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TETRADYMUS.

CONTAINING

I. HODEGUS; or the PILLAR OF CLOUD AND FIRE, that guided the Israelites in the Wilderness, NOT MIRACULOUS: but, as faithfully related in *Exodus*, a thing equally practis'd by other nations, and in those places not onely useful but necessary.

II. CLIDOPHORUS; or of the EXOTERIC AND ESOTERIC PHILOSOPHY, that is, of the *External and Internal Doctrine* of the antients: the one open and public, accommodated to popular Prejudices and the establish'd Religions; the other private and secret, wherin, to the few capable and discrete, was taught the real TRUTH stript of all disguises.

III. HYPATIA; or the history of a most beautiful, most virtuous, most learned, and EVERY WAY ACCOMPLISH'D LADY; who was torn to pieces by the CLERGY of *Alexandria*, to gratify the pride, emulation, and cruelty of their *Archbishop* CYRIL, commonly but undeservedly stil'd *Saint* CYRIL.

IV. MANGONEUTES: being a DEFENSE OF NAZARENUS, address'd to the right reverend JOHN lord Bishop of London; against his Lordship's Chaplain Dr. MANGEY, his Dedicator Mr. PATTERSON, and (who ought to have been nam'd first) the reverend Dr. BRETT, once belonging to his Lordship's Church.

By Mr. T O L A N D.

5.

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P R E F A C E.

I.



THE Title-pages of the following *Dissertations* do clearly enough indicate their several subjects: but the design of writing, and the occasion of publishing each, require I shou'd give some necessary information to the Reader, before he begins to peruse them. After acquainting my self, in the best manner I was able, with

the various origins and peculiar constitutions of the Grec and Roman Republics, not forgetting the Persian and other Monarchies; I judg'd my pains might be no less agreeably rewarded, if I shou'd use the like means, to get as clear a notion as possible of the MOSAIC Theocracy, or the Government of the Israelites. The curiosity that's natural to man, which makes him so ambitious of the character

Παλαιατε πολλατε ειδως,

vehemently urg'd me to pry not indiligently into such remote antiquities: and my duty, as the Religion I profess was founded on the MOSAIC Institution, inspir'd me with still greater ardor in my researches. But as the polity of the Jews cou'd not be learnt without their history, both contain'd in the same books, and in the same thread of narration interwoven; so, notwithstanding the almost impenetrable obscurity with which those books are accus'd, I continually made such discoveries in them, relating to matters either different from what was taught by my guides, or that were not taught by any at all, as prov'd

to me no less intertaining than instructive. A principal head among others was, *that several transactions generally understood to be miraculous, were in reality very natural; whatever the superstitious apprehensions of some, and the careless reading of others, led them to conceive. But such things, once taken for granted, soon become universal preconceptions; and so are never after examin'd, or with as universal opposition to him, that presumes on those inquiries. The discoveries I made of this sort created in me a higher veneration for MOSES, than even was instill'd by my instructors, and on better grounds. They did equally arm me against such, as, not content with their own gross interpretations, superadd the monstrous Traditions of others: and also against those, who reject the Pentateuch as intirely fabulous, and who will not allow either the wisdom or sanctity of the MOSAIC Laws. One of those discoveries makes the subject of HODEGUS, or the first Dissertation; wherein there are some other points incidentally discuss'd, not unworthy observation. Wherefore my design in this publication, is to make MOSES better understood, and consequently more easily believ'd: which is as well to defend him against those, who unreasonably believe him not at all, as also against those, who by their absurd belief render him incredible. The stile of the *Old Testament* is extremely hyperbolical, even in the books that are written in prose; but in the poetical books wonderfully magnificent, and this somtimes in the description of the most ordinary events. Thus a storm (for example) is often represented in such pompous terms, as if the whole frame of nature had been convuls'd, and the Universe on the point of dissolution. Every thing great, or beautiful, or excellent in its kind, is attributed to GOD, or denominated from him: as a mighty Prince is call'd a *Prince of GOD* as ABRAHAM, a profound sleep a *sleep from the LORD*, a numerous army *the army of GOD*, extreme fear *the fear of the LORD*, high mountains *the mountains of GOD*, a great river *the river of GOD* as Jordan, tall cedars *the cedars of GOD*, a very large city *the great city of GOD* as Nineveh, with many more such examples, which might be produc'd at pleasure. Every thing therefore that's hyperbolical is not strait to be counted supernatural, nor what's onely magnificent to be admir'd as miraculous: besides that whatever can be explain'd by ordinary means, any thing whose phenomena are easily solv'd, and wherof the*

- Gen. 23.
6. 1 Sam.
26. 12.
1 Chron.
12. 22.
2 Chron.
14. 14.
Psal. 36. 6.
Psal. 65. 9.
Psal. 80.
10. Jon.
2. 3.

like has often happen'd elsewhere, will by no man, who's not strongly prepossess'd with the errors of his education, be counted a miracle. Several years are past since I wrote this *Dissertation*. I sent the plan of it to a learned gentleman now alive, who show'd it to some good judges, and had their approbation. Since that time I have seen a Discourse on this Subject written by HERMAN VON DER HARDT, professor of the Oriental languages at Helmstadt, a man no less perspicacious and candid, than judicious and learned, tho' for all these good qualities not infallible. His notion ¹ is, *that there was a sacred Fire kept unextinguish'd on an altar in ADAM's time, preserv'd by NOAH, and successively propagated by all the Patriarch's down to MOSES; who order'd it to be carry'd by AARON before the army of the Israelites, as a symbol of the DIVINE presence and favor.* This account he endeavors in other ² pieces to defend against diverse persons, who sent their objections to him in Letters: but in the XXIVth section of my *Dissertation*, I prove it to be not only precarious, but in every respect false and groundless; tho' my arguments were pointed against one, who wrote to the same effect long before Mr. VON DER HARDT, of whose work I had then no notice. In other respects I gratefully acknowledge to have profited by his labors, and am confident he'll not think the worse of me, for differing from him in this or any other particular. I have lately seen a book against him by one ³ MUNDENIUS, whom I have likewise answer'd without naming him, by confuting the common notions which he defends. He wou'd have succeeded better, had he made a right use of what ⁴ LIPSIUS, ⁵ BUXTORF, ⁶ SCHURTZFLEISCH expressly, and others occasionally, as ⁷ BRISSONIUS, ⁸ SPENCER, and the Annotators on some of the Classic

¹ HERMANNI VON DER HARDT &c. *Ephemerides Philologicae*, Helmstadii 1703: Discursus VI, ubi videnda voluminis pagina nonagesima, discursus verò quinta.

² In eodem Volumine, pag. 206—296.

³ M. CHRISTIANI MUNDENII de Columna Nubis et Ignis Commentatio.

⁴ JUSTI LIPSII Syntagma de Vesta et Vestalibus.

⁵ Historia Ignis Sacri.

⁶ CONRADI SAMUELIS SCHURTZFLEISCHII dissertatio de cultu Ignis apud omnes gentes nationeque recepto.

⁷ De Regno Persico.

⁸ De Legibus ritualibus Hebræorum.

rod. 23.

, 21, 22,

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XV.

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XVII.

XVIII,

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1 26.

im. 10.

, 36.

authors, have written concerning the *sacred Fires* of the ancients: for many, who fail in proving their main proposition, become useful or agreeable in their subsidiary literature. What I have advanc'd concerning the ANGEL mention'd in the 23d chapter of *Exodus*, I do not expect shou'd meet with due reception, till the work appears to which the explication of it properly belongs. But I am not so diffident about my notion of *the Angel of God* in the 19th and 20th verses of the 14th chapter of the same book; nor of my disquisition concerning RAGUEL, JETHRO, and HOBAB, who are strangely confounded by most writers: and I hope my account of the origin of the *Kenites*, from HOBAB'S being rewarded according to the promise, of MOSES, for guiding the Israelites in the wilderness, where he was the *Fire-bearer* or Guide-general of the Camp, will give satisfaction to all impartial lovers of truth. As for others, I matter not what they think or say. If any shou'd contest the circumstance of the *Ark's* being carry'd on men's shoulders, because in some historical cuts of the *Bible* tis represented carry'd like our Chairs, he may for all me enjoy his opinion: but as the *Ark* was to be visible, and its presence no small sign of Incouragement to the Army, I rather think it was carry'd the other way. Its rings and staves wou'd serve both ways: but the nature of the thing, the solemn form of *Rise up, LORD, let thine enemies be scatter'd, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee*, whenever the *Ark* was to set forward, with many other passages to the same purpose, may I fancy determine the matter my way. This *Dissertation*, to conclude what I have to say of it here, is mention'd in a note upon *the Voyage of JACQUES MASSE*; written by a Gentleman of great wit and judgement, to some of whose friends I shou'd my Manuscript at the Hague in the year 1708. His words are these in the 168th page. *We have heard speak of a learned man from England,*

9 On a oui parler d'un savant Anglois qui a fait une dissertation depuis peu, où il entreprend de prouver, qu'il n'y a eu rien de miraculeux. ni meme d'extraordinaire dans cette colonne de feu qui conduisoit les Israélites dans le desert; et de faire voir par les meilleurs auteurs anciens et modernes, que ç'a été toujours la coutume dans ces sortes de deserts, de se servir de feu pour diriger la marche des armées ou des multitudes, en le faisant porter devant elles par des Guides, de maniere que toute la troupe en put voir

England, who not long since has compos'd a Dissertation, wherein he undertakes to prove, that there was nothing miraculous, nor even extraordinary, in that Pillar of fire which led the Israelites thro the wilderness; and to show, by the best authors antient and modern, that it has been at all times the custom in those sorts of desarts, to make use of Fire in directing the march of Armies or Caravans, by causing it to be carry'd before them by Guides, in such sort that the whole multitude might see the Smoke of it by day, and the Flame of it during the night. He pretends that the person, who had the direction of this Fire, and who serv'd for a Guide to the Israelites, was no other than HOBAB the father in law [I said the brother in law] of MOSES; which he endeavors to prove by the 29th and 30th verses of the tenth chapter of Numbers, and by several other passages of the holy Scripture. Now the reason, why I have not accordingly intitl'd it HOBAB, may be seen in the XXVIIth Section, to which I refer the Reader.

II. HAVING been so particular in relating the occasion of writing HODEGUS, I shall be the more brief in accounting for the occasions of publishing CLIDOPHORUS and HYPATIA. The first of these wou'd be either needless or more complete, had we but the book, which is said by EUNAPIUS to have been written by PORPHYRY: who commending (says ¹⁰ he) the medicine of perspicuity, and tasting it by experience, wrote A TREATISE CONCERNING THE SECRET DOCTRINES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS, which they involu'd in obscurity, as in the Fables of the POETS, but which he brought to light. What made the Philosophers so cautious, and be at so great pains (for tis a much easier task to write of things plainly and directly, than in a perplex circuit of

voir la fumée pendant le jour, et la flamme pendant la nuit. Il pretend que celui, qui a eu la direction de ce feu, et qui a servi de Guide aux Israelites, n'etoit autre chose que Hobab, le beau-pere de Moïse; ce qu'il tache de prouver par les versets 29 et 30 du chapitre x des nombres, et par plusieurs autres passages de l'Ecriture sainte. *A Bourdeaux 1710.*

10 Τῶν δὲ φιλοσοφῶν τὰ ἀπορρητὰ καλυπτομένων ἀσαφῆς, καθάπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τοῖς μύθοις, ὁ Πορφύριος, τὸ μὲν φαρμακὸν τῆς σαφηνείας ἐπαινεῖσαι, καὶ διὰ πειρᾶς γευσάμενός, ὑπομνημα γράψας, εἰς φῶς ἤγαγεν. In Porphyry. pag. 18. edit. 1616.

words under the veil of allegory or fable) I have in the *Dissertation* it self amply declar'd. In effect the Poets were not exempt from the same danger, that commonly attend-
ed the Philosophers: for tis a grand mistake to suppose, that the former did always write in a figurative strain out of pure choice, and because it was as amusing or al-
luring as their numbers. No, no: those Poets and Phi-
losophers who wou'd rather obtain the people's favor, than run any risque in undeceiving or instructing them (for I except the most generous spirited) must no less than those venal Orators and Historians, who court the ap-
plause of the many, approve their favorite sentiments, as well as tickle their ears and fancies. Listen to a Man perfectly acquainted with this matter. *Whoever writes any thing for the people* (says ¹¹ SYNESIUS, who was both Poet and Philosopher) *or addresses his speech to them, must necessarily appear popular in his doctrine, and invent or discourse what gratifies them: for they being unlearned, are therefore pertinacious and intractable defenders of their senseless prejudices; so that if any declines from his country rites, he must strait drink the juice of hemlock. What think you must HOMER have suffer'd from the Grecians, if he had related the naked truth concerning JUPITER? and not vended those monstrous fictions, which terrify children.* All silly folks are children, no less at other times than in that of HOMER; a secret well known to EMPEDOCLES, with some other poetical Philosophers. And I must needs own that when I observe learned men, or such as are presum'd to be so from their professions, laboring by all oblique arts to render others no less learned, and it may be much more deserving on all accounts, obnoxious to the folly or madness of the vulgar, I cannot help being equally fill'd with contempt and abhorrence: but above all when they are Clergymen (the profest preachers of cha-
rity, fair-dealing, and moderation) that are guilty of such

11. 'Οσις δ' οὖν δὴμῷ γράφει καὶ δὴμῷ λέγει, τοῦτον ἀναγκὴ δὴμον εἶναι τῇ δόξῃ, ἐν ἀποτῶν ἀρεσκόντων αὐτῷ πλάστῃ καὶ διαλεγήῃ: καὶ γὰρ ἀμαθεὶς οὐτε, ἰσχυρογνώμονες εἰσι καὶ χαλεποὶ περὶ αἱ τῶν ἀλοπῶν περλεψῶν; ὥς αὐτοῖς τῶν πατρῶν παρρηκὴ, ταχὺ πῖναι το κακόν. Τί ἂν οὖν δοκῇ Ὀμηρον ὑπο τῶν Ἑλλήνων παθεῖν, αὐτὰ τ' ἀληθῆ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς εἰποιῖα? Καὶ μὴδὲν τοιοῦτο τερατευσάμενον, ὃ τὰ παι-
δαία κάταπληθεται? In *Encom. Calvit. Edit. Par.* pag. 72.

unmanly,

unmanly, nay profligate devices. Not to look abroad for the methods of undermining and denigration, exercis'd by the several religious Orders of the Roman Church against each other; nor minutely to rehearse the atrocious calumnies of the *Constitutionists* against the *Anticonstitutionists* in France, the poverty and plague now reigning there, being imputed by the former to the latter: what shameful examples, I say, of such foul practices cou'd I produce here at home? what tale-bearing, what insinuations, what pumping, what wrestling, what straining of words or actions, both among Church-men and Dissenters, on the account or pretense of Religion? The examples are too flagrant, the subjects too notorious, for me to descend to particulars, whether I wou'd avoid envy or decline partiality. But what by the misrepresentations and invectives of enemies, or the angry frowns and desertion of friends; what by the suspensions, deprivations, and expulsions of those, who are superior either in force or authority (not to mention incapacities and sufferings of diverse other kinds) men are become suspicious of each other, reserv'd in opening their minds about most things, ambiguous in their expressions, supple in their conduct; whereby not only all mutual confidence, but likewise all laudable improvement, are in danger of being totally extirpated. To what sneaking equivocations, to what wretched shifts and subterfuges, are men of excellent endowments forc'd to have recourse thro human frailty, merely to escape disgrace or starving? and this very frequently on the score of Metaphysical abstractions, or chimeras that never had any existence out of the hollow nozzles of waking dreamers. The consideration of these things, sufficiently express'd in the work it self, induc'd me to publish GLIDOPHORUS: that they of our modern times may, in the history of former ages, behold their own pictures drawn to the life; and learn the causes as well as the cure of their distemper, yet without expecting thanks or reward for the Physician. But excesses of a nature beyond those I have hitherto related, as endeavors to mob, if not even to worry men of learning and virtue, on account of their dissent from others in speculative opinions, made me write *the life of* HYPATIA. I was mov'd to undertake this work in a particular manner, by the unlawful and unchristian usage, that Mr. WHISTON receiv'd from Dr. SACHEVERELL, who wou'd needs forcibly thrust him

him out of the Church in the midst of ^{the} divine Service; tho the one fail'd of his attempt, and the other came off with no more harm, than being call'd *Rogue* by the pious old women, said to look like one by the sage Alms-men, and hooted (as I heard) by some boys instead of learning their Catechism. But Mr. WHISTON may (next to God's providence) thank the good nature of the English people for his preservation: for in some other parts of the world he had, upon much fewer threats and remonstrances from two Priests, not to speak of the pulling and haling of their officer, been torn to pieces for all his gown and his innocence. For the rest, there never was a story better attested than that of HYPATIA, whether you consider the authority of her contemporaries SYNESIUS, SOCRATES, PHILOSTORGIUS, and DAMASCIUS; which last, if not her schoolfellow, was certainly her father's scholar: or whether you consider the subsequent accounts of PHOTIUS, SUIDAS, HESYCHIUS, NICEPHORUS *Callistus*, NICEPHORUS *Gregoras*, and others; between whom there's scarce any variation, and not the least appearance of contradiction, either as to her inimitable character or her unparallel'd murder. I trouble not the Reader with what modern authors occasionally write to her advantage or discredit, since they can form no judgment but by the authorities I have us'd; and that every one therefore may do as much for himself, without being byass'd by the prepossessions or interested views of others.

III. MANGONEUTES, or the fourth *Dissertation*, I wrote in defense of another Treatise of mine, intitul'd NAZARENUS. For what design I compil'd this last, and what right I had to do it, is so fully set forth in the beginning of the first, that I need say but little of it here. The same apology holds good, as to my addressing *MANGONEUTES* to the Lord Bishop of London: who, I have reason to hope, will be as ready to procure me justice of those subjected to his government; as a Gentleman wou'd be sure to show his displeasure against a servant, that shou'd affront any man, for which he must be otherwise accountable himself. One of my Adversa-

12. See Mr. WHISTON's account of this affair in the *Political State* for the Month of February 1718-19.

ries has dedicated his book to his Lordship, another (not to insist here on the rest) is his domestic Chaplain; and consequently his servant, for all Mr. COLLIER wou'd make him the master, at least of a Layman. Both of 'em have not onely wilfully misrepresented; but directly bely'd me; particularly Dr. MANGEY, who not only in diverse instances makes me say things of which I never thought, but many things expressly contrary to what I have written, which must cause no small amazement to equitable readers; for as to others, who neither show themselves men if they will not hear both sides, nor Christians if they receive an accusation against any man without weighing his defense; for such, I say, I neglect their censure, as much as all others ought to despise them. That pragmatistical pertness, which is the individual concomitant of superficial reading; that nibbling at incidents, where solid argument wou'd break the teeth of smatterers; that railing which supplies the want of reason, and that malice which betrays the narrowness of Party, I leave to be collected from the examples I have mark'd: tho I have purposely overlook'd many more, being too mean for others or my own consideration; and a generous adversary wou'd think 'em unworthy his notice, were they all real mistakes. Nor wou'd I trouble the world with any kind of answer (having a nobler occupation for my thoughts and time) but as thereby a handle was given me, to add further proof and illustration to the subjects wherof I had been treating: for, as I hinted just now, I neither dreaded the judgement of such as wou'd read both sides; nor valu'd the opinion of such as might applaud my answers; without ever seeing my book. But Dr. MANGEY, over and above his eternal chicanery and scolding, has manifested such shameful ignorance in profane and sacred history; as was fit his Patron, for his own reputation, shou'd know, who might be impos'd upon by his assuming and confident air. This will appear, in the first place, by what I have reply'd to his positive assertion; *that I falsely said it was the constant and general belief of the Mahometans, that the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Alcoran, constituted the foundation of their religion, and that some of 'em therefore call'd it the RELIGION OF THE FOUR BOOKS.* The passages which I have here added to those in NAZARENUS, for proof of these facts, may probably be acceptable to the curious; as I know my apology for RELAND and others, about

favoring

favoring Mahometanism, will be so to the candid. But, in the second place, I know several Churches, where Orders wou'd be refus'd to any candidate for the Ministry, upon appearing no better acquainted with the origin of the word *Nazaren*, than the Doctor, without laying any stress on his visions touching the history of the *Nazarens*. It is in effect to be so far ignorant of the history of *JESUS of Nazareth*, which, one wou'd think, is no recommendable quality in a preacher of his *Gospel*. After not knowing, or not taking notice, that it was prophesied of *JESUS* *he shou'd be call'd a Nazaren*, he quibbles with me about stiling my book *N A Z A R E N U S*: whereas he pronounces *ex cathedra*, that *Nazareus* is the proper word; and that *Nazaren*, in the writings where it occurs, is rather owing to the negligence of transcribers, than the judgement of the author. I have on the contrary prov'd that *Nazaren* and *Nazarean* are originally and indifferently us'd for the self-same thing; whether the words relate to *JESUS* himself, or to those denominated from him. *Nazarean* is but once in *MATTHEW*, and *Nazaren* is three

Mat. 2. 23. times in *MARK*, as well as once in *LUKE*. *Nazarean* & 14. 67. appears often elsewhere in the *New Testament*, according to the analogy of the Hebrew word ¹³ *Nozeri*, as Luc. 4. 34. *Nazaren* is according to the Greek and Latin formations. In our English translation we rightly express both the words by the phrase *JESUS of Nazareth*, according to the reason given by *MATTHEW*, that *he shou'd be call'd a Nazaren* or *Nazarean* (it matters not which) from his dwelling in the City of *Nazareth*; and therefore where one writer says, *JESUS the Nazaren* or *the Nazarean*, the same or another says in other parallel places *JESUS from Nazareth*, than which there needs not a clearer demonstration. The Doctor will perhaps say, that his distinction regards the writings of the *Fathers*, to which I answer that the thing is the same, the promiscuous use of the words the same, in them as in the *New Testament*; even after *Nazaren* or *Nazarean* had chang'd its original idea, and become odious also to the Gentiles. *JEROM* in his Translation of the *N. T.* uses *Nazarean* but once, and *Nazaren* eighteen times. The indifferent use of the words was warranted by the Apostolical writings, of which I am sorry any

¹³ More properly *Notzeri*, as may be seen in the 10th Note on *MARGONEUTES*, pag. 368.

Doctor of Divinity shou'd be ignorant. He has farther recourse (as will be seen in MANGONEUTES) to a false or unscriptural derivation of the word, adopted by some moderns from the quaint conceits of certain venerable *Fathers*; and to support this criticism he quotes three or four writers, who visibly mean the *Old Testament Nazarites* or more properly *Nazirites*, whom in the same places they distinguish from the Christian *Nazarens* or *Nazareans*. Thus in the forg'd Letter of the no less forg'd LENTULUS, a president of Judea (forsooth) JESUS is represented ¹⁴ like a *Nazirite*, which I show he never was: and that consequently the Doctor's derivation of *Nazarean* from the ¹⁵ root of that word, and the allusions of others to it, are not merely precarious, but absolutely false. Haste will not permit me to make the remarks, that so naturally offer themselves, on some of his authors; among whom RICOLDUS (or RICHARD, if this name pleases better) is by the justly admir'd Dean of ¹⁶ Norwich, as well as by him, call'd *judicious*: by which I suppose the Dean meant less injudicious than such others, whose books are stuff'd with more fables and falsities, wherof nevertheless RICOLDUS has a competent share. One of his judicious arguments to prove the *Alcoran* not to be divine, is its being written in ¹⁷ verse; and then he denies that ever GOD spoke

¹⁴ Pili capitis ejus vinei coloris usque ad fundamentum aurium, sine radiatione et erecti, et a fundamento aurium usque ad humeros contorti ac lucidi, et ab humeris deorsum pendentes, bifido vertice dispositi in morem Nazaracorum.

¹⁵ He must mean נָזִיר *Nazar* to separate, tho he has not express'd it, *Separavit. whence* נָזִיר *a Nazirite or separated person; whereas the root of Nazareth, and consequently of Nazaren, is נָצַר to ward or preserve; from Custodivit. whence Nazareth, by reason of its strong situation on a hill,*

¹⁶ In the catalogue of Authors subjoin'd to his Life of MAHOMET and Letter to the Deists.

¹⁷ Neque stilum neque modum habet [*Alcoranum*] Legi divinae similem, aut convenientem; est enim stilo rhythmicum, et assentatione plenum—Videmus enim in divina scriptura Deum loquentem cum MOYSE et cum aliis prophetis, et nunquam rhythmis vel versibus loquentem. MOYSIS autem Legem et Evangelium dicit MAHOMETES a Deo esse, et Deum illos libros MOYSI et CHRISTO dedisse: sed hi non sunt metrici vel rhythmici, et nullus aliorum prophetarum qui divinam vocem audiverunt;

spoke in this manner to any of the Prophets, or that any of the books of these are in verse, which stile even Philosophers, according to him, scorn to use: not considering the numerous examples to the contrary in the *Old Testament*, wherof several considerable books, besides intire songs and fragments in some of the rest, are undeniably in verse; without dwelling upon EMPEDOCLES, and a great many other poetical Philosophers. RICOLDUS likewise denies that MAHOMET cou'd be a Prophet for all the world, of which he gives this judicious reason (to produce no more of his choice observations) that he wrote onely in ¹⁸ *Arabic*; forgetting or not knowing, that the *New Testament* was written onely in *Greek*. I repeat on this occasion what I said in the Preface to NAZARENUS, that *I take care in general, not to overburthen my reader with citations of any sort; contenting my self to prove or illustrate my allegations, by no more authorities than are necessary: tho I often abound with others, which I judge needless, or reserve against answerers.* This the event has sufficiently prov'd, and notwithstanding my second discharge, I have still no scanty provision, with respect to all the subjects I have handl'd. Doctor MANGEY may go on to call them *gleanings*, and others by their thread-bare phrase of *borrow'd learning*, I readily confess the charge: for I have glean'd and borrow'd them in three Universities wherof I have been actually a member, and in two others, where I have sojourn'd a considerable time for this very purpose, after the manner of the antient Philosophers; not to insist on those I have cursorily visited, nor all the pains I have taken out of them. I publish not these things out of vain glory, as every one may see; but in my own necessary vindication against the unfair or malicious suggestions of half-witted or half-learn'd Priestlings, who judge of others by themselves, the very worst rule that any can follow. 'Tis to the moderate, serious, and learned Divines, that I make my appeal; and not to such, who, tho they wou'd seem to know every thing, do in reality know very little. And

verunt, dicit Deum rythmicè locutum; quod et sapientes, et philosophi homines. dedignantur. *Confutatio Legis Saracenicae, cap. 4.*

¹⁸ Dicit [MAHOMETES] se prophetam esse universalem; sed tamen Alcoranum Arabicis literis a Deo datum esse, neque ullam aliam linguam se scire præter Arabicam. *Ibid. cap. 6.*

how

how shou'd they ? when they seldom or never study any thing, but spend the small time that is left 'em from hunting after benefices, and paying a servil court to such as can dispose of them, in reading or talking politics, in visiting or caballing, in learning the arts of dress or the language of the theatre, and in supplying the want of all theological accomplishments with atheological zeal. Nevertheless, their pretence of defending the CHURCH, when no body attacks it, is commonly but an artificial passion (if I may speak so) politically counterfeited to impose on the vulgar, to gratify turbulent Statesmen and Clergymen, or to serve for a cover to their own envious and detracting humor.

IV. Mr. WOTTON, tis true, no more than some others I may chance to mention, is not directly concern'd in the answers that were made to NAZARENUS; but the ¹⁹ piece he formerly wrote against me not requiring any reply in my own opinion, or in that of better judges, the few passages I have instanc'd out of it now, are onely intended as pertinent examples of what I was showing where I quoted them : namely, *that some persons will not allow any man to be commended on any score, who disagrees with them in certain particulars; that whom they oppose in any one thing, they think themselves oblig'd to oppose in all other things; and that there is nothing, however improbable or false, they will not say without shame or remorse, in order to lessen or blacken their adversary.* Thus they are at pains to make themselves ridiculous, and to open a large field of triumph to their Antagonists. In taking notice of what Dr. BRETT (a person of distinguish'd parts and great sedateness) has offer'd against NAZARENUS, in the preface to his treatise of *Tradition necessary to explain and interpret the holy Scriptures*, my intention was, besides my own apology, to defend the first and best Protestants, against certain half-profess or whole-disguis'd Papists, who are for restoring Priesthood, Sacrifice, and Altars, justly thrown out of the Church at the *Reformation*; together with the superlative notions of Spiritual Ministers, Oil, Chrism, a mixture of Water in the Sacramental cup,

19 *A Letter to EUSEBIA in answer to the LETTERS TO SERENA, printed for Mr. GOODWIN at the Queen's head, over against St. DUNSTON'S Church in Fleetstreet.*

Prayers

Prayers and Oblations for the Dead, private Confession and authoritative Absolution, gorgeous Buffets and other vain decorations, frequent Bowings and Crossings, Cuts and pictures in pray'r books, especially in the public Offices often representing legendary fables. Nor cou'd I forget their invalidating Christian ordinances, administer'd by persons not Episcopally ordain'd; their unchurching thus, and consequently unchristianing, the greater part of Protestants to gratify Papists. To these might be added, their rebelliously incroaching on the power of the Magistrate, by their pretended Independency of the Church on the State: and finally, their impiously setting themselves up instead of GOD, by claiming whatever was dedicated to his service tho ever so unwarrantably or idolatrously; as the restoration of the Churchlands (for example) in the times of Popery, which right was modestly pleaded by some of their predecessors, who never wanted a pretext for accumulating, to seize on the endowments for supporting the Heathen Temples and supplying the sacrifices of Demons. Too little has been said about these matters by some learned persons in high stations, of whom better things were expected; and they ought not to take it amiss if they are suspected of the same designs, till they act with more honesty and openness in this affair, or at least till they show a better countenance to those of their order that do so: for this Free and Protestant state will not suffer it self to be enslav'd, either by ambitious seducers or superstitious sophisters, under any pretence whatsoever. Our Governors are too clear sighted, to be cheated out of their senses, out of their power and interest, by English any more than by Italian Popery. My account of the LITURGY, publish'd by some of the new separatists, is mostly in the very words of the same, and no where differing from its sense. Dr. BRETT, by a very singular paradox, makes my referring people to the Law and to the Testimony, to the New Testament and to that alone for doctrine and discipline, to be a plot for undermining and blowing up Christianity. So I remember father PAUL (in one of his Letters) tells us, that the

Letter 25. POPE, complaining of *Fra FULGENTIO*, said, *that preaching of the Scriptures is a suspicious thing; and that he, who keeps close to the Scriptures, will ruin the Catholic faith.* In the very next Letter, the POPE's more explicit words of him were, *that indeed he made some good Sermons,*

Sermons, but bad ones withal; and that he insisted too much upon Scripture; which is a book, said the pretended head of Christians, to which if any keeps close, he will quite ruin the Catholic Faith. And for certain he will, I mean the faith so deem'd by the Church of Rome, and likewise all those fine things I have observ'd in the late-coin'd English Liturgy; for which there is not any color of warrant in the *New Testament*, whatever may be in the old *Fathers*. For this reason of advancing any thing as a part of Christianity, or besides or against the authority of the books of the *New Testament*, I have always declar'd (I go not about to deny it) a sovereign contempt for most of the *Fathers*; as well as for other very material causes, regarding their Integrity, their knowledge, and certain other disqualifying qualifications. Not above three of the *Grec Fathers* of the four first centuries (if I may strictly allow so many) knew any thing of the original Hebrew; and the *Latin Fathers*, no greater number excepted, understood as little either of that or the original *Grec*. Yet, in spite of common sense, these must be the best interpreters of *Scripture*; as the *Councils* made up of such, must be the fittest men to make unalterable decisions and Canons, with dire *anathemas* against all Dissenters, tho masters in Jerusalem and Athens. Those *Fathers* succeeded accordingly. For, by sounds, allusions, similes, accommodations, and such other precarious methods (as supposing the point in question, or arguing from erroneous concessions) without ever attending to the scope of the place, or the true import of the words of *Scripture*, they made any thing out of every thing, and every thing out of any thing. So fanciful people see what forms they please in the Clouds, and learn wise lessons out of the melodious sound of bells. This may do tolerably well still, in a preachment to daylaborers and old women; but will run some risk of examination, and be apt to occasion a little mirth, if us'd in books of Controversy, or in a *Sermon* before a learned auditory, except they be all in black cloaths. 'Tis mere illusion, errant sophistry to say (as we'll show in its due place) that the *Fathers* having liv'd nearer than we to the times of the Apostles, they are therefore better interpreters of *Scripture*. To what degree their authority reaches, is not agreed by their advocates. They are at least the best explainers of discipline and worship, according

to the reverend and learned Dr. HARE; who ²⁰ affirms that tho the Scripture be a perfect rule of faith, he must never have look'd into it, who's capable of thinking it a perfect rule of worship, I mean (says he) as to external worship and discipline: but he that will take the writings of the primitive Church (adds the same) as ²¹ A SUPPLEMENT TO THE SCRIPTURES in these points, cannot be at a loss to know what are the powers of Church-Governors, or what the obedience due to them. IGNATIUS alone may do well enough for this last darling particular.

page 128. Dr. MANGEY, after those he admires, thinks the doctrine of the Church the best comment upon Scripture, even as to points of faith: and Dr. BRETT does every where make the primitive Fathers not onely the best interpreters both of Faith and Discipline; but also necessary guides, without whose writings and traditions the New Testament it self wou'd be quite unintelligible. Notwithstanding these authorities, or those of much antienter and more sonorous names, I still retain the same dislike and disregard for the Fathers; for which I shall soon give reason sufficient, fact abundant, in the *Treatise of Tradition* which I mention in the 209th page of MANGO-NEUTES. I dare be pritty confident, I am not the man Dr. HARE had principally in his eye; when, occasionally mentioning the antient writers of the Church, he says that *those condemn who never read them; and therefore express so much content to excuse their ignorance.* Yet I can with great truth affirm, that, having been destin'd to the study of Theology (which I diligently prosecuted, till I arriv'd at the state of standing fast in that Liberty, wherewith CHRIST has made us free) I have, for my own or other men's sins, read all the Fathers ascrib'd to the three first centuries with much application, some of 'em more than once or twice; and that, besides the profess Historians, I have look'd not perfunctorily for as many other centuries into the rest, who deviated more and more from the simplicity of the Gospel, tho some of 'em exceded the Learning of their predecessors. This

²⁰ CHURCH-AUTHORITY VINDICATED, in a *visitation Sermon* preach'd at Putney, May 5, 1719: page 29. *prim. edit.*

²¹ This puts me in mind of the CODICIL in the Tale of a Tub.

is so farr from being said out of any ostentation, that many on the contrary, who are no ill judges of men or things, will apply the words of the Apostle PAUL to me; that if *I must needs glory, I will glory of the things, which concern mine infirmities.* Now let the study of the *Fathers* be disreputable or otherwise, since Doctors differ as they say: tis undoubtedly for understanding them too well (at least in my own opinion, which is the most that any one has for his reading) and not for having neglected to peruse their writings, assisted by all necessary helps, that I entertain so mean an opinion of them, either as good interpreters of the *Scripture*, or as sure guides in *Religion*. Dr. BRETT seems to acknowledge so much, when he says, that *I made a difficulty of matters, thro want of will rather than want of light.* Consonant to this verdict pronounces Mr. WOTTON, tho not with mere respect to the *Fathers*, *It seems by those Letters* (speaking of those to SERENA) *that he knows where the truth lyes in every particular; and if that will not convince him, how can I?* How indeed? For I assure him, that I shall strait veil my bonnet to TRUTH, wherever she appears to me as such: and that in those *Letters* I asserted nothing, but what I maturely concluded to be true. I wou'd desire Dr. HARE and Dr. BRETT to believe the same thing of me, in what concerns my judgment of the *Fathers*: for I shall never be damn'd for wilful ignorance, however I may be mistaken after my best endeavors, which may as well be their own case. But I will never allow that I am actually mistaken, because I possibly may be so: which is the silly sophism of the Sceptics, on the one hand; and, on the other, of such as wou'd dogmatically subject REASON to AUTHORITY.

2 Cor. 11.
39.
Pref.
Page 16.

Ubi supra
Page 13.

V. I MADE an appeal before, and I make one here again, to all moderate, serious, and learned Divines not byass'd, whether I have ever shown by any of my writings that I am an enemy to Religion, tho avowedly so to Superstition. Religion pure and perfect, as it was originally taught, without the corrupt additions and alterations of ignorant or interested persons, I both profess and recommend, as will appear (to referr to no other books) from the conclusion of this very volum. I never wrote a syllable against any one Article of the *Church of England* in particular, tho several of my accusers have broach'd

many odd or perillous whimsies against most of them; as if they claim'd a privilege to say any thing tho ever so extravagant, and that others may not say what in duty they ought. O but you are an enemy to *Priests*, say their implicit tools: and I answer, that *Christian priests* in the literal sense I acknowledge none, nor any other *Sacrifices* but those of prayer and thanksgiving, offer'd on the *Altar* of the heart; whether by every one in private, or by all in public, devoutly joining with the person who makes a common prayer in their name, be it conceiv'd or a set form. Such Pastors, such Ministers of the Congregation, lawfully ordain'd to this function and duely qualify'd, exclusively of all confusion in the public worship, tho every Christian be figuratively both a king and a priest, I respect and highly approve. So I do also approve of *National Churches*, with which I hold *tolerated Churches* to be very consistent; tho under no incapacities in civil affairs, *Persecution* (which is suffering of any degree or kind on the account of mere opinion) not being from GOD, but the certain mark of a false Church, at least in this point. The sworn enemies to these free sentiments, who set up for Priesthood properly so call'd, are they who decry every man, that gives fair warning of the Dominion they are laboring to erect, or that manfully opposes it. To the designs of these adversaries of civil and religious Liberty, I frankly declare my self an enemy. Nor do I wonder they shou'd pretend Religion, or the Church to be in danger, *to the end that all men*, as has been by some body justly observ'd, *may be thus like so many soldiers listed in their cause: whereas, if they shou'd their private interest, few or none wou'd venture in their quarrel.* He's a Heretic that presumes to differ from them about any thing, and he that along with them will not halloo the Heretic they have made, run down his doctrine without knowing it, misrepresent his reasons or suppress them, attribute to him the worst of consequences tho absolutely disown'd, and make him pass for a man of loose actions or impious notions: he, I say, that will not join in this cry, is presently himself suspected, his reputation is blasted; as one that does not favor their projects, and whose equity or moderation exposes their conduct. They are conscious of their own artifices, and so much haunted by their guilt, that they find themselves where they were never put. If a Man does but compile a political Romance, built altogether upon Heathen ideas, and most of in the

the very terms of the antients; they presently imagine that their *Palladium* is stol'n and profan'd by some new U-
 LYSSES, who designs to subvert their Troy. They de-
 claim against human reason, not, as they hypocritically
 pretend, to make me: submit to GOD's word, which
 reason will always persuade; but to subject them to their
 own authority, and arbitrarily to dispose of their belief.
 When once their disciples are brought to this pitch of obe-
 dience, they are then taught, *not to mind so much in mat-
 ters of Religion what is said, as who it is that says it;*
 which maxim was impudently defended by Father
²² STAPLETON, and is practically countenanc'd by some
 nominal Protestants. Hence that magisterial air they as-
 sume, as if they were another species of men. Briefly,
 I oppose no Ecclesiastics among us, but such as in all re-
 gards resemble those of the West Indians. *Their Powaws
 or Priests* (says the reverend ²³ Mr. NEAL) *are a subtle
 generation of men, ambitious, cruel, greedy of riches, grasp-
 ing at an absolute power and dominion over the people, from
 whom they require a profound respect and reverence; as per-
 sons who have a familiar acquaintance with the Deity, and
 who, by their blessings and cursings, can make men happy
 or miserable in a future state.* Let Mr. LEWIS, who,
 in his *Historical Essay upon the Consecration of Churches*, Pref. page
 calls me *the great Advocate of Mahomet and Presbytery* ^{22.}
 (as another of the sanctify'd Buffoons and Merry Andrews
 gives me the title of *Mahomet's Solicitor General*) let him
 and his fellows say, that this is *discharging my poison on* Ibid.
the Clergy; the contrary will be evident to all that can dis-
 tinguish between the good and the bad, the sober and the
 debauch'd, the pious and the wicked, the learned and the
 ignorant, the Pastor and the Priest, the Protestant and the
 Papist, the friends of the Government and its enemies.
 They are in reality the most venomous antagonists of the
Church of England that I oppose, however some of 'em
 may conceal themselves under her mantle, that they may
 have the better opportunity of stinging her to death.

In loca Serpentum nos venimus.

The aim of these in dispute, is not to reclaim but to de-

²² In doctrina Religionis non quid dicatur, sed quis loquatur, attendendum est. *Defens. Ecclesiastic. autoritat. lib. 3. cap. 7. & Demonstrat. principior. doctrinal. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

²³ *History of New-England, vol. 1. page 55.*

stroy: instead of a lance to cure, they bring a dagger to kill. As for any clamor they may raise, I shall not be in the least disquieted about it, seldom letting any of their flowers be lost: tis what I expect of course, and a diversion to which I am tolerably well accusom'd. Neither do I value any company or assembly of such persons, when I perceive no reason to fear any one of them singly, or to be shy of coping with him. The contrary disposition wou'd be to think, that a club of artificers jointly cou'd finish some extraordinary piece of work, when every one of 'em severally was a ²⁴ bungler. Tis long since I have made it a maxim to my self, that *as ERROR and FALSHOOD may be confuted as well by one man, as by one thousand; so REASON and TRUTH have no more to fear from one thousand, than from one man.* So long as I obey the laws of my country, which shall ever be sacred to me, I have nothing to fear (how little soever I may get) for making what inquiries, discoveries, or improvements I may be able, whether in letters or otherwise: nor am I apprehensive that the ill offices of Bigots, who wou'd gladly make their opposers starve, according to their laudable custom in all ages, can be any obstruction to my fortune; as not being ambitious of either rank or title, nor desirous of any place or preferment. The vanity of such uncertain possessions I despise, as much as I abhor the dependence they unavoidably create. Let those who form other ideas of things, and who have not thoroly reflected on the caprices of fortune, suppose what they please; I wou'd not exchange that LIBERTY, for which I have been ever strenuously pleading on my own behalf, and that of my fellow creatures, for the highest dignities and distinctions in the world. NATURE IS CONTENT WITH A LITTLE, and he wants least who has fewest desires, or keeps the strongest control over his passions. Books and bread enough, with select company in an agreeable Retirement, give that solid satisfaction, which is fruitlessly expected from the scraping or hording of treasure, from solicitously counting or profusely spending it. Wherefore I prefer the innocent amusements of the country (where alone real pleasures are

24 An quidquam stultius, quàm, quos singulos, sicut operarios barbarosque, contemnas, eos aliquid putare esse universos? Cicero. *Tusc. Disput. lib. 5. cap. 36.*

best enjoy'd) its frugal but salubrious diet, the purity of the air, the charms of the earth and water, and the tranquillity of my walks unconfin'd as my thoughts, to all the pomp and delicate entertainments of the Court, to all the wealth and splendid hurry of the City.

Φοῖτα δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἐνθα διαροπῆα πικρὰ,
 Ἀλλοσε μὲν ραιδερίσιν ἐφελκομεν ὀ μαλακοῖσιν;
 Ἀλλοσε δ' αὖ πείρησιν ἐν ἡλιβαίοισι δισίχυναι,
 Ἀχεῖράϊην κορυφὴν μηλοσχοπὸν εἰσαγαβαίνων.

There I shall contribute my best endeavors for the good of mankind, and never do any thing to disturb the public peace, which is the nurse of the common welfare: for the *Peace* which the Deceivers mean, is a stupid and listless resignation of mens understanding to others, who undertake to think for them. For this reason these Undertakers are against all examination, lest their own thoughts shou'd be found bad or little worth; and so men shou'd not pay them wages to think for them, when they might think perhaps much better for themselves. The true Divine, who's ever as true a Patriot, acts quite the reverse of all this; appealing to mens understanding for the truth of whatever he proposes to their belief or practice; and constantly exhorting them to use their Reason, to stand in defence of their Religion and Liberty, against all spiritual or temporal usurpations. To draw towards a conclusion, I own as much as any one, that the abuse of a thing ought not to take away the use of it: tho an excess on the one hand, has often thrown people into an excess on the other hand. Nor is *Divinity* the only profession that has suffer'd in this manner, as may be learnt from the following old *Poem*; which tho very plain both in the stile and measure, is yet nicely epigrammatical, and contains a beautiful *Climax*.

The TRIPLE PLEA.

LAW, PHYSICK, and DIVINITY,

*Being in dispute, cou'd not agree
 To settle, which among them three
 Shou'd have the Superiority.*

*LAW pleads he does preserve man's lands,
 And all their goods from ravenous hands:*

Therefore

Therefore of right challenges be,

To have the Superiority.

*PHYSICK prescribes receipts for health,
Which men preferr before their wealth :*

Therefore of right challenges be,

To have the Superiority.

Then strait steps up the PRIEST demure,

Who of men's Souls takes care and cure :

Therefore of right challenges be,

To have the Superiority.

*If JUDGES end this TRIPLE PLEA,
The LAWYERS shall bear all the sway:*

If EMPIRICS their verdict give,

PHYSICIANS best of all will thrive.

If BISHOPS arbitrate the case,

The PRIESTS must have the bighest place.

If HONEST, SOBER, WISE MEN judge,

Then ALL THE THREE away may trudge.

For let men live in peace and love,

The LAWYERS tricks they need not prove.

Let them forbear excess and riot,

They need not feed on DOCTOR'S diet.

Let them attend what GOD does teach,

They need not care what PARSONS preach.

But if men FOOLS and KNAVES will be,

They'll be affe-ridden by ALL THREE.

I shall add no more, but that having intended to print the substance of the fourth *Dissertation* above a year since, together with the *Treatise of Tradition*, which last upon second thoughts is delay'd for some months; I judg'd the other wou'd come time enough, at the end of the three *Dissertations* which I now send into the world. With relation to the whole work, I have in the inner margin inserted the originals of all the citations of the first and last pieces; which, as to the second and third, cou'd not be done, without making the Notes near as large as the Text. But the places where they occur in the books, out of which I have extracted them, are so distinctly mark'd; that they will be readily found by any, who has a mind to verify them.

*From under an Elm in Bensbury (or CNEBEN's camp) on the West-
ren at the south end of Wimbledon Common. M.DCC.XX.*