reader, as he will there find almost every thing necessary to be known on this subject, given from the best authorities among the Greeks themselves.

19. <sup>1</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. This is also found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvii. p. 164. C. -- [Greek] See also ib. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 179. C. D. -- Ib. Porphyry is (p. 181.) cited, as bearing witness to this fact, thus : [Greek] Ib. p. 156. B, as taken from Porphyry's Second Book on Abstinence, cited from Pallas on the Mysteries of Mithra. The words of Pallas however, are, [Greek]. Whence Valesius argues, (notes to Laudd. Const. p. 258. D.) that Eusebius has rather overstated the matter; assuming that this had *every where* been done, when, at that very time human sacrifices were offered up at Rome.

20. <sup>3</sup> It is evident I think, from this mode of arguing, that Eusebius did mean to assert, the *Divine* and *self-existing* nature of Christ. See, too, the manner in which he argues against Plato, above. Book ii. par. 33, 34, seq. with the notes. Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 545. A.

21. <sup>1</sup> Ib. B.

22. <sup>6</sup> So also Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. i. p. 179. B.

23. <sup>7</sup> Syr. [Syriac] lit. *He made worthy of the name of the House of Lordship*. Gr. [Greek] Orat. de laudd. Constant, cap. xvii. p. 546. A. The above affords a curious instance of our Translator's attempt to be literal, as it does of the poverty of the Syriac language for discussions such as this.

24. <sup>7</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 540. D.

25. <sup>9</sup> Matt, xxiii. 38: Luke xiii. 35, [...]

26. <sup>1</sup> Matth. xxiv. 2: Mark xiii. 2: Luke xxi. 6. differing in several respects from the Peschito: thus, [Syriac] Quoted, perhaps, in the first instance from memory: and, in the second, translated from the Greek so written. Several prophecies on the coming of our Lord, the labours of the Apostles, and the fall of Jerusalem, will be found in Origen's Philocalia, cap. i. Edit. Spencer, and more fully in the Demonstr. Evang. of our author.

27. <sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 18. The latter member reads thus: Syr. [Syriac]. Differing from the Peschito in the term only. Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. p. 547. A.

28. <sup>3</sup> There is another member here in the Greek. (Laudd. Const. ib. B.)

29. <sup>4</sup> Matt. x. 18: Mark xiii. 9: Luke xxi. 12. The passage however, does not appear to be a literal citation, but only a general mention of the thing in question. Laudd. Constant, p. 547. C.

30. <sup>5</sup> Ib. Laudd. Constant. D. where the Greek is more full.

31. <sup>6</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib.

32. <sup>1</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. p. 548. C.

33. <sup>3</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. C.

34. <sup>4</sup> So the Greek. (Orat. de laudd. Constant, ib. p. 548. D.) [...]

35. <sup>5</sup> [...] On the general observance of the seventh day (or Sunday). See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. xii. p. 667, from Aristobulus ; and ib. cap. xiii. p. 677, from Clemens Alexandrinus. See also ray Sermon on the Sabbath, Edit. 2. London, 1834, Duncan. Whence it should seem, that this must have been the Patriarchal, and consequently the day of the *primaeval*, sabbath. (Gen. ii. 2, 3.) The sabbath of the Jews was a totally different thing. That was to recur *yearly*, after the day of preparation : i.e. on the 15th day of the month Abib. (Comp. Exod. xii. 6. with Mark xv. 42.) It could not have recurred, therefore *every seventh day* : that was impossible. The Jews do however, observe every seventh day. They have therefore, lost the sabbath of Moses entirely. While the Christians actually keep the primitive sabbath, with the additional sanctions of the Resurrection of our Lord, and of the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost. [...]

36. <sup>6</sup> Orat. de laudd. Const. ib. D.

37. <sup>2</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 549. A.

38. <sup>5</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 536. A. gives also the following matter.

39. <sup>6</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B.

40. <sup>1</sup> This adage, [Greek] will be found in the, "Adagiorum D. Erasmi...Epitome. Amst. 1649. p. 480. Syr. [Syriac] The Persians have a very neatly expressed adage to this effect, in these words; Which may thus be paraphrased,--

Kind to his kind with pleasure hies,  
And hawk with hawk, pigeon with pigeon flies.

41. <sup>2</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 536. C.

42. <sup>3</sup> This argument is given also in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. p. 170. A. and ib. Lib. vii. cap. i. p. 314. C. D. as well as in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 530. D.
43. <sup>4</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 537. A. it. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. p. 168. D.
44. <sup>2</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B.
45. <sup>3</sup> [...] The Greek Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 537. B. does not verbally agree with our text.
46. <sup>4</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. it.
47. <sup>5</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. xiii. p. 160. A.
48. <sup>6</sup> Orat. de laudd. Const. ib. C. it. Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. it. ib. cap. xiv. p. 170. D. it. ib. p. 165. B.
49. <sup>7</sup> Comp. John iii. 13; vi. 46: xiv. 10, 11. it. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 537. D. it. Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. C. seq.
50. <sup>8</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 169. D.
51. <sup>10</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. 109. D. it. 170. A. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 538. A.
52. <sup>1</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 538. B. it. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 170. A. B.
53. <sup>2</sup> The Greek text, (Laudd. Const, p. 538. C.) leaves us here, but joins us again, sect. 45, below.
54. <sup>3</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. p. 169. B. C.
55. <sup>1</sup> Alluding to the chastisements mentioned above, as inflicted on the heathen.
56. <sup>2</sup> Luke i. 31; ii. 21. Matt. i. 21. "*For he SHALL SAVE his people,*" &c. plainly intimating, that the meaning of the Heb. [Hebrew], should be preserved in it.
57. <sup>3</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. pp. 164, D. 165. A. [...]
58. <sup>4</sup> Matt. viii. 2, 3; xi. 5. Luke vii. 22; xvii. 22.
59. <sup>5</sup> Matt, ix, .32 : xii. 22 : xvii, 18, &c.
60. <sup>6</sup> Matt. ix. 6, &c.
61. <sup>7</sup> Ib. ver. 27; xi. 5; xx. 30, &c.
62. <sup>8</sup> Matt. ix. 20. seq. &c.
63. <sup>9</sup> Matt. viii. 5. Luke vii. I, 2.
64. <sup>10</sup> Mark v. 22.-35. seq. &c.
65. <sup>11</sup> John xi. 1. seq.
66. <sup>12</sup> Matt. xiv. 25. Mark vi. 48. John vi. 19.
67. <sup>13</sup> Matt. viii. 24. seq. Mark iv. 37. seq. &c.
68. <sup>14</sup> Matt. xiv. 19. seq. ib. xvi. 9, &c.
69. <sup>1</sup> Matt, xxvii. 50, &c.
70. <sup>2</sup> John x. 38.

71. <sup>3</sup> Ib. ver. 14, 15.

72. <sup>4</sup> Ib. xii. 24.

73. <sup>7</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xv. p. 538. C.

74. <sup>9</sup> Ib. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 539. A.B.

75. <sup>5</sup> The various methods had recourse to for the purpose of explaining this portion of scripture, may be seen in Kuinoel's commentary on Matt. iv. 1. Poole's Synopsis, ib. and on the parallel places. The comment given by Eusebius here is, certainly, a bold one. It is nevertheless, as I think, very much superior to that preferred by Kuinoel; viz. that the Devil here represents the high Priest of the Jews, who sent out his emissaries to Christ for the purpose of securing *his* influence, if possible, in favour of their policy. See the commentators on Matt. iv. with its parallel places. As I do not see any necessity here for departing from the simple and obvious declarations of the Evangelists, I will only remark, that our Lord seems to have been led to this, for the express purpose of being tempted, or tried, by Satan, [Greek] says St Matthew. Comp. Mark i. 13, Luke iv. 2. And, as Demoniactal influence is repeatedly and positively taught in the New Testament, I do not see why this should be doubted. It is certain moreover, that this Demoniactal influence was restrained by our Lord, and that these Demons knew Him. See Matt. viii. 28-32; xii. 22-29; xvii. 18-21. Mark i. 23-26, 34, &c. with their parallels. He also gave power to His disciples over these unclean spirits, Matt. x. 1. Luke ix. 1: and over all the power of the enemy, ib. x. 19. Ib. ver. 18, He speaks of Satan falling from heaven. Again, these spirits could not have been ignorant of the birth of Christ, as announced by the Angels and others, Luke ii. 9-15. ib. ver. 25. seq. comp. ib. xxi. 14-22. From all which it must appear, that these were *real beings*, at once *intelligent and potent*; and that our Lord actually restrained, and otherwise overcame, them. The temptation in the desert was therefore probably intended, among other things, to shew them that the Redeemer was now come, and that Jesus was that very person. Eusebius is therefore, in the main, right; although it does not appear necessary to have recourse to all the figures which he has introduced.

76. <sup>6</sup> Matt. iv. 2, with the omission of "*fasted.*"

77. <sup>7</sup> Mark i. 13.

78. <sup>1</sup> Ps. xci. 13, as in the Peschito. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. ix. p. 437. seq.

79. <sup>2</sup> Ps. xci. ver. 4, seq. [...]

80. <sup>3</sup> See 1 Cor. xv. 21. "*For, since by man came death, by MAN came also the resurrection of the dead:*" comp. Rom. v. 15-20. See also Theodoret's Dialogue iii, entitled *αὐπαρξή*, "*impatibilis*," (Deus sc.) Tom. iv. p. 116. seq. where (p. 134.) treating, of the assumed human nature, [...]

81. <sup>4</sup> John xvi. 33.

82. <sup>5</sup> Matt. xii. 29. Mark iii. 27.

83. <sup>1</sup> The Greek of the Orat. de laudd. Constant. again joins us here, cap. xv. p. 539. D.

84. <sup>4</sup> Ib. p. 540. C.

85. <sup>5</sup> [...]. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 540. D. 541. A.

86. <sup>3</sup> John i. 29, cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. cap. x. p. 37. A.

87. <sup>4</sup> Is. liii. 7.

88. <sup>6</sup> Ib. ver. 4-7. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B. C. Comp. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 164.

89. <sup>7</sup> Syr. [Syriac] which, I think, must be an error, for [Syriac]. I have, therefore, translated it accordingly by *attaches*. In the Hebrew, the signification of Messiah, [Hebrew] *anointed*. The priests, kings, and others, were so styled, because consecrated to their offices by *the anointing of oil*, as our Lord was by an extraordinary portion of the Spirit. (See Is. LXI.). *Christ* in the Greek signifies the same thing. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xi. ib. xvi. p. 184.

90. <sup>8</sup> Our author seems, in this article, to have had strongly impressed on his mind the distinction made by the Apostle, when he speaks of Christ in his human character only; e. g. "Since *by man* came death, *by man* came also the resurrection of the dead." 1 Cor. xv. 21. So ib. ver. 47. "The *first man* is of the earth...the *second man* is the Lord," &c. So 1 Tim. ii. 5. "The *man* Christ Jesus:"..."who gave himself a ransom," &c. Again, Heb. viii. 3; x. 12. "*This man*," speaking of Christ as a Priest, comp. ib. iii. 3; vii. 4, 24, &c. and of His Body, ib. x. 5, 10. The Apostle however, makes no such distinction in his names : nor was it necessary he should. This distinction in Eusebius is, nevertheless, valuable.--Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 541. C. where the Greek leaves us; but has the following matter, ib. p. 540. A. B. seq. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 164. D.

91. <sup>3</sup> [...]. See Book ii. sect. 4. seq.

92. <sup>4</sup> Book ii. sect. 15.

93. <sup>2</sup> Allusion seems here to be made to Ps. lxxiv. 14, in which we are told, that God brake the *heads of the Leviathan*, and gave him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness. (Gr. Αἰὼνιοι ), taking the Leviathan as representing the evil principle which had corrupted mortality. Comp. Is. xxvii. 1, and see my notes on Job xli. 1. Our author probably means, that He gave up His body to men, &c. who might be termed beasts, because of the fierceness of their nature. Comp. Ps. xxii. 12, 13, 16, 21.

94. <sup>3</sup> So Paul, Col. ii. 15. "And having spoiled principalities and powers, He made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it" (His cross).

95. <sup>4</sup> I. e. to prove that he really died. This was, no doubt, intended to have its force against the Docetae, who held that it was a phantom only of Christ which had been affixed to the cross, and *appeared* to die, (which the Mohammedans, after these, still hold)--and thus virtually denying a vital point in the faith of a Christian.

96. <sup>1</sup> Syr. [Syriac] lit. *which apprehended them*: alluding perhaps, to Philip, iii. 12, where the text of the Peschito uses this word in the same way.

97. <sup>3</sup> I think it highly probable that the Syriac negative, [Syriac] has in this place been lost, by the mistake of some copyist.

98. <sup>1</sup> Applying this term, as on several occasions, with reference to the human nature of Christ.

99. <sup>2</sup> Syr. [Syriac], the Greek ΟΑἰσθησις, *Minerva*, alluding, no doubt, to the practices of the heathen, who made, both of the bodies and mental faculties of men, Gods. See Book 11. Par. 5, &c.

100. <sup>6</sup> As this place is extremely important on the question of the Eucharist, I shall give the Syriac, which runs thus : [Syriac]. Nothing can be more certain, I think, than that the *bodily and bloody sacrifice* of the Mass of the Romanists could not have been intended here. On the opinions of the Syrian Fathers respecting this mystery, see my Visitation Sermon, (Cambridge, 1839,) with the notes. It is my intention, Deo volente, to publish a more detailed account of the opinions of the Syrian Fathers

on this subject, as soon as I can ; and for this, I have collected considerable materials. I will now give a sentence or two from the celebrated Bar Salibi, -- a great favourite with the Romanists, -- on John vi. 63. "*It is the spirit that quickeneth,*" &c. This Father says, [Syriac] i.e. It is necessary that the words said by me should *be spiritually* received, so that you may inherit eternal life. But, if you receive them *bodily*, you shall not be profited. For, *bodily* is, that a man doubt and say, How can He have descended from heaven, when we think him to be the son of Joseph? and, How can this man give his body ?-- Good Dr Wiseman however, the indefatigable propugner of the Roman Catholic doctrines, has no doubt, that the Jews *were right* in giving the interpretation which this Father reprobates! and also, that Bar Salibi was an upholder of his own opinions! (See my Sermon, pp. 89, 100, 135--6.) Eusebius himself has, moreover, given his view of the nature of the Eucharist, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, (Lib. i. x. 39. A.) in the following words: speaking of the XL. Psalm, he says, [Greek]. Much the same is said a little higher up (ib. p. 37.) on Is. liii. Again, (ib. p. 39,) he terms these sacrifices, [Greek] See the rest of this Book to the end, where he admirably shews, that it was this sort of sacrifice which was constantly foretold under the Old Testament. So also Origen contra Cels. Lib. viii. p. 416, [Greek] But the most remarkable passage to this effect occurs in Theodoret. Dialog. ii. "Inconfusus." Tom. iv. p. 85. B. [Greek] See my Visitation Sermon, notes, p. 155, and the opinions of the Syrian Fathers, ib. p. 136. seq.

101. <sup>1</sup> Col. iii. 5. Differing slightly from the Peschito.

102. <sup>2</sup> The Syriac is obscure here. I trust however, I have succeeded in giving its meaning.

103. <sup>3</sup> Ps. xxii. 27, 28. Differing from the Peschito only in the addition of [Syriac], *their God*. Cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. i. v. p. 40. Where our author has, and in the following Book, collected a very large number of Prophecies on the coming of our Lord.

104. <sup>1</sup> That is, on the same stated days and at the same hours of prayer.

105. <sup>2</sup> Syr. [Syriac], i.e. Sacrament of the Eucharist.

106. <sup>3</sup> Allied to this, Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. i. near the beginning.

107. <sup>4</sup> Col. iii. 11.

108. <sup>5</sup> The Syr. has [Syriac]. One would expect rather to find Medians ([Syriac]) here. Still, the reading might be correct, as the *Mau~roi* were an ancient people inhabiting a part of Colchis. See Bochart, Phaleg. Lib. iv. cap. xxxi. p. 325.

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### THE FOURTH BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA.

1. IT is desirable then, that we should hear from the common Saviour of all himself, who, speaking with men after the manner of a good Parent, became as a child, and gave (his) answers, as the nature of mortals was able to hear, by means of the vessel which he assumed, as through an Interpreter. For, when he made his Divine manifestation among men, he gave many other proofs of the power of his Godhead, by means of deeds which any one who chooses may collect, from the Books (that have been written) about Him. Nor will that again, be a trifling conviction as to His truth, which takes its stand on the words which he uttered, and which it is necessary we should bring forward against those, who do not readily give credence to his astonishing Divine performances. Even in those other things which have been preached respecting Him,--which (consist) in the *power* of His words,--there is no small proof afforded to those who possess mind. For, as on many occasions, we know those whom we have never seen with our eyes, and whose words only we have heard ; and distinguish the speaker by what we hear, whether he be Greek, --as the case may be,--or Roman, or even Egyptian; or, whether in age old, or young; or, whether the strain be that of man, or woman ; or, the enunciation that of the wise and rational, or, on the contrary, of the foolish or ignorant; so also, although we might not have happened to see with our eyes those Divine acts which THE WORD OF GOD performed, when He made His conversation on earth; still, from the teaching of His words, the enunciation of which was foreign, and surpassing general apprehension;--also, from the foreknowledge of things to come to pass which he predicted ;--and, from the things which he promised he would do in after times ;--as well as from the issue of the things (so) predicted, the [210](#) fulfilment of which is now before our eyes, (and) brought about by his power;--there must result no mean proof, as to those (declarations) which bear testimony to His Godhead. For, the miracles which were performed by Him may be divided into (two) periods; that, in which the conversations He made on earth are commemorated, and that which succeeded, and extends to our times. Those great acts then, which he formerly did when he was with the men who happened to exist at that time, it was in their power openly to view ; but to us, these were unseen ; and they are laid down, (as) having been unseen. And thus again also, the things which have been fulfilled in our times,--in the order in which His words foretold them, and are even to this present witnessed by us in the very facts,--could not, to those of the times in which they were foretold, have yet been known as to their results; and they were, no doubt, considered by them, who believed not, as impossible. It is nevertheless likely that even then, those whose character was that of sound judgment,--although not witnessing the results of the predictions,--did still believe in them, on account of His other acts. For, Is it likely that they who saw with their eyes the evident powers of God, the miracles and astonishing acts and deeds which eclipsed all mortal nature, believed only the things which were then seen, but, (as) confirmed by these of his foreknowledge, did not (as) readily also believe those which were afterwards to come to pass ?--So that again, it is right that we should, from those miracles which we ourselves have seen, also give our credence to the things which were then witnessed by his Disciples. For, the very things which were delivered in the hearing only of (our) predecessors, are (now) visible to our own eyes: and, they are sufficient for those whose judgment is incorrupt, as proofs setting a seal on the things which have been recorded. And these are the things which then existed not; nor had they yet been set up; nor had they so much as ever entered into the minds of men: but they were foretold by Him, from His divine foreknowledge of the future ; and, in after times, they have been fulfilled, and are in (these) our times seen by us, even to this very day.--Of these, our means of knowledge are at hand. | [211](#)

2. A certain man, illustrious from (his) service to the rule and power of the Romans, was in a state of suspense, because his favourite boy<sup>1</sup> had become paralytic in his limbs, and was laid (up) in his house;

who, when he saw that our Saviour shewed forth such powers upon others,--healing the sick, and curing every pain and infirmity,--he perceived in his own mind, that this miracle was not of man. He approached Him accordingly as God;--not looking to the vessel of the Body which was visible, and by means of which He carried on His discourses with men, but to that God who was unseen ; to Him, who by means of a mortal being, made known these His excellent doings;--he fell down and worshipped Him, praying and striving<sup>2</sup> (with Him), that He would afford to him for his boy the aid which is from God. And, when our Saviour said to him, "*I will come and heal him,*" the Chiliarch<sup>3</sup> answered Him,--for he had been considered worthy of this rule among the Romans;--and said to him, "*Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; but, speak the word only, and the child shall be healed. For, I am a man in authority, and there are soldiers under my hands; and I say to this, Go; and he goeth: and, to another, Come; and he cometh: and, to my servant I say, Do such a thing: and he doeth it.*" Hear therefore what our Saviour did upon this request, not from me, but from the Writer himself,--teaching (us) thus--in the very words : "*But, when Jesus heard it, He wondered, and said to those who* [212](#) *followed Him, Not even in Israel have I found such faith as this. And I say unto you, that many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall go out into outer darkness.*" And, after these words, He thus spoke to the Chiliarch: "*Go: as thou hast believed, shall it be unto thee. And his boy was healed from that hour.*" And, when the Chiliarch returned to his house, in that very hour he found his boy well.

**3.** With so much power therefore, did the word of our Saviour go forth, and shewed so much virtue, and so replete was it with power and with so much mercy, and with such ease were the good aids (it afforded given), that He readily promised He would come. And such indeed was the miracle which accompanied the act, that it is impossible to conceive of it as we ought. For this, that He said to the Chiliarch no more than, "*As thou hast believed, so shall it be unto thee,*" and, with the word, gave health to his son, How effectually does it shew, that it was God who spoke in mortal voice ! But, should any one be persuaded of this with difficulty, on account of the greatness of the miracle; still, such cannot fairly be excused as to His prediction, in which a powerful argument will be afforded in favour of the deed, if any one will consider that at this period, the Roman who drew near to our Saviour, was ONE (only), namely, the Chiliarch, who made a greater and better profession of Him, than (did the whole) Jewish people; and, that our Saviour prophesied that instead of ONE, those, who should like this man draw near to Him, should be MANY ; and, that these should be of those residing in the East, and in the West<sup>4</sup>:--those (I say), who, by means of the [213](#) knowledge of Him, and of the confession (made) of Him, should be considered worthy of honour with God, equal to that of the Hebrew Fathers:--even of him who is preached of as being the Father of their Fathers, Abraham, who went forth from among his idolatrous forefathers, and changed his manner of life; and, leaving the error of many Gods, recognized the ONE GOD who is over all. He also foretold, that like to this (man), and to his sons Isaac and Jacob, there should be myriads of men throughout the whole creation; and particularly of those who resided both in the East, and the West. To these things He added,--and this (constitutes) the greatness of the prediction,--that these very Jews, the descendants of these Friends of God, who make their boast of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, should, on account of their resistance to Him, and their want of belief in Him,--as if cut off from the light of knowledge,--go forth into outer darkness : and, because of their extreme ignorance and foolishness, (be consigned to) an entire disseverance from the light of salvation. Thus He predicted.--It is now right we should consider the fulfilment of these things, and receive from the testimony of our eyes how these very Jews, who boasted of their descent from the family of those called the Friends of God, have been cast out, not only from the kingdom of God, but also from their own metropolis, the most excellent place of rule, in which the law appointed that their noblest service should be performed ! and (how) those who were formerly free, and the virtuous children of these Fathers, have become slaves; and, being mixed with foreign nations,--a thing unlawful

with them,--wander about in lands not their own, and are not permitted to view, even from a distance, the land of their own religious worship! Being moreover, deprived of those princes and kings, who were vested with [214](#) rule by traditionary right, they now remain in subjection to those who have rased their temple to the ground, and have subdued their whole nation ! Nor is there, as formerly, either prophet or revelation; nor is there help, or act of God. Of all these things, not one existed from ancient times; it was (only) after our Saviour had turned away His face from them that these came upon them, according to His predictions; and such are the things respecting the Jews.

4. Instead then, of that one Chiliarch who drew near to our Saviour at that period, a number of men exceeding description has, from all nations, drawn near to Him, not of Chiliarchs only, but also of the mass of the Roman armies; so that even myriads of princes and governours bearing rule among the nations, and in the (various) regions; and also of others, much more honourable and exalted than these,--those who are great, and glory in the royal apartments,--have like the Chiliarch approached the Christ of God ; and have, by means of his doctrine, acknowledged the God of those Friends of the Deity, who (formerly) arose among the Hebrews; and they have accordingly, been considered worthy of a return from God the supreme King, equal to that afforded to these. If indeed any one will consider, what numbers of Christians and of churches, and of vast congregations, are said to be in the country of the Persians and of the Hindoos, residing in the East; and, how there are with these, through the words of our Saviour, women, virgins desiring, and men coming over to, holiness, and to the provisions which are for the life of philosophy and of purity, and how numerous the confessors are, who live among these:--

5. Also, how those very persons who confess Him who has arisen from the seed of Abraham, and that He is the Christ of God; and have become, by means of the new birth which is in Him, the children of Abraham ; and have (thus) set their seal to the prophetic Word of our Saviour: and this also, that, in like manner, in the western parts of the world, the whole of Spain and Gaul <sup>5</sup>, in the countries of the [215](#) Moors and Africans, in the (Islands of the) Ocean itself, and in Britain<sup>6</sup>, men subscribe to Christ, and even acknowledge the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: upon Him also they call in their prayers, and are looked upon (as) partakers with these same (Fathers) in the worship of God:-- If (I say), any one will therefore take these things into his consideration, he will then understand what the power of the prophetic word (was) that declared and said, "*Many<sup>7</sup> shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.*" These things therefore, He said, and foretold to the Chiliarch : and, on many other occasions, things not unlike these to the Jewish Doctors. And in this manner He spoke: "*When<sup>8</sup> ye see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves going out. And they shall come from the East, and from the West, and from the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God.*" Of these things an open confirmation is afforded by the fact, of all nations having been converted to the God who is over all. These, He therefore said to them, respecting the conversion of all nations to God, who is over all.

6. Thou wilt learn moreover, from the writings of His Disciples,--that it was by their means He was about soon to call in the nations--which are to this effect: " *When<sup>9</sup> Jesus passed over a part of the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, casting nets into the sea :--for they were fishers. -- He said to them, Follow me; and I will make you fishers of men. And they, in the same hour, left their nets and followed him. And, when he departed thence, He saw two brethren, James the son of Zebedee and John Ms brother, in the ship with Zebedee their Father, and He called them ; and they, in the same hour, left the ship and [216](#) their Father, and followed Him.*" Another writer too has left it on record, that He spoke to Simon on two occasions, a prediction similar to this: "*When a great multitude was standing over against Jesus*" He (this writer) has said, that " *He went up into one of the ships, which was Simon's; and, when He had sat down in it, He interpreted to*

*the multitude.*" But, after the teaching which was sufficient,--because it was suitable that He should add some Divine work to His words, for the advantage of those who were looking on,--He <sup>10</sup> commanded Simon to "*cast forth his net for a draught: and he said to Him, We have toiled the whole night, and have found nothing ; nevertheless at thy word, I will cast out the net.*" And, what He had been commanded, he did. And, when he had taken a great number of fishes, their nets were breaking,--because they were heavy with the many (fishes),--and they called to those who were in the ship at their side, to help them. And thus, when they had drawn up the fishes, they filled both their ships, insomuch that they were pressed to sinking; and, upon these things, Simon was astonished and wondered, confessing that he was not worthy, that our Saviour should come near him<sup>11</sup>. But, when He had thus shewn him a representation of what <sup>1217</sup> was about to take place, He also gave its explanation (thus); "*and Jesus said to him, Fear not; Thou shalt henceforth be a fisher of men unto life.*" It was to Galileans,--men unacquainted with any thing beyond the Syriac language, and this mean profession and necessity of fishing, by which they were driven,--that our Saviour well promised, that He would "*make them fishers of men*" and preachers of His doctrine. And, He made them (such). Nor did He belie His promise; but He shewed forth the "POWER OF GOD," the Doer of a thing, which eclipsed every human excellence! For, had He brought near to Him the Intellectual and the Wise, the Rich, and Illustrious, among the Jews; and had made use of these (as) the Teachers of His words; it would indeed have been likely, that men would have supposed this matter to have been brought about by human means only. For thus are most men usually overcome; (namely), they are either wrought upon by the gifts of the rich, or, they are led astray by excellency of speech, or, by the phantasms of science : or, they fear the power of illustrious personages. But He made use of no such disciples as these: on the contrary, by the poor, the despised ;--by men ignorant as to speech, Syrians in language, and in their character humble and mean,--did He openly manifest His work (of redemption). It was the Divine Power alone, which He made use of;--that which He evinced when He previously called them, and made them go forth ; and so promised that He would make them both "*Fishers of men,*" and *Preachers*; that, instead of the nets which they then had, they should receive from Him the net, which should comprehend in its texture, an aggregate of the declarations of both the Law and the Prophets, as well as of those comprehended in (all) the Divine teaching. This they should cast into the sea of mankind as existing in the world, and inclose (therein) as many as they could; filling these their rational nets <sup>1218</sup> with every sort of the fish that are rational. But these things, which were then heard by word, were words and sounds, and nothing more: it was an effort of the Divine Power itself, which, at no distant time, brought them to pass; and so fulfilled by deeds the things which had been foretold, that, in a short time, He made His own possession the whole creation of mankind,--congregations innumerable,--by means of these poor and illiterate men; and, that His Churches were every where filled, both with Greeks and Barbarians. For, it was not by that one Divine word of promise, that He would teach His Disciples, but, that He would MAKE *them Fishers of men*. Nor was it therefore, that He knew only, what should come to pass; nor, that He foretold this; but, that He should also be looked upon (as) the Effectuator of all this knowledge.--He spoke in word, and He performed and established the deed:--that something (I say), which was to be brought about, (He foretold) by demonstration and representation; and of this He gave the fulfilment in the fact itself! For, to them who formerly toiled throughout the lengthened night, which was dark and destitute of the true light and knowledge of God, and could find nothing which they could take, (leading) to salvation, He arose (as the sun) in His brightness, and commanded those who were in the light and the day,--not by their art, but by trusting in his word,--to cast out their nets into the deep. And they so enclosed this great multitude of fish, that their fishing vessels were pressed to breaking, and the ships themselves to remaining in the deep from their weight. And, because these things were so done, astonishment and great fear came upon Simon. But, our Saviour said (as it were) these things to him, *Let not these things alarm thee: they are (but as) recitations for the present, and representations of something hereafter to come to pass: for, these are*



*fish unendued with either voice, or reason; these too, are ships and nets, composed of (earthly) material, and are inanimate; but, not as these things, are those of which these are the representations : for shortly afterwards,--that is, immediately, now, and forthwith,--thou shalt be a fisher of men unto life (eternal). This laborious fishing which returns no profit, thou shalt relinquish; and, thou shalt become a [129](#) fisherman of reasonable creatures, in place of these which are irrational. Nor shalt thou again draw up those whom thou shalt catch from the depths of the sea, but from the bitterness of the life that is hateful; from the chambers of ungodly darkness and from sin, into the light which is intellectual; and to the elevation of purity. That is, thou shalt catch them for life, by means of that which is of life: it is not death that thou preparest for them. These first indeed, which are drawn up out of the sea, and which formerly enjoyed life in darkness and the deep, perish immediately on their ascending and receiving the light. But, those who shall be caught by thee from among men, shall be caught up out of the darkness of ignorance, and shall be changed to the life that is of God. These things therefore, (namely,) " Thou shalt henceforth catch men unto life," our Saviour foretold by the Divine power: and the same, our Saviour shewed by very deed, were sure and true. This Syrian fisherman therefore, this net-caster,--did by means of his net,--the texture of which was by the Divine power composed of the words of mystery,--catch innumerable multitudes of men. And, " The visual perception of something hidden, is something visible<sup>[12](#)</sup>." The things therefore, which the long life of the world,-- and which from the first experienced not the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour,--could not effect:--the things which neither Moses who gave the law to the Hebrews, nor the Prophets who came after Moses, could ; nor yet the multitudes of others, who from ancient times carried as fishermen the doctrine of God to man, and who toiled throughout the whole night which preceded his manifestation,--could do, this Galilean, this Pauper, this Barbarian, this Simon did, by means of his voice bring to pass. The demonstrations indeed, then given of Simon as to these things, are the Churches which up to this time have arisen, far more in number than the ships (then present), and these, filled with fish that are rational. Such is this of Caesarea of Palestine<sup>[13](#)</sup>, and such is that of Antioch of Syria; and such is that of Rome; for, by [120](#) these Churches--which Simon set up, and by all those near them,--are these things commemorated. Those too that are in Egypt and in Alexandria itself, did he again, not by his own means, but by those of Mark, his disciple, erect. Of those also, that are in Italy and among the nations adjoining, he was the Steward (Dispenser): and he made his disciple Mark the Teacher and Fisherman of those in Egypt. Now, give thy consideration likewise, to the rest of our Saviour's Disciples, on those whom He said *He would make Fishers of men*;--and this his word He has shewn forth by deeds. For up to this time He did, and caused, that, forthwith, and throughout the whole creation of man,-- His rational net should be filled with every sort of rational fish, Barbarian and Greek ; and that He should draw up from the depths of evil, and the darkness of ungodliness, the souls of men ; turning these daily and hourly to the light and knowledge of God which had been delivered by Himself. Which things, seen as they are with our own eyes, establish,--as it appears to me,--beyond (all) doubt, the Divine manifestation of our Saviour.*

7. Art thou desirous then, of hearing a third declaration of the Divine word, which foretold that His Disciples should arise (as the Sun) throughout the whole world ? Hear this also, for it is after this manner : "*Ye<sup>[14](#)</sup> are the light of the world*:" and, "*A city that is built on a hill cannot lie hidden*:" "*nor do men light a candle, and place it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick; and it giveth light to all that are in the house. So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven*." Here again, these very fishermen, who went forth from Galilee, --a corner of Judea so called, which is situate on the sea; and of which Isaiah,--one of the Prophets,--making known at once its obscurity, and at the same time, the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour, which he announced should take place there,--proclaimed (saying), "*Galilee<sup>[15](#)</sup> of the Gentiles, a people sitting in [121](#) darkness have seen a great light*:"--those (I say) who went forth from thence; men, mean, necessitous, illiterate in speech, and poor in circumstances;--those very fishermen He said, should be

the light of the world; and this promise He confirmed by deed ; (namely), that this same Simon who was called Cephas, (and) who went forth from Capernaum which is a village of Galilee,--should enlighten many souls of men with the light of the knowledge of God ; and should himself become known throughout the whole creation, even to the regions of the West: and, that even to this time, his memory should be more celebrated among the Romans, than that of those of former times, so that he should be considered worthy of an honourable sepulchre in the very front of their city ; and, that great multitudes of the Roman Empire should run to it, as to a great asylum and temple of God. How then, Does not the truth bear testimony to Him, who said to his Disciples, "*Ye are the light of the world?*" So again, the name of John the son of Zebedee also,--who (was engaged) in fishing with his father and brethren, and mending the net, whom He (Jesus) saw, and considered worthy both of this call and promise,--arose (as the Sun) throughout the whole creation ; and whose words have, through the Gospel which was delivered by him, also enlightened the souls of men !-- which has been translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and is daily preached in the ears of all nations ! And more particularly, the sepulchre of this (Disciple) which is in Ephesus of Asia, does glorious honour to his death, and shews to the world the memorial of that light which cannot be hidden. In like manner also, the writings of the apostle Paul are preached throughout the whole creation, and they enlighten the souls of men. The martyrdom of his death, and the sepulchre which (is erected) over him, are, even to this day, greatly and abundantly honoured in the city of Rome. And, What need is there we should say, that the mode of life set up by means of the Disciples of our Saviour throughout the whole creation,--like the exhibition of a banner of victory,--is as a famous city which has nothing hidden within it ? but which is in authority in the midst of all other cities, (and) according to the enunciation of our [222](#) Saviour, "*Is like to a city placed upon a hill?*" And this is the very word, which they preached respecting their master. It was not, as (if) hidden under a bushel, or given up to error and darkness; but, as upon a lofty candlestick, and lifted up to an exalted eminence, and giving light to all that were in the house of the whole world ! And this, (viz.) "*Let your light so shine before men*" evinced (both) foreknowledge and prophecy; not precept only, but also intimation of what should come to pass. He fully too named them all (here), the light when He said, "*YE are the light of the world.*" Not, that they were many lights; but, that they all together (constituted) one light: as if from an equality<sup>[16](#)</sup> of them all, there should be at once an arising (of light as of the Sun) to the whole world. For, it was His alone to say, "I AM<sup>[17](#)</sup> *the light of the world.*" And of Him it has been truly said, that "*He<sup>[18](#)</sup> is the light that came into the world, which enlighteneth every man.*" But, since these things have been thus foretold, and fulfilled; observe how He again spoke of, and explained, them to His Disciples: "*That<sup>[19](#)</sup> which I say to you in darkness, speak ye in the light; and, that which ye hear in your ears, preach ye on the housetops. And fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. But fear ye Him rather, who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.*" He also promised by these things, in the very beginnings (of the ministration) of His Disciples,--when they knew nothing of them, but were as if they had been in the dark,--the knowledge of the light. He prophesied also, to those (then) hearing His precepts, that they should preach openly to all men that which was (now) secret, in darkness, and invisible. He taught them too, not to be perplexed, but to suffer affliction with all [223](#) their soul; to preach Him in the ears of all; and not to fear those, who would kill the mortal body: the soul not being subject to loss of life by men, because it is incorporeal and immortal. For it is God only, who is able to inflict punishment and death, at once on both body and soul. It may be observed therefore, that He taught by these things, that the soul is incorporeal; and set up, in a few words, the ordinances of (true) philosophy,--

*In that He foretold at the outset to His Disciples, that He would make them Fishers of men; and, that they should eventually, openly, immediately, (and) through His power, make Disciples of all nations. From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>[20](#)</sup>.*



8. After his resurrection from the dead, all of them,-- being together as they had been commanded,-- went to Galilee, as He had said to them. But, when they saw Him, some worshipped Him, but others doubted. But He drew near to them, spoke with them, and said: *"All power (both) in heaven and earth, is given to me of my Father. Go ye and make Disciples of all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. And, behold! I am with you always even to the end of the world."* Observe now, in these things, the consideration and caution evinced by the Disciples: (viz.) that they did not all worship Him when they saw Him. Some of them indeed did this faithfully and devotedly, but others refrained for the present. It was not easily and suddenly, that they gave in to this miracle; but, it was after much investigation and with every caution they were so at last persuaded, that they went out to all mankind. They became too, the Preachers of His [\[224\]](#) Resurrection; because it had prophetically said in the Scriptures of the Prophets, in His Person, *"Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and (for thy) possessions, the uttermost parts of the earth<sup>21</sup>."* Just as the testimony of this prophecy has now been fulfilled in fact, He said to His Disciples; *"All power is given to me, as in heaven, so in earth."* For, He had possessed the sovereignty of the things which are in heaven from eternity<sup>22</sup>; but now, He said was given to Him, by His Father, those upon earth, in conformity with this (viz.) *"Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thy possession."* For, from ancient times,--as Moses attests,-- *"The most High, when dividing the nations, appointed the boundary of the people, according to the number of the angels<sup>23</sup>."* [\[225\]](#) So that the Angels of God were, from ancient times, Rulers over all that was on the earth. But, when mankind had been perverted to the error of many Gods, and the Angels, who were the Rulers, were unable to afford any remedy for this; the common Saviour of all Himself taught, by means of His Divine manifestation, and after His victory over Death, that the empire of the nations upon earth, should no more be given by his Father to the Angels, but to Himself. And on this account, He commanded his Disciples,--not from ancient times--but now, that they should make the circuit, and make Disciples, of all nations. And He necessarily added the mystery of cleansing. For it was necessary to those, who should be converted from among the heathen, that they should be cleansed by His power from every pollution and uncleanness; because they had been defiled by the error of Demons, and had been holden by the worship of Idols, and by uncleanness of every sort, but had now first been changed from that life of abomination, and of lawless practices. These very persons then, did He direct to teach,--after this cleansing, which is by the mystery of His doctrine,--not, that they should observe the precepts of the Jews, nor yet the Law of Moses, but all those which He commanded them to observe. And these [\[226\]](#) are those which the whole of the Disciples,--making severally the circuit of all the nations,--equally delivered to every Church throughout the whole creation. He necessarily therefore, stirred them up, and made them readily to confide,--to undertake the circuit of all nations, and to make Disciples of all races of men, through the promise by which He counselled them, saying: *"Behold, I myself am with you."* To this word of promise, He also superadded the performance. He was present in the Divine Power with each and every one of them; to the whole of them was He at once present, and with them He acted and wrought. He confirmed too, even to victory, (the promise) constituting them Teachers to all nations, of that fear of God<sup>24</sup> which was delivered by Himself. In this promise therefore, they trusted; and forthwith, did they fulfil His words by deeds: nor did they in any thing hesitate; but they (so) went forth with all readiness to the disciplining of all nations, that they engaged in the work. With their eyes they had seen Him who was a little while before dead, then living: and, Him whom they had denied with cursing<sup>25</sup>,--on account of what then happened to them,--they had seen openly, present, and in his own person; and, as His custom was, He had conversed with them, and promised them the things of which we have already spoken. Nor could they disbelieve His promises, because of His appearing (to them); which (appearing) they had investigated. Now in this precept, there must have been (much) that was discouraging to them, knowing as they did in themselves the rusticity and illiterate character which they sustained; on account of which, they

might indeed have sought to be excused, and have well imagined it impossible that those, whose Language was the Syriac (only), and who knew nothing beyond the art of catching fish, could be Teachers both of the Greeks and Romans, of the Egyptians also, the Persians, and the rest of the barbarous nations : and set about to legislate,--in opposition to all other Legislators and Kings throughout the whole [\[227\]](#) creation,--that which was opposed to the things delivered to them from all ages, respecting the Gods of their Forefathers. But it was not possible for them to think such things, who had heard the voice of God saying to them, "*Behold, I myself am with you always.*" They had too, openly viewed the Godhead of Him who spoke with them. It had been seen to be superior to Death : respecting which however they had entertained fear. On the contrary they (now) hear, that henceforth they shall, with all their soul, undergo afflictions. They had now taken up from their Master, the certainty of life after death ; they went out therefore, with confidence to make the circuit of all nations, that they might confirm by fact, the promises of Him their Lord. But He attached to the promises made to them, a more excellent word ; and,--what exceeds all wonder,-- this He shews forth even to this present time; (viz.) "*Behold, I myself am with you always*" He added also, "*even to the end of the world*" And this applies, not only to them, but also to all those who came after them, and from them received His doctrine; and, thenceforward, even to this time, is He present to all those who have become His Disciples. Hence, His Church, which is kept by Himself, is daily increasing and multiplying to myriads; and by His Power shall it be congregated, even to the end of the world !

*On the conversion of all nations to God. From the Gospel of Luke.*

9. Again, upon another occasion after His resurrection from the dead, He appeared to the other disciples, and to them,--yet doubting and not believing in Him,--He put forth and said these words: "[26](#)*These are the words which I said, to you, when I was yet with you; that it is necessary every thing should be fulfilled which is written respecting me in the Law of Moses, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms. Then He opened their understandings that they should understand the Scriptures : and He said, Thus it was right that Christ should suffer, and that He should rise from the dead on the third day; and (that) repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning from [\[228\]](#) Jerusalem. And ye are the witnesses of these things.*" On one occasion indeed, He said, that "*in His name should be preached repentance to all nations.*" (Now), if *the Deed* did not follow upon *the Word*; neither can His resurrection from the dead be credited. But if, even up to this time, the things which His prediction foretold, remain in fact, so that His lively, (energetic) and operative word is visible (in effect) throughout the whole creation to our eyes; then is it unbecoming we should disbelieve Him who spoke this. For He, whose power is living (energetic,) operative, and visible to the eyes, powerfully impels us first of all to confess thereupon, that He is living; and that He brings to effect the living things of God, whose living (actual) deeds are seen fulfilling His words. These His words then, --being varied and translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and the Barbarians,--has He made intelligible to all [27](#), so that His doctrine is heard by all nations, and has stirred up myriads of congregations of those, who were formerly wickedly led on in the error of many Gods, in the worship of Idols, and in (the course of life) which was unbecoming, to conversion and repentance. He did not command them first to preach remission of sins, and then repentance; but first, repentance, and then remission. For it was to those, who evinced a sincere repentance of former sins, that our Saviour's grace gave the pardon of their deeds;--on whose account indeed He suffered Death, and gave His soul a ransom for the souls of those, who should be saved through Him. Thus therefore, these His disciples,--men rude of speech and altogether illiterate, poor and needy, (as) they were in their character,--trusted in the power of Him who appeared to them after Death, and openly held converse with them. And they began from Jerusalem according to His commands, and went forth into all nations; the things too, which they were commanded, they performed, and preached repentance to all men, and [\[229\]](#) remission of the former sins of the soul. And such was the entire superiority which

they evinced, that, even to these our times, the doctrine of these poor and illiterate men, is in active operation throughout the whole creation of man. *How His acts should be heard, and preached of, throughout the whole world.* From the Gospel of Matthew and of Mark.

**10.** When our Saviour was in Bethany, a village not far from Jerusalem;--having been invited by one who was (named) Simon, and sitting down there ;--a certain woman took an alabaster box of balsam (ointment), which was very precious, and came and poured it out upon his feet: but His Disciples forbade her ; complaining of what had happened. But He received the tiling done as a sign, and intimated that this act should be preached of, and heard, throughout the whole world. He prophesied accordingly, and said: "*I say unto you, that wheresoever this my Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, what this (woman) hath done, shall also be spoken of for a memorial of her*<sup>28</sup>." Now these things He foretold, when, at that time, the writing of the Gospel had yet entered into the mind of none, nor had it come to the hearing of any. Nor, as it is likely, had what was then done, been learned by any who resided in the neighbourhood, but by those only who were present. Nevertheless, He left this whole enunciation in word, and prophesied that the Gospels, which should be written by His Disciples, should be preached throughout the whole world. And to the word He at once also superadded the deed, and said, that with His acts should be written in the Gospel, and spoken of throughout the whole world, even that which had been done by this woman, for a memorial of her:--which same thing has (now) been seen confirmed by Him in very deed! For there is neither people, region, nor place, in which the memorial of this woman, as recorded in the Gospel, has not been mentioned; and, together, with the doctrine respecting Him, is it preached throughout the [\[230\]](#) whole world.--Of the things therefore, respecting this<sup>29</sup> (Gospel,) and respecting His Church, hear (now) how He made His promises : --

*How He mentioned His church by name, when yet it had no existence: and how He declared, that the gates of Hell should never prevail against it.* From the Gospel of Matthew.

**11.** When asking His Disciples on a certain occasion, what men said of Him, and they answering according to the opinion of the many, He asked them the second time, "*But*<sup>30</sup> *what say ye?*" and, when Simon had said unto Him, "*Thou art the Christ of the living God*" He answered him, and said : "*Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood hath not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, Thou art Cephas: and upon this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it.*" The (term) "*this*" He took (as implying) *the knowledge*, that *He was the Messiah*, the Son of the living God ; and *Cephas* (the rock), because it should neither *be rent* nor *moved*. It is not unlikely, that He named (in) " THIS " [\[231\]](#) the whole sense comprised here. On this account too, He designated that same Disciple, who had formerly been called Simon, *Cephas* (Peter), with reference to *this knowledge*; (and) of which He afterwards prophesied, and said: "*On this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it.*" He foretold at once something to come to pass, and promised, that Himself would build it (the Church), and bring the work to completion, by the things of this *knowledge* which had now been [\[232\]](#) given concerning Himself; that it should be made firm as on a confirmed foundation ; and that His Church should be built, solely by means of His own power which is everlasting, and that the gates of Hell should never overcome it. He himself afforded a proof (of this) in the fulfilment, better than any (that) words (can give). For innumerable persecutions, and many forms of death, have sprung up against His Church, but in nothing could they prevail against it. He has therefore, openly confirmed the enunciation of His prediction, by deeds; its truth He has shewn, by the fulfilment. The Church too, which He called the congregation, about to be set up in His name, evinced no small foreknowledge: for the congregations of the Jews had been termed *Synagogues*; and, during the time of His going about

among men, He frequented the Synagogue of the Jews. Nor was there hitherto, so much as one Synagogue only, set apart to Him. And, Who is not astonished, that He so foreknew those congregations which should afterwards be set up, at a great distance of time, in His name, and, that He should not name them, after the Jewish custom, *Synagogues*, but *Churches* ? He added too, that the gate-bars of Hell should not prevail against them:-- things, which we perceive with our own eyes ! Nor should we wonder at the prediction only, but also at His promise, namely, "*I build my Church upon the rock, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it:*" which is (all) so brought near in fact, that we can see it ! For it was not by the power of men, nor yet by the superiority of the Teachers (employed), that His Church was raised ; but, it was He who promised, and in deed fulfilled His promise ! --He (I say) who up to this time has, by the Divine Power, built up, and enlarged, His Church throughout the whole creation of man !

*On the divisions which are in Houses and Families up to this time, on account of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.*

12. <sup>31</sup> *Think not, that I am come to send forth peace upon earth : I am not come to send forth peace, but a sword. For I am come to divide a man against his Father, [233](#) and the Daughter against her Mother, and the Daughter in law against her Mother in law : and the enemies of a man (shall be) those of his own house. (Or), as Luke enounced (it) ; "* <sup>32</sup> *Think ye then, that I am come to send forth peace on earth ? I say unto you, No ; but divisions. For, there shall be henceforth five in one house, who (shall be) divided, three against two, and two against three. And the Father shall be divided against his Son, and the Son, against his Father; and the Mother shall be divided against her Daughter, and the Daughter, against her Mother; and the Mother in law, against her Daughter in law ; and the Daughter in law, against her Mother in law."* And, Who is not astonished, that the things which should take place in every individual house, in times far removed (from those of the prediction), and even up to this time, did not remain hidden to the foreknowledge of our Saviour ? For He foretold to His disciples, the things which up to this time are taking place, just as one present to the things themselves, and making the circuit of the dwellings of all the children of men :--things which hitherto have not existed, nor did they at the period in which He enounced these words. Nor, were there yet any such doings; they were then heard only in the ear. But now, that the prediction has in fact come to its completion, and is visible to the eyes, How can any one, who would think justly, but confess that they are in truth the words of God ? And again in these things also,--"*For I am come to divide and to send forth a sword, and divisions among the children of men,*"--we likewise see with our own eyes, that no word of man, either of philosopher or prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, ever shewed forth power such as this, that he should so hold the whole creation, that there should be divisions in every house; that he should pass through and distinguish every race, throughout all their families ; and, that of these some should be considered as his own, and others as opposed to these ! But it was our Saviour alone, and this WORD OF GOD, who promised to do this, and He confirmed the promise, in very deed ! The cause therefore, of the divisions of soul that came to [234](#) pass in houses He Himself taught, as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language<sup>33</sup>, in which it is said: "*I will select to myself these things: very very excellent are those whom my Father, who is in heaven, has given to me.*" And, one may learn from this, how in every house in which the word of Jesus should prevail, the excellent would be distinguished from the vile. For, if a man make a comparison among brothers, or servants, or in families generally, as to the customs, forms, manner of life, and the purity and meekness of those, who have chosen the doctrine of our Saviour;--for this is [235](#) what is meant by *those who have been selected by Him* :-- and, of those who have not yet become worthy of Him ; --he will perceive what sort of power that is, of which He has made use; and, that He did not only foretel what should come to pass, but that He has, according to the prediction, also brought the works to pass : and, with other things, these also in which it is written that He said, "*I will select to myself the*<sup>34</sup> *very*



*excellent, those whom my Father who is in heaven has given to me."* Nevertheless, (what He) now (said), "*I am not come to send forth peace on earth,*" with other things, He explained to the Disciples themselves and said; "*I leave peace with you, my own peace give I unto you: it is not as the world giveth peace, that I also so give peace.*" It was the knowledge and love of God, which He had prepared for His disciples ; and this, that the soul should not be perturbed. And in this way, He named the light, and confirmation of the mind. These things therefore He foretold, and also respecting these (men) : but, of those which He foreknew and foretold respecting the Jewish People, (the time) is at hand that we should enquire.

*On the things which He prophesied against the Jewish people in parables. From the Gospel of Matthew.*

**13.** When the Rulers of the Jewish people, the chief Priests, and the Doctors of the Law, were assembled together in Jerusalem, and He was in the Temple; He foretold covertly and by parable, the things they were about to dare against Him, and the destruction which should overtake them on account of this daring, in this manner : "*There was <sup>35</sup>a certain master of a house, (who) planted a vineyard, and surrounded it with a fence, and digged a wine-press therein, and built in it a tower, and delivered it to husbandmen, and departed. And, when the fruit-season drew <sup>236</sup>near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they might bring to him the fruit. But these husbandmen seized his servants, and some of them they smote, and some they stoned, and some they killed. And again, he sent other servants, more than the former; and to these, they did in like manner. But at last, he sent his Son, and said, Surely they will reverence my Son. But these husbandmen, when they saw the Son, said among themselves : This is his heir ; come let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours. So they took him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him. When therefore, the Lord of the vineyard shall come, What shall he do to those husbandmen? They say to him, he shall most miserably destroy them; and his vineyard he shall deliver to other husbandmen, who shall render him the fruits in their seasons. Jesus himself said to them, Have ye never read in the Scripture, 'The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner stone of the building: This is of the Lord, and it is a miracle in our eyes?' Wherefore I say unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people which shall render the fruits" (thereof.) And this parable is of a sort with that, which is in the Prophet Isaiah, which is (given) in this manner: "*My beloved had a vineyard on the horn of a fat place. And he cultivated it, and surrounded it with a fence, and planted in it vines, and built a Tower within it. He also made a wine-press in it. And he expected that it would produce grapes; but it produced wild grapes.*" But this that is in the Prophet, accuses the vineyard; which he thus interprets, as to who was (really) intended, when he says, "*For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house that is in Israel, and the men of Judah are (His) one beloved plant. I looked for judgment, but there was rapine; and for righteousness, but behold, howling!*"*

**14.** The parable then, spoken by our Saviour, was so like to that of the Prophet, that it was known to point out those who were present and heard (it). But, it was not of the vineyard that it was spoken, because the Prophet <sup>237</sup>had already made his prediction of this. The things however, which were not mentioned in the Prophet, He supplied in His parable: those, I say, which respected the husbandmen of the vineyard; and these were the Elders of the people, the chief Priests, the Rulers, and Doctors: those, who indeed were the cause to the whole congregation, that they should render evil fruit, and, on whose account, the vineyard itself was left to destruction. That is, the whole of their people, with their fence, was rooted up; those who formerly contended for the people, and watched over the people, together with their place. The Tower that was in it, was the Temple; the wine-press, the Altar. And all these were therefore, wholly taken away, even to their foundations ; because the husbandmen had become polluted with blood ; those (I say), who had openly slain the servants first and last; those Prophets, who had, time after time, been sent unto them. The Old Testament also gives its testimony (otherwise) to this

matter; and, of the Prophets, Elias who in his prayer to God says, "*Lord, they have slain thy Prophets, and broken down thy Altar: and I am left alone, and they seek to take my life*<sup>36</sup>." Of these things therefore does this Prophet, by his prayer, accuse the rulers of the Jewish people. These however, the pollution of the Prophets' blood had not satisfied, and at last they slew the Son himself, that is, *the Son of God!* Nor was it that they knew Him not; but, when they knew fully and accurately, that He was the heir ! These things then, our Saviour Himself delivered by parable, respecting Himself, before His suffering. He also foretold,--by His foreknowledge, what should come to pass; (viz.) these things when walking in the Temple,--to those husbandmen of the vineyard of His times, the Chief Priests, the Doctors, and the rest of those who were at the head of the people. And much (and) openly did He, in the parable, prepare them to pronounce condemnation against themselves : asking them in the close of the parable, and saying, "*What shall the Lord of the vineyard, when He comes, do to those husbandmen?*" <sup>[238]</sup> And they, not yet understanding that it had been spoken of themselves, gave judgment against themselves, saying, "*He shall most miserably destroy them, and shall give up the vineyard to other husbandmen, who shall render to Him the fruits in their seasons.*" Jesus then said to them : "<sup>37</sup> *Have ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building: This is from the Lord, and is a miracle in our eyes?*" Very consistently after the prediction of His death, He pointed out, from the testimony of the prophets, His own resurrection from the dead. For He had previously taught, that the Son of the Lord of the vineyard should be slain by the wicked husbandmen, and had obtained from themselves (their own) condemnation. After that, He brought this forward : "*The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building:*" which, in the prophecy, had been given by way of parable on His resurrection. For,--after He had been rejected by those husbandmen who were also the builders, He (I say), who was (as) a precious stone, and of whom the Prophet Isaiah says, "<sup>38</sup>*Behold, I lay in Zion a choice and precious stone, the chief corner (stone) of the foundation: And he, who believeth in it, shall not be ashamed,*"--He became the chief corner (stone) of another building, of which the (divine) word has said: "<sup>39</sup>*And this is a miracle in our eyes:*" by which He meant His Church. And thus deservedly did He, according to their own judgment on themselves, repay them, saying, "*The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people, that will render the fruits*" (thereof) : which corresponds to this declaration (already) mentioned, (viz.) "*from them;*" that He would "*give the vineyard to other husbandmen, who should render to Him the fruits in their seasons.*" For He named the "*kingdom of God,*" those observances in which the worship of God consisted; and these He declared, should be taken away from those husbandmen: and (this) He has most openly shewn, and brought to effect; <sup>[239]</sup> giving (the vineyard) to another people, which does bring forth its fruits. And this is the Christian people, which does, throughout the whole creation, bring forth the fruits, that are both conformable, and suitable, to the observances of God; and shews this daily, both in words and works.

*On the rejection of the Jews at once, and the calling of the Gentiles: also on those who should unworthily be gathered into His Church ; and on the end of these, From the Gospel of Matthew.*

**15.** After the Parable which has already been mentioned, the word of the Divine Scripture states, that "<sup>40</sup>*When the chief Priests and Pharisees had heard His parables, they knew that He spake against themselves, and they sought to take Him: but they feared the people, because they held Him as a Prophet.*" "<sup>41</sup>*And Jesus answered them, and said again in a parable: The kingdom of heaven is like to a (certain) man, a king, who made a (marriage) feast for his son, and sent his servants to call those who had been bidden to the feast; but they would not come. And again, he sent out other servants, and commanded them to say to those who had been bidden: Behold, my dinner is ready, my fatted oxen are*



*slain, and every thing is prepared for you : Come to the feast. But they disregarded and went away, One to the village (farm), and Another to (his) merchandise. But they who remained seized his servants, and abused and slew (them). And the king was enraged, and sent his army and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city. He then said to his servants, My dinner is ready, but those who were bidden were unworthy of it. Go ye out therefore, into the ways and paths, and every one that ye find, call to the feast. So those servants went out into the ways, and they brought together all they could find, (both) bad and good."* Now, in the former Parable, the Vineyard, the Tower, the Winepress, and the Husbandmen, were evil: and the servants [\[240\]](#) sent, first and last, were killed. And, at last, even the Son of the Lord of the vineyard was himself slain : by which were pointed out, the People, the Temple, the Altar, and the Rulers of the Jews; and also those wicked husbandmen, who, standing at the head of the people, slew both the former and latter Prophets, and at last the Son of God Himself!

**16.** Now the Parable before our eyes, obviously introduces the familiar feast, and bringing together, of the Bridegroom and Bride, with a marriage-supper: and again the servants also, who are here destroyed and slain, and the former and latter persons bidden. By means of these again, He points out covertly, the things that happened after His resurrection from the dead. For the Bridegroom is, THE WORD OF GOD ; the Bride, the rational soul, which is associated with Him, and receives the Divine seed that is of Him. And (this) Divine and rational association, (represents) that of His Church : and, consequent upon these things, the rational feast and marriage supper, (represent) the Divine and heavenly aliments (so prepared). He does not here speak of the inviting servants, with reference to those who were formerly sent to the vineyard, but, with reference to the latter ones. For those were the Prophets; but these, His own Apostles, who were sent forth to make the call, (and) first, of those who were of the circumcision. For, when He first sent these forth, He charged them, saying, "[42](#)*Into the way of the Gentiles go ye not; and into a city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but rather go ye to the wandering sheep of the house of Israel.*" These same persons therefore, the servants did first invite; but, when they hearkened not to the call, He sent also, the second time, many Evangelists and Preachers of the Gospel ; those whom He chose, after the twelve Apostles, the seventy other Disciples, who also first preached the Gospel to the Jewish people, and called them to the feast of the New Testament. But they availed nothing, because they, who had been bidden, were busied with their merchandise; and who, after they had heard the [\[241\]](#) call of the servants, abused some, and killed others. And it is in our power to find from the Scriptures, how many of the Disciples of our Saviour they afterwards killed, both in Jerusalem and in the rest of Judea. Stephen then was, in the first place, forthwith slain by them by stoning. After him, James the brother of John<sup>[43](#)</sup>. And again after them, he who first chose (to accept) the throne<sup>[44](#)</sup> of the Church of that place, James who was called the Brother of our Lord: whom, on account of his great excellence, they called "*the Just*"<sup>[45](#)</sup>. Him too, the Jews of those times killed by stoning. How they abused the Apostles by stripes, the Book of the Acts relates. And these things did He, by His divine knowledge, foretel before they happened; He also foretold the things which should befall them from the Jews. By means of a parable too, He predicted what should come to pass before these things took place, by these expressions, (viz.) "*The king was enraged*" at the abuse and slaughter of his servants, "*and sent his army, and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city.*" And, What can be more obvious than this foreknowledge, and the fulfilment of the things themselves (so predicted) ? For the army of the Romans came soon after, and took the city, and destroyed the Temple itself by fire. And, of Whom was it, except of Him who is King of all, God over all, that it was thus said, that "*the King shall send his army, and shall slay those murderers, and shall burn up their* [\[242\]](#) *city?*" To this very time indeed, the remnants of the conflagration which took place in various parts of the city, are obvious to the sight of those who travel thither. But, how those murderers of the Apostles were taken in the reduction (of the city), and suffered the punishment which they deserved, it is not necessary we should say, as the things which were done to them, may readily be found in the record of the Romans<sup>[46](#)</sup> by Flavius Josephus<sup>[47](#)</sup>. After the slaughter of these therefore, and the reduction of the metropolis of their kingdom, they,--who

remained of those servants that had first heard it said by their Lord, *"They who were first called were not worthy; but go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find, call to the feast"*--performed even the thing commanded. Our Saviour said to them therefore, after His resurrection, *"Go ye and make Disciples of all nations in my name,"* And these things He said, who formerly had commanded: *"In the way of the Gentiles go ye not"* but (enjoined) that they should preach to the Jews only. But, when these had abused (their) Inviters, then He dismissed the servants the second time, and said, *"Those that were called were not worthy. Go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find call to the feast."* And this they fulfilled in deed. They went out into the whole creation, and they preached to all nations, the divine and heavenly calling; and *"they collected together as many as they could find, (both) bad and good."* Let no one therefore wonder, that, of those, who are collected into the Church of Christ, all are not good; but, that in the mixture together with the good, the evil will also be collected. Nor did this escape the foreknowledge of our Saviour. And it is accordingly seen to remain in fact, in conformity with that foreknowledge : and, what the end of those will be, who are brought together unworthily in His Church, He Himself shews; for He afterwards teaches these things in the [\[243\]](#) parable, saying, *"And<sup>48</sup> the feast was filled with guests: but, when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man who had not (on) wedding garments. And he said to him, My friend! how earnest thou in hither not having put on wedding garments ? And he was silent. Then the king said to the ministers: Bind him hands and feet, and cast him out into outer darkness. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are the called, but few the chosen."* He likewise previously rebuked, with these predictive words, those who should conduct themselves unrighteously in His Church.

*Again, on the rejection of the Jewish people. From the Gospel of Matthew.*

17. *"Ye<sup>49</sup> serpents, ye generation of vipers, How shall ye escape hell ? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you Prophets, and Wise men, and Scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them ye shall scourge in your synagogues, and shall persecute them from city to city; so that there shall come upon you, all the blood of the Righteous, which has been shed upon the land, from the blood of Abel, even to the blood of Zecharias the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the steps and the altar. I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation."* There is no need we should affirm, that all these things are so plain, as to require no explanation whatever; which, being afterwards fulfilled in very deed, confirmed by (their) open fulfilment, the foreknowledge of our Saviour. For the Apostles were scourged by the Jews at a subsequent period, in Jerusalem itself; when also, they went forth from their synagogues, *"rejoicing<sup>50</sup> that they were found worthy to be reproached for his name's sake that they were found worthy to be reproached for his name's sake."* Stephen also was stoned by them; and James was slain with the sword<sup>51</sup>; and again, the second [\[244\]](#) James was put to death with stones<sup>52</sup>. And Simeon, who after James held the Episcopal chair in Jerusalem<sup>53</sup>, was given up to crucifixion, as the history reminds (us). And many others again, who were slain by the Jews, have (thus) set their seal to the foreknowledge of our Saviour. On account of all which, the judgment of God took vengeance on the generation that dared to do all this: and, upon it turned back the (just) consequence of all its deeds. For it was of that generation that their Temple and altar were rooted up, and the kingdom, which had, by tradition from their forefathers, been preserved to that very time, was dissolved. And of the same, was their freedom taken away: and, from the effects themselves it was evident, that the avenging of the blood of all the Righteous was on that generation, in conformity with the words of our Saviour. It is necessary then we should see, with what entire power, and by what sort of force, it was said, *"Behold I send to you Prophets, and Wise men."* For (this), *"Behold I send"* is an intimation of the power of God. And, that He called the Rulers of the Jews to their face, a *"generation of vipers,"* affords no proof of deficiency (in this respect). The prediction too, of the destruction which should overtake them, does, after all the rest, afford ample confirmation as to these declarations; and

this their complete fulfilment proves<sup>54</sup>. These things are therefore sufficient (here). Let us then, [245](#) now enquire accordingly, how it happened to the land which had always been precious to them, and to those glories of the metropolis of the kingdom which had been (so) famous with them; of which, by His divine foreknowledge He attested ;--weeping bitterly as He did over them of his mercy,--that the whole should undergo a change to the extremes of calamity, because of the insolence of its inhabitants against Him.

*On the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem.*

18. What the end of those things should be, which had been foretold respecting the Jewish people, has (already) been said and shewn. But, as He, THE WORD OF GOD, prophesied also respecting these places themselves, it is necessary we should see His words on them. Now, when the Rulers of the Jews would not bear the purity of His Doctrine, its publication, nor His rebukes, they so acted as to rid their city of Him. He then, leaving Jerusalem, pronounced these words over their city: "<sup>55</sup>*Jerusalem, Jerusalem! that hast killed the Prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto thee, How often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings : but ye would not. Behold I your house is left desolate. For I say unto you, that ye shall not see me henceforth until ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*" Impurity (and) pollution afterwards marked their doings: and this was the sin in which they dared to persist against our Saviour. And it was right, not only that the Inhabitants of the city, but also the land itself,--in which they so greatly boasted.--should be made to suffer the things, which the deeds of its inhabitants deserved. And these they did suffer ! For it was not long, before the Romans came against the city: and, of the inhabitants, some they killed by the law of war; others they destroyed by famine; others they led away captive ; and others they persecuted. The captive<sup>56</sup> (City) and Temple they burnt, and reduced to utter [246](#) desolation ! But the things which took place afterwards, did our Saviour, from his foreknowledge as THE WORD or GOD, foretel should come to pass, by means of those which are (now) before us. For He named the whole Jewish people, *the children of the City*; and the Temple, He styled *their House*. And thus He testified, that they should, on their own wicked account, bear the vengeance thus to be inflicted. For many times would He have gathered their children together beneath the yoke of the worship of God, just as all formerly was; even as He had from ancient times been careful for them, and had, during all ages, instructed them by one or other of the Prophets, and called them, but they would not hearken to his call;--on this account, He gave judgment against them, and said, "*Behold your house is left desolate.*" It was therefore with special care that He said, not (only) the City itself should be desolate, but the House that was within it: that is, the Temple; (and) which He was unwilling should again be called His, or yet "the House of God," but theirs (only). He prophesied too, that it should be desolate in no other way, than as deprived of that providential care, which was formerly exerted over it: hence He said, "*Behold your house is left desolate.*" And, it is right we should wonder at the fulfilment of this prediction, since at no time did this place undergo such an entire desolation as this was. Not at the time when it was rased to its foundations by the Babylonians, on account of their great wickedness, their worshipping of Idols, and pollution in the blood of the Prophets. For seventy years was the whole period of the desolation of the place in those times: because it was not (thus) fully said to them at that time, "*Behold your House is left desolate.*" Nor was it (then so) forsaken; an event happening soon after, which dignified it with a renewal much more illustrious than its former state, as one of the Prophets had foretold : (viz.) "*The glory of this latter House shall be greater than that of the former*<sup>57</sup>." After the enouncement therefore of our Saviour,--that they should so be *left*, and their house come, by the judgment of God, to utter desolation ;--to [247](#) those who visit these places, the sight itself affords the most complete fulfilment of the prediction. The period too has been that of many years, and (of duration) so long, as not only to be double of the desolation of seventy years,-- which was that in the time of the Babylonians,--but even to surpass four times (its duration) ; and (thus) confirming the

judgment pronounced by our Saviour. Again, on another occasion, our Saviour--walking by the side of the Temple, just mentioned, and His Disciples wondering at the building which surrounded it, and pointing out to Him the greatness and beauty of the same Temple;--returned to them answer and said, *"Behold! see ye not all these things ? I say unto you, stone shall not be left here upon stone, which shall not be thrown down."* The Scriptures do moreover shew, that the whole building and the extreme ornamenting of the Temple there, were indeed thus worthy of being considered miraculous: and, for proof (of this), there are preserved, even to this time, some remaining vestiges of these its ancient decorations. But, of these ancient things, the greatest miracle of all is, the Divine word (declaring) the foreknowledge of our Saviour, which fully enounced to those, who were wondering at the buildings (of the Temple), the judgment, that there should not be left in the place at which they were wondering, *"one stone upon another which should not be rased"* For it was right, that this place should undergo an entire destruction and desolation, on account of the audacity of its Inhabitants; because it was the residence of impious men. And, just as the prediction was, are the results in fact remaining: the whole Temple, and its walls,--as well as those ornamented and beautiful buildings which were within it, and which exceeded all description,--have suffered desolation from that time to this! With time too, this increases : and, so has the power of THE WORD gone on destroying, that, in many places, no vestige of their foundations is now visible! which any one who desires it, may see with his own eyes<sup>58</sup>. And, should any <sup>[248]</sup> one say, that a few of the places are still existing; we may nevertheless, justly expect the destruction of these also, as their ruin is daily increasing: the predicting word, just mentioned, daily operating by a power which is unseen. I know too--for I have heard it from persons who interpret the passage before us differently,--that this was not said on all the buildings, except only on that place which the Disciples, when expressing their wonder upon it, pointed out to Him ; for it was upon this that He spoke the predicting word. Again, the Scriptures of His Disciples which teach respecting Him, (teach) us these things (following), on the utter destruction of the place.--

*On the taking of the City.* From the Gospel of Luke.

**19.** *"And<sup>59</sup>, when He saw the city, He wept over it, and said, If thou hadst known, even in this day the things of thy peace.--But now, they are (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, in which thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall press upon thee from every part of thee: and they shall utterly root thee up, and thy children within thee."* The things, prior to these, were predicted respecting the Temple; these, which are now before us, respecting the City itself; which the Jews named the City of God, because of the Temple of God that had been built within it. Over the whole of this then, the compassionate (Saviour) wept. It was not, that He had so much pity on the buildings, nor indeed upon the land, as He had first upon the souls of its inhabitants, and (then) upon (the prospect of) their destruction. He pointed out moreover, the cause of their desolation when He said, *"If thou hadst known, even in this day, the things of thy peace:"* intimating too His own coming, which should be for the peace of the whole world. For <sup>[249]</sup> this is He, of whom it was said, *"In his days shall righteousness arise (as the sun), and abundance of peace<sup>60</sup>*. He came also for this purpose, that *"He<sup>61</sup> might preach peace to them that were near, and to them that were afar off."* And, of them who received Him, He said, *"Peace<sup>62</sup> I leave to you I leave to you; my peace give I unto you:"* the peace, which all nations who believed on Him throughout the whole creation, have received. But the people, who were of the circumcision and believed not on Him, knew not the things of their peace : and, on this account, He said afterwards, *"It is now (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee<sup>63</sup>."* The things (I say), which were therefore to take hold on them, a short time after, in the reduction (of the city) : (and), because they had no previous perception of the peace, that had been formerly preached to them, it should now be concealed from their eyes. They had therefore, no previous perception of any thing, which should afterwards befall them; He then plainly



foretold these things by His foreknowledge, and gave open intimation of the reduction (of the city), which should come upon them through the Romans, (when saying), "*The days shall come upon thee...because thou knewest not the things of thy peace.*" For, for this cause "*there shall come upon thee the days, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall go round about thee, and shall press upon thee from every quarter of thee; and they shall root thee out, and thy children within thee*<sup>64</sup>." In these (words) then, has been recorded the form of war which should come upon them. And, how they were fulfilled, we shall presently find from the writings of Josephus, who was himself a Jew, and descended from a tribe of the Jews ;--one of the well known and famous men among that people. At the time of the reduction (of the place), he committed to writing every thing that was done among them; and (so) shewed, that the predictions before us were, in their facts, fulfilled. [\[250\]](#)

*Again, on the reduction of the City. From the Gospel of Luke.*

20. "<sup>65</sup>*When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, know ye that its desolation is near. Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains. And let those that are within it (Jerusalem) give up*<sup>66</sup>*; and let not those that are in its borders, enter into it. Because these are the days of vengeance, that all which has been written should be fulfilled. But, woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days; for there shall be great tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled.*" Previous to this He said, "*Behold your house is left desolate.*" He now gives by the words before us, the signs of the times of the final destruction of the place; and these He shews, saying, "*When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, thence know ye that its desolation is near.*" Now, let no one imagine, that, after the reduction of the place, and the desolation that should be in it, another renewal of it shall take place, as it was in the times of Cyrus, king of the Persians; and afterwards in those of Antiochus Epiphanes; [\[251\]](#) and again, in those of Pompey. For many times did this place suffer reduction, and was afterwards dignified by a more excellent restoration. But, when ye shall see it reduced by armies, know ye that which comes upon it, to be a final and full desolation and destruction<sup>67</sup>. He designates the desolation of Jerusalem, by the destruction of the Temple, and the laying aside of those services which were, according to the law of Moses, formerly performed within it. You are not to suppose, that the desolation of the city, mentioned in these (words), was to be such that no one should any more reside in it: for He says after this, that the city shall be inhabited, not by the Jews, but by the Gentiles, when speaking thus, "*And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles*<sup>68</sup>." It was known therefore to Him, that it should be inhabited by the Gentiles. But He styled this its *desolation* (viz), because it should no more (be inhabited) [\[252\]](#) by its own children, nor should the service of the law he established within it. And, how these things have been fulfilled, many words are not wanted (to shew) ; because, we can easily see with our own eyes, how the Jews are dispersed into all nations; and, how the inhabitants of that which was formerly Jerusalem,--but is now named Aelia by Aelius Hadrian,--are foreigners, and the descendants of another race. The wonder therefore of the prophecy is this, that He said of the Jews, "*they should be led captive into all nations;*" and, of the Gentiles, "*that Jerusalem should be trampled on by them.*" This miracle is then complete : the Jews being now fully (dispersed) throughout the whole creation, so that they are (found) remaining among the Ethiopians, the Scythians, and in the extremities of the earth. It is only their own city, and the place in which their worship formerly was (carried on), that they cannot enter<sup>69</sup>! But, if the city itself had been utterly desolated, and without inhabitants, men would have thought that this was the cause (of their exclusion from it). Now however, that the place is inhabited by foreigners, the descendants of a different race, and that it is not allowed to them alone even to set a foot in it, so that they cannot view even from a distance the land of their forefathers<sup>70</sup>; the things foretold of it are fulfilled, in exact accordance with the prediction: (viz). "*They shall be led*

*captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles"* The manner moreover of the captivity, points out the war. of which He spoke; "*For (said He) there shall be (great)<sup>71</sup> tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people : and they shall fall by the edge of the sword."* We [\[253\]](#) can learn too, from the writings of Flavius Josephus, how these things took place in their localities, and how those, which had been foretold by our Saviour, were, in fact, fulfilled. He also shews plainly the fulfilment of the prediction of our Saviour, when He said, "*Woe to those that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days<sup>72</sup>*." For he has put it on record, how the women roasted their children by the fire and ate them, on account of the pressure of the famine which prevailed in the city. This famine therefore, which took place in the city, our Saviour foresaw, and counselled His Disciples that, in the reduction which was about to come upon the Jews, it was not for them to take refuge in the city as in a place guarded and preserved by God, but in which many should suffer ; but, that they should depart thence, and "*flee to the mountains;*" and, that those, who should be within Judea, should give up to the Gentiles; and those, who were in its lands, should not take refuge in it as in a fortified place. On this account He said, "*Let those who are in its borders<sup>73</sup> not enter into it, since these are the days of vengeance, that all may be fulfilled which has been written."* Any one therefore, who desires it, may learn the results of these things from the writings of Josephus. And, if it is right we should lay down a few things from him in this book, by way of testimony, there is nothing that should hinder us from hearing the historian himself, who writes in this manner;--

*From the sixth Book of Josephus<sup>74</sup>.*

21. "And, How can it be necessary, that I should describe the severity of the famine, as to things inanimate? I come then to the making known of a fact, the like of which has not been recorded, either among the Greeks, or the Barbarians : one which, it is shocking to mention, and, to the hearing, incredible. I myself indeed, would [\[254\]](#) gladly have left this calamity (unmentioned)--that I might not be thought by those who shall come after, to have related falsehoods,--had I not had many witnesses among those of our own times. I should indeed otherwise have rendered but a doubtful good, as to the land of my fathers, had I omitted to mention the things which, it has, in fact, suffered. A certain woman, of those who resided on the other side of the Jordan,--whose name was Mirian, well known on account of her family and wealth,--took refuge with many (others) in Jerusalem, and with them was shut up (in the siege). This woman's other possessions, as they were after she left the passage (of the Jordan) and came into the city, the Tyrants seized. The residue of her treasures moreover, should it have sufficed for her daily sustenance, was invaded and seized by the attendant soldiers. Grievous indignation therefore, took possession of her; and many times did she excite the robbers against herself, by curses and reproaches. But, when no one put her to death.--either on account of her indignation or in mercy; and she became weary of seeking sustenance for others from every quarter, and (as) suspicion was excited against her, even if she found (it) : hunger, at the same time, remaining in her bowels, and indignation inflaming her more than hunger;--she took for her counsellor impetuosity and necessity, and dared to do that which was contrary to nature. She seized upon her son,--for she had a sucking infant,--and said, "Wretched (babe) ! for Whom do I preserve thee in war, famine, and tumult?-- that thou shouldest be a slave to the Romans ? If thou shouldest indeed live happily with them, still famine precedes (this) servitude ; and the seditious are cruel. Come ; be thou thou to me for food; to the seditious, the vengeance;--and to the world, the tale which alone is wanting to (complete) the sufferings of the Jews ! And, saying this, she at once killed her son. She then roasted him, and ate a part of him ! the rest she hid, and kept<sup>75</sup>!" [\[255\]](#) These sufferings out of many, I have here set down on account of the Divine prediction of our Saviour, which declared, "*Woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days:*" and because it adds this also to the predictive words of our Saviour, "*There shall be great tribulation on the land, and great wrath upon this people:*" or, as Matthew has said<sup>76</sup>, "*For there*



*shall be at that time great tribulation, the like of which has not been since the beginning of the world, even until now ; nor shall be" (hereafter). It will be well therefore, to hear this writer himself, when thus putting on record the fulfilment of these same things.*

*From the fifth Book of Josephus<sup>77</sup>.*

**22.** "It would be impossible to give an account of each and every of their iniquities singly; we say then summarily, that no (other) city (ever) suffered all these things; and, that there never was a generation so fruitful in vices as this<sup>78</sup> : for they destroyed the city itself<sup>79</sup>! and (were the cause) that the Romans should be recorded,-- as forced by them against their own wills,--to this sad [256](#) victory ! They accordingly dragged them on forthwith, unopposed, to the Temple ; and viewed from the upper city, the fire that was burning within it." Nor were they pained, nor did they weep at these things ! Because, *"there should be at that time great tribulation, such, that its like existed not since the beginning of the world."* This very thing was foretold by our Saviour, which this writer attests ! the whole of which was fully brought to pass<sup>1</sup> forty years afterwards, in the times of Vespasian the Roman Emperor. Our Saviour moreover, added to His predictions,--determining the time,--how long Jerusalem should be trampled on by the Gentiles; for He said, *"Until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled:"* intimating by this, the end<sup>80</sup> of the world.

*Again, on the laws of the Jews, (viz.) that they should no more be observed, either on mount Gerizim, or in Jerusalem. And, on the service worthy of God, which should be set up in His Church. From the Gospel of John.*

**23.** On the side of this our neighbouring city Neapolis of Palestine,--which was not small, but is even (now) a city of celebrity,--a woman of Samaria drew near to Him ; and, after other words, said to Him, *"Sir, I perceive that thou art a Prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this [257](#) mountain; but ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where (men) ought to worship."* Upon which, our Saviour returning this answer, said to her, *"Believe me woman, the hour cometh (in) which, neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship the Father."* And, after a few other things, He said : *"The hour cometh, and now is, (in) which the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh even such as these to worship Him. God is a, spirit, and it is right that those who worship Him, should worship him in spirit and in truth<sup>81</sup>."* And, by these things also, He fully proved that His foreknowledge was not small. For formerly, in the days of Tiberius the Roman Emperor,--in whose times these things were said,--the Jews were particularly collected together in Jerusalem, for the observance of the precepts of their Law; and the Samaritans, on the mount called Gerizim which they honoured, on the side of Neapolis, affirming that it was right the Law of Moses should there be observed. Now, these mounts are, as it were, anathemas of God. With both, certain parts were honoured; and of both, the Scripture of each bears record ; that of Moses, respecting Gerizim ; and those of the Hebrew Prophets, respecting Jerusalem<sup>82</sup>. The sentence of judgment therefore, put forth in the Divine enunciation of our Saviour was, That no more, either in Jerusalem, or on mount Gerizim, should those henceforth worship, who then adhered so pertinaciously to these places : which came to pass soon after. (For), in the days of Titus Vespasian, and in the reduction which happened in those of Hadrian, both these mounts were, according to His words, desolated. That on the side of the city Neapolis, was defiled by unbecoming Images, by Idols, [258](#) by Sacrifices, and the shedding of blood, and (thus) rendered abominable. The Temple also of Jerusalem was rased to the foundations, and has remained, during the whole of the time mentioned, in utter desolation and (destruction by) burning. And, from that time and even until now, has the prediction of our Saviour been fulfilled, which declared, *" The hour cometh, (in) which neither in this mount, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship,"* He terms the time (meant) *"the hour;"* which was not yet at hand, but was about to be. And, speaking to

His Disciples on the rational service to be completed by Himself, He added, "*The hour cometh, and now is, that the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth.*" He necessarily added therefore here, *It "now is."* For immediately, from the very hour (in) which he said these words, (viz.) "*The true worshippers*"--of whom He was the Head and Teacher,--His Disciples, who received the rational service,--from Him, did perform the service of God, "*in spirit and in truth.*" But the thing, above all (others) prophesied of in these words, implies, that no more on any mount, nor in any distinct corner of the earth, but throughout the whole creation, should those "*true worshippers*" worship the God who is above all, and should present to Him the Divine services, which should be performed without blood, "*in spirit and in truth.*" Not by similitude, nor by those things of which He was the antitype, as were those of Moses observed by both Jews and Samaritans, in slaughter, sacrifices, incense, fire, and many other bodily modes;--that all of these should be abolished through the things now before us, did THE WORD OF GOD here predict. He also said, henceforth "*in spirit and in truth.*" That is, "*the true worshippers*" shall render to God, the service which is worthy of Him, in a manner divine and with both the soul and mind.

*On the people which should be set up out of foreign nations, by means of his teaching.*  
From the Gospel of John.

24. "*I am<sup>83</sup> the good Shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me. Even as the Father hath [1](#) [259](#) known me, so know I the Father....And I lay down my life (lit. self) for my sheep. And I have other sheep, those who were not of this fold; and it is necessary that I should bring in these, and that they should hear my voice. And there shall be one flock and one shepherd.*" By other words (too) He taught and said, "*I am not come, but to the sheep that have strayed of the house of Israel<sup>84</sup>.*" It was the Jewish people then, that He named under this figure; but, by the things before us, He predicted, that it was not those only who had become His disciples from among the Jews, that were considered (as) of the number of His flock; but those also who were without this fold. For thus, the word (Scripture) usually names at one time, the whole Jewish people; at another, Jerusalem, and the service there performed according to the Law of Moses.--That "*He would collect other sheep which were not of that fold*" implies the whole creation; and He foretold by these things, that out of them (this) rational flock should be so brought together to Him, that to the one and self-same worship of God, all, (both) Jews<sup>85</sup> and Idolaters believing in Him, should come over; and, that there should be "*one flock and one Shepherd.*" This is His Church, which has been established both from among the Jews, and Gentiles. And thus, has it come to pass ! For at once, at the outset of the preaching of the Gospel, great multitudes of the Jews were convinced that He was the Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. And with these, (those), who believed on Him from among the Gentiles, were brought together in one Church, under the hand of the one Shepherd,--of Him who is THE WORD or GOD. For in Jerusalem itself arose, from among the Jews, one after another fifteen bishops of the Church there, from James who was the first<sup>86</sup>. There were too thousands, at once both of Jews and Gentiles there, who had been brought together, even to the time of [260](#) its reduction in the days of Hadrian. And, that He was the (good) Shepherd who had been many times preached of in the words of the Prophets, it is obvious to us: the words (I say), which mention THE WORD OF GOD and teach, that He is the Shepherd of the souls of men, as of rational flocks. For it is thus said on one occasion by the Prophets: "*The Lord feedeth me* (as a shepherd), *and I shall lack nothing<sup>87</sup>.*" And on another; "*Shepherd of Israel look, (thou) who leadest Joseph as a flock<sup>88</sup>.*" and, on another, He introduces (one) saying, "*He is the Lord, and the Shepherd of the sheep<sup>89</sup>.*" He therefore alone, is truly declared to be the Shepherd of rational souls. For, just as the case is among men, the nature of the sheep is one, and that of the shepherd another; and, (as) the rational nature rules and leads that which is irrational; so also is it with respect to the superiority of the Shepherd (here), THE WORD OF GOD, the nature far excels that of man. We indeed are His flock,

and, as compared with His power, we are less rational than any sheep. But He is in truth the good and pure Shepherd, who does not so neglect His flock, that it may be devoured by the wolves; that is to say, by the wicked demons, the corrupters of souls. This constrains us to look to His word which declared, with great power and might, "*I am the good Shepherd*;" and which also said, "*I lay down my life for my sheep*." (This) He said in a mystery respecting His death. He also taught at the same time the cause; viz. that it was for the redemption of the souls of the rational flocks, that He (so) gave His life. And this also: "*I have other sheep*," shews, that the Jews were not His only possession; but also, that the whole of the nations had been given to Him of His Father, according to this (declaration), "*Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance*." [\[261\]](#)

*How His death was the cause of the redemption of many.* From the Gospel of John.

25. He was often with the Jews, because to them were known the predictions of the Prophets respecting Him. But, because the Greeks upon one occasion also approached His Disciples, desiring to see Him,-- it is written, that, when they had told Him this, He said: "[90](#)*The hour is come, that the Son of Man should be glorified. I say unto you, that unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it will remain alone; but if it (so) die, it will bring forth much fruit.*" By these things also) He obviously declared in a mystery, that, among the Greeks, among foreign nations and the children of a different generation, those things which comprehended the praises of His Godhead should be embraced. For it was not when He was among the Jews that he said, "*His hour had come that He should be glorified*," but, when the Greeks[91](#) drew near to Him. After this, he necessarily continued shewing of His own death, His resurrection, and of the calling of the people, among whom He then was. For, just as the grain of wheat, before it falls into the earth, remains alone, but contains the life-producing-power, with the energies[92](#) of the seed included within it, (and) which the ears shall produce; but, after falling into the earth,--just as that which lives after death,--it will increase, and, from the power vested within it, produce many ears of corn; so did He also declare respecting Himself, that the things should be. And this indeed, the result of them has plainly evinced. [\[262\]](#) For, it was not the Greeks alone who, after His death, received of His power and of the provisions of His Godhead, but also many nations. He was therefore, that seed which fell, and sprang up again, "*He who was dead, but is alive*[93](#)." He, who after His fall which was by death, increased greatly, is He who has, by His resurrection, filled the lands of the heathen, as it were cultivated fields, with the Divine unutterable power. On this account He said, "*The harvest*[94](#) *is great, but the labourers are few.*" And again, "*Lift*[95](#) *up your eyes and see the fields, that they are white for the harvest.*" These things He also foretold (figuratively), of those who should after His death establish themselves in Him, through the pure faith which is by Him; the multitude of whom should, throughout the whole creation both of Greeks and Barbarians, constitute the Church to be established in myriads of congregations ;--collected together, as it were, (the produce of) rational well-cultured fields, into one place ; (that is) the souls of men, into the granaries of His Church. Hence it has been said, "*He*[96](#) *whose fan is in His hand, and who will cleanse His floor, and collect the wheat into (His) treasures: but the straw He will burn with fire unquenchable.*"

*How Simon the chief of the Disciples, should, like his Master, be given up to crucifixion, and depart this life.* From the Gospel of John.

26. "*My*[97](#) *children, a little while I am with you; and ye shall seek me: even as I said to the Jews, whither I go, ye cannot come; and thus also I say again unto you. Simon*[98](#) *Peter said unto Him, Whither goest Thou ? And Jesus answered him: Whither I go, thou canst not now come, but, after a time, thou shalt come.*" And again, in the latter part of the book, Jesus, after his resurrection from the dead, said to Peter: "[99](#)*I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thy loins, and wentest*

whither [\[263\]](#) thou wouldest ; but, when thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee, and shall lead thee whither thou shalt not be willing. And these things which He said (were) to shew, by what death he should glorify God. And, when He had said this, He said to him, *Follow me*" And, Who is not astonished, that, when He said these things to His Disciples, they should be prepared and ready to adhere to Him even to death ? For He did not deceive them by intimating, or promising to them, the things considered good in this life ; nor did He by any such means, allure them to give their adhesion to Him ; but, He simply foretold those obvious tortures which should, on His account, befall them. And (so) He previously shewed to Simon the mode of crucifixion, by which he afterwards closed his life in the city of Rome, in this which He said, "*When thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee.*" And similarly, He also shewed mystically in this which He said, "*Whither I go, thou canst not now come; but, after a time, thou shalt come.*" Now, these things were not said to them all, but only to Peter ; because it is he alone, who, in the Scripture, (is said) should end his life after the manner of the suffering of our Saviour.

*How He foretold to the rest of His Disciples, the persecutions which were about to arise time after time against them.* From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>[100](#)</sup>.

27. "*Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to their Rulers, and shall scourge you in their Synagogues, and shall bring you, before governours and kings for my sake, for a testimony to themselves, and to the Gentiles.*" And again<sup>[101](#)</sup>, "*Blessed are ye when they persecute you, and revile you, and say every evil (thing) against you, for my sake. Rejoice and exult, since great is your reward in heaven ; for so they persecuted the Prophets who were before you.*" Now, the wonder is this, (viz.) the additional word here saying, "*for my sake.*" For it was not sufficient, that He should only foreknow and foretel the persecutions [\[264\]](#) which should arise against His Disciples; but, that He might also shew the cause of these, He said, *they should suffer these things for His sake.* Nor was it on account of any evil practices, nor yet for any other fault; but,--(as) He previously testified,--that every thing (of this sort) should befall them *for His sake*: which is present in the fact for our information ! For if any one, during the time of the persecutions, denied only that he was a Christian, he was released from all blame and cause of accusation. But, so irreprehensible and sinless were the lives of His Disciples to be, that they should suffer every sort of calamity for no other cause, except only their confessing, and giving testimony to, Him. He did indeed, fully stir up and make them ready (for this), by comparing them with the ancient Prophets and Friends of God ; for<sup>[102](#)</sup>, (said He), *even as they persecuted the Prophets who were before you, so shall they, without cause, drive you out; and, after the manner of the Prophets, shall ye be punished, because ye worship the God who is over all; on which account, they also persecuted the Prophets.* Now that He should foretel, that even governours and kings should be moved by these things; that the time was then at hand; that He should (so) speak with His Disciples; and that His words should so come to pass and remain in fact, How greatly does it exceed (all) wonder ? For there have been many others, both Barbarians and Greeks, who have said and promised many wise things to their Disciples. Of these, some supposed that there was no God; others annihilated every consideration about Providence; and others (received) those who were thought Gods by the many: others arose (as) the leaders of vicious factions; others (who thought), that *Rest*<sup>[103](#)</sup> was the extreme (good) : and others, that *Rest* indiscriminately was; and who indeed talked just as they might be circumstanced. But never did any one of these, [\[265\]](#) previously determine such things for His Disciples. Nor do we know of any persecutions that opposed them, such as those were that opposed the teaching of our Saviour. How then shall we not wonder, and confess, that these are indeed the words of God ?--these (I say), which not only previously attested, through the Divine foreknowledge, the persecutions which should come upon His Disciples; but also, previously pointed out the cause of these, by this which He said, that *these things should happen to them, for His sake?*



*How those also who were equals should arise, and persecute each other, in the times of the persecutions. From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>104</sup>.*

**28.** *"The brother shall deliver his brother to death, and the father his son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but he, who shall bear even to the end, shall live."* Now, how these things have, even to the present time, been fulfilled in fact, What need is there that we should shew at length, since these facts are superior to all report ? We have seen too with our own eyes, how many things of this sort took place, both during the persecutions, and in our own times. Nor do you simply hear this, that "*the brother should deliver his brother to death*;" for even this might have been as any mere matter of opinion. But we can investigate (the case), and inform ourselves how it was, that "*the brother delivered his brother to death*."-- When one surrenders himself to fraternal affection, and chooses the love of life, and denies God, and particularly with respect to his brother, whom he will solicit and persuade to worship idols; will excite and inveigle, putting forth (his) fraternal affection, so as to make him disregard the command of our Saviour; then indeed, will *the* <sup>266</sup> *brother deliver up his brother to the death of his soul*. In like manner also, will the father cause his son to err (by enticing), and will persuade him to worship the idols, and (so) *deliver him to death*. So also *the children, their parents*: they will, through their affection for them, (so) lead them on, that they will choose the mortal life which now is, rather than that which is with God; and will (so) become the cause, both of the death and perdition of the soul of their parents<sup>105</sup>. And many such things as these, did we witness with our own eyes, during the times of the persecutions ; so that in them was fulfilled the (prediction) : "*Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake*." In this place also was this addition carefully made, teaching the Disciples that, it should not be for any hateful deed, but for *His name's sake, they should be hated*.

*On those who should impurely collect themselves into His Church, and on the punishment that should come upon them. From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>106</sup>.*

**29.** *"The kingdom of heaven is like a net that fell into the sea, and collected of every sort (of fish) ; and, when it was full, they drew it up to the shore, and sitting down they selected those that were good, and put them into vessels; but the bad, they threw away. Thus shall it be in the end of this world: the angels shall go forth, and shall separate the evil from among the just, and shall cast them into a fiery oven: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."* The "*net*"--which is here (put) by a figure for the word,-- and which is woven (as it were) from the various mind of the old and new Scriptures, He names His own doctrine : the fluctuating life of man, which is subject to hardship in its doings on account of the calamities attending it, "*the sea*." Out of this (sort of) life, as from the sea, the "*net*," so foretold, was to catch up tens of thousands. And under it were to be (taken), the various multitudes of those opposed | <sup>267</sup> to each other in their characters; and of these, the good and bad in their dispositions. Of these too he spoke mystically, as being caught up from the sea after the manner of fish, when He said in the first calling of His Disciples, "*Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men*"<sup>107</sup>. This collecting together therefore of such men, bad and good, in His Church,--assembled (as they are) to this very time,-- was not unknown to Him : for He taught, that these same should at last be separated by the Angels, who should be appointed to this (work) ; and (so) should the punishment, due to the disposition of each one, be awarded.

*How Impostors and Seducers should invest themselves with His Doctrine, and formally present themselves to Him. From the Gospel of Matthew <sup>108</sup>.*

**30.** *"Beware of lying Prophets who come to you in lambs' clothing, but inwardly (are) rapacious wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them. For men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from*

*thistles. So every good tree produceth good fruit, but an evil tree giveth forth evil fruit.*" He (here) counselled (them) by His foreknowledge, to beware of those ungodly persons, who, availing themselves of the <sup>109</sup>opinions of others, and of the words of the Scriptures of His Divinity, should in after times formally assume the name of Christianity. He also shews the marks and vouchers of the evil concealed within them, and which should deceive the many, when saying, "*By their fruits ye shall know them.*" Now the fruits of such are these ; the ungodly words uttered by them; their unrighteous and perverse manner of life. These things then, when uttered and foretold by our Saviour, afforded at that time no visible testimony whatever to those who heard them, (as to their truth) ; but, in after times, the facts (so) declared became openly visible to all: the followers accordingly of <sup>1268</sup>Marcion<sup>110</sup>, Valentinus<sup>111</sup>, Basilides<sup>112</sup>, and those other corrupters of souls, sprang up, (viz.) Bardesanes<sup>113</sup>, and that madman in opinion of yesterday, and of our own times, whose name became the titular badge of the Manichean<sup>114</sup> <sup>1269</sup>heresy; who all became the sources of lying and ungodly doctrine. Nor did they otherwise come to light, but as outwardly clothed with the skins of our Saviour's lambs. And He plainly styled His Disciples "*sheep*;" saying, "*My sheep hear my voice*<sup>115</sup>:" and again, "*Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves*<sup>116</sup>." Of these then they outwardly assumed the manner, while in themselves they were "*rapacious wolves*." (And), How many thousands of the sheep of our Saviour, did these Deceivers snatch away ? Who, presenting their persons in form as to Christ, attached themselves to His instruction, and to the terms of the doctrines relating to His Godhead, and exhibited themselves as (His) lambs ! But, that ungodly bitterness<sup>117</sup> which lay (as) in ambush within them, adhered secretly to those who had been ensnared by them. These, therefore, who were now thought to be "*sheep*," because of their (thus) drawing near (to Him), openly appeared afterwards to be "*rapacious wolves*." <sup>1270</sup>And hence, our Saviour taught us previously to beware of them, when He said by way of instruction, "*By their fruits ye shall know them.*"

*How even He and His Disciples should be thought to have taken men, by means of Magicians, and of intercourse with Demons.*

**31.** "*The disciple is not greater than his master, nor the servant than his lord. It is sufficient for the disciple that he be as his master, and for the servant, as his lord. And, if they have called the Lord of the house Beelzebub, How much more the children of his household? Fear them not therefore, for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed; nor concealed that shall not be made known*<sup>118</sup>." The Jews held that Beelzebub was an evil Demon, and prince of the Demons: they blasphemed our Saviour accordingly, (affirming) that by the power of this, He expelled the rest of the Demons from men <sup>119</sup>. But, He returned the true answer to those who thought this, which is also written among His words. He foretold too, to His Disciples, that they also should be thought to overcome men, through intercourse with Demons and Magicians: which very thing, now affirmed by the many, has sealed and confirmed the prediction of our Saviour. He also gave His testimony, that this notion, (so) ascribed to them, should come to nothing, from (the consideration) of their lives, and conduct; their purity of doctrine, and that (inculcating) <sup>1271</sup>the worship of God. He said therefore, "*Fear them not; for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed, nor concealed that shall not be made known.*" He therefore reproveth these (Disciples), for a considerable time, because the things formerly escaping the many, had, on this account, been supposed (by them) to be incapable of publication; as also those, belonging to the doctrines of the (true) worship of God, of being made openly known. But, His ordinances and precepts have now been made known to every man ; and He has extinguished that (injurious) opinion respecting them, (His Disciples) which had formerly been held by the many<sup>120</sup>.

*On those who should remain in complete holiness in His Church, and in the life inexperienced (in conjugal) Society. From the Gospel of Matthew.*



**32.** When He determined for them, that (one) should not leave his wife except in the matter of fornication <sup>121</sup>, and His Disciples said to Him, *"If the cause of a man with the wife be thus, it is not advantageous to take wives;"* It is written, that He said upon these things, *"Every man is not sufficient for this matter, except those to whom it is given. There are eunuchs, who were, thus from their mothers' womb; and there are eunuchs, who were (made) eunuchs by men ; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who can bear (it) let him bear (it)."* It is evident from the context of the Scriptures, that there never was among men, and particularly among the Jews, any one who uttered by revelation any thing like this ; or, who did any thing like it: or that, throughout the whole creation and among all nations, whether in the cities or villages, there were multitudes, not of men (only), but also of women, who <sup>122</sup> kept themselves in perfect holiness, and the state of virginity, through the hope and expectation of the kingdom of heaven. We have seen in the very experiment itself, that they learned they should soon be prepared for this. The fulfilment however, of the claim to foreknowledge, was not simply (realized here); for we have seen many men, well known to us, who (actually) availed themselves of the iron (knife,) and made eunuchs of themselves for no other cause, except that of the hope of the kingdom of heaven: who neither hesitated, nor were weak in the doctrine of our Saviour, but simply and boldly betook themselves to the thing itself<sup>123</sup>. So that the foreknowledge of our Saviour, even respecting these things, sets to its seal, that His word was in truth the word of God. <sup>123</sup>

*On the distinction of those who should not worthily receive the seed of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.*

**33.** When a great multitude of men had come near Him, He thus foretold by a parable what those should be, who should receive the seed of His doctrine, saying : "<sup>124</sup>*Behold, a sower went forth to sow: and, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of heaven came and devoured it: and some fell on the rock, where there was not much earth, and immediately it sprang forth ; and, because there was no depth of earth beneath its root, it dried up. And some fell among thorns, and the thorns sprang up, and choked it: and some fell upon good ground, and it gave forth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold.* After these things He cried out and said, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear"* After this also, He was asked by His Disciples, what the interpretation of the parable should be; and He taught them, saying, *" Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower. Every one that heareth the word of the kingdom, but understandeth it not,--the Evil one cometh, and snatcheth the seed out of his heart. This is that which is sown by the ivay side. And that which is sown upon the rock, is he who heareth the word, and with readiness receiveth it: but, not being confirmed therein, he is offended by a little affliction. And that which fell among the thorns, is he who heareth the word, but the care of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and it remaineth without fruit. But that which is sown on good ground, is he who heareth the word, and understandeth it, and produceth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold."* Now, Whence could it have happened to human nature, not only to declare by (one's) foreknowledge something that should come into being; but also, to determine the kinds and sorts of persons (who should), unless indeed He were truly THE WORD of God ?--He (I say), who at that time (so) prophesied and taught;--of whom it is said, *"The WORD OF GOD is lively (energetic), and more sharp and cutting than the two-edged sword, and passeth even to the parts of the* <sup>125</sup>*soul and of the body, and of the joints and marrow; and is the Judge of the thoughts and intentions of the heart, and from whom no creature is hidden"* <sup>125</sup>? He well declared therefore, the distinguishing marks of those who should afterwards receive His doctrines; and He also foretold, that those who should in impurity receive the seed of His instruction, should be of three kinds; as should in like manner the good, who should like good ground hear much, and give great increase to the word itself. Of those corrupters of the seed too, which should fall into their souls, He declared there should be three

(moving) causes : Either from the considerations of life, and the care of things not (absolutely) necessary, and from riches and pleasures, immersing (as it were) the seed sown within them, and making it resemble the seed choked by thorns: or, others not receiving it into the depth of the mind, but immediately extinguishing it when affliction overtakes them: or, the third cause may be, that the source of the destructions of the seed within them is, the surrendering of a lax and ready hearing to (men) wishing to seduce them, and to snatch away the seed that had fallen into their souls. And these same are, in no other way cut off from bearing the fruit that is of God, except as by one or other of the means just mentioned. But those who are opposed to these, and receive the seed of salvation into a soul that is pure, and a mind that is devoted, do again, as their power may be, greatly increase their fruits. He moreover assimilates the distinctions of these, to those of good and excellent lands which bring forth some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred-fold. For such as these powers are, are those occasionally found in the souls of men. These things therefore, He prophesied on these matters. But, of the [125](#) multitude of those who should in after-times bear (much) fruit, through the instruction of His words, He thus cried out and said, *"The harvest is great, but the labourers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth labourers into His harvest"*[126](#). And again, of these same He said on another occasion : *"Do not ye yourselves say, that there are yet four months, and the harvest cometh ? Lift up your eyes, and see the fields that they are white for the harvest"*[127](#)! And, Who does not wonder, that He should shew even the fewness of those who should in purity be the chiefs of His word, for He said, *"The labourers are few?"* And, as prayer was necessary for the obtaining of these, He said therefore, *"Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth labourers into His harvest."* When He said therefore, *"The sower went out to sow,"* He also said, that there was another sower, and another seed ; and He also shewed and taught, whence, and whither, he went forth by the things said in the parable immediately following this, which is in this form:--

*On the teaching of Heterodoxy*[128](#), which should be sown together with His word in the souls of men. From the Gospel of Matthew.

**34.** He added another Parable, and said: *"The kingdom of heaven is like to a man, who sowed good seed in his field. But, when men slept, the Enemy came and sowed Tares among the wheat, and departed. When therefore, the wheat sprang forth and produced fruit, the Tares appeared in like manner. And his servants drew near and said to him : Our Lord, Didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? Whence are there Tares in it ? But he said to them, The man (who is) the Enemy hath done this. They say to him: Is it thy will therefore, that we go (and) gather them ? But he [126](#) said to them, No; lest, while ye gather the Tares, ye also root up the wheat with them. Let them both grow until the harvest. And at the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the Tares, and bind them in bundles for burning; but gather ye the wheat into the granaries"*[129](#) (lit. treasuries). This same Parable too, He explained to His Disciples in the house, when they drew near to Him and said, *"Explain to us the Parable of the Tares of the field. And He answered them, and said: The sower of the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world. (As to) the good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; and the Tares, those are the children of the wicked one; and the Enemy, who sowed them, is the Accuser. And the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the Angels. Even therefore, as the Tares are gathered up, and fall into the fire; so shall it be at the end of this world. The Son of man shall send His Angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all offences, and those that do evil, and shall cast them into the Gehenna"*[130](#) of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And then shall the righteous shine in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." Our Saviour shewed therefore, by His explanation of the Parable, these things (viz.), who the sower that went out to sow the seed was, and what the seed was which He cast forth, in the expressions: *"The sower of the good seed is the Son of man ; and the field is the world."* For He usually called Himself the "Son of man," on account of His

going about among men<sup>131</sup>. He therefore *went forth* from <sup>1277</sup> within<sup>132</sup>, and came out. Where then was He *within*, but above the world ? where (indeed) He existed; and in the end of the world<sup>133</sup> *He came forth*, and came down to us, who were *without* (out of) the kingdom of heaven. And with Him He brought the heavenly seed, which He sowed in the souls of men as in distinguished lands. For the Parable placed before us teaches respecting the field, as of what sort it is, into which He cast the seed;-- which says, "*The field is the world;*" and it shews of this field, that it belongs to none but Himself;--to Him who came forth from *the inner part of His kingdom*, to those who were "*without*" (out of it), when saying, "*the servants drew near and said to Him, 'Our Lord, didst not thou sow good seed in THY field?'*" He therefore taught plainly, that even this field is His own : and this He interpreted and shewed, was the world. In the former Parable therefore, He shewed His foreknowledge as to what the distinctions of those would be, who should receive the seed into their souls; but in this, which is placed before us, the perverse doctrines and errors of the ungodly Hereticks: when not one of them had yet so established himself among men! Nevertheless, it was not unknown to Him that this should come to pass. For, as false scriptures were scattered as seed in succeeding times throughout the whole earth, with enouncements assimilated to those of His doctrine, by an opposing nature, not unlike the Tares (sown) among His pure words and life-giving doctrines<sup>134</sup>;--and there are myriads even to this time, some of whom make their boast of Manes, some of Marcion, and some of others, of those (I say) who put forth ungodly heterodoxy, and "*Tares*" (as it were), assimilated to the doctrine of our Saviour; making use of His name, and holding false books of the Gospels;--but he who was the Father of these things; <sup>1278</sup> --he who first sowed them in the souls of those who received him, was the Accuser himself: so He (our Saviour) well evinced, by the Divine power, the foreknowledge of what should come to pass; and these things He previously testified, which have been thus fulfilled in fact; and accordingly their fulfilment was, as His words (had foreshewn). As He therefore truly shewed forth these things, and as we see in the facts themselves, the fulfilment of these predictions of our Saviour; so ought we also to think, that the rest shall come to pass. And these are, "*the harvest,*" "*the end,*" and "*the angels the reapers:*" also that the Tares shall be gathered, and shall fall into the fire;--the extreme good things too of those, who shall have preserved and multiplied the living, pure, and life-giving seed ; of whom it is said, "*Then shall the righteous shine as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father.*"

*On those who should falsely name themselves the Christ.* From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>135</sup>.

**35.** "*When He sat on the mount of Olives, His Disciples drew near, saying between themselves and Him, Tell us, When shall these things be ? and What is the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world ? And Jesus answered them, and said, See that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ; and shall deceive many*" And again, after a few things He said, "<sup>136</sup>*If at that time any one say to you, the Christ is here, or there; believe ye not. For false Christs shall arise, and false Prophets, and shall give great signs and wonders, so that if it were possible they should deceive even the elect. Behold, I have foretold (it) to you*<sup>137</sup>. *If therefore they shall say to you, Behold, He is in the desert, go not forth; or, Behold, He is in the chamber, (it) not. For, as the lightning shineth from the* <sup>1279</sup> *East, and is seen even to the West; so shall the coming of the Son of Man be*" And on another occasion, when speaking with the Jews, He added these things and said, "<sup>138</sup>*I am come in the name of my Father, and ye receive me not; but, if another come in his own name, him ye will receive.*" These things He foretold when warning His Disciples against the lying Antichrist, whom they were expecting: and one (of these) shewed of another in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, who (should be) in (the time of) *the end*<sup>139</sup>. But, that others also should be before this, our Saviour Himself foretold in several places: "*For many,*" said He, "*shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ, and shall deceive many.*" And there were many (such) after (these) His words. And so the Samaritans were forthwith persuaded that Dositheus<sup>140</sup>, who was after the times of our Saviour, was the prophet of

whom [280](#) Moses predicted [141](#). And he so deceived them, that they declared he was the Christ. Others again, in the times of the Apostles, named Simon Magus "*the great power of God*"[142](#)" and thought that he was the Christ. Others (thought the same) of Montanus[143](#) in Phrygia: and others again, of others, in another place. Nor did the deceivers cease. And it is necessary we should suppose, that there were many such as these; so that even from them, testimony may be had, as to the reality of our Saviour's foreknowledge. Our Saviour taught moreover, that His glorious second coming should not again be, as it was at the first, in some one place, so that it may be supposed to be visible in some corner of the earth: and, that no one should thus think, He said, "*If any one shall say to you, Behold, the Christ is here, or is there, believe ye not.*" For opinions such as these comport by no means with Him, but with those false Christs and false Prophets. He indeed appeared once in the form of man, and in a certain district. But, of what sort his glorious second coming from heaven should be, He taught and said, "*For, as the lightning goeth forth*"[144](#) [281](#) *from the East, and is seen even to the West; so also shall the coming of the Son of Man be.*"

*On the events that should happen at the end of things.* From the Gospel of Matthew[145](#).

**36.** "*Ye shall hear indeed of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there shall be famines and pestilences, and commotions*<sup>6</sup> *in divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you in divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake.*" And after this He added, and said, "[146](#)*Then shall many stumble, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many. And, because of the abundance of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold. But he, who shall bear until the End, shall live. And the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations; and then cometh the End.*" He clearly foretold also by these things, that His [282](#) Gospel should, of necessity, first be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, "*and then should the END come.*" For the END of the world should not come, before (the Gospel) had been preached; but, when His word should have so taken effect among all nations, that the people should be few, among whom His Gospel had not been preached; so also should the time of the END [147](#) be short (in its coming). He further teaches and [283](#) says, "*Ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet.*" He also shews when this shall be, for He says, "*The Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations: and then cometh the end.*" When also, "*famines and pestilences, and commotions (shall be) in divers places, and nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom*" and there shall be overwhelming persecutions, and great afflictions. After these things too, He says, "*And ye shall be hated of all nations*" not on account of any other hateful acts, but "*for my name's sake*"[148](#)."

**37.** These proofs of the Divine manifestation of our Saviour, which we have thus far seen, are at the same time demonstrative, that both the words and deeds (had in view) are Divine. For in former times, the words were simply heard; but now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly visible in deed, together with powers eclipsing those of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded by these, we ought not to wonder: because it is usual with man so to resist things the most plain, as even to dare to oppose by his words the existence of an universal Providence; and hence also, to deny God himself! And thus also, will he disingenuously contend against many other things, to which the truth bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in its own nature true; so also will the wicked unbelief of men, in no way injure the evident excellency of



the Godhead of our Saviour. But, if it is right [\[284\]](#) that we should compose, for these also, a form (of prescription) conducing to intellectual health ; it is time that we should here again present, for their use, (other) proofs of the (truth of the) Gospel, and now also recite the things, which have formerly been investigated with reference to other (objectors), as to those who will not be persuaded by the things (hitherto) said.

*The End of the Fourth Book (of Eusebius) of Caesarea.*

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[Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

1. <sup>1</sup> Syr. [Syriac], lit. *his child*: but, as this is probably a translation of the Greek *paidion*, which signifies *boy*, and thence either *child* or *servant-boy*, I have thought it best to render it by the English, *boy*, which is equally indefinite with the Greek.

2. <sup>2</sup> Alluding, perhaps, to Gen. xxxii. 25-28, comp. with Hos. xii. 4.

3. <sup>3</sup> This and the following recital are taken, in the main, from Matt. viii. 5. seq. with the addition of "*beloved*," (Syr. [Syriac]) from the parallel passage in Luke vii. 2. It differs considerably from the Peschito, and is probably the rendering of our Syriac Translator, with the words of the Peschito, however, in his memory. The greatest variety consists in this, that our text has here, *Chiliarch* (Syr. [Syriac]) *Captain of a thousand*, instead of *Centurion* of the Greek and Syriac Scriptures. I have accordingly given *Chiliarch* in my translation. This reading is certainly extraordinary.

4. <sup>2</sup> I have not thought it necessary here to follow the verbiage of the Syriac, which gives, [Syriac]. *Of those who reside at the risings of the day, and in quarters of the East, and at the settings of the Sun.* I add this merely for the sake of the Student of the Syriac.

5. <sup>1</sup> Lit. *Spaniards and Gauls*.

6. <sup>2</sup> It is commonly assumed by the Roman Catholics, that Christianity was unknown in Britain until Austin the Monk introduced it at the command of Gregory the Great. With how much truth this is done the reader will see, when he finds that the Fathers generally asserted the contrary. See the "*Lux Evangelica*" of Fabricius, and Stillingfleet's "*Origines Ecclesiae Britannicae*."

7. <sup>3</sup> Matt. viii. 11.

8. <sup>4</sup> Luke xiii. 28, 29.

9. <sup>5</sup> Matt. iv. 18.

10. <sup>1</sup> As an extract from the Greek original of this place has been preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna (Lambecii xlii. Nesselii lxxi.) and which has been kindly communicated to me by its learned Librarian Dr Kopitar, through the intervention of the Right Honourable Lord Napier, I shall here give it. I give Dr Kopitar's whole transcript. " Exscriptum e Codice Theol. graeco. Vindob. fol. 240. v. ad Luc. v. 6. de reti rupto: Eu0sebi/ou ev0aggelik~ qeofa& ∴ -- rubro colore. Parakeleu&etai me/n pe&trw o9 KC. xala&sai ei0j a1gran ta\_ di/ktua. o9 de\ to\_ prostetagme/non e0poi/ei: w9j de\ sune/kleisan plh~qoj i0xqu&wn polu\_. kai\ dierrh&gnuto ta\_ di/ktua tw~ plh&qei barou&mena, proskalou~ntai

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 plhrou~sin a1mfw ta\_ ska&fh. w9j ki+nduneu&ein au0ta\_ budi+sqh~nai: e0f0 oi|j o9 pe&troj  
 a0poquma&saj e0cepla&gh. a0na&cio&n te e9auto\_n th~j srio&n (?) e0piba&sewj w9molo&gei :--  
 seq. rub. grh& qeolog.:."

Another extract, with which I was favoured through the same channel, will be found in Book v. sect. 38.

11. <sup>2</sup> The Greek Orat. de laudd. Constant. extract extends to this place.

12. <sup>1</sup> This is given above as a principle.

13. <sup>2</sup> Our author here speaks as an inhabitant of Caesarea.

14. <sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 14-16.

15. <sup>3</sup> Is. ix. 1, 2.

16. <sup>1</sup> If it should be imagined, that Eusebius intended above to assign any preeminence to Peter in the work of evangelizing the world, this place would be sufficient to correct any such notion. Peter was, as the primary Apostle of the Gentiles, very highly honoured: it was Paul nevertheless, who, after his conversion, became the most abundant labourer of them all.

17. <sup>2</sup> John viii. 12, &c.

18. <sup>3</sup> Ib. i. 9.

19. <sup>4</sup> Matt. x. 27, 28.

20. <sup>6</sup> Matt, xxviii. 18, to the end. The differences from the Peschito are slight, and such as to shew, as before, that the Translator having the words of the Peschito in his mind, rather translated afresh than followed it literally.--All these headings following are, in the MS. given as Rubrics.

21. <sup>1</sup> Ps. ii. 8. Cited also, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 162. D.

22. <sup>2</sup> I do not see how this could come out of the mouth of an Arian.

23. <sup>3</sup> The place here referred to is Deut. xxxii. 8, as given in the Version of the Septuagint: where we have, [Greek] Out of this seems to have originated the notion of Angels presiding over the several regions of the Earth: and, thence, among the heathen, of *Demons* doing this: a notion prevailing far and wide in the East at this very day. The Hebrew has here, "*Children of Israel*;" whence the notion among the Jews, that there were 72 nations on the earth, and as many languages; because this was the number supposed to have gone down with Jacob into Egypt. The whole however, is a gross mistake, which has arisen out of a false interpretation of the Hebrew term [Hebrew], signifying *enumeration*, as well as *number*. The sense of the place will then be, *according to the enumeration, (account or statement) of the children of Israel*: i. e. as found in their Scriptures. This Scripture is also quoted, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. vii; but the reasoning differs. See also ib. cap. x. p. 163. See also Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 250, &c. An extract is given from the *Theophania*, in the "Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio," Tom. viii. p. 91, by Signior Angelo Mai in these words: [Greek] If this extract belongs to any part of this work, it must, I suppose, be to this; as I know of no other place at all like it, From the letter *Beta* being attached to the extract, one would imagine that the *second* Book was meant; but certainly, our second Book contains no such matter. All I can see in it, I must confess, is, that the writer of the Codex



mentioned by Signior Mai only intended to give a sort of Comment on this place of the Theophania, and one which seems to have come originally from the Jews: it being much of a piece with the traditionary nonsense entertained by that people, but quite foreign to the manner of Eusebius, who never indulges in cabbalistic reasoning of this sort. Nor is the Signior (now Cardinal) correct when he says:--"*Theophania*, seu publica Christi vita, (Luc. cap. 3)": neither the term, nor the contents of the work, nor the Scripture cited, justifying such an assertion. Nor does the word *anaphan*, referred to, even hint at the existence of this work. All the passage in the Chronicon intends evidently is, that our Lord *appeared* (*anaphan*) in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar. The Cardinal tells us moreover, that he has discovered xviii. other fragments of this work, which he has printed in the second edition of his first volume. But this edition I have not yet been able to find in this country; I can say nothing therefore about these extracts.

24. <sup>1</sup> A very common term, used to designate the true religion: it is also frequently used in the Hebrew Bible in this sense.

25. <sup>2</sup> Alluding to the denial of Peter. Matt. xxvi. 74.

26. <sup>3</sup> Luke xxiv. 44. seq.

27. <sup>1</sup> The phraseology of the Syriac deserves notice here. It runs thus, literally, *In the whole hearing* (i. e. understanding) *therefore of all the nations has He made these His words ; being varied and translated, &c.* The term [Syriac] is used here, and signifies, as it does also above, Book in. sect. 39, the understanding of languages.

28. <sup>4</sup> Matt. xxvi. 13, &c. cited by Theodoret. Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 448. Chrysost. Hom. Matt. 81. Edit. Montf. Tom. vii. p. 705.

29. <sup>1</sup> The term *this* (Syr. [Syriac]) may, indeed, here refer to *the* woman just named : I am disposed rather to think that it refers to *this* gospel, or doctrine, termed [Syriac] above.

30. <sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 15. seq. As this passage is important, I give the Syriac of it here, which stands thus: [Syriac]. Justin Martyr takes this passage in the same way : (Dialog. cum Tryphone. p. 255. 48. Ed. Sylburg.) [Greek]. Euthymius gives the sense thus: Thou art Peter, as about to be a rock of the faith, after the denial (of Christ); or, as already being *firm in mind*: thence, *upon this firmness* I will build my Church, or, I will lay thee (as) a foundation of the Believers. For the Church are the Believers, &c. [Greek] See Hammond's admirable note on this place. It is also thus given in the Syriac, (in this MS.) in the work of Titus Bishop of Bozrah on the Manicheans, near the end. [Syriac] That is: " *On this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hull shall not prevail against it.* " He calls every thing therefore *gate-bars*, by means of which those, who should take upon themselves a complete readiness to encounter the death of martyrdom, for the sake of the fear of God. And, after a few other things, when Simon said to Him, " *Thou art the Christ,* " He returned the answer, " *Upon this rock do I build my Church.* " -- 'Upon what? Upon this faith, that' "*Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God.*" -- He goes on to say, not as the mad Manes affirms of Him, that the Messiah is the five elements. -- He might have added, -- and probably would, had the thing existed in his days, -- nor as the arrogant Papists do, that by "Cephas" (Peter), is here meant the Popes of Rome.

31. <sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 34. seq.

32. <sup>2</sup> Luke xii. 51. seq.

33. <sup>1</sup> Eusebius has, in his Eccl. Hist. occasionally mentioned this Gospel: e. g. as apocryphal, Lib. iii. cap. xxv. [Greek]. " Sed et in eundem ordinem (i.e. apocr.) jam a quibusdam relatum est Evangelium



46. <sup>1</sup> So styled here perhaps, because written by Josephus after he had attached himself to the Romans, and had dedicated it to the Roman Emperor.
47. <sup>2</sup> His History of the Jewish Wars.
48. <sup>4</sup> Matt, xxii, 10-14.
49. <sup>5</sup> Matt, xxiii. 33. seq. agreeing, with a few variations, with the Peschito.
50. <sup>7</sup> Acts v. 41.
51. <sup>9</sup> See sect. 10, above, note.
52. <sup>1</sup> James the Less, called the " Brother of the Lord" in the Scripture. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii.
53. <sup>2</sup> According to some this was Simon Peter, others say that Simon the son of Cleopas was the person; and this is the account of Hegesippus, as preserved by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. [...]
54. <sup>3</sup> The meaning of our author is,--according to the principle formerly laid down,--that, as that prediction had been completely fulfilled, we can entertain no reasonable doubt as to other declarations then made.
55. <sup>4</sup> Matt, xxiii. 37. Luke xiii. 34.
56. <sup>5</sup> Syr. [Syriac], lit. *and the. captivity and Temple they burnt.*; which must, I suppose, mean *the City*.
57. <sup>1</sup> Haggai ii, 9
58. <sup>2</sup> Imitated by Theodoret (Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 446.) [...]
59. <sup>1</sup> Luke xix. 41. seq.
60. <sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxii. 7.
61. <sup>3</sup> Eph. ii. 17.
62. <sup>4</sup> John xiv. 27.
63. <sup>5</sup> Luke xix. 42, 43.
64. <sup>6</sup> Ib. ver. 44.
65. <sup>1</sup> Luke xxi. 20. seq.
66. <sup>2</sup> Ver. 21. [...] Cited also by Origen (contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 69,) and ably commented upon. He also says (ib.), that Phlegon allows in his Chronicon that our Lord's predictions did come to pass. This author moreover gave an account of the eclipse of the Sun which took place at the crucifixion. See Spencer's note on the place, (p. 35, notes.)
67. <sup>4</sup> Our author might have added much, if he had chosen to do so, from the Prophets, confirmatory of this position. I will supply an instance or two. In Isaiah xxiv. 1. we are told that " *the. Lord maketh the earth* (read, *the land*, i.e. of Judea) *empty, and maketh it waste...and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof.*" 3. " *The land shall be utterly emptied, and utterly spoiled.*"...5 *because they have transgressed the laws,... broken the everlasting covenant.*" 6. " *Therefore hath the curse devoured the earth (the land).. .therefore the inhabitants of the earth (land) are burned* (comp. Deut. xxxii. 22--27) . . . 20.

"*And it shall fall, and NOT RISE AGAIN.*" Verse 23. identifies this prediction with those here cited by Eusebius, viz. Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi. The conversion of the Gentiles is, moreover, beautifully touched upon ib. ver. 13-16. Comp. ch. xxv. 1. seq. In ch. xxvi. the same subject is taken up, and in ver. 5, 6, we have literally described, the TRAMPLING DOWN *of this impious city*. See also xxvi. ver. 10, 11, and xxviii. 18, also xxix. 1--7: 9--20, which are all obvious and direct predictions of these times: and to these many similar ones might be added. Let those who hold a restoration of the Jews look to this. See also Ezek. v, vi, vii, throughout with the parallel places, as given in the margins of the common Bibles. A large number of passages to this effect are cited from Isaiah, by our author, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. ii. xxx.--xxxvii. &c.

68. <sup>5</sup> Luke xxi. 24. But, because αλxri, "*until*," occurs here, many have been induced to think and to argue, that, still there must be a restoration of the Jews to satisfy this ! See Demonstr. Evang. Lib. vii. p. 321. D. and Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 62, &c. it. Lib. iv. pp. 174-5, [...]

69. <sup>1</sup> So also Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. vi. (Edit. 1G95.) p. 95. seq. where (p. 96 B.) the words used are an echo of these: [...] The testimony of Tertullian, very much to the same effect, will be found in the Bishop of Lincoln's valuable work, "The Eccles. Hist, of the second and third Centuries," &c. Camb. 1826. p. 162.

70. <sup>2</sup> Ib. B.

71. <sup>3</sup> The word "*great*" (Syr. [Syriac]) used above, is omitted here. Luke xxi. 23,24.

72. <sup>4</sup> Luke ib. ver. 23.

73. <sup>6</sup> [...] Luke xxi. 21, 22.

74. <sup>7</sup> Hudson's edition. Tom. ii. Lib. vi. p. 3274, line 27.

75. <sup>2</sup> Deut, xxviii. 56, 57. "The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward *her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear: for she shall eat them for want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee.*" See all the preceding verses, 52 seq. Comp. Lam. ii. 11; iv. 3, 10, 11. Ezek. v. 9, 13, 16, 17. These predictions were, indeed, dreadfully fulfilled to the very letter !

76. <sup>3</sup> Matt. xxiv. 21.

77. <sup>4</sup> Hudson's Josephus, Tom. ii. Lib. v. cap. 10, p. 1246, line 41.

78. <sup>5</sup> There is a considerable omission here in our Syriac text of Josephus: but, as the matter omitted could have but little reference to the objects had in view by Eusebius; there is no reason to suppose, the text of Josephus himself to be redundant on this account.

79. <sup>6</sup> The Syriac is worded rather extraordinarily here ; which I notice for the mere sake of the Student. It stands thus : [Syriac]. Lit, *For they destroyed the city, and forced the Romans, when they were unwilling, to be recorded* (as having taken part) in a sad victory.

80. <sup>2</sup> "*The times of the Gentiles*" must, I think, mean those times previously spoken of in the Scriptures, during which the Gentiles should retain their ancient state and power. That is, during the last part of Daniel's fourth monarchy, in which it is foretold they should have the rule. After this, during the fifth kingdom the saints are to have the rule, these therefore, must be *their* times, not, scripturally speaking, "*the times of the Gentiles.*" Our author is therefore, wrong in this place. See the Introduction to his

work. He is not the only one who has taken it in this sense, as may be seen by referring to Poole's Synopsis, &c.

81. <sup>3</sup> John iv. 19-24.

82. <sup>4</sup> The places had here in view are Deut. xi. 29; xxvii. 4. seq. Josh, viii. 30. seq. The Samaritans, it appears, have introduced a large number of spurious readings into the Text of their edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, and, among others, one ascribing a higher degree of honour to mount Gerizim, than to Hebal: for which Dr Kennicott, some years ago, considered it his duty to contend. See my Prolegomena to Mr Bagster's Polyglott Bible, Prolog, ii. sect. i. xxi. seq. where I have shewn that much relating to this controversy had not been duly understood.

83. <sup>1</sup> John x. 14-17.

84. <sup>2</sup> Matt. xv. 24.

85. <sup>3</sup> These Jews, according to our author, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. ii. xxxvi. cap. iv. p. 63. seq. constituted the *Remnant*, which it had frequently been foretold should be saved. And in this he was certainly right. Examine these places, and comp. Rom. xi. 5, &c.

86. <sup>4</sup> So also in our author's Eccles. Hist. Book, Lib. iv. cap. v.

87. <sup>1</sup> Ps. xxiii. 1.

88. <sup>2</sup> Ps. LXXX. 1.

89. <sup>3</sup> This is no direct citation of Scripture: it is perhaps, as on a former occasion, (above p. 18, note,) the general sense only of some one or two verses. The most likely appear to me to be Is. XL. 10, 11.

90. <sup>4</sup> John xii. 23, 24.

91. <sup>5</sup> These however were probably Hellenistic Jews; for we are told that "there were certain Greeks among them that came up *to worship at the feast*." They might, indeed, have been proselytes: but the former supposition is the most probable.

92. <sup>7</sup> Syr. [Syriac] lit. *words*, or *reasons*, of the seed. The reader will bear in mind, that [Syriac], has often been used, in this work, in the sense of *invigorating*, *efficient*, *cause*, and the like, as derived from Him who is termed THE WORD, [Syriac]. See Book i. sect. 76. above, with the note.

93. <sup>1</sup> Alluding perhaps to Luke xv. 32.

94. <sup>2</sup> Matt. ix. 37. Luke x. 2.

95. <sup>3</sup> 2 John iv. 35.

96. <sup>4</sup> Matt. iii. 12. Luke iii. 17.

97. <sup>5</sup> John xiii. 33.

98. <sup>6</sup> Ib. ver. 30.

99. <sup>7</sup> John xxi. 18, 19.

100. <sup>8</sup> Chap. x. 17.

101. <sup>9</sup> Chap. v. 11, 12.

102. <sup>1</sup> A paraphractical exposition of Matt. v. 12. Luke vi. 23.

103. <sup>3</sup> See above, Book ii. par. 19, p. 80. with the notes.

104. <sup>4</sup> Chap. x. 21. seq. This place, as in other instances, differs slightly from the Peschito. It is cited for the same purpose by Theodoret, Graec. affect, curat. p. 446. Ed. Gaisford. [...]

105. <sup>1</sup> This is a far-fetched, and unnecessary, interpretation. The intention of the passage seems to be,-- what indeed the commentators usually make it,--that, as there should be divisions in families, (Luke xii. 52, 53,) those who were opposed to our Lord, should betray and give up those who were His followers: a thing which in all probability took place.

106. <sup>2</sup> Chap. xiii. 47. seq.

107. <sup>3</sup> See above, par. 6.

108. <sup>4</sup> Chap. vii. 1.5, 16, 17, and as before, differing slightly from the Peschito.

109. <sup>6</sup> I. e. Heterodoxy.

110. <sup>1</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. Marcion himself was a native of Pontus, and lived in the times of Anicetus the eleventh Bishop of Rome. He enlarged upon the errors of Cerdon his immediate predecessor, who had espoused and laboured to propagate the opinions of Simon Magus. Marcion was an open blasphemer of God, and corrupter of the Scriptures. He was one of those *who forbade marriage*, and urged the *abstaining from certain meats*, and in this, he seems to have agreed with the Manicheans and Saturninians: in many things with the Simonians, Basilidians, Bogomilians, Audeans, &c. This heresy had, in the times of Epiphanius, extended itself to Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Cyprus, and Persia. See Grabe's Irenaeus, p. 104, with the notes and references.

111. <sup>2</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. So called after their leader Valentinus, who came to Rome in the times of Hyginus, and lived during those of Pius, and to those of Anicetus. His doctrines had originated in Simon Magus, which he very gradually and cautiously endeavoured to introduce into the Church. For which he was eventually deprived of communion. See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Index. It. Grabe.

112. <sup>3</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. So called after Basilides their leader. He was a native of Alexandria, and flourished in the times of Hadrian. He received his doctrines, which were those of Simon Magus, from Menander, in which *marriage was forbidden*, and *the abstaining from certain meats was urged*. See Grabe's Irenaeus, p. 96, with the notes and Index.

113. <sup>4</sup> He was a native of Mesopotamia, and flourished in the times of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. He first attached himself to Valentinus; but afterwards wrote against him and his doctrines. He is said to have been a very elegant and acute writer: but he never purged himself, as it should seem, from the Gnostic heresy. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxx. Asseman. Bible. Orient. Tom. i. p. 47, &c. as marked in the Index: particularly p. 389, note.

114. <sup>6</sup> Manes, (or, as the modern Persians name him, [Persian], *Mani*, the Syrians [Syriac] *Manni*,) was a Persian by birth, and, according to the Chronicon of Edessa (Asseman. Bibl. Orient. Tom. i. p. 393, note) was born A. D. 240. He entered Mesopotamia in A. D. 261, when he came to Archelaus Bishop of the Caschari, for the purpose of disputing on the subject of religion: but, being overcome, he secretly withdrew himself to Persia. He was there taken by the king, flayed alive, and exposed to dogs. He was strenuous in advancing the old oriental doctrine of the *two Principles, good, and bad*, among Christians; of which marked traces remain to this day among the Mohammedans of Persia, as may be seen in the celebrated work of Kuleini, under the figures of *Intellect* and *Folly*, (see my Persian



Controversies, p. 175, and note,) as also in the *Dabistan*, ascribed to Mohsin Fani. He held with the Gnostics, that Christ was a mere Phantom; he put it forth that himself was the Christ, and the Comforter (Paraclete): and his twelve Disciples accordingly proscribed marriage as being of the Devil, &c. See Theodoret, Haeret. Fab. i. xxvi. Tom. iv. with the Index. Epiphan. de Mens. et Pond. as cited by Asseman. A Syriac translation of the work of Titus, Bishop of Bozra, against this heresy, is to be found in the volume from which I take this work of Eusebius. All these, according to Hegesippus, as preserved by Eusebius (Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxii.) originated from Thebuthis, who, being mortified because not made a Bishop, set about secretly to corrupt the Church. He was of one of the seven sects then spread abroad among the Jews. Out of which also arose Simon, whence the Simonians: also Cleobius, Dositheus, Gortheus, Masbotheus; whence also Menander, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Basilides, &c. &c. Hence also the false Christs, false Apostles, false Prophets, &c. See the notes of Valesius, Ed. 1695, p. 69. seq.

115. <sup>6</sup> John x. 27.

116. <sup>7</sup> Matt. x. 16: comp. Luke x. 3. Cited also by Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 446.

117. <sup>8</sup> Syr. [Syriac], which, I think, should be read [Syriac]: the intention of our author evidently being, to give an equivalent to the "*amarum et maligni principis apostasies serpentis venenum*" of Irenaeus, Edit. Grabe. p. 105.

118. <sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 24, 25, 26. Differing slightly from the Peschito, as before. Cited partly by Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 447.

119. <sup>2</sup> Matt. ix. 84; xii. 34. Mark iii. 22. Nothing was more common, among both the Jews and heathens, than the accusation of Magic against the miraculous powers of Christ, and of His immediate followers. (See Wetstein on Matt. xii. 24.) "The Heathen," says Bingham,... "because our Saviour and his followers did many miracles, which they imputed to evil arts, and the power of magic,....therefore generally declaimed against them as magicians, and under that character exposed them to the fury of the vulgar," &c. From the prevalence of a belief in magic still in the East, the Mohammedans strongly object to the manner in which we speak of miracles; because, say they, it might still follow, that such miracles proceeded from skill in magic. See my Persian Controversies, Camb. 1824, sect. ii. p. 191. seq. and Book v. sect. 2. below.

120. <sup>3</sup> This place, which is obscure, seems to me to mean this: He bore long with the ignorance of His disciples, seeing as they did His divine power, and blamed their doubting as to the ultimate results of His Gospel. The chief difficulty in the Syriac is, the introduction of the interrogative [Syriac], *How ?* intended apparently to have the force of a strong negative.

121. <sup>4</sup> Matt. xix. 9. Differing from the Peschito as before.

122. <sup>1</sup> Syr. [Syriac] against which some pious monk has written in the margin [Syriac], *see and desire:* as if this were an essential of Christianity !

123. <sup>3</sup> It need not be supposed that our author mentions this, for the purpose of praising it: his object probably was to shew, that, as our Lord foretold this, its coming to pass-- a thing most unnatural and unheard of, -- was sufficient to shew His foreknowledge. In his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. vi. cap. viii.) he has mentioned this, as the daring act of an inexperienced young man, resulting from a simple and juvenile method of interpreting the passage referred to : which he says was, nevertheless, a proof of continence and of a strong faith ; and this is perhaps, a main part of his object here. See also Book v. sect. 14. below.

124. <sup>4</sup> Matt. xiii. 3-9.

125. <sup>1</sup> Heb. iv. 12. seq. Differing considerably from the Peschito, as before. The ancients, as it will be seen in Poole (Synopsis), generally referred this passage to Christ, just as Eusebius does here; and, it must be confessed, the matter contained in the 13th verse, powerfully supports this view. The exegetical sense however, comes to the same under either view: for, whether we take the *word of Christ*, with the moderns; or, the *Word, Christ*, with the ancients, the effects, here spoken of, must all be eventually referred to Him. I prefer the former view, as being the more obvious and simple.

126. <sup>2</sup> Matt. ix. 37.

127. <sup>3</sup> John iv. 35. Differing in each case from the Peschito, as before.

128. <sup>4</sup> Syr. [Syriac], lit. *other opinions*: which is probably put for the Greek *heterodoci/a*; it being customary with the Syrians so to translate Greek compounds. See above, Book ii. par. 19, note, and ib. 69.

129. <sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 24--31. Differing from the Peschito, as before. <sup>2</sup> Ib. 36-43.

130. <sup>3</sup> The Greek has here *ka&minon*, and the Peschito [Syriac], its literal translation: no MS. has *gee/nna*, whence it appears very likely, that Eusebius cited the passage from memory: a thing very common with the Fathers.

131. <sup>6</sup> Rather, one would think, from his being *born as a man*.

132. <sup>7</sup> See above, Book i. sectt. 27, 37, with the notes.

133. <sup>8</sup> It will be sufficient to remark here that, by the "*end of the world*," must be meant in this place,-- as in very many passages of Scripture,-- that period in which the old system passed away, and the new one-- the Christian Church was established. But of this, more in our Introduction to this work.

134. <sup>9</sup> Much to the same effect, Eccles. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxiii. near the end.

135. <sup>2</sup> Chap. xxiv. 3. seq.

136. <sup>3</sup> Ib. ver. 23-27.

137. <sup>4</sup> "*Behold, I have told you before*," of the authorized version is ambiguous. I have therefore avoided this.

138. <sup>5</sup> John v. 43.

139. <sup>7</sup> The place here alluded to is, most probably, 2 Thess. ii. 3. seq. The person who should withhold ([Greek], ver. 6.) was, most probably Nero. (See Wetstein on the place); and "*the man of sin*," generally, each of the several Roman Emperors who became persecutors of the Church. Such was the opinion, -- and no doubt the true one -- of many of the Fathers : which is grounded on Dan. vii. 8; ix. 27; and xi. 36. See also my Sermons and Dissertations, Lond. 1830, pp. 235, 237, note, and ib. p. 326. seq. with the Introduction to this work.

140. <sup>8</sup> He was, according to some, as ancient as the times of Sennacherib ; which appears to be quite visionary. Jerome places him before the times of our Lord, and makes him the author of the sect of the Pharisees. Origen however affirms, that he was contemporary with the Apostles, and that he declared himself to be the Christ. This, Origen probably grounded on a passage in the Recognitions ascribed to Clemens Romanus, which informs us, that upon the death of John the Baptist Dositheus set up his claim ; appointed thirty disciples, and took a woman whom he named *the moon* -- (considering the Sun

probably as his own representative). To this man Simon Magus attached himself, and obtained a place among the thirty, on the first vacancy that afterwards occurred ; and soon after he fell in love with this woman. Hegesippus too, makes Dositheus contemporary with the Apostles, as also does Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria. See the note of Valesius to the Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. And the note above, sect. 30. On the other hand, Theodoret makes Simon Magus the leader. Tom. iv. p. 193.

141. <sup>1</sup> Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19.

142. <sup>2</sup> Acts viii. 10.

143. <sup>3</sup> He commenced his career of heresy in a village of Mysia named Ardaba, situate on the borders of Phrygia. He took to him two women, named Priscilla and Maximilla; gave out that he was the Paraclete, and that his women were Prophetesses. His sect, which was the Cataphrygian, was large, and, at one time, reckoned Tertullian among its supporters. Among other things, the dissolution of marriages and new sorts of fastings were inculcated as necessary. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. v. capp. iii. xiv. xvi. xviii. and the notes of Valesius. See also Theodoret. Haeret. Fab. Lib. iii. cap. ii. Tom. iv. p. 227.

144. <sup>4</sup> As these citations were probably all made from memory, the reader must not be surprised in finding that they occasionally differ, even in the same context.--These passages would, one would think, be sufficient to satisfy those who are so intent on the personal reign of Christ on earth, that their notions are perfectly groundless. For, if He is not to be seen either *here, there*; either, in *the desert*, or in the *secret chamber*, as the false Christs were; but, whose coming was rather to be as the lightning in rapidity and effect,--as indeed was the case in the overthrow of the Jews, the spread of Christianity, and the fall of the Roman Empire; and as particularly foretold in Dan. vii. 13,14: comp. Matt. xxiv. 24, 30; xxvi. 64. Ephes. i. 22. Col. i. 23, also Zech. ix. 14, with the preceding context from ver. 9;--then must all speculations about a personal reign on earth be visionary and false. Our author however, seems to understand this, as referring to our Lord's coming to judgment at the last day. If so, I have no doubt he is wrong.

145. <sup>5</sup> Chap. xxiv. 6-9. ib. ver. 10-14.

146. <sup>7</sup> Cited by Origen (contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 68.), with this remark: [Greek] "Quis item non mirabitur, ascendens contemplatione ad illud vaticinium.....cum vidcat juxta illam pradictionem jam praedicatum in omnibus, quae sub coelo sunt, terris Graecorum barbarorumque tum sapientibus, tum insipientibus ? Omnem enim humanam naturam vicit sermo praedicatus cum potentia, nec est videre ullum genus hominum, a quo haec doctrina recepta non sit."

147. <sup>1</sup> This argument is urged by Origen (contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 68. Edit. Spencer). From this reasoning of Eusebius, it is evident that he believed that *the End* had come. And in this there can be no doubt, I think, he was right; but as this involves a question very ill understood at this day, it may be right to offer a few words here, as to what is meant by the *End*. This, I think, Daniel (ix. 27.) terms the "*consummation*:" (comp. ver. 26 and vii. 26, 28,) that is, the *End* of his seventy weeks, (ib. ver. 24. seq.) when "*vision and prophecy*" should be sealed: i.e. completed. In chap. viii. 19, it is said, "at the time appointed the *End* shall be." Again, ib. chap. 27, 28. The *End* of the matter is said to be, when the kingdom under the whole heaven shall have been given to the Saints (i.e.) the Christians: in other words, when the Kings of the earth shall have become its nursing fathers, and Queens its nursing mothers, (Is. xlix. 23.) Again, Dan. xii. 7. When the power of the holy people shall have been scattered, "*all these things shall be finished*:" i.e. when the power of the new Church shall be spread abroad far and wide, then shall the *End* of all these things be. (Comp. Is. lxii. 12, &c. Dan. viii. 24.) In Rev. x. 6, 7, which is an exact parallel of Dan. xii. 7, it is sworn by the angel, that *time shall be no longer*, and

that the mystery of God, as declared by *the Prophets, shall be finished*. Now, our Lord has identified his predictions (Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi.) with these of Daniel. In the former (ver. 14.) He says: " *then shall the END come. When ye therefore shall see the abomination... spoken of by Daniel the prophet*" (ix. 27; xii. 11.)..." *then shall be great tribulation*" (ver. 21. comp. Dan. ix. 26; xii. 1.) ', ver. 34, "*This generation shall not pass till all these things be,*" i. e. commenced (comp. ver. 8.). In the latter (Luke xxi. ver. 22.) " *These be the days of vengeance, that ALL THINGS which are written MAY BE FULFILLED*" (i. e. in them). That the terms, *latter days, last days, end of the world, ends of the world, the fulness of time*, refer to the times of the Apostles, and those immediately subsequent to these, the Concordance, with the parallels marked in our common Bibles, will be sufficient to shew.--But the kingdom of the saints is never to end (i. e. as far as pre-diction is concerned); it can therefore, have no *last days, latter days*, or the like. When any such terms are referred to the last judgment, the language is doctrinal, not prophetic. I conclude, therefore, that this *End* did come, when the persecution of Diocletian ceased: for then all the conditions of prophecy had been fulfilled. Eusebius is therefore right. See also my Sermons and Dissertations, London, 1831, and the Introduction to this work.

148. <sup>2</sup> He proved in sect. 28, above, that this had taken place, as he affirms in other places, that the Gospel had been received *throughout the whole world*. And so says the Apostle, "*Yes, verily their sound went out into ALL THE EARTH, and their words unto the END OF THE WORLD.*" Rom. x. 18; and ib. xvi. 26.--" *made known to ALL NATIONS FOR THE OBEDIENCE OF FAITH.*" And again, Col. i. 23.... "*The Gospel, which was preached to EVERY CREATURE WHICH is UNDER HEAVEN.*" To the same effect is the testimony of the Fathers generally. See the "*Salutaris Lux Evangelica*" of Fabricius: and the Introduction to this work.

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**THE FIFTH BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA.**

1. SUCH as these (then), are the proofs of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all, Jesus the Christ, which have been thus far visible to the eyes, shewing forth at once the Divine words and deeds. For in ancient times, the words, of which we have already spoken, as to things which should come to pass, were simply heard ; those (I say) which He prophesied to His disciples when He was near, (and) in their presence. But now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly viewed in fact, with powers eclipsing that of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded of these things, we ought not to wonder: because man is accustomed so to resist the clearest things (possible,) as to dare to oppose in his assertions even the existence of an universal Providence, and thus also even to deny God Himself! And thus disingenuously, will he also contend against many other things, to which the truth (itself) bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in (its own) nature true; so also will the wickedness of the unbelief of men, injure in no respect the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. Let us not deign therefore, even in word to attach ourselves to these. For those, whom the works of God will not persuade, the word of man will be (too) abject to move. Nevertheless, let us again take up the more vigorously, those things against such, which we formerly investigated by questions<sup>1</sup>, in proof of the Gospels. If therefore ally one should, after all this, impugn the truth and dare disingenuously to affirm, that the Christ of God was not (such) as we believe He was, but was a magician, seducer, and [\[286\]](#) impostor; we would present to him, as an infant in mind, those things which we also formerly investigated:--

*Against those who suppose that the Christ of God was a magician and deceiver.*

2. <sup>2</sup> Let us now ask then, Whether there ever was a man heard of at any period, who (as) a magician and deceiver, was (also) a teacher of humility, meekness, purity, and of every other virtue? And, Whether it is just to call by these names, Him who would not allow, that (men) should even look upon women with evil desire? And, Whether he could be a magician, who delivered the chief philosophy by teaching His disciples, that the indigent should of their wealth<sup>3</sup> adhere to Him, and that compassion and liberality should abound with them? And, Whether He could be a magician, who forbade the assembling together of ferocious and tumultuous inhabitants, and taught them to love the retirement only, which devotes itself to the word of God ? How could He,--who deterred from every species of falsehood, and commanded that men should so honour truth above all things, that they should not stand in need of a true oath, much less of a false one,--be justly named a magician? But, What need can there be, that I should now say many [\[287\]](#) things (on this point,) since we may readily inform ourselves from His own words,--which have, even to this day, been preached throughout the whole earth,--what the sort of conduct was, which was disseminated by Him in the world ? Every one who loves the truth will confess of Him, not only that He was neither magician nor deceiver, but was THE WORD OF GOD in truth, and the teacher of the divine philosophy and righteousness; and not of this common philosophy of the world ;--

3. But the things pertaining to His form of doctrine were such as these.--Come then, let us enquire whether this His error, consisted in (any of) the many things of His teaching. Observe then, <sup>4</sup> Was it not God, the King of all, Him alone, of whom it is written that He is the cause of every good thing, that He taught and presented to His disciples ? And, Do not the words of His doctrine to this very time, raise the mind of every Greek and Barbarian in existence, to the God who is supreme, to Him (I say) who is the maker of the heavens and of the earth, and of the whole world; making (them) overleap all visible nature, and every thing fabricated ? Was this then His error ? or, Was it, that He did not allow those to

worship many gods,--to whom it had been made clear, from this worship of God only, that He could not be convicted of falsehood:--(and) who had fallen after their Head, on account of this real error? But this was not new, nor was it His word (only), but that of those Hebrews, friends of God, who arose in ancient times. And from them it was, that these recent (true) philosophers were aided in these great (performances), and gave in to their doctrines: the wise men of Greece too, glorying in the divinations of their [288](#) deities, have put it thus on record of the Hebrews, that "*wisdom came to the Chaldeans alone, and the Hebrews purely worshipped the Essence of the person of God, the King of all*<sup>5</sup>."

4. If then those ancient friends of God,--those to whom (these) divinations have more particularly home testimony,--did raise the act of worship (directing it) to the God who is over all; How should we confess of Him, that He was a deceiver, and not a most wonderful teacher, who has extended this worship of God--as to the things which were known only in former times to these descendants of the Heads of the Hebrew fathers,--to all mankind ! And this to such a degree, that no more, as in those times, a few, and those easy to be numbered, hold the orthodox faith respecting God; but thousands of congregations of barbarians at once, and of those who in ancient times were perfectly savage, also of the wise, and men of Greece,--of those (I say) who now, like the prophets and just men of old, have been taught in the worship of God, solely by means of His power, and of His instruction !

5. But, let us also investigate this third (consideration). Was it then for this, that they called Him a deceiver (viz.), because He taught, that men should no more honour God with the slaughter of bulls, or with the sacrifices of irrational animals ? Neither with blood and fire, nor with [289](#) incense, which are of the earth, because these things are of small value and earthly ; and shewed that they never could comport with the nature which is immortal and incorporeal?-- determined also that to keep the commandments of God, and by their means to purify both the soul and body, was more acceptable and becoming to God, than any sort of sacrifice ?--inculcated too that men should be careful to become like God, both in enlightenment of mind, and in the knowledge of his worship ? And, should any one of the Greeks find fault with these things, let him know that it is not to be imagined, that the things (so) received are against (even) those of His own teachers, who have put much together on this (matter,) viz.; That (men) should not suppose they honoured God by means of blood and the sacrifices of irrational animals, or by those of fire, smoke, and the fumes of fat<sup>6</sup>.

6. We know too that we are, after these things, taught by Him that the world was made; and that these Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, are the work of God; and that it is not right we should worship these, and not Him who is the Maker and Creator of them all. It may be well therefore for us to see, how He could have deceived men, from whom we have learned to think that this system (of things) is nothing new, but is that of the Hebrews, the ancient friends of God. Even this sentiment was also from these famous philosophers;--they delivered these same (particulars), affirming that these heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the whole world, were also made by Him, who is the Creator of all things. He also taught us to believe, that the soul which we possess is immortal, and that it is in no respect like the animals that are irrational, but that (the faculties) within it resemble the powers of God. He likewise taught, that all those who were barbarian and ignorant, should (at once) make this their own, and be, and know. And, How was it, that we were not made wise by those sages among the Egyptians, [290](#) or by those Greeks who made broad their foreheads<sup>7</sup>; those who said that the soul which was in man, was in no respect better in its essence than were gnats, fleas, worms, or reptiles; nor even, than the soul of the serpent, the viper, the bear, or the panther? and that swine, as to their soul, differed in no respect, (from men) ?--

7. And, that after these things, He perseveringly admonished (men) of the judgment of God, and of the punishments and vengeance,--things from which we cannot be exempt,--which are recorded against the wicked; also, of the promises of eternal life, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the life of happiness with



God, respecting the just. Whom then did He deceive ? Did He not rather stimulate (men) to hasten on to virtue, because of the victories reserved for the righteous ? and, to flee from, and repel from them, every vice, because of the punishments to be inflicted on the wicked ? Such then, being the instructions contained in the doctrinal ordinances of our Saviour; What room does there remain for imagining, that we should suppose Him to have been a Deceiver and Magician ?--But, let us also investigate these things.--

**8.** When a magician associates his companions with the things of this vice, Like to what men does he make [\[291\]](#) them ? Is it not to magicians, deceivers, and fabricators of magical drugs,--in all respects like himself ? Was there ever, then, a man found among the whole Christian race, who fabricated magical rites or drugs, from the doctrine of our Saviour ? There is no (such thing) existing for any man to say; but, the contrary to this, that they have been seen passing over to the precepts of the philosophy which is Divine. How then, can He be justly styled other, in truth, than the Teacher of the life which worships God, the common Saviour of all,--who became throughout the whole habitable world, and to all nations, the (sole) cause of purity and of holiness of life, and of the knowledge (inculcating) the worship of the Creator of all things ?

**9.** Those too, who adhered to Him from the first, as well as those who afterwards received the traditionary account of the manner of their conversation, were, as to all these matters, so far removed from suspicion of evil and bitterness, that they did not even allow the sick to do many things which the many dared to do; either, that they should write (charms) upon tablets, or make use of amulets; or, that they should in their minds have respect to those who promised to use enchantments; or, that they should prescribe for the persons (of the sick), as cures for complaints, either the fumes of roots, or of apples, or of any other similar things. All these things were therefore, excluded from the doctrine of our Saviour: nor was there ever a Christian to be found who used amulets, or [\[292\]](#) enchantments, or the means of written tablets, or, indeed, any other forms allied to these; the indiscriminate use of which was in repute among the many. What then can be said against the men who had been instructed in these things, so as to cast the imputation on them, of their having been the disciples of a master who was a magician ? when, behold, the association of any one among the disciples, who promised any (new) doctrine, was severely reprehended! Those men therefore both of art and science, to whom He was the cause of their (christian) instruction, fully confessed of Him, that He was much their superior (in these respects). For, even as physicians are witnesses of the goodness of the doctrine of their master ; so, of geometricians, Who has assigned any other instructing heads, except geometricians ? and of arithmeticians, except arithmeticians ? And in like manner, of the magician, the best witnesses as to these things have been His disciples, who have (always) fully resembled their Master, and have done (as he did). But no man has ever been found, during all these years, a magician and (at the same time a) Disciple of our Saviour; when, behold, kings and governours have, during the whole of these times, made the most careful inquiries into (these) things by means of the worst of torments !

**10.** And thus indeed, neither was there (ever) any magician His Disciple, so as to be left free and exempt from every (sort) of condemnation; being only reduced by them (the persecuting emperors) to sacrifice<sup>8</sup>.

**11.** But, that our discourse may not wander from Scripture, take the proof of these things even from the writings of those primitive acquaintances and Disciples of our Saviour, (as found) in the book of their own "Acts." They so wrought upon those of the Gentiles who received their doctrine, that many of these,--who formerly accused them of magic,--so entirely changed their conduct, that they boldly brought forward the abominable books which they had formerly kept secret, to them into the midst of the [\[293\]](#) assemblies, and threw them into the fire in the presence of all. Hear then the statement of these things, which runs thus:--

12. *"The<sup>9</sup> greater part then of those who practised magic brought in their books, and burnt them in the presence of all men; and they reckoned their price, and it was found, that they were worth fifty thousand" (pieces of silver).*

13. Such<sup>10</sup> therefore were the Disciples of our Saviour, and such was the entire power of the word, which they put forth in their discourses with (their) hearers, that it became fixed in the depths of their souls;--were so struck and inclined, that every one took up the resolution no more to suffer those things to remain hidden, by which the many had formerly been implicated in error, but that these secret things should be brought out into the light, and that they should become witnesses against themselves, of their own former wickedness. Such also were those who became their Disciples, so pure, noble in soul, and abundant in love, that they allowed nothing impure to remain concealed within them, but, on the contrary, they gloried and exulted in their change from vice to virtue. Since<sup>11</sup> therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour were seen to be such, Must not their Master have first been much more excellent? But, if you wish to know from those who are Disciples, of what sort their Master was, you have tens of thousands of the Disciples of the precepts of our Saviour even to this time; of whom there are multitudes of congregations of men, who have armed themselves against the lusts of the nature of the body, and have accustomed themselves to preserve their minds uninjured by any of the evil passions : those (I say), who have passed their whole lives, (and) grown old in purity ; and have put forth, from the provisions of His word, the most brilliant examples (to others).

14. Nor<sup>12</sup> was it that men only were in this manner (attached) to Him, and became Philosophers; but also [294](#) tens of thousands of women throughout the whole creation; those (I say), who like Priestesses of the supreme God, attached themselves to the most exalted service, and applied themselves to the love of the wisdom which is heavenly. On the generation of the body they cast contempt, giving all care to their soul, keeping themselves in purity from every thing sordid and unclean, and extending their desires to all holiness and to virginity<sup>13</sup>. The Greeks, indeed, sing of one shepherd who left his place for the sake of philosophy, and him they hawk about here and there. This was Democritus<sup>14</sup>. They also express their astonishment at one Crates<sup>15</sup>, who gave his possessions to his citizens. He then [295](#) took with him himself alone, and boasted in the provisions of liberty. But these counterparts of the word of our Saviour, are tens of thousands in number; nor was it one, or two (only), who sold their possessions and distributed them to the poor and needy: indeed we ourselves are witnesses, that these were even such among men ; and, in the effects themselves, we have seen the righteousness of the doctrine of our Saviour. And, What need can there be that we should say, how many myriads even of the barbarians themselves, and not (of these) only, but also of the Greeks, have, by the doctrine of the words of our Saviour, been raised above every error of a plurality of gods, and have recognized and confessed the one only God, the Father and Creator of this whole world? Him (I say), whom one Plato formerly knew, but confessed that he durst not speak of Him before all men; because such power as all this of God's worship was not with him: but to these the Disciples of our Saviour it was, through the help of their Lord, easy to acknowledge Him, and to find Him (at hand as) the Father and Creator of all. To every race of men did they reveal Him, and so preached the knowledge of Him to all, throughout the whole creation, that, from their teaching, there are even to this time, among all nations, tens of thousands of congregations, not only of men, but also of women, children, slaves, and villagers! All this (then accrued to them) from this philosopher, so that [296](#) they were not wanting, not only to make Him known (as) the Maker and Creator of this whole world, but they also became his ambassadors in every place. Such were the victories of the common Saviour of all; these, the deceptions of Him who was thought to be a Deceiver<sup>16</sup>! While, behold, such alone were His Disciples and acquaintances; from whom it was (but) right, we should learn of what sort their Master was.

15. Come<sup>17</sup> then, let us again try the matter thus,-- You say of Him that He was a magician; and not

(only so,) but, that He was a maker of magicians. You style Him cunning, and a deceiver. How then was it, that He was the first, and the only one, who has arisen capable of this matter? Or, Is it (not) right we should, according to custom, ascribe the cause to the Teachers ? If then He was the first and only one capable of this;--no one having taught Him, and He having never learned any thing from others, nor yet derived it from the ancients;-- How is it not then incumbent on us to confess of Him, that His nature was Divine? He (I say), who without book, without precepts, and without teachers, (so) learned of Himself, and was seen to know from Himself, the Maker of all these things? when, observe, it is impossible for any one to acquire a knowledge of the art of the goldsmith, of logic, or of the primitive elements (of the world), without some one to instruct and teach him. But, if He was out of nature;--and no one ever, (so) taught of himself, came out a teacher of grammar, or of rhetoric; not having previously been taught; nor, has there been a physician, or builder, or practitioner of any other art: these things being but small, and belonging to men; but this, one might say, is of the Teacher of the whole habitable world; (viz.) that He performed the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, (and) [297](#) whose Disciples (taught) by Himself were such; having received nothing from the ancients, neither having had any help from those moderns who performed things not unlike what others had done, who had preceded Him;--What other thing can we testify or confess, but that the matter is in truth Divine, and such as exceeds all human nature<sup>18</sup>?

16. But. you say of Him that He had deceiving teachers, and that neither the sciences of the Egyptians, nor those mysteries which were formerly preached among them, escaped Him: that from these He collected together (His doctrines), and that He seems to have been a man of this description<sup>19</sup>.--If then others, His superiors, appeared before Him, and were His teachers, whether in Egypt or elsewhere<sup>20</sup>; Why did not the fame of these also run forth, prior to His name among all men, just as His has done? and, Why is not the praise of them also proclaimed, even to this time, just as His has been ? and, Who is the magician, of those who arose at any time, Barbarian or Greek, who was the teacher of such disciples; the originator of all such laws and precepts as these are; and has shewed forth the power of (this) the common Saviour of all ? and, of Whom has it ever been written, that He did such cures as those which have been recorded of our Saviour?--The knowledge too of something to come to pass, with all those [298](#) predictions ? those too, which like these, have by their means been laid down as principles, What other has, either before, or after Him, been memorialized as having delivered ? and, Who is it that has promised that he would effect those things, throughout the whole habitable world, which he had (so) predicted, and has, in fact, so confirmed His words, that, even to these our times, the fulfilment of His predictions is visible to our own eyes ? And, Whose disciples and eye-witnesses of the things themselves (here had in view), have ever so sealed the truth regarding those which they attested of their Lord, by the trial of both fire and sword, as these Disciples of our Saviour have done ?--who (indeed) bore the reproach of all men, for the sake of the things which they had seen and witnessed of Him, and submitted to every species of torment; while the end of their testimony respecting Him was, as that of the Son of God ! How much less would magicians seal with their blood their testimonies? And, Which of the magicians, even if it ever came into his mind to set up a new people in his own name, did not only think of doing this, but also gave effect to his project ? How would not this eclipse all human nature, that he should also frame laws opposed to the error of a plurality of Gods, and adverse to the ordinances of Kings, Legislators, Philosophers, Poets, and Theologians? and, that he should send these forth and shew, through the period of a long life, that they were (at once) triumphant and faultless?

17. Which<sup>21</sup> of the magicians is it, who ever projected that which our Saviour did ? But, if one did so project; still he dared not to advance this. But, if one so dared; still he brought not the matter to effect. He (the Saviour) said in one word and enouncement to His Disciples, "*Go and make disciples of all nations in my name, and teach ye them every thing that I have commanded you*"<sup>22</sup>. And the deed He

made to follow the word. For thence, every race of the Greeks and Barbarians became at once, and in a short space of time, (His) Disciples: The laws too of our [\[299\]](#) Saviour were not written in any Book of His; but, without book<sup>23</sup>, were disseminated at His command among all nations; (and) these were opposed to the ancient worship of a plurality of Gods:--laws at enmity with the Demons, and unfriendly to every error of a multitude of Deities :--laws purifying the Scythians, the Persians, and other Barbarians, and converting (them) from every savage, and lawless sort of life:--laws subversive of the customs, which had obtained from ancient times among the Greeks, and teaching the new and genuine worship of God. How then have they dared so (to advance) such things as these, that one should say of Him, that He was probably aided (in) this magic by others,--the ancient magicians,--who were before His times<sup>24</sup>? But, if there was no other person, whom any one could say resembled Him ; neither was there consequently, who could have been the cause of His possessing all this superiority.--It is now time therefore that we should confess, that an extraordinary and Divine Nature came into the world, which first and alone performed the things which had never before been commemorated among men.

**18.** Let us again ask, after these things, Whether any one ever saw with his eyes, or learned by hearing, that there were magicians such as He was, and composers of [\[300\]](#) (magical) drugs, who, without libations, sacrifices, and invocations of Demons, performed the rites of magic ? When, behold, it is well known and clear to every one, that the whole process of magic is usually effected by these things. For, How can any one bring an accusation of this sort either against our Saviour, or against his Disciples, or against those who are, even to these times led by His doctrine ? Is there a man who can bring such an accusation as this against them? Is it not evident, even to the blind, that we are prepared for every thing the reverse of these things ? And that we dare to surrender up ourselves to death in an instant ? but that we will not sacrifice to Demons :--that we instantly submit to be put out of life; but do not submit to be subjected to Demons! And, Who is he who knows not how delightful it is to us, that, through the name of our Saviour, (coupled) with prayers that are pure, we cast out every kind of Demon ? And thus the word of our Saviour, and the doctrine which is from Him, have made us all to be greatly superior to the power which is invisible, and impervious to inquiry; and, (such) that we are ready to be enemies and haters of the Demons, but not that we should be friends, or followers, of (their) customs; much less be subjected and obedient (to them). How then could He have been a slave to the Demons, who delivered such things as these, to those who were devoted to Himself? And, How could He have sacrificed to evil spirits? Or, How could He have called upon the Demons (as His) assistants and helpers, when all the Demons and impure spirits have been agitated, as by some torment or punishment even to this very time, at the mention of His name ? (and) have departed and fled before His power, as it was the case in former times, when He conversed with men, when they could not bear to see Him ; (one and) another, crying out from another place, and saying, "*What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God ? Art thou come to torment us before the time?*" [\[301\]](#)

**19.** Now, Is not the man whose mind is intent on magic only,--and is wholly addicted to things (thus) base,-- in his character openly odious, vile, corrupt, iniquitous, ungodly, and impious ? And being such, Whence, and How, can he teach others, either the things which pertain to the worship of God, or which respect purity ? or, which concern the knowledge of God ? or, which are on the immortality of the soul ? or, which inculcate righteousness, and the judgment of God who is over all? Would he not be an ambassador of the things which are opposed to all these? persevering in those that attend on hatred, and the denial of God ? and rooting up as fabulous the (doctrine of a) general providence of God ? and laughing at the words which treat of virtue, and (affirm) of the soul that it is immortal ? If indeed, such things as these had been witnessed (of Him), then would there have been nothing, even respecting this our (Teacher), which we could have said to the contrary<sup>25</sup>. But, if in all His words and His deeds, He was seen to call upon God who is over all, and King of all; and prepared his Disciples to be such; and, if He was Himself temperate, and a Teacher of temperance ; if too, He was a doer and a preacher of

righteousness, of truth, of mercy, and of every virtue; and, if He shewed forth the worship of God, the King of all; How does it indeed not follow upon these things that we should think of Him, that not one of those wonderful acts which He did was done by magic ? and confess that it was, in truth, by the unseen power of God<sup>26</sup> ?

20. These things then, are directed (against) those who dare, with ungodly mouths, to blaspheme against Him. But if they change and confess of Him, that He was a teacher of purity and sobriety of life, and a bringer in of the doctrine of the (true) worship of God; still, that He was no doer of those wonderful, powerful, and miraculous works which are recorded of Him, or of those divine deeds which are superior to man; and, that His Disciples [302](#) have fabricated these same; it is now time that we should also meet this accusation.

*Against those who do not believe the testimony of the Disciples of our Saviour, respecting His miraculous deeds.*

21. If <sup>27</sup> then (these) should say of Him, that He wrought no complete miracle, nor yet any of those wonderful works of which His disciples bore testimony, but that His disciples have otherwise falsely stated them, and have lied for the purpose of putting forth miraculous relations about Him ; let us see whether the word of these is to be taken as satisfactory: there being no (earthly) cause that they can assign, why they the Disciples, and He their master, went forth into the world. For He who teaches, gives a promise of some doctrine: and they again, the Disciples, love both the precepts and doctrines, as if (conveying) some (valuable) art<sup>28</sup>, and give themselves up (accordingly) to the Teacher. What ground therefore, can there be for any one to speak against the disciples of our Saviour, on account of their conversation with Him ? And, What could have pressed them to this care respecting Him, and that they should have recorded Him (as) the teacher of such doctrines to themselves ? Or, Is (not) this clear ? For the things which they learned of Him, they also declared fully to others: and these were the appointments of this His philosophy. They<sup>29</sup> were too, the first ambassadors of God [303](#) who is over all, of the providence of God, of the righteous judgment (of God,) of the soul's being immortal, of the distinction between the life of the good and the bad, and of other things of this kind, which are written in their Scripture. It was also a precept pertaining to the life of this philosophy, which He laid down for them when He said, "*Possess ye neither gold nor silver in your purses, neither scrip for the way*<sup>30</sup>,"? with other similar things: but (His great precept was), that they should give up their souls, only to the providential care of the Governour of all, and not be anxious on account of want. And He so instructed them, that they should consider (His precepts) much better than those which Moses delivered to the Jews. For he laid down a law for them, --as for men to whom murder would be easy,--that they should not kill. And in like manner, that they should not commit adultery, as to men dissolute and adulterous. And again, that they should not steal, as to men to whom slavery would be suitable; and, that they should not injure, as to men who were fraudulent<sup>31</sup>. But of these, He knew that it was desirable they should stand in need of no such laws; but that this should above all things be precious in their sight, (viz.) that their soul should be subject to no (evil) passion; and that they should root up and expel from the bottom of their heart, as from its root, the germ of (every) vice; (and,) that they should be superior to wrath, and every base desire: that is to say, that they should not even be angry, because of the superiority of their soul, as being free from passion ; that they should not look upon a woman with evil desire; that they should so labour against theft, that they should give of their own to them that needed; and further, that they should not glory in this, that they injured none, [304](#) but (rather) in this, that those who wished to injure them, they bore with without anger<sup>32</sup>. But, What need is there that I should collect together all the things which He, and they, taught ? He also counselled them,--together, with all these things,--that they should be so confirmed in the truth, as not to be under the necessity of giving even a true oath, much less a false one: but that they should so form their character, that in it, apart



from every sort of oath, they should appear as true, and should proceed no farther than "yea<sup>33</sup>" (yea), and should in their conversation truly apply this.

22. We<sup>34</sup> may ask therefore, whether there is any thing--whatever it might be--against those who were the hearers of these things, and who forthwith arose as teachers of them to other Disciples, (out) of which we may suppose they fabricated all the things, which they attested their Master had done. And, What is there in this leading us to suppose, that they all thoroughly lied ? They were, in number, the Twelve who had been chosen, and the remaining Seventy of whom it is said, that He sent them before Him, two and two, into every place and part to which He was about to go. But, there is not so much as a word that can be said of this whole company, (shewing) that they belied Him :--of men, who loved the life that was pure, and the worship of the (true) God ; who cared but little for all the children of their own families; and who instead of their friends, their wives I say, their children and all belonging to them, took to the life which had no possessions; and fully gave their testimony to their Lord, as from one mouth, among all mankind.

23. This<sup>35</sup> is therefore, the leading, primary, and true reason. Let us then, also investigate that which is opposed (to it). Let Him therefore be (considered) the Teacher, and them the Disciples ; and so, as it were in a relation of [\[305\]](#) hypothesis that He taught none of the things already mentioned, but those opposed to them (viz.); that they should forthwith be transgressors of the Law; should act impiously, iniquitously, fraudulently, and falsely; should swear falsely, and do (many) hateful things, and if there be any other vice that can be named. Now, all these things are wholly foreign to the doctrines of our Saviour; they are opposed (to them,) and would be the (offspring) of arrogance and impudence. Nor, are they only opposed to His words and doctrines, but also to the mode of life which has hitherto been delivered to all nations; that which is practised in all His Churches. But, even if the matter be (wholly) false, then cannot its like be advanced; (viz.) that we should have been a race so negligent, as not even to have examined the things now before us!--Let Him then be (supposed to have been) the Teacher of every vice, and iniquity; and that the chief care was, that they should after all these things remain concealed. And such custom is most wisely concealed under the form of a doctrine which is pure, and putting forth a new (mode) of worship. These then, were led by such things, and by others still worse. For vice previously ensnares, and it constitutes the teaching of itself. They would (then,) exalt their Master to a state of greatness by lying words, and spare not even one expression of falsehood; and falsely ascribe to Him every sort of miracle and wonderful work, that (men) might [\[306\]](#) wonder at them and felicitate them, that they were dignified by being the Disciples of such a Master.

24. Come then, let us now see,--if they really were such, --whether it was possible that could have been established, which they endeavoured to do for Him. For they say, that "*Evil is friendly to evil, but not to good*<sup>36</sup>." Whence then, is this agreement in vice to be discovered in the multitudes of all these men ? And, Whence this testimony respecting them (viz.), that the object of them all was in unison ? And, Whence this doctrine about the Divine appointments, and the teaching of the (true) Philosophy ? Whence also, the mind (intent) on the life of virtue ? And, Whence the doctrine (inculcating) flight from every vice ? Whence also, the knowledge and recording of precepts such as these ? And, Whence the glory of the conduct and conversation which was delivered by them, throughout the whole creation of man ? Whence too, all this power ? Whence this courage ? Whence this confidence ? Whence this resignation even to death?--But, Who would at the first, even in opinion, have had respect to the man who taught vice and bitterness,--as it is (here) said of Him,-- and who promised such things ? They would surely say (such were the deeds) of a Magician. But, the Disciples of this Leader were in nothing vicious. And, Must not they have understood these things at the end of their Master ? and, by what sort of Death he was affected ? Why then, after such an end of shame, did they continue in these things ? and affirm of Him who was then among the dead, that He was God, unless they thought it a thing of no moment, that they themselves should suffer similar things ? Now, Who is it that has voluntarily and



openly ever chosen punishment for the sake of nothing profitable ? For, had they been desirous of possessions, so would they also of [\[307\]](#) profit: and, if they had been abominable in character, they would have been lustful. We may then think of them perhaps, that they had thus dealt with the matter for the sake of these things, and intrepidly exposed<sup>37</sup> themselves even to death ! But, if they preached what was adverse to these, and fully proclaimed (it) in the hearing of all the congregations (of Christians); and also, immediately instructed (men) in the doctrine of the Scriptures, (viz.) that they should flee from every vicious and base desire; should avoid every thing fraudulent; should overcome every sort of lust, and the love of money; and that they did moreover, so teach those who became their disciples; it will be likely that they carried on no merchandize, collected no wealth, and took no part in a life either of ease, or of pleasure. Since therefore, they were led by none of these things; How could they have been induced to suffer, for no object, the worst of punishments and of vengeance, for the testimony given of their Master, which, again, had no foundation in fact? [\[308\]](#)

**25.** But let it be granted, that they honoured Him while He was yet with them, and had His conversation among them, and led them astray by deception, as it has been affirmed; How<sup>38</sup> was it then, that even after His death, and then much more strenuously than before, they went on calling Him God ? Because, while He was yet among men, it is said that they even forsook and denied Him, at the time when His deceivers were ready (to take Him); but, after His departure from among men, they joyfully chose death, rather than relinquish the good testimony they had given respecting Him ! Those (Disciples) therefore, who formerly knew no good thing of their Master, neither the life, deed, doctrine, nor work, that was worthy of praise; and, who had received no advantage from Him, except indeed vice, and the leading astray of men; How was it, that they so easily gave themselves up to death, not, because they were in any respect guilty, but because they had attested things so glorious and praise-worthy of Him; when behold, it was in the power of every one of them to live in safety, and to lead a life of comfort at home with his friends<sup>39</sup>? But, How could men, who were themselves deceived and deceiving, submit willingly to death for another, who, as they knew with certainty, (and) better than all others, had not been in any one thing the cause of good to them, but--as men say,--the Teacher of every evil ? A man endued with mind and virtue, may indeed for some noble conquest, or for some excellent person, occasionally with propriety, and even with glory, submit to death. But he, who is so base in character as to have been in pursuit only of the things of a temporal life, and the enjoyment of lusts, has never chosen death rather than life; nor has suffered severe punishment for the sake of his friends, much less for one convicted of vice. How then, could the Disciples of the (Person) mentioned,--who could not have been ignorant that He was a deceiver and magician, if He really had been such, and even retaining in [\[309\]](#) themselves every vice that was hateful,--have willingly undergone every species of torment and of punishment from their countrymen, on account of the testimony they had given of Him ? But this is by no means, the disposition of the vicious. For<sup>40</sup> I myself have seen many, who have faithfully kept society and oath with the living; but who, as soon as these died, dissolved every compact of this sort entered into between them. And we all know accurately how the Sophists,--brought together in the cities (generally), and in glorious repute for their erudition and display of words,--load with praises the governors, and those vested with great power and rule, just so long as they retain this; but, as soon as any change (in this respect) happens to them, these also change their words; and no more will they willingly memorialize those whom they formerly did, purely from the fear of those (now) in power.

**26.** If<sup>41</sup> then, these Disciples of our Saviour were deceived and deceiving, I would add this also: They were unlearned, and altogether illiterate; that is, they were even barbarians, and understood no language except the Syriac. How then did they, after the departure of their Lord from among men, go forth into the whole creation, and give their testimony to His Godhead ? And, by What sort of advice were they prevailed on to attempt this ? By What power too, did they effect that which they undertook? It might have happened indeed, that some rustics at their own homes would be perverted and led astray.

But, that they (the Disciples) should be sent forth into foreign countries, and should not relinquish their object through remissness, but should preach the name of our Saviour to every man<sup>42</sup>, together with His deeds of wonder; and not this only, but should also teach His commandments both in the villages and cities;--some of them to the Roman power (itself), and (so) apportion to themselves this city of the empire: others also, to the Persians; others, to those among the Armenians; others, to the nation of the Parthians; and again, to that also of the Scythians: (that) some of these [\[310\]](#) should go forth, even as far as the extremities of the creation, and arrive at the country of the Hindoos; others pass over to the Islands beyond the ocean, and which are called Britain;--could not, I think, have been the things of men; How much less, of those who were deficient and illiterate? How much still less, of deceivers and magicians?

**27.** How then could those, whose experience of their Master was, that He was vicious and a perverter,--and who had with their own eyes witnessed His departure by death,--have used such terms with each other, for this (viz.), that they should unanimously lie respecting Him ? For they all attested as with one mouth, the cleansing of lepers, the casting out of Demons, the raising of the dead, (the restoring of) sight to the blind, and many other instances of cure, which were effected by Him :--

**28.** And after these things, His resurrection after the death which they had previously witnessed? For, to such things, not happening, nor even being heard of in their times, How could they, with one mouth, have given testimony, and convinced (themselves) that they came to pass ? and have continued to place faith in (this) their testimony, even to death ? Was it, either that they were brought together, and that they swore to do this ? and that they entered into compact with one another, to fabricate, and falsely to put forth, things which never came to pass? And shall we say, that they used terms to this effect as the pretence for such compact? or, such as these? Men, our friends!--Him who was, (as it were) yesterday or the day before, a Deceiver and Teacher of error,--who suffered extreme punishment before the eyes of us all,--we know better and more accurately than any other, how far He excelled, because we were the Disciples of His secret mysteries. He appeared as pure to the many, and thought that He possessed something better than the many. But [\[311\]](#) He possessed nothing great, nor yet any thing worthy of (that) His resurrection ; unless one might say, that He was cunning and impure in character, and that those were perversions which He taught us, and the false boastings which was favourable to such things;--come, let us give the right hand to one another, and let us all at once enter into compact among ourselves, that we will unanimously put forth, among all mankind, falsehood respecting Him, and will say, that we saw " *Him give sight to the blind,*" a thing which no one (of us) ever heard of; and that " *He cleansed the lepers*" and " *Raised the dead.*" And we will in a body affirm, that things were done by Him which we (indeed) never saw; and were said (by Him) which we likewise never heard. Those things too which were done, as it were in reality, we will contend for (as such). And, if this His last end has been published, and He so openly received His death that no one can conceal it, we will nevertheless, impudently make this of no effect; attesting pertinaciously that He rose from the dead; was also with all of us, and accompanied us both in conversation and in the usual meals. Let this then, be pertinaciously and shamelessly retained in all these things, and so remain with us, that we persist in it even to death !--For, Why might we (not) expose ourselves to death for nothing<sup>7</sup> ? And, Why should it molest us, willingly to receive stripes and torments in our persons, for nothing that is necessary ? And, if it be required that we should suffer imprisonment, injury, and affliction, for nothing that is true; should submit instantaneously to this; should all of us together lie by consent, and put forth falsehood for no profit whatever, either to ourselves or to those who may be deceived by us; or, to Him, of whom these lies have been told by us; affirming that He was God: and that we should extend this falsehood, not only to our own people, but should also go out among all mankind, and fill the whole creation with the [\[312\]](#) things we have (thus) laid down respecting Him; and should thence proceed forthwith, to make laws for all nations, subversive of the opinions respecting the Gods of their forefathers; those (I say),

which had from ancient times been established among them : and, that we should first of all lay our commands upon the Romans, not to worship those whom their forefathers supposed to be Gods; that we should then also pass off to the Greeks, and preach that which is also adverse to their wise men : that we should not neglect the Egyptians, but contend also with their Deities, but should not draw out against them the things of Moses, which were in former times adverse to them, but place against them the Death of our Teacher as something terrific: and should destroy that fame respecting the Gods, which formerly went out from among them to all mankind, not by mere words, and stories, but by the power of our Lord, of Him who was crucified; and, that we should again proceed even to the extremities of the land of the Barbarians, and subvert the things (prevailing) with all men: and for this purpose not one of us should be wanting : For the reward pertaining to the things which we (so) attempted, would not be small, since the triumphs to which we should present ourselves, would not be simple ones; but, as it is likely, (would be) punishments awarded by the laws of every place; open bonds, torments, imprisonments, fire, sword, (death by) the cross and (by) wild beasts: but, because we would acquire a likeness to our Teacher, we would willingly rather, and with joyfulness one and all, continue (partaking) in these calamities! For, What can there be better than this, that we should be found enemies to both God and man, for no one thing profitable ? And also, that we should obtain nothing of ease ? neither should see our friends, nor in any way increase our wealth ? nor even possess the hope of any good to perfection ? but should, on the contrary, vainly and without any object err [\[313\]](#) ourselves, and lead others (also) astray ? For this is the helpful thing (had in view), that we should both be opposed to all nations, and also engaged in contention with those Gods, whom all men have from ancient times confessed: and, that we should preach of Him who was our Teacher, and who died before our eyes, that He was God, and the Son of God : and that we ourselves should be ready to die for Him, having learned from him nothing true, and nothing advantageous! And that we should particularly honour Him, because He aided us in nothing excellent: and should moreover do every thing in order to glorify His name; suffer every sort of injury and vengeance, and willingly receive every form of punishment for nothing that is true! For, evil certainly is truth, and falsehood has that which is opposed to vice. On this account we say, that "*He even raised the dead, also cleansed the lepers, also cast out Demons, and was the doer of other wonderful works,*" when we know of no such things done by Him, but have fabricated all these things for ourselves; and (thus) led all astray, on whom we could prevail to do so ! But, if any one would not be (so) persuaded, still we ourselves should,-- for the sake of the things which we had (so) bargained upon among ourselves,--have brought forth upon ourselves the things worthy of such a system of error.

**29.** And Do these things appear to you as convincing ? And, Can you so far persuade yourself, that they (His Disciples) did falsely put forth such things as these ? And, that men so deficient and unlettered, did actually make (such) compact among themselves, and (triumphantly) walk over the power of the Romans ? Could human nature, possessed as it is with the love of life, have ever submitted, for no object and of its own will, to death ? Or, Could the Disciples of our Saviour have been carried on to such an excess of madness, that they should at once,--when they had seen no act of a miraculous character performed by Him, --have falsely put forth by compact such things as these? [\[314\]](#) And again, Could they have put together such lying statements respecting Him, and then have readily submitted to death in support of them?

**30.** But they went not forth by compact, to this (work of) preaching respecting Him; nor did they make (any compact) among themselves. Whence then, had they this perfect agreement of testimony respecting His deeds ? Is it (not) likely, from seeing the things which were done by Him ?--For one of (these) two things must be the fact: (viz.) Either, they made compact among themselves, and lied; or else, they attested (what) they had seen with their eyes. If then, they really saw (the things), and preached (them) to all men; they were worthy of credit when they said of our Saviour, that He was God; and, that He permitted them to see with their eyes, (the putting forth of) Divine powers, Miracles,

and wonderful Works. If however they really saw none of the things (so) recorded, but put together false statements; and accordingly made oath, and sworn covenant, on this, (viz.) that they would say nothing true, and (then) lied, and attested of their Lord what was false; How could they in reality have submitted to death, for nothing true ? and, that neither fire, nor sword, nor fierce beasts, nor the depth of the sea, could make them falsify the accounts, which they had (thus) falsely put forth respecting their Lord ?

**31.** But, How can you say that they neither expected nor hoped, that they should suffer any calamity from this their testimony respecting Him; and, that they therefore went out, even boldly, to the (work of) preaching about Him ? On the contrary, it was impossible they should not have hoped, that they should suffer every sort of calamity: superinducing as they did the destruction of the Gods, at once of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Barbarians. Now the Book itself, which (speaks) of them, shews plainly, that after the death of their Lord certain men, enemies of the word and who lay in wait for it, laid hands on them; delivering them first to imprisonment, and then strictly [\[315\]](#) commanding them, that they should speak to none in the name of Jesus<sup>[43](#)</sup>. And, when they found them afterwards openly teaching the multitudes the things respecting Him, they violently seized, and scourged (them), and forbade them (so) to teach ; Simon Peter answering said to them, "*It is right that we should rather hearken to God, and not to men*<sup>[44](#)</sup>." After these things too, Stephen was stoned with stones, and died; because he had openly spoken (of Him) in the assembly of the Jews<sup>[45](#)</sup>. And there arose no small persecution<sup>[46](#)</sup> against those, who were the ambassadors of the name of Jesus. And again at another time, when Herod the king of the Jews slew James the brother of John with the sword, he, the same, confined Simon Peter in bonds, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles<sup>[47](#)</sup>. And, while these suffered such things, the rest of the Disciples persevered, grew strong, and remained in the doctrine of our Saviour ; and again preached to all men more particularly respecting Him, and His wonderful works. After these things, James--whom those who formerly resided at Jerusalem called "*the Just*" on account of his great excellence,--was interrogated of the chief priests and doctors of the Jewish people, as to what he thought of Jesus; and, when he returned answer to them, that "*He was the Son of God*<sup>[48](#)</sup>," he was also stoned with stones by them<sup>[49](#)</sup>. Simon Peter too, was, after his<sup>[50](#)</sup> Head (i.e. Christ), crucified at Rome. Paul also was taken off<sup>[51](#)</sup> (slain,) and John was committed to the island (Patmos in banishment). And, while these suffered such things, not so much as one of the [\[316\]](#) rest forsook His (Christ's) doctrine; and (indeed) all of them prayed, that such things might befall them, in order that they might, for the sake of the worship of God, be like to those already mentioned. And, on this account again, they openly gave their testimony of our Saviour, and of His wonderful works, the more abundantly.

**32.** And observe, If the things which they preached respecting Him were lies, and they had fabricated them by compact; we ought to wonder how this whole company could have observed this agreement, in what they had fabricated, even to death. And no one of them ever betrayed any fear, on account of the things that had happened to those who had previously been slain; or left their society; or preached that which opposed what his companion had; or brought to light the things they had (so) agreed upon. But even he, who,--filled with the love of money,--dared to deliver Him up to (His) enemies, did forthwith, and with his own hands, inflict punishment on himself<sup>[52](#)</sup> !

**33.** Now, Is not this replete with wonder, that men, who were deceivers and unlettered<sup>[53](#)</sup>, knowing neither how to speak, or understand, any language beyond that of their fathers, should not only undertake to go forth and to pass into all nations, but should also (so) go forth and effect (their) purpose ? And, let this also be considered, that not even one of them ever uttered a word adverse to the marvellous deeds of their Lord ! If then, the agreement of witnesses is sufficient to settle any of those things, about which there is doubt, and which is commonly brought into dispute in the courts of law;--and the law of God has declared that<sup>[54](#)</sup> "*in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every matter shall be*



established<sup>55</sup>, "--Shall not the truth also be established by these, who were the chosen twelve, and [317](#) the Disciples seventy in number, and thousands of others besides these, all of whom at once exhibited (so) wonderful an agreement, and who have (so) given their testimony to the things done by our Saviour ? This too they did, not without affliction<sup>56</sup>; but in the suffering of torments, and of every species of injury, of scourgings, imprisonment, and deaths! On this account they were through God believed, in order that (He) might everywhere confirm the word preached, by their means, throughout the whole habitable world, even to this day !

**34.** Let<sup>57</sup> it be considered then, that we have granted these things, by connivance at an unjust principle. For (in) this, that a man might imagine that which is adverse to the Scripture, and, that we should say of the common Saviour of all that He was a Teacher, not of righteous precepts, but of those of vice, fraud, and of every sort of abomination; and, that these His Disciples learned the same from Him, and were all lustful and vicious in every thing, beyond all men that ever existed; we allowed, by connivance, according to the statement (supposed), that which is of all things the most improper. For this would be, as if one should in a similar manner, injuriously accuse Moses who said in the law, "*Thou shalt, not kill; neither shalt thou commit adultery ; neither shalt thou steal; neither shalt thou bear false witness;*" and should say, that he uttered these things by way of irony and in hypocrisy; for, it was his wish (nevertheless) that his hearers should kill, commit adultery, [318](#) and act in direct opposition to the things, which he himself shewed the Law laid down; and put forth (merely) the form of an approach to purity of life!--But there is nothing so shameless as this ! In like manner also, might any one arraign the positions<sup>58</sup> of the Philosophers among the Greeks, whose lives were those of patience, as were all their words, and might say, that they were in their conduct opposed to what they wrote; and so shewed themselves to have made a mere (hypocritical) approach to the life, which belongs to philosophy. And thus, we affirm, might any one simply arraign all the writings of the ancients, and shew cause against the truth which they contain; and might Himself receive that, which is diametrically opposed to these! But, as it cannot be difficult to any one possessed of common sense, to pronounce of this that it would be madness; so also, of the precepts of our Saviour and of His Disciples, should any one pervert the truth which is (found) in these, and then attempt to fix upon Him the things diametrically opposed to His teaching.-- But, let that be granted which the statement itself requires. How much more will it then appear, that the assertion of the opponent cannot stand, as (being grounded) in a connivance (concession) which it is improper to (allow) ?

**35.** These<sup>59</sup> things being then refuted, let us also consider the testimony of the Scriptures of the Divinity, and the spotless and truth-loving manner of the Disciples, of our Saviour. Any one therefore, who chooses (to exercise) a sound mind, may hence see, that they were worthy of all dignity, since they confessed that they were mean and unlettered in their discourse, and betook themselves to a love for the doctrine of the worship of God, and of philosophy. They also desired the life, capable of submitting to sufferings, and afflicted by fasting, (by) abstinence from wine and from flesh, and (by) many other humiliating things of the body; by prayer and supplication to God, and more particularly by temperance, and the chief holiness of body. [319](#) and soul<sup>3</sup>. And, Who is not astonished at this, that they should, for the sake of the excellency of wisdom, have even separated themselves from the wives that had been lawfully given to them ? and that they were led by no natural desire, and subdued by no love of children; since they desired not the children that were mortal, but those which were immortal ? And, How can any one fail to wonder at this their character, that they desired no money ? or (How) imagine this, that they fled not from, but loved, a Teacher who despised the possessions of gold and silver ? and the Lawgiver, who laid it down that they should not enlarge their possessions even to two coats<sup>60</sup>? which any one hearing, would doubtless seek excuse from its severe requirements; while they were seen to act upon it, even to the letter ! For, upon a certain occasion a lame man--one of those who begged, on account of the extreme doubt as to provision,--asked (alms) of those who were about Simon

Peter: and, when Simon Peter had nothing that he could give, he confessed that he was destitute (lit. clean) of every sort of possession of silver and gold, and said, "*Silver and gold have I none*<sup>61</sup>." After this he brought forth the precious name,--which is of all things the most precious,--and said, "*This which I have give I to thee. In the name of Jesus the Christ, arise and walk.*"

36. And<sup>62</sup>, when they attended to their Teacher, (Jesus) enjoined upon them the grievous things, (which should happen to them) in these words which He said to them, (viz.) "*In the world ye shall have tribulation*<sup>63</sup>;" and again--"*Ye shall weep and mourn, but the world shall* [\[320\]](#) *rejoice*<sup>64</sup>," How plainly did the firmness and deep (sincerity) of their character not appear, since they fled not from these (severe) exercises of the soul, nor betook themselves to the things of the desires ? nor did their Lord moreover allure them by way of deception, or make them His by promising them the things which supply ease and comfort; but, truly and freely foretold to them those which should happen to them; and enabled them to choose for themselves the sort of conduct, which He had laid down for them. Of this sort were the things, which He foretold and attested, respecting the persecutions that were to happen to them, because of His name, (viz.) "*that they should come before governours, and even kings*<sup>65</sup>;" and, that they should suffer every sort of punishment and vengeance, not on account of any thing hateful, nor for any other just cause ; but for this only, (viz.), for their testimony respecting Him; which (indeed), we have seen with our own eyes, has happened even to this time ? His prediction moreover, is worthy of our admiration ; for the testimony (given) respecting the name of our Saviour, and the confessing of Him, had usually the effect of inflaming the anger of the Rulers. And, even if nothing hateful had been perpetrated by any one confessing Christ, they punished and injuriously treated him, on account of His name, as evil, and more evil than any other thing: but, if any one did not confess His name, but denied that he was a Disciple of Christ, he was immediately set at liberty, even if he were implicated in many things which were abominable! But, What necessity can there be, that I should collect and endeavour to record, the many things relating to the lives of the Disciples of our Saviour, when the things already advanced, will be sufficient proof of (all) that is before us ? To these (however) we will again add the things (following), here in (their) place; and with these we will conclude our discussion.

37. As to Matthew the Apostle<sup>66</sup> his former manner [\[321\]](#) of life was not that which was excellent; on the contrary, he was one of those whose business was tax-gathering and fraud. This however, not one of the rest of the Apostles has laid open to us, neither John the Apostle who was with him, nor Luke, nor Mark, the writers of the rest of the Gospels: but Matthew, recording his own manner of life, has become his own accuser ! Hear then, how openly he has memorialized his own name against himself in his own writing, and has thus spoken :--

38. "<sup>67</sup>And, when Jesus passed from thence, He saw a man sitting among the Tax-gatherers, whose name was Matthew; and He said to him, Follow me: and he arose (and) followed Him. And it came to pass that when He was sitting in the house, Behold many Tax-gatherers and Sinners were sitting with Jesus, and with His Disciples." And again, after these things, when passing away, and reciting the number of the rest of the Disciples, He added respecting Himself the name of Tax-gatherer, and spoke thus: "<sup>68</sup>The names of the twelve Apostles are these: The first, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and Bartholomew, and Thomas and Matthew the Tax-gatherer." Thus therefore Matthew evinces, through the greatness of (his) humility, his truth-loving character, calls himself a Tax-gatherer; conceals not his former mode of life, and counts himself among sinners ! He also numbers himself second to the Apostle who was with him; for he associated (himself) with Thomas, as (he did) Simon with Andrew, James with John, and Philip with Bartholomew ; placing Thomas first, and honouring him as the more excellent Apostle with himself; while the rest of the Evangelists have done the reverse of this<sup>69</sup>. Hear therefore how Luke [\[322\]](#)



bears record of Matthew, not giving him the appellation of Tax-gatherer, nor placing him after Thomas; but, because he considered him the more worthy, numbering him first, and placing Thomas after him, just as Mark has done: His words then, are these: "And<sup>70</sup>, when it was day, He called His Disciples, and chose twelve out of them, those whom He named Apostles: Simon, whom He named Cephas; and | [323](#) Andrew his brother<sup>2</sup>, James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas." Thus therefore Luke honoured Matthew, just as they, who had from the first been eye-witnesses and hearers of the word, had delivered to him<sup>71</sup>. <sup>72</sup>And thus Matthew, through his humility, made little of himself, confessed that he was a Tax-gatherer, and numbered himself the second (in order), after the Apostle who was (named) with him.

39. You<sup>73</sup> will also find that John is like Matthew (in this respect) ; for in his Epistle<sup>74</sup> he does not so much as make mention of himself, or call himself Elder<sup>75</sup> or Apostle, or Evangelist. In the Gospel too, which was written by him, he says of himself that Jesus loved him, but he does not reveal his own name.

40. Simon Peter moreover, did not so much as attempt the writing of a Gospel, on account of his great fear (of responsibility). But Mark, they say, who, being well known to him and his Disciple, put on record the declarations of Simon respecting the deeds of our Saviour. Who,--when [324](#) he betook himself to the recording of these things, (viz.) when Jesus asked what men said of Him, and the Disciples themselves what they thought of Him; Simon answered and said to Him, "*Thou<sup>76</sup> art the Christ*;"--made the statement that Jesus did not even answer him, or say any thing to him; but that He forbade their telling this to any man. Now Mark committed these things to writing, although he was not present with Jesus when He said them; but he had heard them from Peter, when he taught them. Peter however, was unwilling to state the things which Jesus had said either to him, or about him, by way of testimony (favourable) to himself. But, the things which were said of him are these, (which) Matthew has put forth in these (words): "*But<sup>77</sup> you, Whom say ye that I am ? Simon said to Him, Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said to him; Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood have not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock<sup>78</sup> will I build my Church, and the gate-bars of hell shall not prevail against it. And I give to thee the keys<sup>79</sup> of the kingdom of heaven; and every one whom thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and every one whom thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven*" When (therefore), all these things were said to Simon Peter by Jesus, Mark did not record so much as [325](#) one of them ; because, as it is probable, neither did Peter mention them in his teaching<sup>80</sup>. These things therefore, Simon Peter well kept silent, and thence Mark omitted them. But the things of his denial (of Christ), he preached to all men; and (so) caused an accusation to be recorded against himself! That he wept bitterly too, over this, you will find Mark to have given the record in these (words): "*And<sup>81</sup>, when Peter was in the court, one of the maid-servants of the High Priest came to him; and, when she saw that he was warming (himself), she looked upon him and said to him, Thou also wast with Jesus the Nazarene. But he denied and said, I know (him) not, nor do I perceive what thou sayest: and he went out into the outer court; and the cock crew. And again a maid saw him, and began to say to those who were standing (by) ; [326](#) This (man) also is (one) of them. And he again denied. And again a little after, those who were standing (by) said to Simon, Truly thou art (one) of them; for thou art also a Galilean. But he began to curse and to say, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And immediately, the cock crew the second time*" These things Mark wrote; and these, Simon Peter witnessed against himself. For all these things of Mark are, they say, the memorials of the declarations of Peter himself<sup>82</sup>.

41. Of<sup>83</sup> those therefore, who excused themselves from saying the things which would contribute to

their own good fame, and who recorded against themselves accusations which can never be forgotten, charging themselves with their own foolishness, in things which none of those who came afterwards could have known, had they not been recorded by themselves; How (shall we not assert) they were free from every feeling of self-love, and lying statement ? and justly confess of them, that they openly and clearly put forth the proof of an ardent love of truth? Those therefore, who evinced such a character as this,--of whom men thought that they were the authors of falsehood and of lying, and whom they endeavoured to malign as Deceivers ;--How are these not (now) found to be a laughing-stock, lovers of hatred and envy, and enemies to the truth ? For, How should not those be such, who (insisted) on the things which were guileless, and of no hateful observance; these same (I say), whose characters were true and pure, and who shewed forth their habitual dispositions by their words ?--(not) that (men) should say of them, that they were cunning and wily Sophists, and fabricators of things that had no existence, and laid upon their Lord, by way of favour, things which He never did. It does appear to me, that we may well put the question to these, Whether<sup>84</sup> it be right we should give credence to the Disciples of our Saviour, or not ? And, if we are not [327](#) to give credence to these only, Whether we should to all those also, who have long ago preached the memorial of their conduct and precepts, (both) among the Greeks and the Barbarians; and have committed to writing time after time the victories attending this ? And also, Whether it be just to extend credence to others; but to withhold it from them only?--How clearly then, does not the malice of such (opponents) appear!

42. But<sup>85</sup>, Why should these have lied respecting their Lord ? and have delivered down, in their writings, things of Him which had no existence, as if they had really happened ? Why too, should they have falsely stated of Him the sufferings, and (other) grievous things (which He bore) ? His betrayal by one word of His Disciple (Judas) ? the accusation of those who criminated Him ? the ridicule ? the contempt of the judgment (passed on Him) ? the reproach ? the smittings on the face ? the scourges laid upon His loins ? the crown of thorns which was placed upon Him in reproach ? the purple robe which they put upon Him after the manner of a cloke ? and, at last, the bearing of His cross, the signal mark of His victory ? that He was then affixed to this? that He was pierced both in His hands and feet ? that they gave Him vinegar to drink ? that one struck Him on the head with a reed ? that He was derided of those who looked on Him ? Is it right (I say), that we should suppose His Disciples to have falsely stated even these, and many other similar things that are written about Him ? Or, that we should believe they truly stated these (disreputable) things ? but, that we should not give credence to those which are honourable (to Him)? But, How can this system of contrariety be supported ? [328](#) For this, that (men) should affirm that these same persons were true; and again this, that they were false, would be nothing else but to affirm of them, that which is in itself contradictory ! Of What sort then, should the reprehension of these be ? For, if this stigma is to be fixed upon them, (viz.) that they propagated falsehood, and exalted their Lord by lying statements, and adorned Him by means of (fabricated) miracles; they surely never would have committed to writing the things already mentioned, which were adverse to themselves; nor would they have made it known to those, who should come afterwards, that He, whose ambassadors they were, was "*oppressed*" and "*exceedingly sorrowful*" and was *perturbed in his soul*: or, that they "*forsook Him and fled*-" or, that he, who was the chosen of all the Apostles, and His Disciple, the same Simon Peter (I say),--who is preached of,--did, without either pain (inflicted), or torment threatened, deny Him three times! For these things, even if said by others, it was necessary they should deny; they (I say), who betook themselves to nothing else, except the fabrication of false statements favourable to Him, and magnifying both themselves and their Lord.

43. If<sup>86</sup> then, they appear to be lovers of truth in those grievous accounts (which they give) of Him ; much more are they so in those glorious ones. For those, who chose to lie on any one occasion, would the more particularly avoid those things which brought difficulty with them, either by silence or denial of them : because, those who should come after, would not have it in their power to blame the things,

which they had (so) kept silent. Why then, did they not lie and say that Judas who betrayed Him, forthwith became a stone, when he dared to give the kiss--the signal of betrayal? And, that he who dared to strike Him on the cheek, had his right hand immediately withered ? And the High Priest of the Jews, because he ran along with those who criminated Him, became blind in his eyes? But, Why did not they all lie, (and say) that, in [\[329\]](#) truth, no grievance (whatsoever) happened to Him ? but, that He concealed Himself from men, and laughed at their judgment-hall? and, that those who accused Him, were deceived by spectres sent from God ; thinking that they were doing something adverse to one who was not near them ? And, Why should not this have been (deemed) more glorious, than their falsely stating that "*He raised the dead,*" and was *the doer of wonderful works* ? This, that they should have recorded, that nothing either human or mortal happened to him; but, that He did every thing by the Divine power ?--That He made His ascension to heaven in the Divine glory ? For those, who gave credence to their other accounts, could not have with-holden their belief from these. How then, should those be (deemed) worthy of exemption from every suspicion of vice, who concealed nothing of the truth, as to the difficulties and calamities (so happening); and not also worthy of all credit, as to the other miraculous deeds which they attested respecting Him ? The testimony therefore, of these men respecting our Saviour, is sufficient. There is nevertheless, nothing to prohibit our availing ourselves, even the more abundantly, of the Hebrew witness Josephus; who, in the Eighteenth Book of his Antiquities of the Jews, writing the things that belonged to the times of Pilate, commemorates our Saviour in these words: --

*(The testimony) of Josephus respecting the Christ.*

44. " At<sup>[87](#)</sup> this period then was Jesus, a wise man, if it be right to call Him a man; for He was the doer of [\[330\]](#) wonderful works, and the Teacher of those men who, with pleasure, received Him in truth. And He brought together many (both) of the Jews, and many of the profane (Gentiles). And this was the Messiah (Christ). And, when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal ancient men among ourselves, laid on Him the punishment of the Cross, those who formerly loved Him were not reduced to silence. For He appeared again to them, on the third day, alive: things which, with many others, the Prophets had said respecting Him : so that from thence, and even until now, the race of the Christians has not been wanting to Him."

45. If<sup>[88](#)</sup> therefore, as (this) author attests of Him, [\[331\]](#) He was the doer of wonderful works, and that He made His Disciples,--not only the twelve Apostles, or the seventy Disciples, but also attached to Himself,--myriads of others both of the Jews and Gentiles; it is clear, that He possessed something excellent beyond the rest of mankind. For, How could He have otherwise attached to Himself the many, both of the Jews and Gentiles, unless He had made use of miracles and astonishing deeds, and of doctrines (till then) unknown ? The Book of the Acts of the Apostles also attests, that there were many thousands of the Jews, who were persuaded that He was that Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. It is also on record, that there was a great Church of Christ at Jerusalem; which had been collected from among the Jews, even to the times of its reduction by Hadrian. The first Bishops too who were there, are said to have been, one after another, fifteen (in number), who were Jews<sup>[89](#)</sup>; the names of whom are published to the men of that place, even until now. So that by these, every accusation against the Disciples may be undone; since, what was prior to them, and independent of their testimony, these attest of Him, (viz.), that He, the Christ of God, did by means of these wondrous works which He performed, reduce many, both of the Jews and of the Gentiles, beneath His power<sup>[90](#)</sup>.

46. You<sup>[91](#)</sup> will also be made acquainted with the Divinity of His power, if you will consider of what nature He was; and how it was that all this superiority of the Divine power (operated) in the overcoming of tilings exceeding all description. For let it be considered, No one--who ever wished to disseminate his laws, or any strange doctrine among all nations, and, who would shew himself to be a

Teacher of the worship of the one supreme God, to all races of men,--would be willing to make use of those as the ministers of his will, who were of all men the most rustic and deficient. And it is likely, one might [\[332\]](#) think, he would attempt this with the greatest impropriety. For, How could they who could scarcely open their lips, ever be the Teachers of any one man, much less of multitudes ? And, How could they,--destitute of every sort of erudition,--address whole assemblies, unless this were indeed a shewing forth of the will of God ? For He called them, as we have already shewn, and said in the first place "*Follow me, and I will make you Fishers of men*<sup>92</sup>." And, because He thenceforth made them His own, and they adhered to Him, He breathed into them the Divine power<sup>93</sup>, and filled them both with strength and courage: and, as He was THE WORD or GOD in truth, and the Doer of all these miracles, He made them the Fishermen of intellectual and reasonable souls; adding, at once to the word "*Follow me, and I will make you*" the Deed, making them both the Doers, and Teachers, of the worship of His God<sup>94</sup>. And thus He sent them forth into all nations throughout the whole creation, and demonstrated that they were the Preachers of His doctrine. And, Who is not astonished, and probably incredulous, as to this miracle,-- which could scarcely (indeed) have been imagined ? Since no one, of those who have been eminent, has ever been commemorated as having had recourse to any such thing as this; or has come up to any thing resembling it<sup>95</sup>. For it has been the desire of each one of these, to set up something promising to himself, in his own land only; or, to be able to establish such laws as seemed to him good, among some one people of his own. But observe of Him, who availed himself of nothing either human or mortal, how, in reality, He again put forth the word of God in the precept, which He gave [\[333\]](#) to these His powerless Disciples, (viz.) "*Go ye and make Disciples of all nations*<sup>96</sup>!" It is likely too, His Disciples would thus address their Lord, by way of answer: How can we do this ? For, How can we preach to the Romans ? And, How can we discourse with the Egyptians? What diction can we use against the Greeks; being brought up in the Syrian language only ? How can we persuade the Persians, the Armenians, the Chaldeans, the Scythians, the Hindoos, and other nations called Barbarians, to desert the gods of their forefathers, and to worship the one Creator of all things? And, upon What superiority of words can we rely, that we shall succeed in this ? Or. How can we hope, that we shall prevail in the things attempted ? (viz.) that we shall legislate for all nations, in direct opposition to the laws laid down from ancient times, (and this) against their gods ? And, What power have we upon which to trust, that we shall succeed in this enterprise ? These things therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour would either have thought, or said. But He who was their Lord solved, by one additional word, the aggregate of the things of which they doubted, (and) pledged them by saying, "*Ye shall conquer in my name.*" For it was not that He commanded them, simply and indiscriminately, to go and make Disciples of all nations; but with this excellent addition which He delivered, (viz): "*In my name.*" Since it was by the power of His name that all this came to pass ; as the Apostle has said, "*God has given Him a name, which is superior to every name: that, at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow which is in heaven, and which is in earth, and which is beneath the earth.*" It is likely therefore, that He would shew forth the excellency of the unseen power, which was [\[334\]](#) hidden from the many, by *His name*; and, (accordingly) He made the addition, "*In my name.*" He thus accurately foretold moreover, something which should come to pass, (when) He said, "*It is expedient that this my Gospel be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations*<sup>97</sup>." Now, this matter was then declared in a corner of the earth, so that those only who were at hand could have heard it. But, How could they have believed Him when He said this, unless they had taken experiment as to the truth of His words, from the other Divine acts which were done by Him ? For this, you are compelled to confess when it is considered, that they gave credence to what He said. For, when He gave them the command, not so much as one sought to be excused; but they confided in what He had intimated : and, just as His promises had been, so DID they make Disciples of the whole race of men ! They did go forth from their own land into all nations ; and, in a short time, His words were seen in effect! His Gospel was therefore shortly preached, throughout the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, so that the



Barbarians and Greeks received the Scriptures, respecting the common Saviour of all, in the handwriting of their Progenitors, and in the words of their spiritual Fathers.

47. A man might therefore well stand in doubt, as to what the form of the doctrine of our Saviour's Disciples was; how they passed on into the midst of cities, and so proclaimed (it) in the middle of the streets; lifting up their voices, calling to those with whom they met, and thence conversing with the people: also, of what sort the language was in which they addressed them, so that we can imagine the hearers were persuaded thereby: and (again), how (such) men, inexperienced in words and far removed from every sort of erudition, could speak before the people ; and (this), if not in large assemblies, still with the few with [1335](#) whom they met, and then addressed: and, of what, and of what sort of terms, they made use for persuading (their) hearers. Nor was their effort small, since they by no means denied the ignominious death of Him, whom they preached. But, even if they concealed this, and did not confess before all, what, and how many, things He suffered of the Jews, but put forth only those splendid and glorious things--I say indeed,--His wondrous works, His miraculous operations, and His doctrines of the (true) Philosophy; still, the matter will not thus be made easy, (viz.) how they could make those who heard them, easily to give in to their declarations: because their diction would be foreign. They would too, now be listening to declarations entirely new, (coming) from men, who possessed nothing worthy of truth, in testimony of the things affirmed by them.

48. But<sup>98</sup>, let it be supposed that the persuasives now put forth were these, (viz.) that those who were His ambassadors, should at one time preach that He was God ; that, in body, He was human ; and that, in his nature, He was no other than THE WORD OF GOD: on which account also, He performed all these miracles, and (put forth these) powers: but, that at another time, He suffered reproach and infamy, and at last the capital and shameful punishment of the Cross; which is inflicted on those (only), who are in their deeds the worst of all men. Who then, would not (now) properly treat them with ridicule, as affirming things opposed to each other ? And, Who is he, whose intellect would (partake) so much of stone, as readily to believe them, when they said that they saw Him after His death ? that He rose from the dead?--Him (I say), who could not help Himself when among the living<sup>99</sup>? And (again), Who would ever be persuaded by men so illiterate and [1336](#) deficient as these, when saying; You should despise the things of your own forefathers; charge as folly those of the wise of ancient times; suffer yourselves to be persuaded by us alone, and to be commanded by the precepts of Him who was crucified: for He only is the beloved, and only (begotten) of that God alone, who is over all ?

49. I myself however, investigating for myself with effort<sup>100</sup>, and in the love of truth, this same thing (singly), should perceive not one virtue in it (making it) credible, nor even any thing great, or worthy of faith, nor so persuasive, as adequate to the persuading of even one illiterate person, much less men wise and intellectual. Nevertheless, when again I view its power, and the result of its doings; how the many myriads have given their assent to it, and how Churches of tens of thousands of men have been brought together, by these very deficient and rustic persons; --nor that these were built in obscure places, nor in those which are unknown, but rather in the greatest cities, I say in the Imperial city of Rome itself, in Alexandria, in Antioch, in all Egypt, in Libya, in Europe, in Asia, both in the villages and (other) places, and among all nations; I am again compelled to recur to the question of (its) cause, and to confess, that they (the Disciples) could not otherwise have undertaken this enterprise, than by a Divine power which exceeds that of man, and by the assistance of Him who said to them, "Go<sup>101</sup>, and make *Disciples of all nations in my name.*" And, when He had said this to them, He attached to it the promise, by which they should be so encouraged, as readily to give themselves up to the things commanded. For He said to them, "*Behold*<sup>102</sup> *I am with you always, even to the end of the world.*" It is stated, [1337](#) moreover, that He breathed into them the Holy Ghost with the Divine power; (thus) giving them the power to work miracles, saying at one time, "*Receive ye the Holy Ghost*<sup>103</sup>;" and at another,

commanding them, to "*Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, and cast out Demons:---freely ye have received, freely give*<sup>104</sup>."

**50.** Even you yourself see therefore, how this their word took effect; since even the Book of their Acts attests things like to these, and which accord with them ; how,-- (for example,) when writing also of those by whom miraculous deeds were done in the name of Jesus<sup>105</sup>,--those, who were present and saw, were astonished. They were astonished, as it should seem, at those who had formerly seen (this power) by means of deeds ; and who then made them (*i. e.* the chief Priests,) readily to ask, Who this was, by whose power and name the miracle had been wrought ?--And thus, as they taught, they found that these had in faith (even) run before their instruction. For, it was not by words that they were persuaded; but it was by the deeds which preceded these, that they were readily prevailed upon to accede to the things said. It is also said, that men suddenly brought to them sacrifices and libations, as if they had been Gods ; thinking that one of them was Mercury, the other Jupiter: and the whole of this astonishment was, to their minds, a demonstration that the deeds done were miraculous. And, as all those which they preached respecting our Saviour, were such as these, they were thenceforth quickly, and with propriety, received. Nor did they give their testimony of His resurrection from the dead, by mere words and without proofs; but, by their power and by deeds did they persuade, and shew forth the works of the living (God).

**51.** If<sup>106</sup> then, they preached that He was God, and the Son of God, and that He was with the Father before He came among men ; Why should they not have especially added to this, that they believed what was adverse to have been impossible and incredible ? For they must have justly thought it impossible, that these acts could have been <sup>[338]</sup> those of men ; but, on the contrary, those of God, even the more though no one would say (this).

**52.** And this, and nothing else, is indeed the thing required, (*viz.*) by what power the Disciples of our Saviour gained credit from those, who had from the first heard them: and how they persuaded both Greeks and Barbarians to think of Him, as of THE WORD OF GOD: and how they set up in the midst of the cities, and in all villages, Houses<sup>107</sup> (appropriated to) the Doctrine of the worship of the supreme God. And, Who is not also astonished at this, when he considers with himself, and feels satisfied, that this could not have been of man ; that never at any former time, were the many nations of the whole creation subject to the one sovereign rule of the Romans, except only since the time of our Saviour? For it happened, immediately upon His passing about among men, that the affairs of the Romans became great<sup>108</sup>;--that, at that time, Augustus was primarily the sole Sovereign of many nations; and that in his time Cleopatra was inflamed with love; and the traditionary (kingdom) of the Ptolemies in Egypt was dissolved<sup>109</sup>. For, from that time, and until now, that kingdom which was from ancient time; and of it, as one might say, the ancient germ of men which was established in Egypt, have been rooted up. From <sup>[339]</sup> that period too, have the Jewish people been in subjection to the Romans; as has that, in like manner, of the Syrians, the Cappadocians, the Macedonians, the Bithynians, and the Greeks; and, to speak collectively, all the rest of those subject to the rule of the Romans; and, that this did not come to pass without regard to the Divine teaching of our Saviour, Who will not confess, when He has considered, that it would not have been easy for His Disciples to be sent forth, and to pass into foreign parts, when all the nations were divided one against another ? and when there was no one uniting element among them, on account of the many Satraps (stationed) in every place, and in every city ? But, in the extirpation of these, they immediately, fearlessly, and with pleasure, set about doing that which had been placed before them; because God, who is over all, had previously made their course peaceful, and had restrained the wrath of the worshippers of Demons in the cities, by the fear of the great Empire. Consider then, If there had not been something to restrain those who had been stupified with the error of a plurality of Gods, how they would have contended with the Doctrine of Christ. For,



you would doubtless have seen in every city and village, commotions (stirred up) against each other, with persecutions and wars of no mean description <sup>110</sup>, had the worshippers of the Demons possessed the sovereign rule over us. But now, this also is a work of the God who is over all, that He might subdue <sup>1340</sup> the enemies of His word, by the greater fear of a superior kingdom. For it was His will, that (His word) should daily increase and extend itself to all mankind : and again, so, that it should not be thought, that, it was by the connivance of the Rulers, and not by the superior power of God, it took effect.--When any one of the tyrants was so elated by wickedness, as to set about resisting the word of Christ, the God of all even allowed such at once to do his will; because he would afford proof to those combatants for (establishing) the worship of God, and also that it might be seen clearly by all men, that it was not by the will of man that the word was established, but by the power of God himself. And, Who is not instantly amazed at the things which usually come to pass in times such as these <sup>111</sup> ? For, those ancient combatants from among men for the worship of God, kept secret <sup>112</sup> the nature of their superiority ; at that time they became known and seen by all, when they were adorned with the victories which were from God : while those, who were the enemies of the worship of God, received the punishments which were justly their due: chastized (as they were) by strokes sent from God, and their entire bodies wasted by grievous and incurable diseases, so as to have been speedily driven to confess <sup>1341</sup> their wickedness in opposing our Saviour <sup>113</sup>! But these, the rest of all those who were worthy of the Divine name (Christian), and who gloried in thinking of the things which belonged to Christ, did in a short time shew,--being brought through trials,--the purity and refining of their minds, and that they had thus also obtained freedom for their souls. And soon did God cause, that, by their means, THE WORD, the Saviour, should arise (as the sun) on tens of thousands.

*The End of writing the Five Books of Eusebius of Caesarea, which are called "The Divine Manifestation."*

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[Selected footnotes. Notes concerned only with points of the Syriac and large chunks of Greek have been omitted]

1. <sup>1</sup> Alluding to the interrogative mode of inquiry pursued in the former Books of this work.
2. <sup>1</sup> This place occurs also in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. in. iii. p. 102. D. seq.--The charge of our Lord's being a magician is often advanced by Celsus, Origen contra Cels. Lib. i. pp. 7, 30, 65, &c. See sect. 16, below, and Spencer's notes on Origen contra Cels. Lib. i. p. 7, notes.
3. <sup>2</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. The meaning of which I suppose is, that he wished His followers to be, those who most felt their wants of His aid. The Syriac is probably defective here.
4. <sup>8</sup> Comp. also, ib. p. 106. seq.
5. <sup>1</sup> [...] It is cited again, Prep. Evang. Lib. ix. cap. x. p. 413. C. [...]. Other oracles are given from Porphyry, Demonstr. .Evang. Lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 134. B. C.
6. <sup>4</sup> Abundant testimony, to this effect, is adduced, Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. capp. x. xi. &c. from Porphyry and Theophrastus; and again, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. in. cap. iii. p. 105, &c.
7. <sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 106. C.[...]
8. <sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 128. A., but much more full in the Greek. Our author seems to mean; No magician would have ever suffered martyrdom, as His Disciples did, because he could have experienced no difficulty in sacrificing to idols.

9. <sup>2</sup> Acts xix. 19. The citation agrees neither with the Peschito, nor the Philoxenian Version; but, as before, was translated afresh from the Greek. Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. C.

10. <sup>3</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. C.

11. <sup>4</sup> Ib. D.

12. <sup>5</sup> Ib. p. 129. A. B.

13. <sup>2</sup> Demonstr. Evang. [Greek] which, it must be confessed, savours, to some extent, of the attachment to monastic institutions so unhappily prevalent in the days of our author.

14. <sup>3</sup> He was, as some think, the real originator of the Epicurean sect, and author of the doctrine of Atoms. Cicero says of him, (Tusc. Quest. Lib. v. c. xxxix.) just as Eusebius does here: "An, ni ita se res haberet, Anaxagoras, aut hic ipse Democritus, agros at patrimonia sua reliquissent; huic discendi quaerendique divinae delectationi toto se animo dedissent." And Horace, (Epist. Lib. 1.12,12.) speaking of him as a shepherd; "Miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox." See also his life by Diogenes Laertius: whence it should seem that he was a man of most extensive erudition, having written books on Morality, Physics, Mathematics, Geometry, Astronomy, Geography, Music, Poetry, Medicine, Agriculture, Painting, Tactics, on the Sacred Literature of Babylon, Chaldean History, Navigation, &c.

15. <sup>4</sup> [...]. This is, no doubt, the Theban Crates whose life is given in Diogenes Laertius, (Lib. vi. segm. 85). [Greek] - "Hunc ait Antisthenes in successionibus, cum in Tragoedia quadam cerneret Telephum sportulam tenentem, ad cynicam philosophiam prorupisse, illumque patrimonio vendito, erat quippe vir nobilis, cum congregasset circiter ducenta talenta, civibus ea divisisse: adeoque constanter philosophatum esse, ut et Philemon comicus ipsius mentionem fecerit: ait nempe:

" Aestate crassum vestiebat pallium  
Sed hyeme pannum, ut temperans evaderet."

See also Plutarch, " *De vitando aere alieno*," p. mihi, 831. ib. p. 466. His love of liberty, ib. p. 499. Tom. ii. Edit. 1620. Bruckeri Hist. Philosoph. Crit. Tom. i. p. 888, &c. The whole of this is also found in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. vi. p. 129. C. Ed. 1628. Origen is, perhaps, the first among the Fathers who cites both these cases: i. e. that of Democritus and that of Crates, Contra Celsum. Lib. ii. p. 84. On both, see also, notae Hoeschelii ad Orig. ib. Edit. Spencer.

16. <sup>1</sup> Ib. p. 130. B.

17. <sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 130. B.C., &c.

18. <sup>5</sup> The Mohammedans urge an argument of this sort in favour of their Prophet, from a fancied inimitability in the elegance of the Koran; which, it is not impossible, they might originally have taken from this, or some similar Christian, work.

19. <sup>6</sup> Ib. p. 131. A. seq.

20. <sup>7</sup> This is, by no means, a supposititious case. "Celsus," says Mr Bingham, (Antiq. Vol. i. Book i. c. ii. sect. 5.) "and others pretended that our Saviour studied magic in Egypt; and St Austin says, it was generally believed among the heathen, that he wrote some books about magic too, which he delivered to Peter and Paul for the use of his disciples. Hence it was that Suetonius, speaking in the language of his party, calls the Christians, *Genus hominem superstitionis maleficae, the men of magical superstition*. As Asclepiades, the judge in Prudentius, styles St Romanus the martyr, the Arch-magician.

And St Ambrose observes in the Passion of St Agnes, how the people cried out against her, "away with the sorceress! away with the enchanter !" See also the note to Book iv. sect. 31, above. Origen contra Cels. Lib. i. pp. 22, 30. Lib. ii. p. 89, &c.

21. <sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. p. 131. D.

22. <sup>2</sup> Matt, xxviii. 19--20. Cited evidently from memory.

23. <sup>3</sup> Let it not be imagined that this favours the modern doctrines about unwritten tradition. The Apostles were,--be it remembered,-- *divinely* inspired expressly for this work, and for inditing those Scriptures which are the *main* sources of divine truth to the Christian Church. And, although Irenaeus (Lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 200. Edit. Grabe) speaks of *Tradition*, not written, but delivered viva voce; it is evident enough, that he intends to ascribe to this no independent authority: for in the very same context he informs us, that the Heretics, against whom he was writing, were found, when opposing this Tradition, resisting the declarations also of the Scriptures. Ancient Tradition, when found accordant with the Scriptures, may indeed be relied on; but, it is from an examination of it by the Scriptures alone, that we can know it to be good.

24. <sup>4</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 132. B. where the Gr. stands thus: [Greek] of which the Syriac is as servile a rendering, and, at the same time, as obscure an one, as perhaps can be imagined.

25. <sup>3</sup> The Greek here, as often in other places, exceeds our Syriac text, which induces me to believe, that our work was written prior to this. Ib. p. 133. C.

26. <sup>4</sup> The Greek leaves us here, ib. D.

27. <sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. v. p. 109. C. seq. with some slight variations. A similar argument is pressed by Arnobius adversus Gentes. Lib. i. p. 32. Edit. 1604.

28. <sup>3</sup> This does not occur in the Greek.

29. <sup>4</sup> This does not occur in the Greek, ib.

30. <sup>5</sup> Matt. x. 10. Differing, as before, from the Peschito.

31. <sup>6</sup> This last clause is not found in the Greek, ib. p. 110. A., where the rest is found.

32. <sup>1</sup> So the Sermon on the mount, generally, Matt. v. seq.

33. <sup>3</sup> Matt. v. 37. The Greek however has, [Greek]

34. <sup>4</sup> Ib. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. in. cap. v. p. 110. C. seq.

35. <sup>5</sup> Ib. D. seq.

36. <sup>1</sup> [...] A sentiment not unlike this occurs in Origen, contra Cels. Lib. i. p. 11.

37. <sup>5</sup> Syr. [Syriac]. This word occurs in no Syriac Lexicon accessible to me. It is, however, beyond all doubt, the "*Parabolarii*," i. q. "Parabolani" of the Latins, and *Para&boloi* of the Greeks. The following is Bingham's account of the term. (Ant. Christ. Church, Book i. c. ii. sect. 9.)..."They" (the heathen) "gave them" (the Christians) "the names of *Parabolarii* and *Desperati*, the bold and desperate men, The *Parabolarii* or *Parabolani* among the Romans, were those bold adventurous men who hired out themselves to fight with wild beasts, upon the stage or amphitheatre, whence they had also the name of *Bestiarii* and *Confectores*. Now, because the Christians were put to fight for their lives in the same manner, and they rather chose to do it than deny their religion, they therefore got the name of *Paraboli*

and *Parabolani*; which, though it was intended as a name of reproach and mockery, yet the Christians were not unwilling to take it to themselves, being one of the truest characters that the heathens ever gave them," &c. And, again, (Book iii. c. ix. sect. 3.) " These were those whom the Romans called *Bestiarii*, and sometimes *Paraboli* and *Parabolarii*, from the Greek word *Paraballēscai*, which signifies exposing a man's life to danger, as they that fought with wild beasts did...and it is the opinion of Gothofred and some other learned critics, that the ancient reading of the Greek copies of... Phil. ii. 30, was [Greek], exposing his life to danger, as an old Latin interpreter of Puteanus renders it, '*Parabolatus de anima sua*.' See also Wetstein on the place. This name was also given to some officers of the Church, who thus adventured their lives in visiting the sick." Bingham, ib.

38. <sup>1</sup> Gr. ib. D. The arguments here replied to, will generally be found in Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 87, &c.

39. <sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 112. A.

40. <sup>4</sup> Not in the Gr. ib. C.

41. <sup>5</sup> Ib. (Demonstr. Evang.) p. 112. C., with some variations.

42. <sup>6</sup> Comp. Ep. Col. i. 23, and see the note above, Book iv. par. 36.

43. <sup>4</sup> Acts iv. 17, 18.

44. <sup>5</sup> Ib. 19.

45. <sup>6</sup> Ib. ch. vii.

46. <sup>7</sup> Ib. ch. viii. 1. seq.

47. <sup>8</sup> Ib. ch. xii. 2. seq.

48. <sup>9</sup> So Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 69.

49. <sup>10</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. cap. xxiii. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. v. p. 116, B. C. [...]

50. <sup>11</sup> Eccl. Hist. cap. xxv. [...]

51. <sup>12</sup> Ib. cap. xviii. [...]

52. <sup>1</sup> This was Judas, Matt. xxvi. 14; xxvii. 3, &c. [...]

53. <sup>2</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 117. [...]

54. <sup>3</sup> This clause does not appear in the Greek.

55. <sup>4</sup> Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15. 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

56. <sup>5</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. Gr. [Greek].

57. <sup>7</sup> Ib. p. 117. C. The Syriac is obscure here, which stands thus: [Syriac], lit. *These things then, have been investigated*, or, *let them be* (thought) *investigated*, (as) *that we have given to them, by connivance, a beginning which is not in propriety*. [...]

58. <sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. p. 117. D.

59. <sup>2</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 118. B.

60. <sup>4</sup> Matt. x. 10, &c.

61. <sup>6</sup> Acts iii. 6.

62. <sup>7</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 119. A.

63. <sup>8</sup> John xvi. 33.

64. <sup>1</sup> John xvi. 20.

65. <sup>2</sup> Mark ix. 13. Luke xxi. 12.

66. <sup>4</sup> See the note to the next paragraph. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. p. 119. D. seq. with certain variations.

67. <sup>5</sup> Matt. ix. 9-11. As before, differing considerably from the Peschito.

68. <sup>6</sup> Matt. x. 2, 3.

69. <sup>7</sup> An extract from the original Greek of this place, having been preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and kindly communicated to me, (see Book iv. sect. 6, above,) I shall now give it as before (1. c.) " Fol. 375. v. Euse<sup>B</sup>. eu0aggel-qeof<sup>a&</sup>: (haec rubrica excipit locum Lucae de vocatione Levi:) 1Acion qanma&sai to\_ a1plaston kai\ fila&lhqej h]qoj.. kai\ th\_n filosofi/an tou~ eu0aggelistou~ matqai/ou. ou[toj ga\_r to\_n pro&teron bi/on, ou0k a0po\_ semnh~j diatribh~j w9rma~to, e0k de\ tw~n a0mfi\ ta\_j telwni/aj kai\ pleoneci/aj sxolazo&ntwn. kai\ tou~to tw~n loipw~n eu0aggelistw~n ou0dei\j dh~lon h9mi~n e0poi/hsen. ou0k o9 snnapo&stoloj au0tou~ 'lwa&nnhj. a0lla0 o9 me\n louka~j sugkallu&ptwn to\_ o1noma th~ a0rxaiote/ra proshgori/a katexrh&sato. au0to\_j d' o9 matqai~oj. to\_n e9autou~ sthliteu/wn u9ion" (lego bi/on.) "kai\ kath&goroj e9autou~ gino&meno, o0nomasti\, au0to\_j e9autou~ memnhme/noj. e0n tw~ oi0kei~w suggra&mmati to&nd' i9storei~ to\_u tro&pon. kai\ para&gwn e0kei~qen o9 i0c. ei]den a1non" ( a1vqrwpon) kaqh&menon e0pi\ to\_ telw&nion matqai~on o0no&mati, e0le/gxwn e9autou~ to\_ trau~ma i3na qauma&shj th\_n te/xnhn tou~ i0atreu/santoj. kai\ pa&lin prow\_n e9ch~j, to&n te kata&logon tw~n loipw~n maqhtw~n e0cariqmou&meno, au0to\_j e9autw~ to\_ tou~ telw&nou prosti/qhsin o1noma. di0 u9perbolh\_n e0pieikei/aj. mh\_ e0pikru&ptwn to\_n pro&teron au0tou~ bi/on. (Fol. 376 r.) kai\ a9martwloi~j e9auto\_u sunariqmei~. kai\ tou~ sunaposto&lou, deu&teron e9auto\_n katale/gei. sunezeugme/noj gou~n tw~ qwma~, w9j petroj a0ndre/a. kai\ i0a&kwboj i0wa&nnh, fi/lippo&j te kai\ barqolomai~oj. prota&ttei e9autou~ to\_n qwma~n. protimw~n w9j krei/ttona to\_n sunapo&stolon. tw~n loipw~n eu0aggelistw~n tounanti/on pepoihko&tw~n:-- Sequitur et hoc loco rubrica: grhgori/ou qeolo&g." Dr Kopitar adds, "Nota quid si sub Corderii Eusebio et *Theophane*, quem ille e Bessarionis *codice* citat, nec definit, lateat Eusebii *qeofa&neia* ? E nostro nil amplius apparet. Sed video a Kollarii nota ad Lambecii recensionem, Rich. *Simonem* laudare similem catenam Bibliothecae Parisinae." -- The Parisian Catena I have no means of examining. The query respecting the Codex of Cardinal Bessarion, I must leave to those who have access to that Codex. On other extracts, found by Signor Mai, see p.

225, above, note. The learned reader will perceive, that in this, as well as the former extract, the "*Iota subscriptum*" is everywhere omitted : and that, in this extract, a few words have been added by the compiler of the Catena in which it is found. The whole passage is also found, with some variations, in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. v. p. 119. D. seq.

70. <sup>1</sup> Luke vi. 13. seq.

71. <sup>3</sup> Luke i. 2.

72. <sup>4</sup> Wanting in the Greek.

73. <sup>5</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 120. D.

74. <sup>6</sup> Our author speaks here of the First Epistle of John only: the second and third,--in each of which the Apostle is indeed styled "Elder," --being suspected as spurious for some time in the Church. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. xxv.--" In the fourth century, when Eusebius wrote his Ecclesiastical History, the Second and Third Epistles of St John were not reckoned among the *o9mologoumena*, but were in the number of the *antilegomena*, or books received by some, and rejected by others." Marsh's Michaelis, Vol. vi. sect. i. chap. xxxii,

75. <sup>7</sup> Ib. "The author neither calls himself John, nor assumes the title of Apostle; but names himself simply 'the Elder,' ( *o9 presbuteroj*)... St John might with the same propriety call himself *presbuteroj*, as St Peter called himself *sumpresbuteroj*; and after the death of St Peter, the title *o9 presbuteroj* might have been applied exclusively to St John, who was the only Apostle then living." See the whole of this: it. Proleg. Mill, in N.T. Edit. Kuster, sect. 151, 222: also Hammond's and Whitby's Prefaces to the Second Epistle of St John. [...].

76. <sup>1</sup> Mark viii. 29.

77. <sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 15-20. Disagreeing in many respects with the Peschito, as before. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 121. A. B.

78. <sup>3</sup> See above, Book iv. sect. 2, where we have a good explanation of this passage. It is also cited Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iii. p. mihi. 8. C., also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. v. p. 121. B.

79. <sup>4</sup> I would remark here, that by "*binding and loosing*," can only be meant, the office,--committed primarily to the Apostles, and secondarily to all duly authorized Ministers of Christ--of preaching, *ministerially*, the remission of sins through faith in Him: the fact being, that no one of the Apostles ever did, in his own person, proceed to pronounce pardon of sin on any man, nor, on the other hand, to denounce damnation : this mode of speaking of any thing as done, when the enunciation of it only is intended, being very frequently had recourse to in the Scriptures. See my Heb. Gram. Art. 154, 8; 157, 6, second or third edit.

80. <sup>5</sup> Both Estius (in difficil. Script. loc. in Marc. viii. 29.) and Dr Hammond (Annot. on the title of Matt.) have also noticed this, as Eusebius has. (Prep. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. vii.) "St Peter's humility," says the former, "would not suffer him to tell these" (honourable) "things to St Mark, when he was writing his Gospel"... "which evidences the great modesty of the Apostle." Dr Hammond:... "He (Peter, and after Him Mark) doth it, (mentions his denial, &c.) *more coldly* than Matthew had done, only *e1klaie*... Matthew, *e1klaie pikrw~j*." Jones (on the Canon, Vol. in. p. 65.) well remarks,... "There is not any one single instance in all his Gospel (i.e. Mark's) which tends to advance the honour...of Peter



above the rest of the Apostles;...which cannot be accounted for by any way more probable, than supposing that the Apostle did not publish those circumstances which were so much in his favour." He also remarks, that, Peter's working a miracle, in order to pay the tribute, is omitted by Mark. See Matt. xvii. 24. Mark ix. 30-33. Our Lord's saying he would pray for Peter, Luke xxii. 31--32, is also omitted. Peter's humility in not allowing Christ to wash his feet, is also omitted. (John xiii. 6.). Peter's zeal in cutting off the High Priest's servant's ear, John xviii. 10, is also omitted, as is his faith in leaping into the sea, John xxi. 7: also the particular charge to feed His sheep, John xxi. 15: as also the prediction of his martyrdom, John xxi. 18. It is worthy of remark too, that all these omissions were made in *the city of Rome*, where Peter taught, and where Mark, most likely, wrote his Gospel! Surely the Apostle never could have intended to be elevated there as superior to all the Apostles, and head of the whole Christian Church! Is it not probable that his intention was, to guard against the assumption, which he foresaw would be had recourse to?

81. <sup>6</sup> Mark xiv. 66, to the end: differing from the Peschito, as before.

82. <sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 122. A.

83. <sup>2</sup> Ib. A. seq.

84. <sup>4</sup> Ib. p. 122. C., with some variations.

85. <sup>5</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. D.

86. <sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 123. B. C. with some variations.

87. <sup>3</sup> Antiq. Jud. Lib. xvi. cap. iv. sect. 3. Edit. Hudson, p. 798. where the passage is thus given, [Greek]. Hudson has given (ib.) a good list of various readings. It will be sufficient for me to notice those observed by our Syrian translator. This passage is cited by Eusebius both in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. i. cap. xi.), and in his Demonstratio Evangelica (Lib. in. v. p. 124. B.) as may be seen in Hudson, a. So the Syr.[Syriac] b. So the Syr. c. Syr. *kai\ dida&skaloj*. d. Syr. *th~| a0lhqei/a| dexome/nwn*. e. So the Syr. not "*pellexit*," as in the Latin of Hudson's Edit. f. Syr. *kai\ o9 xristo&j*. g. Syr. [Syriac], *insimulatione*? This word I have never met with before in this sense, h. the Syr. adds [Syriac], *oi9 pa&lai, palai~oi, or a0rxai~oi*, if we have not two translations here of the Greek, *tw~n prw&twon*, which I suspect is the case. i. The Syr. seems to have had *tw~n par' h9mi~n*. j. Syr. seems to have had, *oi9 to\_ prw~ton*. k. Probably not in the Greek of our translator. l. Not in the copy of our Syrian, m. The Syr. seems to have read, *o3qen ei0j e1ti*. n. Did not exist in the Greek of our translator.-- See also Fabricii Salutaris Lux Evangelii, cap. ii. p. 16. seq.--It has been very common to suspect this passage as spurious, or as partly so; and some have gone so far as to charge Eusebius with the fraud. See the notes of Valesius to the Eccl. Hist. l. c. above. The chief ground for this suspicion appears to be, Josephus's saying, *This was the Christ*, when, in fact, he was no Christian. But, Is it necessary to suppose this? The Rulers of the Jews must have known that Jesus was the Christ; and yet, they resisted Him, even to the uttermost! They were acquainted with His miracles, and His resurrection. Did they act accordingly? Quite the contrary! Much the same might be said of thousands among ourselves, who willingly give their testimony to the historical fact of Jesus being the Christ, but who are still as little friends to His cause as Josephus was. Whatever may, therefore, be the fact of the case, as to this reading, I do not see how it can be impugned on grounds so fallacious as these. My own impression is, that it is not spurious.

88. <sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 124. C. D.

89. <sup>2</sup> So also p. 259, see the note.

90. <sup>3</sup> The Demonstr. Evang. leaves us here. Ib. p. 125. A.

91. <sup>4</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 185. A., but with considerable variation.

92. <sup>3</sup> See Book iv. par. 6, above. This matter occurs also in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. v. p. 135. B. C. seq.

93. <sup>4</sup> John xx. 22.

94. <sup>5</sup> The Greek is different here, ib. C.

95. <sup>6</sup> The Greek has much more here, ib. D.

96. <sup>7</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 136. A.

97. <sup>1</sup> Cited also above, p. 159.

98. <sup>5</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 137. C. D.

99. <sup>8</sup> This argument is advanced by Celsus: Origen contra Cels. Lib. ii. p. 94. seq.

100. <sup>1</sup> [...] All our author means is probably this, that, looking at such a project of converting the world, with such means simply, how much soever he might be disposed to look candidly on the thing; yet he could not but conclude, that it really promised nothing: i. e. provided other and almighty powers had not been put forth in it.

101. <sup>2</sup> Matt, xxviii. 19.

102. <sup>3</sup> Ib. ver. 20.

103. <sup>4</sup> John xx. 22.

104. <sup>5</sup> Matt. x. 8, &c.

105. <sup>6</sup> This seems to refer to Acts iii. 7, &c. iv. 7, &c. <sup>7</sup> Acts xiv. 12, &c.

106. <sup>8</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 139. B. C.

107. <sup>4</sup> Gr. "Didaskalei~a." Lat. "*schola atque auditoria*:" generally, as places of Christian instruction.

108. <sup>5</sup> See Book iii. sect. i. seq. above.

109. <sup>7</sup> The authors of "The Universal History," tells us, after reciting the amours of Julius Caesar and of Mark Anthony with Cleopatra, (Vol. ix. p. 480, Edit. 1747,) that "In her ended the family of Ptolemy Lagus, the founder of the *Egyptian* monarchy, after it had ruled over Egypt, from the death of Alexander, two hundred and ninety four years, or, as others will have it, two hundred and ninety three, and three months. For from this time *Egypt* was reduced to a *Roman* province, and governed by a praetor sent thither from *Rome*."--On the prophecies of Daniel relating to this period, the work of Sir Isaac Newton on this subject, or Rollin's Ancient History, may be consulted with advantage.

110. <sup>8</sup> It must be borne in mind, that this refers solely to the times in which the Apostles preached: for, in these, they generally suffered no persecutions, except from the unbelieving Jews. We have a remarkable instance illustrative of this argument recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, (ch. xxii. 23--30): where it is evident that, if Paul had not been a Roman, or had omitted to stand upon his privilege as such, he would have been scourged, if not put to death, by the Centurion: and also, that if no Centurion

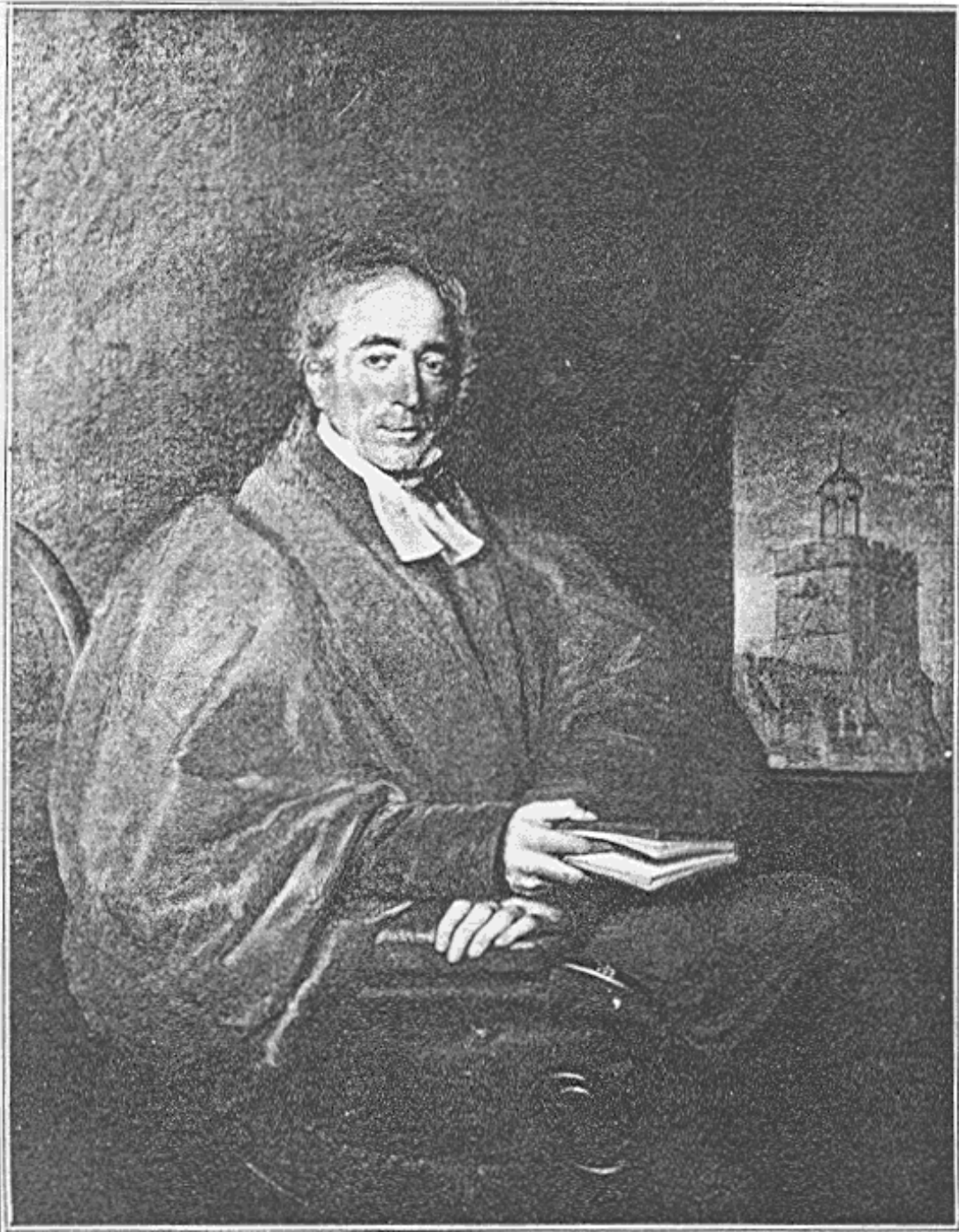
had been there, he would have been stoned to death by the Jews. The Roman power therefore, although afterwards a persecuting one, did contribute certainly to the furtherance of the Gospel.--This argument is urged also above, Book in. sect, l. seq.; and in the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 10, also in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. Cap. xvi. p. 541.

111. <sup>3</sup> Reference (see also Eccl. Hist. Lib. ix. cap. ix. p. 293. B.) is probably here made to some of those marvellous things done in ancient times in favour of God's Church. In the Ecclesiastical History of our Author, the deliverance from Egypt is thus compared with the erection of the Christian Church. Paulus Orosius makes a similar comparison, (Lib. vii. cap. xxvii. See my Sermons and Dissertations, Lond. 1830, pp. 309--10.), and Lactantius treats this matter much at length in his admirable Tract, "*De mortibus Persecutorum*." See also, on the death of Domitian, Suetonius, Lib. xi. cap. xvi. seq. Galerius was the instigator of the last persecution. See his miserable end. Hist. Eccl. Lib. viii. cap. xvi. p. 257. seq. See also, ib. Lib. ix. cap. vi. p. 287. ib. cap. x. p. 297. B. C. ib. p. 298. D. seq. also Constantini orat. ad Sanct. coet. cap. xxiv. xxv.

112. <sup>4</sup> Wanting in the Greek, ib. p. 140. D.

113. <sup>6</sup> This, although hinting--it may be--at the plagues of Egypt, and the fall of Pharaoh and his host, has more immediate reference to the Roman Emperors, who took an active part in the persecutions of the Church. See the authorities just referred to, particularly Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. viii. cap. xvii. p. 257. This part closes with Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. ib. p. 141. A.

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PROFESSOR LEE.

*From an Oil Painting by Evans, in the author's possession.*

PROFESSOR LEE.

*From an Oil Painting by Evans, in the author's possession.*

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A SCHOLAR OF A PAST GENERATION

A BRIEF MEMOIR

OF

SAMUEL LEE, D.D.

*Professor of Arabic, and afterwards Regius Professor  
of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge,  
Canon of Bristol, Etc.*

BY

HIS DAUGHTER

[Anna Mary Lee]

*"Verbum Dei Lux Mea"*

LONDON

SEELEY AND CO. LIMITED

ESSEX STREET, STRAND

1896

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PREFACE

SHORTLY after the death of Professor S. Lee, over forty years ago, a suggestion was made that some record of his remarkable talents and career, in a more extensive and lasting form than mere newspaper articles could supply, should be given to the public. He had, however, left no diaries or memoranda, nor yet copies of his large literary correspondence, and the idea was abandoned. A year or two ago I was passing through Shrewsbury, and, visiting the museum, saw there, amongst other portraits, a large oil-painting of my father. Attached to the picture was a card, with the statement that he had been Professor of Hebrew *at Oxford!* Finding such inadequate knowledge of him within eight miles of his native place, it occurred to me that he could scarcely be known even by name to many of the present generation, to whom the story of his life might be a stimulus, and an encouragement to make the most of their far greater opportunities for the acquirement of knowledge. On my return home I looked over the few papers and letters I had in my possession, also the prefaces to some of his translations and other works, all of which I imagine are now out of print, and made extracts from them of passages bearing upon his Oriental studies, and the religious and other topics of the day, many of which are of abiding interest.

With the lapse of time all those who were, strictly speaking, his contemporaries, have passed away, and thus many facts and impressions which might have illustrated this sketch are now lost to us. It will appear from the above that this short and imperfect record is, in the main, an autobiography.

Amongst my father's works, noticed particularly in this memoir, I have made no mention of the *Lexicon* (Hebrew, Chaldee and English) which was perhaps one of the most esteemed and useful of them all.

The chapter on the 'Travels of Ibn Batuta,' although one of his earlier translations, has been placed near the end, partly because it might prove of less interest to the general reader, partly because the list of authorities quoted would have interfered with the course of the narrative. The following letter may fitly close this Preface:--

Letter from Canon NORGATE

'FOXLEY PARSONAGE,  
'NORFOLK, *Jan.* 14, 1895.

'DEAR Miss LEE,--I heartily wish I could be of more service to you in your contemplated enterprise than your letter seems to intimate, as I had a great respect for your worthy father, though by no means intimately acquainted with him, and 'tis sixty years since! I, had two Cambridge acquaintances who passed under your father's hands who could have borne far higher estimony to his capability and value as at teacher than myself--Arthur Dawson of Christ's College, and Edward Harold Browne of Emmanuel (afterwards Bishop of Winchester), both of whom became Hebrew Scholars of the University of Cambridge. But though a mere sciolist in that language myself, I had learned to appreciate and honour what was perhaps not so generally known by the public at large as by his contemporaries at College--the remarkable manner in which, from his earliest days, he had persisted, in spite of most adverse circumstances, in the acquisition of knowledge of the most valuable description--that of the original language of the Old Testament Scriptures, and of other cognate tongues bearing upon its elucidation --and in *imparting that knowledge to others*. But this is not all of which I have a vivid recollection ; for added to it was the faithfulness with which he adhered to "the truth as it is in Jesus," never, by the grace of God, having been led away by those "will-o'-the-wisps" by which many allowed themselves to be distracted, some even in those early days of heresy, and (alas!) many more later.

'Your father was fortunate in his surroundings. I refer to the atmosphere and companionship that he enjoyed when at Queen's College. I myself, as a much younger man, feel very thankful for the helps that I have been privileged to have in the acquaintance of such men as Farish Tacy, Francis Cunningham and others, long gone to their rest and reward. They formed a galaxy of holy and simple-minded men, though varying much in their respective talents and the application of them ; and it is a great pleasure to me, though I fear of little value to you, to bear my humble testimony to your father's worth. I think I see his portly frame now after the lapse of more than sixty years, and I trust that there is in reserve for all who "hold the truth," a happy *recognition* as well as re-union in the everlasting mansions!--I remain, yours sincerely,--

LOUIS A. NORGATE.'

A. M. LEE.

*April* 1896.

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## A Scholar of a Past Generation

### CHAPTER I

#### EARLY EFFORTS

'The autobiographical passages in the writings of eminent men are those which are always seized on with avidity.'--H. REED.

SAMUEL LEE was born May 14th, 1783, He was the youngest of a family of six brothers and five sisters living at Longnor, about eight miles from Shrewsbury. Of these, he and a brother and sister were the children of a second marriage, and much younger than the rest His brother's artistic talents would have made him distinguished as a painter or sculptor had he possessed the same perseverance and steadiness of principle which characterised his brother Samuel. Some letters addressed to him by the latter are still extant, and are full of affectionate Christian counsel. [12](#) The following letter, written by Samuel Lee, contains all that is known of his early years. It was written in 1813, when he was master of Bowdler's School, Shrewsbury.

Mr SAMUEL LEE to JONATHAN SCOTT, Esq.

'SIR,-- In conformity to your request I now proceed to give you a detail of my pursuits in languages, with some circumstances connected therewith. The first rudiments of learning I received at a charity school at Longnor in the county of Salop, where I was born, which is a village situated on the Hereford Road, about eight miles from Shrewsbury. Here I remained till I attained the age of twelve years, and went through the usual gradations of such institutions without distinguishing myself in any respect; for as punishment is the only alternative generally held out, I, like others, thought it sufficient to avoid it. At the age above mentioned, I was put out apprentice to a carpenter and joiner by Robert Corbett, Esq., in which, I must confess, I underwent hardships seldom acquiesced in by boys of my age; but as my father died when I was very young, and I knew it was not in the power of my mother to provide better for me, as she had [13](#) two more to support by her own labour, I judged it best to submit. About the age of seventeen I formed a determination to learn the Latin language, to which I was instigated by the following circumstances. I had been in the habit of reading such books as happened to be in the house where I lodged, but, meeting with Latin quotations, found myself unable to comprehend them. Being employed about this time in the building of a Roman Catholic chapel for Sir Edward Smith of Acton-burnel, where I saw many Latin books, and frequently heard that language read, my resolution was confirmed. I immediately bought "Ruddiman's Latin Grammar" at a bookstall, and learnt it by heart throughout. I next purchased "Corderius Colloquies" by Loggon, which I found a very great assistance to me, and afterwards obtained "Entick's Latin Dictionary," also, soon after, "Rega's Testament" and "Clarke's Exercises." There was one circumstance, however, which, as it had some effect on my progress, I shall mention in this place. I one day asked one of the priests, who came frequently to us, to give me some information of which I was then in want, who replied that "charity began at home." This was [14](#) very mortifying, but it only served as a stimulus to my endeavours ; for, from this time, I resolved, if possible, to excel even him.

There was one circumstance, however, more powerful in opposing me, and that was poverty. I had at that time but six shillings a week to subsist on and to pay the expenses of washing and lodging; out of this, however, I spared something to gratify my desire for learning, which I did, though not without curtailing myself of proper support. My wages were, however, soon after raised one shilling a week, and the next year a shilling more, during which time I read the Latin Bible, "Florus," some of "Cicero's Orations," "Caesar's Commentaries," "Justin," "Sallust," "Virgil," "Horace's Odes" and "Ovid's Epistles." It may be asked how I obtained these books ? I never had all at once, but generally read one and sold it, the price of which, with a little added to it, enabled me to buy another, and this being read, was sold to procure the next. I was now out of my apprenticeship, and determined to learn the Greek. I bought, therefore, a "Westminster Greek Grammar," and soon afterwards procured a Testament, which I found not very difficult with the assistance of "Schrevelius's Lexicon." I [15](#) bought next "Hunford's Greek Exercises," which I wrote throughout, and then, in pursuance of the advice laid down in the Exercises, read "Xenophon's Cyropoedia," and soon after "Plato's Dialogues," some part of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" of Homer, "Pythagoras's Golden Verse," with the "Commentary of Hierocles," "Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead," and some of the "Poetae Minores," with the "Antigone of Sophocles." I now thought I might attempt the Hebrew, and accordingly procured "Bythner's Grammar," with his "Lyra Prophetica," and soon after obtained a Psalter, which I read by the help of the "Lyra." I next purchased "Buxtorf's Grammar and Lexicon," with a

Hebrew Bible, and now I seemed drawing fast to the summit of my wishes, but was far from being uninterrupted in those pursuits. A frequent inflammation in my eyes, with every possible discouragement from those about me, were certainly powerful opponents; but habit and a fixed determination to proceed had now made study my greatest happiness, and I every day returned to it rather as a source of rest from manual labour, and though I felt many privations in consequence, it amply repaid me in that solitary satisfaction which none but a mind [6](#) actuated as mine was could feel. But to return. Chance had thrown in my way the "Targum of Oukelos," and I had a Chaldaic grammar in Bythner's "Lyra," with the assistance of which, and of "Schindler's Lexicon," I soon read it. I next proceeded to the Syriac, and read some of "Gutber's Testament," by the help of "Otho's Synopsis" and "Schindler's Lexicon." I had also occasionally looked over the "Samaritan Pentateuch," which differs little from the Hebrew, except in a change in letters. I found no difficulty in reading it in quotations wherever I found it, and with quotations I was obliged to content myself, as books in that language were entirely out of my reach. By this time I had attained my twenty-fifth year, and had got a good chest of tools, worth, I suppose, about £25.

I was now sent into Worcestershire to superintend, on the part of my master, Mr John Lee, the repairing of a large house belonging to the Revd. Mr Cookes. I began now to think it necessary to relinquish the study of languages, as I perceived, however excellent the acquisition might have appeared to me, it was in my situation entirely useless. I sold my books, and made [7](#) new resolutions. In fact, I married, considered my calling as my only support, and some promises and insinuations had been made to me which seemed of a favourable nature in my occupation. I was awaked, however, from these views and suggestions by a circumstance which gave a new and distressing appearance to my affairs; a fire broke out in the house we were repairing, in which my tools, and with them all my views and hopes, were consumed. I was now cast on the world without a friend, a shilling, or even the means of subsistence. This, however, would have been but slightly felt by me, had not the partner of my life been immerged in the same afflicting circumstances. There was, however, no alternative, and now I began to think of some new course of life in which my former studies might prove advantageous.

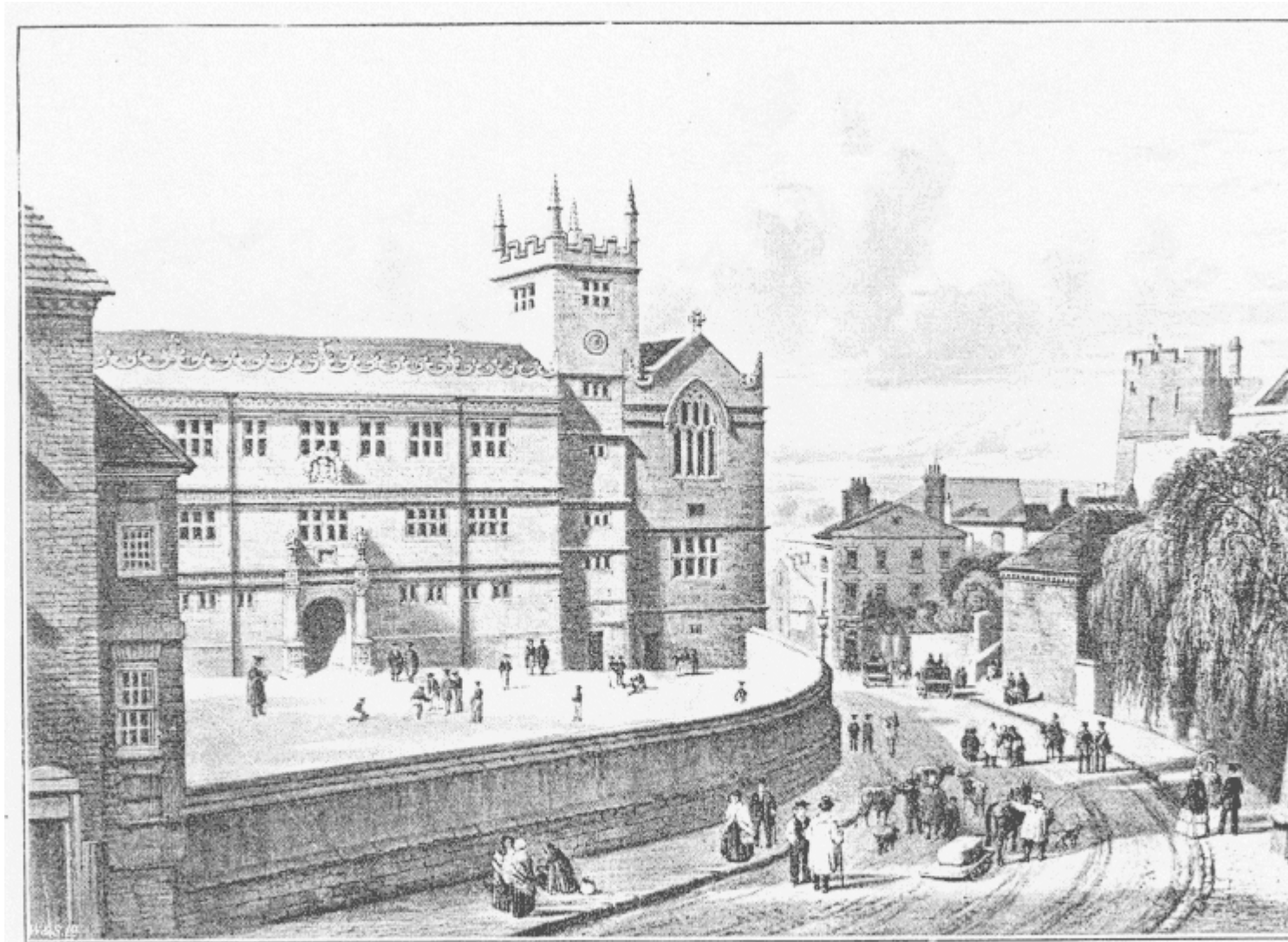
I thought that of a country schoolmaster would be the most likely to answer my purpose. I therefore applied myself to the study of "Murray's English Exercises" and improved myself in arithmetic. There was, however, one grand objection to this--I had no money to begin, and did not know any friend who would be inclined to lend. In the meantime, the Revd. Archdeacon [8](#) Corbett had heard of my attachment to study, and having been informed of my being in Longnor, sent for me in order to inform himself of particulars. To him I communicated my circumstances, and it is to his goodness I am indebted for the situation I now hold, and several other very valuable benefits, which he thought proper, generously, to confer. My circumstances since that time are too well known to you to need any further elucidation. It is through your kind assistance I made myself thus far acquainted with the Arabic, Persian and Hindoostanee languages, of my progress in which you, sir, are undoubtedly the best judge.--I am, sir, with every possible respect, your much obliged and very humble servant,

SAMUEL LEE.

'BLUE SCHOOL, SHREWSBURY,  
'April 26, 1813.'

An incident is told of him when an apprentice to his half-brother, Mr J. Lee. The workshops were at a field's distance from the Severn, which at times overflowed and reached the shops. On one occasion Samuel Lee was so absorbed in his books that he was sitting with his legs under water till the men came and took him away.

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SHREWSBURY GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NOW THE FREE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.  
*From a Drawing by P. Browne.*

SHREWSBURY GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NOW THE FREE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.  
*From a Drawing by P. Browne.*

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been secretary to Hastings in India, and Oriental Professor to the Royal Military and East India Colleges. He was the first person my father had met with able to enter into and sympathise with his zeal for acquiring Oriental languages.

The obituary notice of my father in the C. M. S. 'Intelligencer' for March 1853 gives such a full and interesting account of his going to Cambridge, and subsequent labours there, that I have availed myself of the Society's permission to insert some extracts from it in the following chapter. [10](#)

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## CHAPTER II

### STUDENT--PROFESSOR--DIVINE

'ASTONISHED at Mr Lee's acquisitions, and finding him possessed of almost unexampled facilities for the acquirement of languages, Dr Scott put into his hand some books, through the assistance of which he made himself acquainted with the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani languages.

'The loan of these books, and some instruction in pronunciation, included all that Mr Lee received of external aid ; his own mind furnished every other resource. And such was his progress in these hitherto untrodden paths, that, in the course of a few months, he was not only able to read and translate from any Arabic or Persian manuscript, but to compose in these languages. To his friend and patron, Dr Scott, Mr Lee sent Arabic and Persian translations of several Oriental apologues, taken from Dr Johnson's "Rambler," and [11](#) also Addison's "Vision of Mirza" in the "Spectator," which translations, in the opinion of Dr Scott, were "wonderfully well done."

'From the knowledge which Mr Lee had obtained of the Oriental languages through his acquaintance with Dr Scott, he was introduced into a few private houses, as instructor in Persic and Hindustani to the sons of gentlemen who were expecting appointments either in the civil or military department of the Honourable East India Company's service. This engagement, the superintendence of his own school, and an occasional attendance on two other seminaries as teacher of arithmetic, constituted his employment during his residence at Shrewsbury ; and, from the proficiency made by his pupils, it may be fairly inferred that his talent of conveying knowledge to others corresponded with the facility with which he made his personal acquisitions.

'But the period was at hand in which, through the ordering of an overruling Providence, Mr Lee was to be transplanted to a region more congenial to his natural feelings and the bent of his genius. His acquaintance with Dr Scott, which knew no interruption, was soon matured into a cordial friendship, and this, in conjunction with his constantly accumulating attainments, led to the rapid [12](#) advancement by which his subsequent career was distinguished. Dr Scott introduced Mr Lee to the notice of Dr Claudius Buchanan, who had lately returned from India, and was deeply interested in all the operations of the Church Missionary Society, especially in the Oriental department.'

It was owing to the efforts of these kind and valued friends that my father was enabled to enter Queen's College, Cambridge, at the close of 1813. Dr Buchanan was at that time residing at Cambridge, and he was requested to select the college at which Mr Lee should be entered. A letter in the published life of Dr Buchanan thus notices the fact:--

'QUEEN'S COLLEGE, *Jan.* 13, 1814.

'I consulted the College to-day concerning the proposed admission of Mr Lee, the Shrewsbury linguist. It was agreed to admit him to Queen's.'

The following notice occurs in the 'Shrewsbury Chronicle,' Jan. 26, 1814:--'Mr Samuel Lee, late of this

town, now of Queen's College, Cambridge, was last week examined by Dr Buchanan in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac [13](#) and Hindustani languages, and his skill and proficiency drew forth the applause of every scholar, as well as of his immediate patrons and friends, among whom are many truly learned and illustrious men. Mr Lee is, perhaps, the only person who at either University read in the three latter languages on his entrance as a student.'

He commenced residence soon after this date. His contemporaries well remember the striking simplicity and unassuming manners of their new associate. He diligently pursued the classical and mathematical studies which were prescribed in the College course, and regularly attended the lectures. But his chief attention was still devoted to Oriental languages; and in classics and mathematics he did not obtain the first place, even in the limited competition of the College examinations.

During the first year of his residence at College, Mr Lee translated into Arabic and Persian a small tract, entitled 'The Way of Truth and Life,' of which the Persian edition was, three years afterwards, stereotyped, and copies were furnished to the missionaries of the Edinburgh Missionary Society at Astrakhan, [14](#) who found it serviceable in their labours. In February 1815 Dr Claudius Buchanan died, and a difficulty arose respecting the completion of the Syriac New Testament, which he was engaged in carrying through the press. This work Mr Lee undertook on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

'It became necessary that he should begin the work *de novo*; and having collated several Syriac manuscripts for the purpose, it appeared in 1816. The following mention is made of Mr Lee's literary labours in the seventeenth report of this Society:--"The completion of the edition of the Syriac New Testament has been executed in a manner so honourable to himself as a scholar, that the Court of Directors of the East India Company was pleased to present him with one hundred guineas in testimony of its approbation." . . . "Mr Lee has proposed to enhance to the Syriac churches the value of this gift of the New Testament, by furnishing them with an edition of the Old Testament, chiefly by the aid of the celebrated Travancore Manuscript of Dr Buchanan." . . . "As the real history of these churches is imperfectly known, the Committee have requested [15](#) Mr Lee to compile a brief narrative of the principal events which have occurred in that history. They were desirous of thus making known the sufferings and exigencies of that persecuted people."

""This task Mr Lee has very ably executed. He will be found in his narrative to have arranged in lucid order the chief facts which are supplied by Geddes, La Croze, and Asseman; and to have accompanied them by remarks well suited to excite interest in behalf of these oppressed Christians."

""Besides these works, Mr Lee is editing the Old and New Testament in the Malay language, printed in Roman characters, of which tongue he made himself master for the purpose of rendering this service; and he is also carrying through the press an edition of 'Martyn's Hindustani New Testament,' and the 'Book of Genesis' in the same tongue, translated by Mirza Fitrut, and revised from the Hebrew by the lamented Martyn, the manuscript copy of which book was kindly presented to the Society by one of its friends from India.""

The publication of the 'Syriac New Testament' raised the reputation of Mr Lee abroad as well as [16](#) at home. The University of Halle, in Saxony, accordingly presented him with the degree of D.D., through the hands of Dr Gesenius, the Hebrew professor of that University. The Syriac Old Testament was not completed till the year 1823, when four thousand copies in quarto were issued.

'The compiler of these notices well recollects the fact alluded to in the foregoing extracts--Mr Lee's acquisition of the Malay language. It was accomplished in the College Christmas vacation of about two months ; and upon expressing to him his astonishment at the facility with which he acquired new languages, and the fidelity of his memory in retaining a perfect and distinct knowledge of each, Mr Lee made the remark that the acquisition of languages was to him as easy and certain a process as the study



of Newton's "Principia" appeared to be to his fellow-student; that in all languages there were certain links and dependencies which, when once understood, fixed the language in the mind ; and that afterwards the *copia verborum* might be acquired at your leisure. In the October term of 1817 Mr Lee took the degree of B.A., and was soon afterwards admitted to Holy Orders as curate of Chesterton, near Cambridge. Several of his [17](#) college friends went over to hear his first sermon; and one at least retains a lively recollection of the fervour and simplicity with which he discoursed upon the text, "But now they desire a better country, that is, an heavenly; wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God; for He hath prepared for them a city." (Hebrew xi. 16.) This sermon afforded a lively proof, if one had been needed, that Mr Lee's great advancement and rising reputation had not kindled the flame of ambition in his mind, nor corrupted it from "the simplicity that is in Christ." The annual record of his literary labours, presented in the eighteenth report of the Society, introduces a new language to our notice. "The attention of the Committee has been called to the Ethiopic Scriptures. A manuscript copy, in high preservation, of the first eight books of the Old Testament in Ethiopic having come, by purchase at a moderate price, into the hands of the Committee, the hope was again awakened which, had before been entertained but often disappointed, of communicating to Abyssinia the gift of the Scriptures."

'Mr Lee at once prepared himself to edit the manuscript, while the British and Foreign Bible Society took measures to print it.' 'Of how great [18](#) importance to Abyssinia the gift of the Scriptures would be likely, with the blessing of God, to become a judgment may be formed from a "Brief History of the Church of Abyssinia," which the Reverend Samuel Lee has compiled from the best authorities, at the request of the Committee. Mr Lee has executed this task with the ability with which he compiled the "Brief History of the Syrian Churches in the South of India."

He was also at this time employed, with the aid of a learned Persian, in preparing for the press an edition of the Old Testament in Persian, to accompany 'Martyn's New Testament' ; and he was associated with Professor Macbride, of Oxford, in preparing a correct and acceptable version of the Bible in Arabic. The two latter undertakings were to be at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Within the same year he also carried through the press a compendium of the Liturgy in Hindustani, prepared by Mr, afterwards Bishop, Corrie, and printed at the expense of the Prayer Book and Homily Society. 'It will appear from this statement,' the report observes, 'how entirely Mr Lee's time had been occupied.' [19](#)

The Syriac and Arabic Bibles, together with his ministerial duties, occupied the attention of Mr Lee during the year 1818.

The commencement of the next year introduces a new era of his life. The Arabic professorship at Cambridge became vacant by the resignation of Mr Palmer. His friends proposed that he should become a candidate; but as it was necessary that he should have an M.A. degree, the first step was to procure a royal mandate for conferring that degree upon him before the statutable time had been completed. For this purpose, the consent of a majority of heads of houses, and a vote of the Senate, were required. Mr Lee's modesty and retired habits had made him little known in the University. He was opposed also by a gentleman already of the degree of M. A., who had been many years in India, and was an accomplished Oriental scholar. Under these circumstances, a paper was printed and circulated among the members of the Senate, simply giving a list of the various Oriental works which he had edited, and a few testimonials from well-known Oriental scholars. Amongst them was the testimony of four native Persian gentlemen at that time residing in London, who testified [20](#) to his thorough acquaintance with the idiom and pronunciation, as well as with the grammar of that language, in the following emphatic terms :-- 'Upon the whole, this being the entire persuasion of your servant, and in like manner the belief of all his companions, who have spoken with the above-mentioned Mr Lee, both in Persic and Arabic, that, whether as regards pronunciation, or reading, or writing, he is learned and perfect.' The claims of Mr Lee upon the vacant chair, and his pre-eminent learning, were

recognised by all parties. The petition to the Crown for a royal mandate was triumphantly carried through the Senate. The Government used every effort to expedite the business, so that Mr Lee obtained his degree just in time for the election. The election is vested in the heads of houses, and Mr Lee announced his success to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in the following letter :--

To the Reverend JOSIAH PRATT.

'QUEEN'S COLLEGE,  
'March 11, 1819.

'MY DEAR SIR,--I have now the happiness of announcing to you my complete success in [21](#) being elected to the Arabic professorship. The candidates had all withdrawn except Mr Keene of Haileybury and myself. The numbers, I understand, were nine to four, so that my majority was great. But had it been necessary, I should have had a few more votes, Now let me pay the tribute due to Him who governs "all things after the counsel of His own will" My prayer and hope is, that this and every other dispensation of His providence may at length promote His glory, and the good of His church. I hope in this to be joined by many a warm and devoted heart; and also that some pious breathings may be put up for me, that I may not be led into temptation but delivered from evil.

'My kindest regards to all friends--Mrs Pratt and family, Mr Bickersteth and family, etc. I hope soon to see you in town, when I will tell you particulars. Please to excuse haste.--I am, my dear sir, yours very affectionately,

'SAMUEL LEE.'

The elevation of Mr Lee to an University professorship naturally closed his official connection with the Church Missionary Society. [22](#)

His labours were never intermitted, but they gradually became of a more general character, and a large share of them was engrossed by academical duties.

He delighted whenever he had the opportunity of giving instruction to any students or missionaries of the Society in the Oriental languages. This he continued to do even to the last year of his life. One of the alumni of Cambridge would scarcely reach his mission in West Africa before he would hear of the death of the venerable friend who encouraged and helped him in the study of Arabic. Such pupils will bear witness that the learned professor omitted no opportunity of inculcating spiritual truth, or ever failed to respond to the motives which carry a missionary into a far country. One of his earliest letters lies before us, in which he thus speaks of the advice which he had just given to a student of the Society under his instruction : -- 'Private prayer is the marrow of religion. It is that which makes the soul "delight itself in fatness"; but for literary men it appears to me to be almost the "one thing needful." '

The literary works which he undertook in [23](#) furtherance of the Society's objects after his election to his professorship were the compilation of a New Zealand Grammar and Vocabulary, in which he fixed the orthography upon a system which has proved eminently successful. This work was accomplished mainly by availing himself of the assistance of two New Zealand chiefs, Hongi and Waikato, who resided near him at Cambridge for several months in the year 1820. In 1824 he also edited the controversial tracts on Christianity and Mahomedanism by Henry Martyn, being the substance of his public disputations at Shiraz with learned Mahomedans.

Among works of a general kind may be noticed a Hebrew Grammar first published in 1827 (of which a second edition appeared in 1832, and a third in 1841), and a Hebrew and English Dictionary in 1840;

also an edition of Sir William Jones's 'Persian Grammar' in 1828, which nearly deserves the title of a new work ; 'The Travels of Ibn-Batuta,' translated from the Arabic (1833) ; and the Syriac version of 'Eusebius on the Theophania,' from a recently-discovered MS., 1840; together with a translation of the same in 1843. He published also [\[24\]](#) a volume of 'Sermons and Dissertations,' as well as several controversial tracts and single discourses.

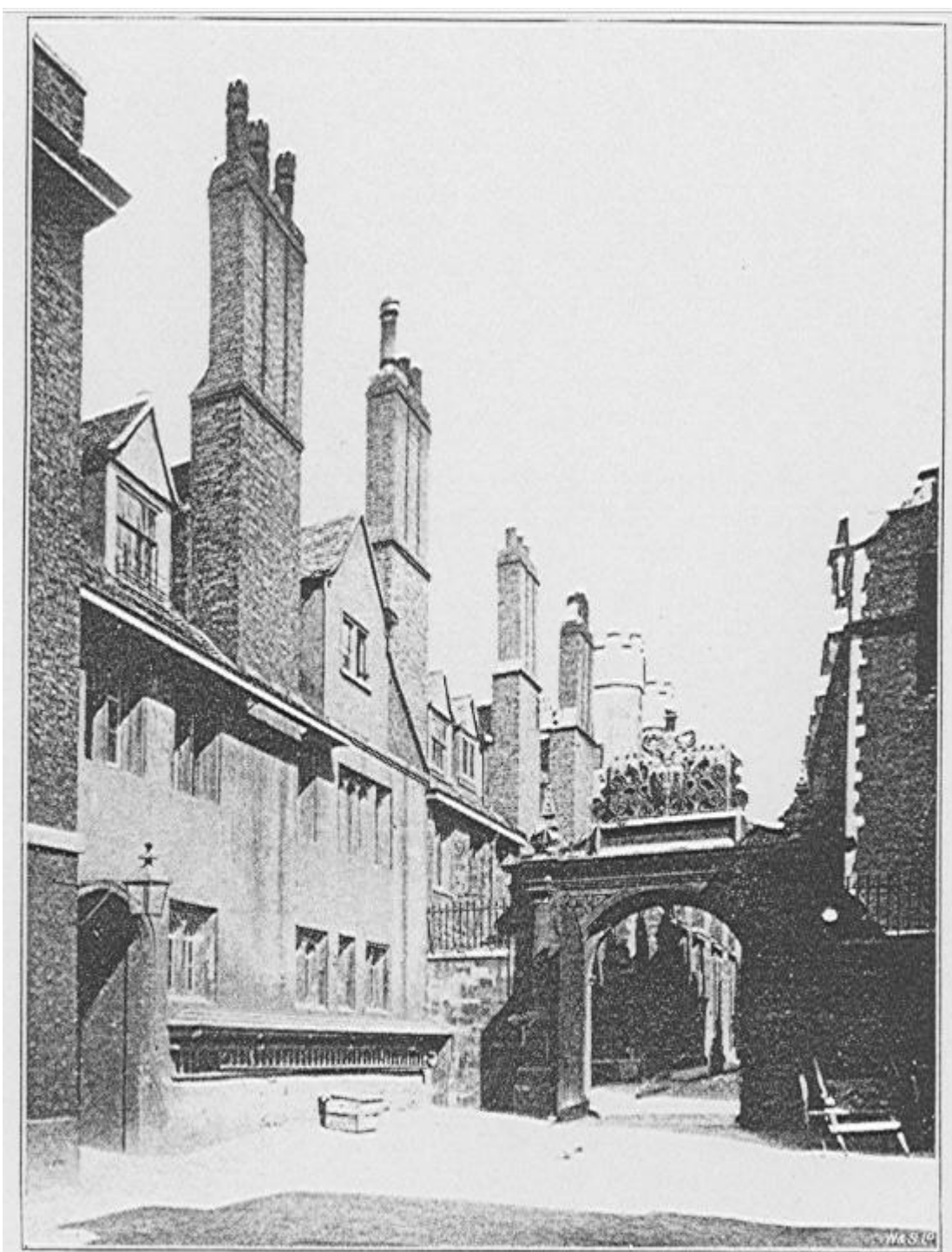
In the year 1831 Professor Lee was removed from the Arabic Professorship to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew. As this professor enjoys certain privileges at Trinity College, he migrated from Queen's to that Society. In the same year he was presented by the Crown to a stall in Bristol Cathedral, through which he obtained the Vicarage of Banwell, Somersetshire, which he afterwards exchanged for the Rectory of Barley, in Hertfordshire, on the borders of Cambridgeshire.

The following testimony from one of his pupils, afterwards well known as Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem, will show with what grateful affection he was remembered by those to whom he so gladly imparted instruction.

'JERUSALEM, *Feby.* 13<sup>th</sup>, 1874.

'DEAR MADAM,--I cannot express the delight which a letter from the daughter of my dear teacher and almost parental friend the late Dr S. Lee, has given me. [\[25\]](#)

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TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE. PROFESSOR LEE'S ROOMS, OVER  
THE LAMP.

*From a Photograph by Mr. Hunt, Cambridge.*

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE. PROFESSOR LEE'S ROOMS, OVER THE LAMP.

*From a photograph by Mr. Hunt, Cambridge.*

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'It is forty-nine years since I had the privilege of being taught by him Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopic, but his memory is still as fresh in my mind as if it had been last year, and is ever refreshed when I read the Prophet Hosea, and other portions of the Holy Scriptures, as well as, occasionally, the Koran in Arabic, and the Psalms in Ethiopic, which I then read with him.'

In reference to the translation of the Bible into the Malay language, my father wrote some years later:--'I superintended an edition of the Syriac Testament for the use of the Syrian churches in Malabar, which was printed at the expense of the Bible Society, and published in 1816. The Metropolitan of the church of Malabar, in a letter dated December 3, 1821, to two distinguished noblemen in this country, says,--"With respect to the books of the New Testament which you sent to us, we have divided and given them to the churches which are in Malabar, and with great joy does every man present his prayer to God for you." Since these New Testaments have been sent to Malabar, I have had the good fortune to complete [\[26\]](#) a large impression of the Old for the same church, and I have some hopes that I shall be able to do a similar work for the churches in Abyssinia.'

The following letter from Lord Teignmouth refers to his candidature for the Arabic Professorship :--

'PORTMAN SQUARE, *Feb.* 18, 1819.

MY DEAR SIR,--I wrote to you yesterday, and hope you received my letter. Happy shall I be if my testimonial should be of use in promoting the object of your wishes, although it cannot add to your merit. God has done much for you, and I hope will do much through you; to Him be the praise.

'The object of this letter is to inform you that the Most Reverend Dr Giarve, Archbishop of Jerusalem, is now in London, and I hope your time and pursuits will allow you to see him, and appreciate his character and talents. He visited me this morning, and is a simple, unaffected man, more like a monk than an archbishop. He writes Arabic and Syriac, and talks in Italian, so that I had an interpreter. I have ordered a copy of your Syriac Testament to be sent to [\[27\]](#) him; he wants the whole Bible for his Syrians; but, if I understand him, it is the Arabic Bible in Syriac characters, for Arabic is the vernacular language in and about Jerusalem.--Your very sincere

TEIGNMOUTH.'

In the life of the first Lord Teignmouth a notice of Professor Lee occurs, from which an extract is given:--'Among the young students whose ardour in Oriental pursuits he had befriended or encouraged, and amongst whom he had distributed nearly the whole of a considerable collection of Oriental books he had brought from India, was one, in the removal of whose difficulties, whilst laying the foundation of his extensive acquirements, Lord Teignmouth had felt a deep interest -- Mr Samuel Lee, now Regius Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. . . .'

'It was some time after Mr Lee had quitted Shropshire that Lord Teignmouth, having heard from his relations in that county of the circumstances of his history, formed an acquaintance with him, and derived from his intercourse with this remarkable scholar not only the gratification which his [\[28\]](#) communicativeness, amiable qualities and piety afforded, but also the delight of interweaving the studies of his youth with the important pursuits to which he dedicated his declining years.' [\[29\]](#)

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## CHAPTER III

### HEBREW GRAMMAR

DR LEE published his first edition of 'A Grammar of the Hebrew Language, comprised as a Series of Lectures' . . . 'designed for the use of students in the universities,' in 1827, and in 1841 a third edition 'enriched with much original matter.' He says, in the preface to the former edition :-- 'Everyone knows that, since the times of Elias Levita, various have been the efforts to abridge the labour of acquiring the Hebrew language. Some have reduced the grammar to one sheet or page, and the lexicon to but little more, persuading their readers that, as the Hebrew is the most ancient, so it is the most simple of all languages, and that men cannot look with too much suspicion on those attempts to make it complex and difficult, which were first set up by the Rabbins, and afterwards adopted by their equally blind advocates, the [30](#) grammarians, who have followed them. But if we allow that this language is the most ancient and simple, still the question will remain as to what this abbreviating and plausible system has hitherto done. Has it, it may be asked, supplied us with principles on which we can rely ? or, by diffusing an overpowering light over the sacred text, been sufficient to bear down all opposition, or even to satisfy one candid inquirer that he is a jot wiser on these subjects than his pious forefathers were ? In most instances, I think, it must be granted that our light has gradually become less, that the scope of the context has appeared less obvious, while the liability to mistake has been increased in an amazing degree. In others, the discovery and exhibition of amusing and splendid theories has, perhaps, tended more to bring both religion and philosophy into disrepute than anything else could possibly do. Hence it is probable that the study of the original Scriptures has, for the last century or more, been daily on the wane in this country, and our knowledge of divinity has not made that progress which might otherwise have been reasonably expected it would. . . .

'The Rabbinical system of vowels and accents has been adopted (in these lectures) as that which is the [31](#) most likely to promote a sound and accurate knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures ; not, indeed, with a view of ascribing to it anything like a Divine origin or authority, but because it seems certain that among the various human systems hitherto proposed for the purpose of assisting the learner, this is incomparably the best. . . .

'Although the Rabbinical system is infinitely superior to those proposed by Masclef, Hutchinson and others, yet it must be confessed that this also has its defects ; not to insist upon the consideration that it appears to be advanced but little farther than a state of infancy. . . . Hence the great desideratum appeared to be the construction of grammars which should at once combine the labours of the Rabbins with a system of analysis delineating the principles upon which the language is founded, in such a manner as to form the judgment and to interest the understanding; to detail the rules, indeed, but, at the same time, to ascertain the principles upon which they are founded, so as to satisfy the scruples and to ensure the confidence of the learner.

'Towards arriving at this point, Altling seems to be the first who did anything considerable. After him, Albert Schultens, Schröder and Storr [32](#) have, perhaps, been the most successful writers. Dr Gesenius, the present Professor of Hebrew at Halle, certainly ranks next. . . . Dr Gesenius is closely followed by Professor Stewart of Andover, in America, in the very excellent Hebrew Grammar which he has published, and which was printed at Andover for the second time in 1823. . . . As I have occasionally cited the Arabic grammarians, the question might be asked--to what extent the cultivation of this language and of its sister dialects should be carried, in order to enable the student to become well acquainted with the Hebrew? I answer, as the Hebrew language has now ceased to be spoken in its purity upwards of two thousand years, and as these dialects still retain a very considerable portion of its words, and are manifestly regulated by the same grammatical laws, generally speaking, he who is the best acquainted with these dialects is by far the most likely person to be a successful commentator on the Hebrew Scriptures. On the versions of the Septuagint and Vulgate, entire reliance cannot be placed ;



and the same may be said of all the Oriental ones. To these versions, indeed, we are very greatly indebted on several accounts; there are, nevertheless, so many [\[33\]](#) marks of human infirmity discoverable within them, that it is certainly incumbent on everyone who is anxious to see the beauties, and to feel the force of the Holy Scriptures in all their bearings, to add to these helps others which Providence has placed within his power, and thus to further the progress, and to advance the clearness of that light which alone can be said to shine to the perfect day. In this point of view, therefore, we are greatly indebted to the Rabbins, who were the first to go to the language of Ishmael for that assistance which circumstances had taken out of their own hands, and thence to transmit it to us. ... The names of Pococke, Castell, De Dieu, Schultens, Schröder and others will ever be revered by those who appreciate the Holy Scriptures. . . . It is true no new doctrines are to be expected; those which are the most important are to be found in the very worst translation. But, then, their clearness may have been obscured, and their force diminished. . . . Difficulties, apparent discrepancies and obscure passages may yet remain, which it could not but be advantageous to the cause of Christianity should be removed. Besides, the general endeavour to translate the Scriptures for the use [\[34\]](#) of missionaries makes it doubly binding that we should endeavour to give nothing to the world which is not, as nearly as human industry can make it, the unadulterated Word of God. And for these ends, I believe, we have sufficient helps within the compass of our command. . . .

'It has long appeared to me that the short grammars with which our market abounds have produced the most lamentable effects among learners. . . . While, on the other hand, many who might in the end have become good scholars have been alarmed at the sight of a large grammar to such a degree as to give up everything at once in despair. It has been my endeavour to provide for both these cases. To learn the grammar by one continued effort, without an application to the text of Scripture, will be tedious and unprofitable. The rules will appear difficult to retain, the reasons on which they are founded obscure and uninteresting, and both will, therefore, soon be forgotten. On the other hand, the text of Scripture, without recurring to the grammar, will appear equally perplexing, dark and indefinite; but when both are wrought up together the mind will gradually rise to the subject, so that scarce an hour will pass in which [\[35\]](#) some new accession of knowledge will not be realised. In this stage, however, he will stand in need of constant advice to sobriety, to be jealous of the discoveries now made, and exceedingly sparing in making public the new lights he may have the good fortune to elicit. These, indeed, he may register for future inspection-- and this would be an excellent plan--but let him be content to wait for a maturity which, he may rest assured, however calm his judgment or brilliant his talents may be, he will stand in need of.'

Again, later on, he says:--'An experience of some years has convinced me that the criticism of the Hebrew Bible is not to be mastered in a few lessons, whatever some pretenders may affirm to the contrary. Its language, indeed, is not inferior either in regularity, ease, elegance, strength or extent, to many others which are cultivated among us with the greatest ardour; while its history, doctrines, prophetic declarations and morals are as much superior to anything to be found in them as light is to darkness, or as the glories of heaven are to the poor and perishing enjoyments of this state of things. Still, it must be confessed, much time, [\[36\]](#) thought and diligent inquiry are indispensable to its right understanding, especially in those parts which are the most interesting and of the greatest practical moment. To study its language . . . has appeared to me to promise the best means, both of thoroughly imbuing the mind with a real knowledge of it and of keeping up that interest in the meantime, which is absolutely necessary to its acquirement.

'It is not my intention to infer, or to have it believed, that I have now at length discovered something from which none should in any case presume to dissent. By no means. My only wish is to recommend investigation, and this on grounds the most liberal and extended ; and thus to obtain that additional light and knowledge on the contents of the inspired Scriptures of the Old Testament, of which I think

everyone must confess we stand in need. I will only say, that if indeed I have been fortunate enough to have advanced, in any degree, a mode of inquiry in the more elementary parts of the Hebrew language likely to render good service in this respect, I shall have ample reason to be most thankful to Him who is the giver of every good and perfect gift. I will only add, [37] the advancement of Divine truth, and of the honour of Him to whom we owe it, has been my sole motive in so far venturing to differ from others who have preceded me in this line of literature.'

Now that we have for some years had the Revised Version of the Bible, it may not be uninteresting to have my father's opinion on the subject, in the year 1822.

'If it be allowed that certain parts of the Authorised Version are now incorrect, is there not a probability that these would, in another revision, be improved ? If, then, there is a probability of improvement, are we to be restrained from making it because some other dangers stare us in the face ? Are we to merge what we know to be the truth because, forsooth, there is a question of expediency presenting difficulties and dangers? For my own part, I believe every proposal for building an infirmary, a bridge, or a charity school has ever been attended with difficulties and dangers equally great. It has been said that no theological advantage would be gained by such revision. Had this argument been thought good in the days of Jerome, I do not see where could have been the necessity of [38] his making a new version from the Hebrew, when the old translation from the Septuagint contained every religious truth as far as it could be gathered from the Old Testament. Nor again can I see why the Authorised Version was itself made ; for I suppose no one will contend that the former Bibles did not exhibit religious truth. But I may be allowed to add, that if by a revision no religious truth be likely to suffer, but many passages, which are now obscure or unintelligible, be made plain and clear, I believe the dangers, whatever they may be, will be diminished, as we shall confessedly lose nothing, but probably, and I will say certainly, gain much. I agree, too, that the Bible is not intended to teach verbal criticism, but I do contend that the translation, if it be allowed to carry the name of the "Word of God," should be correct; and if it be intended to edify the people, it should be made intelligible, which, in many instances, it now is not.

'Had I leisure sufficient for the task, I should have no hesitation in attempting to make out a list of passages in the Authorised Version which I believe stand in need of correction; and to point out, as far as I may be able, how such [39] corrections should be made; but I should never think of submitting to such a task upon the hope that critics would be unanimous in adopting them, because I know such concurrence is not to be expected, either in this or anything else. The most important question that appears to me as proper to be proposed with respect to such an undertaking is, whether there is among us at this day a sufficient quantity of Hebrew learning to justify the hope of success. And on this point, I am sorry to say, I have considerable doubt'

Letter from the Reverend W. PAUL to Dr LEE on his 'Hebrew Grammar.'

'MANSE OF BANCHORY, DEVENICK,  
'BY ABERDEEN.

'REVEREND SIR, -- Having acquired a taste for the study of Hebrew literature, and a great proportion of the knowledge of it which I possess from your works, I have much pleasure in acknowledging my great obligations to you, and in expressing my anxious desire that you may long be spared in health and strength to enjoy the distinguished reputation which you have so justly earned by your literary labours. My long [40] acquaintance with your works has created on my part a sort of imaginary intimacy with you, and a real feeling of gratitude, which I trust you will not repudiate, and I feel assured that you will not discourage the pursuit of studies, a taste for which you yourself have been instrumental in creating. Not very long after commencing the study of Hebrew, which I have learned

without any instructors, I fortunately had your grammar put into my hands, which threw a light upon the whole subject which I have failed to discover in any other, although I have perused all those of any note which have lately appeared in this country. I assure you I have too high a respect for you to attempt to flatter you, and that I am expressing the real sentiments of my mind when I say that it is without exception the best grammar I have ever seen in any language, and that my wonder is that any other has got a footing in our universities and schools. I can only account for this from the low standard still possessed by those who teach the Hebrew language. Little progress can be expected in the study so long as a preference is given to grammars stored with facts but destitute of principles, and so long as teachers are more [41](#) desirous to load the memories than to exercise the judgments of their pupils. I am satisfied, from what I have experienced as an examiner in Hebrew in the Presbytery of Aberdeen, that this mode of teaching it makes it to many little better than labour and sorrow, and tends more than anything else to disgust the student with the language altogether.

'Your system of syllabication is most important as the groundwork upon which the changes of the vowels depend ; and the principles of contraction of vowels and consonants which you were the first to introduce are of great consequence in showing how every defective word has been changed from its triliteral form, as exhibiting the uniformity of the laws under which these contractions take place, and as thereby enabling the student to perceive the grounds upon which the variations of verbs from the regular paradigm proceed.

'I cannot here refrain from stating that I have derived more benefit in ascertaining the principles upon which the vowel changes proceed, from the following observation made in your grammar, than from all that I have seen [42](#) upon the subject in any other work:--"Were words to be augmented in addition to their own primitive vowels, they would become inconveniently long. And on the other hand, as those vowels which have been termed immutable constitute the distinctive character of the words in which they are found, perspicuity forbids that any change should take place in them, otherwise the peculiar forms of such words would be lost, and with that the sense intended by writers generally. Art. 103, p. 41, 3d Ed."

.....

'Your treatment of the segolate nouns is most satisfactory, and sets the whole of that matter in the clearest light. I am of opinion that the principles there laid down may be applied to many other cases where the changes of the vowels are ascribed to oblique correspondence. Many words as well as segolates assume new forms, and in these cases the changes of vowels appear to proceed with reference to the original vowels of the old and not those of the new form. . . .

'It is, however, your general views upon the grammar and syntax of the language which, in my judgment, constitute your triumph as a grammarian. I am quite satisfied as to the correctness [43](#) of your theory that the noun is the root, and that the simple form of the verb is actually a primitive noun concrete or abstract, with fragments of pronouns prefixed or affixed, the former becoming the past, the latter the present tense. Verbs having thus their nominatives incorporated with them, apparent nominatives are either to be understood in the absolute case (to speak in a manner applicable to other languages), or are in opposition to, and explanatory of, the nominatives contained in the verb. On this principle you have

accounted for a mass of anomalies in regard to concords which have never before been satisfactorily explained. The extension of your general principles to the other conjugations of the verb, by the prefixing or postfixing the same fragments of pronouns to compounds of the original root, whether concrete or abstract, is most ingenious and convincing, and the simplicity of the view is a great confirmation of its correctness. . . .

.....

'If your doctrine concerning the verb is correct, and if the noun is the root, then, with the exception of your own, in which this view is assumed, no Hebrew Lexicon that I have seen, whatever may be its other merits, is based upon sound etymological [44](#) principles, and hence the student is liable to be misled at every moment.

'As you very justly remark, a great obstruction has arisen to the study of the Hebrew language, from attempts to reconcile its general structure and syntax with those of other languages with which it has no affinity. . . .

'Nordheimer has, in my judgment, completely failed to show that futurity is primarily inherent in what you properly call the present tense. Your doctrine on this point is, I believe, new, and is most important, and it is confirmed by the analogy of verbs in all languages, which, like the Hebrew, have only two tenses. . . .

'I have been much profited by your excellent observations, showing how the Hebrew language can dispense with peculiar forms for the subjunctive or potential moods.

'The principles which regulate the sequences of the tenses create, as it appears to me, the greatest difficulty in Hebrew syntax--a difficulty which you have had the honour of being the first to solve. It may be said of the Hebrew tenses, with greater truth than of those of any other language with which I am acquainted, that they express time, not absolutely, but relatively. This, [45](#) indeed, may be said to be a peculiar feature of the syntax of the language, and you speak equally philosophically and truly when you affirm that what is called 'w conversive' has no such conversive power as is usually ascribed to it. ...

'I feel inclined to pursue this subject further, but I perceive that I have already extended this letter to unwarrantable length. I can scarcely suppose that the pleasure which I have in repeating in a very imperfect way what can impart no information, and can be of very little interest to you, is a sufficient warrant for thus occupying your valuable time. . . .

'I have a work nearly in readiness for the press, with a special view of applying the principles established in your Grammar to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures. This I have attempted in an analysis of the whole of the book of Genesis. . . . The analysis is likewise preceded by a short Grammar. . . . The Grammar is contained in about sixty pages, and is of little value but as connected with the analysis. It is to your Grammar that the references are chiefly made.

.....

'I believe that such a work would be useful [46](#) for the study of the Hebrew language, and

that it would familiarise the minds of students with the doctrines on Hebrew grammar, which you have been the first to propound. Were this the case, I believe I should be rendering the highest service to the interests of Hebrew literature. It is perhaps not wonderful that views so new and so subversive of much that has been advanced, both by preceding and succeeding grammarians, should be received with hesitation by some, and rejected by others, who have prejudices and theories of their own to maintain, and that they should, from these and similar causes, make their way less quickly than could be wished. But sure I am that they will triumph in the end. The more recent grammarians are evidently approximating towards them, and are throwing them into such forms as may enable them to adopt them without acknowledgment. I have seen Professor E.'s letter, addressed to the editor of the "Journal of Sacred Literature," on the subject of his plagiarism from your Grammar. . . .

I have now to apologise for the liberty I have taken in writing to you, and for the length to which this letter has extended. Were you to give me a word of kindly encouragement in the [\[47\]](#) pursuit in which I am engaged, it would cheer me greatly in a task to myself extremely agreeable and useful, whatever it may prove to others. This is all that I crave at your hand.-- I am, rev. sir, with sincere esteem and respect, very faithfully yours,

WILLIAM PAUL.

'The Revd. Samuel Lee, D.D.' [\[48\]](#)

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## CHAPTER IV

### TRANSLATION OF JOB

IN 1837 Dr Lee published a translation of the Book of Job, with an introduction on the history, times, friends, etc., of the patriarch, accompanied by a commentary.

One of his pupils, the Rev. C. A. Hulbert, author of 'The Gospel Revealed to Job,' acknowledges in his preface his indebtedness to his former teacher. 'Attendance on the Hebrew Lectures of the Reverend Professor Lee, during my residence in the University of Cambridge, particularly those in 1833 on the Book of Job, contributed to increase my knowledge of, and attachment to, that divine book. The complete translation and copious notes which I then took down formed the basis of the criticism of the following work. The subsequent publication of the learned author's translation [\[49\]](#) and commentary by himself, enabled me to correct my own notes.'

The reasons which led him to undertake this work may best be given in his own words.

'There has, perhaps, been no period in which much doubt has not existed whether Job was or was not a real character.' . . . 'I hold that everything which tends to deprive this book, and such books as this, of their real historical character, cannot but administer to infidelity in the end. I therefore considered it my duty to investigate this question in all its essential bearings ; and in doing so I soon found that everything necessary to its determination was at hand. I found, as I thought, the family of Job, those of his friends generally, the parts in which he and they resided, as well as the times in which they lived, all determinable in Holy Writ, in a manner never found in cases of parable, and to an extent quite sufficient to prove that the whole was real history, and intended to be received as such.'

'One consideration which has appeared to me of great moment presented itself during this investigation; it was this:--If I have rightly ascertained the period in which Job lived, the [\[50\]](#) allusions



so often made in his book to God's will, commands, ways and judgments, must be allusions to revelations existing before the times of Moses; and as I find many of them made in the very words of the Book of Genesis it would follow that this book was in existence and generally known before the times of Job; those not to be found in this book might have been taken from others which Divine Providence has not deemed it necessary should be preserved ; and of such we have some intimations elsewhere in the Old Testament, and in the Epistle general of Jude in the New. But what appeared to me the most important and remarkable was the real citations made in considerable numbers from the Book of Job by subsequent writers of the Old Testament, as well as by those of the New; and these, together with allusions less direct existing to a very great extent. Job is not, therefore, merely cited by name, but his book is quoted verbally and literally in very many cases; in many more it is manifestly imitated, or else alluded to. If this, therefore, can be relied on--and my own conviction is that it can, and is, moreover, indisputable-- nothing farther can be wanted to complete the [\[51\]](#) proof that the Book of Job is strictly historical, and canonically true; the sacred penmen themselves of the subsequent Scriptures having both considered and treated it as such, and as being of paramount Divine authority.' . . . 'It will now appear that even the patriarchs were much more enlightened on the subject of revealed religion than has been usually believed, which cannot fail to throw much light and interest on their histories as recorded in the Old Testament and appealed to in the New; as also on the state and expectations of believers generally in their days. It will also be seen that the Bible really contains within itself much more that is calculated to supply the best elucidation of its own contents than many have supposed; for if it be true that the Book of Genesis, as above remarked, is actually quoted and commented on in the Book of Job, and that the Book of Job is, in like manner, in subsequent portions of Holy Writ, it must also follow that from a careful comparison of the same doctrines, events, phraseology, etc., thus occurring in several places, considerable light will be elicited, and may be thrown upon them in all.' . . . 'This consideration, moreover, may be fairly reckoned upon as [\[52\]](#) supplying in every case a most powerful argument in favour of the divine authority and inspiration of the Scriptures. For if there does exist the most perfect agreement in all and every one of the most minute particulars of this sort--which certainly could never have been effected by human means -- and this I will affirm is the fact, and that it will every day become more and more apparent as we become more familiar with the original Scriptures ; and again, if it should also appear--which I will likewise affirm it eventually will--that not a jot or tittle of prophecy has failed, but that all has been fulfilled, then I say we shall have such a twofold cord of evidence as never can and never will be broken : and, what is best of all, this will be obtained by means the most unexceptionable, the just and natural method of arriving at the genuine intentions of the author of Holy Writ, namely, a minute but comprehensive investigation of its own declarations.'

As this interesting work has been for many years out of print, it may not be out of place to give here Dr Lee's views as to the 'scope and object of the Book of Job,' as contained [\[53\]](#) in his 'Introduction.' 'A little consideration will enable us to see that the primary object of this book is to show that there is a power attendant on true religion sufficient to enable its possessor eventually to overcome every temptation and every trial. This, I say, is its *primary* object. For, in the first and second chapters, which were apparently given as a key to the whole, we are informed that Job was a just and perfect man, and one who feared God. This was manifestly his character. It is suggested, however, by the great adversary of mankind, that, whatever appearances might be, a little trial would prove the contrary. The sacred penman assures us by means of a vision (as already shown) that, in order to prove the falsehood of this, Job is allowed to be exposed for a season to trials of the severest kind, but still he retained his integrity, and in the end came off victorious, to the entire approval of Almighty God, who restored him, and gave him wealth double in value to that of his former state of prosperity. He is also accepted in making a sort of atonement for his friends. I think, therefore, no doubt can remain that this was *the primary object* of this book.' [\[54\]](#)



'A *secondary* object seems to have been to show how very imperfect the notions of even good men are on the moral economy of God. The friends of our patriarch meet, as we are told, for the purpose of condoling with him; and there appears no reason, as far as I can see, for questioning their sincerity. The sufferer proceeds, in the first place, to state his afflictions and then to pour out those lamentations and complaints which are natural to such a state. His friends--men evidently acquainted with revealed religion, and apparently very much in earnest as to accurate views respecting it-- proceed to correct him. They professedly take the side of God, and their main endeavour is to vindicate His wisdom, justice and mercy. For this purpose they argue from revelation, from experience, and from very extensive and just views of God's works; and as they are too well informed to suppose that there can be any effect without an adequate cause, particularly where there is an all-powerful, wise and good God overruling all things, their conclusion is that Job's sins must have led to his sufferings. The patriarch very justly and very successfully combats their conclusions, without at all calling [\[55\]](#) in question their several general doctrines--for these were no doubt true and worthy of all acceptance--and in this God Himself eventually declares for him.

'Their great fault was the misapplication of truth. They knew not the real cause which led to Job's trials, and the consequence was, they supposed one which was false; and to this were their arguments universally directed. The pertinacity and warmth with which they pressed their opinions could not but have added considerably to Job's sufferings, who evidently had a greater insight into the general dealings of God with believers than they had. Still, there is no reason, as far as I can discover, for calling in question either their fidelity, good intentions, or sorrow for their friend. They only did what thousands daily do -- they misapprehended the question at issue, and, as they were more willing to believe themselves right than to stop and consider in how many ways they might be wrong, and, in fact, how very little they could know on the subject, they pressed their sentiments to an extent which real religion, good sense, and the sympathy due to a friend would hardly justify; and of this, Job's mission to them from the [\[56\]](#) Almighty (ch. xlii.) must have more than convinced them, and have shown them to demonstration, that although He was truly no less mighty, wise and good than they had represented Him, yet that *His wisdom was unsearchable, and His ways past finding out* to men such as they were.'

'A *third* object, apparently, was to provide a book of doctrine, as already remarked, adequate to the wants of believers for ever, illustrating, as just now stated, both the economy of God with His people, and their ignorance as to His thoughts and ways; to keep alive the doctrine of Salvation through a Redeemer, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the certainty of a judgment to come.

'It might seem superfluous, after what has already been said, to dwell on the other doctrines, promises and experience incalculated throughout this book, and so frequently appealed to in the subsequent books of the Old Testament as well as in the New.

'I shall conclude, therefore, by remarking that . . . the genuineness of its piety, the purity and beauty of its morality, the great extent of its range, the exquisite chasteness at once [\[57\]](#) of its style and sentiments, and, above all, the solidity and depth of its devotion, cannot but conspire to recommend it as one of the most valuable productions of antiquity; at the same time, as a book of undoubted inspiration, and of the most unquestionable canonical authority.'

Letter from a SON of ARCHDEACON CORBETT on receipt of a copy of Dr Lee's 'Translation of Job.'

'LONGNOR, *Sept.* 7, 1837.

'DEAR SIR,--Tho' duly impressed by the favour done me in receiving a present of your new translation of the Book of Job, not knowing your present residence, and having nothing to say but expressions of my continual admiration of your learning and industry, I

delayed my acknowledgment of this book till the term would probably restore you to Cambridge; but receiving a second copy of the same valuable book, I write to ask if, as I suppose, it is a mistake, what I should do with the second vol. I would send it free to any person you may name, and if I hear nothing I will present it to the Library of Pemb. Coll., [58](#) Oxford, which I intend enriching with other specimens of your great learning.

'With every respect and good wish to you and yours,--I remain, dear sir, your obliged and most humble servant,

JOSEPH CORBETT.'

[59](#)

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## CHAPTER V

### WORK ON MOHAMMEDAN CONTROVERSY

IN 1824 Dr Lee published a work entitled 'Persian Controversies,' translations and explanations of 'Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism by the late Reverend Henry Martyn, B.D., of St John's College, Cambridge, and some of the most eminent writers of Persia,' with an additional tract on the same subject, and some account in a preface of a former controversy on this subject, with extracts from it.

It is dedicated to the Right Honourable The Earl of Liverpool, K.G., First Lord of His Majesty's Treasury, etc. etc., as follows:--

'This attempt to develop and refute the religious opinions of the Mohammedans of Persia, as a public acknowledgment of a grant of one hundred pounds per annum made from His [60](#) Majesty's Treasury for the purpose of enabling the Arabic Professor of this University to deliver a public course of Arabic and Hebrew lectures annually is most respectfully inscribed by his Lordship's most obedient, obliged, humble servant, the translator and author.'

He says in the preface:--'As the following pages may perhaps be found useful to missionaries and others who wish to make themselves acquainted with this question, I have thought it might not be amiss to give some notices and extracts from the controversy as it existed prior to the times of Mr Martyn ; especially as that controversy was prosecuted to a much greater length than his, and contains much valuable matter on the subject. It may also be desirable to know where books treating on this question are to be found, because we hear it sometimes affirmed that a missionary has not the means in this country of acquiring a deep and accurate insight into the opinions of the Mohammedans -- that Grotius, Sale and others have left us in the dark as to their metaphysics, mysticism, etc., and therefore that it is necessary, not only [61](#) to learn their language in the East, but also their opinions. As far, however, as my knowledge of this subject goes, I must be allowed to express a different opinion, having no doubt that both the languages and opinions of the Orientals can be learned in this country at as little expense and in as little time as they can in the East, and at a much less risk. Our public libraries contain the very best books on every subject connected with grammar, history, ethics, theology, geography and every other science, and to which, even in the East itself, access is seldom to be had. Valuable as the labours of Mr Martyn certainly were, yet I have no doubt that if he had passed a short time in this country in a preparatory course of Oriental reading, he would not only have done more than he has, but he would have done it better, and with far greater comfort to himself. Time was when the student of Oriental literature was almost a singularity in our universities, and such was the ascendancy obtained by classical and mathematical learning, that a young man must have had more than ordinary courage and

self-denial to engage in studies which could afford him so [\[62\]](#) little in prospect, with so much difficulty in their prosecution.

'The state of the case is now considerably altered. A student may now commence the study of the Hebrew or Arabic without the fear of being cited as a monstrous singularity, or of being met at every turn with the appalling maxim, that Hebrew roots thrive best on barren ground. And, if he persevere, he may hope, not only that a generous public will applaud his endeavours, but that even posterity will allow him a place among those who have been considered as benefactors to mankind, and the best ornaments of the ages in which they lived. Another consideration, and one which has the greatest weight with me, is a belief that no book with which I am acquainted stands so much in need of elucidation as the Hebrew Bible. From the times of Grotius to the present day, I believe we can find scarcely one original commentator. And many even of his remarks have been borrowed from the Jews. The Dutch and German commentaries are the books most worthy of the scholar's regard; but many of these are such as to make it a question whether they should be [\[63\]](#) recommended or not. Nothing, if we except the dreams of Hutchinson, has come out in England for the last hundred years in the shape of original investigation. Compilation has long been the order of the day; and names, respectable indeed and valuable in their time, are now appealed to as the only safeguards against innovation, or as instructors in the way of truth. In almost an universal dearth of Scriptural knowledge, this is not to be wondered at, nor is it to be condemned. It is without doubt the best and safest path. But it should not satisfy the minds of those who have both ability and opportunity for making further progress. And as the character of the times in which we live calls for such exertion, it is to be hoped that the call will not be disregarded.

'The object of these remarks, however, is not to disparage the institutions of this country. Certainly not. I believe that they constitute one of its greatest excellencies and best guardians. I would only turn them to a greater public account by converting a portion of their provisions to a more extensive cultivation of those studies which have ever been the glory of the [\[64\]](#) Reformed Church, viz., the study of the Holy Scriptures, which cannot well be done without an extensive acquaintance with Oriental literature. The general attention, too, that has of late been paid to missionary exertions, both within and without the pale of the Church of England, constitutes a further motive for the prosecution of these studies; and I am of opinion that, without an extensive cultivation of them, there is not much reason to anticipate the success to which it is their object to attain. ... It was once, indeed, my determination to give, as a sort of prolegomenon, an account of the creed of the Shiah or Mohammedan sect of Persia, followed by the principal tenets of their mysticism from the Dabistan of Mohsin Fáni and other writers to whom I have access; but as this work is sufficiently extensive, and has occupied a much larger time than might have been wished in the publication, I shall reserve my materials on these subjects for a future work.'

In connection with the subject of Mohammedan controversy, I well remember the visit to Barley Rectory of the genial Dr Pfander, a German missionary to the Mohammedans working under [\[65\]](#) the C.M.S. He was the author of some treatises on the Christian Faith for Moslem readers -- the 'Mizan-ul-haqq' was the title of one of them, and in the line of argument adopted, had taken up and expanded a plan suggested by my father, to whom he gladly acknowledged his indebtedness. [\[66\]](#)

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## CHAPTER VI

### BIOGRAPHICAL, AND LETTERS, 1840

SAMUEL LEE was married three times. In a letter to his brother, in 1810, he mentions the fact of his marriage at Worcester; very soon after this the fire mentioned in the letter to Dr Jonathan Scott occurred, for in May of the same year, writing to his brother's wife, he says : 'You would perhaps wish



to know what progress I have made in the literary world--much greater than in the pecuniary one. I have stocked my head with more lumber than my pocket, consequently my loss is less than it might have been. I have a pretty general knowledge of Hebrew, a smattering of Scriptural philology--Greek and Latin are secondary things with me. I intend giving you a specimen that I am no contemptible poet; but do not let these things give you too great an opinion of me!' His first wife died when his children were still young, and this great loss was followed, in 1829, by the death of his only [67](#)

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LOCKING MANOR ; THE HOME OF THE JENKINS FAMILY.

#### LOCKING MANOR; THE HOME OF THE JENKINS FAMILY.

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son, a very promising youth of seventeen, who died of consumption. His second wife died in 1837, at Banwell, in Somersetshire; and in 1840, when his daughters were either married, or about to be so, he married my mother, Anne Jenkins, whose father, the Reverend Stiverd Jenkins, lived at the old manor house at Locking. He was not then an incumbent, but gave his services gratuitously to Archdeacon, afterwards Dean, Law, at Weston. His family had for some years been acquainted with that of Dr Lee, Banwell and Locking being about two miles apart. Many and hearty were the congratulations received by Anne Jenkins when it was made known to her family that she had become engaged to the learned Professor, Dr Samuel Lee. Her uncle, Mr W. Portal of Laverstoke, wrote :--'The alliance of a gentleman of his distinguished talents, acquirements and professional eminence, would be an honour to any

family. I beg you to accept my sincere congratulations.' And her brother-in-law, the Reverend Thomas Vores, then of Park Chapel, Chelsea, and afterwards of St Mary's, Hastings, thus expressed himself:--'Dr Lee is confessedly the first Orientalist in England, probably in [\[68\]](#) Europe. He has unwearingly devoted his wondrous attainments to the defence of the great and blessed truths of God's pure Word, and God has called you, dear sister, to the honourable office of being a helpmeet to such a man.'

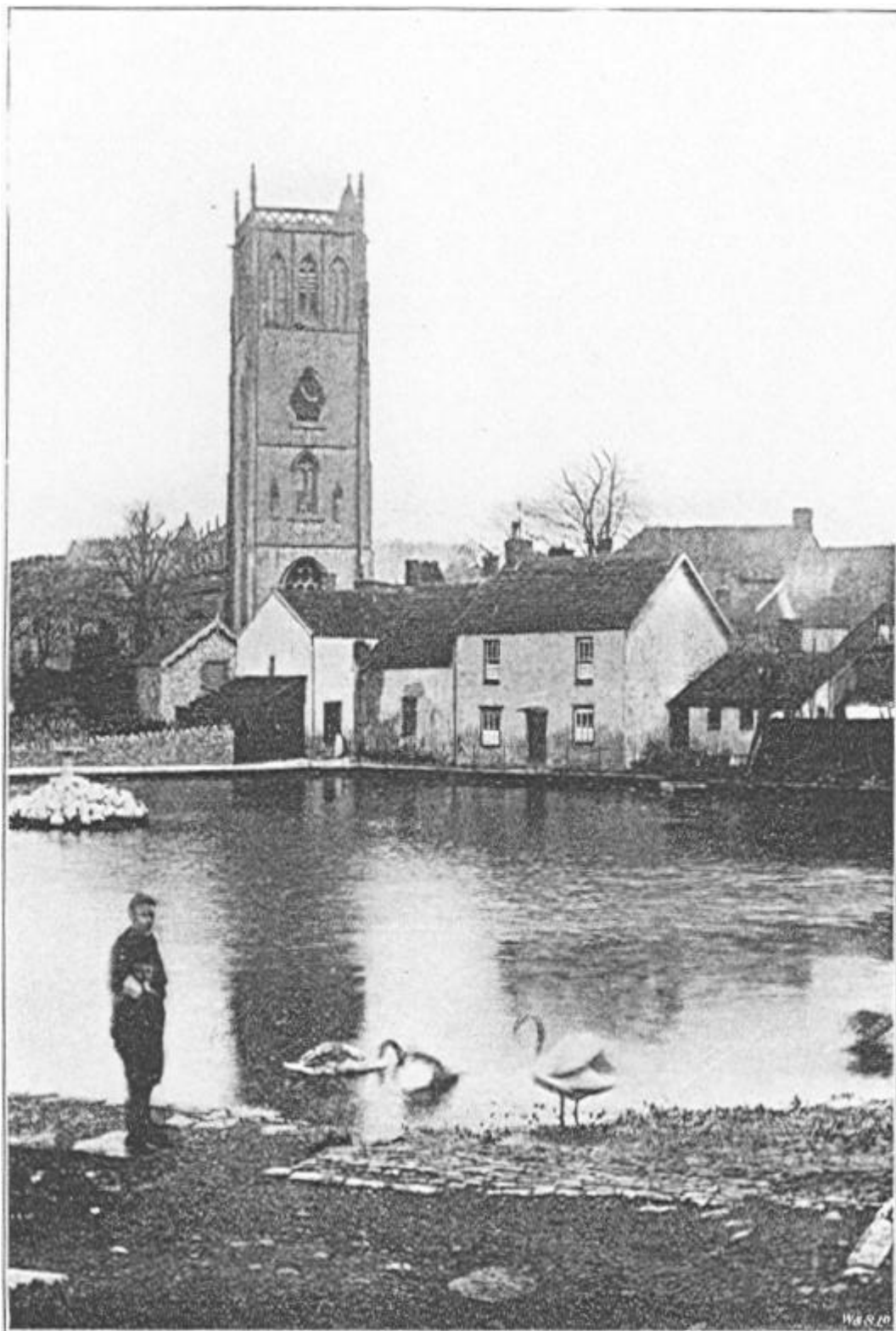
Banwell is fifteen or sixteen miles by rail from Bristol on the Exeter line. The Church is a very beautiful specimen of florid Gothic, and it is believed to have been erected about the middle of the fifteenth century. It is so surrounded by trees and buildings that it is not easy to get a good view of it. The interior is strikingly handsome.

Before my mother's marriage, my father, in order to be within an easy distance of Cambridge, had exchanged the living of Banwell for that of Barley, in Hertfordshire. The following extracts from letters were, for the most part, addressed to my mother between the years 1840-52, during his absence from Barley, when lecturing at Cambridge, or in residence at Bristol, on those occasions when his family could not be with him.

'BARLEY, 1840.

'I have indeed been a hard-working student, but [\[69\]](#)

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TOWER OF BANWELL CHURCH.

TOWER OF BANWELL CHURCH



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I trust an attachment to something much higher than mere study has been my stimulating and supporting motive in all this.

'And He whose glory I have sought has almost miraculously assisted, encouraged, and sustained me. Were I indeed more a Stoic than I am, many anxieties under which I have suffered would have been strangers to me. . . . Perhaps my life, which some have been induced to think a useful one, may be much lengthened to carry into effect the many labours which I have before me, likely, as I trust, to advance God's glory and the welfare of His people.'

'No one can be more sensible of his own shortcomings than I am. I lament them daily, I pray over them continually. "In me," I know but too well, "there dwelleth no good thing," but help has been laid upon One that is mighty, and Who is "touched with the feeling of our infirmities," and One who has said that "He will never leave thee nor forsake thee." To perfection I never expect to come, yet by His grace I do hope to be able to grow to a meetness for His kingdom, and to make some progress at least towards the full measure of His stature. Still, this must be done in much patience, often in [70](#) much tribulation, always in fear and trembling, lest I should be lifted up above measure. But then this is the fight of faith, the warfare of hope, the trial of our patience which is "much more precious than gold that perisheth," and in such a contest who shall doubt, be faint-hearted, or desperate? Are not the promises sufficiently clear? Is not the Spirit, the Comforter, sufficiently potent to sustain the fainting spirit, and to strengthen the feeble arm ? We cannot humble ourselves too much, we cannot love Christ too much, we cannot depend too much upon Him, nor cast our cares too implicitly and fully upon Him, nor indeed can we rejoice too much in His power, readiness and willingness to "save to the uttermost all those who come" to Him by faith.'

'I might truly say my God has done wondrously for me and with me. Worthless, indeed, I am, perfectly unworthy of the least of all His mercies, yet I have trusted while I have wept, I have endeavoured while I felt that of myself I could do nothing, and what has been the consequence ? I have always found my God both near and dear to me; much, very much, has He enabled me to do, more than has fallen [71](#) to the happy lot of most men ; much, very much, He has given me, more than either I desired or deserved.'

'I am much more a creature of feeling than people generally imagine, and I believe and pray that these feelings may be good and rightly directed. Where I love, I love much and constantly; where I cannot love I dare not hate, and I feel that I can, by God's good grace, pray cordially and earnestly for my enemies. This is a great source of liberty to me. May God's holy name receive all the praise.'

'BARLEY, 1840.

'I was sorry to be almost forced to run away so soon from you and your dear family, but I knew I should be expected here. It was so. The congregation was very large, and among them Mrs D. (Lord A.'s sister) and her family, who are disgusted with the Puseyism of their own pastor. I had an admirable subject on the occasion, viz., Rom. iv. ver. 16, to the word "seed." I was greatly aided, and felt very much indeed drawn out in that most interesting and noble subject. The silence was death-like, and [72](#) the interest most intense. God be blessed, it was of His mercy! Indeed, it was a-season of great refreshing to me. "To the end the promise *might be sure to all the seed*" It is by *grace*, therefore *it is sure*--and what could our God have done that could have made this more sure ? Nothing, so far as I can see, could even Omnipotence have suggested, so good, certain, and lovely.

'As to the ministry, I do feel most grateful to Almighty God for the honour put upon me. I do feel that it is a very great one. I do, above all things, rejoice in being enabled to put forth

those glorious doctrines and promises which form the peculiarities of our holy faith; and I never feel so much cast down as I do when anything has put it out of my power to stand up in my pulpit for this purpose, nor so comfortable as I do when I have reason to think that I have laboured to good effect. A most happy composure in such cases rests upon me, and my night passes in rest the most sweet and refreshing. As to self-abasement, if I feel one thing more strongly than another it is indeed my utter unworthiness of such an honour, and never, no, never do I ascend the stairs of a [73](#) pulpit but I feel a fear and dread upon me lest, through my weakness or inability, the cause of my glorified Redeemer should suffer. I do trust that if I see any one thing more strongly than another, it is the absolute and utter abasement of self; on nothing else can the divine blessing be expected. It is the sick only to whom the Physician can in this case afford any help, and as such, my wants, deficiencies and sins I never cease to lay before my gracious Saviour, and I never fail to find strength accordingly. Oh, yes, it is when we are weak that indeed we are truly strong, and that we can realise all joy and peace in believing.'

'I thank my God--and do you thank Him too, for me--for all my trials, privations and sacrifices. All have been and are made to me sources of the richest blessings. Blessed be His holy name for this and for all His other mercies!

'The old Syrian Bishop of Malabar waited my return hither. I have seen him, but was not much interested with him. He could not read my Syriac "Eusebius," although he is an Archbishop of the Syrian Church. He is, however, a tolerably good Syriac scholar. He had never seen a copy of my "Eusebius" before, [74](#) although he had heard that such a book was in existence.'

In the spring of 1841 my mother went on a visit to her family, who had removed to Stone in Glo'stershire. The following were addressed to her whilst there:--

'Surely if men are generally duly called upon to be thankful, how much cause have I to be so! My cup of blessings has never been empty--for years it has been full, and now how it truly runs over! Blessed be the Holy Name of Him who has thus blest, and is now blessing, me! It is very gratifying to find so much kindness expressed by the people of your neighbourhood, nor is the kindness of your dear old red-cloaks the least welcome to me.

'They must have been delighted to see you. May their prayers for us be daily put up and received, and answered by Him who is our Father and our Friend.

'You judged quite rightly of my rounds of exercise on Sunday in our delightful grounds. I paced them round and round both before and after service.

'My text was James i. vers. 2, 3, 4, involving [75](#) the very question of afflictions as noticed in your letter of to-day. I observed that it was Christianity alone that did or could consider afflictions as blessings; to every person otherwise minded they were real marks of wrath, and were generally attended with mourning, woe, murmuring and repining. Then, as to *patience* and its perfect work; the entireness in Christ which wanted nothing; the completeness in Him, without which Heaven itself would be but a sort of hell; the meetness for this place now to be acquired, the mind of Christ now to be realised. I found myself overwhelmed with a subject so delightful, so deeply interesting, and at the same time so awful that I hardly knew how to leave it or how to go on with it. If, indeed, this happy experience is ours in any degree, and in some degree I hope it is, how thankful, how happy, how rejoiced ought we to be. ... One of our senior fellows came over to Barley on Monday, both to see my palace and to carry us all over in a fly and to give us a dinner in his rooms. He is an old and warm friend of mine. He

introduced me many years ago to the Duke of Sussex, out of which grew nearly all my present dignity and wealth.' [\[76\]](#)

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## CHAPTER VII

### LETTERS, 1841-42

AT this time ray father was much occupied with the Syriac version of Eusebius's 'Theophania' (Divine Manifestation), which was published in 1842, and in preparing the English version which appeared a year later. Further on will be found some account of both works. He refers to them in these letters as 'My Eusebius.'

' GREAT WESTERN HOTEL,  
'BRISTOL, *Novr.* '41.

'Were not the causes of our little separations proofs of the Divine mercy in giving me at once honour and the opportunity of employment, I certainly should be more than half disposed to complain ; but our Friend is at once a kind and a wise one ; there is nothing he will do or appoint for us which shall not be of first value. . . .

Well, I had the whole inside of the coach to [\[77\]](#) myself from Barley to London. Mr Cross, the coachman, asked me, as soon as I got in, whether I should like anything to amuse myself. I said I should. He accordingly brought me a new tragedy just finished, "spike and spon new," as they say. The title was "Edric the Forester." He did not, indeed, furnish me with the last and fifth act, for that he had not with him. He furnished me, however, with quite as much as I could read before it got dark. The plot is laid in those times soon after the Norman Conquest, when the Welsh, with the Saxons, made many inroads and attacks upon the castles of the Norman lords. The scenery in this case is mostly laid in and about Shrewsbury, and I must say I was both delighted and astonished at the performance. There are in this play some of as good verses as any I ever read, and which would not be unworthy of Shakespeare or Milton. There is a love tale in the piece told almost as sweetly as that of Miranda and Ferdinand in the "Tempest." I was highly delighted with this work of Mr Cross's, and I was as much surprised at it. I could not help telling Mr Cross so, and I do hope it may be the means of affording him the encouragement which [\[78\]](#) he deserves. You will bear in mind that I saw only four acts of this play; the last and fifth I have yet to see. Yet I cannot help thinking that the last is not likely to fall short of the preceding ones. If so, the coachman will surprise the literary world. Well, so much for the tragedy. My next recital will be more of the comic turn. I got to the "White Horse" safely a little after seven o'clock, and soon got a comfortable dinner. Not long after came two gentlemen quite unknown to me into the coffee-room, and not long after an old Hertfordshire clergyman, whom I have met at the visitations. One of these first two gentlemen began to talk rather loudly, and, I thought, not very wisely. I was talking to the old clergyman about the railways, and saying how much better the Bristol one was than that from London to Broxbourne. Upon this the said noisy gentleman attacked me very fiercely, asking me why I did not then lay out my own money on the railways and make them better. I answered as civilly as I could that I had no further interest in railways than they contributed to my comfort in travelling, and to that of the public. He did not mend his manners upon this, but launched out most [\[79\]](#) violently against the parsons generally, and those of Cambridge in particular, saying that they were ignorant, incapable of office, etc., etc. As to the famous Dr Lee of Barley, he was said to know something about Arabic, but he was nothing, etc., etc. I did not say one word to this ; was not this exemplary? He then said, among other things, that he had a living to sell, the incumbent being 70 years of age, etc. I asked him where ? "H----," he said. "Oh!" said I, "I think I now know whom I have the honour of addressing." "Yes," said he, "I am Sir P-----." He then went on to say of Dr Lee, "he heard

him say," that 17 shillings an acre was too little for the tithe of Banwell. I asked him whether he was quite sure of this. "Oh yes," he said, "quite sure, and he would bring witness of it." In some other cases he offered to bet 1000 guineas. I asked him whether he would bet 1000 guineas on this also. "Oh, yes," he said, "he would swear it, and bring witness of it," etc. "Well," said I, "I am Dr Lee himself! Did you ever hear me say this?" This was a death-blow. You never saw a coward quail with so bad a grace! "You Dr Lee?" "Yes," I said, "it is even so." [\[80\]](#) "Then," said he, "you are the first and greatest man," etc., etc. All was now flattery of the grossest sort. "Sir P----," said I, "let me say one thing only--as I do not fear the scandal of any man, neither do I want the praise of any." Hereupon Sir P---- became quiet as a lamb.'

Letter from Dr LEE to his Wife on the death of her Father, the Reverend S. Jenkins.

'TRIN . COLL., *March* I, 1842.

'I have been very sorry that my lectures have carried me away from you on this occasion. This is one of the evils attending our office, but as I hope I am doing the work of my heavenly Master, and as I would not easily allow any obstacle to stand in the way of this, I trust you will not ascribe my absence to any want of regard or of feeling. I hope you are not allowing yourself to indulge in excessive grief. Believe me, you ought not to do so. The removal of our dear friend is to him a glorious change indeed, as it is the realisation of all his hopes, prayers and faith. We should, indeed, have been thankful for a longer sojourn among us; but then we must not evince [\[81\]](#) unthankfulness now that the will of our Heavenly Father has not exactly coincided with ours. Besides, excessive grief destroys health, unfits the mind for entertaining better things, and at one and the same time injures the body and soul. I would not, nevertheless, inculcate the apathy of the Stoic ; far from it. I believe it is well pleasing to our God that we should evince sorrow for the loss of valued friends. Our Lord himself, we know, wept at the tomb of Lazarus; Abraham mourned for Sarah ; and so did Isaac at the loss of his mother, as he also did for that of his wife. Our great point is prudently to moderate these feelings, and not to sorrow as men that have no hope for them that sleep in Him, as we know our dear father does. Meditate on these things, but, above all, on the glories now enjoyed by the dear departed. Consider how he rejoices with the spirits of just men made perfect, and in the recollection of the labours he here underwent for the purpose of bringing many with him to the same place of rest and of blessedness; and still, it may be, thinks of those who were near and dear to him here, and to whom he gave so many affecting lessons of [\[82\]](#) righteousness and truth; anticipating, too, perhaps, the period when they shall again join him.'

'TRIN. COLL., CAM.,  
'*March* 17, 1842.

'To-morrow I shall conclude my lectures for this term. I shall not quite get through the "Book of Proverbs." I shall, however, within four or five. Last Monday I had a very comfortable lecture, and to-morrow I hope to have another. I now look forward with great pleasure to a few weeks' domestic happiness, and, at the same time, to join my "Eusebius" again, and to carry him on towards completion.'

'TRIN. COLL., CAM.,  
'*April* 2.0/42.

'E. tells me that the Duke's [of Northumberland] letter was pleasant to you. It is, indeed, a pleasure to find so many who wish well to my labours and so kindly to myself.'

'THE "WHITE HORSE," FETTER LANE,  
'LONDON, *June* 2, 1842.

'I have to thank our Heavenly Father that I had a prosperous and pleasant journey to this place, and that I am in the best health [\[83\]](#) and spirits. I look before me, indeed, to a rather dreary sojourn at Bristol, but as I know in whom I trust, I have no doubt my dearest friend and friends at home will be better kept than I could keep them, and that He will bring us together in all health and comfort at no great distance of time. For these things my prayers shall be fervent and constant, and all shall be well. In the meantime, I shall be sedulously employed in the service of the best of Masters, and in this privilege it shall be my endeavour to rejoice and be thankful. . . .

'But I must tell you the news which has put London into a ferment. Yesterday, the Queen was shot at by a carpenter in the Park. No injury was done to Her Majesty, thank God! The man is committed to Newgate for trial. It is said that he attempted to do the same thing on Sunday last, but for some reason or other did not fire. I did intend to be at Bristol to-morrow, but having just now called on Mr Guest, at the Temple, he tells me that a meeting of the Council of our Philological Society is to meet to-morrow evening at eight o'clock at No. 49 Pall Mall. As I am one of the said council, I have made up [\[84\]](#) my mind to stay for the meeting. On this account, I cannot be at Bristol before Friday. I shall therefore, *D. V.*, endeavour to be there then. My "Eusebius," I am told, is looked for with great interest. May God give me wisdom and strength to send it forth such as it ought to be! I called at the British Museum, and found that the Syriac MSS. turn out quite as good as I had represented. I am glad of this. I shall often be with thee and thine in the spirit; often imagine I am admiring, with you, at once our Paradise, and the greater mercies of Him who has so blessed us, and, indeed, provided for us a better Paradise above, where no fall, either of leaf or flower, ever happens, and where chilly winter or piercing winds shall never have place.'

'4 COLLEGE GREEN, BRISTOL,  
*'June 3, 1842.*

'I have, with God's good assistance, arrived safely here. Blessed be His name ! I got in by the railway train a little before ~ past 2 o'clock, *i.e.*, a little under 4~ hours. The weather has been remarkably fine. The country looks rich and beautiful in the extreme ; all, indeed, seems [\[85\]](#)

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BRISTOL CATHEDRAL IN 1837.

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL IN 1837.

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to predict peace and plenty. I could not help going to church, as I arrived in good time, and lifting up my heart in thanksgiving to my God and Saviour for the great mercies vouchsafed to me. The sight of the church much refreshed my mind. The service was solemn, and the anthem very sweet. . . . I met the Philological Council last night. They were exceedingly complimentary to me, and pressed me to take the chair as president. I declined, because I could not allow myself, on my first appearance among them, to take the highest place. I therefore proposed, and pressed it, that Professor Wilson of Oxford should take it. We got through a good deal of business, and this morning I was very agreeably surprised to find the secretary, Mr Guest, a member of the Temple, had sent me a couple of volumes of very interesting matter on the ancient and modern verse of the English. This was very gratifying. I read a good deal of the first volume -- for there are two -- as I came by the railway, and I was very much delighted with it. I shall read the work through at my leisure. . . . Nothing remarkable has occurred



here, except that the place is in fine, verdant and flourishing condition. The trees [\[86\]](#) in College Green are looking very rich and full, as, indeed, all the country does. ... I shall be enabled to go on prosperously with my "Eusebius," and, indeed, to be more than a conqueror in everything.'

'4 COLLEGE GREEN, BRISTOL,  
*'June 7/42.*

'... Pray go to Dr Haviland ... if he advises you to change the air, then come here to me at once. ... Set out at once in the close carriage, and post your way through St Albans, Oxford, Cirencester, Cheltenham, etc., etc., to this place. From £15 to £20 will be wanting to clear your way. Or if you prefer the railway, go to London, and the next morning get into the train, either at 10 or 12 o'clock. In that case you will be here either at half-past two or at about a quarter before 5 o'clock respectively. The train will bring the carriage for £3, 10s. I myself should like this best, because I shall see you the sooner, and because you can at any time take the carriage and go to our friends at Cheltenham, and then return to me here. ... But, I fear, anything I can say about the railway will be in vain. I must say, however, that the comfort of [\[87\]](#) the travelling without dust or delay, the goodness of the accommodation, and the ease and comfort are so great that I hardly know how to speak highly enough of it; besides, I do not know whether you can now find on the road a regular supply of horses, although I should think a cross country road, like that of St Albans, would not be affected by the railway. ... Four or five days' travelling post will almost kill you through this hot weather, and it will put the "dear little body" almost into a fever. If you think of travelling post, you must travel early and late--that is, set out at six o'clock in the morning--travel till ten, Then rest till five, and after this, travel till nine or ten. The whole middle part of the day given up to rest, and from five till nine or ten o'clock to travelling. I do not think you would find any inconvenience whatever from such a plan. The change of air would daily do you good. But if you could venture on the railway, you would be here in a few hours, and would experience all the comfort of no dust, no delay, etc., etc. ... Your notice about our poor old people at Barley was indeed most gratifying to me. Oh, I do hope I may and shall be found faithful in the [\[88\]](#) great charge committed to my care. ... I am to preside at the general examination of the school children at the Diocesan School, Nelson Street. To-day I had to assist in drawing up addresses to the Queen, Prince Albert, and the Duchess of Kent on the Queen's late providential escape from assassination.'

'4 COLLEGE GREEN, BRISTOL,  
*'June 13, 1842.*

'Alas ! I am at this moment beset with a company of glee-singers in the streets, singing very beautifully. I must give them something to allow me to be at peace. Tis done, and they are gone. Now to my own matters again. I had a good Sabbath yesterday. I had a very large and attentive congregation. The sermon was impressive, and was listened to with an intense interest, apparently. Oh, that these may indeed be preparations to the endless Sabbath reserved above for all God's children! I cannot help saying that the contemplation of these things is one of the greatest comforts I have. Praised be God for this: may this feeling be increased a thousandfold! Next Sunday we are to have the sermon for the distressed [\[89\]](#) manufacturers, in obedience to the Queen's letter. I trust this also will be a season of refreshing. It would much heighten my happiness were you here to partake with me in these undertakings.'

'4 COLLEGE GREEN, BRISTOL,  
*'19 June 1842.*

'I have had a most delighting and comforting day this day here. I preached my sermon, which was

evidently well received. The contribution, as things go here, was good, viz., £23, 6s. 8d. But my greatest happiness has been the hope that something better than mere human sympathy has been put forth. I mean the warm and awakening *love* of God our Redeemer. Be this as it may, certainly I have felt my heart much drawn out, and much, I hope, excited and led onward toward that better state, which, I feel confident, we shall one day see together in the Kingdom of our Father above. . . . We have had some very fine and refreshing rains ; how happy that it is not to the earth alone that the gracious dews of our Father are granted, but also to the hearts of them that love Him, in all their sweetness, freshness and comfort! May His name be ever praised by us for this His unspeakable gift' [90](#)

'BRISTOL, *June 22/42.*

' To-day I presided at the Diocesan school. We had a remarkably good examination; and, at the close of this, I made as good a speech as I could, commending to the school children, to their instructors, their patrons, and their parents, the love which Christ has shown to them, with the hope that they would evince the same one to another; this is, indeed, a theme on which one might dwell forever. . . . I am afraid I have been very naughty; I have not written to Cheltenham. The truth is, what with my "Eusebius," etc., I have hardly a minute to spare. Church from 1 before eleven to about twelve daily, and again from 3 to 4, then half-a-dozen letters to write, etc.'

'COLLEGE GREEN, BRISTOL,  
*June 25/42.*

'I am glad to hear of Mr L.'s sermons being so good. But this is not all. I must, if possible, have someone who will also look after the parish, the parish school, and be less accessible as to dinner-parties, etc., etc. Mr L. is a very kind man ; but then this is not enough; he appears to me to want the requisite anxiety for the spiritual good of the people, which is all [91](#) important. But this, I fear, he will not soon acquire. I must not, however, be in a hurry. It is anything but an easy thing "to get a good curate. And, perhaps, it is too much for the same incumbent to expect to have a good wife and a good curate. Blessings rarely come unchecked by some evil. In the former case, God be praised, I am greatly blessed. . . . I dined on Thursday at Mr Battersby's, at Stoke. I met there with an entertaining old gentleman from Shrewsbury who had been in India, seen a great deal of military life, and knew many persons well known to me. To - morrow the Dean preaches, so I shall have an idle Sabbath, nevertheless of rest.'

*'June 27th, 1842,*  
BRISTOL.

'. . . I did not preach yesterday. The Dean preached a very good sermon. But I never feel so happy as when I have been actively engaged myself. Nevertheless, I had a very sweet day. . . . My time is much occupied--three hours every day in church, or thereabouts, and the rest at my "Eusebius." It is, however, all good work, and praised be my God that I am able to attend to it all. It is a great privilege. [92](#) Mr Profr. Scholefield has found the place in "Plato" for me; and this day I received it from him. It was very kind in him; I doubt whether I should ever have found it. I now have all my places found, and nearly the first book in the Syriac printed. God be praised! I am this day invited to dine with Mr Montague, but must decline it.'

'BRISTOL, *June 29, 1842.*

'Many thanks for the Homily Society's letter. I will do the work for them, *D. V.*, and by this post I will write to that effect. You have no conception how many letters I have to write. Last night I sent only four; when I wrote last to you the number was ten! What with the duty of attending the church, my

"Eusebius," etc., etc., you will readily suppose I have not much time to spare. Last night I read over Dr C.'s note. It is a very rambling production, and seems to prove to me that this very kind friend has not yet found the Rock of Ages--no, nor anything like it on which to rest the sole of his foot. He seems to think it is time for me to drop the mantle to some other. He is not at all aware that a very large portion of my best pleasure is in my labours. The work is pleasurable for the time being, but then there [\[93\]](#) is a hope that when I am dead it shall speak, and shall give God the glory when my tongue and *tongues* shall have ceased.'

'BRISTOL, *July 11, 1842.*

'To-morrow the gay doings commence here.' (Probably Agricultural Show.) 'I have received an invitation to dine with the Mayor, to meet the Duke of Cambridge, etc., etc., and I have promised to go. The weather, I am sorry to say, is very rainy here, and not at all likely to be otherwise, which will greatly *damp* the gay proceedings. A sad tale is prevalent here just now, and causes great excitement, viz., that a marvellously fine bull belonging to the Duke of Devonshire has been poisoned. The animal is certainly dead, and the investigation is going on as to whether this has come to pass by poison or not. I wish the contrary may be the result; but, knowing as I do the abominable spirit of many of the people here, I fear this will not be the case. . . . A few days ago, I took up "Martyn's Journals," as edited by Archdeacon Wilberforce, and read a little way into them, and what do I find? Generally nothing beyond the reprehension of self, the [\[94\]](#) painful detail of a miserable heart; prayer had recourse to for *two hours* at a time, and still no comfort! But is this the way to realise God in the heart? Is it likely that an everlasting recurrence to self, and to the unprofitableness of the human heart, will raise the soul to heavenly exercises? Would it not be better to fill the heart with God, God's love, God's deeds, God's mercies, and to eclipse, as it were, our own wantings with the grace and bounty which is from above? To rejoice in the victory obtained by the Redeemer, rather than eternally to repine over the fall of our forefather? Not, indeed, that we should forget the latter; but that we should rejoice the greater in the former, knowing that our battle is won, our Captain perfect, our warfare accomplished, I cannot help thinking, therefore, that this disposition to self-torment is wrong and unscriptural.'

'BRISTOL, *July 13, 1842.*

'This evening, thanks to my God, I am at home. Yesterday I dined with the Mayor, the Duke of Cambridge--and I know not with whom besides--but this evening is my own. . . . How worthless is all the show and [\[95\]](#) splendour of wealth, royalty, etc. when compared with the sweet retirement and enjoyment of Christian hearts united in Christian love! I was wearied and tired beyond description with last evening's doings. . . . You will, perhaps, like to hear of our grand company yesterday. About eighty people dined, I think, with the Mayor; among these was the Duke of Cambridge, the American Minister, whom I met at Cambridge, the Dukes of Richmond, Beaufort, and I know not how many else--earls, marquises, lords, etc., etc. The only lord I knew was Lord Clive, whom I met at Cambridge. I met, too, with Sir T. Dyke Acland, who was very polite to me. Mr Kingston, too, I met, who asked kindly after you. Our Dean and Mr Harvey were there. The dinner did not commence before half-past eight o'clock, and I did not get home before eleven, although myself and the Dean were the first that moved off. I shall not go to any other great dinner. I have had more than enough of these, although, thanks' to our Redeemer, I am very well in health. All is noise, uproar and confusion here. The streets are filled with people promenading, etc., etc., so that one can hardly [\[96\]](#) pass. To-day there is a great dinner at the New Assembly Rooms; to-morrow at Leigh Court, at the rich Mr Miles'. The Bible Society at Barkway is put off to the 4th of August on my account, when, *D. V.*, I shall have it in my power to be there, and to take the chair.'

'COLLEGE GREEN,

'BRISTOL, *July 16, 1842.*

'... I will bring you a copy of "Martyn's Journal," because we can talk over it, and while we avoid anything which may be unscriptural, we can select for use everything which may prove valuable. . . . But I must tell you of my doings. I said, I believe, that I should go out to no more gay scenes here. I was, nevertheless, prevailed upon by Mr Harvey to go to Leigh Court on Thursday evening, to an evening party, at which the Duke of Cambridge and many other grandees were to be present. I went accordingly, and passed an extremely agreeable evening. . . . I have made myself useful in the Council of the Bp.'s College, of which I am a vice-president, and hope I have facilitated some of their proceedings. My "Eusebius" is going on in one way [97](#) or other. The second book is nearly printed in the Syriac, and I hope to put the English translation to press soon after my return to Barley.

*Thursday; July 28, 1842,*  
'BRISTOL.

'... I visited the jail to-day, and had a discussion with a thorough infidel. Oh, what a waste and howling wilderness was his mind! I never in my life saw such a state of desolation and misery! Poor, miserable, conceited, human nature! O Lord, grant us to know Thee, and that this is indeed eternal life! I am sorry I cannot see him again. But I feel I could do him no good. He has so much to unlearn before he can expect to find the truth, that many visits must be necessary, even to set him on inquiry in a way likely at all to get to the truth; and this is impossible with me. The feeling he expressed at parting was good ; but of this at Barley by-and-by. I am to drink tea this evening with a Shropshire lady of Cheltenham. . . . I am, it should seem, a great lion with her; but, you know, there is much more of the lion's skin, etc., in all this than anything else.' [98](#)

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## CHAPTER VIII

### 'THEOPHANIA' OF EUSEBIUS

IN 1843 my father published the 'Theophania (*i.e.*, the Divine Manifestation of Christ) of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea and Father of Church History, being a defence of Christianity against the philosophers of his times; a work in five books, long supposed to be lost, but which has lately been discovered in a monastery in Egypt. Translated into English, with notes critical and explanatory.' A French review thus speaks of the work :--

"Eusebius," or "The Theophania," translated into English, with notes, from an ancient Syriac version of the Greek original, now lost. By Samuel Lee, Cambridge, 1843. Syriac version, edited from an ancient MS. Printed for the Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts. London, 1842.

'Eus be,  v que de C sar e, en Palestine, au commencement du 4 me si cle, fut, comme [99](#) on le sait un des hommes les plus  rudits et les plus  loquents de son temps. On lui doit entre autres ouvrages une histoire eccl siastique tr s-estim e. Il assista au Concile du Nic e, y porta la parole devant Constantin, et ce fut lui qui r digea contre Arius la formule de foi orthodoxe, que les P res du Concile adopt rent, en y ajoutant seulement le mot  m        , ou consubstantiel, expression qu'Eus be n'admit,   la v rit , qu'avec peine. La r pugnance qu'il manifesta au sujet de ce mot, et plusieurs passages d'un commentaire sur les Psaumes dont il est auteur, l'ont fait assez g n ralement consid rer comme partisan des opinions d'Arius. Aujourd'hui son orthodoxie n'est plus douteuse, gr ce   la pr cieuse d couverte qui a  t  faite d'un de ses ouvrages dont on ne connaissait que le titre. La gloire de venger la m moire de ce savant pr lat,  tait r serv e   un des ministres les plus distingu s de l'Eglise Anglicane, qui est en m me temps un des Orientalistes, Europ ens les plus instruits, les plus laborieux, et aussi les plus

célèbres. M. Samuel Lee dans son zèle infatigable pour les travaux d'érudition Orientale qui ont rapport à la religion, a trouvé la traduction Syriacque du- [100](#) livre dont il s'agit. Cet ouvrage, dont l'original Grec est perdu, traite précisément du sujet délicat de la divinité de Jésus-Christ, à laquelle on accusait ce Père de l'Église de ne pas croire. Ce livre, intitulé ΘΕΟΦΑΝΕΙΑ, c'est-à-dire *la manifestation divine* (en Jésus-Christ), nous dévoile la véritable pensée d'Eusèbe, et on ne peut douter après l'avoir lu, que le saint prélat n'ait cru à la vérité fondamentale de la religion chrétienne, vérité sans laquelle elle n'est qu'une secte philosophique. M. Lee, a publié le texte et la traduction de ce traité, il en met en relief les doctrines, et il conclut à l'orthodoxie d'Eusèbe. Nous ne le suivrons pas dans ses consciencieux recherches, et nous n'entreprendrons pas non plus d'analyser le traité de l'Evêque de Césarée. Il nous suffit d'appeler l'attention des savants sur la double publication de M. Lee, une des plus intéressantes qui aient paru dans ces dernières années.

[Translation]

Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, in Palestine, at the beginning of the 4th century, was, as we know, one of the most learned and eloquent [101](#) men of his time. We owe to him, among other works, an ecclesiastical history which is much esteemed. He was present at the Council of Nice, spoke before Constantine, and it was he who drew up the formula of the orthodox faith against Arius, which the fathers of the council adopted, only adding the word ὁμοούσιος, or consubstantial, an expression which Eusebius, in truth, admitted but reluctantly.

'The objection which he entertained in regard to this word, and several passages from a commentary on the Psalms, of which he was the author, caused the impression that he was a partisan of the opinions of Arius. Now his orthodoxy is no longer doubtful, thanks to the valuable discovery which has been made of one of his works, of which the title alone was known. The glory of justifying the memory of this learned prelate was reserved for one of the most distinguished ministers of the English Church, who is also one of the most enlightened, painstaking and celebrated of European Orientalists. Mr Samuel Lee, in his untiring zeal for the works of Oriental learning which relate to religion, has found the Syriac translation of the book in question. This work, of which the [102](#) original Greek is lost, treats in a special manner the vital subject of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, in which this Father of the Church is accused of not believing. This book, entitled "The Theophania," that is, the *Divine Manifestation* (in Jesus Christ), unveils to us the real faith of Eusebius, and one cannot doubt, after having read it, that the good prelate believed in the foundation truth of the Christian religion, a truth without which it is but a philosophical sect. Mr Lee has published the text, and the translation of this treatise, and, in a learned preliminary dissertation, he has given an epitome of the doctrines, and thus established the orthodoxy of Eusebius. We will not follow him in his conscientious researches, and we shall not undertake to analyse the treatise. It is sufficient for us to call the attention of the learned to the double publication of Mr Lee, one of the most interesting which has appeared of late years.'

He says, in a preface to the "Theophania":-- 'The first, and probably the only, mention of this work, which occurs in any ancient Father of the Church, is to be found in the "Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers," otherwise styled, "The [103](#) Lives of Illustrious Men," "Vitae Illustrium Virorum," by Jerome.

'It is worth remarking that not only was this work written long before the appearance of Mohammed, but the MS. itself was written nearly 200 years before he was born.'

'Sometime in the year 1839, the Rev. Henry Tattam, of Bedford, who is an excellent Coptic scholar, formed the resolution of visiting Egypt for the purpose of procuring Coptic manuscripts, in order to complete, if possible, an edition of the Coptic Scriptures. At the suggestion of his friends, a subscription was set on foot for the purpose of assisting in defraying the expense of this undertaking, and this subscription was headed by a contribution of £300 from Government. Individuals contributed to a small extent, and Mr Tattam accordingly set out for Egypt. In a short time he returned, having

procured some good Coptic MSS., of which a list has been printed and circulated ; and also about fifty volumes of Syriac MSS., some of which were of an extreme age, and very valuable. These manuscripts Mr Tattam sent me, with the request that I would give him some account of their contents, and at the same time say what I [\[104\]](#) thought their value might be, which I did as soon as my other engagements would allow. It was in looking over these manuscripts that I had the extreme pleasure of discovering that of which the following work is the translation. Knowing then, as I did, the extreme rarity of this work, in other words, that no other copy of it was known to exist, I requested Mr Tattam to allow me to take a copy of it before it should leave my hands, in order that the work might not be lost, whatever might happen to the MS. Mr Tattam, with the disinterestedness for which he is so remarkable, instantly gave his consent, allowing me, moreover, to retain the MS. as long as I might want it; and although he soon after disposed of the collection generally to the trustees of the British Museum, he was so obliging as to make this stipulation, that I should be allowed to retain this MS. as long as I might deem it necessary.

'My first business now was to make a correct copy of this very rare and valuable Codex, so far as our work was concerned ; and I accordingly copied it out myself with all the expedition I could command. Soon after I had done this I applied to the Society lately established in the Metropolis for printing Oriental texts, requesting [\[105\]](#)

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will be found as neatly and correctly printed as the greatest care on the part of both the editor and printer could be expected to insure. The MS. containing our work is very neatly written in the Estrangelo, or old Church-handwriting of the Syrians, on very fine and well-prepared skin. It is of the size of large quarto, each folio measuring about 14 inches by 11, and containing three columns, each of the width of 2½ inches, as may be seen in the fac-simile.' [\[108\]](#)

The MS. contains 245 folios, 71 of the first of which contain a Syriac translation of the 'Recognitions of St Clements,' as they were called. Eusebius died about A.D. 340. This MS. with the others referred to, were purchased by Mr Tattam at the monastery of the 'Blessed Virgin' in the desert of Nitria, situated on the west of the Nile, and somewhat more than 80 miles from Cairo.

[\[109\]](#)

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## CHAPTER IX

### LETTERS, 1843

'BRISTOL, *June 15, 1843.*

'... My Sabbath yesterday was one of comfort, for although I took no part in the service, except in that of the Communion, this proved one of much refreshing to me. The attendance was larger than usual, and was apparently very devout. Mr C. preached for me, a sermon moderately Puseyistic, though not so much so as to alarm anyone. Our singing was, indeed, very good, although the choir was thin, from the circumstance that one of the men and several of the boys were ill. We have a splendid singer here from Armagh, who is a candidate for one of our lay-clerkships, which will soon be vacant. There are some more candidates to be tried this week, so you see that I am promoted to the office of judge.

'The leisure I experience since my late pressure of business at Cambridge seems very acceptable, [\[110\]](#) and to have put me into quite new circumstances. . . . The weather continues very rainy and unpleasant here ; notwithstanding this, to-day has been one of much parade and show here. We have had processions with flags, drums, trumpets, etc., almost without end, and the poor Bristolians, steeped in rain, mud, etc., witnessing the spectacle. A man riding on horseback in polished armour, others carrying battle-axes, and all manner of odd things. But all is now over, and the rumbling of carts, iron bars in loads, and the like, have succeeded, and Bristol is quite itself again. . . . I hear that the Oxonians have suspended Dr Pusey from preaching for two years. This, if true, will fall short of the matter. He will be now a martyr to his cause.'

'BRISTOL, *July 2d, 1843,*  
*'Sunday.*

'It is a great comfort to me at the close of the Sabbath to turn my mind and my best affections to my dear home. . . . We have had the Sacrament here to-day, as we have on the first Sunday of every month. The attendance was large, considering what it usually is in such churches. The Dean preached this [\[111\]](#) morning. . . . A minor canon gave us this evening a discourse highly seasoned with Puseyism. Oh, what a dreary, helpless sort of teaching is this! Man labouring, mortifying himself in order to set up his own righteousness, while he seems in terms to abjure this. Many, indeed, and plausible, are the devices of the tempter, and, alas! how often do these succeed! May we have the wisdom and simplicity to abjure self and to glorify our God and Saviour, who has indeed wrought out a perfect salvation for us, and offered us the surest means of cultivating a genuine humility in the gracious gift of His Holy Spirit. How simple this doctrine, how efficacious and powerful is it! Our God grant that we and ours may cultivate and realise this in all its depth and fulness! Yesterday I ran over Pusey's sermon which has

made so much noise of late, and what does it contain? A laboured attempt to make the means of grace those of justification! to make the consecrated elements the very human flesh and blood of Christ, and thus the means of uniting the Believer to Christ *in the flesh!* and this in a perfect fleshly union! Of the spiritual union and communion not a word is [\[112\]](#) said. No, having begun in the spirit the Church is now to be perfected in the flesh! A great deal of mawkish piety runs throughout the whole, and a great deal of persecution is anticipated for righteousness' sake! The whole appears to me as perfect a piece of Jesuitism in argument as the feelings it evinces are morbid and monkish. I really do not know whether I ought not to attack it and point out its fallacies to the thousands who may otherwise never perceive them. Think this over, and pray over it, and then tell me how you feel upon it. I should not like to omit a duty to the Church of Christ which it may be in my power to fulfil. Nor should I to thrust myself into a hot controversy if my services were not wanted. Many, no doubt, will attack this sermon, but, of the many, perhaps not one equal to the task in a learned point of view. Many, too, will do this from mere party zeal, or the hope of raising self in importance in the eye of the public. In this last case I need nothing; I am rich, and abound. As to the question of learning, I am vain enough to think that I should not fail. But I feel anything but certain what it is best [\[113\]](#) to do. I would not neglect a duty on the one hand, nor rashly obtrude myself on the public on the other. I will wait the intimation of Providence, as I always have done in such cases, and I feel sure that I shall not wait in vain. . . . The thought of this sad pest overrunning our Church gives me much concern; but I will cast my burden and care on Him who careth for me, and wait patiently for His good guidance. . . . I often think of our little unostentatious church, and of the attentive hearers, and the gospel truths there put forth. How much better are these things than the splendour of worship where the truth of God is not heard, and the love of God not felt! I think, too, that these temporary privations may be intended for my good, by showing me the more clearly the vanity of mere forms and formality, and the worth of those simple and sublime truths, which at once raise, purify and delight the soul. . . . I met with a son and daughter of Leigh Richmond in our church yesterday, and walked up to Clifton with them, where I found their mother residing. They seem in comfortable circumstances. I promised to call on them again.' [\[114\]](#)

'BRISTOL, July 9, 1843.

'Just now returned from church. Upon the whole, this has not been a day of great comfort to me. Our church is too much a place of resort for all sorts, merely to hear the music. It was so noisy this morning, that you would have thought you were in a market-place. This evening it was better, as I thought it right to give to our Claviger a tolerably good setting down. Our Precentor was irregular this evening, and I gave a similar lecture to him. It is very uncomfortable to have to go through things such as these when one's mind ought to be raised to better considerations.'

As my father recurs to the subject of the music and chanting in several of his letters, the reader may be amused to see the following remarks about the 'Chanting Battle' from a Bristol paper.

"'Chapters on an Old Chapter,' three papers written by the 'Church-Goer.'--Of the array of canons who attended the memorable visitation of 1849, when the chaunting battle was fought and won by the chanters, perhaps the most striking figure, as well as the most determined anti-chanter, was Dr Samuel Lee, the learned Professor of Hebrew. He skirmished on the [\[115\]](#) subject with pamphlets for some time before the fight came off. In these *brochures* he pronounced vigorously in favour of what he declared was the superior common sense, dignity, reverence and respect of saying our prayers in the natural voice instead of "drawling through the nose," which he considered all chanting, single and double, amounted to. Yet Professor Lee, like Dr Musgrave, was himself no bad musician, and could take part in a vocal quartette, or blow his flute effectively enough in an orchestra; but we are told there was something the Professor liked better than music, better even than his annual division of capitar

profits, and that was controversy, verbal warfare, on paper or off paper, but particularly the former. This chanting business afforded grand scope for his favourite pastime, and he rushed with all his pugnacious instincts into the fray. The great Hebraist, however, bore no actual malice to anyone; his heart, it is true, was with Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, or, at the least, with their literature, but he was a blunt and honest Englishman, both by nature and combative instinct.' [\[116\]](#)

'BRISTOL, 14 July 1843.

'Prince Albert is to come next week to see the great iron ship launched. To-day the clergy held a meeting to prepare an address, which was done, and I have the honour of being on the deputation, and so shall probably have the honour of kissing his royal hand. The weather is uncommonly fine, and I hope will so continue for some time. I am going on with my remarks on Pusey's Sermon; and I think I shall succeed in writing something on it worth printing. When I come, which will not now be very long, I will show it to you. It is worth knowing that the old English fathers, whom he cites, are *point blank against him* ! and as full of the most important truths of the Gospel as heart could wish. The ground on which he has placed himself, therefore, can be effectually cut from under him; and this I am now doing. . . . The note from the Dean of Wells was indeed a most kind and friendly one. It must be a pleasure to you, dearest, that there are some who think well of your poor partner's labours. It is an encouragement to me, and the more, as I hope it is pleasant to you. I do not seek [\[117\]](#) popularity, nor do I labour with reference to encouragement. I hope I look higher; still, it is something to be thankful for that our God also prospers me in other ways. I am hoping that my remarks on Pusey's sermon may be extensively useful.'

'BRISTOL, July 15, 1843.

' . . . Dear Mrs H. is, as you will perceive, a little unhappy because out of active duty. I will write to her, and do the best I can towards relieving her. I think I see how she is affected. She has, like myself, too active a mind to allow her to be doing nothing, and hence a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with self whenever she is not fully employed. So it is with me. If I am doing nothing, I soon get into mischief of one sort or other. This is the case with dear Mrs H. What they have done they have done with the best intentions; it is mischief, therefore, to be unhappy on that account, and because it does not seem to have been direct service rendered to the Saviour. Her work should now be--I mean, she should make it this -- to wait in faith and hope for the instructions of that [\[118\]](#) kind Providence which will not suffer so faithful a minister as Mr H. to be long unemployed. But here lies the great difficulty which all find it is in making our own will fully and entirely to acquiesce in that of our Heavenly Father. I have no doubt you have often felt this. Alas! I do daily, and my busy, wandering heart is constantly hewing out its broken cisterns, and then wondering that it finds no water! We look to friends, but they cannot effectually help us. At last we flee to Him who is ready and willing to do all we want. May our trials ever end in this!'

'July 16th.

' . . . I finish this after evening service. Just returned from church, where our music has been very fine indeed, and we had a tolerable sermon, except only that the Redeemer was not sufficiently prominent. But not much is to be expected from minor canons. They are, I fear, for the most part, a race among whom Puseyism is likely to find many advocates ; we have, at least, two here who go far in this way. We have had very large congregations, and upon the whole, I feel very thankful for all I have seen and heard. May [\[119\]](#) our God give good effect to it all! Yours too has, I hope, been a day of heavenly rest and peace. The Lord grant you all blessing and spiritual prosperity upon it. Pray tell me how the school is going on, and how the numbers in the Sunday School. . . . You see how large the letters are that I

write; and I can say, that if they were as large again, I should not be tired in writing them. I seem to feel at home when I am engaged in them. . . . These things are much more precious to me than all that pomp or power could give. This next week we are to have great doings here, as I said in my last, and in some of these I am to bear a certain part. Oh. how much rather would I see and enjoy my delights at Barley . . . one fortnight more, and then, with my God's good blessing, I shall again hope to see and to enjoy the presence of those I love, and our pretty scenery, and our peaceful little paradise, wherein Christian love, and harmony, and faith, and hope, and every Christian grace will, as I hope and pray, ever flourish and abound in and through the sweet and constraining influences of that Holy Spirit, which we shall ever seek as our best ruler and guide.'

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'BRISTOL, *July 19, 1843.*

'I am just now returned from presenting myself to Prince Albert at the railway station, and while all is uproar and confusion about me, I sit down and turn my thoughts and affections to my dear home. . . . What a delightful change! How much, sweeter is one's own dear home with the dear objects of one's own heart than all the noise and vanity of the excited world! This evening I am to be at Leigh Court, *D. V.*, where there is to be music. . . . I must close for the present, as the time for launching the great iron ship is approaching. I must go and see this sight. I will fill up my space afterwards. Just returned from the sight of the launch, which was very fine indeed. The day has been showery, but upon the whole tolerably fine.'

*'July 20th.*

' . . . The turmoil here is now pretty well over; we shall now be quiet during the few days I have to stay among them. All has gone off extremely well, much to the satisfaction of all. I have not heard of so much as one accident. . . . I was much gratified with the account of our school and congregations. . . . It delights me [121](#) to hear that all is going on well; but I am distressed when I hear the contrary. Thanks to our God for all His mercies to us; they are indeed new every morning, and, what is best, they preserve us from the many dangers and difficulties to which others are constantly subject. . . . I often feel disposed to bemoan my seemingly very long captivity here. But all-- in hands such as I trust we are--cannot but be for the best.'

'BRISTOL, *July 23d, 1843.*

'I have been much delighted with Pye Smith's letter. It is a very good specimen of real Christian feeling. I will answer it in a day or two. I think you never saw a sharp controversy so sweetly terminated ; oh, that my blessed Redeemer may make me sufficiently feel His goodness in thus giving me more than expected success!'

This refers to a long but amicable correspondence with Dr Pye Smith, an eminent Nonconformist of that day, on the subject of Dissent, suggested by a sermon of Dr P. Smith's on the 'Necessity of Religion to the Well-Being of a Nation.' My father published his own letters, in tract form, 'On the Subjects at Present [122](#) Agitated between Churchmen and Dissenters,' viz., 'On National Religious Establishments in General,' 'On the Election of Bishops in the Primitive Church,' 'On the Antiquity of Liturgical Services,' etc., etc.

'BRISTOL, *July 23, 1843.*

'I have felt greatly encouraged in my Pusey controversy. I do think my God will enable me to render a good service to His Church. This is encouraging--and indeed I do not know any employment so



encouraging--not because it is controversy, for I believe I shall be enabled so far to restrain all unkindly feeling, at least that has hitherto been the case, and that my tract will not appear to be much of a controversial character. I think, too, I shall be able to make it short, which will be a great recommendation to it. My "Theophania" is going rapidly off, and seems to be making some impression. May God grant that the impression be good and abiding! People are inclined to think that I have vindicated Eusebius from the charge of Arianism. The Socinians, however, will be very unwilling to believe this. Of the prophetical part of my Dissertation I have heard nothing. I have [123](#) no doubt, however, I shall have some hard hits. Well, may God's will be done! I have usually benefited much by hard usage. Thanks to Him who can thus bring water out of the stony rock, and make all things work together for good to them whom He loves! . . . Just come from church; we had a very good sermon from one of our minor canons. "He who is not with Me is against Me." The subject is a most important one, and a most extensive and searching one. I will lay it up in my mind for Barley and for myself. Our congregations are large, but I fear the music is the main attraction with the many. . . . The weather is cold and dark with us, which, I fear, portends more rain.

'But God's will be done. Our mercies, whether as a nation or as individuals, are far, very far greater than we deserve. I fear, however, times of much trouble are coming on us. In the great manufacturing districts there is scarcely anything to do, and an immense irreligious population is assuming a very threatening position. In Ireland it is all but open rebellion! South Wales is in a sad state of excitement. It was only a few days ago I saw a train of artillery [124](#) moving up Park Street on its way thither, where there is now a very large number of soldiers. God will, no doubt, fully protect His; yet, when there is war and uproar, all partake to some extent in its evils. Let all these considerations have the effect of bringing us nearer to God, in faith, hope and every Christian grace and feeling.'

'P.S.--I send a Bristol newspaper that you may see all the glories of the Prince's visit here.

'BRISTOL, *July 25*, 1843.

'This will be my last from this place at present. . . . I breakfasted this morning with Carus at the Dean's, and afterwards read over to him my sketch of an answer to Dr Pusey, which he seemed to like much. I also gave him a few pages from my "Theophania," on Prophecy, which staggered him considerably. He has promised to study the whole question with the greatest attention, as he much feels its importance. I do not hear of any reviews of my "Theophania" at present. A month or two hence there will no doubt be plenty. Well, God's will and word prevail is my theme. If any one fairly shows that I am wrong I will recant, as it can give me no satisfaction to be the [125](#) author of error. But of all this when I have the pleasure of seeing you. Now, therefore, may thy gracious Saviour preserve thee and me, and thine and mine, in the full faith and fear of God, and under the guidance of His grace, and the protection of His providence !'

'TRIN. COLL., CAMB.,  
'*October 3rd*, 1843.

'I find all here in extreme quietness, but very few are in residence. The consequence is there is no temptation here to wander from one's immediate business. I am getting on gloriously with my shot at Pusey. I trust I shall in the course of the week entirely finish it. I was mortified to find on Monday that the Library was closed for four days; fortunately the College Library was open, and supplied all my wants. It delights me greatly to find daily the old Fathers more and more directly opposed to this new-fangled Divine. It would indeed be a mortification to find that all the ancient worthies had discovered nothing better than the figments of this Oxford school. . . . The quiet of this place has settled me down after the late dissipation, etc., at Barley, so that I am gradually forgetting all its excitements. . . . I am, however, often induced to cry out for a [126](#) simple desire to serve Him who has done so much for us--



for Him who made Himself poor that we might be rich!

\*Poor little Barley! O that thy seed-time may be in the exercise of true faith and hope, and thy harvest in the abundance thy God has promised to give to all who love and serve Him faithfully! And that thou mayest occupy diligently until He come! The more I know of myself, and of men generally, the more I fear lest a deceiving and deceived heart turn us aside, and some lose the right way! God grant this may not be our lot!

[ \* This refers to a sermon he preached on the Sunday previous to his departure for Cambridge.]

Extract from the 'Theophania' :--

'If the word of Prophecy is "the more sure" evidence to the believer of the truth of the hope that is in him, then it must have been delivered in terms such as would at once be intelligible to all, and would, at the same time, set forth such facts as would be obvious, convincing and accessible to all. And this character it certainly sustains. All authorities concur in the declaration that "when all these things should have been [127](#) done" "The End" should come : that "the mystery of God should be finished as he had declared to His servants the prophets" : it should be completed : time should now be no more : the End of all things (so foretold) should be at hand, and be fully brought to pass : in these days should be fulfilled all that had been spoken of Christ (and of His church) by the prophets : or, in other words, when the gospel should have been preached in all the world for a testimony to all nations, and the power of the Holy People be scattered (abroad), then should the End come, then should all these things be finished. I need now only say, all these things have been done : the old and elementary system passed away with a great noise; all these predicted empires have actually fallen, and the new kingdom, the new heaven and earth, the new Jerusalem--all of which were to descend from God, to be formed by His power, have been realised on earth ; all these things have been done in the sight of all the nations ; God's holy arm has been made bare in their sight: His judgments have prevailed, and they remain for an everlasting testimony to the whole world. His kingdom has come, as it was foretold it should, and His will has, so far, been done; His purposes have been [128](#) finished; and, from that day to the extreme end of time, it will be the duty, as indeed it will be the great privilege of the Church, to gather into its bosom the Jew, the Greek, the Scythian, the Barbarian, bond and free; and to do this as the Apostles did in their days--in obedience, faith and hope.'

'On the Restoration of the Jews.' 'On this question much need not be said, for if the events of prophecy have *all been fulfilled*, and were so fulfilled upon the establishment of the Christian Church, as already shown, every hope of a restoration of the Jews to Palestine must be groundless and futile. Besides, it must be most incongruous to look for the temporalities of the Old Testament under the New, in which we are taught that there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all. That neither on Mount Gerizim, nor in Jerusalem exclusively, should the Father be worshipped, but that wherever there was a real spiritual child of Abraham there should be a temple of God the Holy Ghost. And, let it be remembered, this was the doctrine which the Apostles themselves felt the greatest difficulty in receiving, met [129](#) the greatest in its propagation, and laboured most anxiously and constantly to preserve entire from commixture with Jewish notions. . . . In this case, then, as before, nothing short of a new revelation and a new dispensation can justify the expectation of any such things as these. Whether we are to expect any such new light and new appointment, I leave it to others to determine. I can find no such things foretold. I conclude on this question, therefore, that no restoration of Jews, either to temporal or spiritual exclusive privileges, is to be expected ; that all such expectation is groundless; and, what is worse, that it tends only to confirm Jewish prejudices, which have hitherto proved all but invincible without it; and further, that those who are so anxiously pressing it are unwarily calling into exercise a power more than equal to all their better efforts to the contrary. To call the Jews to a belief in Christ is a legitimate work of Christian faith and love. It is that which our Lord commanded, and it is that in which the Apostles

persevered to the utmost. Circumstanced as the Jews now are, they are "strangers to the covenants of promise, they are without hope and without God in the world." [\[130\]](#) They are as branches broken off and dissevered from the stock of Abraham ; and it is faith in the Redeemer alone which can graft them in and make them the spiritual seed of Abraham, the fleshly descent availing nothing whatever under the New Covenant. To this end it is the duty of the Christian Church to labour; and in this work there are the best grounds for believing that their labour shall not be in vain.'

'TRIN. COLL., CAMB.,  
'Nov. 18, 1843.

' . . . I have no particular news to tell you, except that I am to dine, *D. V.*, with the new Bishop of Litchfield at King's Coll. Lodge. I expect to have a pleasant evening. Yes, there is one thing more, I met a gentleman at our dinner table a day or two ago, who said my "Eusebius" was exciting considerable interest, and especially the views of Prophecy therein put forth. It seems to have struck him forcibly that the views of those days differed so greatly from those of these. So it is possible, and I think probable, that at no very distant day my views, and those of the early Church, may [\[131\]](#) prevail. My impression is that they certainly will, and then it will be seen that I am not of mind so unsound as some have imagined; but this is not my chief glory. My great hope is that the truth will prevail, and that Jewish notions will be so far got rid of as to enable men to see the truth as plainly in the Old Testament as in the New, and that these are most intimately connected together. . . . The good and great men of former times can hardly be expected to have equal weight with the good and little men of the present, because, what is near does, by common perspective, appear to be much larger, higher and more commanding than what is removed to a considerable distance. And so, alas! is it with our holy Faith. The nearer object stands in the way of the more distant one.'

'BRISTOL, *Dec.* 20, 1843.

'I send herewith my answer to Dr Pusey, and when you have read it be so good as to put it into an envelope and direct it to the Revnd. Dr Pusey, Christ Church, Oxford. Do not forget to put a Queen's head on it. You see, dearest, the ground he takes -- that of *persecution*. I had no doubt this would be the case, and [\[132\]](#) have abundantly guarded against it. I have no doubt I shall in this same way get blown up and cried down by the party throughout the length and breadth of the land; and so I shall have to experience many ups and downs! I think, however, I have the truth of God on my side. Nor am I quite so young and raw in matters of this sort as to allow myself to be blinded by plausibilities. I entertain nothing like hostile feelings towards Dr Pusey or his party, but I do a perfect hatred, as I hope, towards the unscriptural and earthborn notions which I think they are labouring to propagate, and this, *D. V.*, I will still entertain. I am glad you like my views of the means of grace. I have great confidence in your opinion on matters of this sort, and I always benefit by them. I hope I have not merely taken a negative view of things in this little work, but also a positive one, which will do much good. I think Dr Pusey feels that my letter will have some effect. God grant it may be a good one, and that only which will further His glory and the good of His Church. . . . Pray take a correct copy of my note to Dr . Pusey and lay it up by you, as it may be necessary for me hereafter to publish it. I think I have [\[133\]](#) not mistaken Dr Pusey's "*little ones*" for this reason : he mentions these in opposition to others, who, he says, have been brought up in an erroneous and defective mode of teaching. Surely, then, these "*little ones*" must mean his own party. What think you ?'

[\[134\]](#)

## FIRST LETTER TO DR PUSEY, ETC.--1843-44

IN 1843 Dr Lee published a letter to Dr Pusey on his sermon on the Eucharist. In the shape of remarks on this notorious sermon, he demonstrates that Dr Pusey had both misunderstood and misrepresented the authorities that he quoted in support of his heretical views, and, with them, the Holy Scriptures and the formularies of our Church. In reference to this pamphlet, the 'Morning Herald' of December 20, 1843, remarks : 'It is indeed painful to think of the position in which Dr Lee has, by these proofs, placed Dr Pusey; for he has shown that "every one of the extracts, with their author," is opposed to Dr Pusey's notion on the Eucharist, and that his sermon, with the notes and appendix, is consistent neither with the express declarations of Holy Writ, nor with those of the orthodox [135](#) Fathers of our own Church claimed by Dr Pusey as his teachers, nor yet with those of the Syrian, Greek and Latin Churches quoted as his supporters; and all this in language most courteous, and with kindness most tender. Dr Lee is no Low Churchman, as the following passage will prove : "You were probably offended that a few are to be found among us who think and speak too lowly of the means of grace adopted in our Church. I can feel the force of this, and can lament it with you. But, let me ask you, can you re'cognise no mean between the sin of making these nothing and of making them everything ?--between considering the Eucharist a mere sign or symbol on the one hand, and as *consubstantial* with the Deity and with man on the other? Can you believe the absolute *deification* of the elements to be less sinful in the one case than a defective view of their value and efficacy is in the other? For my own part, I believe the former to be the greater sin, tending, as it does, to rob God of His honour, and contributing, as it must, to disseminate ignorance and superstition of the very worst sort throughout the Church of Christ. If, indeed, you had adhered closely to the guidance of Andrewes and Bramhall, you would have done well. If, [136](#) together with them, you had vigorously enforced the best sentiments of the ancient orthodox Fathers, you would indeed have done a good and a great work. You would have given to Holy Scripture its due authority and pre-eminence, as they have done; to our Catholic, Apostolic and Protestant Church the place and preference which are so justly its due ; and you would have shown, as your teachers have done before you, that both Romanists and Dissenters are living in open and unwarrantable schism. This could not, under God, but have tended to enlighten and to benefit both of these: to give a true and salutary bias to our young men in the ministry, and preparing for it, which must have been felt as a blessing for ages to come. Unhappily, however, you have mistaken the way. Equally so has your misguided zeal found its admirers and flatterers, and you seem to be gliding on smoothly under this, at once unmindful, unconscious of, and even glorying in, the manifestly ruinous tendency of your course. "The Holy Truth," which it seems to be your object to propagate, is, as you must see, daily creating and increasing an unholy division among us. Dissent is, on the one hand, rejoicing at your progress and gathering strength under it. Romanism is still [137](#) more anxious for your success, daily congratulates your heroism and your blindness, receives now and then one of your deluded followers into its bosom, and anxiously looks forward to the period when your leaven shall have so leavened the whole lump that darkness, superstition and cruelty shall again extend their ample ravages over this so long and so richly-favoured land! Infidelity, too, hails with no less enthusiasm the mystified reserve, the priest-ennobling projects, the superstitious, blind and irrational theology of the Tractarian School, as something well adapted to its extension. These, wiser in their generation than the children of light, know full well how to appreciate efforts of this sort --efforts from which the well-informed and well-intentioned cannot but turn with sorrow, and over which the true disciple cannot but lament and mourn."

'On the tendency of Dr Pusey's writings and teaching, Dr Lee thus beautifully and truthfully addressed the Hebrew professor of the sister university :--"It is no less instructive to observe that just in proportion as you have lost sight of the Scripture, and of its simple but efficient modes of teaching, and of the genuine results of these, the renewal of the soul through grace, in the same have you also lost [138](#) sight of the true intentions of the orthodox Fathers of the Church, and of the doctrines of the

Apostolic and Protestant Church of England, of which you are a minister. In the same, too, have you approached to the formal, spiritless, earthly and superstitious notions of the Church of Rome. Instead of that *Faith* which once animated our reformers and martyrs, of that *Light* which poured in upon them from the simple spiritual apprehension of Holy Writ, of that *Love* to God and to man which was shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, of that *Hope* and *Faith* which enabled them to glorify God even in the very fires, and which has so abundantly since their days not only emancipated the human mind, especially in this happy land, from the darkness and folly which ages of ignorance had laid upon it, but has enlightened, inflamed, and led it onward, even to these our times, to results the most excellent, whether as it regards the things of this world or of that which is to come, and which still seems to hold out further prospects of wealth, both temporal and spiritual, to be realised here and elsewhere, which it hath not yet entered into the heart of man fully to conceive ; instead of this, I say, and of those still higher stages of spiritual and intellectual illumination and [\[139\]](#) prosperity which it is but reasonable to expect the unfettered energies of man will arrive at, you and your school are proposing and urging, with all the earnestness of a zeal the most blind and perverse, that we should again return to the mummeries which had so long chained down to earth our best and noblest endowments, and that our Church should again become the willing slave of ignorance the most palpable, and of superstition the most degrading. . . . Are we, having begun in the spirit, now to labour to become perfect through the flesh? Let us, then, throw away the principles which have so far and so happily led us, and then to these vanities we shall certainly come. If we serve Baal at all, we shall serve him much. To this the traditions of men have ever led; to this the prostration of the human intellect, and with it ignorance, folly and vice of every description must necessarily succeed. It was by this that men once, *professing themselves to be wise, became fools*; by this that they changed the glory of God. to the image of a calf that eateth hay ; by this that both Gentile and Jew became earthly, sensual, devilish ; by this that the infatuated Church of Rome became the cage of every unclean bird, enslaved and impoverished the nations of Europe, imbrued its hands [\[140\]](#) in the blood of the saints ; and by this it is now endeavouring again to reinstate itself in that dominion of ignorance and of tyranny which it so long and so mercilessly exercised.

"The great difference between this system and that of the Catholic Church of Christ, against which you are now--unwittingly, I trust--arraying yourself, is one of principle. It is that of an unflinching, well-grounded adherence to *the Commandments of God*; of taking these, and these only, as the grounds of Faith; and by these exclusively to abide. On this foundation now stands our Apostolic, Reformed and Protestant Church, and so long as it stands on this rock the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. It shall carry with it, and within it, the elements of its strength, and these are nothing short of almighty. They are the doctrines of the Scriptures of truth, of the Word of His grace ; and the power of His spirit attending its due administration shall be able to build up its members, and to give them an inheritance among all them that are sanctified."

'BRISTOL, Dec. 31, 1843.

"With this I begin another series of my [\[141\]](#) Sabbath epistles from this place; with this I close the last year. . . . I feel thankful for many mercies received since this time twelve months. No real sorrow has overtaken me, but much positive happiness has been granted. My "Theophania," and my letter against Puseyism, will, I trust, long remain as testimonies of these mercies, but rather tending to further the honour of God and the good of His people, and as checks to error and heterodoxy among our fellow men. Our church at Barley has, I hope, been making some progress, and that our own souls have partaken in the growth in grace, which we hope we witness among our neighbours. To all this may our God add, in the coming year, the increase of thirty, sixty and an hundredfold !

'Mr Bedford, the incumbent of St George's, in Park Street, is dead ; he died a few days ago . . . I shall

make early inquiry whether Lord Wm. Somerset wishes to take the appointment to St George's as his option. If he does not, it will probably come to me. What must I then do ? Is Mr H. the man ? I feel rather in a strait on this matter. Do let me have all your mind on it. I should greatly wish to [142](#) put in a good man there; it presents a scene of great usefulness. . . . The weather here is a little cooler, which I am glad of. Yesterday, in London, it felt quite winterly, and particularly so as there was a thick London fog coming on.'

(My father had the option of appointing to St George's, Park Street, Bristol, and gave it to his brother-in-law, the Reverend R. L. Hopper, whose ministrations were greatly valued during the long period -- over five-and-twenty years-- that he held the living.)

'I have received another note from Dr Pusey, much of a piece with the last. He says he knows I shall object to what *he does hold*, although I may have misunderstood him ; that he feels he has Bp. Andrewes with him, but that he declines controversy. He is sorry to hear I have been unwell, and ends with "your humble servant, E. B. Pusey." I shall send him an answer to this, couched in terms as respectful as possible ; and here I suppose our correspondence will end. I wonder that he drops Abp. Bramhall here, as well as the Fathers generally. This is odd, surely ; but he is a very odd sort of writer, and, I suspect, a very eccentric man. I think I shall [143](#) have no public controversy with him ; but whether all his followers may be silent or not is another thing. I suspect they will not. God's will be done. I know I have only His sacred truth before me, and I fear nothing, knowing as I do His faithfulness and goodness. My next year's work will, I think, be my exposition of prophecy, *D. V.*, and it is not improbable I may find matter sufficient even to convince Mrs Professor Lee that hitherto she has been greatly in the dark on this interesting and momentous subject. But this, you will say, is counting on victory without my host. Well, wait and thou shalt see what God can do through an instrument so weak as the poor Professor. . . . Love me and pray for me, and I shall be greatly prospered in all I take in hand.'

Note from Dr PUSEY to Dr LEE.

'MY DEAR SIR,-- I thank you for your note. I ought to say, in answer, that I believe you would object to what I do hold, altho' you mistake my meaning, as your own language is painful to me. I ought to say thus much, lest I seem to withdraw anything I do hold. I feel persuaded that what I hold Bp. Andrewes held. However, I do not [144](#) mean to enter into controversy, but commit all to God.

'I was sorry to hear that you had been ill.-- Your humble servant,

E. B. PUSEY.

'BRIGHTON, *Dec.* 29.'

'BRISTOL, *Jan.* 1,  
'44.

' . . . I received an Oxford newspaper to-day, I suppose from Barley, which speaks in high terms of my letter to Pusey. I must say I had to-day a conference with Mr C., who behaved exceedingly well. I begin to hope I have done him a real good. He promises to read the "Homilies," and some of our best divines. I hope I have let in a ray of light to him which may be of great service to him as long as he lives. God be praised for this hope.'

'BRISTOL, *Jan.* 4, 1844.

'I have just received a very delightful note from the Duchess of Northumberland, which I send with this. I think the religious feeling of the Duchess will please you and give you cause for thankfulness.



May God of His mercy grant that my little work may redound to the advancement of His glory! I do not know whether E. [145](#) and you saw it, but the last "Church and State Gazette" gave to my letter against Pusey a splendid character in a very few words.'

'ALNWICK CASTLE,  
*2d Jany. 1844.*

'REVND. SIR,--I delayed for a few days acknowledging the receipt of your tract and welcome letter, as the Duke and I were desirous of reading together your explanation of a subject Dr Pusey had attempted so to mystify in his sermon; it was impossible to comprehend him. We both feel not a little obliged to you, and pray accept my thanks for presenting me with a discourse so clear, so firm, and so temperate, that I have felt an innate thankfulness and satisfaction that it adds strength to the faith in which I have been brought up, and makes me more than ever lament the awful attempts that it would be blindness to deny are making to destroy our admirable institution. I do believe, however, that exertions like yours are producing good effects ; those who always meant well will, like Palmer, make an honourable retreat when they find an honest zeal has led them astray, and with pure Scriptural truths and a true [146](#) understanding of the Orthodox Fathers I trust this most incomprehensible conspiracy will be stopped and defeated. I had just read Palmer's pamphlet and the Bp. of Ossory's charge when your "Answer" reached us, and I wish I could tell you how much the Duke approves it, but your own feelings and the motives that govern you will best tell you. Allow me to tell you how sincerely we hope a blessing will rest upon your good work, and help to sustain our Holy Church in its Christian purity,--and I remain, revnd. sir, yours very truly,

C. F. NORTHUMBERLAND.'

'BRISTOL, *Janry. 7, 1844.*

'I sit down with great pleasure to write my little Sunday love-despatch to you, and this is the more pleasing as I have experienced mercies many, which suggest at once feelings of thankfulness and love. We had a very excellent sermon this morning from Mr C., so good, indeed, as to surprise me greatly. It contained the marrow of Scripture truth, and this plainly and fully put. The text was I John v. 11, which you will say contains a fine subject. After this we had a very full communion, in which between 3 and £4 was collected. This evening's service had [147](#) too much of the play-house in it. We had a fine anthem from Haydn, too fine much, in my opinion, for a church; then, as soon as this was over, a host of the vulgar instantly turned out, which greatly disgusted me. I will, if possible, put an end to this. . . . My lectures at Cambridge must commence soon after I leave this place. We had a most pleasant evening at Blaize Castle. . . . My letter to Pusey is very highly thought of. You will smile to hear that I have had another note from him, which is in much better humour than the two former ones. You must have been pleased with the Duchess of N.'s note. She evidently is a very discerning lady. But the great comfort is, that my poor endeavour promises to advance the truth, to give glory to God, to advance the knowledge of the Saviour, and to give strength to our Holy Apostolic Church. . . . May God second it in this way, so that all the glory, all the praise, be His !'

'BRISTOL, *Janry. 9, 1844.*

' . . . I believe I told you that I had had another note from Dr Pusey. He seems to me to be in rather better temper than the two former; but, as he is obscure, this is doubtful. One thing [148](#) is most clear, he has felt the force of my letter. May God grant it be for his spiritual good. It should seem that my pamphlet is making considerable ground; it seems to have made considerable impression. I have said in my note to E. what the "Church and State Gazette" said about it. ... There is nothing new here, except a fierce



east wind with small drops of rain, which makes all dark and dirty, and necessarily cold. Thank my God I am in a warm and comfortable room, shielded from all the inclemency of the wintry sky. Soon I expect we shall have a world of snow, which will be acceptable. I always enjoy it greatly.'

'BRISTOL, *Janry.* 14, 1844.

'... I am glad you noticed the note of the Duchess. It certainly gave me much pleasure, and this principally in the belief that she well understood what she was writing about. I dined at Mr George's on Friday last, and passed a pleasant evening. I was rather excited by the arguments of a Mr C, a clergyman here, about prophecy, who, alas! has not the least idea as to how an argument ought to be conducted. This is what always exceeds my forbearance; [149](#) but I hope to learn better things. I preached this morning at the Cathedral to an attentive audience. . . . This evening we had an uncommonly good sermon from Mr Milner. It really was the sermon of a man of experience ; it suited me well. It discoursed on pressing through the strait gate, a thing of which I have not always felt so great a necessity as I think I begin to feel, and to see absolutely necessary. The sermon, however, did not insist on an extreme mortification of the flesh, but on an absolute effort of the spirit; an effort which should resist sin in thought, and inculcate purity of heart as a principle. This was very good. I liked it much. May God give the consideration its due effect. Our anthem was one of Boyce's, and was indeed a very impressive one; Job xxviii. 12, to the end. The matter contained in this particular part of Scripture I have always thought extremely beautiful. Pray look at the place in my translation. It is pregnant with instruction, and Boyce's music is admirably adapted to it, giving it a force and solemnity which ordinary minds hardly ever feel. My own sermon this morning was quite new. You shall see it when I reach Barley. Its object was to put down all [150](#) self-sufficiency. "We are not sufficient of ourselves," etc., 2 Cor. iii. 5, and to inculcate reliance on the sufficiency alone which God gives. One of the Oxford heads was present, as I was told, viz., Dr Jenkins, the head of Baliol. I intended to touch the Puseyites, and this but slightly. I mean, not to fill the sermon with a refutation of their fooleries, but mainly to inculcate the power of the Spirit, and in this, the sufficiency of the believer. . . . My tract, I feel, is making a great impression. May I not say with St James, "How great a fire a little matter kindleth I" I mean, how much our gracious God may please to do by means so weak and so worthless! . . . I enclose a note from the editor of the "Church and State Gazette," and take it for granted that you have read my letter against the Puseyites therein.'

'342 STRAND, *Janry.* 11th, /44.

'The editor of the "Church and State Gazette" presents his compliments to Professor Lee, and begs to thank him expressly for the very valuable communication to the "Gazette," this day received, and now in the press. From such a source the M.S. is doubly valuable, and the editor cannot [151](#) too warmly express his obligations for the honour conferred in, the columns in which it will appear.'

'BRISTOL, *Janry.* 17, 1844.

'... If my correspondence last week was not so frequent as usual, it was owing to the endless calls I have to go out to dinner parties. This occupies my whole evening on such days, and it was the evening which I usually devoted to this delightful work. This I am forced to write in the middle of the day, having to go out to a dinner this evening. I have been so out every evening this week; that of to-morrow I have refused so to spend. Friday's is promised, and Monday's, next week, solicited: Believe me, this greatly teases me, and particularly as it injures my correspondence with you. . . . My heart is hourly stealing away to Barley . . . and in these short reveries I feel as if I were at home. They are therefore very delightful to me. . . . Pray, did you see my severe letter against Newman in the "Church and State Gazette" ? "'

'BRISTOL, *Janry.* 24, 1844.

'... Every day have I had one or two invitations out to dinner to deal with, until I have [152](#) been perfectly tired of them. I have determined not to go out again during my stay. The kindness I have received has been truly great; and it should seem I am becoming marvellously popular. The letter to Pusey seems to have done wonders in this way--I hear nothing but praise of it. I trust, however, I shall not become vain therefrom. To-day a Hampshire paper arrived, with a very good short review of the controversy.'

[153](#)

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## CHAPTER XI

### LETTERS TO ARCHD. THORP, DR PUSEY, ETC.

'TRIN. COLL., *Nov.* 19<sup>th</sup>, 1845.

'ALTHOUGH I expect to see you very soon, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of sending this, because I think it will amuse and gratify you. . . . 'Our Bible Society on Monday evening went off charmingly. The meeting was a large one, and was nobly supported by the speakers. I was roused, and gave them a short, animated address at its close. I have not heard what was collected. Mr Carus walked with me to my rooms; he was highly gratified at the proceedings, and opened his heart much on the state of his religious young men. He said he had not fewer than two hundred and fifty at his rooms on Sunday evening, when the Bishop of Calcutta addressed them in his usual animated way. I was not a little surprised and delighted to hear him say that I was little aware how much I was strengthening his hands. Particulars I did not [154](#) ask, but could not help thanking God for this. My last letter to Archdeacon Thorp seems to have made considerable impression here. I hear of it from several quarters. The Camdenians have, I am told, left the University. I am delighted to hear this. If my efforts have in the least promoted this, I thank my God most heartily for it. Yesterday I dined with the Vice-Chancellor, and we had a very pleasant party. When we dispersed I went to Scholefield's to meet the Bp. of Calcutta. The Bp. had taken a little cold, and was gone to bed before I arrived there. I was requested to be chaplain. I consented, and read 2 Tim. 1. for them, it being the lesson for the evening. The son of the Duke of Manchester was there, to whom I was introduced, having known his father many years ago. . . . This evening I am to dine at our Lodge to meet the Bp. of Calcutta.'

In June 1845, Dr Lee published a letter to the Venerable Archdeacon Thorp, President of the Camden Society, on its late re-organisation and apparent objects, in the 'Christian's Monthly Magazine.' He says--'The laws of this society, as they originally stood, went simply and solely to what everyone seemed to wish for--the [155](#) encouragement of the study of Church Architecture.' But now 'the new code to be adopted would confer upon the committee new powers and exemptions which they had hitherto not possessed,' and one of the committee openly avowed 'that it was not architecture alone for which the society was formed, and for the advancement of which it had been carried on even from the first.' 'It was,' said Mr Hope, in the words of the president himself, and therefore invested with the best authority, 'also for the great purpose of advancing and carrying out those esoteric principles of good Church - membership, which carried a religiosity with them, etc., that this society had been formed, and hitherto had exerted itself.'

Dr Lee goes on :--'I would ask on what authority it had been assumed that this society had ever any real connection with the University at all? The said church principles are the principles of Romanism.' He then quotes the facts which had induced him to think so. One of the members of the new committee was a Mr Stokes, who had been denounced by Professor Sedgwick as the author of the 'Ecclesiastical

Calendar,' the title of which was 'A Christian Kalendar for the members of the Established Church, by a Lay Member of [156](#) the Camden Society,' Cambridge, etc. It was carried surreptitiously through the University Press, and on this account it was that the authorities forbade any other works of the society being printed at their Press. 'In this Kalendar,' says Dr Lee, 'we are presented with the "six general laws or precepts of Holy Church." The first enjoins "auricular confession." "To confess our sins, as occasion is, to a learned and discreet priest." "Not to solemnise holy matrimony at certain seasons." 'An extract from Dr Pusey is given as to how the Lenten fast is to be holily observed. The Holy Sacraments are presented to members of the Established Church as being seven. The two great sacraments are 'Baptism' and the 'Holy Eucharist' Five lesser sacramental rites are 'Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony.' Then we have 'the seven spiritual works of mercy,' etc., and the seven canonical hours of prayer--'Matins and Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, Compline,' none of which have as such ever been taught or enjoined in the Established Church. They are all, in fact, nothing more or less than transcripts from the Romish service books!' Then we are told (Jan. 6) after some other trash about the Magi, [157](#) that their relics, after several translations, were removed to Cologne in the twelfth century.' Then that the 'relics of St Prisca are preserved in her church at Rome, which gives title to a cardinal.' Extremely important indeed ! Again (Jan. 21), 'A church was built over the spot on which St Agnes was decapitated at Rome, and in it is blessed the wool from which archiepiscopal palls are made ; it also gives title to a cardinal.' (Jan. 22) 'The relics of St Vincent,' it is said, 'were honoured with miracles.' In some places these relics are 'blessed,' 'sacred,' 'precious,' and so on. Passing over other similar worthless matter we come to Feb. 3. Here 'St Blase was Bishop of Sebaste in Armenia. He is the patron of wool-combers.' Feb. 6. St Agatha 'is the patroness of the island of Malta.' March 1. 'St David, the patron of Wales.' April 23. 'St George, the great martyr, the patron of England,' etc. I will remark here, once for all, on these patron saints; their patronage is worth either something or nothing. If they are in a situation to receive the petitions and to relieve the wants of their clients, then it is worth something. But this taken for granted, that they are vested either more or less with divine powers, and are to be considered as worthy and acceptable mediators with God ; [158](#) this Romanists teach; this, however, the Established Church denies; this every sound member of it repudiates ; and this Holy Scripture condemns ; as does in one way or other every orthodox writer of the Catholic Church, both ancient and modern ! But Mr Stokes, it should seem, thinks that it ought, at least, to be believed by members of our Church, and your society, that it is too harmless to be objected to. To come to matter of graver import. March 12. We have 'St Gregory the Great . . . ' he occupied the Chair of St Peter from 590-604. Mr Stokes has told us that 'Rome is the only Apostolic See of the Western Church,' that it is the ' Holy See,' the 'Chair of St Peter,' etc. ... But Mr Stokes was elected with thunders of applause. I have, therefore, a right to conclude that the dogmas put forth in this Kalendar, of which Mr Stokes appears to be the author, are not at variance with the opinion, in other words, "the esoteric principles of good Church membership," under which alone this society is determined to act; and these dogmas are purely Popish. I conclude, therefore, that the said esoteric principles are also Popish and nothing else. . . .

'Yes, Mr President, get these principles of Church membership again in the ascendant here, and what [159](#) must be the consequence? The extinction, of necessity, of all civil and religious liberty among us; the Established Church not what it is now, the House of Prayer and spiritual refreshing to many a pious soul, but a "den of thieves"; the throne trampled on, the priesthood deified. One of this body, the worst and weakest, perhaps, of them all, honoured and obeyed as the vicar of Christ on earth, and as the only fountain of truth and unity to be found in this system of things.

'This, or something like it, you may perhaps be looking to with increasing interest. But, let me tell you, although neither prophet nor the son of a prophet, this will never come to pass in this country. Your labours may, and will, in all probability, lead to great and violent political commotion, and, it may be, to distress and bloodshed, but the end apparently had in view will never be realised. That marked

Providence, which has watched over this nation ever since the days of what Mr Stokes terms a "change of the religion"--the glorious Reformation--will not desert it while there is to be found in it anything like the remnant, now its denizens, which have not bowed the knee to Baal. And this, I will venture to predict, notwithstanding your boast of the extended and extending number of [160](#) your supporters, the light imbibed, the good sense entertained, the real knowledge and real English honesty, visible far and wide among us, shall, whatever may become of our Apostolical Establishment, which it is not improbable your endeavours may succeed in destroying, secure to it, and enable it to continue in, its beauty and strength to countless generations. I will add only one word more. I ask, can the University, consistently with its character and obligations both to the Church and the throne, allow such a society as this to continue within its precincts? Can it, I say, allow an esoteric theological institution, producing such fruits as those noticed above, wholly opposed to the doctrines which it is bound to teach and enforce upon its members, to remain a moment within it, now that its character is known, that its practices are ascertained to be bad, that it has apparently ruined the religious principles and prospects, perhaps for ever, of one at least of the most promising young men committed to its charge ?

TRIN. COLL., CAMS.,  
'Feb. 10, 1846.

'An old pupil of mine has just now left me, full of the question of Prophecy. He came on purpose to talk with me about it. He says many are [161](#) waiting with anxiety for my work, and are most anxious to see my views established, as they are quite tired out with the tyranny of Bickersteth, Birks, etc. I can only say the Lord knows I expect nothing from man. I seek none of the honour that comes from them; but I do exult in the hope that I shall be able to put down in God's good strength some of the vanity floating about during many years past, and to vindicate the truth and power of the Gospel. I can say but too truly, I have in this undertaking received no encouragement from man ; no, not of my own household. Thanks to His great goodness, which has so far upholden me, yet I know and feel that He is with me, and that nothing man can do shall hurt my progress, and His rod and staff shall comfort me.'

'TRIN. COLL., CAMB.,  
'March 3, 1846.

'I have, thanks to my gracious Redeemer, nothing but blessing to tell you of. I got safely and comfortably here, got through my lecture with great comfort also; since that time all has been blessing and peace. Mr Fares seems to be pretty well . . . we go on very well upon the whole, and I hope, before he goes, we shall have the greatest part of our work done. [162](#) The rest must be done after he returns to Malta, and finished by epistle. I have seen no one since I left you about whom you would be interested, except Prof. Scholefield and General Tom Thumb. . . . As to the General, he was riding in an open car about Cambridge to-day, dressed in uniform. The whole street full was, of course, after him; my impression is that the whole is "a take in." He is, I think, a small child of about four years old, who will after a time stand in need of larger clothes. In the meantime, however, he is making, as they say, about three thousand a year! Oh, how easily mankind is gulled! And how difficult it is to get them to spare one farthing to things of infinite value and moment! People must have something to stare at! or to wonder at! or about which they themselves can talk, or write, in a wondrous way!'

The above refers to the new translation of the Bible into Arabic, which my father was making for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Mr Fares, a Syrian gentleman, was helping him. The work was not finished when he died in 1852, but it was taken up by his pupil and friend, the late Professor Jarrett, and a letter from the [163](#) secretary of the society, referring to Dr Lee's labours on this behalf, will be found in its place, among others received by my mother after his death.

'TRIN. COLL., CAMB.,

'March 24, 1846.

'Thanks to the best of Friends, I have nothing but comforts to speak about. My lecture was easy to me and comfortable, and the recollection of it has been comfortable. The meeting last night was large, spirited and highly spiritual. I begin to be afraid that I may possibly become popular. I concluded with a speech which was well received, and, in my recollection of it, I do not know of anything I would since have unsaid. . . . I have also to be thankful that I have just finished my article on Pusey's second sermon; I yesterday sent one packet, this evening I sent the last So far, my God be praised. I feel quite relieved ; what with my lecture, the paper to be finished, the meeting to be held, and my speech to be made, I feel quite out of prison, and in good health and spirits. . . . My heart is at liberty to think and speak for itself. And what shall I say? Why, that mercy, and loving-kindness everywhere meet me. I have had, too, a letter from Mr Faber, which I also send for [164](#) your perusal. I am sure it will please you. You will see that he is full, as a prophet, with seemingly forthcoming events. To-morrow I shall answer it, and will send my answer through you. . . .'

The two following letters from Mr Faber appear to me sufficiently interesting to be inserted here :--

'SHERBORN HOUSE,  
'March 22, 1846.

'MY DEAR SIR,--Thank you very cordially, for all the trouble which you have taken. If I had not mistrusted my own speculation, I should not have applied to you. In truth, I felt that I was somewhat in the predicament of the "*Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdis*." I was removing one difficulty only to fall into another. In fine, while I did not feel sure about my bare grammatical translation, I had a consciousness that my limitation of this, "I was not known," to Abraham was more like a contrivance to serve a turn than a legitimate interpretation. It is curious enough, and which rather endangers my humility, that the very solution (as I understand it) which *you* propose had flitted through my brain many years ago. As sanctioned by your authority, I [165](#) very much incline *now* to think, that it is the true key of the present very perplexing passage. That we may not be at cross-purposes, and that I may ascertain whether in the solution we really have coincided, I will briefly give what I had thought might do away the difficulty. Exactly on your editorial theory, which I think quite indisputable, I conceived that the name, really given by Abraham to the place of sacrifice, was not Jehovah-Jireh, but El Shaddai-Jireh; and that, afterward, on the occupation of the country by the Israelites, the old patriarchal name, like many other recorded names, was changed to what had become its equivalent, by the revelation which Moses received ; namely, to Jehovah-Jireh. To this I the more inclined, because the very place bears clearly the mark of an editorial hand The addition, "'as it is said to this day," in the Mount of Jehovah it shall be seen' (or rather, perhaps, in the Mount Jehovah shall appear), could never have been written by Moses himself. In the modern manufactory of a book the clause would have been an editorial foot-note ; in old simplicity it was, what we should deem unwarrantably, inserted in the text. On the whole, I recalled that I mentally traced the pedigree of the name thus:-- [166](#)

'1. Abraham, not knowing the name Jehovah, called the place El-Shaddai-Jireh.

'2. When the Israelites occupied the country, the name Jehovah, being then known, gave rise to the proverb, expressive of any remarkable interposition of God, "In the Mount, Jehovah shall appear."

'3. And, finally, the verbal use of the proverb produced a change in the original name of the place, so that, conformably with the wording of the proverb, that place lost its old original name of El-Shaddai-Jireh, and acquired the new, but henceforth permanent, name of Jehovah-Jireh.

'This was one of my speculations; and I think it is the same, or pretty much the same, as that suggested in your letter. You will know whether I judge correctly as to the identity of our views. If the present, or



something like it, be not the true solution, I shall be at sea again, for not one of the old solutions that I ever met with gave me any satisfaction. I know how much engaged you are ; but a single line of yea or nay as to whether this is or is not your solution would very much gratify me.

I knew that you wrote the "Letters on Isaac Taylor." Very conceited book, the first portion of which so completely satisfied me that I went no further. . . . [167](#)

I was very glad to find that you gave such a dressing to Dr Thorp, particularly in connection with Nasmyth Stokes. That unfortunate, but very conceited, youth, like a nephew of my own, has ended his Tractarian vagaries by going over to Popery. The letter which I wrote at the request of his uncle, Mr Stokes, appeared in the "Christian's Magazine," and has been followed, and is still in course of being followed, by other letters upon Mr Newman's "Development" and Dr Moehler's "Symbolism." The whole number will be ten, and, when they shall have successively appeared in the magazine, they will be printed collectively in a small volume by the Reformation Society. I shall look forward with much interest to your announced letter in the next number of the same magazine.

I was fully aware of the difference in our views on Prophecy. You, I know, are a Preterist, and a modern party among the Tractarians are all Futurists. Now, as I am neither, I must either condemn myself or set both Preterists and Futurists down as mistaken. According to my own view, we are on the very brink of a precipice, for I certainly believe that we are on the eve of that last fearful bouleversement which is the concurrent theme of all the prophets. Remarkably enough, [168](#) on the principle, I suppose, of coming events casting their shadows before them, mere secular politicians seem equally to be anticipating some great crisis, notwithstanding the frequent talk in the newspapers that a long peace is certain, and that nations are now too wise to go to war. I fear that the peace of the world depends upon the life of a man who is only a fortnight older than myself --Louis Philippe, to wit. However, I shall be most happy if I prove mistaken. I think, nevertheless, that we may clearly enough see preparations for the final dissolution of the component parts of the mixed colossus of Empire, which is so distinctly announced by Daniel, chap. ii. 35, 44. But difference in our views of so difficult a subject as Prophecy will, I am sure, produce no diminution of respect and regard on either side. . . . I observe you threaten an assault on Mr Forster touching his Arabic, as respects the old language. I have read his book. He strikes me as perhaps a little too sanguine anent the Hamyar, but he does not describe it as an absolutely different language from Arabic. As I understand him, he exhibits it rather as old Arabic than as a different language. I am quite at sea as to how he attains the deciphering of the rock inscriptions. I [169](#) had anticipated something analagous to the Rosetta stone, but did not find it.-- Believe me, dear sir, yours very truly,

G. S. FABER.'

'SHERBURN HOUSE,  
'April 4, 1846.

'Your brother professor, in good sooth, whatever may be his knowledge of Hebrew, is one of the most muddle-headed persons in argumentative powers that I ever met with. A great deal of the "mistings" of Tractarianism on the part (for instance) of such a man as Newman was, I believe, intentional, and introduced for the nonce; but Pusey's "mistings," so far as I can judge from every writing of his that has passed under my eye, is really innocent; though Pusey, by some sophism of not very easy comprehension, manages to hold conjointly his preferment and his opinions. Still, inherently, I believe him to be an honest man than Newman, simply because he has not a tithe of his intellect. . . . In my letter, the whipster, who ruled Luther "to be an apostate monk and an atheist, and who determined, in short, that the Reformation is a sin of three centuries," is my ill-persuaded nephew, the dupe of Newman and others who have played upon his besetting sin of [170](#) vanity, much in the same manner, I



suspect, as the young Cantab Stokes was played upon in your university. My nephew has showy talents, and a mint of vanity. He has an imagination and poetical bend, but certainly not an iron head. Had he possessed the latter article, albeit more useful than ornamental, he would not have been where he is.

'G. S. FABER.'

'TRIN. COLL., *March 26,*  
'46.

'You had from me this morning my answer to Mr Faber. To-morrow, *D. V.*, I hope to be with you. But, I must tell you, I have begun to be Puseyite in good earnest. Yesterday, being Lady-Day, I fasted! This was a good beginning, you will say. No doubt it was. But, to see its merits, you should know all about it. I was invited to meet a party at seven o'clock, which I supposed must be a dinner party. I was more than punctual, for I was ten minutes before the time at the place appointed, as I had a great horror of keeping people waiting at so late an hour. Nearer to eight o'clock than seven, in came coffee ! "Oh," said I, "I am finely dished ! I am to have a dish of tea, then, instead of a well-dished-up piece of roast beef, etc. ?" "Well, dear friend, this being the [171](#) case, make the best of it." "So I will," said I to myself; and accordingly I looked out for the solids. These consisted of toast and butter, plum cake, etc., and so, philosopher-like, I made a very good dinner upon what everybody else would have considered a mere pretence for eating. I felt very comfortable, partook in some good music, was at home by ten, went to bed, and slept sound and well ! This is my Puseyitish commencement, and, I trust, termination of austerities.'

In this year my father published his second letter to Dr Pusey, which bears the title, 'The Doctrine of the Keys; or, Sacerdotal Binding and Loosing,' as taught in Holy Scripture, the Fathers of the Primitive Church, and in the United Church of Great Britain and Ireland,' in refutation of certain notions lately put forth by him in a sermon preached before the members of that university.' The letter is not a very long one ; I will only give one sentence from it:--'Your views and feelings are in direct opposition to those which are taught and urged in the Reformed Church of these realms.'

The appendix to the letter is very lengthy, and deals exhaustively with the subject of the Confessional and its origin ; a passage from the end of [172](#) it is here quoted as summing up his views on the subject:--

'The particular thing had in view, is the establishment of private confession, with the full and entire power of absolution in the priest. For this, as Dr Pusey tells us, there is no want of any new appointments ; the whole may be adopted with the greatest ease, and with the best effects possible. We have only to take his statements as those of all orthodox antiquity, and as recommended by our own soundest divines. But here, again, it unhappily turns out, upon a little inquiry, that orthodox antiquity never recognised any such thing, as it likewise never did the power, in the ministers of religion, directly to absolve anyone of his sins; all that was ever professed by the true Church being, to teach the remission of sins upon the due use of the means of grace, and through the tender mercy of our God in our Saviour Christ. All here, therefore, is, as before, very promising, but quite groundless, alluring, but utterly void of truth. But then private confession would, as Dr Pusey thinks, be a good thing, no matter what the infidel Michelet or others may have said to the contrary. Medicine is good, as is also law, although these may have been so abused in unskilful or dishonest hands as [173](#) even to have destroyed life. The difference, however, lies here--medicine and law are not in themselves bad ; it is the abuse of these only which can make them so. The principle which governs private confession, as here recommended, is a totally different thing ; it is in itself *essentially bad*, and can in no way be made otherwise. It necessarily puts artful and designing men--and such the school of its advocates have

universally been-- into a situation the most ruinous to society, public and private . . . and to this the history of the confessional will supply the most satisfactory proofs ; while the powers of the faithful minister can in no way be increased by it. ... Of its abettors, and of Dr Pusey in particular, I myself believe nothing short of a judicial blindness as to the truth, ignorantly hoping to discover something better than the Word of God, as interpreted by Christ's Church, has to supply, can account for their conduct. It must be that secret and unseen power of error which induces men to do things which, in its earlier progress, they never would believe it possible they could do. "What," said Hazael to the Prophet, *"is thy servant a dog that he should do this great thing?"* 2 Kings viii. 13. Well indeed might the man of God weep at [174](#) viewing, in the young traitor and murderer, the germ of sins and cruelties he was so soon to commit, and of which he probably had then neither the slightest conception nor the will to undertake. In the absence of Divine light there ever is a progress from bad to worse ; and in nothing has this been more visible than in the progress of the Tractarian party. Dr Wiseman admonished Mr Newman of this a few years ago. He very clearly saw whither the arch-Tractarian was wending his way, and sagely told him that, as he had begun to see as through a glass darkly, the day was not far distant when he should see and feel wholly as he himself did. The day came; Newman halted no longer between two opinions; and now, in Dr Pusey's *"other vineyard"* he is serving "Baal much." The loss of spiritual sight has here, alas! precipitated both the leader and the led into the same ditch !

'It is painful to me to say anything which may appear personal; certainly my intention is to do no such thing, but only to illustrate the principle above adverted to, the working of which I most deeply lament. I may say, however, to Dr Pusey himself, that in my last I admonished him of certain grossly palpable errors in his quotations and reasonings on the Eucharist. He has, [175](#) nevertheless, without so much as a word in explanation, or otherwise, just now again printed and published that same sermon, together with the one here noticed, with all its errors, just as it issued in the first instance from the press! . . . Does this evince that regard to the public which a conscience so tender, and a piety so deep, as those which he appears to cultivate will justify ? I think not; nor can I account for this on any other grounds but those of the heathenish principles by which he has allowed himself to be so implicitly deluded and led. I can say of myself, I entertain no feeling towards Dr Pusey but that of sorrow at the course which he has taken, and the unhappy differences which he has created, and is still creating, under the plausible but mistaken view of restoring greater union and a better state of things. Never, surely, was the zeal of a very zealous man more unhappily exerted, or time, which might otherwise have been well employed, more unwisely thrown away; nor, probably, were ever efforts, so far from challenging respect in themselves, followed by consequences so extensive and distressing. In the part which I have taken in this controversy, and which may terminate here, I have endeavoured to know nothing of the [176](#) extremes of either High or Low Church; feeling, as I do, the exceeding sinfulness of fostering party feeling in the Church of Christ. Nor is the question here that which has respect to either High or Low Church, as such, but to the Protestant establishment of these realms, as opposed to the corrupt one of Rome. And, in discussing this, I have, I trust, endeavoured honestly to follow the declarations of Holy Scripture as these have been seen, felt and urged by the best expositors, both of early and late times. . . . Nor have I felt any desire to diminish the value of the means of grace, as applied under our holy religion ; my endeavour has been to restrict these to their due province as means, while I have hoped and prayed that I, and all who embrace them, may find in them, and through them, what these *themselves are not and never can be*, viz., the grace and holiness which bring salvation.'

[177](#)

'COLLEGE GREEN, *July 19, 1846.*

'NEXT Sunday is my last for this season ; but my period does not end until the end of the month. . . . I met Lord Wm. yesterday, who pressed me much to stay and do his duty. But it is impossible at. this time; at some other, perhaps, I may be able to do so. . . . I hope I have got through the College matter here; a very good man has been elected. I hope he will accept the situation, and work it well. I shall know to-morrow, most likely. . . . I must now say something of to-day's preparations and duties, for I have not been idle. I have written an admirable sermon, as I think, which I intended to preach this morning. I will read it to you when I come home. During this morning I have been reading the Prophets, and putting down some notes on [178](#) particular places. I find the inquiry most interesting and instructive. I think I see more and more clearly daily the intimate connection between the two Testaments; or, if you like the term better, between the "Two Witnesses." The inquiry is most rational, I think, and I feel it to be very edifying--it tends to substantiate, as to embody, the Old Testament declarations in such a manner as to make them very impressive. A very intelligent Jew from Bath called on me a few days ago, and brought me several papers on prophecy, and with these two sermons with notes, of the late Dr Arnold of Rugby. I will give you a specimen of his proof that prophecy must have a double interpretation. It is, says he, the word of God; it is also the word of man, and to each of these an interpretation is to be given, therefore, prophecy has necessarily a double interpretation. He illustrates this notable canon by the case of Caiaphas, who said it was expedient that some one should die for the people.

'Caiaphas then, we are to suppose, meant one thing, the Holy Ghost, who caused him to speak, another. The Evangelist, however, makes [179](#) the whole a prophecy and nothing else; and such it really is (John xi. 50), for he adds, 'and that the whole nation perish not,' which could hardly have been said if Caiaphas meant nothing more than that the Jews of Jerusalem should be gratified thereby. Consider the whole place. Did you ever hear of such reasoning as this? Then, again, he makes all prophecy to be doctrine of one sort or other, all centreing in Christ, but to be fulfilled times innumerable, even to the end of time. How do you like this? Here is surely scope enough for the wandering imagination of clever and plausible men. In Isaiah liii. he can see nothing whatever of Christ, but something like the return of the Jews from Babylon. Nor can he discover that the citations made in the New Testament from the Old do generally give their true sense. This is only a shoot from the trunk to which the religious world is in bondage. Is it not a beautiful illustration, and, indeed, proof of the goodness of the principle adopted? Now, I contend that the Evangelists and Apostles have cited correctly as it regards the sense; with the letter they had but little to do. The principles which [180](#) they adopted are the true and rational ones, as are the interpretations which they gave, Now, Dr Arnold was a very clever and very extraordinary man; all the world is in love with him. How do you like him? Mr M. and my good friend Mr F. are not a whit better in their principles; nay, their leading principles are identically the same, the only difference is, they are not so badly followed out. But I must not deal so unmercifully with what so many good folk are in love with. I will spare for the present. I have sent all my attack on Pusey to press. It is somewhat longer than I intended, but the matter is too important and too little understood to be shortly treated. I think you will be pleased with it when you see it. I suppose it will be out by about October. It is not desirable it should be out earlier, as people are travelling about now, and do not read much.'

'COLLEGE GREEN, BRISTOL,  
*July 26, 1846.*

'I did not think this day week that I should have to send you another Sunday epistle during my stay here. It afforded me many a pang to feel that I could not be with my own so soon as I wished, and, [181](#) indeed, hoped to be. It will not, however, inflict any serious injury on either of us. ... I preached my

sermon, intended for last Sunday, to a crowded congregation, which was, during the whole, as still as death. May God give His blessing upon it, both to the preacher and hearers ! I felt much warmed in the delivery. I felt the subject, I hope, myself, and hence, I suppose, I got the attention just now noticed. I certainly get more and more tired of our everlasting music. It is far too much. It lengthens out the time of the service, and distracts the mind to things of inferior moment. The many come for nothing else; and also the singing men themselves, who from their very manner show that nothing else concerns them. The chanting of the psalms, is, however, very expressive, f I feel that I can enter into this. But, upon the whole, Barley is better than Bristol, much; ay, in every respect. The more I am held from it, the more do I love it; its simplicity, in many cases, piety; but, above all my peaceful and orderly home. . . . I believe I told you that I have finished my Bishop's College labours, and have succeeded beyond my expectations. We had Lord Wm.'s family here at church to-day. His brother, Lord Fitzroy was expected, but I rather think he did not come. He came from [182](#) London yesterday to see his brother, Lord John Somerset, who, it is to be feared, is in a dying state. To-morrow he returns by an express, or quick train. I wonder much why people make the risk so great by travelling by the express train going at the rate of nearly a mile in a minute. The common trains go at about half that rate, that is, a mile in two minutes. The risk is a very rash one. . . . I have nothing here to talk about that can interest you. It will avail you nothing to tell you how our singing men are behaving themselves ; how the College Green is looking, or how much plague I have with the man who is hired to take care of it. . . . But I forgot to give you my text. It was 1 John xiv. 16--"God is love," etc. I viewed this first in nature, next in grace, showing that the same love was visible in each, and that these served mutually to illustrate and explain each other.'

'TRIN. COLL., CAMB.,  
'March 10, 1847.

' . . . Dr Wolffe\* [\* Missionary to the Jews.] has but just left me. He has been dining here, and he took his tea with me. He attempted to get up a lecture at the Town Hall. But, alas ! none came to hear. To-morrow [183](#) he tries again ; and I have no doubt will again fail. He has been marvellously amusing. Our young men in hall and combination stared at him with all their might. My name, he says, is well known throughout India, and even in Bochara. Only think that such a creature should be known almost from pole to pole! If, however, I am known and recognised above that is infinitely better.

'Yesterday Mr B.'s brother, who became a Dissenting preacher, called on me. He told me he had returned from Dissent to the Church. He begged a copy of one of my tracts against Pye Smith, which I gave him, and promised to procure another for him. He seemed much taken with my reasoning. He requested to be allowed to come to tea with me. He came accordingly ; but, alas ! in came also Mr Dodd, the gentleman who calls occasionally to talk on Prophecy, and the consequence was, we had no talk about Dissent. I have no doubt I shall see him again in a day or two, and certainly I shall be glad to do the best I can to deliver him from the libertinism of Dissent. We had a long confab yesterday evening almost to midnight. It was very interesting. All entered, as I thought, very feelingly into the Scriptures which we had to consider. It struck me as [184](#) primitive and edifying. I received yesterday an invitation to dine with our master at the Lodge on Tuesday next. To-day I called and apologised that I must be at Bristol. Our master made himself exceedingly agreeable, as also did Mrs Whewell. He was much interested with my prophetic scheme, of which I told him some time ago. By-and-by I hope to gratify not a few on this great and interesting question. Thanks to our God, I have been very well, and in very good spirits.'

In July 1847, during the Long Vacation, the Queen and Prince Albert visited Cambridge on the occasion of the Prince's Installation as Chancellor of the University. During the Royal visit, Professor Lee was presented to the Prince, who, in the course of conversation, expressed a wish to do something

for him in recognition of his services to Oriental literature. Dr Lee replied, whilst gratefully acknowledging the kindness of His Royal Highness, that he already had all he could wish in regard to earthly comfort and prosperity, and desired no further preferment, but added that he should esteem it as a personal favour if, in the bestowal of his patronage, the Prince could promote the interests of his faithful and valued curate at Barley. To this Prince Albert [185](#) gave a most kind and gracious assent, and shortly afterwards a living falling vacant in the Duchy of Cornwall, it was presented, in accordance with Dr Lee's request.

' BRISTOL,  
'Sunday, 8 Aug. 1847.

'... I was in one of my low moods last night, when even the grasshopper would have been a burden. Poking about the room, I met with one of John Wesley's sermons on the necessity of taking up the Cross and denying self. I read it through, and certainly it did me much good service. He is not an accurate writer, but is generally much superior to the many that are commonly read. This sermon induced me to think that I was setting rather too much value on my own feelings, which, after all, had no good grounds for discomfort. I now thanked my good God, and went to bed. I slept soundly and well, and got up in very good spirits. I had thought of getting Mr Caley to preach for me, but I now felt that, having no good excuse for being idle, I could not allow this day to pass without doing my duties myself. I had not quite finished my sermon on John xx. 23. This I now did vigorously, and [186](#) went accordingly and delivered it, for all which I thank my God in the best way I can. We had a large and most attentive congregation, and I do hope the blessing of God will rest on myself and those who heard me.'

'TRINITY COLL., CAMB.,  
'March 28, 1848.

'Nothing but comfort has occurred to me-- thanks to our good and gracious God! but the news from the Continent is full of strange events. At Berlin about 2000 have been killed ; at Milan, perhaps as many; at Vienna, many. The revolutionary spirit has extended itself to Denmark, and two of the Duchies, Holstein and Schleswig, have proclaimed a Republic. In Poland, the same thing is going on; and in the States of the Pope in Italy the same is likely to be the case. In Hungary and Bohemia, feudal claims and usages of the serfage are done away with. Throughout Germany, freedom of the Press is established ; and in Ireland, rebellion is next to certain ! What times we live in! France, with its new Republic, is in a state of bankruptcy, and knows not whither to look for money. In our own country, thanks [187](#) to our God, all is promising tolerably well. Surely we are a very highly - favoured people, and very thankful and very prayerful ought we to be. God grant us the grace to be so! I hear nothing as yet of Ely. All is so far *in statu quo*! (The Canonry of Ely was to form the future endowment of the Hebrew Professorship. Dr Lee preferred to give up the latter and retain the Canonry at Bristol.) 'Nothing is stirring here but newspaper - reading and talking about what is taking place in the world. God be thanked that we have nothing worse! As to myself, I am going on with my preliminary matter for my work, and I hope soon to bring it also to a close. I shall then have the last and very interesting part to perform, viz., to revise, illustrate with notes, etc., etc., until I have got the whole quite to my mind.' (This refers to his work on Prophecy, published in 1849.)

'I look back to our last Sabbath with much thankfulness and great satisfaction. The Lord be praised for it! all such retrospects are very comforting to me, and call forth many thanksgiving to God for them. The Lord enable us to make [188](#) all our Sabbaths real Sabbaths of spiritual rest and refreshment, and sources of much and continued thankfulness to us all !'

Letter from a LADY staying at Barley Rectory in 1848.



'I must take the opportunity of giving you my first impressions of Dr Lee, though I had not intended to speak so hastily. He arrived at home yesterday to a six o'clock dinner, having travelled ever since six o'clock in the morning, and came in as fresh as a lark ; thus you see his physical powers are tolerably good for an old man of 70, at least I should think.' (He was really not more than 65.) 'He conversed with Miss Portal, Mrs Lee's cousin, the whole evening, and I am delighted to find him very communicative, which I was rather afraid such a learned man might not be. I was fully prepared to see a man of great activity and energy in mind and body, but I confess I was surprised to see with how much mildness and softness it is blended. It was beautiful last night to see as well as hear him speak; his whole face was beaming with the greatest animation; there was no excitement, no fire; I do not think I ever saw anyone so thoroughly warm in his subject *without* being [189](#) warm, if you can understand me. I suppose it must be his remarkably mild blue eyes which throw such a peculiar softness over his features, for though he is not handsome his expression is most pleasing.

'I like the little peeps I have had into his mind very much ; his face appears to be a very good index to it, for though it is and must be a "master spirit" it is not an *iron* one. Music and poetry have had their softening influence, and he is as great an admirer of the beautiful as he is deep and sound. As far as I can judge, imagination and judgment are nicely balanced. His defects, whatever they may be, do not lie on the surface. He exhibits a beautiful specimen of superior intellectual powers, brought into subjection to the power of the Gospel, the finest and most interesting sight a Christian can behold. This morning being wet we have had recourse to the piano, and I am happy to say I have at present given tolerable satisfaction, having succeeded in playing at sight all that Dr Lee has selected to sing. He has evidently had a fine voice ; he brought home a new flute, so I expect we shall have a good deal of music.'

[190](#)

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## CHAPTER XIII

### WORK ON PROPHECY

EVER since his translation of Eusebius's 'Theophania,' my father's mind had been more or less occupied on the subject of Prophecy, and he became convinced that the views which he entertained, known as the Preterist, were those held by the early Church. The subject was one of absorbing interest to him during the few last years of his life, and as a child I can remember the animated conversations between him and my mother on Prophecy in their walks about our beautiful garden, or in the leisure of meal times, she holding the more general and popular opinions of the restoration of the Jews to their own land, etc.

In the year 1849 he published his 'Inquiry into the Nature, Progress and End of Prophecy.'

A Scotch minister, the Reverend W. Paul, himself a Hebrew scholar, with whom my father [191](#) corresponded, has so clearly and forcibly set forth his views in one of his letters, as he gathered them from the book, that I give an extract from it:--

'MANSE OF BANCHORY,  
'BY ABERDEEN, 30 *March*, 1850.

'REVD. AND DEAR SIR,--Since I last wrote to you I have perused with great care and interest your work on Prophecy, and I felt every inclination to write to you sooner with a view to the expression of my opinion of its contents. I, however, delayed doing so until I had fully and maturely considered the principles you set out with, and the result you have arrived at. I had given very little attention previously to this important subject, chiefly from the very unsatisfactory manner in which I had seen it pursued. I could discover no solid ground to rest upon, and I was called upon to hold, almost as a



matter of faith, results which had no foundation but that of ingenious conjecture, which left ample scope for anyone becoming a prophet who was not deficient in vanity and presumption. . . .

'Notwithstanding these views, which in a somewhat confused form occasionally floated through my mind previously to the perusal of your work, I do confess that I was completely staggered by [192](#) enunciations that all prophecy had already had its fulfilment; that the Book of Revelation is rather confirmatory of old than a record of new predictions--that the believing remnant of the Jews have become the heirs of the world, and that to them have been already fulfilled all the promises made to their fathers--that there exist no promises in Scripture of the restoration of their brethren on their acceptance of the promised Saviour, to the earthly Canaan and Jerusalem-- that the fulness of the Gentiles has arrived in the Scriptural sense of the term, and that the Gospel has in that sense been preached to every creature under heaven -- and that the Jews, at whatever time converted, will, on their conversion, lose all their distinctive characteristics as a nation, and will become, with the Gentiles, one body in Christ.

'I have marked with great attention and interest the way in which you have cleared your ground, and laid down, followed out and established your principles. I have carefully considered these principles, weighed the arguments by which they were supported, and reflected upon the results to which they have led, and I am happy to say that they have carried full conviction [193](#) to my mind. The fact is, I cannot resist your conclusions. I find nothing in them to clash with the great leading principles of divine truth which are most surely believed in by all the true Church of Christ, while they throw a flood of light upon otherwise unintelligible parts of the Old Testament history, doctrine and prophecy which is most satisfactory. One regrets to see the talents and learning of such men as Mr Elliott and Dr Todd wasted in confirming and perpetuating the errors of Mr Mede. The year-day theory you have very properly rejected, and have rightly tested the application of prophecy by the whole of the circumstances taken *in cumulo*. No one has succeeded, who has attempted, to fix down the accomplishment of a prophecy to periods calculated from time specified in the prophecy itself.

'One great difficulty has been removed in regard to the application of prophecy to the Jews, by the dissertation on the Covenants introduced into your work. You have there clearly pointed out the different condition, under these covenants, of those that serve the Lord, and of those that serve Him not--that the promises made to Abraham are the portion only of the former ; that these promises do [194](#) not include any peculiar blessings of a temporal character in Canaan or Jerusalem; and that Jews as well as Gentiles were only to be blessed in Christ by their being turned from their iniquities, and obtaining salvation through Him. In that dissertation, likewise, the confusion between doctrine, *i.e.*, contingent prediction, or intimation of the consequences of certain conduct as good or evil, on the fate of nations or individuals, and prediction, properly so called, has been removed, by which means many otherwise very difficult passages of Scripture have been made extremely plain.

'I have often thought that "Glassen's Rhetorica Sacra" might, in the hands of one mighty in the Scriptures, be of essential service to the elucidation of prophecy. I have often thought that the rhetorical figures of Scripture might, through the instrumentality of that work, in good hands, be reduced to a precision, which would make the study of prophecy, conducted on proper principles, comparatively easy. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the manner in which you have arranged this part of your subject. Indeed, you have accomplished in this way more than I ever thought to be practicable. You have, indeed, brought unusually great talents and [195](#) theological attainments of every variety to bear upon this very difficult question, and a mind, unless I am much mistaken, sincerely anxious for the Spirit's light and guidance in the investigation of divine truth, together with an earnest desire for the advancement of the spiritual interests of others.

'It is not wonderful that prophecy is expressed under highly figurative language, but it is remarkable to trace the extent to which what is figurative is involved in the whole of the Jewish history. In their

journeyings from place to place; in their captivities and deliverances ; in occurrences that happened to individuals ; in Egypt, in the Wilderness and in Canaan; in the language and ceremonies of their ritual; in their offices of prophet, priest and king, are perceptible types and shadows of good things to come, and events applicable to the circumstances of the Church under the last dispensation of the Covenant of Grace. All this fully justifies the spiritual interpretation which you have given to many of the prophecies, where temporal events in the first instance are evidently pointed at.

I have only now to conclude with the expression of my hearty concurrence in the views you have [196](#) adopted, of my thanks for your having put the work into my view, and of my sincere desire that it may be extensively read and pondered, and impart to others the same gratification and instruction which it has afforded me. . . . Were mine the prayers of the righteous man which could "avail you much," be assured they would be offered up for you with all sincerity.--Believe me to be, rev. and dear sir, with great respect and esteem, very faithfully yours,

' WILLIAM PAUL.

'The Rev. SAMUEL LEE, D.D.'

The following letter is from the Reverend W. Carus, acknowledging a copy of his work on Prophecy, which Dr Lee had sent him :--

'TRIN. COLL.,  
'March 31, 1849.

'MY DEAR DR LEE,--How much have I been longing for the appearance of your work on Prophecy ! But I little expected the favour of a copy from the author, especially valuable from the kind inscription, and also from the but too kind note which accompanied it. Allow me to express to you my grateful and affectionate acknowledgments for this very gratifying remembrance of [197](#) me. I can truly say no one in Cambridge will feel your separation from us more deeply than myself. Your presence and friendship has been one of the bright and happy gifts which made my labour here pleasant, and self-sacrifice light and easy. But we are not separated though we cannot meet just so frequently within the walls of our good College. I shall feel more than ever bound to visit Barley, and so fulfil my long-made promise. Indeed, I have here a volume brought from Armenia for you, by Mr Birch, about which I wrote to you last autumn. Shall I send it? or bring it ? I go on Monday to the Pymys. . . . I shall take your book as my *company*. Whether you will make me a convert or not, I don't think you will have a more friendly reader. Wednesday I go to the F.'s of S., the week following, the Scholarship Examinations will detain me here. But, about June, if you are at Barley I will gladly come over.--With kindest regards, ever believe me, your affect, and obliged,

W. CARUS.'

Letter from Dr LEE to his BROTHER-IN-LAW.

'BARLEY, *Jan.* 1st, 30, 1849.

'MY DEAR BROTHER HOPPER,-- . . . I think [198](#) I said in my last that I should show what the principles of Mr Mede were, and what sort of reliance can be placed on them. I have finished my preface, and in a day or two shall send it to press. You will not be sorry to hear that I find my principles and the main of my results to accord exactly with those of the early Christian Church. So far as it judaized, Mr Mede and his school are with it.'

'BARLEY, *May* 2, 1850.

'My DEAR BROTHER HOPPER,--Many thanks for your kind note, and for all the kind things said in it. I have no doubt Mr N.'s letter would please you, not only as entering very fully and particularly into the character of my book, but as exhibiting a very rare specimen of an ingenuous mind. In this last respect, I must confess it surprised me. I have had some letters much to the same point, but none that so particularly and carefully investigated the matter before he pronounced his conclusions. Only a few days ago I had a letter, much to the same effect, from London, and a little earlier another from Brighton. What I prize principally in Mr N. is the care he has taken to understand the subject. I am not one of those who labour under a very high opinion either of [199](#) myself or my productions. I am therefore greatly obliged when anyone takes the trouble to follow me, and to state his reasons either for approving or disapproving of anything that I have written. Of one thing I think I may say I am certain, viz., that I am not wrong in the main, that my system is good, and hence, I have no doubt, it will first or last prevail. Its results are certainly good. I care not, therefore, for the present popularity of the opposite view. It must have its day, and this, God knoweth, I do not envy it. I have, indeed, much to be thankful for, and I praise my God for the great honour He has been pleased to put upon me. I must confess I do not expect much from a review by Mr Nangles, for, in the first place, I have doubts whether he has either ability or candour sufficient to enter fairly into the question. He cannot in a day or two see where the great point of the question rests, and he cannot spare more time, as the editor of a newspaper, to bestow upon it. Then, again, he writes for a party who will not take his paper if he desert the *Millennarian*, etc., doatings of his supporters. The manner, too, in which he has been accustomed to view Scripture will not quadrate well with that adopted by me. He is, and will [200](#) continue, like many others similarly circumstanced, satisfied with his present notions. If this is not the case, you may fairly conclude that, whatever I may be as an interpreter of the prophets, I am no prophet myself; you will soon be able to judge in this matter if, indeed, Mr Nangles is at work on the book. Poor Lamb! \*[ \* Dean of Bristol.] I saw him about nine days before he died. He seemed then to have no idea of his danger. I invited him to Barley, for I thought a change of air might do much for him. But it could have done him no good. . . . You, and those about you, are very kind in wishing to see me at the Deanery. I am pretty sure, however, this will not be the case. I am told that Lord Wriothsley Russell has long been wishing for it; if so, he will have it, of course. Lord Melbourne wished Lamb to take Ely, and to vacate Bristol, in order, as it is said, to make way for Lord W. R. If he comes to you, you will have a most excellent man, and one who will fill that post much better than I can. . . . We are all, thanks to our God, doing very well. I do not think I shall see you now before Midsummer, unless, indeed, our new Dean should deem it right to summon us earlier.' [201](#)

'BARLEY, *July 27, 1850.*

'My DEAR BROTHER HOPPER,-- . . . This day week I must be in Bristol to commence my two months' residence there. . . . I am interested in hearing of any progress made in the knowledge of prophecy. The case you mention seems to promise well. Still, I know that many -- no matter how right or wrong -- will not take the trouble to investigate a question of so large an amount as that of prophecy, merely for the truth's sake. Others would rather accept a system which seems to promise so much that is glorious than be convinced that it is not true. And here I think the stumbling-block and rock of offence to my scheme is likely long to continue, perhaps to the end of time. But I must be content to succeed in just as much as the great Head of the Church will allow me, and for this, little as it may be, I shall be thankful. You will be glad to hear, I think, that I shall shortly publish an outline of my work, *D. V.* In this it will be my object to fix the dates and events of prophecy in such a manner as to be incapable of misunderstanding, and I think of avoiding their adoption. My own convictions certainly grow stronger daily on this great and interesting subject. Every day adds [202](#) something to my stock which I had not before, and this, I have no doubt, will be the case to the end of my career. If so, I believe I shall be made the honoured instrument in the hands of Him who has, of His mercy, done so

much for me, of more effectually arresting the progress of doubt as to the *inspiration* of the Scriptures than I had ever imagined, or perhaps than anyone hitherto has.'

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## CHAPTER XIV

### LETTERS, 1850-53

AFTER the year 1848 the home-letters are few. His Hebrew lectures no longer took my father to Cambridge, as, in that year, he resigned the Professorship. Also, after that date, whilst in residence at Bristol, his family were either with him there, or staying in this immediate neighbourhood. I have selected the following letter out of several to show how the scholar could unbend to interest and amuse a child.

'Aug. 13, 1850.

'MY VERY DEAR LITTLE ANNA MARY,--I thank you much, indeed, for your very kind and interesting note which I have just now received, as I do all the dollys (dollies?) for their very kind remembrances of me. I am glad to hear, too, that Jenny Donkey is behaving so well. It is owing, no doubt, to the good training she gets from Miss W., Susan, etc., etc. She may, perhaps, become as famous as the dog of the Sleepers in the [|204](#) Cave, which, because it had slept with his masters so long, that is some two or three hundred years, became at last so humanised as to claim, and get, all the honour due to any one of his masters. You say, however, that she is not equal to the journey proposed in my last, unless I can send you a pair of seven-league boots. But what can these be ? I never heard of such things! I remember reading many years ago about Lorenzo's jack-boots, which were so large as to stop a river into which they fell by accident, and actually flooded all the neighbouring country for several miles ! But I think the reading must be erroneous here; it must be seven-legged boots ; that is, such as make up seven legs to every creature that wore them, so that while four were travelling three would be taking rest, and the animal gallop on night and day without stopping. But, if seven-leagued be the true reading, then perhaps every step would be seven leagues in length. I prefer, however, the seven-legged reading. I will at my leisure turn into Levi's shop; it is possible he may have some of these marvellous boots to sell. If so, I will get some and send them through the Post Office, for I understand legs and arms often travel in this way. But dear mamma also complains of her legs being weak. If I could [|205](#) get a new pair for her, oh, how much I should rejoice! For then she may perhaps be able to come to me here, without venturing into the railway. But do tell her from me that faith in God's goodness is a much more safe and easy conveyance. It will even carry its possessor to Heaven ! Oh, what a railway is this ! But dear mamma has promised to come whenever I shall desire it; and I have desired that it be as soon as possible, and I now beg through you that she will put on the legs of faith forthwith, and no more either trust, or distrust, her own, which are evidently too weak to be trusted. I think I know what the "operation" was. I have some notion that there was a rebellious tooth so conducting itself that it no longer deserved a place in the mouth of anyone, and so Mr Balding came and gave it notice to quit, but, being a rebel, it would not quit, and the consequence was, he turned it out perforce. Am I right?

'Good-night, dear little Anna Mary. Hoping to see you soon, believe me, with kindest regards to Miss W., dollies, etc., thanks to Dr Broadley for your nice wine-glass, and warmest affection to dear mamma, your affectionate papa,

S. LEE.'

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To his WIFE.

'41 PARK ST., BRISTOL,  
'Aug. 24, 1851.

'I betake myself with very great pleasure to give you some account of my day, in the form of my usual bulletins. The day then has been a very prosperous one with me. I have felt very well and strong, and preached my sermon this morning on Ps. ex. 4, with vigour. The subject is, as you will see, the Priesthood of Christ, and it is truly a noble one. One thing occurred to me, that had not before, and, as it may interest you I give it. It is 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5. "A living stone," said of Christ; and "ye also as lively stones," etc., *i.e.*, Christ is here the Rock out of which the water of life flows, as the Rock of Ages. The "lively stones" are those who have been made so by virtue of His grace; in this sense Peter was a "lively," not the "living stone," and this distinction is actually made in the Greek original, thus : Christ is termed the Petra, *i.e.*, the Rock. Peter receives the name Petros, *i.e.*, rocky, or belonging to the Rock ; which will show that he received no greater privilege in having this name or title than any other true believer does, for they all are stones used in building up the spiritual house, or Church of God. But you may read my sermon by-and-by if you choose.' [\[207\]](#)

'41 PARK STREET, BRISTOL,  
'Aug. 31, 1851.

'I have but just returned from the morning service at the Cathedral, where I had much comfort in delivering a sermon on the Divinity of our Lord, showing that He was the Jehovah of the Mosaic and patriarchal dispensations incarnate. This consideration I find a most edifying and instructive one; it seems to open to me the doctrines of the prophetic Scriptures in a most encouraging point of view, and to ascribe positively to Christ all that has been said in the Psalms and Prophets of the right, etc., of the Lord, *i.e.*, of Jehovah. I think my next must be an expansion of this consideration to show how intimately the doctrines of Scripture are connected with the true interpretation of prophecy. I have occasionally mentioned this to you generally. I now feel more particularly its value; and, as it will enable me to throw an immense amount of light on the Old Testament, and hence make the reading of it very profitable, and connect it closely with the New Testament, I cannot help thinking the endeavour will have great good both with myself and others, especially as it will have the effect of dispelling some of the Jewish--may I not say Egyptian--darkness under [\[208\]](#) which it labours with the many. I got leave yesterday for \* [ \* Pupil at Blind Asylum.] Miss W. to come to the Cathedral today. She was "much gratified" and hopes to come again. So it always is with the things or persons we love; we no sooner have the pleasure of seeing them but we want to see them again. Well, I suppose I must ask leave again for her. The housekeeper at the asylum (for the blind) spoke very highly of her, particularly as exerting a very good influence upon those about her. This "liked me much." . . . Just returned from church. Mr C. preached a very good and really evangelical sermon. Some parts of it were echoes of mine this morning.'

'41 PARK STREET,  
'Sept. 14, 1851.

' . . . I have been doing exceedingly well. I accordingly preached this morning to an overwhelming congregation, which was extremely attentive. My text was, Ps. lxxxvii. I, 2, 3. Its object was to show that this psalm had before it the establishing of Christ's Church throughout the world on the mountains of holiness, *i.e.* this, God's Zion was to occupy the high places of the [\[209\]](#) earth, just as the Zion of Jewry did the mount so called in Jerusalem ; that Christ was the chief corner-stone of its foundations, the rest of those, His Apostles, as the precious stones in the Revelation of St John ; that the distinction



of holy and unholy Jews was made in the dwellings of Jacob and the gates of Zion ; that the holy party, in the Apostles, founded our Zion throughout the world ; that this man, born here and there, related to the spiritual birth of all who entered it, whether in Egypt, Babylon, Tyre, etc.; that the glorious things spoken of *in it* (not of it) were the mighty deliverances thus wrought universally and individually ; and that "all my springs are in thee," were the "wells springing up to everlasting life" in every believer in the power of the Holy Ghost, given according to the promise of our Lord. It was full and pointed, and ended by showing that on this model was our own Church constructed, etc. But you will perhaps read it by-and-by.'

'41 PARK STREET, BRISTOL,  
'*Sept.* 28, 1851.

'It is with great pleasure and thankfulness that I sit down to write my last Sunday bulletin for this year. I have indeed much to be thankful for [210] that I have been enabled to get through my duties with so much ease and comfort to myself. My sermon was on Rom. viii. 28, 29, 30 ; rather a long and comprehensive text. My object was to show that the predestination here was that of prophecy, or promise, to be fulfilled in all believers under the New Covenant, just as those belonging to the temporary Israel were under the Old; that conformity to Christ, and hence justification and glorification, were in like manner pre-determined for all believers. You may like, perhaps, to take much of this with John Calvin. I think, nevertheless, you will not readily object to my more practical view of this great subject. Mr ---- gave us a casuistical discourse on the virtues of Jona-dab, the son of Rechab, telling us that he was descended from Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, and not from Abraham; and, further, that the Midianites were descendants of Jethro, all of which is quite apocryphal, for the Midianites must have been descended from Midian, the son of Keturah, Abraham's concubine. How he had discovered that Jonadab was of this people I do not yet see. He next told us that these Rechabites were, in the Essenes, among the first to receive Christianity. But here he was wrong, for this was the privilege [211] of the remnant of Israel. Besides, these Essenes, otherwise termed Ebionites, as it should seem, were the first who denied the divinity of our Lord! All the rest was very poor indeed. So much for this. . . . A curious coincidence happened this morning. I quoted 1 Thess. iv. 14-18 inclusive, which was the anthem for this evening's service, and a most impressive one it is. Another, too, less remarkable perhaps, we had in the gospel for the day, "seek ye first the kingdom," etc., which I had also inserted without being aware that it was in the service. . . . I have written seven elaborate sermons since I have been here, with all the other etc.s!'

To the Reverend R. HOPPER.

'BARLEY, *April* 8, 1852.

'MY VERY KIND BROTHER HOPPER,--Accept my best thanks for your very feeling and kind letter. . . . I must now give you some account of myself. . . . My true complaint has been pleurodyne rheumatism, *i.e.*, the side-paining rheumatism. I have, however, great reason to be thankful that it has been only of the chronic sort. The acute is infinitely worse. I have also to be thankful that I have had no febrile affections, no [212] loss of appetite, no loss of sleep, no pain, except a lingering slow one in my left side. I have never been laid up at all, so as not to be able to prosecute my labours to some extent. So that, putting all things together, I have very great reason to be thankful. I am become a little thinner, and not so much so as might have been expected. I am now hoping, *D, V.*, that a change of air, etc., will soon set me up, in the west. . . . You will smile when I tell you that I am in correspondence with a lady of rank on the question of prophecy and the restoration of the Jews. How it may end I have no idea. Before I see you, I may, perhaps, be able to see farther on the subject than I now do. . . . But I must close.-- Believe me, my very dear brother, yours very truly,



S. LEE.'

My father went to Bristol soon after this letter was written, and his malady considerably increased, so much so, that he was often quite unfit to attend the Cathedral services. He liked to go when he could, and on one of these occasions he found the following note, from a Bristol tradesman, had been left for him. He remarked to my mother that this more than repaid him for the [\[213\]](#) effort he had made in going to the Cathedral when in much suffering. He died in December of this year.

'BRISTOL, 22 June 1852.

'REVND. DR S. LEE.

'SIR,--I was greatly concerned to hear of your serious indisposition some time ago. I assure you, rev. sir, that I did not cease to offer my humble prayer on your behalf, and now I rejoice exceedingly to see you once more in God's sanctuary. I am more concerned in your behalf, because, through a sermon that you preached at the Cathedral in August 1850, from these words, "For by grace are ye saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God," I came to think seriously of the Christian faith, and I greatly rejoice for the hope that is within me. I trust, therefore, you will pardon a stranger in writing, but my heart is so full of gratitude to you that I write thus to strengthen you, and that you may know, even in this world, that your labour was not in vain. May the Lord bless you, and give you a long life and happiness here, and a crown of glory hereafter.-- Such is the prayer of your humble servant,

'W. D.'

[\[214\]](#)

Letter to the SECRETARY of the C. M. S. from the Rev. T. PRESTON of Trinity College, Cambridge, himself a distinguished Oriental scholar.

'You have probably seen mention in the papers of the death of Dr Lee. He had been sinking for nearly a year, though, from the nature of his complaint, very sanguine, almost to the last, about his recovery. Long before that he had an asthma, which seemed to me to be much increased by mental exertion, of which he was most unsparing, as well as by the keen air of Barley.

'I should think his review of my "Makamat" was about the last thing he sent to press. It is fully a year that he has ceased to look over the proofs of the Arabic Bible. I remember his saying that it did not seem likely it should be finished (*i.e.*, the revision of it) during his lifetime. The *whole* of the translation has been made under his superintendence, to which it owes very much indeed. His biblical labours were assiduous in the highest degree, and aided by an amount of erudition unequalled in this country. His learning and perseverance have been the model of many others, to whom he kindly gave his aid and encouragement, myself among the rest, and by [\[215\]](#) whom his loss is deeply felt. Along with enlarged and fervent charity he was remarkable for his strenuous disapproval of the presumptuous speculations of modern German Neologians, to whom he would hardly grant a hearing, so strongly was he set against them. He laboured conscientiously through life to promote the devout study of the Scriptures, and it is impossible not to deplore the departure of the possessor of such rare endowments, with whom so much that is valuable is lost'

Letter from Reverend T. VORES.

'Dr Lee's distinguishing characteristic as a Christian was his cheerful, rejoicing, thankful spirit. But when the period of suffering came he was able to kiss the rod.

'He spoke of the abounding mercies which had attended him through life; he acknowledged the final mercy of his Father's chastening hand, and his spirit was like Job's when he said, "Shall we receive

good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" I need not tell you, who knew him so well, that the Lord Jesus was to him the Alpha and Omega.' [\[216\]](#)

Letter to Mrs LEE from Professor JARRETT.

'TRUNCK RECTORY, NORTHWALSHAM,  
'NORWICH, *Feb.* 23, 1853.

'MY DEAR MRS LEE,--I am quite ashamed that I did not acknowledge the receipt of the packet of Arabic MS., but I could not write to you then, and I wished to allow some time to pass before I offered you my expressions of sympathy on your bereavement. And now I know that all such expressions will as yet be of no avail. After a while you will be comforted by the thought of the manifold labours that he whom you have lost dedicated to the cause of sacred literature, and that while he is in the enjoyment of rest from his labours, others will long continue to be edified and guided by the results of his unwearied toil. . . . Dr Lee's removal was to me most unexpected ; I constantly hoped to hear of his restoration, and looked forward to additional opportunities of learning from him.--I am, my dear Mrs Lee, yours very truly,

THOS. JARRETT.'

[\[217\]](#)

Letter to Mrs LEE from the SECRETARY of the SOCIETY for PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

'67 LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS,  
'*Feb.* 26, 1853.

'DEAR MADAM, -- Nobody will believe more readily than yourself how deeply the Foreign Translation Committee of this Society, as well as all other members of it at all interested in the important works entrusted to that Committee, have felt the loss they have sustained in the death of the rarely gifted and excellent Dr Lee. His labours in connection with the Committee for many years past had been most valuable, and were, as they rightly deserved to be, highly appreciated. But it did not please the All-wise Disposer of events to permit him to see the accomplishment of the great and important work on which he had, in his later years, set his heart-- the publication, I mean, of the whole Bible translated out of the sacred originals into the Arabic language. He lived, however, to see the completion of the materials for the work, and the Committee propose to request his esteemed pupil and friend, Professor Jarrett, to take up the labour of preparing those materials for the printer and [\[218\]](#) carrying them through the Press, where Dr Lee left it, an arrangement which they feel confident is only carrying out what would have been Dr Lee's own wishes on the subject. With this object in view the Committee have charged me with the expression of their sincere and respectful sympathy, in which I beg most cordially to join, to request you will have the goodness to hand over to Professor Jarrett the rough copy of the translation by Mr Fares, the whole of which, the Committee have reason to suppose, was in their lamented friend's possession.--I have the honour to be, with much respect, dear madam, your obedient, humble servant,

J. D. GLENNIE.

[\[219\]](#)

## HOME LIFE

THE account of Dr Lee's home life which follows was given by the lady who had come in 1848 to Barley Rectory to superintend his daughter's education:--

'As a student, it does not appear that his great attainments were acquired by any extraordinary effort, such as rising at unusual hours or sitting up late, but by one continued course of regular and diligent application. His mind never seemed to grow weary, but day after day, and week after week, nay, the whole year round, he was as fresh for his work, and went to it with as much energy and ardour as if he had just entered upon it after a long holiday. But notwithstanding this untiring energy of mind, he always allowed himself such time for exercise and relaxation as he considered conducive to his bodily health. He never knew what it was to have a headache, and till within [220](#) eighteen months of his death his health was singularly good. No doubt this was attributable in a great measure to his great regularity and abstemious mode of living. The peculiarly happy disposition, with great evenness of temper and spirits with which it pleased God to bless him, and which led him always to take a bright and cheerful view of everything, contributed also in no small degree not only to his general health, but likewise to the vigour and elasticity of his mind, and helped him to triumph over difficulties which would have depressed or overwhelmed an ordinary character.

'He never harboured a painful or vexatious thought, nor suffered himself to *dwell* upon a distressing subject, so that let what would happen, he was able to prosecute his studies with his usual serenity and diligence. He said, however, that at an early period of his life he was once completely cast down by some great affliction, so that for a time he sank under it and was quite overwhelmed ; but in a little while he began to reflect that this was not right, and by no means the way to glorify God, so he resolved to arouse himself and shake it off, and by God's grace never again to be so mastered by his feelings as to be incapacitated [221](#)

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BARLEY RECTORY. THE ORIEL WINDOW TO THE LEFT IS THAT OF THE LIBRARY.

BARLEY RECTORY. THE ORIEL WINDOW TO THE LEFT IS THAT OF THE LIBRARY.

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for his duties. He considered this a turning-point in his career of usefulness, as he never afterwards became the victim of unreasonable depression. His constant habit was to breakfast at 8 or 8.30, according to the season, after which, and family prayers, he retired to his study, which he seldom if ever left till 12.30 or 1. These, he was wont to say, were the best hours for study, when the mind had most strength, and was less easily injured by close application than at any other time.

He often warned young men who were disposed to overwork themselves, whilst he commended their diligence, against too many consecutive hours of deep thought. Eight hours a day were the utmost that he said any man ought to apply closely, and, with that, two hours of daily active exercise should never be neglected. But to resume. At 12.30 or 1 he would, on a fine day, take a stroll in the garden, discoursing with his wife on his favourite subject of prophecy, or upon any topic of interest that had engaged his attention during the morning. If the weather did not admit of this, he would come and pace

the dining-room with his little girl, and unbend his mind for her amusement by playful remarks and innocent jokes. His presence seldom [\[222\]](#) failed to give an animation and sprightliness to all around him. His love of punctuality invariably brought him to the luncheon - table as the clock struck 1.30, after which, of late years, he indulged in a short nap in an easy-chair. Then, unless it was positively a wet day, he always took about an hour's walk, generally in the garden, revolving in his mind the work on which he was then engaged. After this, he returned to his study until dinner-time, to prepare his letters for the post. Many of these were, of themselves, a task of no small magnitude, for he generally had some private controversy or discussion in hand, besides which, he devoted many hours of his valuable time to answering the inquiries of young students, and directing them in the pursuit of Truth. He took great delight in encouraging any, however humble they might be, either in circumstances or attainments, if, with an earnest and candid mind, they were in search of *truth*, let the subject be what it would. His wife said that he gave up, in this way, at least one-third of his time to the literary and spiritual benefit of others. His dinner-hour was 5.30, and many an hour after it has he beguiled by singing some of Handel's or Haydn's choicest airs. He had a fine taste for poetry, music, and everything that is [\[223\]](#) calculated to elevate and refine the mind. These things were a real relaxation to him, and afforded much enjoyment to those around him by the justness of his criticisms and his hearty appreciation of all that was beautiful. He used to say that he could not imagine how anyone could listen to fine music without having the mind elevated and improved by it; in his case, it seemed to warm his heart with pious feelings, and produce much the same effect as a good and spirit-stirring sermon would on others. He often spoke of his grateful sense of God's goodness to him in thus affording him so many sources of gratification and relaxation. After tea, at 8 o'clock, he again retired to his study to resume his morning labours until 10, the hour of prayer, and 11 o'clock was the hour, which nothing seemed to tempt him to transgress, for retiring to rest himself.

His attachment to the Church Missionary Society and their cause was warm and lively to the last days, and he was in the daily habit of listening to some one or other of the missionary periodicals of the day, in which he took the greatest interest. Of his retentive memory every one who knew him is well aware, but they may not know how much he exercised it for the benefit [\[224\]](#) and amusement of his family circle. Often would he quote whole passages from his favourite Shakespeare, as well as Milton, Goldsmith, Pope, and many other English poets. Some, if not all of these, he said he had not read for thirty years, nor had they been learnt by rote, but whatever he read with interest and admiration was impressed upon his memory in such a way that he could recall it, bit by bit, as each piece was brought to his remembrance by some other of similar import. During the last few months of his life, when he was in constant sufferings his kindness and consideration were shown by his choosing such books as he thought might be profitable and useful to others, but he preferred the works of some eminent divine, such as Bishops Hall and Hopkins, for in them, he said, there was something for the soul to feed upon. For a year or two after he gave up the Hebrew Professorship, in addition to his laborious work of translating the Bible into Arabic, he took the whole of the parochial duty on himself, visiting amongst his sick people as occasion demanded, and performing two full services on the Sunday. On his return home from the afternoon service, when Mrs Lee joined him in the study, she generally found him reading his [\[225\]](#)

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*From a Daguerreotype, age about 60.*

*Yours most truly  
Sam Lee*

*From a Daguerreotype, age about 60.*

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Hebrew Bible, so untiring was his mind. Rarely did a Sunday pass without a little sacred music in the evening, when he would sing with more than usual animation; and this was no temporary excitement producing weariness or lassitude on the Monday, for he always declared himself better on that day than



any other in the week. In visiting the sick and dying, his manner and style of conversation were gentle and encouraging, and his prayers simple and earnest. He was beloved and respected by all his parishioners, both Churchmen and Dissenters, for though he disliked exceedingly the principle of Dissent he was kind and courteous to all Dissenters, and much respected those whom he considered truly pious men. As a master he was strict, but not severe. He used to say, "he that ruleth, let him do it with diligence," but his servants universally loved and respected him. His mind remained vigorous to the last, so that till within three weeks of his death he continued to write at intervals, as his strength and the severe paroxysms of pain permitted, what he intended as an appendix to his work on Prophecy, published in 1849. He was only able to accomplish half of what he proposed writing. His Christian resignation was remarkably shown in his [\[226\]](#) cheerful acquiescence in the Divine Will when unable longer to pursue that work in which his heart, was so much engaged--the translation of the Bible into Arabic. Throughout his life he had habitually acknowledged all that he had received to be of *mercy* from that God who "worketh in us to will and to do of His good pleasure," and when sickness prevented him from pursuing those occupations in which his whole heart seemed absorbed, he at once yielded his own will, saying, "Have I received so much good at the hand of the Lord, and shall I not receive evil?" He was often in great pain, but no impatience manifested itself, nor could one at all tell how much he suffered except by his extreme quietness. This made it difficult to know his feelings, but when he did speak, all testified a genuine simple faith in Christ, through whose merits alone he hoped for salvation, and confidently expected to reign with Him in glory. On the day before his death he revived considerably, so that he asked for some of Handel's magnificent choruses in the "Messiah" to be played to him. "Worthy is the Lamb," and some others were played to him, which he seemed much to enjoy; after this he fell asleep and scarcely woke to consciousness again.' [\[227\]](#)

He died on the 16th December 1852, and was buried in a vault in Barley Church.

His own words shall close this brief sketch.

'May His grace and love, shed abroad in our hearts, constrain us sweetly to sing His praise, sound forth His never-failing mercies, as revealed in Christ Jesus our Lord evermore, and when we shall have laboured for the advancement of His glory and the good of His Church here, so as to have become meet for an inheritance with the saints in light, we may, with the voice of praise on our tongues, and the experience of heaven in our souls, be transported thither.' [\[228\]](#)

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## CHAPTER XVI

### 'TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA'

IN February 1828 the Oriental Translation Committee was formed for the purpose of raising a fund, called the Oriental Translation Fund, to defray the expenses of translating and printing interesting Oriental works. It was under the patronage of the King (George the Fourth), and numbered among its subscribers the Dukes of Clarence, Sussex, Cambridge, Gloucester, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and many others of the nobility, bishops, etc. In the regulations we find the following note :-- 'For the purpose of directing the attention of scholars to the literature of the East, and encouraging translations, the Committee is empowered to give annually, for such works as it may consider deserving of distinction, four rewards in money, in sums of from £50 to £100 each, and four gold medals of the value of twenty guineas each, inscribed with the names of the individuals to whom they are presented,' | [\[229\]](#)

They state in their first report their 'great satisfaction in the most liberal support afforded to them by the Royal Asiatic Society, not only by allowing the Committee's business to be transacted in their house, but also by their handsome transfer to the Oriental Translation Fund of the Honourable East India

Company's munificent annual subscription of one hundred guineas. The English Universities have expressed their favourable disposition towards the undertaking, and received in the most friendly manner the hopes expressed by the Committee, of considerably diminishing the expense of printing by the assistance of the University presses.'

Many who had it in their power to do so were stimulated by the efforts of the Committee to undertake translations of Oriental works, both in this country and in Turkey, Persia, Egypt and the Barbary States, etc., and much attention was attracted to Asiatic literature; and several translations which had long remained unnoticed were brought to light.

In a list of works preparing for publication in the first year of their transactions, mention is made of 'The Travels of Ibn Batuta,' translated from the Arabic, and illustrated with copious notes, by [\[230\]](#) the Rev. Professor Lee. Ibn Batuta spent above twenty years in travelling in the fourteenth century. Besides giving very interesting notices of Spain, Greece, Java, etc., he gives long accounts of Nigritia, the Maldiv Islands, where he acted as judge for eighteen months, and China, to which he went as Ambassador from the Court of Delhi, at which he resided several years.

For this translation one of the gold medals was awarded to Professor Lee.

This work was dedicated to Lieutenant-Colonel Fitz-Clarence. In the dedication, Dr Lee expresses his views on the value of Oriental studies. He says:--

'I think myself fortunate in having it in my power to dedicate to you the first-fruits of an Institution which owes its origin and efficiency almost entirely to your exertions; and as my author traversed and described many parts of the East, of which you, nearly five hundred years after his time, have given so many interesting and confirmatory accounts, this will constitute an additional reason for doing so. No one, perhaps, can better estimate than yourself the duty incumbent on this country to possess an accurate knowledge of the [\[231\]](#) history, geography, commerce, manners, customs and religious opinions of the East. Placed as we are in the proud situation of legislating to perhaps its richest and most important part, and hence looked up to by its almost countless inhabitants for protection, instruction, government,--nothing can be more obvious than that it is just as binding upon us to acquaint ourselves with their wants, in order to these being provided for and relieved, as it is that we should calculate upon the wealth of their commerce, or the rank and influence which our governors, judges and magistrates should hold among them. Unhappily, however, prior to the times of Sir William Jones, knowledge of this kind was scarcely accessible to the bulk of society; and since that period, notwithstanding his glowing predictions to the contrary (in the preface to his "Persian Grammar"), the study of Oriental literature has seldom been carried beyond its first elements. . . . It is not my intention to dwell here, with the admirable Sir William Jones, on the beauty of their poetry, the value of their sentiments as moralists or philosophers, or the almost boundless extent and variety of their languages ; but on the paramount necessity of our possessing an accurate knowledge of their countries, histories, [\[232\]](#) laws, commerce, connections, tactics, antiquities, and the like, for purely practical purposes. Other considerations, indeed, will, and ought to, weigh with the divine, the gentleman and the scholar; and here, perhaps, our knowledge of philology may be mentioned as likely to receive as much improvement as any science cultivated in polite society possibly can.

'It is customary, I know, to look to the universities for the tone of learning in any country; but in this respect these bodies are with us very inadequately provided for. The majority of students is interested in other pursuits, while those which are intended for the East are expected to keep terms at one or other of the seminaries provided by the Honourable Company. The utmost, therefore, that can be brought to bear here upon the arduousness of youth, or to stimulate the enterprising to the toil of years, which is, indeed, necessary to a moderate acquaintance with the languages of the East, is, perhaps, a professorship with an endowment of forty pounds a year, accompanied with duties and restraints of no ordinary nature.

And the natural consequence has been, that whatever may have been known on these subjects, few have been found hardy enough to undertake laborious and expensive works with no [\[233\]](#) other prospect than of being eulogised by their biographers as having "immortalised and ruined themselves." Our institution, therefore, will, I trust, even here be the means of creating a stimulus to the cultivation of learning, for which, indeed, some provision has been made, and which the greatest ornaments of our Church and nation have deemed of the very highest importance. I mean that which immediately bears on the study of the Christian Scriptures, an acquaintance with the Hebrew and its sister dialects. As things formerly were, a Whelock, Castell or Pococke may have delivered lectures, but, as it was then facetiously said, "the lecture-room would exhibit an Arabia deserta rather than an Arabia felix"; and for the most obvious of all reasons, namely, that where neither emolument nor consideration are to be had, there will never be any considerable public effort made. In this point of view, therefore, I believe that under prudent government our institution may be productive of the greatest public good in filling up a chasm in our means of information which nothing else could effect. And I think I may say that whether we consider the amazing extent of its operations, the unprecedented support which in so short a time it has experienced, the aggregate [\[234\]](#) quantity of literary power concentrated in its Committee, or the number of works of the first importance which it already has in the progress of publication, to have projected and brought into active operation such an institution, cannot but be gratifying to everyone (and particularly to yourself) who took any part in its formation.--I have the honour to be, dear sir, your most obliged humble servant,

THE TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR.

'CAMBRIDGE, *Jan.* 1829.'

"The Arabic manuscripts of this work are three in number, and are all copies of the same abridgment. They were originally bequeathed to the library of the University of Cambridge by the late Mr Burckhardt, where they may at any time be seen. It is, indeed, much to be regretted that they are only abridgments ; but as they contain much curious and valuable information, and that obtained at a time of very considerable interest, namely, when the Tartars were making progress in Asia Minor, and the Empire of Hindustan was verging towards its final subjugation to the Mogul dynasty, I have thought it would be quite unpardonable to let the manuscript lie any longer untranslated, especially [\[235\]](#) as its publication may possibly be the means of bringing the entire work to light, which Mr Burckhardt has assured us is still in existence.

"The Sheikh Ibn Batuta, the author of these travels, left his native city, Tanjiers, for the purpose of performing the pilgrimage, in the 725th year of the Hejira (A.D. 1324-5). After passing through many cities he came to Alexandria, where he arrived in the evening. He was rather poor, and would not enter the city until he had witnessed some favourable omen. He sat accordingly near the gate until all the persons had gone in, and it was nearly time for closing the gate. The keeper of the gate was irritated at his delay, and said to him, ironically, "Enter, Mr Judge." He replied, "Yes, judge! if that be God's will." After this he entered one of the colleges, and attended to reading, following the example of others who had attained to eminence, until his name and reputation for modesty and religion reached the ears of the King of Egypt. About this time the judge of Alexandria died. The number of learned men in Alexandria who expected this appointment was large ; but of these the Sheikh was one who entertained no expectations of it. The Sultan, however, sent it to him, and he was admitted to the office, which he filled [\[236\]](#) with great integrity and moderation, and hence obtained great fame. In his narrative Ibn Batuta gives the reason for his further travels. "One of the greatest saints in Alexandria at this time was the learned and pious Imam, Borhan Oddin El Aaraj, a man who had the power of working miracles." (It is generally believed among the Mohammedans that every saint has it in his power to perform miracles, without laying claim to the office of a prophet. This kind of miracle they term "karamet,"

benevolent action.) "I one day went in to him, when he said, 'I perceive that you are fond of travelling into various countries.' I said 'Yes,' although I had at that time no intention of travelling into very distant parts. He replied, 'You must visit my brother Farid Oddin in India, and my brother Rokn Oddin Ibn Zakarya in Sindia, and also my brother Borhan Oddin in China, and when you see them, present my compliments to them.' I was astonished at what he said, and determined with myself to visit those countries. Nor did I give up my purpose till I had met all the three mentioned by him, and presented his compliments to them."

The subjoined list of Arabic and Persian works consulted by Dr Lee in the preparation of 'Ibn [237](#) Batuta' for publication is a proof of the thoroughness of all his work, and of his untiring energy and zeal.

'As I have occasionally cited some Arabic and Persian works in the notes, I take the opportunity here of apprising the reader what they are, and where the copies cited are to be found.'

1. The 'Rauzat El Safa,' a very celebrated and well-known history of Persia, written by Mir Khand in seven volumes. The copy here cited formerly belonged to the Right Honourable Lord Teignmouth, and is now in my own possession. Copies, however, are to be found in most of the public libraries.
2. The 'Khulasat El Akhbar,' an abridgment of the Persian historians generally. This is also in my possession.
3. The 'Gwalior Namah,' a history of the fortress of Gwalior, by Heraman Ibn Kardhar Das, the Munshi, a small, neatly-written quarto, bearing the class mark 324 of the library of Eton College. From this the notice of Gwalior has been taken.
4. 'Tarikhi Badayuni,' a valuable history of Hindustan, by Abd El Razzak Maluk-Shah of Samarcand. A neatly-written, thick folio, bearing the class mark of the Eton Library 439.
5. The first volume of the 'Matlaa El Saadain,' by Abd El Razzak Ibu Is-hak of Samarcand, a [238](#) general history of Persia. A moderate-sized folio, incorrectly written, bearing the Eton class mark 366. These three volumes were lent me for this work by the kindness of the Reverend the Provost and Fellows of Eton College, for which, and the very ready access they afforded me to their valuable library, I take this opportunity of returning my warmest thanks.
6. 'The Tabakati Akbari,' a history of the Emperors of Hindustan prior to the times of Akbar, compiled, at that monarch's request, by Nizam Oddin Mohammed Mukim of Herat. The copy cited formerly belonged to my late Valued and learned friend, Jonathan Scott, Esq., of Shrewsbury; it is a thick quarto, very neatly written, and is now in my possession.
7. The citations from 'Ferishta' are taken from a copy also in my possession.
8. The 'Kanun El Tijarat' is a well-written work, in Persian, on the nature and value of jewels, silks, etc., taken from the 'A-ini Akbari, and other works, written originally in the Hindustani language by Iatimad El Daulat, and translated into the Persian, A.D. 1806. The copy is in my possession ; it is a thin, neatly-written folio.
9. The 'A-ini Akbari,' a most valuable work, [239](#) giving a statistical account of Hindustan, with particulars as to its officers, customs, etc., compiled under the superintendence of Abul Fazl, prime minister to the Emperor Akbar; large folio, in the University library of Cambridge; this work has been translated into English by Mr Gladwin, but the copies are very scarce; our own library does not possess one.
10. The 'Medical Dictionary of Ali Ibu El Husain,' known by the Haji Zain El Attar. This work is entitled Ikhtiarati Badi'ai, and contains a list of medicines, simple and compound, arranged according to

the Arabic alphabet. It is neatly written, and in the Persian language. The form is small folio, and contains 300 closely written pages. The copy is in my possession.

11. The 'Dabistan,' a very valuable, and interesting work on the religious opinions of the Orientals, usually ascribed to Mohammed Mohsin Fani of Kashmire; the real author, however, seems to be unknown. This work was first brought to notice by Sir William Jones, but has not yet been translated, if we except the first book on the religion of the ancient Persians, which was translated and published in India by Mr Gladwin. The whole Persian work was printed in Calcutta in [\[240\]](#) 1811. Two MS. copies of this work are in my possession, one of which is the very copy noticed by Sir William Jones. If I can ever command leisure sufficient, it is my intention to translate this work.

12. The 'Heft-Iklim,' a very valuable biographical and geographical work in Persian, by Anun Ahmed Razi, giving notices of some of the most eminent Persian writers of every clime. The copy here cited is in large folio, very thick, and neatly written; it was lately purchased by the Public Library of Cambridge.

The 'Maathari Rahimi,' a valuable and elaborate history of some of the emperors and other eminent men of Tartary, Hindustan, etc., by Mohammed Abd El Baki Rahimi El Nahawendi. The copy used by me formerly belonged to Mr Hindley, but has lately been purchased by the Cambridge Public Library. It is fairly written, in large folio, and contains perhaps 2000 leaves.

13. The 'Nafahat El Ins,' a history of the Mohammedan saints, by the celebrated Jami. This work contains all that was most valuable in two writers who had preceded him, together with considerable additions made by himself from other works, as well as from information obtained by personal inquiry. It was dedicated to the Emir [\[241\]](#) Nizam Oddin Ali Shir, A.H. 881, A.D. 1476 ; but, according to a note at the end, in 1478. The work, which is in my possession, is a large octavo of about three hundred and fifty leaves, very neatly but not very accurately written in Pattan in Hindustan, A.D. 1612.

14. The 'Kulasat El Ansab,' a short history of the Afghans, by Ibn Shah Aalam, of the tribe Kot-ha-Khail. A work in one small octavo volume-- Persian. There are two copies of this work in the Public Library of Cambridge.

The Arabic works cited are the following :--

15. The 'Kitab El Isharat,' by El Harawi. This is an account of the pilgrimages performed by the Sheikh Ali of Herat early in the thirteenth century. The book is but short, and, according to the author, contains only an abstract of a larger work, which had been taken from him by the King of England when engaged in the Crusades. This abstract was made from memory; but of this the author does not fail to remind his reader when treating of particulars which might have escaped him. I had the use of two copies -- one in the collection of Mr Burckhardt in our Public Library, the other was lent me by the kindness of Mr Lewin. These copies are near the size of our duodecimos. Mr [\[242\]](#) Burckhardt's contains part of two copies, the latter of which was written 537 years ago, perhaps in the time of the author. I have generally cited him by the name of El Harawi.

16. 'Abulfeda's Geography.' The copy used by me is in the handwriting of Erpenius, which is probably a transcript of that in the University Library of Leyden. It is in very large folio, and, like its original, presents many unintelligible readings; it is preserved in the Public Library at Cambridge, and has the class marks, Dd. I, ii. This work is, I understand, either entirely, or for the most part, given in a translation by Reiske in 'Buesching's Magazine'--a work published some years ago in Germany, but which has never come to my hands.

17. The 'Geographical Work of Edrisi' is too well known to need any description. I used the Roman impression.



18. The 'Marasid El Itlaa.' This is a sort of geographical dictionary, not unlike our gazetteers. It is occasionally cited in M. de Lacy's 'Chrestomathie Arabe.' Like all other Arabic dictionaries, it is very defective ; otherwise, many places unnoticed by me would have been more exactly described.
19. The 'Geographical Work of Ibn El Wardi' is too well known to need description. The copy I [\[243\]](#) have cited belongs to the Public Library at Cambridge, and bears the class mark, Ll. 5, 30. There is also another copy in the collection of Mr Burckhardt
20. The 'Yatimat El Dahar,' a remarkably elegant and interesting work on the principal Arabian poets, with some extracts from their writings, compiled by A.H. 384, A.D. 994, by Abu Mansur El Thaalabi. The work is occasionally cited by M. de Lacy in the second edition of his 'Chrestomathie Arabe.' The copy used in this work is a large-sized, neatly-written octavo, containing about 250 leaves. It formerly belonged to Mr Hindley, but it is now in my possession.
21. The 'Sukkardan,' a work by Ibn Hajela on Egypt. It is occasionally noticed by M. de Lacy in his 'Chrestomathie Arabe.' The copy here used is a moderately-sized octavo, tolerably well written. It is to be found in the collection of Mr Burckhardt in the Public Library of Cambridge.
22. The 'Khulasat Tahkik El Zunun,' a biographical dictionary, apparently an abridgment of 'Haji Khalfa'; but of this I am not certain, as the copy of 'Haji Khalfa,' with which I have compared it, contains scarcely half the number of works of which this gives some account. I suspect [\[244\]](#) however that this copy of 'Haji Khalfa' is only an abridgment itself. The Epitomator's name is Kamal Oddin Abu Futuh Ibn Mustafa Ibu Kamal Oddin Ibu Ali El Sidiki. The book is in Mr Burckhardt's collection.
23. Another book from which some citations have been made is Ibn Khaldun's 'History of the Berbers'; and as this book is extremely scarce and valuable, I may be excused if I describe it a little more particularly. The full title, then, which stands on the first page is as follows:--'The Seventh Part of the Book of Examples and of the Diwan of the Commencements and Accounts, on the Times of the Arabs, Persians, Berbers and others contemporary with them, who came into supreme power; a publication of the Priest and learned Sheikh, the very learned Wali Oddin Abu Zaid Abd El Rahman, son of the Priest and very learned Abu Abd Allah Mohammed Ibu Khaldun, of the sect of Ibn Malik, and of the country of Hadramant.'
- The work is closely and accurately written in the Mogrebine hand, in large quarto, upon stout, well-polished paper. The 'History of the Berbers' covers three hundred and sixty-nine pages. The remainder of the book, which contains [\[245\]](#) seventy-seven pages, is an account of the family and life of the author, written by himself. . . . The cessation from writing it out was on the 8th of Moharram, in the year 1008 A.D., July 21, 1599. This book does not belong to the University Library of Cambridge, as some have supposed, but to the Rev. Richard Edward Kerrick, A.M., son of our late librarian, the Rev. Thomas Kerrick, A.M., who informed me that it had belonged to his father, which is no doubt the truth, as an engraving containing his arms and name, Samuel Kerrick, S.T.P., is pasted within the cover at the beginning of the book. Upon discovering to Mr Kerrick, our librarian, the character and rareness of this work, I was permitted to copy and translate it, upon tendering a bond of five hundred pounds ensuring its safe return at the end of two years.'

Dr Lee's valuable library was sold after his death.

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## CHAPTER XVII

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY TO DR LEE, AND LIST OF WORKS.



PROVIDENCE, *March 29, 1834.*

'SIR,--At the annual meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society, held July 19th, 1833, you were unanimously elected an honorary member, and it is with no small degree of pleasure, as the society's organ, I announce the same to you. Its objects are sufficiently indicated by its name ; its origin, rise and progress are spoken of in the preface to the first vol. of its collections, a copy of which, together with your diploma, is now forwarded.

In the upper left-hand corner of the diploma will be seen the State's Coat-of-Arms ; in the corresponding right-hand corner two medallions ; the one intended for Roger Williams and the other for Wm. Coddington, two of the first settlers of the State. They are fancy sketches, however, as we have [\[247\]](#) never succeeded in finding a portrait or likeness of either. The main design is emblematical of the Present, the Past and the Future. In the centre is a mirror, from before which Hope has withdrawn a curtain, and a representation of the Future is exhibited therein. On the right, the Past is delineated by an Indian in his light canoe paddling down the bay. Mount Haup, the once favourite residence of the noted warrior King Philip, the chief of the Narragansetts, being seen in the distance. On the left, the Present is represented by a view of the Pawtucket River and Falls, with factory on either side. As this is truly a manufacturing State, as the village of Pawtucket consists chiefly of cotton establishments which adorn the river to its very source, and, moreover, as the first Factory ever erected in the country stands immediately above these Falls, the scene selected is quite appropriate, although apparently perhaps as destitute of beauty as the conception may be of classic taste. The following is the device contained on the seal: viz., around the outer margin is a circular raised band with the words and figures, Rhode Island Historical Society, 1822, within which band is a triangle composed of three raised lines with the words Mooshasuck, 1636, on [\[248\]](#) the line forming the base thereof; Aquidueck, 1638, on the line forming the right side ; and Shawomet, 1642, on that forming the left side of said triangle ; and within the centre of the same, a fowl anchor. These are the Indian names with the dates of the first three settlements within the State.

'Everything relating to the early history of our Country, and more especially of our State, is highly desirable. There are numerous manuscripts, books, pamphlets and loose sheets of this description which would be of much value to us, but are unattainable here; yet such are sometimes met with at the book-stalls, antiquarian sales, etc., in London and other parts of England, sold for a trifle, and perhaps used as waste-paper, no one noticing them who deems them of sufficient importance to merit preservation. Should any such come under your observation, or to your knowledge, you would confer a favour by purchasing them for, and in behalf of, the society; and the expenses attendant thereupon shall at all times be promptly paid.--I am, sir, with sentiments of respect, yours, etc.,

THOMAS H. WEBB.

'Rev. SAMUEL LEE, D.D.'

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#### LIST OF DR LEE'S WORKS.

1816. -- The Syriac New Testament.

1817-18. -- Edited the Malay Scriptures, Arabic and Coptic Psalter and Gospels, translated Genesis into Persian, superintended the Hindustani Prayer-Book, and Morning and Evening Prayers in Persic.

1820. -- A New Zealand Grammar.

1821. -- A Letter to Mr J. Bellamy on his new Translation of the Bible, with some Strictures on a Tract,

entitled 'Remarks,' etc., Oxford, 1820.

1821 -- A Vindication of Certain Strictures on a Pamphlet entitled 'Remarks,' etc., Oxford, 1820, in answer to 'A Reply,' etc., Oxford, 1821.

1823. -- The Syriac Old Testament.

1824. -- Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mahomedanism, by Henry Martyn, and some of the most Eminent Writers of Persia, translated and explained, to which is appended an additional Tract on the same question ; and in a Preface, Some Account [250](#) of a Former Controversy on this Subject, with Extracts from it.

1827;--A Grammar of the Hebrew Language.

1828.--A Grammar of the Persian Language, by Sir W. Jones, Revised, with considerable additions.

1829.--Prolegomena in Biblia Polyglotta Bagsteriana. 1829.--The Travels of Ibn Batuta, translated from the abridged Arabic MS. copies, with Notes.

1830.--Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures, preached before the University of Cambridge, 1827-8, to which are annexed Two Dissertations, the first on the Reasonableness of the Orthodox View of Christianity, as opposed to the Rationalism of Germany ; the second, on the Interpretation of Prophecy generally, with an Original Exposition of the Book of Revelation.

1832.--Grammar of the Hebrew Language, second edition. [251](#)

1837.--A Translation of the Book of Job, with an Introduction and Commentary.

1840.--A Lexicon, Hebrew, Chaldee and English.

1841.--Grammar of the Hebrew Language, third edition.

1842.--A Syriac Version of the 'Theophania,' by Eusebius.

1842-3.--The Prayer-Book, translated into Arabic. 1843.--A Translation of the 'Theophania,' by Eusebius.

1843.--Tracts on Tithes.

1849.--An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress and End of Prophecy.

1849.--A Letter to G. S. Faber, B.D., containing an Interpretation of 2 Peter iii.

1849.--A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Glo'ster and Bristol.

1849-51.--The New Testament translated into Arabic, and the Old as far as Numbers.

1851.--The Events and Times of the Visions of Daniel and St John investigated.

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*Colston & Coy., Limited, Printers, Edinburgh.*