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THE  
True Intellectual  
System of the  
UNIVERS



Engraving by Verelstede.

White Sculptor.

φέρει δὴ, πῶς ἂν τις μὴ θυμῷ λέγοι περὶ θεῶν ὡς εἰσὶν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ δὴ χαλεπῶς φέρειν  
 ἢ μισεῖν ἐκείνους οἱ τῶν ἡμῶν αἰῶνι τῶν λόγων γεγένηται ὡς γιγνόνται. Plato. L. u. de leg.



THE  
True Intellectual System  
OF THE  
UNIVERSE:  
THE FIRST PART;

WHEREIN,  
All the REASON and PHILOSOPHY  
Of ATHEISM is Confuted;

AND  
Its IMPOSSIBILITY Demonstrated.

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By R. CUDWORTH, D. D.

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*Origenes,*  
Γυμνάσιον τῆς ψυχῆς Ἡ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΗ ΣΟΦΙΑ,  
Τέλος δὲ Ἡ ΘΕΙΑ.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed for Richard Royston, Bookseller to His most  
Sacred MAJESTY, MDCLXXVIII.

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True Intellectual System

OF THE  
UNIVERSITY

THE FIRST PART

WHEREIN

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AND

Its IMPOSSIBILITY Demonstrated.

By R. C. BURNETT, D.D.

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LONDON,  
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Gracious Majesty, MDCCLXXVII.



To the Right Honourable

**H E N E A G E**

LORD FINCH, BARON of *Darventry*,

Lord High CHANCELLOUR of England,

and one of His MAJESTIE's most

*Honourable Privy Council.*

MY LORD,

**T**HE many Favours I have formerly Received from You, as they might justly challenge, whenever I had a fit opportunity, a Publick and Thankfull Acknowledgment; so have they encourag'd me at this time, to the Presumption of this Dedication to Your Lordship. Whom, as Your Perspicacious Wit, and Solid Judgment, together with Your Acquired Learning, render every way a most Accomplish'd and Desirable Patron; so did I persuade my self, that Your Hearty Affection to Religion, and Zeal for it, would make You not Unwilling, to take that into Your Protection, which is written wholly in the Defence thereof; so far forth, as its own Defects, or Miscarriages, should not render it incapable of

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*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

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the same. Nor can I think it probable, that in an Age of so much Debauchery, Scepticism, and Infidelity, an Undertaking of this kind, should be judged by You, Useless or Unseasonable. And now, having so fit an Opportunity, I could most willingly expatiate in the large Field of Your Lordship's Praises; both that I might doe an Act of *Justice* to Your self, and provoke others to Your Imitation. But I am sensible, that as no Eloquence, less then that of Your own, could be fit for such a Performance; so the Nobleness and Generosity of Your Spirit is such, that You take much more pleasure in Doing Praise-worthy things, then in Hearing the Repeated Echo's of them. Wherefore in stead of pursuing Encomiums, which would be the least pleasing to Your self, I shall Offer up my Prayers to Almighty God, for the Continuation of Your Lordship's Life and Health; That so His MAJESTY may long have such a Loyal Subject and Wise Counsellour; the Church of *England*, such a Worthy Patron; the High Court of Chancery, such an Oracle of Impartial Justice; and the whole Nation, such a Pattern of Vertue and Piety. Which shall ever be the Hearty Desire of,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Most Humble and

most Affectionate

Servant,

R. Cudworth.

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THE  
P R E F A C E  
T O  
THE READER.

**T**HOUGH, I confess, I have seldom taken any great pleasure, in reading other mens Apologies, yet must I at this time make some myself. First therefore, I acknowledge, that when I engag'd the Press, I intended onely a Discourse concerning Liberty and Necessity, or to speak out more plainly, Against the Fatall Necessity of all Actions and Events; which upon whatsoever Grounds or Principles maintain'd, will (as We Conceive) Serve The Design of Atheism, and Undermine Christianity, and all Religion; as taking away all Guilt and Blame, Punishments and Rewards, and plainly rendring a Day of Judgment, Ridiculous: And it is Evident that some have pursued it of late, in order to that End. But afterwards We consider'd, That this which is indeed a Controversy, concerning The True Intellectual System of the Universe, does, in the full Extent thereof, take in Other things; the Necessity of all Actions and Events being maintained by Several Persons, upon very Different Grounds, according to that Tripartite Fatalism, mentioned by us in the beginning of the First Chapter. For First, The Democritick Fate, is nothing but The Material Necessity of all things without a God: it supposing Senseless Matter, Necessarily Moved, to be the onely Original and Principle of all things: Which therefore is called by Epicurus, The Physiologick; by us, the Atheistick Fate. Besides which, The Divine Fate is also Bipartite; Some Theists supposing God, both to Decree and Doe all things in us, (Evil as well as Good) or by his Immediate Influence to Determine all Actions, and so make them alike Necessary to us. From whence it follows, That his Will is no way Regulated or Determined, by any Essentiall and Immutable Goodness, and Justice; or that he hath nothing of Morality in his Nature, he being onely Arbitrary Will Omnipotent. As also That all Good and Evil Morall, to us Creatures are

## The Preface

*meer Theticall or Positive things; νόμος, and not φύσις, by Law or Command onely, and not by Nature. This therefore may be called, The Divine Fate Immorall, and Violent. Again, There being other Divine Fatalists, who acknowledge such a Deity, as both suffers other things, besides it self, to Act, and hath an Essentiall Goodness and Justice in its Nature; and consequently, That there are things, Just and Unjust to us Naturally, and not by Law and Arbitrary Constitution onely; and yet nevertheless take away from men, all such Liberty, as might make them capable of Praise and Dispraise, Rewards and Punishments, and Objects of Distributive Justice: they conceiving Necessity to be Intrinsicall to the Nature of every thing, in the Actings of it; and nothing of Contingency to be found any-where; from whence it will follow, That nothing could possibly have been Otherwise, in the whole World, then it Is. And this may be called The Divine Fate Morall, (as the other Immorall,) and Naturall, (as the other Violent;) it being a Concatenation, or Implexed Series of Causes, all in themselves Necessary, depending upon a Deity Morall, (if we may so speak) that is, such as is Essentially Good, and Naturally Just, as the Head thereof; the First Contriver and Orderer of all. Which kind of Divine Fate, hath not onely been formerly asserted by the Stoicks, but also of late, by divers Modern Writers. Wherefore of the Three Fatalisms, or False Hypotheses of the Universe, mentioned in the beginning of this Book; One is Absolute Atheism: Another Immorall Theism, or Religion without any Naturall Justice and Morality: (all Just and Unjust, according to this Hypothesis, being meer Theticall or Factitious things, Made by Arbitrary Will and Command onely:) The Third and Last, such a Theism, as acknowledges not onely a God, or Omnipotent Understanding Being, but also Natural Justice and Morality, Founded in him, and Derived from him; nevertheless no Liberty from Necessity any-where, and therefore no Distributive or Retributive Justice in the World. Whereas these Three Things are, (as we conceive) the Fundamentals or Essentials of True Religion. First, That all things in the World, do not Float without a Head and Governour; but that there is a God, an Omnipotent Understanding Being, Presiding over all. Secondly, That this God being Essentially Good and Just, there is φύσις καλὴν καὶ δίκαιον, Something in its own Nature, Immutably and Eternally Just, and Unjust; and not by Arbitrary Will, Law, and Command onely. And Lastly, That there is Something ἐφ' ἑμῶν, or, That we are so far forth Principles or Masters of our own Actions, as to be Accountable to Justice for them, or to make us Guilty and Blame-worthy for what we doe Amiss, and to Deserve Punishment accordingly. Which Three Fundamentals*

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to the Reader.

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of Religion, are Intimated by the Author to the Hebrews, in these Words; He that Cometh to God, must Believe that He Is, and That He is a Rewarder of those who seek him out. For to Seek out God here, is nothing else, but to Seek a Participation of his Image, or the Recovery of that Nature and Life of his, which we have been Alienated from. And these Three Things, namely, That all things do not Float without a Head and Governour; but there is an Omnipotent Understanding Being Presiding over all: That this God, bath an Essentiall Goodness and Justice, and That the Differences of Good and Evil Morall, Honest and Dishonest, are not by meer Will and Law onely, but by Nature; and consequently, That the Deity cannot Act, Influence, and Necessitate men, to such things as are in their Own Nature, Evil: and Lastly, That Necessity is not Intrinsicall to the Nature of every thing; But that men have such a Liberty, or Power over their own Actions, as may render them Accountable for the same, and Blame-worthy when they doe Amis; and consequently, That there is a Justice Distributive of Rewards and Punishments, running through the World; I say, These Three, (which are the most Important Things, that the Mind of man can employ it self upon) taken all together, make up the Wholeness and Entireness of that, which is here called by us, The True Intellectual System of the Universe; in such a Sense, as Atheism may be called, a False System thereof: The Word Intellectual, being added, to distinguish it from the other, Vulgarly so called, Systems of the World, (that is, the Visible and Corporeal World) the Ptolemaick, Tychonick, and Copernican; the Two Former of which, are now commonly accounted False, the Latter True. And thus our Prospekt being now Enlarged, into a Threefold Fatalism, or Spurious and False Hypothesis of the Intellectual System, making all things Necessary upon several Grounds; We accordingly Designed the Contutation of them all, in Three Several Books. The First, Against Atheism, (which is the Democritick Fate) wherein all the Reason and Philosophy thereof is Refelled, and the Existence of a God Demonstrated; and so that  $\delta\lambda\upsilon\kappa\eta\ \alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\eta\mu\iota$ , or Material Necessity of all things, Overthrown. The Second, For such a God as is not meer Arbitrary Will Omnipotent, Decreeing, Doing, and Necessitating all Actions, Evil as well as Good; but Essentially Moral, Good and Just; and For a Natural Discrimen Honestorum & Turpium; whereby another Ground of the Necessity of all Humane Actions will be Removed. And the Third and Last, Against Necessity Intrinsicall and Essentiall to all Action; and for such a Liberty, or Sui-Potestas, in Rational Creatures, as may render them Accountable, capable of Rewards and Punishments, and so Objects of Distributive or Retributive Justice:

by

## The Preface

by which the now onely remaining Ground, of the Fatal Necessity of all Actions and Events, will be Taken away. And all these Three under that One General Title, of The True Intellectual System of the Universe. Each Book having besides, its own Particular Title: as, Against Atheism; For Natural Justice and Morality, Founded in the Deity; For Liberty from Necessity, and a Distributive Justice of Rewards and Punishments in the World. And this we conceive may fully satisfy, concerning our General Title, all those, who are not extremely Criticall or Captious, at least as many of them as have ever heard of the Astronomical Systems of the World: so that they will not think us hereby Obliged, to Treat of the Hierarchy of Angels, and of all the Several Species of Animals, Vegetables, and Minerals, &c. that is, to write De Omni Ente, of whatsoever is Contained within The Complexion of the Universe. Though the Whole Scale of Entity is here also taken notice of; and the General Ranks of Substantiall Beings, below the Deity, (or Trinity of Divine Hypostases) Consider'd: which yet, according to our Philosophy, are but Two; Souls of several Degrees, (Angels themselves being included within that Number) and Body or Matter: as also the Immortality of those Souls Proved. Which notwithstanding is Suggested by us, onely to Satisfy some mens Curiosity. Nevertheless we confess that this General Title, might well have been here spared by us, and this Volume have been Presented to the Reader's View, not as a Part or Piece, but a Whole Compleat and Entire thing by it self, had it not been for Two Reasons; First, Our beginning with those Three Fatalisms, or False Hypotheses of the Intellectual System, and Promising a Confutation of them all, then when we thought to have brought them within the Compass of One Volume; and Secondly, Every other Page's, throughout this whole Volume, accordingly bearing the Inscription, of Book the First, upon the Head thereof. This is therefore that which in the First place, we here Apologize for, our Publishing One Part or Book alone by it self; We being surprized in the Length thereof; Whereas we had otherwise Intended Two more along with it. Notwithstanding which, there is no Reason, why this Volume should therefore be thought Imperfect and Incomplete, because it hath not All the Three Things at first Designed by us; it containing All that belongeth to its own Particular Title and Subject, and being in that respect no Piece, but a Whole. This indeed must needs beget an Expectation, of the Two following Treatises, (especially in such as shall have receiv'd any Satisfaction from this First;) concerning those Two other Fatalisms, or False Hypotheses mentioned; to make up our Whole Intellectual System Compleat: The One, to Prove, That God is not meer Arbitrary Will Omnipotent; (without any Essential Goodness and Justice) Decreeing

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to the Reader.

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ing and Doing all things in the World, as well Evil as Good; and thereby making them alike Necessary to us; from whence it would follow, that all Good and Evil Moral, are meer Thetical, Positive, and Arbitrary things, that is, not Nature, but Will; Which is the Defence of Natural, Eternal, and Immutable Justice, or Morality: The Other, That Necessity is not Intrinsicall to the Nature of Every thing, God and all Creatures, or Essentiall to all Action; but, That there is Something ἐπ' ἡμῶν, or, That we have some Liberty, or Power over our own Actions: Which is the Defence of a Distributive or Retributive Justice, dispensing Rewards and Punishments throughout the whole World. Wherefore we think fit here to advertize the Reader concerning these, That though they were, and still are, really intended by us; yet the Compleat Finishing and Publication of them, will notwithstanding depend upon many Contingencies; not onely of our Life and Health, the Latter of which, as well as the Former, is to us very Uncertain; but also of our Leisure, or Vacancy from other Necessary Employments.

In the next place, We must Apologize also, for the Fourth Chapter; inasmuch as, though in regard of its Length, it might rather be called a Book, than a Chapter; yet it doth not Answer all the Contents Prefixed to it. Here therefore must we again, confess our selves Surprized; who when we wrote those Contents, did not suspect in the least, but that we should have Satisfied them all within a lesser Compass. And our Design then was, besides Answering the Objection, against the Naturality of the Idea of God, from the Pagan Polytheism, (we having then so fit an Occasion) to give such a further Account of the Idolatry and Religion of the Gentiles, as might prepare our way for a Defence of Christianity, to be subjoyned in the Close: it being not onely agreeable to the Sense of Ancient Doctors, but also expressly declared in the Scripture, That One Design of Christianity, was to abolish and extirpate the Pagan Polytheism and Idolatry. And our Reasons for this Intended Defence of Christianity, were. First; Because we had Observed, that some Professed Opposers of Atheism, had either incurred a Suspicion, or at least suffered under the Imputation, of being meer Theists, or Natural Religionists onely, and no hearty Believers of Christianity, or Friends to Revealed Religion. From which either Suspicion or Imputation therefore, we thought it Justice to free our selves, we having so Unshaken a Belief, and firm Assurance, of the Truth of the whole Christian Doctrine. But, Secondly and Principally; Because we had further Observed it, to have been the Method of our Modern Atheists, to make their First Assault against Christianity, as thinking that to be the most Vulnerable; and that it would be an easy Step for them from thence, to Demolish all Religion, and

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Theism.

## The Preface

Theism. However, since the Satisfying the Former Part of those Contents, had already taken up so much Room, that the Pursuit of the Remainder, would have quite Excluded, our principally Intended Contutation of all the Atheitick Grounds; the forementioned Objection being now sufficiently Answered; there was a necessity, that we should there break off, and leave the further Account of the Pagan Idolatry and Religion, together with our Defence of Christianity, to some other more convenient Opportunity.

And now we shall Exhibit to the Reader's view, a Brief and General Synopsis, of the whole following Work, together with some Particular Reflexions upon several Parts thereof; either for his better Information concerning them, or for their Vindication: some of which therefore, will be of greater Use, after the Book has been read, than before. The First Chapter, is an Account of the Atomick Physioly, as made the Foundation of the Democritick Fate. Where the Reader is to understand, that this Democritick Fate, which is One of the Three False Hypotheses of the Intellectual System, there Mentioned, is the very Self-same thing with the Atomick Atheism; the onely Form of Atheism, that hath publickly appeared upon the Stage, as an Entire Philosophick System; or hath indeed been much taken notice of in the World, for these Two Thousand years past. For, Though it be true, That Epicurus, (who was also an Atomick Atheist, (as is afterwards declared) having, in all probability, therefore a Mind to Innovate Something, that he might not seem to have borrowed all from Democritus,) did by violence introduce Liberty of Will, into his Hypothesis; for the Salving whereof, he ridiculously devized, That his Third Motion of Atoms, called by Lucretius,

Exiguum Clinamen Principiorum:

Yet was this, as Cicero long since observed, a most Heterogeneous Patch, or Assumentum of his, and altogether as Contradictious to the Tenour of his own Principles, as it was to the Doctrine of Democritus himself. There can be nothing more Absurd, then for an Atheist to assert Liberty of Will: but it is most of all Absurd, for an Atomick One. And therefore our Modern Atheists do here plainly disclaim Epicurus, (though otherwise so much Admired by them;) and declare open War against this Liberty of Will: they Apprehending that it would unavoidably Introduce Incorporeal Substance; as also well Knowing, that Necessity, on the contrary, Effectually overthrows all Religion; it taking away Guilt and Blame, Punishments and Rewards; to which might be added also, Prayers and Devotions.

And as there was a necessity for us here, to give some Account of that

Ancient

to the Reader.

Ancient Atomick Physiology, with which Atheism now became thus Blended and Complicated; so do we in this First Chapter, chiefly insist upon Two things concerning it. First, That it was no Invention of Democritus nor Leucippus, but of much greater Antiquity: not onely from that Tradition transmitted by Posidonius the Stoick, That it derived its Original from one Moschus a Phœnician, who lived before the Trojan Wars, (which plainly makes it to have been Mosaicall;) but also from Aristotle's Affirmation, That the greater part of the Ancient Philosophers entertained this Hypothesis; and further because it is certain, that divers of the Italicks, and particularly Empedocles, before Democritus, Physiologized Atomically: which is the Reason, he was so much applauded by Lucretius. Besides which, it is more then a Presumption, that Anaxagoras his Homœomery or Similar Atomology, was but a Degeneration from the True and Genuine Atomology of the Ancient Italicks, that was an Anomœomery, or Doctrine of Dissimilar and Unqualified Atoms. Wherefore all that is True concerning Democritus and Leucippus, is onely this, That these men were indeed, the First Atheizers of this Ancient Atomick Physiology, or the Inventors and Broachers of the Atomick Atheism. Which is Laërtius his True meaning, (though it be not commonly understood,) when he recordeth of them, that they were the First, who made Unqualified Atoms, the Principles of all things in the Universe without exception; that is, not onely of Inanimate Bodies, (as the other Ancient Religious Atomists, the Italicks, before had done) but also of Soul and Mind.

And whereas we conceive this Atomick Physiology, as to the Essentials thereof, to be Unquestionably True, viz. That the onely Principles of Bodies, are Magnitude, Figure, Site, Motion, and Rest; and that the Qualities and Forms of Inanimate Bodies, are Really nothing, but several Combinations of these, Causing several Phancies in us: (Which excellent Discovery therefore, so long agoe made, is a Notable Instance of the Wit and Sagacity of the Ancients:) So do we in the Next place, make it manifest, that this Atomick Physiology rightly understood, is so far from being either the Mother or Nurse of Atheism, or any ways Favourable thereunto, (as is Vulgarly supposed;) that it is indeed, the most directly Opposite to it of any, and the greatest Defence against the same. For, First, we have Discovered, That the Principle, upon which this Atomology is Founded, and from whence it Sprung, was no other then this, Nothing out of Nothing, in the True Sense thereof; or, That Nothing can be Caused by Nothing: from whence it was concluded, that in Natural Generations, there was no new Real Entity produced, which was not before: the Genuine Consequence whereof was Two-fold;

## The Preface

*That the Qualities and Forms of Inanimate Bodies, are no Entities Really distinct from the Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion of Parts; and, That Souls are Substances Incorporeal, not Generated out of Matter. Where we have shewed, That the Pythagorick Doctrine, of the Præ-Existence of Souls, was founded upon the very same Principle, with the Atomick Physiology. And it is from this very Principle rightly understood, that Ourselves afterwards, undertake to Demonstrate, The Absolute Impossibility of all Atheism. Moreover, we have made it undeniably Evident, That the Intrinsic Constitution of this Atomick Physiology also is such, as that whosoever admits it, and rightly understands it, must needs acknowledge Incorporeal Substance; which is the Absolute Overthrow of Atheism. And from hence alone, is it certain to us, without any Testimonies from Antiquity, that Democritus and Leucippus, could not possibly be the First Inventors of this Philosophy, they either not rightly Understanding it, or else wilfully Depraving the same: and the Atomick Atheism, being Really nothing else, but a Rape committed upon the Atomick Physiology. For which Reason, we do by no means here Applaud Plato, nor Aristotle, in their Rejecting this most Ancient Atomick Physiology, and Introducing again, that Unintelligible First Matter, and those Exploded Qualities and Forms, into Philosophy. For though this were probably done by Plato, out of a Disgust and Prejudice against the Atomick Atheists, which made him not so well Consider nor Understand that Physiology; yet was he much disappointed of his Expectation herein; That Atomology which he Exploded, (rightly understood,) being really the Greatest Bulwark against Atheism; and on the contrary, Those Forms and Qualities which he Espoused, the Natural Seed thereof; they, besides their Unintelligible Darkness, bringing Something out of Nothing, in the Impossible Sense; which we shew to be, the Inlet of all Atheism. And thus in this First Chapter, have we not onely quite Disarmed Atheism of Atomicism, or shewed that the Latter, (rightly understood,) affordeth no manner of Shelter or Protection to the Former; But also made it manifest, that it is the greatest Bulwark and Defence against the same. Which is a thing afterwards further insisted on.*

*As to the Second Chapter, we have no more to say, but onely this; That here we took the Liberty, to Reveal the Arcane Mysteries of Atheism, and to Discover all its Pretended Grounds of Reason, that we could find anywhere suggested in Writings; those onely excepted, that are peculiar to the Hylozoick Form, (which is directly contrary to the Atomick;) and that to their best advantage too: nevertheless to this end, that these being afterwards, all Baffled and Confuted, Theism might by this means, Obtain the Greater and Juster Triumph over Atheism.*

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to the Reader.

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*In the Third Chapter, we thought it necessary, in order to a fuller Confutation of Atheism, to consider all the other Forms thereof, besides the Atomick. And here do we first of all, make a Discovery of a certain Form of Atheism, never before taken notice of, by any Modern Writers, which we call the Hylozoick: which notwithstanding, though it were long since started by Strato, in way of Opposition to the Democritick and Epicurean Hypothesis; yet because it afterwards slept in perfect Silence and Oblivion, should have been here by us passed by Silently; had we not had certain Knowledge of its being of late Awakened and Revived, by some, who were so sagacious, as plainly to perceive, that the Atomick Form could never doe their business, nor prove Defensible: and therefore would attempt to carry on this Cause of Atheism, in quite a different way, by the Life and Perception of Matter: as also that this in all probability, would ere long publicly appear upon the Stage, though not Bare-faced, but under a Disguize. Which Atheistick Hypothesis, is partly Confuted by us, in the Close of this Third Chapter, and partly in the Fifth.*

*In the next place, it being certain, that there had been other Philosophick Atheists in the world before those Atomicks, Epicurus and Democritus; we declare, out of Plato and Aristotle, what that most Ancient Atheistick Hypothesis was; namely, the Eduction of all things, even Life and Understanding it Self, out of Matter, in the way of Qualities; or as the Passions and Affections thereof, Generable and Corruptible. Which Form of Atheism is styled by us, not onely Hylopathian, but also Anaximandrian: however we grant some probability of that Opinion, That Anaximander held an Homœomery of Qualified Atoms, as Anaxagoras afterwards did; the difference between them being onely this, that the Latter asserted an Unmade Mind, whereas the Former Generated all Mind and Understanding, out of those Qualified Atoms, Hot and Cold, Moist and Dry, Compounded together: because we Judged this Difference not to be a sufficient Ground to multiply Forms of Atheism upon. And here do we give notice, of that strange kind of Religious Atheism, or Atheistick Theogonism, which asserted, not onely other Understanding Beings, Superiour to Men, called by them Gods; but also amongst those, one Supreme or Jupiter too; nevertheless Native, and Generated at First out of Night and Chaos, (that is, Senseless Matter) as also Mortal and Corruptible again into the same.*

*Besides which, there is yet a Fourth Atheistick Form taken notice of, out of the Writings of the Ancients, (though perhaps Junior to the rest, it seeming to be but the Corruption and Degeneration of Stoicism) which concluded the whole World, not to be an Animal, (as the Pagan*

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Theists

## The Preface

Theists then generally Supposed) but onely One Huge Plant or Vegetable, having an Artificial, Plantal, and Plaftick Nature; as its Highest Principle, Orderly difpofing the Whole, without any Mind or Understanding. And here have we fet down, the Agreement of all the Atheiftick Forms, (however differing fo much from one another) in this One General Principle, viz. That all Animality, Confcious Life and Understanding, is Generated out of Senfless Matter, and Corruptible again into it.

Wherefore in the Clofe of this Third Chapter, we infift Largely, upon an Artificial, Regular and Plaftick Nature, devoid of exprefs Knowledge and Understanding, as subordinate to the Deity: Chiefly in way of Confutation, of thofe Cosmo-Plaftick, and Hylozoick Atheifms. Though we had a further Design herein alfo, for the Defence of Theifm: forasmuch as without fuch a Nature, either God must be fupposed to Doe all things in the world Immediately, and to Form every Gnat and Fly, as it were with his own hands; which seemeth not fo Becoming of him, and would render his Providence, to Humane Apprehenfions, Laborious and Diftractious; or else the whole System of this Corporeal Universe, must result onely from Fortuitous Mechanifm, without the Direction of any Mind: which Hypothefis once admitted, would Unquestionably, by degrees, Supplant and Undermine all Theifm. And now from what we have declared, it may plainly appear, that this Digreffion of ours, concerning an Artificial, Regular and Plaftick Nature, (Subordinate to the Deity) is no Wen, or Excrefcency, in the Body of this Book; but a Natural and Neceffary Member thereof.

In the Fourth Chapter; After the Idea of God fully declared, (where we could not omit his Effential Goodnefs and Juftice, or (if we may fo call it) the Morality of the Deity; though that be a thing properly belonging to the Second Book, The Confutation of the Divine Fate Immoral) There is a large Account given of the Pagan Polytheifm; to fatisfy a very confiderable Objection, that lay in our way from thence, Against the Naturality of the Idea of God, as Including Onelinefs and Singularity in it. For had that, upon enquiry, been found True, which is fo commonly taken for granted, That the generality of the Pagan Nations, had constantly, Scattered their Devotions, amongst a multitude of Self-Exiftent, and Independent Deities, they acknowledging no One Sovereign Numen; This would much have Stumbled the Naturality of the Divine Idea. But now it being on the Contrary, clearly Proved, That the Pagan Theologers all along, acknowledged One Sovereign and Omnipotent Deity, from which all their other Gods were Generated or Created; we have thereby not onely Removed the forementioned Objection out of the way; but alfo Evinced, That the Generality of mankind, have

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to the Reader.

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have constantly had a certain Prolepsis or Anticipation in their Minds, concerning the Actual Existence of a God, according to the True Idea of him. And this was the rather done Fully and Carefully by us; because we had not met with it sufficiently performed before: A. Steuchus Eugubinus, having laboured most in this Subject: from whose profitable Industry though we shall no way detract; yet whosoever will compare, what he hath written, with ours, will find no Just Cause to think ours Superfluous and Unnecessary; much less, a Transcription out of his. In which, besides other things, there is no Account at all given, of the Many Pagan, Poetical and Political Gods, what they were; which is so great a part of our Performance, to prove them Really to have been, but the Polyonymy of one God. From whence it follows also, That the Pagan Religion, though sufficiently Faulty, yet was not altogether so Nonsensical, as the Atheists would represent it, out of design; that they might from thence infer, all Religion to be nothing but a meer Cheat and Imposture: they worshipping onely One Supreme God, in the several Manifestations of his Goodness, Power, and Providence throughout the World, together with his Inferiour Ministers. Nevertheless we cannot deny, that being once engaged in this Subject, we thought our Selves the more Concerned, to doe the business thoroughly and effectually, because of that Controversy lately Agitated, concerning Idolatry, (which cannot otherwise be Decided, then by giving a True Account of the Pagan Religion;) and the so Confident Affirmations of some, That none could possibly be Guilty of Idolatry, in the Scripture Sense, who Believed One God the Creator of the whole world: Whereas it is most certain on the contrary, that the Pagan Polytheism and Idolatry, consisted not in worshipping Many Creators, or Uncreateds, but in giving Religious Worship to Creatures, besides the Creator; they directing their Devotion, (as Athanasius plainly affirmeth of them,) ἐν ἀγνόησει, καὶ πολλοῖς γυντοῖς, To One Uncreated onely; but besides him, to many Created Gods. But as for the Polemick Management of this Controversy, concerning Idolatry, we leave it to other Learned Hands, that are already engaged in it.

Moreover, We have in this Fourth Chapter, largely Insisted also upon the Trinity. The Reason whereof was, Because it came in our way; and our Contents engaged us thereunto, in order to the giving a full Account of the Pagan Theology: it being certain, that the Platonicks and Pythagoreans at least, if not other Pagans also, had their Trinity, as well as Christians. And we could not well avoid, the Comparing of these Two together: Upon which Occasion we take notice of a Double Platonick Trinity; the One Spurious and Adulterated, of some latter Platonists; the Other True and Genuine, of Plato himself, Parmenides, and the Ancients. The Former of which, though it be Opposed by us to the Christian Trinity, and Con-

## The Preface

futed; yet betwixt the Latter and that, do we find a Wonderfull Correspondence: which is Largely Pursued, in the Platonick Christians Apology. Wherein notwithstanding, nothing must be lookt upon, as Dogmatically Asserted by us, but onely Offered, and Submitted to the Judgment of the Learned in these Matters; We confining our selves, in this Mysterious Point of the Holy Trinity, within the Compass of those its Three Essentials declared. First, That it is not a Trinity of meer Names and Words, or of Logical Notions onely: But of Persons or Hypostases. Secondly, That none of those Persons or Hypostases, are Creatures, but all Uncreated. And Lastly, That they are all Three, Truly and Really One God. Nevertheless we acknowledge, That we did therefore, the more Copiously insist upon this Argument, because of our then Designed, Defence of Christianity; we conceiving that this Parallelism, betwixt the Ancient or Genuine Platonick, and the Christian Trinity, might be of some use to satisfy those amongst us, who Boggle so much at the Trinity, and look upon it as the Choak-Pear of Christianity; when they shall find, that the Freest Wits amongst the Pagans, and the Best Philosophers, who had nothing of Superstition, to Determine them that way, were so far from being shy of such an Hypothesis, as that they were even Fond thereof. And that the Pagans had indeed such a Cabbala amongst them, (which some perhaps will yet hardly believe, notwithstanding all that we have said,) might be further convinced, from that memorable Relation in Plutarch, of Thespisus Solensis, who after he had been lookt upon as Dead for Three days, Reviving; Affirmed amongst other things, which he thought he saw or heard in the mean time in his Ecstasy, This, Of Three Gods in the Form of a Triangle, pouring in Streams into one another; Orpheus his Soul, being said to have arrived so far; accordingly as from the Testimonies of other Pagan Writers, we have proved, that a Trinity of Divine Hypostases, was a part of the Orphick Cabbala. True indeed, our Belief of the Holy Trinity, is Founded upon no Pagan Cabbala's, but onely Scripture Revelation: it being that which Christians are, or should be, all Baptized into: Nevertheless these things are Reasonably noted by us to this end; That that should not be made a Prejudice Against Christianity, and Revealed Religion; nor lookt upon as such an Affrightfull Bugbear or Mormo in it; which even Pagan Philosophers themselves, and those of the most Accomplished Intellectuals, and Uncaptivated Minds, though having neither Councils, nor Creeds, nor Scriptures; had so great a Propensity and Readiness to entertain, and such a Veneration for.

In this Fourth Chapter, We were necessitated by the Matter it self, to run out into Philology and Antiquity; as also in the other Parts of the Book, we do often give an Account, of the Doctrine of the Ancients: which however some Over-severe Philosophers, may look upon Fastidiously, or Underval-

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lue and Depreciate; yet, as we conceived it often Necessary, so possibly may the Variety thereof not be Ungratefull to others; and this Mixture of Philology, throughout the Whole, Sweeten and Allay the Severity of Philosophy to them: The main thing which the Book pretends to, in the mean time, being the Philosophy of Religion. But for our parts, we neither call Philology, nor yet Philosophy, our Mistress; but serve our selves of Either, as Occasion requireth.

As for the Last Chapter; Though it Promise onely a Confutation of all the Atheistick Grounds; yet do we therein also Demonstrate, the Absolute Impossibility of all Atheism, and the Actual Existence of a God. We say Demonstrate; not A Priori, which is Impossible and Contradictious; but by Necessary Inference, from Principles altogether Undeniable. For we can by no means grant to the Atheists; That there is no more, then a Probable Persuasion, or Opinion to be had, of the Existence of a God; without any Certain Knowledge or Science. Nevertheless it will not follow from hence, That whosoever shall Read these Demonstrations of ours, and Understand all the words of them, must therefore of Necessity, be presently Convinced, whether he will or no, and put out of all manner of Doubt or Hesitancy, concerning the Existence of a God. For we Believe That to be True, which some have Affirmed, That were there any Interest of Life, any Concernment of Appetite and Passion, against the Truth of Geometrical Theorems themselves; as of a Triangle's Having Three Angles Equall to Two Right; whereby mens Judgements might be Clouded and Bribed; Notwithstanding all the Demonstrations of them, many would remain, at least Sceptical about them. Wherefore meer Speculation, and Dry Mathematical Reason, in Minds Unpurified, and having a Contrary Interest of Carnality, and a heavy Load of Infidelity and Distrust sinking them down; cannot alone beget an Unshaken Confidence and Assurance of so High a Truth as this, The Existence of One Perfect Understanding Being, the Original of all things. As it is certain also on the contrary, That Minds Cleansed and Purged from Vice, may without Syllogisticall Reasonings, and Mathematical Demonstrations, have an Undoubted Assurance of the Existence of a God, according to that of the Philosopher; ἡ καθαρότης νοεῖ ἐν γνώσει τῆς ἀείωνου εἶναι, Purity Possesses men with an Assurance of the Best things: whether this Assurance be called a Vaticination or Divine Sagacity, (as it is by Plato and Aristotle) or Faith, as in the Scripture. For the Scripture-Faith, is not a meer Believing of Historical Things, and upon Inartificiall Arguments, or Testimonies onely; but a Certain Higher and Diviner Power in the Soul, that peculiarly Correspondeth with the Deity. Notwithstanding which, Knowledge or Science, added to this Faith, (according

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## The Preface

*ding to the Scripture Advice) will make it more Firm and Stedfast; and the better able to resist those Assaults of Sophistical Reasonings, that shall be made against it.*

*In this Fifth Chapter, as sometimes elsewhere, we thought Our selves concerned, in Defence of the Divine Wisdom, Goodness, and Perfection, against Atheists, to maintain, (with all the Ancient Philosophick Theists,) the Perfection of the Creation also; or that the Whole System of things taken all together, could not have been Better Made and Ordered then it is. And indeed, This Divine Goodness and Perfection, as Displaying and Manifesting it self in the Works of Nature and Providence, is supposed in Scripture, to be the very Foundation of our Christian Faith; when that is Defined, to be the Substance and Evidence Rerum Sperandarum; that is, Of Whatsoever is (by a Good man) to be hoped for. Notwithstanding which, it was far from our Intention, therefore to Conclude, That Nothing neither in Nature nor Providence, could be Otherwise then it is; or, That there is Nothing left to the Free Will and Choice of the Deity. And though we do in the Third Section, insist largely, upon that Ancient Pythagorick Cabbala, That Souls are always United to some Body or other; as also, That all Rationall and Intellectuall Creatures, consist of Soul and Body; and suggest several things, from Reason and Christian Antiquity, in favour of them both: yet would we not be Understood, to Dogmatize in either of them, but to Submit all to better Judgments.*

*Again, we shall here Advertise the Reader, (though we have Caution'd concerning it, in the Book it self) That in our Defence of Incorporeal Substance against the Atheists, However we thought our selves concerned, to say the utmost that possibly we could, in way of Vindication of the Ancients, who generally maintained it to be Unextended, (which to some seems an Absolute Impossibility;) yet we would not be supposed Ourselves, Dogmatically to Assert any more in this Point, then what all Incorporealists agree in, That there is a Substance Specifically distinct from Body; namely such, as Consisteth Not of Parts Separable from one another; and which can Penetrate Body; and Lastly, is Self-Active, and hath an Internal Energy, distinct from that of Locall Motion. (And thus much is undeniably Evinced, by the Arguments before proposed.) But whether this Substance, be altogether Unextended, or Extended otherwise then Body; we shall leave every man to make his own Judgment concerning it.*

*Furthermore, We think fit here to Suggest, That whereas throughout this Chapter and Whole Book, we constantly Oppose the Generation of Souls, that is, the Production of Life, Cogitation and Understanding, out of Dead and Senseless Matter; and assert all Souls to be as Substantiall as Matter*

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*it self; This is not done by us, out of any fond Addictedness to Pythagorick Whimsies, nor indeed out of a meer Partiall Regard to that Cause of Theism neither, which we were engaged in, (though we had great reason to be tender of that too;) but because we were enforced thereunto, by Dry Mathematicall Reason; it being as certain to us, as any thing in all Geometry, That Cogitation and Understanding, can never possibly Result out of Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, and Locall Motions, (which is all that ourselves can allow to Body) however Compounded together. Nor indeed in that other way of Qualities, is it better Conceivable, how they should emerge out of Hot and Cold, Moist and Dry, Thick and Thin; according to the Anaximandrian Atheism. And they who can persuade themselves of the Contrary, may Believe, That any thing may be Caused by any thing; upon which Supposition, we confess, it Impossible to us, to prove the Existence of a God, from the Phænomena.*

*In the Close of this Fifth Chapter; Because the Atheists do in the Last place Pretend, Theism and Religion to be Inconsistent with Civil Sovereignty; we were necessitated, briefly to Unravel and Confute, all the Atheistick Ethicks and Politicks, (Though this more properly belong to our Second Book Intended:) Where we make it plainly to appear, That the Atheists Artificiall and Factitious Justice, is Nothing but Will and Words; and That they give to Civil Sovereigns, no Right nor Authority at all, but onely Belluine Liberty, and Brutish Force. But on the contrary, as we Assert Justice and Obligation, not Made by Law and Commands, but in Nature; and Prove This, together with Conscience and Religion, to be the onely Basis of Civil Authority; so do we also maintain, all the Rights of Civil Sovereigns; giving both to Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar's; and to God, the things that are God's.*

*And now, having made all our Apologies and Reflexions, we have no more to adde, but onely the Retractation or Retraction of one Passage, Page 761. Where mentioning that Opinion of a Modern Atheistick Writer, That Cogitation is nothing else but Local Motion, we could not think Epicurus and Democritus to have sunk to such a Degree, either of Sottishness or Impudence, as this; whereas we found Cause afterwards, upon further Consideration, to Change our Opinion herein, Page 846. Forasmuch as when Epicurus Derived Liberty of Will in men, meerly from that Motion of Senseless Atoms Declining Uncertainly from the Perpendicular; it is Evident, that according to him, Volition it self must be really Local Motion. As indeed in the Democritick Fate, and Material Necessity of all things, it is Implied, That Humane Cogitations are but Mechanism and Motion. Notwithstanding which, both Democritus and Epicurus supposed, That the World was made without Cogitation, though by Local Motion. So*

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## The Preface to the Reader.

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*that the meaning of these Besotted Atheists, (if at least they had any meaning) seems to have been this, That all Cogitation is Really Nothing else but Local Motion; nevertbeles all Motion, not Cogitation; but onely in such and such Circumstances, or in Bodies so Modified.*

*And now we are not Ignorant, That some will be ready to condemn this whole Labour of ours, and of others in this Kind, Against Atheism, as altogether Useles and Superfluous; upon this Pretence, that an Atheist is a meer Chimæra, and there is no such thing any-where to be found in the World. And indeed we could heartily wish, upon that condition, that all this Labour of ours, were Superfluous and Useles. But as to Atheists, These so confident Exploders of them, are both Unskilled in the Monuments of Antiquity, and Unacquainted with the Present Age, they live in; others having found too great an Assurance, from their own Personal Converse, of the Reality of Them. Nevertbeles this Labour of ours, is not Intended onely for the Conversion of Downright and Professed Atheists, (of which there is but Little Hope, they being sunk into so great a degree of Sottishness;) but for the Confirmation of Weak, Staggering, and Scepticall Theists. And unless these Exploders of Atheists, will affirm also, that all men have constantly, an Unshaken Faith, and Belief of the Existence of a God, without the least mixture of Doubtfull Distrust, or Hesitancy, (which if it were so, the world could not possibly be so bad as now it is) they must needs Grant, such Endeavours as these, for the Confirming and Establishing of mens Minds in the Belief of a God, by Philosophick Reasons, in an Age so Philosophicall, not to be Superfluous and Useles.*

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## Imprimatur

Hic Liber, cui Titulus, *The True Intellectuall System of the Universe, &c.*

Maii 29.  
1671.

Sam. Parker, Reverend<sup>mo</sup> in  
Christo Patri ac Domino, Do-  
mino Gilberto, Divinâ Provi-  
dentiâ Archiep. Cantuar. à  
Sac. Dom.

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Place the Contents at the latter end of the Book.

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# Book I.

## CHAP. I.

1. *The Fatal Necessity of all Humane Actions and Events maintained upon three several Grounds, which are so many false Hypotheses of the Intellectual System of the Universe.* 2. *Concerning the Mathematical or Astrological Fate.* 3. *Concerning the Opinion of those who suppose a Fate superiour to the Highest Deity.* 4. *The Moderation of this Discourse.* 5. *The Atheistical Hypothesis or Democritical Fate, being founded upon the Atomical Physiology; the necessity of giving an Account of it, and that first briefly described.* 6. *The Antiquity of this Physiology, and the account which is given of it by Aristotle.* 7. *A clear and full record of the same Physiology in Plato that hath not been taken notice of.* 8. *That neither Democritus, nor Leucippus, nor Protagoras, nor any Atheists were the first Inventours of this Philosophy; and of the Necessity of being thoroughly acquainted with it, in order to the confutation of Atheism.* 9. *The Tradition of Posidonius the Stoick, that Mochus an ancient Phœnician was the first Inventour of the Atomical Physiology.* 10. *That this Mochus the Inventour of the Atomical Physiology was probably the same with Mochus the Physiologer in Jamblichus, with whose successours, Priests and Prophets, Pythagoras convers'd at Sidon.* 11. *Other Probabilities for this, that Pythagoras was acquainted with the Atomical Physiology.* 12. *That Pythagoras his Monads were Atoms.* 13. *Proved plainly that Empedocles, who was a Pythagorean, Physiologized Atomically.* 14. *The same further convinced from Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch & Stobæus.* 15. *That Anaxagoras was a spurious Atomist, or unskilful Imitatour of that Philosophy.* 16. *That Ecphantus the Pythagorean, Zenocrates, Heraclides, Diodorus and Metrodorus Chius were all ancient Asserters of the Atomical Physiology; together with Aristotle's Testimony that the ancient Physiologers generally went that way.* 17. *How Aristotle is to be reconciled with himself, and the credit of other Writers to be saved, who*

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*impute this Philosophy to Leucippus and Democritus; That they were the first Atheizers of it, or the Founders of that Philosophy which is Atheistically Atomical. 18. That the Atomists before Democritus were Asserters of a Deity and Substance Incorporeal. 19. A confutation of those Neotericks, who deny that Incorporeal Substance was ever asserted by any of the Ancients, and the Antiquity of that Doctrine proved from Plato, who himself professedly maintained it. 20. That Aristotle likewise asserted Incorporeal Substance. 21. That Epicurus endeavoured to confute this Opinion, as that which Plato and others of the Ancients had maintained. 22. That all those Philosophers who held the Immortality of the Soul and a Deity distinct from the World, held Incorporeal Substance, and that besides Thales, Pythagoras was a grand Champion for the same, who also asserted a Divine Triad. 23. Parmenides an Asserter of Incorporeal Substance, together with all those who maintained that all things did not flow, but something stand. 24. Empedocles vindicated from being either an Atheist or Corporealist at large. 25. Anaxagoras a plain Asserter of Incorporeal Substance. 26. Inferred that the Ancient Atomists before Democritus were both Theists and Incorporealists. 27. That there is not only no Inconsistency between Atomology and Theology, but also a Natural Cognation, proved from the Origine of the Atomical Physiology, and first a general account thereof. 28. A more particular account of the Origine of this Philosophy from that Principle of Reason, That in Nature, Nothing comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing. 29. That the same Principle which made the Ancients discard substantial Forms and Qualities, made them also to assert Incorporeal Substance. 30. That from the same Ground of Reason also they asserted the Immortality of Souls. 31. That the Doctrine of Preexistence and Transmigration of Souls had its original from hence also. 32. That the Ancients did not confine this to Humane Souls only, but extend it to all Souls and Lives whatsoever. 33. All this proved from Empedocles, who asserted the Preexistence as well as the Postexistence of all Souls upon that Ground. 34. A Censure of this Doctrine; that the Reason of it is irrefragable for the Post-eternity of all Humane Souls, and that the Hypothesis of the Creation of Humane Souls, which salves their Immortality without Preexistence, is Rational. 35. A new Hypothesis to salve the Incorporeity of the Souls of Brutes without their Postexistence and successive Transmigrations. 36. That this will not prejudice the Immortality of Humane Souls. 37. That the Empedoclean Hypothesis is more Rational than the Opinion of those that would make the Souls of Brutes Corporeal. 38. That the Constitution of the Atomical Physiology is such, that whosoever entertains it, and thoroughly understands it, must needs hold Incorporeal Substance, in five Particulars. 39. Two general Advantages of the Atomical or Mechanical Physiology; first that it renders the Corporeal World intelligible. 40. The second Advantage of it, that it prepares an easie and clear way for the Demonstration of Incorporeal Substance. 41. Concluded, That the ancient Moschical Philosophy consisted of two Parts, Atomical Physiology, and Theology or Pneumatology. 42. That this entire Philosophy was afterwards mangled and dismembred, some taking one part of it alone, and some the other. 43. That*

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43. That Leucippus and Democritus, being Atheistically inclined, took the Atomical Physiology endeavouring to make it subservient to Atheism, and upon what occasion they did it, and how unsuccessfully.
44. That Plato took the Theology and Pneumatology of the Ancients, but rejected their Atomical Physiology, and upon what accounts.
45. That Aristotle followed Plato herein, with a Commendation of Aristotle's Philosophy.



HEY that hold the Necessity of all humane Actions and Events, do it upon one or other of these two Grounds; Either because they suppose that Necessity is inwardly essential to all Agents whatsoever, and that Contingent Liberty is *πράγμα ἀνυπόστατον*, a Thing Impossible or Contradictious, which can have no Existence any where in Nature; The sense of which was thus expressed by the Epicurean Poet,

— *Quòd res quæque Necessum  
Intestinum habeat cunctis in rebus agendis, &c.*

That every thing Naturally labours under an Intestine Necessity: Or else, because though they admit Contingent Liberty not only as a thing Possible, but also as that which is actually Existent in the Deity, yet they conceive all things to be so determin'd by the Will and Decrees of this Deity, as that they are thereby made Necessary to us. The former of these two Opinions, that Contingent Liberty is *πράγμα ἀνυπόστατον*, such a Thing as can have no Existence in Nature, may be maintained upon two different Grounds; Either from such an Hypothesis as this, That the Universe is nothing else but Body, and Local motion, and Nothing moving it self, the Action of every Agent is determined by some other Agent without it; and therefore that *ὕλικὴ ἀνάγκη*, Material and Mechanical Necessity must needs reign over all things: Or else, though Cogitative Beings be supposed to have a certain Principle of Activity within themselves, yet that there can be no Contingency in their Actions, because all Volitions are determined by a Necessary antecedent Understanding.

Plotinus makes another Distribution of Fatalists, which yet in the Conclusion will come to the same with the Former, *διῆδες ἂν τις δέμῃ τῆς τέρας ἐν ἂν τῶ ἀληθῆς ἀπολυτέλει, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφ' ἐνός τινος τὰ πάντα ἀναρτῶσιν, οἱ ἕτεροι δὲ ἄνω.* A man (saith he) will not do amiss that will divide all Fatalists first into these two General Heads, namely, That they derive all things from One Principle, or Not; The former of which may be called Divine Fatalists, the latter Atheistical. Which Divine Fatalists he again subdivides into such as First make God by Immediate Influence to do all things in us; as in Animals the Members are not determined by themselves, but by that which is the Hegemonick in every one: And Secondly, such as make Fate to be an Implexed series or Concatenation of Causes, all in themselves Necessary, whereof God is the chief. The Former seems to be a Description of that

very Fate that is maintained by some *Neoterick* Christians ; the Latter is the Fate of the *Stoicks*.

Wherefore Fatalists that hold the Necessity of all Humane Actions and Events, may be reduced to these Three Heads ; First, such as asserting the Deity, suppose it irrespectively to Decree and Determine all things, and thereby make all Actions necessary to us ; Which kind of Fate, though Philosophers and other ancient Writers have not been altogether silent of it, yet it has been principally maintained by some *Neoterick* Christians, contrary to the Sence of the Ancient Church. Secondly, such as suppose a Deity, that acting Wisely, but Necessarily, did contrive the General Frame of things in the World ; from whence by a Series of Causes doth unavoidably result whatsoever is now done in it. Which Fate is a Concatenation of Causes, all in themselves Necessary, and is that which was asserted by the Ancient *Stoicks* *Zeno* and *Chrysippus*, whom the Jewish *Essenes* seemed to follow. And Lastly, such as hold the Material Necessity of all things without a Deity ; which Fate *Epicurus* calls τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἐμαρμηλίω, *The Fate of the Naturalists*, that is, indeed, the *Atheists*, the Assertors whereof may be called also the Democritical Fatalists. Which three Opinions concerning Fate, are so many several *Hypotheses* of the Intellectual System of the Universe. All which we shall here propose, endeavouring to shew the Falseness of them, and then substitute the true Mundane System in the Room of them.

II. The Mathematical or Astrological Fate so much talked of, as it is a thing no way considerable for the Grounds of it, so whatsoever it be, it must needs fall under one or other of those two General Heads in the *Plotinical* Distribution last mentioned, so as either to derive all things from one Principle, or Not. It seems to have had its first Emerision amongst the *Chaldeans*, from a certain kind of blind *Polytheism* (which is but a better sort of disguised Atheism) but it was afterwards Adopted and fondly nursed by the *Stoicks* in a way of subordination to their Divine Fate. For *Manilius*, *Firmicus* and other Masters of that Sect were great Promoters of it. And there was too much attributed to Astrology also, by those that were no Fatalists, both Heathen and Christian Philosophers, such as were *Plotinus*, *Origen*, *Simplicius* and others: Who though they did not make the Stars to necessitate all Humane Actions here below, yet they supposed that Divine Providence (fore-knowing all things) had contrived such a strange Coincidence of the Motions and Configurations of the Heavenly Bodies with such Actions here upon Earth, as that the former might be Prognosticks of the latter. Thus *Origen* determines that the Stars do not Make but Signifie; and that the Heavens are a kind of Divine Volume, in whose Characters they that are skilled, may read or spell out Humane Events. To the same purpose *Plotinus*, φέρεσθαι μὲν ταῦτα ἐπισημασθῆναι τῶν ὀραν, παρέχεσθαι ἢ καὶ ἀλλῶν χρείαν τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ ὡσπερ γράμματα βλέποντας τὰς τοιαύτως γεγραμμένους εἰδόντας ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν τὰ μέλλοντα ἐκ τῶν χημάτων καὶ τὸ ἀνάλογον μεθοδύοντας τὸ σημαίνον. ὡσπερ εἰ τις λέγοι ἐπειδὴ ὑψηλὸς ὄρεος σημαίνει ὑψηλὰς τινας πράξεις. *The Motion of the Stars was intended for the Physical Good of the*

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the whole; but they afford also another Use collaterally in order to Prognostication, namely that they who are skilled in the Grammar of the Heavens may be able from the several Configurations of the Stars, as it were Letters to spell out future Events, by making such Analogical Interpretations as they use to do in Augury: As when a Bird flies high, to interpret this of some High and Noble Exploit. And *Simplicius* in like manner, συμφωνός ἔστιν ἡ ἐπιπρομνήμη περιφορᾶ τῆς προσβολῆς τῆς ψυχῶν τῆ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐχομένη εἰς τὴν γένεσιν, ἢ ἀναστάξασα μὲν τοῖς τῶνδε ἀρέγασται ἢ τῶνδε, συμφωνοῦ ἢ ἕστα ἢ ἀεξέσται αὐτῆς. *The Fatal Conversion of the Heavens is made to correspond with the Production of Souls into Generation at such and such times, not Necessitating them to will this or that, but conspiring agreeably with such Appetites and Volitions of theirs.* And these Philosophers were the rather inclinable to this Perswasion from a Superstitious Conceit which they had, that the Stars being animated, were Intellectual Beings of a far higher Rank than Men. And since God did not make them, nor any thing else in the World, singly for themselves alone, but also to contribute to the Publick Good of the Universe, their Physical Influence seeming inconsiderable, they knew not well what else could be worthy of them, unless it were to portend Humane Events. This indeed is the best Sence that can be made of Astrological Prognostication; But it is a business that stands upon a very weak and tottering, if not Impossible Foundation.

III. There is another Wild and Extravagant Conceit which some of the Pagans had, who though they Verbally acknowledged a Deity, yet supposed a certain Fate superiour to it, and not only to all their other Petty Gods, but also to *Jupiter* himself. To which purpose is that of the Greek Poet, Latin'd by *Cicero*, *Quod fore paratum est id summum exuperat Jovem*; and that of *Herodotus*, τὴν πεπερωμένην μοῖραν ἀδυνατῆς ἔστι ἀπεφυγέειν ἢ τὰς θεῶν. *It is impossible for God himself to avoid the destin'd Fate*; and δ' ἔστι θεὸς ἀνάγκης, *God himself is a Servant of Necessity.* According to which Conceit, *Jupiter* in *Homer* laments his Condition, in that the Fates having determined that his beloved *Sarpedon* should be slain by the Son of *Menætius*, he was not able to withstand it. Though all these passages may not perhaps imply much more than what the Stoical Hypothesis it self imported; for that did also in some sence make God himself a Servant to the Necessity of the Matter, and to his own Decrees, in that he could not have made the smallest thing in the World otherwise than now it is, much less was able to alter any thing. According to that of *Seneca*, *Eadem Necessitas & Deos alligat. Irrevocabilis Divina pariter atque Humana cursus vehit. Ille ipse omnium Conditor ac Rector scripsit quidem Fata sed sequitur. Semper paret semel jussit. One and the same Chain of Necessity ties God and Men. The same irrevocable and unalterable Course carries on Divine and Humane things. The very Maker and Governour of all things that writ the Fates follows them. He did but once command but he always obeys.* But if there were this further meaning in the Passages before cited, that a Necessity without God, that was invincible by him, did determine his Will to all things; this was nothing but a certain Confused and Contradictious Jumble of Atheism and Theism both together; or an odd kind of Intimation, that however

Laet. l. i. c. ii.  
Lucian. Jupi-  
Confutatus.

the Name of God be used in compliance with Vulgar Speech and Opinion, yet indeed it signifies nothing, but Material Necessity; and the blind Motion of Matter is really the Highest *Numen* in the World. And here that of *Balbus* the Stoick in *Cicero* is opportune: *Non est Natura Dei Præpotens & Excellens, siquidem ea subjecta est ei vel Necessitati vel Naturæ quæ Cælum, Maria, Terraque reguntur. Nihil autem est præstantius Deo. Nulli igitur est Natura obediens aut subjectus Deus.* God would not be the most Powerful and Excellent Being, if he were subject to that either Necessity or Nature, by which the Heavens, Seas and Earth are governed. But the Notion of a God implies the most Excellent Being. Therefore God is not Obedient or Subject to any Nature.

IV. And now we think fit here to suggest, that however we shall oppose those three Fatalisms before mentioned, as so many false *Hypotheses* of the Mundane System and Oeconomy, and endeavour to exclude that severe Tyrannels (as *Epicurus* calls it) of Universal Necessity reigning over all, and to leave some Scope for Contingent Liberty to move up and down in, without which neither Rational Creatures can be blame worthy for any thing they do, nor God have any Object to display his Justice upon, nor indeed be justified in his Providence; Yet, as we vindicate to God the glory of all Good, so we do not quite banish the Notion of *Fate* neither, nor take away all Necessity; which is a thing the *Clazomenian* Philosopher of old was taxed for; Affirming *μηδὲν τῶν γινομένων γίνεσθαι καθ' ἐμαρμερίω, ἀλλὰ εἶναι κενὸν τὸ τῶνομα.* That Nothing at all was done by Fate, but that it was altogether a vain Name. And the *Sadduceans* among the Jews have been noted for the same: *τὴν μὲν ἐμαρμερίω ἀναίρεσιν ἔδδεν εἶναι ταύτῳ ἀξιόνητες, ἕτε κατ' αὐτῷ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τέλῃ λαμβάνειν, ἅπαντα ἢ ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πθέντες.* They take away all Fate, and will not allow it to be any thing at all, nor to have any Power over Humane Things, but put all things entirely into the hands of Mens own Free-Will. And some of our own, seem to have approached too near to this Extreme, attributing, perhaps, more to the Power of Free-Will, than either Religion or Nature will admit. But the *Hypothesis* that we shall recommend, as most agreeable to Truth, of a *περόνια ἰλάσιμῃ* Placable Providence, of a Deity Essentially Good, presiding over all, will avoid all Extremes, asserting to God the Glory of Good, and freeing him from the Blame of Evil; and leaving a certain proportionate Contemperation and Commixture of Contingency and Necessity both together in the World: As Nature requires a mixture of Motion and Rest, without either of which there could be no Generation. Which Temper was observed by several of the Ancients; as the Pharisaick Sect amongst the Jews who determined *τινὰ καὶ ἔτι πάντα τὰ ἐμαρμερίως εἶναι ἔργον, τινὰ ἢ ἐφ' ἐαυτοῖς ὑπάρχειν,* That some things and not all were the Effects of Fate, but some things were left in Mens own Power and Liberty. And also by *Plato* amongst the Philosophers, *πλάτων ἐθελε μὲν ἐμαρμερίω ἔπι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχῶν καὶ βίων, συνεισάγει ἢ καὶ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶς αἰτίαν.* *Plato* inserts something of Fate into Humane Lives and Actions, and he joyns with it Liberty of Will also. He doth indeed suppose Humane Souls to have within themselves the Causes of their own Changes to a Better or Worser State, & every where declares  
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God to be blameless for their Evils, and yet he somewhere makes the three Fatal Sisters notwithstanding, *Clotho*, *Lachesis* and *Atropos*, to be busie about them also. For according to the sense of the Ancients, Fate is a Servant of Divine Providence in the World, and takes place differently upon the different Actings of Free-willed Beings. And how Free a thing soever the Will of Man may seem to be, to some, yet I conceive it to be out of Question, that it may contract upon it self such Necessities and Fatalities, as it cannot upon a suddain rid it self of at pleasure. But whatsoever is said in the Sequel of this Discourse by way of Opposition to that Fatalism of the Neoterick Christians, is intended only to vindicate what was the constant Doctrine of the Christian Church in its greatest purity, (as shall be made manifest) and not to introduce any New-fangled conceit of our own.

V. We must now proceed to give a more full and perfect account of these three several Fates, or *Hypotheses* of the Mundane System before mentioned, together with the Grounds of them, beginning first with that which we Principally intend the Confutation of, the *Atheistical or Democritical Fate*. Which as it is a thing of the most dangerous Consequence of all, so it seems to be most spreading and infectious in these latter times.

Now this *Atheistical System* of the World that makes all things to be Materially and Mechanically Necessary, without a God, is built upon a peculiar Physiological *Hypothesis*, different from what hath been generally received for many Ages; which is called by some *Atomical or Corpuscular*, by others *Mechanical*: of which we must therefore needs give a full and Perfect Account. And we shall do it first in General, briefly, not descending to those minute Particularities of it, which are disputed amongst these Atomists themselves, in this manner.

The *Atomical Physiology* supposes that Body is nothing else but *διασπατόν ἀντίτυπον*, that is, *Extended Bulk*; and resolves therefore that nothing is to be attributed to it, but what is included in the Nature and *Idea* of it, *viz.* more or less Magnitude with Divisibility into Parts, Figure, and Position, together with Motion or Rest, but so as that no part of Body can ever Move it Self; but is alwaies moved by something else. And consequently it supposes that there is no need of any thing else besides these simple Elements of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion (which are all clearly intelligible as different Modes of extended Substance) to salve the Corporeal *Phænomena* by; and therefore, not of any Substantial Forms distinct from the Matter; nor of any other Qualities really existing in the Bodies without, besides the Results, or Aggregates of those simple Elements, and the Disposition of the Insensible Parts of Bodies in respect of Figure, Site and Motion; nor of any Intentional *species* or *shews*, propagated from the Objects to our Senses; nor, lastly, of any other kind of Motion or Action really distinct from Local Motion (such as Generation and Alteration) they being neither Intelligible, as Modes of extended Substance, nor any ways necessary. Forasmuch as the Forms and

Qualities

Qualities of Bodies may well be conceived, to be nothing but the Result of those simple Elements of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, variously compounded together; in the same manner as Syllables and Words in great variety result from the different Combinations and Conjunctions of a few Letters, or the simple Elements of Speech; and the Corporeal Part of Sensation, and particularly that of Vision, may be salv'd only by Local Motion of Bodies, that is, either by Corporeal *Effluvia* (called *Simulachra*, *Membrana* and *Exuvia*) streaming continually from the Surface of the Objects, or rather, as the later and more refined Atomists conceived, by Pressure made from the Object to the Eye, by means of Light in the *Medium*. So that ὡς διὰ βακίτης τῆς ταχέως ἀέρος τὸ βλέπετον ἀναγέμεται. The Sense taking Cognizance of the Object by the Subtle Interposed *Medium* that is tense and stretched, (thrusting every way from it upon the Optick Nerves) doth by that as it were by a Staff touch it. Again, Generation and Corruption may be sufficiently explained by Concretion and Secretion, or Local Motion, without Substantial Forms and Qualities. And lastly, those sensible *Ideas* of Light and Colours, Heat and Cold, Sweet and Bitter, as they are distinct things from the Figure, Site and Motion of the insensible Parts of Bodies, seem plainly to be nothing else but our own *Phantasies*, *Passions* and *Sensations* however they be vulgarly mistaken for Qualities in the Bodies without us.

VI. Thus much may suffice for a General Account of the Atomical Physiology. We shall in the next Place consider the Antiquity thereof, as also what notice *Aristotle* hath taken of it, and what Account he gives of the same. For though *Epicurus* went altogether this way, yet it is well known that he was not the first Inventor of it. But it is most commonly fathered on *Democritus*, who was Senior both to *Aristotle* and *Plato*, being reported to have been born the year after *Socrates*; from whose Fountains *Cicero* saith that *Epicurus* watered his Orchards, and of whom *Seneca*, *Empiricus* and *Laertius* testify that he did ἐκβάλλειν τὰς ποιότητας, cashier Qualities; and *Plutarch*, that he made the first Principles of the whole Universe ἀτόμους ἀπίους ἢ ἀπαθείς, Atoms devoid of all Qualities and Passions. But *Laertius* will have *Leucippus*, who was somewhat Senior to *Democritus*, to be the first Inventor of this Philosophy, though he wrote not so many Books concerning it as *Democritus* did. *Aristotle* who often takes notice of this Philosophy, and ascribes it commonly to *Leucippus* and *Democritus* jointly, gives us this description of it in his *Metaphysics*, ἄδύμπερον ἢ ἢ ὁ ἐταίρος αὐτῶν Δημόκριτος ἐπιχρεῖα μὲν τὸ πλήρες ἢ τὸ κενὸν εἶναι φασὶ λέγοντες οἷον τὸ μὲν ὄν τὸ ἢ μὴ ὄν, ἢ τὰς διαφορὰς αἰτίας τῶν ἄλλων φασὶ ταύτας μὲν τρεῖς, χῆμα τε ἢ τάξιν ἢ, δεῖσιν, διαφέρειν γὰρ τὸ ὄν ἐν σμῶν ἢ διαθιγῆ ἢ τροπῇ. *Leucippus and his Companion Democritus make the first Principles of all things to be Plenum and Vacuum (Body and Space) whereof one is Ens the other Non-ens, and the differences of Body, which are only Figure, Order and Position, to be the Causes of all other things. Which Differences they call by these Names Rysmus, Diathigte and Trope.* And in his Book *De Anima*, having declared that *Democritus* made Fire and the Soul to consist of Round Atoms, he describes those

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those Atoms of his after this manner, οἷον ἐν ταῖς ἀέρι τοῖς καλόμενα ξύμα-  
 τα ἐν ταῖς διὰ τῆς θουέιδαν ἀκτίσι ἐν τὴν πνευσερμίαν σιχῆα λέγει Δημόκριτος ἡ  
 ἄλλης φύσεως ὁμοίως ἢ ἐν Λευκιπποῦ. *They are (saith he) like those Ramenta or  
 dusty Particles which appear in the Sun-Beams, an Omnifarious Semina-  
 ry whereof Democritus makes to be the first Elements of the whole U-  
 niverse, and so doth Leucippus likewise.* Elsewhere the same Aristotle  
 tells us, that these two Philosophers explained Generation and Al-  
 teration without Forms and Qualities by Figures and Local Motion.  
 Δημόκριτος ἢ Λευκιππος ποιήσαντες τὰ χήματα τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν ἢ τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ  
 τῶν ποιῶν, διακρίσει μὲν ἢ συκρίσει γένεσιν ἢ φθορῶν, τάξει ἢ ἢ θέσει  
 ἀλλοίωσιν. *Democritus and Leucippus having made Figures, (or vari-  
 ously figured Atoms) the first Principles, make Generation and Altera-  
 tion out of these; namely Generation together with Corruption, from the  
 Concretion and Secretion of them, but Alteration from the change of  
 their Order and Position.* Again he elsewhere takes notice of that  
 Opinion of the Atomists, that all Sense was a kind of Touch, and  
 that the Sensible Qualities of Bodies were to be resolved into Figures,  
 imputing it not only to Democritus, but also to the Generality of  
 the old Philosophers, but very much disliking the same: Δημόκριτος  
 ἢ οἱ πλείεσι τῶν φυσιολόγων ἀποπάταλόν τι ποιῶν, πάντα γὰρ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ποιῶν ἢ εἰς χήματα ἀνάγει τὸς χήμας. *Democritus and most of the Physi-  
 ologers here commit a very great Absurdity, in that they make all Sense  
 to be Touch, and resolve sensible Qualities into the Figures of insensible  
 Parts or Atoms.* And this Opinion he endeavours to confute by these  
 Arguments. First, because there is Contrariety in Qualities, as in  
 Black and White, Hot and Cold, Bitter and Sweet, but there is no  
 Contrariety in Figures; for a Circular Figure is not Contrary to a  
 Square or Multangular; and therefore there must be Real Qualities  
 in Bodies distinct from the Figure, Site and Motion of Parts. Again,  
 the variety of Figures and Dispositions being Infinite, it would follow  
 from thence, that the Species of Colours, Odours, and Tastes should be  
 Infinite likewise, and Reducible to no certain Number. Which Ar-  
 guments I leave the Professed Atomists to answer. Furthermore Ari-  
 stotle somewhere also censures that other Fundamental Principle of  
 this Atomical Physiology, That the sensible Ideas of Colours and  
 Tastes, as Red, Green, Bitter and Sweet, formally considered, are on-  
 ly Passions and Phantries in us, and not real Qualities in the Object  
 without. For as in a Rainbow there is really nothing without our  
 sight, but a Rorid Cloud diversely refracting and reflecting the Sun-  
 Beams, in such an Angle; nor are there really such Qualities in the  
 Diaphanous Prisme, when refracting the Light, it exhibits to us  
 the same Colours of the Rainbow: whence it was collected, that  
 those things are properly the Phantasms of the Sentient, occasioned  
 by different Motions on the Optick Nerves: So they conceived the  
 case to be the same in all other Colours, and that both the Colours  
 of the Prisme and Rainbow were as real as other Colours, and all  
 other Colours as Phantastical as they: And then by parity of Rea-  
 son they extended the business further to the other Sensibles. But  
 this Opinion Aristotle condemns in these words, οἱ πρότερον φυσιολόγοι  
 τὸτο ἢ καλῶς ἔλεγον ὅθεν οἰόμενοι ἔτε λευκὸν ἔτε μέλαν ἀνευ ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἔτε χήμων  
 ἀνευ γύσεως. *The former Physiologists were generally out in this, in that  
 they*

they thought there was no Black or White without the Sight, nor no Bitter or Sweet without the Taste. There are other Passages in Aristotle concerning this Philosophy, which I think superfluous to insert here; and I shall have occasion to cite some of them afterward for other Purposes.

VII. But in the next place it will not be amiss to shew that Plato also hath left a very full Record of this Mechanical or Atomical Physiology (that hath hardly been yet taken notice of) which notwithstanding he doth not impute either to Democritus (whose name Laertius thinks he purposely declined to mention throughout all his Writings) or to Leucippus, but to Protagoras. Wherefore in his Theætetus, having first declared in general that the Protagorean Philosophy made all things to consist of a Commixture of Parts (or Atoms) and Local Motion, he represents it, in Particular concerning Colours, after this manner; ὑπόλαβε τοίνυν ἑστῶσι καὶ τὰ ὀμμάτια πρῶτον, ὃ ἢ καλεῖς χρώμα λευκὸν μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ ἕτερόν τι ἔξω τῆς σῶν ὀμμάτων μηδ' εἰ τοῖς ὀμμασι ἀλλὰ μέλαν τε καὶ λευκὸν καὶ ὅπῃ ἄλλο χρώμα εἴη τ' προσβολῆς τῆς ὀμμάτων πρὸς τὴν προσήκασαν φορῆν φανέεται γυγνημένον, καὶ ὃ ἕκαστον εἶναι φαμεν χρώμα ἕτερόν τι προσβάλλον ἕτερόν τι προσβαλλόμενον ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ τῶν ἑκάστων ἴδιον γυγνόνος. First as to that which belongs to the Sight, you must conceive that which is called a White or a Black Colour not to be any thing absolutely existing either without your Eyes or within your Eyes; but Black and White and every other Colour, is caused by different Motions made upon the Eye from Objects differently modified: so that it is nothing either in the Agent nor the Patient absolutely, but something which arises from between them both. Where it follows immediately, ἢ σὺ διαχυελοιστιοῦ ἂν ὡς οἶόν σοι φαίνεται ἕκαστον χρώμα τοῖστί σοι καὶ παντὶ καὶ ὅσῳ ζῶω. Can you or any man else be Confident, that as every Colour appears to him, so it appears just the same to every other Man and Animal, any more than Tastes and Touches, Heat and Cold do? From whence it is plain that Protagoras made Sensible Qualities, not to be all absolute things existing in the Bodies without, but to be Relative to us, and Passions in us; and so they are called presently after τίνα εἰ ἡμῖν φάσματα, certain Phantasies, Seemings, or Appearances in us. But there is an other Passage in which a fuller Account is given of the whole Protagorean Doctrine, beginning thus; Ἀρχὴ ἢ ἐξ ἧς ἂν καὶ διὰ ἐλέγομεν πάντα ἡστυταῖ ἢ δε αὐτῆς, ὡς τὸ πᾶν κίνησις ἢ καὶ ἄλλο ἄλλο τῶν τῶν εἶναι, τ' ἢ κινήσεως δύο εἶδη πλήθει μὲν ἀπειρον ἕκαστερον, δύναμιν ἢ τὸ μὲν ποιῆν ἔχον, τὸ ἢ πάσχειν, ὅκα ἢ τ' τῶν ὀμμάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς ἄλληλα γίνεσθαι ἐκγονα πλήθει μὲν ἀπειρον εἶδω καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν, τὸ ἢ αἰσθητὸς αἰεὶ συνεπιπίπτουσα καὶ γυγνόμενη μετα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, &c. The Principle upon which all these things depend is this, That the whole Universe is Motion (of Atoms) and nothing else besides; which Motion is considered two ways, and accordingly called by two Names, Action and Passion; from the mutual Congress, and as it were Attrition together of both which, are begotten innumerable Off-springs, which though infinite in Number, yet may be reduced to two general Heads, Sensibles and Sensations, that are both generated at the same time; the Sensations are Seeing and Hearing and the like, and the Correspondent Sensibles, Colours, Sounds, &c. Wherefore when the Eye, or such a proportionate

proportionate Object meet together, both the αἰσθητὸν and the αἰσθητής, the Sensible Idea of White and black and the Sense of Seeing are generated together, neither of which would have been produced if either of those two had not met with the other. Καὶ τ' ἄλλα ἃ ἔτι ψυχρὸν καὶ θερμὸν καὶ πᾶσι τ' αὐτὸν τρέπον ὑποληπτέον αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' αὐτὸ μὴ εἶναι, ἐν ἃ τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα ὁμιλίᾳ πᾶσι γίνεσθαι, καὶ πάντοια ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως. The like is to be conceived of all other Sensibles, as Hot and Cold, &c. that none of these are Absolute things in themselves, or Real Qualities in the Objects without, but they are begotten from the mutual Congress of Agent and Patient with one another, and that by Motion: So that neither the Agent has any such thing in it before its Congress with the Patient, nor the Patient before its Congress with the Agent. ἐν ἃ ἀμφοτέρων τῶ ποιῆτος καὶ τῶ πάχοντος πρὸς τὰ ἄλληλα συνγινόμενων καὶ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀποπικίοντων, τὰ μὲν ποῖα ἄρα γίνεσθαι τὰ ἃ αἰσθανόμεθα. But the Agent and Patient meeting together, and begetting Sensation and Sensibles, both the Object and the Sentient are forthwith made to be so and so qualified, as when Honey is tasted, the Sense of Tasting and the Quality of Sweetness are begotten both together, though the Sense be vulgarly attributed to the Taster and the Quality of Sweetness to the Honey. The Conclusion of all which is summed up thus εἰ εἶναι αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ἄλλὰ τι ἀπὸ αἰετῶν γίνεσθαι, That none of those Sensible things is any thing absolutely in the Objects without, but they are all generated or made Relatively to the Sentient. There is more in that Dialogue to this purpose, which I here omit; but I have set down so much of it in the Authour's own Language, because it seems to me to be an excellent Monument of the Wisdom and Sagacity of the old Philosophers. That which is the main Curiosity in this whole business of the Mechanical or Atomical Philosophy, being here more fully and plainly expressed, than it is in Lucretius himself, viz. That Sensible things, according to those Ideas that we have of them, are not real Qualities absolutely Existing without us, but ἐν ἡμῖν φάσματα, Phansies or Phantasms in us: So that both the Latin Interpreters Ficinus and Serranus, though probably neither of them at all acquainted with this Philosophy, as being not yet restored, could not but understand it after the same manner: the one expressing it thus, *Color ex Aspectu Motuque Medium quiddam resultans est. Talis circa Oculos Passio*; and the other *Ex varia Aspicientis diathesi, variâque sensilis specie colores varios & videri & fieri, ita tamen ut sint φαντάσματα nec nisi in animo subsistant*. However it appears by Plato's manner of telling the story, and the Tenour of the whole Dialogue, that himself was not a little prejudiced against this Philosophy. In all probability the rather, because Protagoras had made it a Foundation both for Scepticism and Atheism.

VIII. We have now learnt from Plato, that Democritus and Leucippus were not the sole Proprietaries in this Philosophy, but that Protagoras, though not vulgarly taken notice of for any such thing (being commonly represented as a Sophist only) was a starrer in it likewise: which Protagoras indeed Laertius and others affirm to have been an Auditor of Democritus; and so he might be, notwithstanding what Plutarch tells us, that Democritus wrote against his taking a way

way the Absolute Natures of things. However we are of Opinion that neither *Democritus*, nor *Protagoras*, nor *Leucippus* was the first Inventour of this Philosophy; and our reason is, because they were all three of them Atheists (though *Protagoras* alone was banished for that Crime by the *Athenians*) and we cannot think that any Atheists could be the Inventours of it, much less that it was the Genuine Spawn and Brood of Atheism it self, as some conceit, because however these Atheists adopted it to themselves, endeavouring to serve their turns of it, yet if rightly understood, it is the most effectual Engin against Atheism that can be. And we shall make it appear afterwards, that never any of those Atheists, whether Ancient or Modern (how great Pretenders soever to it) did throughly understand it, but perpetually contradicted themselves in it. And this is the Reason why we insist so much upon this Philosophy here, not only because without the perfect knowledge of it, we cannot deal with the Atheists at their own Weapon; but also because we doubt not but to make a Sovereign Antidote against Atheism, out of that very Philosophy, which so many have used as a *Vehiculum* to convey this Poyson of Atheism by.

IX. But besides Reason, we have also good Historical probability for this Opinion, that this Philosophy was a thing of much greater Antiquity than either *Democritus* or *Leucippus*; and first, because *Posidonius*, an Ancient and Learned Philosopher, did (as both *Empiricus* and *Strabo* tell us) avouch it for an old Tradition, that the first Inventour of this Atomical Philosophy was one *Moschus* a *Phœnician*, who, as *Strabo* also notes, lived before the *Trojan Wars*.

X. Moreover it seems not altogether Improbable, but that this *Moschus* a *Phœnician* Philosopher, mentioned by *Posidonius*, might be the same with that *Mochus* a *Phœnician* Physiologer in *Jamblichus*, with whose Successors, Priests and Prophets, he affirms that *Pythagoras*, sometimes sojourning at *Sidon* (which was his native City) had convert: Which may be taken for an Intimation, as if he had been by them instructed in that Atomical Physiology which *Moschus* or *Mochus* the *Phœnician* is said to have been the Inventour of. *Mochus* or *Moschus* is plainly a *Phœnician* Name, and there is one *Mochus* a *Phœnician* Writer cited in *Athenæus*, whom the Latin Translator calls *Moschus*; and Mr. *Selden* approves of the Conjecture of *Arcerius*, the Publisher of *Jamblichus*, that this *Mochus* was no other than the Celebrated *Moses* of the *Jews*, with whose Successors the Jewish Philosophers, Priests and Prophets, *Pythagoras* conversed at *Sidon*. Some Phantastick Atomists perhaps would here catch at this, to make their Philosophy to stand by Divine Right, as owing its Original to Revelation; whereas Philosophy being not a Matter of Faith but Reason, Men ought not to affect (as I conceive) to derive its Pedigree from Revelation, and by that very pretence seek to impose it Tyrannically upon the minds of Men, which God hath here purposely left Free to the use of their own Faculties, that so finding out Truth by them, they might enjoy that Pleasure and Satisfaction

Satisfaction

Satisfaction which arises from thence. But we aim here at nothing more, than a Confirmation of this Truth, That the Atomical Physiology was both older than *Democritus*, and had no such Atheistical Original neither. And there wants not other Good Authority for this, That *Pythagoras* did borrow many things from the *Jews*, and translate them into his Philosophy.

XI. But there are yet other Considerable Probabilities for this, that *Pythagoras* was not unacquainted with the Atomical Physiology. And first from *Democritus* himself, who as he was of the *Italic* Row, or *Pythagorick* Succession; so it is recorded of him in *Laertius*, that he was a great Emulator of the *Pythagoreans*, and seemed to have taken all his Philosophy from them: Infomuch that if Chronology had not contradicted it, it would have been concluded, that he had been an Auditour of *Pythagoras* himself, of whom he testified his great admiration in a Book entitled by his Name. Moreover some of his Opinions had a plain Correspondency with the *Pythagorick* Doctrines, forasmuch as *Democritus* did not only hold, φέρεσθαι ἄτομους ἐν τῷ ὄλῳ δινυμένους, *That the Atoms were carried round in a Vortex*; but also together with *Leucippus*, τὴν γῆν ὀχεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον δινυμένῳ, *That the Earth was carried about the Middle or Centre of this Vortex (which is the Sun) turning in the mean time round upon its own Axis*: And just so the *Pythagorick* Opinion is expressed by *Aristotle*, τὴν γῆν ἐν τῶν ἀστέρων ἕσταν κύκλῳ φερόμενῳ περὶ τὸ μέσον οὐκίτῃ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ποιῆν. *That the Earth, as one of the Stars (that is a Planet) being carried round about the Middle or Centre (which is Fire or the Sun) did in the mean time by its Circumgyration upon its own Axis make day and night.* Wherefore it may be reasonably from hence concluded, that as *Democritus* his Philosophy was *Pythagorical*, so *Pythagoras* his Philosophy was likewise *Democritical* or *Atomical*.

XII. But that which is of more Moment yet; we have the Authority of *Ephantus* a famous *Pythagorean* for this, that *Pythagoras* his Monads, so much talked of, were nothing else but Corporeal Atoms. Thus we find it in *Stobæus*, τὰς πυθαγορικὰς μονάδας εἶναι πρῶτον ἀπεφύνατο σωματικὰς, *Ephantus* (who himself asserted the Doctrine of Atoms) first declared that the *Pythagorick* Monads were Corporeal, i.e. Atoms. And this is further confirmed from what *Aristotle* himself writes of these *Pythagoreans* and their Monads, τὰς μονάδας ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἔχειν μέγεθος. *They suppose their Monads to have Magnitude*: And from that he elsewhere makes Monads and Atoms to signify the same thing, ἅσ' ἐν διαφέρει μονάδας λέγειν ἢ σωματία σμικρὰ. *Its all one to say Monades or small Corpuscula.* And *Gassendus* hath observed out of the Greek Epigrammatist, that *Epicurus* his Atoms were sometimes called Monads too;

μάτῳ ἐπίκρουσαν ἑάσων  
 Πῆ τὸ κενὸν ζιττεῖν καὶ τινὲς αἱ μονάδες.

XIII. But to pass from *Pythagoras* himself ; That *Empedocles*, who was a *Pythagorean* also, did *Physiologize* *Atomically*, is a thing that could hardly be doubted of, though there were no more Proof for it than that one Passage of his in his *Philosophick* Poems ;

φύσις ὁθενός ἔστιν ἐκείσε  
Ἄλλὰ μόνον μίξις τε διάλλαξις τε μιν γέντων.

*Nature is nothing but the Mixture and Separation of things mingled ; or thus, There is no production of anything anew, but only mixture and separation of things mingled.* Which is not only to be understood of *Animals*, according to the *Pythagorick* Doctrine of the *Transmigration* of *Souls*, but also, as himself expounds it, *Universally* of all *Bodies*, that their *Generation* and *Corruption* is nothing but *Mixture and Separation* ; or as *Aristotle* expresses it, σύμμιξις καὶ διάκρισις, *Concretion and Secretion* of *Parts*, together with *Change* of *Figure* and *Order*. It may perhaps be objected, that *Empedocles* held four *Elements*, out of which he would have all other *Bodies* to be compounded ; and that as *Aristotle* affirms, he made those *Elements* not to be *transmutable* into one another neither. To which we reply, that he did indeed make four *Elements*, as the first general *Concretions* of *Atoms*, and therein he did no more than *Democritus* himself, who, as *Laertius* writes, did from *Atoms* moving round in a *Vortex* πάντα συζημαία γινῶν πῦρ ὕδωρ ἀέρα γῆν, εἶναι γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἀτόμων πῶν συζημαία, *Generate all Concretions, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, these being Systems made out of certain Atoms.* And *Plato* further confirms the same ; for in his Book *De Legibus* he describes (as I suppose) that very *Atheistical Hypothesis* of *Democritus*, though without mentioning his Name, representing it in this Manner ; That by the *Fortuitous Motion* of *Senseless Matter* were first made those four *Elements*, and then out of them afterward *Sun, Moon, Stars and Earth*. Now both *Plutarch* and *Stobæus* testify, that *Empedocles* compounded the four *Elements* themselves out of *Atoms*. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἢ ἄλλοι μικρότερον ὄντων τὰ στοιχεῖα συζημαίᾳ ἢ ἄλλοι εἰν ἐλάχισα, καὶ οἷον ἐστοιχεῖα στοιχείων. *Empedocles makes the Elements to be compounded of other small Corpuscula, which are the least, and as it were the Elements of the Elements.* And the same *Stobæus* again observes, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πρὸ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων θεαύωματα ἐλάχισα. *Empedocles makes the smallest Particles and Fragments of Body (that is, Atoms) to be before the four Elements.* But whereas *Aristotle* affirms that *Empedocles* denied the *Transmutation* of those *Elements* into one another, that must needs be either a slip in him, or else a fault in our Copies ; not only because *Lucretius*, who was better versed in that Philosophy, and gives a particular Account of *Empedocles* his Doctrine (besides many others of the Ancients) affirms the quite contrary ; but also because himself, in those Fragments of his still preserved, expressly acknowledges this *Transmutation* :

καὶ φθίνῃ εἰς ἄλληλα καὶ αὐξεται ἐν μέρει αἰσῶσι.

XIV. Besides all this, no less Author than Plato affirms, that according to Empedocles, Vision and other Sensations were made by ἀπερροαὶ χημάτων, the Defluxions of Figures, or Effluvia of Atoms, (for so Democritus his Atoms are called in Aristotle χήματα, because they were Bodies which had only Figure without Qualities) he supposing that some of these Figures or Particles corresponded with the Organs of one Sense, and some with the Organs of another. Οὐκ ἔστι λέγει ἀπερροὰς τινὰς τῶν ὄντων καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλήα, καὶ πόρος εἰς ἕς, καὶ δι' ὧν αἱ ἀπερροαὶ πορεύονται, καὶ τῶν ἀπερροῶν τὰς μὲν ἀρμόζειν ἐνίοις τῶν πόρων, τὰς δὲ ἐλάττειν ἢ μέλλειν εἶναι. You say then according to the Doctrine of Empedocles, that there are certain Corporeal Effluvia from Bodies of different Magnitudes and Figures, as also several Pores and Meatus's in us diversly Corresponding with them: So that some of these Corporeal Effluvia agree with some pores, when they are either too big or too little for others. By which it is evident, that Empedocles did not suppose Sensations to be made by intentional Species or Qualities; but as to the Generality, in the Atomical way; in which notwithstanding there are some differences among these Atomists themselves. But Empedocles went the same way here with Democritus, for Empedocles's ἀπερροαὶ χημάτων, Defluxions of figured Bodies, are clearly the same thing with Democritus his εἰδῶν εἰσκελεύς, Insinuations of Simulachra, or Exuvions Images of Bodies. And the same Plato adds further, that according to Empedocles, the Definition of Colour was this, ἀπερροὴ χημάτων ἢ σύμμετρον καὶ αἰσθητὸν, The Defluxion of Figures, or figured Corpuscula (without Qualities) Commensurate to the Sight and Sensible. Moreover, that Empedocles his Physiology was the very same with that of Democritus, is manifest also from this Passage of Aristotle's; οἱ μὲν ἔν τῳ Ἐμπεδοκλήα καὶ Δημοκρίτῳ λανθάνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς, ὅς γένεσιν ἐξ ἁλλήλων ποιεῖσιν, ἀλλὰ φαινομένῳ γένεσιν εὐπάρχον τῷ ἕκαστον ἐκκεῖνῶσαι φασιν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγέλης τὴν γένεσιν ἕσσης. Empedocles and Democritus deceiving themselves, unawares destroy all Generation of Things out of one another, leaving a seeming Generation only: For they say that Generation is not the Production of any new Entity, but only the Secretion of what was before Inexistent; as when divers kinds of things confounded together in a Vessel, are separated from one another. Lastly, we shall confirm all this by the clear Testimony of Plutarch, or the Writer de Placitis Philosophorum: Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ συναθερισμὸν καὶ λεπτομερῶν σωματίων κοσμοποιεῖσι, συμμετρεῖσιν μὲν καὶ διακρίσεισιν εἰσάγουσι, γένεσιν δὲ καὶ φθορῶν ὁμοίως ὅς καὶ τὸ ποῖον ἐξ ἀλλοιώσεως, καὶ ἢ πόσον ἐκ συναθερισμῶν ταύτων γίνεσθαι. Empedocles and Epicurus, and all those that compound the World of small Atoms, introduce Concretions and Secretions, but no Generations or Corruptions properly so called; neither would they have these to be made according to Quality by Alteration, but only according to Quantity by Aggregation. And the same Writer sets down the Order and Method, of the Cosmopœia according to Empedocles; Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν μὲν αἰθέρα πρῶτον διακρίθηναι, δ' ἄπειρον ἢ τὸ πῦρ, ἐφ'

ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν γῆν ἐξ ἄγαν διεσφιγμένῃ τῆ εὐμῆ ἡ διεφορεῖς, ἀναελύσαι τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐξ ἧς θυμαθῶσαι ἡ ἀέρα, καὶ γενέσθαι ἡ μὲν ἕρπον ἐκ τῆ αἰθέρος, ἡ ἡ ἡλίον ἐκ πύρος Empedocles writes, that *Æther* was first of all secreted out of the Confused Chaos of Atoms, afterward the Fire, and then the Earth, which being Constringed, and as it were Squeezed by the Force of Agitation, sent forth Water bubbling out of it; from the Evaporation of which did proceed Air. And from the *Æther* was made the Heavens, from Fire the Sun. We see therefore that it was not without cause that *Lucretius* did so highly extol *Empedocles*, since his Physiology was really the same with that of *Epicurus* and *Democritus*; only that he differed from them in some Particularities, as in excluding *Vacuum*, and denying such Physical *Minima* as were Indivisible.

XV. As for *Anaxagoras*, though he Philosophized by Atoms too, substituting Concretion and Secretion in the Room of Generation and Corruption, insisting upon the same Fundamental Principle that *Empedocles*, *Democritus* and the other Atomists did; which was (as we shall declare more fully afterward) That Nothing could be made out of Nothing, nor reduced to Nothing; and therefore that there were neither any new Productions nor Destructions of any Substances or Real Entities: Yet, as his *Homœomeria* is represented by *Aristotle*, *Lucretius* and other Authours, that Bone was made of Bony Atoms, and Flesh of Flethy, Red things of Red Atoms, and Hot things of Hot Atoms; these Atoms being supposed to be endued originally with so many several Forms and Qualities Essential to them, and Inseparable from them, there was indeed a wide difference betwixt his Philosophy and the Atomical. However, this seems to have had its Rise from nothing else but this Philosophers not being able to understand the Atomical Hypothesis, which made him decline it, and substitute this Spurious and Counterfeit Atomism of his own in the room of it:

XVI. Lastly, I might adde here, that it is recorded by Good Authours concerning divers other Ancient Philosophers, that were not addicted to Democriticism or Atheism, that they followed this Atomical way of Physiologizing, and therefore in all probability did derive it from those Religious Atomists before *Democritus*. As for Example; *Ephantus* the *Syracusan* Pythagorist, who, as *Stobæus* writes, made τὰ ἀδιαίρετα σώματα καὶ τὸ κενόν, Indivisible Bodies and *Vacuum* the Principles of Physiology, and as *Theodoret* also testifies, taught ἐκ τῶν ἀτόμων συνεσθῆναι ἡ κόσμον, That the Corporeal World was made up of Atoms; *Zenocrates* that made μεγέθη ἀδιαίρετα, Indivisible Magnitudes the first Principles of Bodies; *Heraclides* that resolved all Corporeal things into ἄγχατα καὶ θραύσματα τινα ἐλάχισα, certain smallest Fragments of Bodies; *Asclepiades*, who supposed all the Corporeal World to be made ἐξ ἀνομοίων καὶ ἀνόμοιων ὄψεων, not of Similar Parts (as *Anaxagoras*) but of Dissimilar and inconcinn Molecule, i. e. Atoms of different Magnitude and Figures; and *Diodorus* that

that

that saved the Material *Phænomena* by ἀμερῆ τῶν ἐλάχιστων, the smallest Indivisibles of Body. And Lastly, *Metrodorus* (not *Lamfacenus* the Epicurean, but) *Chius*, who is reported also to have made Indivisible Particles and Atoms the first Principles of Bodies. But what need we any more proof for this, that the Atomical Physiology was ancienter than *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, and not confined only to that Sect, since *Aristotle* himself in the Passages already cited doth expressly declare, that besides *Democritus*, the Generality of all the other Physiologers went that way; Δημόκριτος καὶ οἱ πλείους τῶν φυσιολόγων, &c. *Democritus and the most of the Physiologers make all Sense to be Touch, and resolve sensible Qualities, as the Tastes of Bitter and Sweet, &c. into Figures.* And again he imputes it generally to all the Physiologers that went before him, οἱ πρότερον φυσιολόγοι, *The former Physiologers (without any exception) said not well in this, that there was no Black and White without the Sight, nor Bitter and Sweet without the Taste.* Wherefore, I think, it cannot be reasonably doubted, but that the Generality of the Old Physiologers before *Aristotle* and *Democritus*, did pursue the Atomical way, which is to resolve the Corporeal *Phænomena*, not into Forms, Qualities and Species, but into Figures, Motions and Phancies.

XVII. But then there will seem to be no small difficulty in reconciling *Aristotle* with himself, who doth in so many places plainly impute this Philosophy to *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, as the first Source and Original of it: As also in saving the Credit of *Laertius*, and many other ancient Writers, who do the like: *Democritus* having had for many Ages almost the general cry and vogue for Atoms. However, we doubt not but to give a very good account of this Business, and reconcile the seemingly different Testimonies of these Ancient Writers, so as to take away all Contradiction and Repugnancy between them. For although the Atomical Physiology was in use long before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, so that they did not Make it but Find it; yet these two with their confederate Atheists (whereof *Protagoras* seems to have been one) were undoubtedly the first that ever made this Physiology to be a complete and entire Philosophy by it self, so as to derive the Original of all things in the whole Universe from senseless Atoms, that had nothing but Figure and Motion, together with *Vacuum*, and made up such a System of it, as from whence it would follow, that there could not be any God, not so much as a Corporeal one. These two things were both of them before singly and apart. For there is no doubt to be made, but that there hath been Atheism lurking in the minds of some or other in all Ages; and perhaps some of those Ancient Atheists did endeavour to Philosophize too, as well as they could, in some other way. And there was Atomical Physiology likewise before, without Atheism. But these two thus complicated together, were never before Atomical-Atheism or Atheistical Atomism. And therefore *Democritus* and his Comrade *Leucippus* need not be envied the glory of being reputed the first Inventors or Founders of the *Atomical Philosophy Atheized and Adulterated.*

XVIII. Before *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, the Doctrine of Atoms was not made a whole entire Philosophy by it self, but look'd upon only as a Part or Member of the whole Philosophick System, and that the meanest and lowest part too, it being only used to explain that which was purely Corporeal in the World; besides which they acknowledged something else, which was not meer Bulk and Mechanism, but Life and Self Activity, that is, Immaterial or Incorporeal Substance; the Head and Summit whereof is a Deity distinct from the World. So that there has been two Sorts of Atomists in the World, the One Atheistical, the Other Religious. The first and most ancient Atomists holding Incorporeal Substance, used that Physiology in a way of Subordination to Theology and Metaphysicks. The other allowing no other Substance but Body, made senseless Atoms and Figures, without any Mind and Understanding (*i. e.* without any God) to be the Original of all things; which latter is that that was vulgarly known by the Name of Atomical Philosophy, of which *Democritus* and *Leucippus* were the Source.

XIX. It hath been indeed of late confidently asserted by some, that never any of the ancient Philosophers dream'd of any such thing as *Incorporeal Substance*; and therefore they would bear men in hand, that it was nothing but an upstart and new fangled Invention of some Bigotical Religionists; the falsity whereof we shall here briefly make to appear. For though there have been doubtless in all Ages such as have disbelieved the Existence of any thing but what was Sensible, whom *Plato* describes after this manner; οἱ διατείνοντ' ἂν πᾶν ὃ μὴ δυνάστοι ἔχειν συμπιέζειν εἰσὶν, ὡς ἄρα τὸ τοῦ ἰδέν τὸ ἀόρατον ἔστι. *That would contend, that whatsoever they could not feel or grasp with their hands, was altogether nothing*; yet this Opinion was professedly opposed by the best of the Ancient Philosophers and condemned for a piece of Sottishness and Stupidity. Wherefore the same *Plato* tells us, that there had been always, as well as then there was, a perpetual War and Controversie in the World, and as he calls it, a kind of Gigantomachy betwixt these two Parties or Sects of men; The one that held there was no other Substance in the World besides Body; The Other that asserted Incorporeal Substance. The former of these Parties or Sects is thus described by the Philosopher; οἱ μὲν εἰς γῆν ἐξ ἔργων καὶ τῶ ἀοράτου πάντα ἔλκουσι καὶ χερσὶν ἀτεχνῶς πέτρας καὶ δρυὸς ὤλελα μβάνοντες, καὶ γὰρ τοιούτων ἐφαπτόμενοι πάντων, διχχυρίζονται τὸ τοῦ εἶναι μόνον ὃ παρέχει προσβολὴν καὶ ἐπαφῶν πινά, τούτων σῶμα καὶ ἴσταν ὁμοῦ μοῖροι καὶ ἄλλων ἕτις φησὶ μὴ σῶμα ἔχον εἶναι, καὶ ἀφρονεῖν τὸ παράπαν καὶ ἰδέν ἐθέλουσιν ἄλλο ἀκτεν. *These (saith he) pull all things down from Heaven and the Invisible Region, with their hands to the Earth, laying hold of Rocks and Oaks; and when they grasp all these hard and gross things, they confidently affirm, that that only is substance which they can feel, and will resist their Touch, and they conclude that Body and Substance are one and the self same thing; and if any one chance to speak to them of something which is not Body, i. e. of Incorporeal Substance, they will altogether despise him, and not bear a word more from him.* And many such the Philosopher there says

says he had met withal. The other he represents in this manner. οἱ πρὸς αὐτὸς ἀμφισβητῆτες μάλα δὺλασῶς ἀνωθεν ἐξ ἀόρατος τόπος ἀμαυνοῦσαι νοητὰ ἄσῳα καὶ ἀσώματα εἶδη, βιαζόμενοι τῶ ἀληθινῷ σοῖαν εἶναι. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῶν ταῦτα ἀπλήθους ἀμφισβητῶν μάχῃ τις αἰεὶ συνέστηκε. *The Adversaries of these Corporealists do cautiously and piously assault them from the Invisible Region, fetching all things from above by way of Descent, and by strength of Reason convincing, that certain Intelligible and Incorporeal Forms are the true or First Substance, and not Sensible things. But betwixt these two there hath always been (saith he) a great War and Contention. And yet in the Sequel of his Discourse he adds, that those Corporealists were then grown a little more modest and shame-faced than formerly their great Champions had been, such as Democritus and Protagoras; for however they still persisted in this, that the Soul was a Body, yet they had not (it seems) the Impudence to affirm, that Wisdom and Vertue were Corporeal Things, or Bodies, as others before and since too have done. We see here that Plato expressly asserts a Substance distinct from Body, which sometimes he calls σοῖαν ἀσώματον, Incorporeal Substance, and sometimes σοῖαν νοητῶν, Intelligible Substance, in opposition to the other which he calls αἰσθητῶν sensible. And it is plain to any one, that hath had the least acquaintance with Plato's Philosophy, that the whole Scope and Drift of it, is to raise up mens Minds from Sense to a belief of Incorporeal Things as the most Excellent: τὰ γὰρ ἀσώματα κέλμιστα εἶναι καὶ μέγιστα λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἢ εἶδέναι, σαφῶς δὲ εἰνυῖται, as he writes in another place. For Incorporeal Things, which are the greatest and most excellent things of all, are (saith he) discoverable by Reason only and nothing else. And his Subterraneous Cave, so famously known, and so elegantly described by him, where he supposes men tied with their backs towards the Light, placed at a great distance from them, so that they could not turn about their Heads to it neither, and therefore could see nothing but the shadows (of certain Substances behind them) projected from it, which Shadows they concluded to be the only Substances and Realities, and when they heard the Sounds made by those Bodies that were betwixt the Light and them, or their reverberated Echo's, they imputed them to those shadows which they saw. I say, all this is a Description of the State of those Men, who take Body to be the only Real and Substantial thing in the World, and to do all that is done in it; and therefore often impute Sense, Reason and Understanding, to nothing but Blood and Brains in us.*

XX. I might also shew in the next place, how Aristotle did not at all dissent from Plato herein, he plainly asserting ἄλλω σοῖαν ἀσώματῳ τὰ αἰσθητὰ, another Substance beside Sensibles, σοῖαν χωριστῶ καὶ πεχωρησμένην τῇ αἰσθητῶν, a Substance separable and also actually separated from Sensibles, ἀκίνητον σοῖαν, an Immoveable Nature or Essence (subject to no Generation or Corruption) adding that the Deity was to be sought for here: Nay such a Substance ἢν μέγιστον εἶδέναι εὐδέχεται ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ ἀμερῆς καὶ ἀδιαίρετος εἶναι, as hath no Magnitude at all; but is Impartible and Indivisible. He also blaming Zeno (not the Stoick, who was Junior to Aristotle, but an ancients Philosopher of that Name) for making God to be a Body, in these words; αὐτὸς γὰρ σῶμα λέγει εἶναι

ὁ θεὸς εἴτε ἢ τὸδε τὸ πᾶν, εἴτε ὅτι δὴποτε αὐτὸς λέγων ἀσώματον ὅδ' ἂν πῶς ἂν σφαιροειδὴς εἴη; ὅταν ἕτως ἕτ' ἂν κινῆτο, ἕτ' ἂν ἤρεμοί μινδαμῶς τε ἂν ἐπεὶ ἢ σῶμα ἔξει, τί ἂν αὐτὸ κωλύει κινῆσθαι; Zeno implicitly affirms, God to be a Body, whether he mean him to be the whole Corporeal Universe, or some particular Body; for if God were Incorporeal, how could he be Spherical? nor could he then either Move or Rest, being not properly in any Place; but if God be a Body, then nothing hinders but that he may be moved. From which, and other Places of Aristotle, it is plain enough also, that he did suppose Incorporeal Substance to be Unextended, and as such, not to have Relation to any Place. But this is a thing to be disputed afterwards. Indeed some learned men conceive Aristotle to have reprehended Zeno without Cause, and that Zeno made God to be a Sphear, or Spherical, in no other sence, than Parmenides did in that known Verse of his;

Πάντοθεν Διούκλιος σφαίρας ἐναλίξιμον ὄντα.

Wherein he is understood to describe the Divine Eternity. However, it plainly appears from hence, that according to Aristotle's sence, God was ἀσώματον, an Incorporeal Substance distinct from the World.

XXI. Now this Doctrine, which Plato especially was famous for asserting, that there was ἁσία ἀσώματον, Incorporeal Substance, and that the Souls of Men were such, but principally the Deity; Epicurus taking notice of it, endeavoured with all his might to confute it, arguing sometimes after this manner; There can be no Incorporeal God (as Plato maintained) not only because no man can frame a Conception of an Incorporeal Substance, but also because whatsoever is Incorporeal must needs want Sense, and Prudence, and Pleasure, all which things are included in the Notion of God; and therefore an Incorporeal Deity is a Contradiction. And concerning the Soul of Man; οἱ λέγοντες ἀσώματον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ματαρίζουσι, &c. They who say that the Soul is Incorporeal, in any other sence, than as that word may be used to signifie a Subtil Body, talk Vainly and Foolishly; for then it could neither be able to Do nor Suffer any thing. It could not Aff upon any other thing, because it could Touch nothing; neither could it Suffer from any thing, because it could not be Touch'd by any thing; but it would be just like to Vacuum or Empty Space, which can neither Do nor Suffer any thing, but only yield Bodies a Passage through it. From whence it is further evident, that this Opinion was professedly maintained by some Philosophers before Epicurus his time.

XXII. But Plato and Aristotle were not the first Inventors of it: For it is certain, that all those Philosophers who held the Immortality of the Humane Soul, and a God distinct from this visible World, (and so properly the Creator of it and all its parts) did really assert Incorporeal Substance. For that a Corporeal Soul cannot be in its own Nature Immortal and Incorruptible, is plain to every one's Understanding, because of its parts being separable from one another; and whosoever denies God to be Incorporeal, if he make him any thing at all, he must needs make him to be either the whole Corporeal

poreal

poreal World, or else a part of it: Wherefore if God be neither of these, he must then be an Incorporeal Substance. Now *Plato* was not the first who asserted these two things, but they were both maintained by many Philosophers before him. *Pherecydes Syrus*, and *Thales*, were two of the most ancient Philosophers among the Greeks; and it is said of the former of them, that by his Lectures and Disputes concerning the Immortality of the Soul, he first drew off *Pythagoras* from another Course of life to the study of Philosophy. *Pherecydes Syrus* (saith *Cicero*) *Primus dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos*. And *Thales* in an Epistle directed to him, congratulates his being the First that had designed to write to the Greeks concerning *Divine Things*, which *Thales* also (who was the Head of the Ionick Succession of Philosophers, as *Pythagoras* of the Italic) is joyned with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, by the Writer *De Placitis Philosophorum*, after this manner. *Ἔτιοι πάντες οἱ περὶ τεταγμένοι ἀσώματος τινὸς ἑαυτῶ ὑποτίθενται φύσιν λέγοντες αὐτοκίνητον καὶ ἴσταν νοητῶν*. All these determined the Soul to be Incorporeal, making it to be Naturally Self-moving (or Self-active) and an Intelligible Substance, that is, not Sensible. Now he that determines the Soul to be Incorporeal, must needs hold the Deity to be Incorporeal much more. *Aquam dixit Thales esse initium rerum* (saith *Cicero*) *Deum autem eam Mentem quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret*. *Thales* said that Water was the first Principle of all Corporeal things, but that God was that Mind which formed all things out of Water. For *Thales* was a Phœnician by Extraction, and accordingly seemed to have received his two Principles from thence, Water, and the Divine Spirit moving upon the Waters. The First whereof is thus expressed by *Sanchuniathon* in his Description of the Phœnician Theology, *καὶ τὸ θολερὸν, ἐρεβώδες*, a Turbid and Dark Chaos, and the Second is intimated in these words, *ἠεὶ ἠδὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς*, the Spirit was affected with love towards its own Principles, perhaps expressing the Force of the Hebrew word *Merachepeth*, and both of them impling an Understanding Prolifical Goodness, Forming and Hatching the Corporeal World into this perfection; or else a Plastick Power, subordinate to it. *Zeno* (who was also originally a Phœnician) tells us, that *Hesiod's* Chaos was Water; and, that the Material Heaven, as well as Earth was made out of Water, (according to the Judgment of the best Interpreters) is the genuine sense of Scripture, *2 Pet. 3. 5.* by which water some perhaps would understand, a Chaos of Atoms confusedly moved. But whether *Thales* were acquainted with the Atomical Physiology or no; it is plain that he asserted, besides the Soul's Immortality, a Deity distinct from the Corporeal World.

We pass to *Pythagoras* whom we have proved already to have been an Atomist; and it is well known also that he was a professed Incorporealist. That he asserted the Immortality of the Soul, and consequently its Immateriality, is evident from his Doctrine of Pre-existence and Transmigration: And that he likewise held an Incorporeal Deity distinct from the World, is a thing not questioned by any. But if there were any need of proving it, (because there are no Monuments of his Extant) perhaps it might be done from hence,  
because

because he was the chief Propagator of that Doctrine amongst the Greeks, concerning Three Hypostases in the Deity.

For, that *Plato* and his Followers held τρεῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑποστάσεις, *Three Hypostases in the Deity, that were the first Principles of all things*, is a thing very well known to all. Though we do not affirm that these *Platonick Hypostases* are exactly the same with those in the Christian Trinity. Now, *Plato* himself sufficiently intimates this not to have been his own Invention; and *Plotinus* tells us, that it was παλαιὰ δόξα, an Ancient Opinion before *Plato's* time, which had been delivered down by some of the *Pythagoricks*. Wherefore, I conceive, this must needs be one of those *Pythagorick Monstrosities*, which *Xenophon* covertly taxes *Plato* for entertaining, and mingling with the *Socratical* Philosophy, as if he had thereby corrupted the Purity and Simplicity of it. Though a Corporealist may pretend to be a Theist; yet I never heard, that any of them did ever assert a Trinity, respectively to the Deity, unless it were such an one, as I think not fit here to mention.

XXIII. That *Parmenides*, who was likewise a *Pythagorean*, acknowledged a Deity distinct from the Corporeal World, is evident from *Plato*. And *Plotinus* tells us also, that he was one of them that asserted the Triad of Divine *Hypostases*. Moreover, whereas there was a great Controversie amongst the Ancient Philosophers before *Plato's* time, between such as held all things to Flow, (as namely *Heraclitus* and *Cratylus*;) and others who asserted that some things did Stand, and that there was ἀκίνητος ἕσσις, a certain *Immutable Nature*, to wit, an Eternal Mind, together with Eternal and Immutable Truths, (amongst which were *Parmenides* and *Melissus*) the former of these were all Corporealists, (this being the very Reason why they made all things to Flow, because they supposed all to be Body) though these were not therefore all of them Atheists. But the latter were all both Incorporealists and Theists; for whosoever holds Incorporeal Substance must needs (according to Reason) also assert a Deity.

And although we did not before particularly mention *Parmenides* amongst the Atomical Philosophers, yet we conceive it to be manifest from hence, that he was one of that Tribe, because he was an eminent Asserter of that Principle, ἃ δ' ἐν ἑτε ἡμεῖσαι ἑτε φθεῖραι δαι τῶν ὄντων, *That no Real Entity is either Made or Destroyed, Generated or Corrupted*. Which we shall afterwards plainly shew, to be the grand Fundamental Principle of the Atomical Philosophy.

XXIV. But whereas we did evidently prove before, that *Empedocles* was an Atomical Physiologer, it may notwithstanding with some Colour of Probability be doubted, whether he were not an Atheist, or at least a Corporealist, because *Aristotle* accuses him of these following things. First, of making Knowledge to be sense, which is indeed a plain sign of a Corporealist; and therefore in the next place also, of compounding the Soul out of the four Elements, making

making it to understand every corporeal thing, by something of the same within it self, as Fire by Fire, and Earth by Earth; and Lastly, of attributing much to Fortune, and affirming that divers of the Parts of Animals were made such by chance, and that there were at first certain Mongrel Animals fortuitously produced, that were βεζυγῆ καὶ ἀνδρὸς ὄψεωσιν, such as had something of the shape of an Oxe, together with the Face of a Man, (though they could not long continue) which seems to give just Cause of Suspicion, that Empedocles Atheized in the same manner that Democritus did.

To the first of these we reply, that some others who had also read Empedocles's Poems, were of a different Judgment from Aristotle as to that, conceiving Empedocles not to make Sense, but Reason the Criterion of Truth. Thus Empiricus informs us: Others say that according to Empedocles, the Criterion of Truth is not Sense but Right Reason; and also that Right Reason is of two sorts, the one θεῖον, or Divine, the other ἀνθρώπινον, or Humane: Of which the Divine is inexpressible, but the Humane declarable. And there might be several Passages cited out of those Fragments of Empedocles his Poems yet left, to confirm this, but we shall produce only this one.

τῶν πῖσιν ἔθηκε νόσ' ἢ δῆλον ἕνασιν

To this Sence; Suspend thy Assent to the Corporeal Senses, and consider every thing clearly with thy Mind or Reason.

And as to the Second Crimination, Aristotle has much weakened his own Testimony here, by accusing Plato also of the very same thing. Πλατῶν τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς τῶν στοιχείων ποιεῖ, γινώσκεται γὰρ ὁμοίᾳ ὁμοίον, τὰ δὲ προσημαῖα ὡς τῶν ἀρχῶν εἶναι. Plato compounds the Soul out of the four Elements, because Like is known by Like, and things are from their Principles. Wherefore it is probable that Empedocles might be no more guilty of this fault (of making the Soul Corporeal, and to consist of Earth, Water, Air, and Fire) than Plato was, who in all mens Judgments was as free from it, as Aristotle himself, if not more. For Empedocles did in the same manner, as Pythagoras before him, and Plato after him, hold the Transmigration of Souls, and consequently, both their Future Immortality and Preexistence; and therefore must needs assert their Incorporeity; Plutarch rightly declaring this to have been his Opinion; εἶναι καὶ τὸς μηδέπω γεγονότας καὶ τὸς ἤδη τεθνηκότας. That as well those who are yet Unborn, as those that are Dead, have a Being. He also asserted Humane Souls to be here in a Lapsed State, μείαντας, ἢ ξένους, καὶ φυγάδας, Wanderers, Strangers, and Fugitives from God; declaring, as Plotinus tells us, that it was a Divine Law, ἀμαρτανότατις τῆς ψυχῆς πεσεῖν εἰ ταῦθα, That Souls sinning should fall down into these Earthly Bodies. But the fullest Record of the Empedoclean Philosophy concerning the Soul is contained in this of Hierocles; κάττει καὶ ἀποπίπτει τὸ δῖδ' αἶμον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς φησιν ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, — φυγὰς θεοθεν καὶ ἀλήτης νεύκει μαινομῆδος πῖσιν. — Ἄνεισι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἔξιν ἀπολαμβάνει.

ΕΙ ΦΩΞΗ ΤΑ ΘΕΙ ΓΛΩ ΚΑΙ Τ' ΑΠΕΡΠΕΑ ΧΩΡΩΝ, ΕΝΘΑ ΦΘΝΘ ΤΕ ΚΟΤΘ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΕΘΝΕΑ ΚΗΡΩΝ.  
 ΕΙΣ ΟΝ ΟΙ ΕΚΠΕΣΟΝΤΕΣ — ΑΤΗΣ — ΑΝΑ ΛΕΙΜΑΝΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΟΤΘ ΗΛΑΟΚΣΟΝ.  
 Η ΔΕ ΕΦΕΣ ΤΩ ΦΟΥΓΟΝΤΘ Τ' ΑΤΗΣ ΛΕΙΜΑΝΑ ΠΡΟΣ Τ' ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΕΠΕΙΓΕ, ΤΑΙ ΛΕΙΜΑΝΑ, ΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΙΠΩΝ ΤΗ ΟΡΜΗ Τ' ΠΕΡΘΕΡΕΥΣΕΩΣ ΕΙΣ ΓΗΙΝΟΝ ΕΧΕΙΤΑΙ ΣΩΜΑ, ΟΛΕΙΣ — ΑΙΔΑΝΘ ΑΜΕΛΘΕΙΣ. *Man falleth from his Happy State, as Empedocles the Pythagorean saith, — By being a Fugitive, Apostate, and Wanderer from God, acted with a certain Mad and Irrational Strife or Contention. — But he ascends again and recovers his former State, — if he decline and avoid these Earthly things, and despise this unpleasant and wretched Place, where Murder and Wrath, and a Troop of all other Mischiefs reign. Into which Place, they who fall, wander up and down through the Field of Ate and Darkneß. But the desire of him that flees from this Field of Ate, carries him on towards the Field of Truth; which the Soul at first relinquishing, and losing its Wings, fell down into this Earthly Body, deprived of its Happy Life. From whence it appears that Plato's ΠΕΡΘΕΡΕΥΣΙΣ was derived from Empedocles and the Pythagoreans.*

Now from what hath been already cited it is sufficiently manifest, that *Empedocles* was so far from being either an *Atheist* or *Corpo-realist*, that he was indeed a *Rank Pythagorist*, as he is here called; And we might adde hereunto, what *Clemens Alexandrinus* observes, that according to *Empedocles*, ἢν ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως διαβιάσωμεν, μακάριοι μὲν εἰ ταῦθα, μακροχρόνιοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐνθάδε ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ ἐν αἰῶνι ἀναπαύεσθαι δυνάμενοι, Ἀθανάτοις ἄλλοισιν ὁμέσιοι, ἐν δὲ τραπέζαις, &c. *If we live holily and justly, we shall be happy here, and more happy after our departure hence; having our Happiness not necessarily confined to time, but being able to rest and fix in it to all Eternity; Feasting with the other Immortal Beings; &c.* We might also take notice, how, besides the *Immortal Souls* of men, he acknowledged *Demons* or *Angels*; declaring that some of these fell from Heaven, and were since prosecuted by a *Divine Nemesis*. or these in *Plutarch* are called, οἱ θεήλατοι καὶ ἔρανοπέτεις ἐκείνοι τῶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους δ' αἰμονες. *Those Empedoclean Demons lapsed from Heaven, and pursued with Divine Vengeance; Whose restless Torment is there described in several Verses of his.* And we might observe likewise how he acknowledged a *Natural and Immutable Justice*, which was not *Topical* and confined to *Places* and *Countries*, and *Relative* to particular *Laws*, but *Catholick* and *Universal*, and every where the same, through *Infinite Light* and *Space*; as he expresses it with *Poetick Pomp* and *Bravery*.

ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΝΟΜΙΜΟΝ ΔΙΑ Τ' ΔΙΟΥΜΕΔΟΝΤΘ ΑΙΘΕΡΟΣ, ΗΝΕΚΙΑΣ ΤΕΤΑΙΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ Τ' ΑΠΛΕΤΣ ΑΥΓΗΣ.

And the asserting of *Natural Morality*, is no small Argument of a *Theist*.

But

But what then shall we say to those other things which *Empedocles* is charged with by *Aristotle*, that seem to have so rank a smell of Atheism? Certainly those Mongril and Biforme Animals, that are said to have sprung up out of the Earth by chance, look as if they were more a-kin to *Democritus* than *Empedocles*, and probably it is the Fault of the Copies that it is read otherwise, there being no other Philosopher that I know of, that could ever find any such thing in *Empedocles* his Poems. But for the rest, if *Aristotle* do not misrepresent *Empedocles*, as he often doth *Plato*, then it must be granted, that he being a Mechanical Physiologer, as well as Theologer, did something too much indulge to Fortuitous Mechanism: which seems to be an Extravagancy that Mechanical Philosophers, and Atomists, have been always more or less subject to. But *Aristotle* doth not charge *Empedocles* with resolving all things into Fortuitous Mechanism, as some Philosophers have done of late, who yet pretend to be Theists and Incorporealists, but only that he would explain some things in that way. Nay he clearly puts a difference betwixt *Empedocles* and the *Democritick* Atheists in those words subjoyned, *Εἰσὶ δὲ τινές, &c.* which is as if he should have said, *Empedocles* resolved some things in the *Fabrick and structure of Animals into Fortuitous Mechanism*; but there are certain other Philosophers, namely *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, who would have all things whatsoever in the whole World, Heaven and Earth and Animals, to be made by Chance and the Fortuitous Motion of Atoms, without a Deity. It seems very plain that *Empedocles* his *Philia* and *Nichos*, his *Friendship* and *Discord*, which he makes to be the ἀρχὴ δραστική, the *Active Cause*, and Principle of Motion in the Universe, was a certain *Plastick Power*, superiour to Fortuitous Mechanism: and *Aristotle* himself acknowledges somewhere as much. And *Plutarch* tells us, that according to *Empedocles*, The Order and System of the World is not the Result of Material Causes and Fortuitous Mechanism, but of a Divine Wisdom, assigning to every thing ἐκ ἢν ἡ φύσις δίδουσι χώραν, ἀλλ' ἢν ἡ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἔργον ποθεῖ σύνταξις, *Not such a Place as Nature would give it, but such as is most convenient for the Good of the whole.* *Simplicius*, who had read *Empedocles*, acquaints us, that he made two Worlds, the one *Intellectual*, the other *Sensible*; and the former of these to be the Exemplar and Archetype of the latter. And so the Writer *De Placitis Philosophorum* observes, that *Empedocles* made δύο ἡλίας, ἢ μὲν ἀρχέτυπον ἢ δὲ φαινόμενον, *Two Suns, the one Archetypal and Intelligible, the other Apparent or Sensible.*

But I need take no more pains, to purge *Empedocles* from those two Imputations of Corporealism and Atheism, since he hath so fully confuted them himself, in those Fragments of his still extant. First, by expressing such a hearty Resentment of the Excellency of Piety, and the Wretchedness and Sottishness of Atheism in these Verses.

\*ΟΛΒΙΘ ὅς θεῶν περὶ δῶν ἐκλήσατο πλεῖστον,  
 Δαίλος δ' ὧ σκοπέουσα θεῶν πέρι δόξα μέμνηεν.

D

To

To this Sence : He is happy who hath his mind richly fraught and stored with the Treasures of Divine Knowledge; but he miserable, whose mind is Darkened, as to the Belief of a God: And, Secondly, by denying God to have any Humane Form, or Members,

οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐροῦν κεφαλὴν ἢ γῆρα κέναι, &c.

Or otherwise to be Corporeal,

οὐκ ἔστιν πελάσσειδ' ἑστ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐφικτὸν  
ἡμετέροισι, ἢ χερσὶ λαβεῖν.

And then positively affirming what he is,

Ἄλλὰ φεῶν ἱερὴ καὶ ἀθεοφαῖτος ἔπλετο μῆνον,  
φερντίσι κόσμον ἀπαντα κατὰίασσασα δοῆσον.

*Only a Holy and Ineffable Mind, that by Swift Thoughts agitates the whole World.*

XXV. And now we shall speak something also of *Anaxagoras*, having shewed before that he was a Spurious Atomist. For he likewise agreed with the other Atomists in this, that he asserted Incorporeal Substance in general as the Active Cause and Principle of Motion in the Universe, and Particularly, an Incorporeal Deity distinct from the World. Affirming, that there was besides Atoms, *Νῆς ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πόλων αἴτιος*, (as it is express'd in *Plato*) *An Ordering and Disposing Mind that was the Cause of all things*. Which Mind (as *Aristotle* tells us) he made to be *μόνον τῶν ὄντων ἀπλῆν καὶ ἀμυγῆ καὶ κατὰρῆν*. *The only Simple, Unmixed, and Pure thing in the World*. And he supposed this to be that which brought the Confused *Chaos* of Omnifarious Atoms into that *Orderly Compages* of the World that now is.

XXVI. And by this time we have made it evident that those Atomical Physiologers, that were before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, were all of them Incorporealists; joyning Theology and Pneumatology, the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substance and a Deity, together with their Atomical Physiology. This is a thing expressly noted concerning *Ecphantus* the Pythagorean in *Stobæus*. *Ἐμφάντος ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀτόμων συνεστάναι τὸν κόσμον, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ προνοίας*. *Ecphantus held the Corporeal World to consist of Atoms, but yet to be Ordered and Governed by a Divine Providence, that is, he joyned Atomology and Theology both together*. And the same is also observed of *Arcefilas*, or perhaps *Archelaus*, by *Sidonius Apollinaris*;

*Post hos Arcefilas Divinâ Mente paratam  
Conjicit hanc Molem, confectam Partibus illis  
Quas Atomos vocat ipse leves.*

Now, I say, as *Ecphantus*, and *Archelaus*, asserted the Corporeal World

World to be made of Atoms, but yet notwithstanding held an Incorporeal Deity distinct from the same, as the First Principle of Activity in it; so in like manner did all the other ancient Atomists, generally before *Democritus*, joyn Theology and Incorporealism with their Atomical Physiology. They did Atomize as well as he, but they did not Atheize; but that Atheistical Atomology was a thing first set on foot afterward by *Leucippus* and *Democritus*.

XXVII. But because many seem to be so strongly possessed with this Prejudice, as if *Atheism* were a Natural and Necessary Appendix to *Atomism*, and therefore will conclude that the same persons could not possibly be Atomists, and Incorporealists or Theists, we shall further make it Evident, that there is not only, no Inconsistency betwixt the Atomical Physiology and Theology, but also that there is on the Contrary, a most Natural Cognation between them.

And this we shall do two manner of ways; First, by inquiring into the Origin of this Philosophy, and considering what Grounds or Principles of Reason they were, which first led the Antients into this Atomical or Mechanical way of Physiologizing. And Secondly, by making it appear that the Intrinsic Constitution of this Physiology is such, that whosoever entertains it, if he do but thoroughly understand it, must of necessity acknowledge that there is something else in the World besides Body.

First therefore, this Atomical Physiology seems to have had its Rise and Origin from the Strength of Reason exerting its own Inward Active Power and Vigour, and thereby bearing it self up against the Prejudices of Sense, and at length prevailing over them, after this manner. The Ancients considering and revolving the *Idea's* of their own Minds, found that they had a clear and distinct Conception of Two things, as the General Heads and Principles of whatsoever was in the Universe; the one whereof was *Passive Matter*, and the other *Active Power, Vigour and Vertue*. To the Latter of which belongs both Cogitation, and the Power of Moving Matter, whether by express Consciousness or no. Both which together, may be called by one General Name, of *Life*; so that they made these two General Heads of Being or Entity, *Passive Matter or Bulk*, and *Self Activity or Life*. The Former of these was commonly called by the Ancients, the τὸ παθητόν, that which suffers and receives, and the Latter the τὸ ποίον, the Active Principle, and the τὸ ἔξουθεν ἢ κίνησις, that from whence Motion Springs. αἰνον διακίνη- ερον καὶ κίνη- τῶν. Philo.

In rerum Natura (saith *Cicero*) according to the General Sence of the Ancients) Duo quaerenda sunt; Unum, quae Materia sit, ex qua quaeque res efficiatur; Alterum, quae res sit quae quicque Efficiat: There are two things to be enquired after in Nature; One, what is the Matter out of which every thing is made; Another, what is the Active Cause or Efficient. To the same purpose *Seneca*; Esse debet aliquid Unde fiat, deinde à Quo fiat; hoc est Causa, illud Materia: There

must be something Out of which a thing is made, and then something By which it is made; the Latter is properly the Cause, and the Former the Matter. Which is to be understood of Corporeal things and their Differences, that there must be both Matter, and an Active Power, for the production of them. And so also that of Aristotle, ζῆσις αἰτίας μιᾶς μὲν ἔδεν τῷ ἀρχῷ εἶναι φαρμῶν ἢ κινήσεως, μιᾶς δὲ ἢ ὕλης. That from whence the Principle of Motion is, is one Cause, and the Matter is another. Where Aristotle gives that name of Cause to the Matter also, though others did appropriate it to the Active Power. And the Writer de Placitis Philosophorum expresses this as the General Sense of the Ancients. ἀδύνατον ἀρχῷ μίαν ὕλῃ ἢ ὕλῃ ἕξει ἢ τὰ πάντα ὑποστῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν αἴτιον χρὴ ὑποπθέσθαι, οἷον ἐκ ἀργύρου ἀρεῖται πρὸς τὸ ἔκπωμα γινέσθαι ἂν μὴ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ἢ, τρεῖσιν ὁ ἀργυροκόπος, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ χαλκῷ, καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ, καὶ ἄλλῃς ὕλης. It is impossible that Matter alone should be the sole Principle of all things, but there must of necessity be supposed also an Agent or Efficient Cause. As Silver alone is not sufficient to make a Cup, unless there be an Artificer to work upon it. And the same is to be said concerning Brass, Wood, and other Natural Bodies.

Now as they apprehended a Necessity of these two Principles, so they conceived them to be such, as could not be confounded together into one and the same Thing or Substance; they having such distinct Ideas and Essential Characters from one another: The Stoicks being the only Persons, who offering Violence to their own apprehensions, rudely and unskillfully attempted to make these two distinct things to be one and the same Substance. Wherefore as the First of these, viz. Matter, or Passive Extended Bulk, is taken by all for Substance, and commonly called by the name of Body; so the other, which is far the more Noble of the Two, being that which acts upon the matter and hath a Commanding Power over it, must needs be Substance too, of a different kind from Matter or Body; and therefore Immaterial or Incorporeal Substance. Neither did they find any other Entity to be conceivable, besides these two, Passive Bulk or Extension, which is Corporeal Substance; and Internal Self-Activity or Life, which is the Essential Character of Substance Incorporeal; to which Latter belongs not only Cogitation, but also the Power of Moving Body.

Moreover, when they further considered the First of these, the Material or Corporeal Principle, they being not able clearly to conceive any thing else in it, besides Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion or Rest, which are all several Modes of Extended Bulk, concluded therefore according to Reason, that there was Really nothing else existing in Bodies without, besides the various Complexions and Conjugations of those Simple Elements, that is, nothing but Mechanism. Whence it necessarily followed, that whatsoever else was supposed to be in Bodies, was, indeed, nothing but our Modes of Sensation, or the Phancies and Passions in us begotten from them, mistaken for things really existing without us. And this is a thing so obvious, that some of those Philosophers who had taken little notice of the Atomical Physiology, had notwithstanding

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ing a suspicion of it; as for Example Plotinus, who writing of the *Criterion of Truth*, and the power of Reason, hath these words, *καὶ τὰ ἐπι τῆ αἰσθήσεως ἃ δὲ δοκεῖ πρὶν ἔχειν ἐναργεστάτω, ἀπισεῖται μήποτε ἐκ ἐν τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν ἔχει τι δεικνύσαν ὑπόστασιν, καί τις δὲ εἴη ἡ διαβολὰς τῶν κενόντων* Though the things of Sense seem to have so clear a Certainty, yet notwithstanding it is doubted concerning them, whether (the Qualities of them) have any Real Existence at all in the things without us, and not rather a Seeming Existence only, in our own Passions; and there is need of Mind or Understanding to judge in this Case, and to determine the Controversie, which Sense alone cannot decide. But the ancient Physiologists concluded without any hesitancy, *ἃ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔστι τὸ μέλι τῶν γλυκαίσεσθαι με, καὶ τὸ ἀψίνθιον τῶν πικραίσεσθαι*, That the Nature of Honey in it self, is not the same thing with my being sweetened, nor of Wormwood with that Sense of bitterness which I have from it; *διαφέρειν δὲ τὸ πάθος τῆ οὐκ ὁμοῦς ὑποκειμένης, καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεως, τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς ὑποκείμενα ἢ καὶ ἀλαμβάνειν, μόνα δὲ εἰ ἄρα τὰ ἑαυτῶν πάθη* But that the Passion of Sense differ'd from the Absolute Nature of the thing it self without; the Senses not comprehending the Objects themselves, but only their own Passions from them.

I say therefore, that the Ancients concluded the Absolute Nature of Corporeal things in themselves, to be nothing but a certain Disposition of Parts, in respect of Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion, which in Taſts cause us to be differently affected with those *senses* of Sweetness and Bitterness, and in Sight with those *Phancies* of Colours, and accordingly in the other Senses with other *Phancies*; and that the Corporeal World was to be explained by these Two things, whereof one is Absolute in the Bodies without us, the various Mechanism of them, the other Relative only to us, the different Phancies in us, caused by the respective Differences of them, in themselves. Which Phancies or Phantastick *Idea's* are no *Modes* of the *Bodies* without us, but of that only in our selves which is *Cogitative* or *Self-Active*, that is, *Incorporeal*. For the *Sensible Idea's* of Hot and Cold, Red and green, &c. cannot be clearly conceived by us as *Modes* of the *Bodies* without us, but they may be easily apprehended as *Modes* of *Cogitation*, that is, of Sensation, or *Sympathetical Perception* in us.

The Result of all which was; That whatsoever is either in Our Selves, or the Whole World, was to be reduced to one or other of these two Principles; *Passive Matter*, and *Extended Bulk*, or *Self-Active Power* and *Vertue*; *Corporeal* or *Incorporeal Substance*; *Mechanism* or *Life*; or else to a *Complication* of them both together.

**XXVIII.** From this General Account, which we have now given of the Origin of the Atomical Physiology, it appears that the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substance sprung up together with it. But this will be further manifest, from that which follows. For we shall in the next place shew, how this Philosophy did, in especial manner, owe its Original, to the Improvement of one Particular

Principle of Reason, over and besides all the rest ; namely, that famous *Axiom*, so much talked of amongst the Ancients,

*De Nihilo Nihil, in Nihilum Nil posse reverti ;*

That *Nothing can come from Nothing, nor go to Nothing*. For though *Democritus, Epicurus* and *Lucretius* abused this Theorem, endeavouring to carry it further than the Intention of the first Atomists, to the disproving of a Divine Creation of any thing out of Nothing by it ; *Nullam rem à Nihilo gigni Divinitus unquam* ; and consequently of a Deity : Yet as the meaning of it was at first confined and restrained, That *Nothing of it self could come from Nothing nor go to Nothing*, or that according to the Ordinary Course of Nature (without an Extraordinary Divine Power) *Nothing could be rais'd from Nothing, nor reduc'd to Nothing* ; it is not only an undoubted Rule of Reason in it self, but it was also the Principal Original of that Atomical Physiology, which, discarding Forms and Qualities, acknowledged really nothing else in Body besides Mechanism.

Wherefore it was not in vain, or to no purpose that *Laertius* in the Life of *Democritus* takes notice of this as one of his *Dogmata*, *μὴδὲν ἔκ τῆ μη ὄντος γίνεσθαι μὴδ' εἰς τὸ μη ὄν φθείρεσθαι*. That *Nothing was made or Generated out of Nothing, nor Corrupted into Nothing*. This being a Fundamental Principle, not only of his Atheism, but also of that very Atomical Physiology it self, which he pursued. And *Epicurus* in his Epistle to *Herodotus* plainly fetches the beginning of all his Philosophy from hence. *πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἄδὲν γίνεσθαι ἔκ τῆ μη ὄντος, καὶ ἄδὲν φθείρεσθαι εἰς τὸ μη ὄν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγένετο τὸ ἀφανιζόμενον ἔκ τῆ μη ὄντος, πᾶν ἔκ πάντων ἐγίνετ' ἂν, σπερμάτων γὰρ ἄδὲν προσδέομενον. καὶ εἰ ἐφείρετο δ' εἰς τὸ ἀφανιζόμενον εἰς τὸ μη ὄν, πάντα ἂν ἀπολάλει τὰ πεφυμένα ἐκ ὄντων γὰρ εἰς ἄδιελύετο*. We fetch the beginning of our Philosophy (saith he) from hence, that *Nothing is made out of Nothing or destroy'd to Nothing* ; for if things were made out of Nothing, then every thing might be made out of every thing, neither would there be any need of Seeds. And if whatsoever is Corrupted were destroyed to Nothing, then all things would at length be brought to Nothing. *Lucretius* in like manner beginning here, insists more largely upon those Grounds of Reason hinted by *Epicurus* : And first, That *Nothing can be made out of Nothing* he proves thus ;

*Nam si de nihilo fierent, ex omnibus rebus*

*Omne Genus nasci posset : Nil Semine egeret :*

*E mare primum Homines & terra posset oriri*

*Squamigerum Genus, &c.*

*Nec Fructus iidem Arboribus constare solerent,*

*Sed mutarentur : Ferre omnes omnia posset.*

*Præterea cur Vere Rosam, Frumenta Calore,*

*Vites Autumno, fundi, suadente videmus ? &c.*

*Quod si de Nihilo fierent, subito exorerentur*

*Incerto spatio atq; alienis Partibus anni.*

In like manner he argues, to prove that Nothing is Corrupted into Nothing.

*Huc accedit uti quicque in sua Corpora rursum  
Dissolvat Natura ; neque ad Nihilum interimat res :  
Nam si quid Mortale à cunctis Partibus esset,  
Ex oculis res quæque repente crepta periret.  
Præterea quæcunque Vetustate amovet ætas,  
Si penitus perimit, consumens Materiam omnem,  
Unde Animale Genus generatim in Lumina Vitæ  
Redducit Venus ? aut reductum Dædala Tellus  
Unde alit atque auget ? generatim pabula præbens, &c.  
Haud igitur penitus pereunt quæcunque videntur,  
Quando aliud ex alio reficit Natura ; nec ullam  
Rem gigni patitur nisi morte adjutam alienâ.*

In which Passages, though it be plain that *Lucretius* doth not immediately drive at Atheism, and nothing else ; but primarily at the establishing of a peculiar kind of Atomical Physiology, upon which indeed these *Democriticks* afterward endeavoured to graft Atheism ; yet to take away that suspicion, we shall in the next place shew, that generally the other Ancient Physiologers also, who were Theists, did likewise build the structure of their Philosophy upon the same Foundation, that *Nothing can come from Nothing, nor go to Nothing* : As for Example, *Parmenides*, *Melissus*, *Zeno*, *Xenophanes*, *Anaxagoras* and *Empedocles* ; of *Parmenides* and *Melissus*, *Aristotle* thus writes, ἴδεν ἴδὲ γίνεσθαι φασιν ἴδ' ἐφθεγγεσθαι ἴδ' οὐτ' ὄν. They say that no Real Entity is either Generated or Corrupted, that is, made anew out of Nothing or destroy'd to Nothing. And *Simplicius* tells us, that *Parmenides* gave a notable Reason for the Confirmation of this Assertion, that Nothing in Nature could be Made out of Nothing, αἴτιαν τῷ δ' εἶναι πάντως ἐξ οὐτ' ὄν γίνεσθαι τὸ γινόμενον, δαυμασῶς ὁ Παρμηναῖος προσέθηκεν, ὅπως γὰρ φησιν, εἰ ἔκ τῷ μὴ οὐτ', τις ἢ ἀποκλήρωσις τῷ τότε γινέσθαι ὅτι ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρότερον ἢ ὕστερον. Because if any thing be made out of Nothing, then there could be no cause why it should be then made, and neither sooner nor later. Again *Aristotle* testifies of *Xenophanes* and *Zeno*, that they made this a main Principle of their Philosophy μὴ εὐδεχέσθαι γίνεσθαι μηδὲν ἐκ μηδενός. That it cannot be that any thing should be made out of Nothing : And of this *Xenophanes*, *Sextus* the Philosopher tells us, that he held ὅτι εἰς καὶ ἀσώματ' ἑὸς. That there was but one God, and that he was Incorporeal, speaking thus of him ;

Εἰς θεὸς ἔντε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστ',  
οὔτε δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοῖον, ἕτε νοήμα.

*Aristotle* also writes in like manner concerning *Empedocles*, ἀπαντὰ ταῦτα κἀκείν' ὁμολογεῖ ὅτι ἔκ τε μὴ οὐτ' ἀμήχανόν ἐστι γινέσθαι, ἢ τε ὄν ἐξέλλυσθαι ἀνήνυσον καὶ ἀρρήκτον. *Empedocles* acknowledges the very same with other Philosophers, that it is impossible any thing should be Made

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out of Nothing or Perish into Nothing. And as for *Anaxagoras*, it is sufficiently known to all, that his *Homœomeria* or Doctrine of Similar Atoms, (which was a certain Spurious kind of Atomism) was nothing but a superstructure made upon this Foundation. Besides all which, *Aristotle* pronounces universally concerning the Ancient Physiologers without any exception, that they agreed in this one thing, *Ἐπι ταύτης ὁμογνωμονέσαι τῆ δόξης οἱ ἐπι φύσεως, ὅτι τὸ γινόμενον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γινεσθαι ἀδύνατον.* The Physiologers generally agree in this (laying it down for a grand Foundation) that it is Impossible that any thing should be made out of Nothing. And again he calls this κοινὴ δόξαν τῶ φυσικῶν, the common Opinion of Naturalists; intimating also, that they concluded it the greatest absurdity, that any Physiologer could be guilty of, to lay down such Principles, as from whence it would follow, that any Real Entity in Nature did come from Nothing and go to Nothing.

Now it may well be supposed, that all these Ancient Physiologers (the most of which were also Theists) did not keep such a stir about this business for nothing; and therefore we are in the next place to show, what it was that they drove at in it. And we do affirm that one thing, which they all aimed at, who insisted upon the forementioned Principle, was the establishing some Atomical Physiology or other, but most of them at such as takes away all Forms and Qualities of Bodies (as Entities really distinct from the Matter and Substance) and resolves all into *Mechanism* and *Phancy*. For it is plain, that if the Forms and Qualities of Bodies be Entities really distinct from the Substance, and its various Modifications, of Figure, Site, and Motion, that then in all the Changes and Transmutations of Nature, all the Generations and Alterations of Body, (those Forms and Qualities being supposed to have no Real Existence any where before) something must of necessity be Created or produced miraculously out of Nothing; as likewise reduced into Nothing in the Corruptions of them, they having no Being any where afterward. As for Example; when ever a Candle is but lighted or kindled into a flame, there must needs be a new Form of fire, and new Qualities of Light and Heat, really distinct from the Matter and Substance, produced out of Nothing, that is, Created, and the same again Reduced into Nothing, or Annihilated, when the flame is extinguished. Thus, when Water is but Congealed at any time into Snow, Hail, or Ice, and when it is again Dissolved; when Wax is by Liquefaction made Soft and Transparent, and changed to most of our Senses; when the same kind of Nourishment taken in by Animals, is turned into Blood, Milk, Flesh, Bones, Nerves, and all the other Similar Parts; when that which was in the Form of bright Flame, appears in the Form of dark Smoak; and that which was in the Form of Vapour, in the Form of Rain or Water, or the like: I say, that in all these Mutations of Bodies there must needs be something made out of Nothing. But that in all the Protean Transformations of Nature, which happen continually, there should be Real Entities thus perpetually produced out of Nothing and reduced to Nothing, seemed to be so great a Paradox

Paradox to the Ancients, that they could by no means admit of it. Because as we have already declared, First they concluded it clearly impossible by Reason, that any Real Entity should of it self rise out of Nothing; and Secondly, they thought it very absurd to bring God upon the Stage, with his Miraculous extraordinary Power, perpetually at every turn; As also, that every thing might be made out of every thing, and there would be no Cause in Nature, for the Production of one thing rather than another, and at this time rather than that, if they were Miraculously made out of Nothing. Wherefore they sagaciouſly apprehended, that there muſt needs be ſome other Mystery or Intrigue of Nature, in this buſineſs, than was commonly dream'd of, or ſuſpected; which they concluded to be this, That in all theſe Transformations, there were no ſuch Real Entities of *Forms* and *Qualities* diſtinct from the Matter, and the various Diſpoſition of its Parts, in reſpect of Figure, Site and Motion (as is vulgarly ſuppoſed) Produced and Destroyed; but that all theſe Feats were done, either by the Concretion and Secretion of actually Inexiſtent Parts, or elſe by the different Modifications of the ſame Preexiſtent Matter, or the Inſenſible parts thereof. This only being added hereunto, that from thoſe different Modifications of the ſmall Particles of Bodies, (they being not ſo diſtinctly perceived by our Senſes) there are begotten in us, certain confuſed *Phaſmata* or *Phantaſmata*, *Apparitions*, *Phancies*, and *Paſſions*, as of Light and Colours, Heat and Cold, and the like, which are thoſe things, that are vulgarly miſtaken for real Qualities exiſting in the Bodies without us; whereas indeed there is Nothing Absolutely in the Bodies themſelves like to thoſe *Phantaſtick Idea's* that we have of them; and yet they are wiſely contriv'd by the Author of Nature, for the Adorning and Embelliſhing of the Corporeal World to us.

So that they conceived, Bodies were to be conſidered two manner of ways, either as they are Absolutely in themſelves, or elſe as they are Relatively to us: And as they are absolutely in themſelves, that ſo there never was any *Entity* really diſtinct from the Substance, *produced in them out of Nothing, nor Corrupted or Destroyed to Nothing*, but only the *Accidents* and *Modifications* altered. Which *Accidents* and *Modifications* are no *Entities* really diſtinct from their *Subſtance*; for as much as the ſame Body may be put into ſeveral Shapes and Figures, and the ſame Man may ſucceſſively Stand, Sit, Kneel and Walk, without the production of any new Entities really diſtinct from the ſubſtance of his Body. So that the Generations, Corruptions and Alterations of Inanimate Bodies are not terminated in the Production or Deſtruction of any Subſtantial Forms, or real Entities diſtinct from the Substance, but only in different Modifications of it. But ſecondly, as Bodies are conſidered Relatively to us, that ſo beſides their different Modifications and Mechanical Alterations, there are alſo different *Phancies*, *Seemings* and *Apparitions* begotten in us from them; which unwary and unſkilful Philoſophers miſtake for Absolute Forms and Qualities in Bodies themſelves. And thus they concluded, that all the *Phaenomena* of Inanimate Bodies, and their various Transformations, might  
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be clearly resolved into these two things, Partly something that is Real and Absolute in Bodies themselves, which is nothing but their different Mechanism, or Disposition of Parts in respect of Figure, Site and Motion; and Partly something that is Phantastical in the Sentient.

That the Atomical Physiology did emerge after this manner, from that Principle of Reason, that *Nothing comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing*, might be further convinced from the testimony of *Aristotle*, writing thus concerning it: Ἐκ τῆς γίνεσθαι ἐξ ἀλλήλων τ' ἀναστία ἐνυπήρχεν ἄρα· εἰ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἀνάσκει γίνεσθαι ἢ ἐξ ὄντων ἢ ἐξ μὴ ὄντων· τῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν, ἢ μὴ ὄντων γίνεσθαι ἀδύνατον, ὡς ἰ γὰρ τῶν ὁμογενῶν μόνον ἢ ὁμογενῶν ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν οἱ ὡς ἐφύσεως τὸ λεπτόν ἢ δὴ συμβαίνειν ἐξ ἀνάσκεις ἐνόμισαν· ἐξ ὄντων μὲν καὶ ἐνυπαρχόντων γίνεσθαι, διὰ τὴν μικρότητα τῶν ὄντων ἐξ ἀνασκειῶν ἡμῶν. *The ancient Physiologers concluded, that because Contraries were made out of one another, that therefore they were before (one way or other) Inexistent, Arguing in this manner. That if whatsoever be made, must needs be made out of Something or out of Nothing, and this latter (that any thing should be made out of Nothing) is Impossible, according to the general Consent of all the ancient Physiologers; then it follows of Necessity, that all Corporeal things are Made or Generated, out of things that were really before and Inexistent; though by reason of the smallness of their Bulks they were Insensible to us. Where Aristotle plainly intimates that all the ancient Philosophers, whosoever insisted upon this Principle, that Nothing comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing, were one way or other Atomical, and did resolve all Corporeal things into ὅσας τινὰς διὰ τὴν μικρότητα ἀνασκειῶν ἡμῶν, Certain Moleculæ or Corpuscula which by Reason of their smallness were insensible to us, that is, into Atoms. But yet there was a difference between these Atomists, forasmuch as Anaxagoras was such an Atomist, as did notwithstanding hold Forms and Qualities, really distinct from the Mechanical Modifications of Bodies. For he not being able (as it seems) well to understand that other Atomical Physiology of the Ancients, that, exploding Qualities, salv'd all Corporeal Phenomena by Mechanism and Phancy; and yet acknowledging, that that Principle of theirs which they went upon, must needs be true, That Nothing could of it self come from Nothing nor go to Nothing; framed a new kind of Atomology of his own, in supposing the whole Corporeal World or Mass of Matter, to consist of Similar Atoms, that is, such as were originally endued with all those different Forms and Qualities that are vulgarly conceived to be in Bodies, some Bony, some Flethy, some Firie, some Watery, some White, some Black, some Bitter, some Sweet, and the like, so that all Bodies whatsoever had some of all sorts of these Atoms (which are in a manner Infinite) specifically differing from one another in them. πᾶν ἔν παντὶ μίχθαι, διότι πᾶν ἔν παντὶ γίνεται, φαίνεσθαι ἢ διαφέρειν, καὶ προσαναγορεύεσθαι ἕτερον ἀλλήλων ἔν τῷ μάλιστα ὑπερέχοντι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἔν τῷ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀπέρων, &c. *That all things were in every thing mingled together, because they saw that every thing was made of every thing; but that things seemed to differ from one another and were denominated to be this or that, from those Atoms which are most predominant in the Mixture, by reason of their**

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*their Multiplicity*: Whence he concluded that all the Generations, Corruptions and Alterations of Bodies were made by nothing but the *Concretions* and *Secretions* of Inexistent and Preexistent Atoms of different Forms and Qualities, without the Production of any new Form and Qualitie out of Nothing, or the Reduction of any into Nothing. This very account *Aristotle* gives of the *Anaxagorean Hypothesis*. *ἕτοιμα Ἀναξαγόρου εἶπας ἄπειρα οἰσθῆναι τὰ στοιχεῖα, διὰ τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν, τὼ κοινῶ δόξῃ τῶ φυσικῶν εἶναι ἀληθῆ, ὡς ἔγνομεν ἔθενος ἢ τῶ μὴ εἶναι*. *Anaxagoras seemeth therefore to make Infinite Atoms endued with several Forms and Qualities to be the Elements of Bodies, because he supposed that Common opinion of Physiologers to be true, that Nothing is Made of Nothing.* But all the other ancient Physiologers that were before *Anaxagoras*, and likewise those after him, who insisting upon the same Principle of *Nothing coming from Nothing* did not *Anaxagorize*, as *Empedocles*, *Democritus* and *Protagoras*, must needs make *ὅμοια ἀνομοίως, dissimilar Molecule*, and *ἄτομος ἄποιος, Atoms unformed and unqualified*, otherwise than by Magnitude, Figure and Motion, to be the Principles of Bodies, and cashiering Forms and Qualities (as real Entities distinct from the Matter) resolve all Corporeal *Phenomena* into *Mechanism* and *Phancie*. Because, if no Real Entity can come from Nothing, nor go to Nothing, then one of these two things is absolutely Necessary, that either these Corporeal Forms and Qualities, being real Entities distinct from the Matter, should exist before Generations and after Corruptions, in certain insensible Atoms originally such, according to the *Anaxagorean Doctrine*; Or else, that they should not be Real Entities distinct from the Matter, but only the different Modifications and Mechanisms of it, together with different Phancies. And thus we have made it evident that the genuine Atomical Physiology did spring originally from this Principle of Reason, that no Real Entity *does of it self come from Nothing nor go to Nothing.*

XXIX. Now we shall in the next place show how this very same Principle of Reason which induced the Ancients to reject Substantial Forms and Qualities of Bodies, and to Physiologize Atomically, led them also unavoidably to assert Incorporeal Substances, and that the Souls of Men and Animals were such, neither Generated nor Corrupted. They had argued against Substantial Forms and Qualities as we have shewed, in this manner, that since the Forms and Qualities of Bodies are supposed by all to be Generated and Corrupted, made anew out of Nothing and destroyed to Nothing, that therefore they could not be Real Entities distinct from the Substance of Matter, but only different Modifications of it in respect of Figure, Site and Motion, causing different Sensations in us; and were all to be resolved into *Mechanism* and *Fancie*. For as for that Conceit of *Anaxagoras*, of Præ and Post-existent Atoms, endued with all those several Forms and Qualities of Bodies Ingenerably and Incorruptibly; it was nothing but an Adulteration of the genuine Atomical Philosophy, and a mere Dream of his, in which very few follow'd him. And now they argue contrariwise for the Souls of Men and Animals, in this manner; Because they are plain-ly

ly Real Entities distinct from the Substance of Matter and its Modification, and Men and Brutes are not mere Machins, neither can Life and Cogitation, Sense and Conscioufness, Reason and Understanding, Appetite and Will, ever result from Magnitudes, Figures, Sites and Motions, that therefore they are not Corporeally Generated and Corrupted, as the Forms and Qualities of Bodies are. Ἄδύνατον ἄνευ αἰτιᾶς τι ἐκ μηδενὸς προῖσθαι. *It is impossible for a real Entity to be made or Generated from Nothing preexisting.* Now there is Nothing of Soul and Mind, Reason and Understanding, nor indeed of Cogitation and Life, contained in the Modifications and Mechanism of Bodies; and therefore to make Soul and Mind to rise out of Body whensoever a man is generated, would be plainly to make a real Entity to come out of Nothing, which is impossible. I say, because the Forms and Qualities of Bodies are Generated and Corrupted, Made and Unmade, in the ordinary course of Nature, therefore they concluded, that they were not real Entities distinct from the Substance of Body and its various Modifications: but because Soul and Mind is plainly a real Entity distinct from the Substance of Body, its Modification and Mechanism; that therefore it was not a thing Generated and Corrupted, Made and Unmade, but such as had a Being of its own, a Substantial Thing by it self. Real Entities and Substances are not Generated and Corrupted, but only Modifications.

Wherefore these Ancients apprehended that there was a great difference betwixt the Souls of Men and Animals, and the Forms and Qualities of other inanimate Bodies, and consequently betwixt their several Productions. Forasmuch as in the Generation of Inanimate Bodies there is no new real Entity acquired distinct from the Substance of the thing it self, but only a peculiar Modification of it. The Form of Stone, or of Timber, of Blood, Flesh and Bone, and such other Natural Bodies Generated, is no more a distinct Substance or Entity from the Matter, than the Form of an House, Stool or Table is: There is no more new Entity acquired in the Generation of Natural Bodies, than there is in the Production of Artificial ones. When Water is turn'd into Vapour, Candle into Flame, Flame into Smoak, Grass into Milk Blood and Bones, there is no more miraculous Production of Something out of Nothing, than when Wool is made into cloth, or Flax into Linnen, when a rude and Unpolish'd Stone is hewen into a beautiful Statue, when Brick, Timber and Mortar, that lay together before disorderly, is brought into the Form of a stately Palace; there being Nothing neither in one nor other of these but only a different Disposition and Modification of preexistent Matter. Which Matter of the Universe is alwaies Substantially the same, and neither more nor less, but only *Proteanly* transformed into different Shapes. Thus we see that the Generation of all Inanimate Bodies is nothing but the change of Accidents and Modifications, the Substance being really the same both before and after. But in the Generations of Men and Animals, besides the new disposition of the Parts of Matter and its Organization, there is also the Acquisition and Conjunction of another Real Entity or Substance distinct from the Matter,

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ter, which could not be Generated out of it, but must needs come into it some other way. Though there be no Substantial difference between a Stately House or Palace standing, and all the Materials of the same ruined and demolished, but only a difference of Accidents and Modifications; yet between a living Man and a dead Carcase, there is besides the Accidental Modification of the Body, another Substantial difference, there being a Substantial Soul and Incorporeal Inhabitant, dwelling in the one and acting of it, which the other is now deserted of. And it is very observable that *Anaxagoras* himself, who made Bony and Flethy Atoms, Hot and Cold, Red and Green, and the like, which he supposed to exist before Generations and after Corruptions, alwaies immutably the same, (that so Nothing might come from Nothing and go to Nothing) yet he did not make any Animalish Atoms Sensitive and Rational. The Reason whereof could not be because he did not think Sense and Understanding to be as Real Entities as Hot and Cold, Red and Green; but because they could not be supposed to be Corporeal Forms and Qualities, but must needs belong to another Substance that was Incorporeal. And therefore *Anaxagoras* could not but acknowledge, that all Souls and Lives did Præ and Post-exist by themselves, as well as those Corporeal Forms and Qualities, in his *Similar Atoms*.

XXX. And now it is already manifest, that from the same Principle of Reason before mentioned, That *Nothing of it self can come from Nothing nor go to Nothing*, the Ancient Philosophers were induced likewise to assert the Soul's Immortality, together with its Incorporeity or Distinctness from the Body. No substantial Entity ever vanisheth of it self into Nothing; for if it did, then in length of time all might come to be Nothing. But the Soul is a Substantial Entity, Really distinct from the body, and not the mere Modification of it; and therefore when a Man dies, his Soul must still remain and continue to have a Being somewhere else in the Universe. All the Changes that are in Nature, are either *Accidental Transformations* and different *Modifications* of the same Substance, or else they are *Conjunctions* and *Separations*, or *Anagrammatical Transpositions* of things in the Universe; the Substance of the whole remaining alwaies entirely the same. The Generation and Corruption of Inanimate Bodies, is but like the making of a House, Stool or Table, and the Unmaking or Marring of them again; either different Modifications of one and the same Substance, or else divers Mixtures and Separations, Concretions and Secretions. And the Generation and Corruption of Animals is likewise nothing but

μῆξις τε διάλλαξις τε μυσίντων,

The Conjunction of Souls together with such Particular Bodies, and the Separation of them again from one another, and so as it were the Anagrammatical Transposition of them in the Universe. That Soul and Life that is now fled and gone, from a lifeless Carcase, is only

a loss to that particular Body or Compages of Matter, which by means thereof is now disanimated; but it is no loss to the whole, it being but Transposed in the Universe, and lodged somewhere else.

XXXI. It is also further evident that this same Principle which thus led the Ancients to hold the Souls Immortality, or its Future Permanency after Death, must needs determine them likewise to maintain its *Προϋπαρξίς*, or *Preexistence*, and consequently its *μετεμωμάτωσις*, or *Transmigration*. For that which did preexist before the Generation of any Animal, and was then somewhere else, must needs Transmigrate into the Body of that Animal where now it is. But as for that other Transmigration of Human Souls into the Bodies of Brutes, though it cannot be denied but that many of these Ancients admitted it also, yet *Timæus Locrus*, and divers others of the *Pythagoreans*, rejected it, any otherwise than as it might be taken for an Allegorical Description of that Beastly Transformation, that is made of Mens Souls by Vice. *Aristotle* tells us again, agreeably to what was declared before, *ὅτι μάλιστα φοβήθησαν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ἐκ μηδενὸς γίνεσθαι τι προϋπαρχούτων*. That the Ancient Philosophers were afraid of Nothing more, than this one thing, that any thing should be made out of Nothing Preexistent: And therefore they must needs conclude, that the Souls of all Animals Preexisted before their Generations. And indeed it is a thing very well known that according to the Sence of Philosophers, these two things were alwaies included together, in that one opinion of the Soul's Immortality, namely its *Preexistence* as well as its *Postexistence*. Neither was there ever any of the Ancients before Christianity, that held the Souls future Permanency after Death, who did not likewise assert its *Preexistence*; they clearly perceiving, that if it were once granted, that the Soul was Generated, it could never be proved but that it might be also Corrupted. And therefore the Assertors of the Souls Immortality, commonly begun here; first, to prove its *Preexistence*, proceeding thence afterward to establish its *Permanency* after Death. This is the Method used in *Plato*, *ὡς πού ημῶν ἡ ψυχὴ πρὶν εἶναι τὰδε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα εἶδει γινέσθαι ὡς καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθάνατον τι εἶεν ἡ ψυχὴ εἶναι*. Our Soul was somewhere, before it came to exist in this present Humane Form, and from thence it appears to be Immortal, and such as will subsist after Death. And the chief demonstration of the Soul's *Preexistence* to the Ancients before *Plato* was this, because it is an Entity Really distinct from Body or Matter and the Modifications of it; and no real Substantial Entity can either spring of it self out of Nothing, or be made out of any other Substance distinct from it, because Nothing can be made *ἐκ μηδενὸς ἐνυπαρχούτων* ἢ *προϋπαρχούτων*, from nothing either inexisting or preexisting; all Natural Generations being but the various Dispositions and Modifications of what was before existent in the Universe. But there was Nothing of Soul and Mind, Inexisting and Preexisting in Body before, there being Nothing of *Life* and *Cogitation* in *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*. Wherefore this must needs be, not a thing Made or Generated, as Corporeal Forms and Qualities are, but such

as hath a *Being* in Nature *Ingenerably* and *Incorruptibly*. The Mechanism of Humane Body was a thing *Made* and *Generated*, it being only a different Modification of what was before existent, and having no new Entity in it distinct from the Substance: And the *Totum* or *Compositum* of a Man or Animal may be said to be *Generated* and *Corrupted*, in regard of the Union and Disunion, Conjunction and Separation of those two parts, the Soul and Body: But the Soul it self, according to these Principles, is neither a thing Generable nor Corruptible, but was as well before the Generation, and will be after the Deaths and Corruptions of men, as the Substance of their Body, which is supposed by all to have been from the first Creation, and no Part of it to be annihilated or lost after Death, but only scatter'd and dispersed in the Universe. Thus the Ancient Atomists concluded, That Souls and Lives being Substantial Entities by themselves, were all of them as old as any other Substance in the Universe, and as the whole Mass of Matter, and every smallest Atom of it is. That is, they who maintained the Eternity of the World, did consequently assert also *Æternitatem Animorum* (as Cicero calls it) *the Eternity of Souls and Minds*. But they who conceived the World to have had a Temporary Beginning or Creation, held the Coevity of all Souls with it, and would by no means be induced to think that every Atom of Senseless Matter and Particle of Dust, had such a Privilege and Preeminency over the Souls of Men and Animals, as to be Senieur to them. *Synesius* though a Christian, yet having been educated in this Philosophy, could not be induced by the hopes of a Bishoprick, to stifle or dissemble this Sentiment of his Mind, ἀμέλει τιῷ ψυχῷ ἐν ἀξιώσω ποτὲ πώματ' ὕστερ' ἑγὼ νῦν νομίζω. *I shall never be perswaded to think my Soul to be younger than my Body*. But such, it seems, was the temper of those times, that he was not only dispensed withal as to this, but also as to another Heterodoxy of his, concerning the Resurrection.

XXXII. It is already plain also, that this Doctrine of the Ancient Atomists concerning the Immateriality and Immortality, the Præ and Post-existence of Souls, was not confined by them to Humane Souls only, but extended universally to all Souls and Lives whatsoever. It being a thing that was hardly ever called into doubt or question by any, before *Cartesius*, whether the Souls of Brutes had any Sense, Cogitation or Consciousness in them or no. Now all Life, Sense and Cogitation was undoubtedly concluded by them, to be an Entity Really distinct from the Substance of Body, and not the mere Modification, Motion or Mechanism of it; *Life* and *Mechanism* being two distinct *Idea's* of the Mind, which cannot be confounded together. Wherefore they resolved that all Lives and Souls whatsoever, which now are in the World, ever were from the first Beginning of it, and ever will be; that there will be no new ones produced which are not already, and have not alwaies been, nor any of those which now are, destroyed, any more than the Substance of any Matter will be Created or Annihilated. So that the whole System of the Created Universe, Consisting of Body, and particular Incorporeal Substances or Souls, in the succes-

five Generations and Corruptions or Deaths, of Men and other Animals, was according to them, Really nothing else, but one and the same Thing perpetually *Anagrammatized*, or but like many different Syllables and Words variously and successively composed out of the same preexistent Elements or Letters.

XXXIII. We have now declared how the same Principle of Reason which made the Ancient Physiologers to become Atomists, must needs induce them also to be Incorporealists; how the same thing which persuaded them that Corporeal Forms were no Real Entities distinct from the Substance of the Body, but only the different Modifications and Mechanisms of it, convinced them likewise, that all Cogitative Beings, all Souls and Lives whatsoever, were Ingenerable and Incorruptible, and as well Preexistent before the Generations of Particular Animals, as Postexistent after their Deaths and Corruptions. Nothing now remains but only to show more particularly, that it was *de facto* thus, that the same persons did from this Principle (that Nothing can come from Nothing and go to Nothing) both Atomize in their Physiology, taking away all Substantial Forms and Qualities, and also Theologize or Incorporealize, asserting Souls to be a Substance really distinct from Matter and Immortal, as also to preexist; and this we shall do from *Empedocles*, and first from that Passage of his cited before in part.

\* Ἄλλο δὲ σοι ἔρεώ φύσις ἔθενός ἔστιν ἐκάστω  
 ὄντι, ἔδ' ἐπεὶ σλομῶνι θανάτοιο γινέθλη, (al. ἰεῖ. τελευτῆ)  
 \* Ἄλλα μόνον μίξις τε διάλλαξις τε μινύτων  
 ἔστι, φύσις δ' ἔπι τοῖς ὀνομάζεται ἀνθρώποισι.

Which I find Latin'd thus,

*Est aliud dico; nihil est Mortalibus Ortus,  
 Est nihil Interitus, qui rebus morte paratur;  
 Mistio sed solum est, & Conciliatio rerum  
 Mistilium; hæc dici solita est Mortalibus Ortus.*

The full Sence whereof is plainly this, That there is no φύσις or Production of any thing which was not before; no new Substance Made, which did not really Preexist; and therefore that in the Generations and Corruptions of Inanimate Bodies, there is no Form or Quality really distinct from the Substance produced and destroyed, but only a various Composition and Modification of Matter: But in the Generations and Corruptions of Men and Animals, where the Souls are Substances really distinct from the Matter, that there, there is Nothing but the Conjunction and Separation of Souls and particular Bodies, existing both before and after, not the Production of any new Soul into Being which was not before, nor the absolute Death and Destruction of any into Nothing. Which is further expressed in these following Verses.

Νήπιοι, ὃ γὰρ σφιν δολιχόφρονες εἰσι μέμνηται,  
 οἳ δὲ γίνεσθαι πάρα ἔτι ἐὼν ἐλπίζουσιν,  
 ἥτοι κατὰ θνήσκον τε καὶ ἐξόλυσθαι ἀπάντη.

To this Sence; *That they are Infants in Understanding, and shortsighted, who think any thing to be Made, which was Nothing before, or any thing to Die, so as to be Destroyed to Nothing.* Upon which *Plutarch* glosses after this manner: *ἐκ ἀναρῆι γένεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν μὴ ὄντος· ἔδδ' φθορῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πάντη· τρεῖσι τὴν εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἀπολύσων.* *Empedocles* does not here destroy Generation, but only such as is out of Nothing; nor Corruption, but such as is into Nothing. Which, as we have already intimated, is to be understood differently in respect to Inanimate and Animate things; for in things Inanimate there is Nothing Produced or Destroyed, because the Forms and Qualities of them are no Entities really distinct from the Substance, but only diverse Mixtures and Modifications. But in Animate things, where the Souls are real Entities really distinct from the Substance of the Body, there is Nothing Produced nor Destroyed neither, because those Souls do both exist before their Generations, and after their Corruptions; which business, as to Men and Souls, is again more fully expressed thus;

οὐκ ἂν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα σοφὸς φρεσὶ μακρόβουτο,  
 ὡς ὄφρα μὲν τε βιώσῃ, τὸ δὲ βίωτον καλέσῃ,  
 τόφρα μὲν ἔν εἰσι, καὶ σφιν πάρα δ' εἰνᾶ καὶ ἐσθλά,  
 πρὶν ὃ παγύντε βροστοὶ καὶ λυθέντες ἔδδ' ἄρ' εἰσι.

*That Good and Ill did First us Here attend,  
 And not from Time Before, the Soul Descend;  
 That here alone we live, and when  
 Hence we depart, we forthwith then,  
 Turn to our old Non-entity again;  
 Certain ought not to be believ'd by Wise and Learned Men.*

Wherefore, according to *Empedocles*, this is to be accounted one of the Vulgar Errors, That Men then only have a being and are capable of Good and Evil, when they live here that which is called Life; But that both before they are Born, and after they are Dead, they are perfectly Nothing.

And besides *Empedocles*, the same is represented by the Greek Tragedian also, as the Sence of the ancient Philosophers.

Θνήσκει δ' ἔδδ' ἐν τῇ γνομῶν,  
 διακευνόμωνον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο  
 Μόρφω ἕτερον ἀπέδειξεν.

*That Nothing Dies or utterly perisbeth; but things being variously Concreted and Secreted, Transposed and Modified, change their Form and Shape only, and are put into a New Dress.*

Agreeably whereunto, Plato also tells us, that it was παλαιός λόγος, an ancient Tradition or Doctrine before his Time, τὰς ζώντας ἐκ τῶν τεθνεώτων γεγονέναι, ἃ δὲν ἦσαν ἢ τὰς τεθνεώτας ἐκ τῶν ζώντων. That as well the Living were made out of the Dead, as the Dead out of the Living, and that this was the constant Circle of Nature. Moreover the same Philosopher acquaints us, that some of those Ancients were not without suspicion, that what is now called Death, was to Men more properly a Nativity or Birth into Life, and what is called Generation into Life, was comparatively rather to be accounted a sinking into Death; the Former being the Soul's Ascent out of these Gross Terrestrial Bodies, to a Body more Thin and Subtil, and the Latter its Descent from a purer Body to that which is more Crass and Terrestrial. τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῶν μὲν ὄχι καθανεῖν, τὸ καθανεῖν ὃ ζῶν. Who knows whether that which is called Living be not indeed rather Dying, and that which is called Dying, Living?

Moreover, that this was the Doctrine of Pythagoras himself, that no Real Entity perishes in Corruptions, nor is produced in Generations, but only new Modifications and Transpositions made; is fully expressed by the Latin Poet, both as to Inanimate, and to Animate Things. Of the first thus:

*Nec perit in tanto quicquam (mibi credite) mundo,  
Sed variat, faciemque novat: Nascique vocatur  
Incipere esse aliud, quàm quod fuit antè; Morique  
Desinere illud idem. Cum sint Huc forsitan Illa,  
Hec Translata Illuc: Summà tamen omnia constant.*

Of the Second, that the Souls of Animals are Immortal, did preexist and do transmigrate, from the same Ground, after this manner;

*Omnia mutantur; Nihil interit: Errat & illinc,  
Huc venit, hinc illuc, & quoslibet occupat artus,  
Spiritus, è que Feris Humana in Corpora transit,  
Inque Feris Noster, nec tempore deperit ullo.  
Utque novis facilis signatur Cera figuris,  
Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formas servat easdem,  
Sed tamen ipsa eadem est: Animam sic semper eandem  
Esse, sed in varias doceo migrare Figuras.*

Wherefore though it be a thing which hath not been commonly taken Notice of, of late, yet we conceive it to be unquestionably true, that all those ancient Philosophers, who insisted so much upon this Principle, ἃ δὲν ἃ δὲ γενεῖσθαι ἃ δὲ φθέρεσθαι τῶν ὄντων. That no Real Entity is either Generated or Corrupted, did therein at once drive at these two things: First, the establishing of the Immortality of all Souls, their *Præ* and *Post-existence*, forasmuch as being Entities Really distinct from the Body, they could neither be Generated nor Corrupted; and Secondly, the making of Corporeal Forms and Qualities to be no Real Entities distinct from the Body and the Mechanism

chanism

mechanism thereof, because they are things *Generated* and *Corrupted*, and have no *Præ* and *Post-existence*. *Anaxagoras* in this latter, being the only Dissenter; who supposing those Forms and Qualities to be real Entities likewise, distinct from the Substance of Body, therefore attributed Perpetuity of Being to them also, *Præ* and *Post-existence*, in *Similar Atoms*, as well as to the Souls of Animals.

And now we have made it sufficiently evident that the Doctrine of the *Incorporeity* and *Immortality* of Souls, we might add also, of their *Preexistence* and *Transmigration*, had the same Original and stood upon the same *Basis* with the Atomical Pythology; and therefore it ought not at all to be wondered at (what we affirmed before) that the same Philosophers and Pythagoreans asserted both those Doctrines, and that the Ancient Atomists were both Theists and Incorporealists.

XXXIV. But now to declare our Sence freely concerning this Philosophy of the Ancients, which seems to be so prodigiously paradoxical, in respect of that *Pre-existence* and *Transmigration* of Souls: We conceive indeed that this Ratiocination of theirs from that Principle, That *Nothing Naturally, or of it self, comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing*, was not only firmly conclusive against Substantial Forms and Qualities of Bodies, really distinct from their Substance, but also for Substantial Incorporeal Souls, and their Ingenerability out of the Matter; and particularly for the *future Immortality* or *Post-existence* of all Humane Souls. For since it is plain, that they are not a *mere Modification of Body* or Matter, but an Entity and Substance really distinct from it, we have no more reason to think, that they can ever of themselves vanish into Nothing, than that the substance of the Corporeal World or any part thereof, can do so. For that in the Consumption of Bodies by Fire, or Age, or the like, there is the destruction of any real Substance into Nothing, is now generally exploded as an Idiotal conceit, and certainly it cannot be a jot less Idiotal to suppose that the Rational Soul in Death is utterly extinguished.

Moreover we add also, that this Ratiocination of the Ancients would be altogether as firm and irrefragable likewise, for the *Pre-existence* and *Transmigration* of Souls, as it is for their *Post-existence* and *future Immortality*; did we not (as indeed we do) suppose Souls to be Created by God immediately, and infused in Generations. For they being unquestionably, a distinct Substance from the Body, and no Substance according to the ordinary Course of Nature, *coming out of Nothing*, they must of Necessity either Preexist in the Universe before Generations, and Transmigrate into their respective Bodies, or else come from God immediatly, who is the Fountain of all, and who at first created all that Substance that now is in the World besides himself. Now the latter of these was a thing which those Ancient Philosophers would by no means admit of; they judging it altogether incongruous, to bring God upon the Stage perpetually, and make him immediatly interpose every where, in the  
Genera-

Generations of Men and all other Animals, by the Miraculous production of Souls out of Nothing. Notwithstanding which, if we well consider it, we shall find that there may be very good reason on the other side, for the successive Divine Creation of Souls; namely, that God did not do all at first, that ever he could or would do, and put forth all his Creative Vigour at once in a moment, ever afterwards remaining a Spectator only of the consequent Results, and permitting Nature to do all alone, without the least Interposition of his at any time, just as if there were no God at all in the World. For this may be, and indeed often hath been, the effect of such an *Hypothesis* as this, to make men think, that there is no other God in the World but Blind and Dark Nature. God might also for other good and wise Ends, unknown to us, reserve to himself the continual exercise of this his Creative power, in the successive Production of new Souls. And yet these Souls nevertheless, after they are once brought forth into being, will notwithstanding their *Juniority*, continue as firmly in the same, without vanishing of themselves into Nothing, as the Substance of Senseless Matter that was Created many thousand years before, will do.

And thus our *Vulgar Hypothesis*, of the new Creation of Souls, as it is Rational in it self, so it doth sufficiently salve their Incorporeity, their future Immortality or Post-eternity, without introducing those offensive Absurdities of their Preexistence and Transmigration.

X XXV. But if there be any such, who rather than they would allow a future Immortality or Post-existence to all Souls, and therefore to those of Brutes, which consequently must have their successive Transmigrations, would conclude the Souls of all Brutes, as likewise the Sensitive Soul in Man, to be Corporeal, and only allow the Rational Soul to be distinct from Matter: To these we have only thus much to say; That they who will attribute Life, Sense, Cogitation, Consciousness and Self-enjoyment, not without some footsteps of Reason many times, to Blood and Brains, or mere Organized Bodies in Brutes, will never be able clearly to defend the Incorporeity and Immortality of Humane Souls, as most probably they do not intend any such thing. For either all Conscious and Cogitative Beings are Incorporeal, or else nothing can be proved to be Incorporeal. From whence it would follow also, that there is no Deity distinct from the Corporeal World. But though there seem to be no very great reason, why it should be thought absurd, to grant Perpetuity of Duration to the Souls of Brutes, any more than to every Atom of Matter, or Particle of Dust that is in the whole World; yet we shall endeavour to suggest something towards the easing the minds of those, who are so much burthened with this difficulty; *viz.* That they may, if they please, suppose the Souls of Brutes, being but so many particular Eradiations or Effluxes from that Source of Life above, whensoever and wheresoever there is any fitly prepared Matter capable to receive them, and to be Actuated by them; to have a sense and fruition of themselves

themselves in it, so long as it continues such, but as soon as ever those Organized Bodies of theirs, by reason of their Indisposition, become incapable of being further acted upon by them, then to be resumed again and retracted back to their Original Head and Fountain. Since it cannot be doubted, but what Creates any thing out of Nothing, or sends it forth from it self, by free and voluntary Emanation, may be able either to Retract the same back again to its original Source, or else to Annihilate it at pleasure.

And I find that there have not wanted some among the Gentile Philosophers themselves, who have entertained this Opinion, whereof *Porphyry* is one: *λέγεται ἐκάστη δύναμις ἄλογος εἰς τὴν ὅλω ζῶντι τῆς πάλιν*. Every irrational Power is resolved into the Life of the Whole.

XXXVI. Neither will this at all weaken the future Immortality or Post-eternity of Humane Souls. For if we be indeed Theists, and do in very good Earnest believe a Deity, according to the true Notion of it, we must then needs acknowledge, that all created Being whatsoever, owes the Continuation and Perpetuity of its Existence, not to any *Necessity of Nature* without God, and Independently upon him, but to the *Divine Will* only. And therefore though we had never so much Rational and Philosophical assurance, that our Souls are Immaterial Substances, distinct from the Body, yet we could not for all that, have any absolute certainty of their Post-eternity, any otherwise than as it may be derived to us, from the Immutability and Perfection of the *Divine Nature and Will*, which does alwaies that which is *Best*. For the Essential Goodness and Wisdom of the Deity is the only Stability of all things. And for ought we Mortals know, there may be good Reason, why that Grace or Favour of future Immortality and Post-eternity, that is indulged to Humane Souls, endued with Reason, Morality, and Liberty of Will, (by means whereof they are capable of Commendation and Blame, Reward and Punishment) that so they may be Objects for Divine Justice to display it self upon after this Life, in different Retributions; may notwithstanding be denied to those lower Lives and more contemptible Souls of Brutes, alike devoid both of Morality and Liberty.

XXXVII. But if any for all this will still obstinately contend for that ancient Pythagorick and Empedoclean *Hypothesis*, That all Lives and Souls whatsoever are as old as the first Creation, and will continue to Eternity, or as long as the World doth, as a thing more Reasonable and Probable than our Continual Creation of new Souls, by means whereof they become Juniors both to the matter of the World and of their own Bodies, and whereby also (as they pretend) the Divine creative Power is made too Cheap and Prostituted a thing, as being Famulative alwaies to Brutish, and many times to unlawful Lusts and undue Conjunctions; but especially that the Continual Decreation and Annihilation of the Souls of Brutes; we shall not be very unwilling to acknowledge thus much to them,  
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That indeed of the two, this Opinion is more Reasonable and Tolerable than that other Extravagancy of those, who will either make all Souls to be Generated and consequently to be Corporeal, or at least the Sensitive Soul both in Men and Brutes. For besides the Monstrosity of this latter opinion, in making two distinct Souls and Perceptive Substances in every Man, which is a thing sufficiently confuted by Internal Sense, it leaves us also in an absolute Impossibility, of proving the Immortality of the Rational Soul, the Incorporeity of any Substance, and by consequence the Existence of any Deity distinct from the Corporeal World.

And as for that Pretence of theirs, that Senseless Matter may as well become Sensitive, and as it were kindled into Life and Cogitation, as a Body that was devoid of Light and Heat, may be Kindled into Fire and Flame; this seems to argue too much Ignorance of the Doctrine of Bodies, in men otherwise Learned and Ingenious. The best Naturalists having already concluded, That Fire and Flame is nothing but such a *Motion* of the Insensible Parts of a Body, as whereby they are violently agitated, and many times dissipated and scattered from each other, begetting in the mean time those *Phancies* of *Light* and *Heat* in Animals. Now there is no difficulty at all in conceiving that the Insensible Particles of a Body, which were before quiescent, may be put into Motion; this being nothing but a New Modification of them, and no Entity really distinct from the Substance of Body; as *Life*, *Sense* and *Cogitation* are. There is nothing in Fire and Flame, or a Kindled Body, different from other Bodies, but only the *Motion* or *Mechanism*, and *Phancie* of it. And therefore it is but a crude conceit, which the Atheists and Corporealists of former times have been always so fond of, That Souls are nothing but Fire or Flammeous Bodies. For though Heat in the Bodies of Animals be a Necessary Instrument for Soul and Life to act by in them, yet it is a thing really distinct from Life; and a Red hot Iron hath not therefore any nearer approximation to Life than it had before, nor the Flame of a Candle than the extinguisht Snuff or Tallow of it; the difference between them being only in the Agitation of the Insensible Parts. We might also add, that according to this *Hypothesis*, the Souls of Animals could not be Numerically the same throughout the whole space of their Lives: Since that Fire that needs a *Pabulum* to prey upon, doth not continue alwaies one and the same Numerical Substance. The Soul of a new born Animal could be no more the same, with the Soul of that Animal several years after, than the Flame of a new lighted Candle is the same with that Flame that twinkles last in the Socket. Which indeed are no more the same than a River or Stream is the same, at several distances of time. Which Reason may be also extended further to prove the Soul to be no Body at all, since the Bodies of all Animals are in a perpetual Flux.

XXXVIII. We have now sufficiently performed our first Task which was to show from the Origin of the Atomical Physiology,  
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that the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substance must needs spring up together with it. We shall in the next place make it manifest, that the Inward Constitution of this Philosophy is also such, that who-soever really entertains it, and rightly understands it, must of necessity admit Incorporeal Substance likewise. First therefore, the Atomical Hypothesis, allowing nothing to Body, but what is either included in the *Idea* of a thing *Impenetrably extended*, or can clearly be conceived to be a Mode of it, as more or less Magnitude, with Divisibility, Figure, Site, Motion and Rest, together with the Results of their several Combinations; cannot possibly make Life and Cogitation to be Qualities of Body, since they are neither contained in those things before mentioned, nor can result from any *συζυγία* or *Conjugations* of them. Wherefore it must needs be granted, that Life and Cogitation are the Attributes of another Substance distinct from Body, or Incorporeal.

Again, since according to the Tenour of this Physiology, Body hath no other Action belonging to it but that of Local Motion, which Local Motion as such, is Essentially *Heterokinesie*, that which never springs originally from the thing it self moving, but alwaies from the Action of some other Agent upon it: That is, since no Body could ever move it self; it follows undeniably, that there must be something else in the World besides Body, or else there could never have been any Motion in it. Of which we shall speak more afterwards.

Moreover, according to this Philosophy, the Corporeal *Phænomena* themselves cannot be saved by *Mechanism* alone without *Phancie*. Now Phancie is no Mode of Body, and therefore must needs be a Mode of some other kind of Being in our selves, that is Cogitative and Incorporeal.

Furthermore it is evident, from the Principles of this Philosophy, that Sense it self is not a mere Corporeal Passion from Bodies without, in that it supposeth that there is nothing really in Bodies like to those Phantastick *Idea's* that we have of Sensible things, as of Hot and Cold, Red and Green, Bitter and Sweet, and the like, which therefore must needs owe their Being to some Activity of the Soul it self, and this is all one as to make it Incorporeal.

Lastly, from this Philosophy, it is also manifest, that Sense is not the *κρίσις* of Truth concerning Bodies themselves, it confidently pronouncing that those supposed Qualities of Bodies, represented such by Sense, are merely Phantastical things; from whence it plainly follows, that there is something in us superiour to Sense, which judges of it, detects its Phantastry, and condemns its Imposture, and determines what really is and is not, in Bodies without us, which must needs be a higher Self-active Vigour of the Mind, that will plainly speak it to be Incorporeal.

XXXIX. And now this Atomical Physiology of the Ancients seems to have two Advantages or Preeminences belonging to it, the first whereof is this; That it renders the Corporeal World Intelligible to us; since Mechanism is a thing that we can clearly understand, and we cannot clearly and distinctly conceive any thing in Bodies else. To say that this or that is done by a Form or Quality, is nothing else but to say that it is done we know not how, or, which is yet more absurd, to make our very Ignorance of the Cause, disguised under those Terms of Forms and Qualities, to be it self the Cause of the Effect.

Moreover, Hot and Cold, Red and Green, Bitter and Sweet, &c. formally considered, may be clearly conceived by us as different Phancies and Vital Passions in us, occasioned by different Motions made from the objects without, upon our Nerves; but they can never be clearly understood as absolute Qualities in the Bodies themselves, really distinct from their Mechanical Dispositions; nor is there indeed any more reason why they should be thought such, than that, when a Man is pricked with a Pin, or wounded with a Sword, the Pain which he feels should be thought to be an Absolute Qualitie in the Pin or Sword. So long as our Sensible *Idea's* are taken either for Substantial Forms or Qualities in Bodies without us, really distinct from the Substance of the Matter, so long are they perfectly unintelligible by us. For which Cause *Timæus Locrus* Philosophizing (as it seemeth) after this manner, did consentaneously thereunto determine, That Corporeal things could not be apprehended by us, otherwise than *αἰσθησὶ καὶ νόθῳ λογισμῷ*, by Sense and a kind of Spurious or Bastardly Reason; that is, that we could have no clear Conceptions of them in our Understanding. And for the same reason *Plato* himself distinguisheth betwixt such things as are *νοήσι μετὰ λόγῳ ἀληπιήα*. Comprehensible by the Understanding with Reason, and those which are only *δόξη μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγῳ*, which can only be apprehended by Opinion, together with a certain Irrational Sence, meaning plainly, by the Latter, Corporeal and Sensible things. And accordingly the *Platonists* frequently take occasion from hence, to enlarge themselves much in the disparagement of Corporeal things, as being, by Reason of that smallness of Entity that is in them, below the Understanding, and not having so much *ἔσιον* as *γένεον*, Essence as Generation, which indeed is Fine Phancie. Wherefore we must either, with these Philosophers, make Sensible things to be *ἀκατάληπτα* or *ἀπερίληπτα*, altogether Incomprehensible and Inconceivable by our Humane Understandings, (though they be able in the mean time clearly to conceive many things of a higher Nature) or else we must entertain some kind of favourable Opinion concerning that which is the Ancientest of all Physiologies, the Atomical or Mechanical, which alone renders Sensible things Intelligible.

XL. The Second Advantage, which this Atomical Physiology seems to have, is this, That it prepares an easie and clear way for the Demonstration of Incorporeal Substances, by settling a Distinct Notion

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on of Body. He that will undertake to prove that there is something else in the World besides Body, must first determine what Body is, for otherwise he will go about to prove that there is something besides *He-knows-not-what*. But now if all Body be made to consist of two Substantial Principles, whereof one is *Matter* devoid of all *Form*, (and therefore of *Quantity* as well as *Qualities*) from whence these Philosophers \*themselves conclude that it is *Incorporeal*; the other, *Form*, which being devoid of all *Matter*, must needs be *Incorporeal* likewise. And thus *Stobæus* sets down the joint Doctrine both of *Plato* and *Aristotle*; *ὄν τερόπον τὸ ἔδδς τῆς ὕλης ἀφαιρεθὲν ἀσώματον, ἕτως ἢ τῷ ὕλῳ τῆ ἔδδς χωρισθῆναι ἢ σώμα εἶναι, δὲν ἢ ἀμφοῖν τὸ σύνδδς; πρὸς τῷ τῆ σώματι ὑπὸσασιν.* *That in the same manner, as Form alone separated from Matter is Incorporeal, so neither is Matter alone, the Form being separated from it, Body. But there is need of the joint concurrence of both these, Matter and Form together, to make up the Substance of Body; Moreover, if to Forms Qualities be likewise superadded, of which it is consentaneously also resolved by the Platonists, ὅτι αἱ ποιότητες ἀσώματοι, that Qualities are Incorporeal, as if they were so many Spirits possessing Bodies; I say, in this way of Philosophizing, the Notions of Body and Spirit, Corporeal and Incorporeal, are so confounded, that it is Impossible to prove any thing at all concerning them. Body it self being made Incorporeal (and therefore every thing Incorporeal) for whatsoever is wholly compounded and made up of Incorporeals, must needs be it self also Incorporeal.*

*Plotin. p.164.*

*Alcinous cap. 11.*

Furthermore, according to this Doctrine of *Matter, Forms* and *Qualities* in *Body*; *Life* and *Understanding* may be supposed to be certain *Forms* or *Qualities* of *Body*. And then the *Souls* of men may be nothing else but *Blood* or *Brains*, endued with the *Qualities* of *Sense*, and *Understanding*; or else some other more *Subtle, Sensitive* and *Rational Matter*, in us. And the like may be said of *God* himself also; That he is nothing but a certain *Rational, or Intellectual, Subtle* and *Firre Body*, pervading the whole *Universe*; or else that he is the *Form* of the whole *Corporeal World*, together with the *Matter* making up but one *Substance*. Which *Conceits* have been formerly entertained by the best of those *Ancients*, who were captivated under that dark *Infirmity* of mind, to think that there could be no other *Substance* besides *Body*.

But the ancient *Atomical Philosophy*, settling a distinct *Notion* of *Body*, that it is *διασπτόν ἀνίτητον, a Thing Impenetrably extended*, which hath nothing belonging to it, but *Magnitude, Figure, Site, Rest, and Motion*, without any *Self-moving Power*; takes away all *Confusion*; shews clearly how far *Body* can go, where *Incorporeal Substance* begins; as also that there must of necessity be such a *Thing* in the *World*.

Again, this discovering not only that the *Doctrine* of *Qualities* had its *Original* from mens mistaking their own *Phancies*, for *Absolute Realities* in *Bodies* themselves; but also that the *Doctrine* of *Mat-*

ter and Form Sprung from another Fallacy or Deception of the Mind, in taking Logical Notions, and our *Modes of Conceiving*, for *Modes of Being*, and Real Entities in things without us; It shewing likewise, that because there is nothing else clearly intelligible in Body, besides Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion, and their various Conjugations, there can be no such Entities of Forms and Qualities really distinct from the Substance of Body; makes it evident, that *Life*, *Cogitation* and *Understanding* can be no Corporeal things, but must needs be the Attributes of another kind of Substance distinct from Body.

XLI. We have now clearly proved these two things; First, that the Physiology of the Ancients, before, not only *Aristotle* and *Plato*, but also *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, was Atomical or Mechanical. Secondly, that as there is no Inconsistency between the Atomical Physiology and Theology, but indeed a Natural Cognation; so the Ancient Atomists before *Democritus*, were neither Atheists nor Corporealists, but held the Incorporeity and Immortality of Souls, together with a Deity distinct from the Corporeal World. Wherefore the First and most Ancient Atomists did not make ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς τῆ ὅλων, they never endeavoured to make up an Entire Philosophy out of Atomology; but the Doctrine of Atoms was to them onely one Part or Member of the whole Philosophick System, they joining thereunto the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substance, and Theology, to make it up complete: Accordingly as *Aristotle* hath declared in his *Metaphysics*, that the Ancient Philosophy consisted of these two Parts, φυσιολογία, and θεολογία or ἡ πᾶσιν φιλοσοφία, *Physiology*, and *Theology* or *Metaphysics*. Our Ancient Atomists never went about, as the blundering *Democritus* afterwards did, to build up a World out of mere *Passive Bulk*, and *Sluggish Matter*, without any ἀεχέϊ δυνάμεις, any *Active Principles*, or *Incorporeal Powers*; understanding well, that thus, they could not have so much as Motion, Mechanism, or Generation in it; the Original of all that Motion that is in Bodies springing from something that is not Body, that is, from Incorporeal Substance. And yet if Local Motion could have been supposed to have risen up, or sprung in upon this Dead Lump and Mass of Matter, no body knows how, and without dependance upon any Incorporeal Being, to have Actuated it Fortuitously; these Ancient Atomists would still have thought it Impossible for the Corporeal World it self, to be made up, such as now it is, by Fortuitous Mechanism, without the Guidance of any higher Principle. But they would have concluded it, the greatest Impudence or Madness, for men to assert that Animals also consisted of mere Mechanism; or, that Life and Sense, Reason and Understanding, were really nothing else but Local Motion, and consequently that themselves were but Machins and Automata. Wherefore they joyned both *Active* and *Passive Principles* together, the *Corporeal* and *Incorporeal Nature*, *Mechanism* and *Life*, *Atomology* and *Pneumatology*, and from both these united, they made up one entire System of Philosophy, correspondent

correspondent with, and agreeable to, the true and real World without them. And this System of Philosophy, thus consisting of the Doctrine of *Incorporeal Substance* (whereof God is the Head) together with the *Atomical* and *Mechanical Physiology*, seems to have been the only Genuine, Perfect, and Complete.

XLII. But it did not long continue thus; for, after a while, this entire Body of Philosophy came to be *Mangled* and *Dismembred*, some taking one Part of it alone, and some another; some snatching away the *Atomical Physiology*, without the *Pneumatology* and *Theology*; and others, on the contrary, taking the *Theology* and *Doctrine of Incorporeals*, without the *Atomical* or *Mechanical Physiology*. The former of these were *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Protagoras*, who took only the dead Carcase or Skeleton of the old *Moschical Philosophy*, namely the *Atomical Physiology*; the latter *Plato* and *Aristotle*, who took indeed the better Part, the *Soul*, *Spirit*, and *Quintessence* of it, the *Theology* and *Doctrine of Incorporeals*, but *Unbodied*, and *Devested* of its most Proper and convenient Vehicle, the *Atomical Physiology*, whereby it became exposed to sundry Inconveniences.

XLIII. We begin with *Leucippus* and *Democritus*; Who being *Atheistically* inclined, quickly perceived, that they could not in the ordinary way of *Physiologizing*, sufficiently secure themselves against a Deity, nor effectually urge *Atheism* upon others; forasmuch as *Heraclitus* and other Philosophers, who held that all Substance was Body, as well as themselves, did notwithstanding assert a Corporeal Deity, maintaining that the Form of the whole Corporeal World was God, or else that he was ὅλη πῦρ ἔχουσα, a certain kind of Body or Matter, as (for Example) a *Methodical and Rational Fire*, pervading (as a Soul) the whole Universe; the particular Souls of men and Animals being but, as it were, so many pieces, cut and sliced out of the great Mundane Soul; so that according to them, the whole Corporeal Universe, or Mass of Body, was one way or other a God, a most Wise and Understanding Animal, that did frame all Particularities within it self in the best manner possible, and providently govern the same. Wherefore those *Atheists* now apprehending, upon what ticklish and uncertain Terms their *Atheistical Philosophy* then stood, and how that those very *Forms* and *Qualities*, and the *Self-moving* power of Body, which were commonly made a Sanctuary for *Atheism*, might notwithstanding chance to prove, contrariwise, the *Latibulum* and *Asylum* of a Deity, and that a Corporeal God (do what they could) might lie lurking under them, assaulting mens minds with doubtful Fears and Jealousies; Understanding moreover, that there was another kind of *Physiology* set on foot, which banishing those *Forms* and *Qualities* of Body, attributed nothing to it but *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*, without any *Self-moving Power*; they seemed presently to apprehend some great Advantage to themselves and Cause from it; and therefore greedily entertained this *Atomical* or *Mechanical Physiology*, and violently cutting it off from that other part, the *Doctrine of Incorporeals*,

*poreals*, which it was Naturally and Vitally united to, endeavoured to serve their turns of it. And now joining these two things together, the Atomical Physiology, which supposes that there is nothing in body, but Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, and that Prejudice or Prepossession of their own Minds, that there was no other Substance in the World besides Body; between them both, they begat a certain Mongrel and Spurious Philosophy, *Atheistically-Atomical*, or *Atomically-Atheistical*.

But though we have so well proved, that *Leucippus* and *Democritus* were not the first Inventors, but only the Depravers and Adulterators of the Atomical Philosophy; yet if any will notwithstanding obstinately contend, that the first Invention thereof ought to be imputed to them, the very Principles of their Atheism seeming to lead them naturally to this, to strip and devest Body of all those Forms and Qualities, it being otherwise Impossible for them, surely and safely to exclude a Corporeal Deity; yet so, as that the Wit of these Atheists was also much to be admired, in the managing and carrying on of those Principles in such a manner, as to make up so Entire a System of Philosophy out of them, all whose parts should be so coherent and consistent together; We shall only say thus much; That if those Atheists were the first Inventors of this Philosophy, they were certainly very unhappy and unsuccessful in it, whilst endeavouring by it to secure themselves from the Possibility and Danger of a *Corporeal God*, they unawares laid a Foundation for the clear Demonstration of an *Incorporeal one*, and were indeed so far from making up any such coherent Frame as is pretended, that they were forced every where to contradict their own Principles; so that Non-sence lies at the bottom of all, and is interwoven throughout their whole Atheistical System. And that we ought to take notice of the invincible power and Force of Truth, prevailing irresistibly against all Endeavours to oppress it; and how desperate the Cause of Atheism is, when that very Atomical *Hypothesis* of theirs, which they would erect and build up for a strong Castle to garrison themselves in, proves a most Effectual Engine against themselves, for the battering of all their Atheistical Structure down about their Ears.

XLIV. *Plato's* Mutilation and Interpolation of the old *Moschical* Philosophy, was a great deal more excusable, when he took the Theology and Metaphysics of it, the whole Doctrine of Incorporeals, and abandoned the Atomical or Mechanical way of Physiologizing. Which, in all Probability, he did, partly because those forementioned Atheists having so much abused that Philosophy, adopting it as it were to themselves, he thereupon began to entertain a Jealousie and Suspicion of it; and partly, because he was not of himself so inclinable to Physiology as Theology, to the study of Corporeal as of Divine things; which some think to be the reason why he did not attend to the *Pythagorick* System of the Corporeal World, till late in his old Age. His *Genius* was such, that he was Naturally more addicted to *Idea's* than to *Atoms*, to *Formal* and *Final* than to *Material*

*Material Causes.* To which may be added, that the way of Physiologizing by Matter, Forms and Qualities, is a more *Huffie* and *Phanciful* thing than the other; and lastly, that the Atomical Physiology is more remote from Sense and vulgar Apprehension, and therefore not so easily understood. For which cause many learned Greeks of later times, though they had read *Epicurus* his Works, and perhaps *Democritus* his too, yet they were not able to conceive how the Corporeal and Sensible *Phænomena* could possibly be salved without Real Qualities. One Instance whereof might be given in *Plutarch*, writing against *Colotes* the *Epicurean*. Wherefore *Plato*, that was a zealous Asserter of an Incorporeal Deity, distinct from the World, and of Immortal Souls, seriously Physiologized only by Matter, Forms and Qualities, Generation, Corruption and Alteration; and he did but play and toy sometimes a little with Atoms and Mechanism. As where he would compound the Earth of Cubical, and Fire of Pyramidal Atoms, and the like. For that he did therein imitate the Atomical Physiology is plain from these words of his; *πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ διανοεῖσθαι σμικροῦ ἕνεκα, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἕκαστῳ ἴσον ὁράμενον ὑφ' ἡμῶν, συναθροισθέντων ὁ πολλῶν, τὰς ἰσῆς αὐτῶν ὁρᾶσθαι.* All these Cubical and Pyramidal Corpuscula of the Fire and Earth are in themselves so small, that by reason of their parvitude, none of them can be perceived singly and alone, but only the Aggregations of many of them together.

XLV. And *Aristotle* here trode in *Plato's* footsteps, not only in the better part, in asserting an Incorporeal Deity, and an Immoveable first Mover; but also in Physiologizing by Forms and Qualities, and rejecting that Mechanical way by Atoms, which had been so generally received amongst the Ancients. Wherefore though the *Genius* of these two Persons was very different, and *Aristotle* often contradicteth *Plato*, and really dissents from him in several Particularities; yet, so much I think may be granted to those Reconcilers, (*Porphyry*, *Simplicius*, and others) that the main Essentials of their two Philosophies are the same.

Now I say the whole Aristotelical System of Philosophy is infinitely to be preferred before the whole Democritical; though the former hath been so much disparaged, and the other cried up of late amongst us. Because, though it cannot be denied but that the Democritical *Hypothesis* doth much more handsomly and intelligibly salve the Corporeal *Phænomena*, yet in all those other things which are of far the greatest moment, it is rather a Madness than a Philosophy. But the Aristotelick System is right and sound here, as to those greater things; it asserting Incorporeal Substance, a Deity distinct from the World, the Naturality of Morality, and Liberty of Will. Wherefore though a late Writer of Politicks do so exceedingly disparage *Aristotle's* *Ethicks*, yet we shall do him this right here to declare, that his *Ethicks* were truly such, and answered their Title; but that new Modle of *Ethicks*, which hath been obtruded upon the World with so much Fastuosity, and is indeed nothing but the old Democritical Doctrine revived, is no *Ethicks* at all, but a mere Cheat, the undermining

and subversion of all Morality, by substituting something like it in the Room of it, that is a mere Counterfeit and Changeling. The Design whereof could not be any other than to debauch the World.

We add further, that *Aristotle's* System of Philosophy seems to be more consistent with Piety, than the Cartesian *Hypothesis* it self, which yet plainly supposeth Incorporeal Substance. For as much as this latter makes God to contribute nothing more to the Fabrick of the World, than the Turning round of a *Vortex* or Whirlpool of Matter; from the fortuitous Motion of which, according to certain General Laws of Nature, must proceed all this Frame of things that now is, the exact Organization, and successive Generation of Animals, without the Guidance of any Mind or Wisdom. Whereas *Aristotle's* Nature is no Fortuitous Principle, but such as doth Nothing in *Vain*, but all for *Ends*, and in every thing pursues the *Best*; and therefore can be no other than a Subordinate Instrument of the Divine Wisdom, and the *Manuary Opificer* or *Executioner* of it.

However, we cannot deny, but that *Aristotle* hath been taxed by sundry of the Ancients, Christians and others, for not so explicitly asserting these two things, the Immortality of Humane Souls, and Providence over men, as he ought to have done, and as his Master *Plato* did. Though to do him all the right we can, we shall observe here, that in his *Nicomachian* Ethicks, he speaks favourably for the Latter, εἰ γὰρ τις ἐπιμέλεια τῆς ἀνθρωπίνου ὑπὸ θεῶν γίνεσθαι, ὡς περ δοκεῖ, καὶ ἀλόγον χαίρειν αὐτὸς τὰ ἀρίστα καὶ τὰ σύγγενεστάτω (τὸ τοῦ εἶναι ὁ νοῦς) καὶ τὸς ἀγαπᾶσθαι μάλιστα καὶ τὸς τιμᾶσθαι αἰδούποιον, ὡς τῆς φίλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελόμενος, ὁρθῶς τε καλῶς προφύσσας. *If God take any Care of Humane things, as it seems he doth, then it is reasonable to think also, that he is delighted with that which is the Best, and nearest akin to himself (which is Mind or Right Reason) and that he rewards those who most Love and Honour it (as taking care of such things as are most pleasing to him) in doing rightly and honestly.* A very good Sentence, were it not Ushered in with too much of Scepticism. And as for the Point of the Soul's Immortality; It is true, that whereas other Philosophers before *Aristotle*, asserted the Preexistence, Incorporeity, and Immortality of all Souls, not only the Rational but the Sensitive also, (which in Men they concluded to be one and the same Substance) according to that of *Plato's*, πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος, *Every Soul is Immortal*, they resolving that no Life nor Cogitation could be Corporeal; *Aristotle*, on the contrary, doth expressly deny the Preexistence, that is, the Separability, Incorporeity and Immortality of all Sensitive Souls, not in Brutes only, but also every where, giving his reason for it in these words; ὅτι μὲν ἔχουσιν οἷον τε ποῖσας προῖπαρχεῖν, φανερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς τοῖστων, ὅσων γὰρ ἐστιν ἀρχὴν ἢ ἐνεργεῖα σωματικῆ, δῆλον ὅτι ταύτας ἀνευ σώματος ἀθάνατον ὑποεχάν, οἷον βαδίζειν ἀνευ ποδῶν. ὡς καὶ εἴρησθαι εἰσέναι ἀθάνατον. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὰς καθ' ἑαυτὰς εἰσέναι οἷον τε ἀρχεῖσθαι ὅσας, ἔτι ἐν σώματι εἰσέναι. *That all Souls cannot Preexist, is manifest from hence, because those Principles whose Action is Corporeal, cannot possibly exist without the Body, as the Power of Walking without*

without the Feet: Wherefore it is impossible that these Sensitive Souls (preexisting) should come into the Body from without, since they can neither come alone by themselves naked and stript of all Body, they being inseparable from it; neither can they come in with a Body, that is, the Seed. This is Aristotle's Argument, why all Sensitive Souls must needs be Corporeal, because there is no Walking without Feet, nor Seeing without Eyes. But at the same time, he declares that the Mind or Intellect does Preexist and come in from without, that is, is Incorporeal, Separable and Immortal, giving his Reason for it in like manner, λέγεται ὅτι τὸ νῦν μόνον δύραθεν ἐπισιέναι, ἐν θεῖον εἶναι μόνον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶς τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ κοινῶναι σωματικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ. It remains that the Mind or Intellect, and that alone (preexisting) enter from without and be only Divine; since its Energy is not blended with that of the Bodies, but it acts independently upon it. Notwithstanding which, Aristotle elsewhere distinguishing concerning this Mind or Intellect, and making it to be twofold, Agent, and Patient, concludes the former of them only to be Immortal, but the latter Corruptible, τὸ μόνον ἀθάνατον ἐν αἰδίῳ, ὁ δὲ παθητικὸς νῦν φθαρτός, The Agent Intellect is only Immortal and Eternal, but the Passive is Corruptible; where some Interpreters that would willingly excuse Aristotle, contend that by the Passive Intellect, is not meant the Patient, but the Phantasmie only, because Aristotle should otherwise contradict himself, who had before affirmed, the Intellect to be Separable, Unmixed and Inorganical, which they conceive must needs be understood of the Patient. But this *salvo* can hardly take place here, where the Passive Intellect is directly opposed to the Agent. Now what Aristotle's Agent Understanding is, and whether it be any thing in us, any Faculty of our Humane Soul or no, seems to be a thing very questionable, and has therefore caused much Dispute amongst his Interpreters; it being resolved by many of them to be the Divine Intellect, and commonly by others, a Foreign Thing. Whence it must needs be left doubtful, whether he acknowledged any thing Incorporeal and Immortal at all in us. And the rather because, laying down this Principle, That nothing is Incorporeal, but what acts independently upon the Body, he somewhere plainly determines, that there is no Intellection without Corporeal Phantasms. That which led Aristotle to all this; positively to affirm the Corporeity of Sensitive Souls, and to stagger so much concerning the Incorporeity of the Rational, seems to have been his Doctrine of Forms and Qualities, whereby Corporeal and Incorporeal Substance are confounded together, so that the Limits of each could not be discerned by him. Wherefore we cannot applaud Aristotle for this; but that which we commend him for, is chiefly these Four things: First, for making a Perfect Incorporeal Intellect to be the Head of all; and Secondly, for resolving that Nature, as an Instrument of this Intellect, does not merely act according to the Necessity of Material Motions, but for Ends and Purposes, though unknown to it self; Thirdly, for maintaining the Naturality of Morality; and Lastly, for asserting the τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, Autexousie, or Liberty from Necessity.





## CHAP. II.

*In this Chapter are contained all the pretended Grounds of Reason for the Atheistick Hypothesis. 1. That the Democritick Philosophy which is made up of these two Principles, Corporealism and Atomism complicated together, is Essentially Atheistickal. 2. Though Epicurus, who was an Atomical-Corporealist, pretended to assert a Democracy of Gods, yet he was, for all that, an Absolute Atheist: And that Atheists commonly Equivocate and Disguise themselves. 3. That the Democritical Philosophy is nothing else but a System of Atheology, or Atheism swaggering under the glorious Appearance of Philosophy. And though there be another Form of Atheism which we call Stratonical, yet the Democritick Atheism is only considerable; all whose Dark Mysteries will be here revealed. 4. That we being to treat concerning the Deity, and to produce all that Profane and Unhallowed Stuff of Atheists in order to a Confutation, the Divine Assistance and Direction ought to be implored. 5. That there are Two things here to be performed: First, to shew what are the Atheist's pretended Grounds of Reason against the Deity; and Secondly, how they endeavour either to Salve or Confute the Contrary Phenomena. The First of those Grounds, That no man can have an Idea or Conception of God, and that he is an Incomprehensible Nothing. 6. The Second Atheistick Argument, That there can be no Creation out of Nothing, nor no Omnipotence, because Nothing can come from Nothing, and therefore whatsoever Substantially is, was from Eternity Self-existent, and Uncreated by any Deity. 7. The Third pretended Reason against a Deity, That the Stricteſt Notion of a God implying him to be Incorporeal, there can be no such Incorporeal Deity, because there is no other Substance but Body. 8. The Atheists Pretence, That the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substances sprung from a Ridiculous Mistaking of Abstract Names and Notions for Realities. They Impudently makethe Deity to be but the Chief of Spectres, and an Oberon or Prince of Fairies and Phancies. Their Fourth Argument against a Deity, That to suppose an Incorporeal Mind to be the Original of all things, is but to make a mere Accident and Abstract Notion to be the First Cause of all. 9. Their Fifth Argument; a Confutation of a Corporeal Deity from the Principles of Corporealism it self, That Matter being the only Substance, and all other Differences of things nothing but Accidents, Generable and Corruptible; no Living Understanding*

standing Being can be Essentially Incorruptible. The Stoical God Incorruptible, only by Accident. 19. Their Sixth Ratiocination from a Complication of Atomicism; That the First Principle of all things whatsoever in the Universe, is Atoms or Corpuscula devoid of all Qualities, and consequently of Sense and Understanding, (which spring up afterwards from a certain Composition of them) and therefore Mind or Deity was not the First Original of all. 11. In the Seventh place they disprove the Worlds Animation, or its being govern'd by a Living Understanding Animalish Nature, presiding over the Whole; Because Sense and Understanding are a Peculiar Appendix to Flesh Blood and Brains, and Reason is no where to be found but in Humane Form. 12. The Eighth Atheistick Ground, That God being taken by all for a most Happy, Eternal and Immortal Animal, (or Living Being) there can be no such thing, because all Living Beings are Concretions of Atoms that were at first Generated; and are liable to Death and Corruption by the Dissolution of their Compages. And that Life is no simple Primitive Nature, but an Accidental Modification of Compounded Bodies, which upon the Disunion of their Parts vanisheth into Nothing. 13. The Ninth pretended Atheistick Demonstration, That by God is meant a first Cause or Mover, which was not before moved by any thing else without it; But Nothing can move it self, and therefore there can be no Unmoved Mover, nor any First in the order of Causes, that is, a God. 14. Their further Proof of this Principle, That Nothing can move it self, with an Atheistick Corollary from thence, That no Thinking Being could be a First Cause, no Cogitation arising of it self without a Cause; which may be reckoned a Tenth Argument. 15. Another Mystery of Atheism, That all Knowledge, and Mental Conception, is the Information of the things themselves known, existing without the Knower, and a Passion from them; and therefore the World must needs be before any Knowledge or Conception of it, and no Knowledge or Conception before the World, as its Cause. 16. The Twelfth Argumentation, That things could not be made by a God, because they are so Faulty and Ill made, that they were not contriv'd for the Good of Man, and that the Deluge of Evils, that overflows all, shows that they did not proceed from any Deity. 17. The Thirteenth Instance of the Atheists against a Deity, from the Defect of Providence, That in Humane Affairs all is Tohu and Bohu, Chaos and Confusion. 18. The Fourteenth Atheistick Ground, That it is not possible for any one Being to Animadvert and Order all things in the distant places of the whole World at once: But if it were possible, That such Infinite Negotiosity would be Absolutely Inconsistent with Happiness. 19. Several bold but slight Queries of Atheists, Why the World was not made sooner? and What God did before? Why it was made at all, since it was so long unmade? and, How the Architect of the World could rear up so huge a Fabrick? 20. The Atheists Pretence, That it is the great Interest of Mankind, That there should be no God; and that it was a Noble and Heroical Exploit of the Democriticks, to chase away that affrightful Spectre out of the World, and to free men from the continual Fear of a Deity and Punishment after Death, imbittering all the Pleasures of Life. 21. Another Pretence of theirs, That Theism is inconsistent with Civil Sovereign-

ty, it introducing a Fear greater than the Fear of the Leviathan; And that any other Conscience allowed of besides the Civil Law (being Private Judgment) is, ipso facto, a Dissolution of the Body Politick and a Return to the State of Nature. 22. The Atheists Conclusion from the former Premisses, as set down in Plato and Lucretius, That all things sprung Originally from Nature and Chance, without any Mind or God, that is, proceeded from the Necessity of Material Motions, undirected for Ends; That Infinite Atoms devoid of Life and Sense, moving in Infinite Space from Eternity, by their fortuitous Rencounters and Intanglements, produced the System of the whole Universe, and as well Animate as Inanimate things.

I. AVING in the Former Chapter given an Account of the Genuine and Primitive Atomical Philosophy, which may be called the *Moschical*; we are in the next place to consider the *Democritical*, that is, the *Atheized* and *Adulterated Atomology*. Which had its Origin from nothing else but the joyning of this Heterogeneous and Contradictious Principle, to the Atomical Physiology, *That there is no other Substance in the World besides Body*. Now we say, That that Philosophy which is thus compounded and made up of these Two things, *Atomicism* and *Corporealism* complicated together, is essentially Atheistical, though neither of them alone be such. For the Atomical Physiology, as we have declared already, is in its own Nature sufficiently repugnant to Atheism. And it is possible for one who holds, *That there is Nothing in the world besides Body*, to be persuaded notwithstanding of a *Corporeal Deity*, and that the world was at first framed and is still governed by an *Understanding Nature* lodged in the Matter. For thus some of these *Corporealists* have phancied, The whole Universe it self to be a God, that is, an *Understanding* and *Wise Animal*, that ordered all things within it self, after the Best manner possible, and providently governed the same. Indeed it cannot be denied, but that this is a very great Infirmity of mind, that such Persons lie under, who are not able to conceive any other Substance besides Body, by which is understood, that which is *Impenetrably Extended*, or else in *Plato's* Language, which hath *περσβολῶν ἢ ἐπαφῶν*, that thrusts against other Bodies and resists their impulse; or as others express it, which is *τόπος πληρωτικόν*, that fills up place, as to exclude any other Body or Substance from Coexisting with it therein; and such must needs have not only very imperfect, but also Spurious and false Conceptions of the Deity, so long as they apprehend it to be thus Corporeal; but yet it does not therefore follow that they must needs be accounted Atheists. But whosoever holds these two Principles (before mentioned) together, *That there is no other Substance besides Body*, and *That Body hath nothing else belonging to it but Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, without Qualities*, I say, whosoever is *That confounded Thing*, of an *Atomist* and *Corporealist* jumbled together, he is Essentially and Unavoidably that which is meant by an Atheist, though he should in words never so much disclaim it, because he must needs fetch the Original of all things

things from *senseless Matter*, whereas to assert a God, is to maintain that all things sprung Originally from a *Knowing and Understanding Nature*.

II. *Epicurus*, who was one of those Mongrel Things before mentioned, (an Atomical-Corporeal or Corporeal-Atomist) did notwithstanding profess to hold a Multifarious Rabble and Democracy of Gods, such as though they were ἀνθρωπώμορφοι, of *Humane Form*, yet were so Thin and Subtle, as that Comparatively with our Terrestrial Bodies they might be called *Incorporeal*; they having not so much *Carnem* as *Quasi-carnem*, nor *Sanguinem* as *Quasi-sanguinem*, a certain kind of *Aereal* or *Ethereal Flesh and Blood*: which Gods of his were not to be supposed to exist any where within the World, upon this pretence, that there was no place in it fit to receive them,

*Illud item non est ut possis credere sedes  
Esse Deum sanctas, in Mundi partibus ullis.*

And therefore they must be imagined to Subsist in certain *Intermundane Spaces*, and *Utopian Regions* without the World, the Delicousness whereof is thus Elegantly described by the Poet,

*Quas neque concutiunt Venti, neque Nubila nimbis  
Adspargunt, neque nix acri concreta pruina  
Cana cadens violat, semperque innubilus Æther  
Integit, & largè diffuso lumine ridet.*

Whereunto was added, that the chief Happiness of these Gods consisted, in *Omnium Vacatione Munerum*, in freedom from all *Business and Employment*, and doing nothing at all, that so they might live a Soft and Delicate life. And lastly, it was pretended, that though they had neither any thing to do with us, nor we with them, yet they ought to be worshipped by us for their own Excellent Natures sake, and Happy State.

But whosoever had the least Sagacity in him could not but perceive, that this Theology of *Epicurus* was but Romantical, it being directly Contrary to his avowed and professed Principles, to admitt of any other Being then what was Concreted of Atoms, and consequently Corruptible; and that he did this upon a Politick Account, thereby to decline the Common *Odium*, and those Dangers and Inconveniences which otherwise he might have incurred by a downright denial of a God, to which purpose it accordingly served his turn. Thus *Posidonius* rightly pronounced, *Nullos esse Deos Epicuro videri; quæque is de Diis immortalibus dixerit, Invidiæ detestandæ gratiâ dixisse*. Though he was partly Jocular in it also, it making no small Sport to him, in this manner, to delude and mock the credulous Vulgar. *Deos Jocandi causâ induxit Epicurus perlucidos & perflabiles, & habitantes tanquam inter duos Lucos, sic inter duos Mundos propter metum ruinarum*. However if *Epicurus* had been never so much in Earnest in all this, yet by *Gassendus* his leave, we should pronounce him to have been not a jot the less

less

less an Atheist, so long as he maintained, that the whole World was made μηδενός διατάξοντος ἢ διατάξαντος, τὴν πᾶσαν μακροχρόνια ἔχουτος μετὰ ἀφθαρσίας, without the ordering and direction of any Understanding Being that was perfectly happy and immortal, and fetcht the original of all things in the Universe, even of Soul and Mind, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπέμωτων σωμάτων ἀπερονότων ἢ τυχαίαν ἔχοντων τὴν κίνησιν, from Senseless Atoms fortuitously moved. He together with Democritus hereby making the World to be, in the worst Sence, ἕων τῆς νυκτός, an Egge of the Night, that is, not the off-spring of Mind and Understanding, but of dark Senseless Matter, of *Tobu* and *Boku*, or Confused *Chaos*; and deriving the Original of all the Perfections in the Universe, from the most Imperfect Being and the lowest of all Entities, than which nothing can be more Atheistical. And as for those Romantick Monogrammous Gods of *Epicurus*, had they been Seriously believed by him, they could have been nothing else but a certain kind of *Aerial* and *Spectrous Men*, living by themselves, no Body knows where, without the World; Ἐπίκουρος ὡς μὴ πρὸς τὰς πολλὰς ἀπολείπει θεὸν ὡς ἢ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν πραγμάτων ὁδομαῶς, *Epicurus according to Vulgar Opinion leaves a God, but according to the Nature of things none at all.*

And as *Epicurus* so other Atheists in like manner, have commonly had their Vizards and Disguises; Atheism for the most part prudently chusing to walk abroad in Masquerade. And though some over-credulous Persons have been so far imposed upon hereby, as to conclude that there was hardly any such thing as an Atheist any where in the World, yet they that are Sagacious, may easily look through these thin Veils and Disguises, and perceive these Atheists oftentimes insinuating their Atheism even then, when they most of all profess themselves Theists, by affirming that it is impossible to have any *Idea* or *Conception* at all of God, and that as he is not *Finite* so he cannot be *Infinite*, and that no Knowledge or Understanding is to be attributed to him, which is in effect to say, that there is no such thing. But whosoever entertains the Democritick Principles, that is, both rejects Forms and Qualities of Body, and makes all things to be Body, though he pretend never so much to hold a *Corporeal Deity*, yet he is not at all to be believed in it, it being a thing plainly Contradictious to those Principles.

III. Wherefore this Mongrel Philosophy, which *Leucippus*, *Democritus* and *Protagoras*, were the Founders of, and which was entertained afterwards by *Epicurus*, that makes (as *Laertius* writes) ἀρχὴς τῶν ὅλων ἀτόμους, *Senseless Atoms to be the first Principles*, not only of all Bodies (for that was a thing admitted before by *Empedocles* and other Atomists that were Theists) but also of *All things whatsoever* in the whole Universe, and therefore of Soul and Mind too; this, I say, was really nothing else but a Philosophical Form of *Atheology*, a Gigantical and Titanical Attempt, to dethrone the Deity, not only by Salving all the *Phenomena* of the World without a God, but also by laying down such Principles, from whence it must needs follow, that there could be neither an Incorporeal nor Corporeal Deity. It was Atheism openly Swaggering, under the glorious Appearance of Wisdom and Philosophy.

There is indeed another Form of Atheism, which (insisting on the Vulgar way of Philosophizing by Forms and Qualities) we for distinction sake shall call *Stratonical*; such as being too modest and shame-faced to fetch all things from the Fortuitous Motion of Atoms, would therefore allow to the several Parts of Matter, a certain Kind of *Natural* (though not *Animal*) *Perception*, such as is devoid of *Reflexive Consciousness*, together with a *Plastick power*, whereby they may be able *Artificially* and *Methodically* to Form and Frame themselves to the best advantage of their Respective Capabilities; something like to *Aristotle's* Nature, but that it hath no dependence at all upon any higher Mind or Deity. And these Atheists may be also called *Hylozoick* (as the other *Atomick*) because they derive all things in the whole Universe, not only Sensitive but also Rational Souls, together with the Artificial Frame of Animals, from the *Life* of the *Matter*. But this kind of Atheism seems to be but an unshapen *Embryo* of some Dark and Cloudy Brains that was never yet digested into an entire System, nor could be brought into any such tolerable Form, as to have the confidence to shew it self abroad in full and open View. But the *Democritik* and *Atomick Atheism*, as it is the boldest and rankest of all Atheisms, it not only undertaking to salve all *Phanomena* by Matter Fortuitously moved, without a God, but also to demonstrate that there cannot be so much as a *Corporeal Deity*; so it is that alone which pretending to an entire and coherent System, hath publickly appeared upon the Stage, and therefore doth in a manner only deserve our Consideration.

And now we shall exhibit a full View and Prospect of it, and discover all its *Dark Mysteries* and *Profundities*; we being much of this Perswasion, that a plain and naked Representation of them, will be a great part of a Confutation; at least, not doubting but it will be made to appear, that though this Monster, big-swoln with a Puffy shew of Wisdom, strutt and stalk so Gigantically, and march with such a kind of stately Philosophick Grandeur, yet it is indeed but like the Giant *Orgoglio*, in our English Poet, a mere *Empty Bladder*, blown up with vain Conceit, an *Empusa*, *Phantasm*, or *Speetre*, the Off-spring of Night and Darkness, Non-sence and Contradiction.

And yet for all that we shall not wrong it the least in our Representation, but give it all possible Advantages of Strength and Plausibility, that so the Atheists may have no Cause to pretend (as they are wont to do in such Cafes) that either we did not understand their Mysteries nor apprehend the full strength of their Cause, or else did purposely smother and conceal it. Which indeed we have been so far from, that we must confess we were not altogether unwilling, this business of theirs should look a little like something that might deserve a Confutation. And whether the Atheists ought not rather to give us Thanks for Mending and Improving their Arguments, then complain that we have any way Empaired them, we shall leave it to the Censure of impartial Judgments.

IV. *Plato* tells us that even amongst those Pagans in his time, there was generally such a Religious Humor, that *πάντες ὅσοι καὶ βραχὺ καὶ σωφροσύνης μετέχουσι, ἐπὶ πάσῃ ὁρμῇ καὶ σμίνεσσι καὶ μεγάλῃ προθυμίας, θεὸν ἀεὶ πρὸς ἑπιχειρήσει.* *Whosoever had but the least of Seriousness and Sobriety in them, whensoever they took in hand any Enterprize, whether great or small, they would always invoke the Deity for Assistance and Direction.* Adding moreover that himself should be very faulty, if in his *Timæus*, when he was to treat about so grand a point, concerning the whole World, εἰ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἀγχιεὶς ἔστι, whether it were made or unmade, he should not make his Entrance thereinto by a Religious Invocation of the Deity. Wherefore certainly, it could not be less than a piece of Impiety in a Christian, being to treat concerning the Deity it self, and to produce all that Prophane and Unhallowed stuff of Atheists, out of their Dark Corners, in order to a Confutation, and the better Confirmation of our Faith in the Truth of his Existence; not to implore his Direction and Assistance. And I know no Reason but that we may well do it in that same Litany of *Plato's*, καὶ πρῶτον ἐκείνω μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπομυθῶς δὲ ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν, that we may first speak agreeably to his own mind or becomingly of his Nature, and then consentaneously with our selves.

V. Now there are these two things here to be performed by us, First, to discover and produce the Chief Heads of Arguments or Grounds of Reason, insisted on by the Atheists to disprove a Deity, evincing withall briefly the Ineffectualness and Falseness of them. And Secondly, to shew how they Endeavour either to Confute or Salvage, consistently with their own Principles, all those *Phænomena* which are commonly urg'd against them, to prove a Deity and Incorporeal Substance; manifesting likewise the Invalidity thereof.

The grounds of Reason alledged for the Atheistical Hypothesis are chiefly these that follow. First, That we have no *Idea of God*, and therefore can have no Evidence of him; which Argument is further flourish'd and descanted upon in this manner. That Notion or Conception of a Deity, that is commonly entertained, is nothing but a Bundle of Incomprehensibles, Unconceivables, and Impossibles; it being only a compilement of all Imaginable Attributes of Honour, Courtship, and Complement, which the Confounded Fear, and Astonishment of Mens minds, made them huddle up together, without any Sence or Philosophick Truth: This seems to be intimated by a Modern Writer in these words; *The Attributes of God signifie not True nor False, nor any Opinion of our Brain, but the Reverence and Devotion of our Hearts, and therefore they are not sufficient Premisses to infer Truth or convince Falshood.* And the same thing again is further set out, with no small pretence to wit, after this manner; *They that venture to dispute Philosophically or reason of God's Nature from these Attributes of Honour, losing their Understanding in the very first attempt, fall from one Inconvenience into another without end, and without number; In the same manner as when one ignorant of the Ceremonies of Court, coming into the presence of a greater*

Person than he is used to speak to, and stumbling at his Entrance, to save himself from falling lets slip his Cloak, to recover his Cloak lets fall his Hat, and with one disorder after another discovers his Astonishment and Rusticity. The meaning of which, and other like passages of the same Writer, seem to be this; That the Attributes of God (by which his Nature is supposed to be expressed) having no Philosophick Truth or Reality in them, had their only Original from a certain Rustick Astonishment of Mind, proceeding from excess of Fear, raising up the Phantasm of a Deity, as a Bug-bear for an Object to it self, and affrighting men into all manner of Confounded Non-sence, and Absurdity of Expressions concerning it, such as have no signification, nor any Conception of the Mind answering to them. This is the First Argument, used especially by our modern Democriticks, against a Deity, That because they can have no *Phantastick Idæa* of it, nor fully comprehend all that is included in the Notion thereof, that therefore it is but an *Incomprehensible Nothing*.

V I. Secondly, Another Argument much insisted on by the old Democritick Atheists, is directed against the Divine *Omnipotence* and *Creative Power*, after this manner. By God is always understood a Creatour of something or other out of Nothing. For however the Theists be here divided amongst themselves, Some of them believing that there was once Nothing at all existing in this whole Space which is now occupied by the World, besides the Deity, and that he was then a Solitary Being, so that the Substance of the whole Corporeal Universe had a Temporary Beginning, and Novity of Existence, and the Duration of it hath now continued but for so many years only. Others perswading themselves, that though the Matter and Substance at least, (if not the Form also) of the Corporeal World, did exist from Eternity, yet nevertheless, they both alike proceeded from the Deity by way of Emanation, and do continually depend upon it, in the same manner as Light, though coeve with the Sun, yet proceeded from the Sun, and depends upon it, being always, as it were, Made A-new by it; Wherefore, according to this *Hypothesis*, though things had no Antecedent Non-Entity in Time, yet they were as little of themselves, and owed all their Being as much to the Deity, as if they had been once Actually Nothing, they being as it were perpetually Created out of Nothing by it. Lastly, Others of those Theists resolving, that the Matter of the Corporeal Universe was not only from Eternity, but also Self-existent and Uncreated, or Independent upon any Deity as to its Being; But yet the Forms and Qualities of all Inanimate Bodies, together with the Souls of all Animals, in the successive Generations of them, (being taken for Entities distinct from the Matter) were Created by the Deity out of Nothing. We say, though there be such Difference amongst the Theists themselves, yet they all agree in this, that God is in some Sence or other, the Creatour of some Real Entity out of Nothing, or the Cause of that which otherwise would not have been Of it self, so that no Creation out of Nothing, (in that enlarged sence) no Deity. Now it is utterly impossible that  
any

any Substance or Real Entity should be Created out of Nothing, it being Contradictious to that indubitable Axiom of Reason, *De Nihilo Nihil, From Nothing Nothing.* The Argument is thus urged by *Lucretius*, according to the Minds of *Epicurus* and *Democritus*.

*Principium hinc cujus nobis Exordia sumet,  
Nullam rem è Nihilo gigni Divinitus unquam.  
Quippe ita Formido Mortales continet omnes;  
Quod multa in Terris fieri Cæloque tuentur,  
Quorum operum Causas nullâ ratione videre  
Possunt; ac fieri Divino Numine rentur:  
Quas ob res, ubi viderimus Nil posse Creari  
De Nihilo, tum quod sequimur, jam tutius inde  
Perspicimus, & undè queat res quæque Creari,  
Et quo quæque modo fiant opera sine Divûm.*

It is true indeed that it seems to be chiefly level'd by the Poet against that Third and last sort of Theists before mentioned, such as *Heraclitus* and the Stoicks, (which latter were Contemporary with *Epicurus*) who held the Matter of the whole World to have been from Eternity of it self Uncreated, but yet the Forms of Mundane things in the successive Generations of them (as Entities distinct from the Matter) to be Created or made by the Deity out of Nothing. But the force of the Argument must needs lie stronger against those other Theists, who would have the very Substance and Matter it self of the World, as well as the Forms, to have been created by the Deity out of Nothing. Since Nothing can come out of Nothing, it follows, that not so much as the Forms and Qualities of Bodies (conceiv'd as Entities really distinct from the Matter) much less the Lives and Souls of Animals, could ever have been Created by any Deity, and therefore certainly, not the Substance and Matter it self: But all Substance, and Real Entity, whatsoever is in the World, must needs have been from Eternity, Uncreated and Self-existent. Nothing can be Made or Produced but only the different Modifications of Preexistent Matter. And this is done by Motions, Mixtures and Separations, Concretions and Secrétions of Atoms, without the Creation of any Real distinct Entity out of Nothing; so that there needs no Deity for the Effecting of it, according to that of *Epicurus*, *ἡ θεία φύσις πρὸς τὰ ὅλα μὴ δεῖται προσεγγέσθαι*, No Divine Power ought to be call'd in, for the salving of those Phænomena. To Conclude therefore, If no Substance, nor Real Entity can be made, which was not before, but all whatsoever Is, Will be, and Can be, was from Eternity Self-existent, then Creative Power, but especially, that Attribute of *Omnipotence*, can belong to nothing, and this is all one as to say, There can be no Deity.

VII. Thirdly the Atheists argue against the stricter and higher sort of Theists, who will have God to be the Creatour of the whole Corporeal Universe and all its Parts out of Nothing, after this manner; That which Created the whole Mass of Matter and Body, cannot be it self Body, Wherefore this Notion of God plainly implies

him to be Incorporeal. But there can be no Incorporeal Deity, because by that word *must* needs be understood, either that which hath no Magnitude nor Extension at all, or else that which is indeed extended, but otherwise than Body. If the Word be taken in the former sence, then nothing at all can be so Incorporeal, as to be altogether Unextended and devoid of Geometrical Quantity, because Extension is the very Essence of all *Existent Entity*, and that which is altogether unextended is perfectly Nothing. There can neither be any Substance nor Mode or Accident of any Substance, no Nature whatsoever Unextended. But if the Word Incorporeal be taken in the latter sence, for that which is indeed Extended but otherwise than Body, namely so as to penetrate Bodies and coexist with them, this is also a thing next to Nothing, since it can neither act upon any other thing, nor be acted upon by, or sensible of, any thing; It can neither do nor Suffer any thing.

*Nam facere & fungi nisi Corpus nulla potest res.*

Wherefore to speak plainly, this can be nothing else but empty Space, or *Vacuum*, which runs through all things, without laying hold on any thing, or being affected from any thing. This is the only *Incorporeal thing*, that is or can be in Nature, Space or Place; and therefore to suppose an *Incorporeal Deity* is to make *Empty Space* to be the Creatour of all Things.

This Argument is thus proposed by the Epicurean Poet.

————— *Quodcunque erit esse aliquid debet id ipsum  
Augmine vel grandi vel parvo ————  
Cui si Tactus erit, quamvis levis exiguusque,  
Corporum augebit numerum Summamque sequetur :  
Sin Intactile erit, nulla de parte quod ullam  
Rem prohibere queat per se transire meantem,  
Scilicet hoc id erit Vacuum quod Inane vocamus.*

Whatsoever is, is Extended or hath Geometrical Quantity and Mensurability in it; which if it be Tangible, then it is Body, and fills up a Place in the World, being part of the whole *Maß*; but if it be Intangible, so that it cannot resist the Passage of any thing thorough it, then it is nothing else but empty Space or *Vacuum*. There is no Third thing besides these Two, and therefore whatsoever is not Body, is empty Space or Nothing,

————— *Præter Inane & Corpora Tertia per se,  
Nulla potest rerum in numero Natura relinqui.*

Thus the Ancient Epicureans and Democriticks argued; there being nothing Incorporeal but Space, there can be no Incorporeal Deity.

But because this seems to give Advantage to the Theists, in making Space Something, or that which hath a Real Nature or Entity without

out our Conception, from whence it will follow, that it must needs be either it self a Substance, or else a Mode of some Incorporeal Substance, the Modern Democriticks are here more cautious, and make Space to be no Nature really existing without us, but only the Phantasm of a Body, and as it were the *Ghost* of it, which has no Reality without our Imagination. So that there are not two Natures of Body, and Space, which must needs infer two distinct Substances, one whereof must be Incorporeal, but only One Nature of Body. The Consequence of which will be this, That an Incorporeal Substance is all one with an *Incorporeal Body*, and therefore Nothing.

V III. But because it is generally conceived that an Error cannot be sufficiently confuted, without discovering τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁδῶς, the *Cause of the Mistake*, therefore the Atheists will in the next place undertake to show likewise, the Original of this Doctrine of Incorporeal Substances, and from what Misapprehension it sprung, as also take occasion from thence, further to disprove a Deity.

Wherefore they say, that the Original of this Doctrine of Incorporeal Substances proceeded chiefly from the Abuse of *Abstract Names*, both of Substances (whereby the Essences of singular Bodies, as of a Man or an Horse, being Abstracted from those Bodies themselves, are consider'd Universally) as also of Accidents when they are consider'd alone without their Subjects or Substances. The latter of which is a thing, that Men have been necessitated to, in order to the Computation or Reckoning of the Properties of Bodies, the Comparing of them with one another, the Adding, Subtracting, Multiplying and Dividing of them, which could not be done, so long as they are taken Concretely, together with their Subjects. But yet, as there is some Use of those Abstract Names, so the Abuse of them has been also very great; Forasmuch as, though they be really the *Names of Nothing*, since the Essence of this and that Man is not any thing without the Man, nor is an Accident any thing without its Substance, yet men have been led into a gross mistake by them, to imagine them to be Realities existing by themselves. Which Infatuation hath chiefly proceeded from Scholasticks, who have been so intemperate in the use of these Words, that they could not make a Rational Discourse of any thing, though never so small, but they must stuff it with their Quiddities, Entities, Essences, Hacceities and the like. Wherefore these are they, who being first deluded themselves, have also deluded the World, introducing an Opinion into the Minds of Men, that the Essence of every thing is something without that thing it self, and also Eternal, and therefore when any thing is Made or Generated, that there is no new Being produced, but only an antecedent and Eternal Essence cloathed (as it were) with a new Garment of Existence. As also that the mere Accidents of Bodies may exist alone by themselves without their Substances. As for Example, that the Life, Sense and Understanding of Animals, commonly call'd by the Names of Soul and Mind, may exist without the Bodies or Substances of them by themselves, after the Animals are dead; which plainly makes them to be Incorporeal Substances, as it were the *separate*

rate and *Abstract Essences of Men*. This hath been observed by a Modern Writer in these words; *Est Hominum Abstractorum tum in omni Vita, tum in Philosophia, magnus & Usus & Abusus. Abusus in eo consistit, quod cum videant aliqui, Considerari posse, id est, inferri in Rationes, Accidentium Incrementa & Decrementa, sine Consideratione Corporum, sive Subjectorum suorum, (id quod appellatur Abstrahere) loquuntur de Accidentibus, tanquam possent ab omni Corpore Separari: Hinc enim Originem trahunt quorundam Metaphysicorum crassi Errores. Nam ex eo, quod Considerari potest Cogitatio, sine consideratione Corporis, inferre solent non esse Opus Corporis Cogitantis.* It is a great Abuse that some Metaphysicians make of these Abstract Names, because Cogitation can be considered alone without the consideration of Body, therefore to conclude that it is not the Action or Accident of that Body that thinks, but a Substance by it self. And the same Writer elsewhere observes, That it is upon this Ground, that when a Man is dead and buried, they say his Soul (that is, his Life) can walk, separated from his Body, and is seen by night amongst the Graves. By which means the Vulgar are confirmed in their Superstitious Belief, of Ghosts, Spirits, Dæmons, Devils, Fayries and Hob-goblins, Invisible Powers and Agents, called by several Names, and that by those Persons whose work it ought to be, rather to free men from such Superstition. Which Belief at first had another Original, not altogether unlike the former; Namely from mens mistaking their own Phancies for Things Really existing without them. For as in the sense of Vision, men are commonly deceived, in supposing the Image behind the Glass to be a Real thing existing without themselves, whereas it is indeed nothing but their own Phancy; In like manner when the Minds of Men strongly possess'd with Fear, especially in the Dark, raise up the Phantasms of Spectres, Bug-bears, or Affrightful Apparitions to them, they think them to be Objects really existing without them, and call them Ghosts and Spirits, whilst they are indeed nothing but their own Phancies; So the Phantasm or Phancy of a Deity (which is indeed the Chief of all Spectres) created by Fear, has upon no other Accompt, been taken for a Reality. To this purpose a Modern Writer, *From the Fear that proceeds from the Ignorance it self, of what it is that hath the Power to do men Good or Harm, men are inclined to suppose and Feign to themselves, several kinds of Powers Invisible, and to stand in awe of their own Imaginations, and in time of Distress to invoke them, as also in the time of an expected good Success, to give them thanks, making the Creatures of their own Fancies, their Gods.* Which though it be prudently spoken in the Plural Number, that so it might be diverted and put off to the Heathen Gods, yet he is very simple, that does not perceive the reason of it to be the same concerning that one Deity, which is now commonly worshipped, and that therefore this also is but the Creature of Mens Fear and Phancie, the Chief of all Phantastick Ghosts and Spectres, as it were an Oberon or Prince of Fayries and Phancies. This (we say) was the first Original of that Vulgar Belief of Invisible Powers, Ghosts, and Gods; mens taking their own Phancies for Things really Existing without them. And as for the Matter and Substance of these Ghosts, they could not by their own natural Cogitation fall into any other Conceit, but that it was the same,

with

with that which appeareth in a Dream to one that sleepeth, or in a Looking-glass to one that is awake, *Thin Aerial Bodies*, which may appear and vanish when they please. But the Opinion, that such Spirits were Incorporeal and Immaterial, could never enter into the minds of men by Nature, Unabused by Doctrine; but it sprung up from those deceiving and deceived *Literati*; Scholasticks, Philosophers, and Theologers enchanting mens Understandings, and making them believe, that the Abstract Notions of Accidents and Essences could exist alone by themselves, without the Bodies, as certain Separate and Incorporeal Substances.

To Conclude therefore, To make an Incorporeal Mind to be the Cause of all things, is to make our own Phancie, an Imaginary Ghost of the World, to be a Reality; and to suppose the mere *Abstract Notion* of an *Accident*, and a *Separate Essence*, to be not only an Absolute thing by it self, and a Real Substance Incorporeal, but also the first Original of all Substances, and of whatsoever is in the Universe. And this may be reckon'd for a Fourth Atheistick Ground.

I X. Fifthly, the Atheists pretend further to prove, that there is no other Substance in the World besides Body, as also from the Principles of Corporealism it self, to evince that there can be no Corporeal Deity, after this manner. No man can devise any other Notion of Substance, than that it is a thing Extended, existing without the Mind, not Imaginary but Real and Solid Magnitude; For whatsoever is not Extended, is Nowhere and Nothing. So that *Res Extensa*, is the only Substance, the solid *Basis* and *Substratum* of all. Now this is the very self-same thing with Body; For *ἀκίνησις*, or *Resistance* seems to be a necessary Consequence and Result from Extension, and they that think otherwise, can show no reason why Bodies may not also penetrate one another, as some Corporealists think they do; From whence it is inferred, that Body or Matter is the only Substance of all things. And whatsoever else is in the World, that is, all the Differences of Bodies, are nothing but several Accidents and Modifications of this Extended Substance, Body or Matter. Which Accidents, though they may be sometimes call'd by the names of Real Qualities, and Forms, and though there be different apprehensions concerning them amongst Philosophers, yet generally they agree in this, that there are these two Properties belonging to them; First, that none of them can subsist alone by themselves, without Extended Substance or Matter, as the *Basis* and Support of them: And Secondly, that they may be all destroyed without the Destruction of any Substance. Now as Blackness and Whiteness, Heat and Cold, so likewise Life, Sense and Understanding, are such Accidents, Modifications or Qualities of Body, that can neither exist by themselves, and may be destroyed without the Destruction of any Substance or Matter. For if the Parts of the Body of any Living Animal be disunited and separated from one another, or the Organical Disposition of the Matter alter'd, those Accidents, Forms or Qualities, of Life and Understanding, will presently vanish away to Nothing, all the Substance of the Matter still remaining one where or other

other in the Universe entire, and Nothing of it lost. Wherefore the Substance of Matter and Body, as distinguished from the Accidents, is the only thing in the world that is Uncorruptible and Undestroyable. And of this it is to be understood that Nothing can be made out of Nothing, and Destroyed to Nothing, (*i. e.*) that every entire thing that is Made or Generated, must be made of some preexistent Matter; which Matter was from Eternity, Self-existent and Unmade, and is also undestroyable, and can never be reduc'd to Nothing. It is not to be understood of the Accidents themselves, that are all Makeable and Destroyable, Generable and Corruptible. Whatsoever is in the World is but ὕλη πῶς ἔχουσα, *Matter so and so Modified or Qualified*, all which Modifications and Qualifications of Matter are in their own nature Destroyable, and the Matter it self (as the *Basis* of them, not necessarily determin'd to this or that Accident) is the only ἀγέννητον ἢ ἀνάληθρον, the only Necessarily Existent. The Conclusion therefore is, that no Animal, no Living Understanding Body, can be Absolutely and Essentially Incorruptible, this being an Incommunicable Property of the Matter, and therefore there can be no Corporeal Deity, the Original of all things, Essentially Undestroyable.

Though the *Stoicks* imagined the whole Corporeal Universe to be an Animal or Deity, yet this Corporeal God of theirs was only by Accident Incorruptible and Immortal, because they supposed, that there was no other Matter, which existing without this World, and making Inrodes upon it, could disunite the Parts of it or disorder its Compages. Which if there were, the Life and Understanding of this Stoical God, or great Mundane Animal, as well as that of other Animals in like Cases, must needs vanish into nothing. Thus from the Principles of Corporealism it self, it plainly follows that there can be no Corporeal Deity, because the Deity is supposed to be ἀγέννητον ἢ ἀνάληθρον, a thing that was never made, and is Essentially Undestroyable, which are the Privileges and Properties of nothing but Senseless Matter.

X. In the next place, the Atheists undertake more effectually to confute that Corporeal God of the *Stoicks* and others, from the Principles of the Atomical Philosophy, in this manner. All Corporeal Theists who assert that an Understanding Nature or Mind, residing in the Matter of the whole Universe, was the first Original of the Mundane System, and did Intellectually frame it, betray no small Ignorance of Philosophy and the Nature of Body, in supposing Real Qualities, besides Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, as Simple and Primitive things, to belong to it; and that there was such a Quality or Faculty of Understanding in the Matter of the whole Universe, coeternal with the same, that was an Original thing Uncompounded and Underived from any thing else. Now to suppose such Original Qualities and Powers, which are Really Distinct from the Substance of Extended Matter and its Modifications, of Divisibility, Figure, Site and Motion, is Really to suppose so many Distinct Substances, which therefore must needs be Incorporeal.

poreal. So that these Philosophers fall unawares into that very thing which they are so abhorrent from. For this Quality or Faculty of Understanding, in the Matter of the Universe, Original and underiv'd from any other thing, can be indeed nothing else but an Incorporeal Substance. *Epicurus* suggested a Caution against this Vulgar Mistake concerning Qualities to this purpose. *Non sic cogitanda sunt Qualitates, quasi sint quaedam per se existentes Naturæ seu Substantiæ, siquidem id mente assequi non licet; sed solummodo ut varii modi sese habendi Corporis, considerandæ sunt.*

Body, as such, hath nothing else belonging to the Nature of it, but what is included in the *Idea* of Extended Substance, Divisibility, Figure, Site, Motion or Rest, and the Results from the various Compositions of them, causing different Phancies; Wherefore, as vulgar Philosophers make their first Matter (which they cannot well tell what they mean by it) because it receives all Qualities, to be it self devoid of all Quality; So we conclude that Atoms (which are really the first Principles of all things) have none of those Qualities in them which belong to compounded Bodies; they are not absolutely of themselves Black or White, Hot or Cold, Moist or dry, Bitter or Sweet, all these things arising up afterwards, from the various Aggregations and Contextures of them, together with different Motions. Which *Lucretius* confirms by this reason, agreeable to the Tenour of the Atomical Philosophy, That if there were any such Real Qualities in the first Principles, then in the various Corruptions of Nature, things would at last be all reduc'd to Nothing:

*Immutabile enim quiddam superare necesse est  
Nè res ad Nihilum redigantur funditus omnes;  
Proinde Colore cave contingas semina rerum,  
Nè tibi res redeant ad Nilum funditus omnes.*

Wherefore he concludes, that it must not be thought, that White things are made out of White Principles, nor Black things out of Black Principles,

————— *Nè ex Albis Alba rearis  
Principiis esse, —————  
Aut ea quæ nigrant, nigro de semine nata:  
Neve alium quemvis quæ sunt induta colorem,  
Propterea gerere hunc credas, quod materiai  
Corpora consimili sint ejus tincta colore;  
Nullus enim Color est omnino materiai  
Corporibus, neque par rebus, neque denique dispar.*

Adding that the same is to be resolv'd likewise concerning all other Sensible Qualities as well as Colours.

*Sed nè fortè putes solo spoliata colore  
Corpora prima manere: etiam secreta Teporis  
Sunt, ac Frigoris omnino, Calidique Vaporis:*

Et

*Et sonitu sterila, & Succo jejuna feruntur,  
Nec jaciunt ullum proprio de corpore Odorem.*

Lastly he tells us in like manner that the same is to be understood also concerning Life, Sense and Understanding, that there are no such simple Qualities or Natures in the first Principles, out of which Animals are compounded, but that these are in themselves altogether devoid of Life, Sense and Understanding.

*Nunc ea, quæ Sentire videmus cunquæ, necesse est  
Ex Insensilibus tamen omnia consistere  
Principiis constare: neque id manifesta refutant:  
Sed magis ipsa manu ducunt, & credere cogunt,  
Ex insensilibus, quod dico, Animalia gigni.  
Quippe videre licet, vivos existere vermes  
Stercore de tetro, putrorem cum sibi nacta est  
Intempestivis ex imbribus humida tellus.*

*All Sensitive and Rational Animals are made of Irrational and Senseless Principles, which is proved by Experience, in that we see Worms are made out of putrified Dung, moistned with immoderate Showers.*

Some indeed, who are no greater Friends to a Deity than our selves, will needs have that Sense and Understanding that is in Animals and Men, to be derived from an Antecedent Life and Understanding in the Matter. But this cannot be, because if Matter as such, had Life and Understanding in it, then every Atom of Matter must needs be a Distinct Percipient, Animal, and Intelligent Person by it self; and it would be impossible for any such Men and Animals as now are, to be compounded out of them, because every Man would be, *Variorum Animalculorum Acervus*, a Heap of Innumerable Animals and Percipients.

Wherefore as all the other Qualities of Bodies, so likewise Life, Sense, and Understanding arise from the different Contextures of Atoms devoid of all those Qualities, or from the Composition of those simple Elements of *Magnitudes, Figures, Sites and Motions*, in the same manner as from a few Letters variously compounded, all that Infinite Variety of Syllables and Words is made,

*Quin etiam refert nostris in versibus ipsis  
Cum quibus & quali Positurâ contineantur;  
Namque eadem Cælum, Mare, Terras, Flumina, Solem  
Significant, eadem, fruges, arbusta, animantes;  
Sic ipsis in rebus item jam materia  
Intervalla, viæ, connexus, pondera, plage,  
Concurfus, motus, ordo, Positura, Figure,  
Cum permutantur mutari res quoque debent.*

From the Fortuitous Concretions of *Senseless Unknowing Atoms*, did rise up afterwards, in certain parts of the World called Animals, *Soul*,  
and

and *Mind, sense and Understanding, Counsel and Wisdom.* But to think that there was any *Animalish Nature* before all these *Animals*, or that there was an antecedent *Mind and Understanding, Counsel and Wisdom*, by which all *Animals themselves*, together with the whole *World*, were made and contrived, is either to run round in a *Senseless Circle*, making *Animals and Animality* to be before one another infinitely; or else to suppose an impossible *Beginning of an Original Understanding Quality* in the *Matter*. Atoms in their first *Coalitions together*, when the *World* was a making, were not then directed by any previous *Counsel or preventive Understanding*, which were things as yet *Unborn and Unmade*,

*Nam certè neq; consilio Primordia rerum  
Ordine se quæque atque sagaci mente locarunt,  
Nec quos quæque darent motus, pepigere profectò.*

*Mind and Understanding, Counsel and Wisdom* did not lay the *Foundations of the Universe*, they are no *Archical things*, that is, they have not the *Nature of a Principle* in them, they are not *Simple, Original, Primitive and Primordial*, but as all other *Qualities of Bodies, Secondary, Compounded and Derivative*, and therefore they could not be *Architectonical* of the *World*. *Mind and Understanding* is no *God*, but the *Creature of Matter and Motion*.

The sence of this whole Argument is briefly this; The first Principle of all things in the whole Universe is *Matter*, or *Atoms* devoid of all *Qualities*, and consequently of all *Life, Sense and Understanding*, and therefore the *Original of things* is no *Understanding, Nature, or Deity*.

XI. Seventhly, The Democritick Atheists argue further after this manner: They who assert a *Deity*, suppose *ἐμψυχον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον*, the whole World to be Animated, that is, to have a *Living, Rational and Understanding Nature* presiding over it. Now it is already evident from some of the premised Arguments, that the *World* cannot be Animated, in the sence of *Platonists*, that is, with an *Incorporeal Soul*, which is in order of *Nature* before *Body*, it being proved already that there can be no *Substance Incorporeal*; as likewise that it cannot be Animated neither in the *Stoical sence*, so as to have an *Original Quality of Understanding or Mind* in the *Matter*; But yet nevertheless, some may possibly imagine, that as in our selves and other *Animals*, though compounded of *Senseless Atoms*, there is a *Soul and Mind*, resulting from the *Contexture* of them, which being once made, domineers over the *Body*, governing and ordering it at pleasure; so there may be likewise such a *Living Soul and Mind*, not only in the *Stars*, which many have supposed to be lesser *Deities*, and in the *Sun*, which has been reputed a principal *Deity*; but also in the whole *Mundane System*, made up of *Earth, Seas, Air, Ether, Sun, Moon, and Starrs* all together; one *General Soul and Mind*, which though resulting at first from the *Fortuitous Motion of Matter*, yet being once produced,

may rule, govern and sway the Whole, Understandingly, and in a more perfect manner than our Souls do our Bodies, and so long as it continues, exercise a Principality and Dominion over it. Which although it will not amount to the full Notion of a God, according to the strict sense of Theists, yet it will approach very near unto it, and indanger the bringing in of all the same Inconveniencies along with it. Wherefore they will now prove that there is no such Soul or Mind as this, (resulting from the Contexture of Atoms) that presides over the Corporeal Universe, that so there may not be so much as the Shadow of a Deity left.

It was observed before, that Life, Sense, Reason and Understanding are but Qualities of Concreted Bodies, like those other Qualities of Heat, and Cold, &c. arising from certain particular Textures of Atoms; Now as those first Principles of Bodies, namely single Atoms, have none of those Qualities in them, so neither hath the whole Universe any (that it can be denominated from) but, only the Parts of it. The whole World is neither Black nor White, Hot nor Cold, Pellucid nor Opake, it containing all those Qualities in its several Parts: In like manner, the whole has no Life, Sense, nor Understanding in it, but only the parts of it, which are called Animals. That is, Life and Sense are qualities that arise, only from such a Texture of Atoms as produceth soft Flesh, Blood, and Brains, in Bodies organized, with Head, Heart, Bowels, Nerves, Muscles, Veins, Arteries and the like;

————— *Sensus jungitur omnīs*  
*Visceribus, Nervis, Venis, quæcunque videmus,*  
*Mollia mortali consistere Corpore creta;*

And Reason and Understanding, properly so called, are peculiar Appendices to humane Shape; *Ratio nusquam esse potest nisi in hominis figura.* From whence it is concluded that there is no Life, Soul nor Understanding acting the whole World, because the World hath no Blood nor Brains, nor any Animalish or Humane Form. *Qui Mundum ipsum Animantem sapientemque esse dixerunt, nullo modo viderunt Animi Naturam, in quam Figuram cadere posset.* Therefore the Epicurean Poet concludes upon this Ground, that there is no Divine Sense in the whole World,

*Dispositum videtur ubi esse & crescere possit*  
*Seorsim Anima atque Animus; tanto magis insciandum,*  
*Totum posse extra Corpus Formamque Animalem,*  
*Putribus in glebis terrarum, aut Solis in Igni,*  
*Aut in Aqua durare, aut altis Ætheris oris.*  
*Haud igitur constant Divino prædita Sensu,*  
*Quandoquidem nequeunt vitaliter esse Animata.*

Now if there be no Life nor Understanding above us, nor round about us, nor any where else in the World, but only in our selves and Fellow-Animals, and we be the highest of all Beings; if neither  
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the whole Corporeal System be Animated, nor those greater parts of it, Sun, Moon nor Stars, then there can be no danger of any Deity.

XII. Eighthly, the Democritick Atheists dispute further against a Deity in this manner : The Deity is generally supposed to be ζῶον μακροειδὲς ἢ ἀφθαρτόν, a *Perfectly Happy Animal, Incorruptible and Immortal*. Now there is no Living Being Incorruptible and Immortal, and therefore none perfectly Happy neither. For according to that Democritick *Hypothesis* of Atoms in Vacuity ; the only Incorruptible things will be These three : First of all, *Vacuum* or *Empty Space*, which must needs be such, because it cannot suffer from any thing, since it is *plagarum expers*,

*Et manet intactum, nec ab ictu fungitur hilum.*

Secondly, the *Single Atoms*, because by reason of their Parvitude and Solidity, they are Indivisible ; And lastly, the *Summa Summarum* of all things, that is the Comprehension of all Atoms dispersed every where throughout Infinite Space.

— *Quia nulla loci stat copia certum  
Quod quasi res possint discedere dissoluique.*

But according to that other *Hypothesis* of some modern Atomists (which also was entertained of old by *Empedocles*) that supposes a Plenitude, there is nothing at all Incorruptible, but the Substance of Matter it self. All Systems and Compages of it, all συνελματτα and ἀδεγισματτα, all Concretions and Coagmentations, of Matter divided by Motion, together with the Qualities resulting from them, are Corruptible and Destroyable : *Quæ est Coagmentatio rerum non dissolubilis ?* Death destroys not the Substance of any Matter ; For as no Matter came from Nothing but was Self-eternal, so none of it can ever vanish into Nothing ; but it dissolves all the Aggregations of it.

*Non sic interimit Mors res ut Materia  
Corpora conficiat, sed cæcum dissipat ollis.*

Life is no *Substantial thing*, nor any *Primitive* or *Simple Nature* ; it is only an *Accident* or *Quality* arising from the Aggregation and Contexture of Atoms or *Corpuscula*, which when the Compages of them is disunited and dissolved, though all the Substance still remain scattered and dispersed, yet the Life utterly perishes and vanisheth into Nothing. No Life is Immortal ; there is no Immortal Soul ; nor Immortal Animal, or Deity. Though this whole Mundane System were it self an Animal, yet being but an Aggregation of Matter, it would be both Corruptible and Mortal. Wherefore since no living Being can possibly have any security of its future Permanency ; there is none that can be perfectly *Happy*. And it was rightly determined by our Fellow-Atheists, the *Hedonicks* and *Cyrenaicks*, ἡδονικὴ ἀνὴρπαθία, *Perfect Happiness is a mere Notion*, a Romantick Fiction, a thing which can have no Existence any where. This is recorded to have been one of *Democri-*

*tus* his chief Arguments against a Deity, because there can be no Living Being *Immortal*, and consequently none perfectly *Happy*. *Cum Democritus, quia nihil semper suo statu maneat, neget, esse quicquam sempiternum, nonne Deum ita tollit omnino, ut nullam Opinionem ejus reliquam faciat?*

XIII. A Ninth pretended Demonstration of the Democritick Atheists is as followeth. By God is understood a *First Cause* or *Mover*, which being not before acted upon by any thing else, but acting Originally from it self, was the Beginning of all things. Now it is an indubitable Axiom, and generally received amongst Philosophers, that Nothing can move it self, but *Quicquid movetur ab alio movetur, Whatsoever is moved is moved by something else*; nothing can act otherwise than it is made to act, by something without it, acting upon it. The necessary Consequence whereof is this, That there can be no such thing as any *First Mover*, or *First Cause*, that is, no God. This Argument is thus urged by a Modern Writer, agreeably to the Sence of the Ancient Democriticks; *Ex eo quod nihil potest movere seipsum, non inferetur, id quod inferri solet, nempe Æternum Immobile, sed contra Æternum Motum, siquidem ut verum est, nihil moveri à seipso, ita etiam verum est nihil moveri nisi à Moto. From hence, that Nothing can move it self, it cannot be rightly inferred, as commonly it is, that there is an Eternal Immoveable Mover (that is, a God) but only an Eternal Moved Mover; or that one thing was moved by another from Eternity, without any first Mover. Because as it is true that nothing can be Moved, but from it self; so it is likewise true, that nothing can be moved but from that which was it self also moved by something else before; and so the progress upwards must needs be infinite, without any Beginning or first Mover. The plain Drift and Scope of this Ratiocination, is no other then this, to shew that the Argument commonly taken from Motion, to prove a God, (that is, a *First Mover* or *Cause*) is not only Ineffectual and Inconclusive; but also that on the contrary, it may be demonstrated from that very Topick of Motion; that there can be no Absolutely First Mover, No First in the order of Causes, that is, no God.*

XIV. Tenthly, because the Theists conceive that though no Body can move it self, yet a perfect *Cogitative*, and *Thinking Being* might be the Beginning of all, and the first Cause of Motion; the Atheists will endeavour to evince the contrary, in this manner. No man can conceive how any Cogitation which was not before, should rise up at any time, but that there was some cause for it, without the *Thinker*. For else there can be no reason given, why this Thought rather than that, and at this time rather than another, should start up. Wherefore this is universally true, of all Motion and Action whatsoever, as it was rightly urged by the Stoicks, that there can be no *κίνησις ἀνεκτίσις*, no Motion without a Cause, i. e. no Motion which has not some Cause without the Subject of it. Or, as the same thing is expressed by a modern Writer, *Nothing taketh Beginning from it self, but from the Action of some other Immediate Agent without it*. Wherefore no *Thinking Being* could be a *First Cause*, any more than an *Automaton* or Machin could. To this, it is further argued, that these

these two Notions, the one of a *Knowing Understanding Being*, the other of a *Perfectly Happy Being*, are Contradictious, because all Knowledge Essentially implies Dependence upon something else, as its Cause; *Scientia & Intellectus signum est Potentiæ ab alio Dependens, id quod non est Beatissimum.* They conclude that Cogitation and all Action whatsoever, is really nothing else but Local Motion, which is Essentially *Heterokinese*, that which can never rise of it self, but is caused by some other Agent without its Subject.

XV. In the Eleventh place, the Democritick Atheists reason thus: If the World were made by any Antecedent Mind or Understanding, that is, by a Deity; then there must needs be an *Idea*, *Platform* and *Exemplar* of the whole World before it was made; and consequently Actual Knowledge, both in order of Time and Nature, before Things. But all Knowledge is the *Information* of the things themselves known, all Conception of the Mind is a *Passion* from the things Conceived, and their Activity upon it; and is therefore Junious to them. Wherefore the World and Things, were before Knowledge and the Conception of any Mind, and no Knowledge, Mind or Deity before the World as its Cause. This Argument is thus proposed by the Atheistick Poet;

*Exemplum porro gignundis rebus, & ipsa  
Notities hominum Divis unde insita primum,  
Quid vellent facere ut scirent, animoq; viderent?  
Quove modo est unquam Vis cognita Principiorum,  
Quidnam inter sese permutato Ordine possent,  
Si non ipsa dedit specimen Natura creandi?*

How could the supposed Deity have a Pattern or Platform in his Mind, to frame the World by, and whence should he receive it? How could he have any Knowledge of Men before they were made, as also what himself should will to do when there was nothing? How could he understand the Force and Possibility of the Principles, what they would produce when variously combined together, before Nature and Things themselves, by Creating, had given a Specimen?

XVI. A Twelfth Argumentation of the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists against a Deity, is to this purpose: That things could not be made by a Deity that is supposed to be a Being every way Perfect; because they are so Faulty, and so Ill made: The Argument is thus propounded by *Lucretius*;

*Quòd si jam rerum ignorem primordia quæ sint,  
Hoc tamen ex ipsis Cæli Rationibus ausim  
Confirmare, aliisque ex rebus reddere multis,  
Nequaquam nobis Divinitus esse paratam  
Naturam rerum, tantâ stat prædita Culpâ.*

This Argument, à *Cæli Rationibus*, from Astronomy, or the Constitution of the Heavens, is this: That the Mundane Sphere is so framed, in  
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respect of the Disposition of the *Æquator* and *Ecliptick*, as renders the greatest part of the Earth uninhabitable to Men and most other Animals; partly by reason of that excess of Heat in the Torrid Zone (containing all between the Tropicks) and partly from the Extremity of Cold in both the Frigid Zones, towards either Pole. Again, whereas the Stoical Theists Contemporary with *Epicurus* concluded, that the whole World was made by a Deity, only for the sake of Men,

————— *Horum omnia causã*  
*Constituisse Deum fingunt* —————

It is urged on the contrary, that a great part of the Habitable Earth is taken up by Seas, Lakes and Rocks, barren Heaths and Sands, and thereby made useles for Mankind; and that the remainder of it yields no fruit to them, unless expugned by obstinate Labour, after all which, men are often disappointed of the Fruits of those Labours, by unseasonable Weather, Storms and Tempests. Again, that Nature has not only produced many noxious and poisonous Herbs, but also Destructive and Devouring Animals, whose Strength surpasseth that of Mens; and that the Condition of Mankind is so much Inferiour to that of Brutes, that Nature seems to have been but a Step-mother to the former, whilst she hath been an Indulgent Mother to the latter. And to this purpose, the manner of mens coming into the World is thus aggravated by the Poet:

*Tum porro puer, ut sevis projectus ab undis*  
*Navita, nudus humi jacet, infans, indigus omni*  
*Vitaï auxilio, cum primum in luminis oras*  
*Nixibus ex alvo matris natura profudit:*  
*Vagituque locum lugubri complet, ut equum 'st;*  
*Quoi tantum in vita restet transire malorum.*

But on the contrary, the Comparative Advantages of Brutes and their Privileges, which they have above men, are described after this manner:

*At variæ crescunt pecudes, armenta, feræque:*  
*Nec crepitacula eis opu' sunt, nec quouquam adhibenda 'st*  
*Almæ nutricis Blanda atque Infraëta loquela;*  
*Nec varias querunt vestes pro tempore cæli.*  
*Denique non armis opus est, non mænibus altis,*  
*Queis sua tutentur, quando omnibus omnia largè*  
*Tellus ipsa parit, naturaque Dædala rerum.*

And Lastly, The Topick of Evils in General, is insisted upon by them, not those which are called *Culpæ*, Evils of Fault (for that is a Thing which the Democritick Atheists utterly explode in the Genuine Sence of it) but the Evils of Pain and Trouble; which they dispute concerning, after this manner. The Supposed Deity and Maker of the World, was either Willing to abolish all Evils, but

but not Able, or he was Able but not Willing; or Thirdly, he was neither Willing nor Able; or else Lastly, he was both Able and Willing. This Latter is the only thing that answers fully to the Notion of a God. Now that the supposed Creator of all things was not thus both Able and Willing to abolish all Evils, is plain, because then there would have been no Evils at all left. Wherefore since there is such a Deluge of Evils overflowing all, it must needs be, that either he was Willing and not Able to remove them, and then he was *Impotent*, or else he was Able and not Willing, and then he was *Envious*, or Lastly he was neither Able nor Willing, and then he was both *Impotent* and *Envious*.

XVII. In the <sup>13</sup> Twelfth Place, the Atheists further dispute in this manner. If the World were made by any Deity, then it would be governed by a *Providence*, and if there were any *Providence*, it must appear in Humane Affairs. But here it is plain, that all is *Tohu* and *Bobu*, *Chaos* and *Confusion*: Things happening alike to all, to the Wise and Foolish, Religious and Impious, Virtuous and Vicious. (For these Names the Atheist cannot chuse but make use of, though by taking away Natural Morality, they really destroy the Things.) From whence it is concluded, that all things float up and down, as they are agitated and driven by the Tumbling Billows of Careless Fortune and Chance. The Impieties of *Dionysius*, his scoffing Abuses of Religion, and whatsoever was then Sacred, or worshipt under the Notion of a God, were most notorious; and yet it is observed, that he fared never a jot the worse for it. *Hunc nec Olympius Jupiter fulmine percussit, nec Æsculapius misero diuturnoque morbo tabescentem interemit, verum in suo lectulo mortuus, in Tympanidis rogam illatus est, eamque potestatem quam ipse per scelus nactus erat, quasi justam & legitimam, hereditatis loco tradidit*: Neither did Jupiter Olympius strike him with a Thunderbolt, nor Æsculapius inflict any languishing Disease upon him, but he died in his bed, and was honourably interred, and that Power which he had wickedly acquired, he transmitted, as a Just and Lawful Inheritance, to his Posterity. And *Diogenes* the Cynick, though much a Theist, could not but acknowledge, that *Harpalus* a famous Robber or Pirate in those times, who committing many Villanous actions, notwithstanding lived prosperously, did thereby *Testimonium dicere contra Deos*, bear testimony against the Gods. Though it has been objected by the Theists, and thought to be a strong argument for Providence, that there were so many Tables hung up in Temples, the Monuments of such as having prayed to the Gods in Storms and Tempests, had escaped Shipwreck; yet as *Diagoras* observed, *Nusquam picti sunt qui Naufragium fecerunt, there are no Tables extant of those of them who were Shipwreckt*. Wherefore it was not considered by these Theists, how many of them that prayed as well to the Gods, did notwithstanding suffer Shipwreck; as also how many of those, which never made any Devotional Addresses at all, to any Deity, escaped equal Dangers of Storms and Tempests.

More;

Moreover, it is consentaneous to the opinion of a God, to think that Thunder rattling in the Clouds with Thunder-bolts, should be the immediate Significations of his wrath and displeasure: whereas it is plain, that these are flung at random, and that the Fury of them often lights upon the Innocent, whilst the notoriously guilty scape untouched, and therefore we understand not, how this can be answered by any Theists.

*Cur, quibus incautum Scelus averfabile cumque est,  
Non faciunt, ic̄ti flammæ ut fulguris halent,  
Pectore perfixo ; documen Mortalibus acre ?  
Et potius nullæ sibi turpis Confcius reii,  
Volvitur in flammis innoxius, inque peditur,  
Turbine cælesti, subito correptus, & igni ?*

Now the force of this Argument appears to be very powerful, because it hath not only staggered and confounded *Theists* in all Ages, but also hath effectually transformed many of them into *Atheists*. For *Diagoras Melius* himself was once a Superstitious Religionist, in so much that being a *Dithyrambick* Poet, he began one of his Poems with these words, *κ̄ δ̄ ᾱῑμονα κ̄ τῡχλω πάντα τελεῖται*, *All things are done by God and Fortune*. But being injured afterwards by a Perjured Person, that suffered no Evil nor Disaster thereupon, he therefore took up this contrary Perswasion, that there was no Deity. And there have been innumerable others, who have been so far wrought upon by this Consideration, as if not absolutely to disclaim and discard a Deity, yet utterly to deny Providence, and all Care of Humane Affairs by any Invisible Powers. Amongst whom the Poet was one, who thus expressed his Sence.

*Sed cùm res hominum tantâ caligine volvi  
Aspicerem, lætisque diu florere nocentes,  
Vexarique pios, rursus labefacta cadebat  
Relligio, causæque viam non sponte sequebar  
Alterius, vacuo quæ currere Semina motu  
Affirmat, magnûmque novas per Inane Figuras,  
Fortunâ non Arte regi ; quæ Numina sensu  
Ambiguo vel Nulla putat, vel Nescia nostri.*

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XVIII. A ~~thirteenth~~ Argumentation of the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists is to this purpose ; That whereas the Deity is supposed to be such a being, as both Knows all that is done every where in the most distant Places of the World at once, and doth himself immediately Order all things ; this is, First, impossible for any one Being, thus to animadvert and order all things in the whole Universe,

*Quis regere immensi Summam, quis habere profundâ  
Indu manu validas potis est moderanter habenas ?  
Quis pariter cælos omneis convertere ? & omneis*

*Ignibus*

*Ignibus ætheriis terras suffire feracis ?  
Omnibus inque locis esse omni tempore præsto ;  
Nubibus ut tenebras faciat, cœlique serena  
Concutiat sonitu ? &c.*

And Secondly, if it were supposed to be possible, yet such infinite *Negotiosity* would be absolutely inconsistent with a *Happy State* ; Nor could such a Deity ever have any quiet Enjoyment of himself, being Perpetually filled with Tumult and Hurliburly, ἢ συμφωνῶσα πραγµατείη κὲ φροσίδες κὲ ὀργαὶ κὲ χεῖρες μαχαροτότητι, ἀλλ' ἀδυνατεῖα κὲ φόβω κὲ προσδεήσει ἤµ' πλυσίον ταῦτα γίνεται. *Distraction of Business and Sollicitous Cares, Displeasures and Favours, do not at all agree with Happiness, but they proceed from Imbecillity, Indigency and Fear.* τὸ μακάριον κὲ ἀφθαρτον ἔτε αὐτὸ περιγµατα ἔχει, ἔτε ἄλλω παρέχει, ὡσε ἔτε ὀργαῖς ἔτε χεῖροι συνέχεται, εἰ ἀδυνατεῖα γδ πᾶν τὸ τοῖστον. *That which is Happy and Incorruptible, would neither have it self any Business to do, nor create any to others, it would neither have Displeasure nor Favour, towards any other Persons, to engage it in Action ; all this proceeding from Indigency.* That is, *Favour and Benevolence*, as well as *Anger and Displeasure*, arise only from *Imbecillity*. That which is perfectly happy and wanteth nothing, ὅλον ὄν ὡσε τὴν συνοχὴν τ' ἰδίας δὺδουµωνίας, *being wholly possessed and taken up in the Enjoyment of its own Happiness*, would be regardless of the Concernments of any others ; and mind nothing besides it self, either to do it Good or Harm. Wherefore, this *Curiosus & plenus Negotii Deus, This Busie, Restless, and Pragmatical Deity*, that must needs intermeddle and have to do with every thing in the whole World, is a Contradictious Notion, since it cannot but be the most Unhappy of all things.

XIX. In the Next Place, the Atheists dispute further by propounding Several bold *Queries*, which they conceive unanswerable, after this manner. If the World were made by a Deity, why was it not made by him sooner ? or since it was so long unmade, why did he make it at all ? *Cur mundi Ædificator repente extiterit, innumerabilian tē sæcula dormierit ? How came this Builder and Architect of the World, to start up upon a suddain, after he had slept for infinite Ages, and bethink himself of making a World ?* For, certainly, if he had been awake all that while, he would either have made it sooner, or not at all ; because there was either something wanting to his Happiness, before, or nothing ; if there had been any thing wanting before, then the World could not have been so long unmade ; but if he were completely Happy in himself without it, then ἡνδὲν ἐλλείπων κεναῖς ἐµελλεν ἔπιχειρεῖν ποιεῖσαι, *wanting nothing, he vainly went about to make superfluous things.* All desire of Change and Novelty, argues a Fastidious Satiety, proceeding from Defect and Indigency ;

*Quidve novi potuit tantò pòst, antè quietos  
Inlicere, ut cuperent vitam mutare priorem ?  
Nam gaudere novis rebus debere videtur  
Quoi veteres obsunt ; sed quoi nil accidit egri*

*Tempore*

*Tempore in anteacto, cum pulchrè degeret ævum,  
Quid potuit novitatis amorem accendere tali ?*

Did this Deity, therefore light up the Stars, as so many Lamps or Torches, in that vast Abyss of infinite Darkness, that himself might thereby have a more comfortable and chearful Habitation ? Why would he then content himself from Eternity, to dwell in such a Melancholick, Horrid, and Forlorn Dungeon ?

*An Credo in tenebris vitâ & mœrore jacebat,  
Donec diluxit rerum Genitalis Origo ?*

Was Company and that Variety of Things, by which Heaven and Earth are distinguished, desireable to him ? Why then would he continue Solitary so long, wanting the pleasure of such a Spectacle ? Did he make the World and men in it to this end, that himself might be worshipped and adored, feared and honoured by them ? But what could he be the better for that, who was sufficiently happy alone in himself before ? Or did he do it for the Sake of Men, to gratifie and oblige them ?

*At quid immortalibus atque beatis  
Gratia nostra queat largier emolumentis,  
Ut nostrâ quicquam causâ gerere aggrediantur ?*

Again, if this were done for the sake of Men, then it must be either for Wise Men or for Fools ; If for Wise men only, then all that Pains was taken but for a very few ; but if for Fools, what reason could there be, why the Deity should seek to deserve so well at their hands ? Besides this, what hurt would it have been to any of us, (whether Wise or Foolish) never to have been made ?

*Quidve mali fuerat nobis non esse creatis ?  
Natus enim debet quicumque est, velle manere  
In vita, donec retinebit blanda voluptas :  
Qui nunquam verò vitæ gustavit amorem,  
Nec fuit in numero, quid obest non esse creatum ?*

Lastly, if this Deity must needs go about moliminously to make a World, *ἐργατὴς ἄνθρωποι καὶ τέκτονος*, like an Artificer and Carpenter, what Tools and Instruments could he have to work withall ? what Ministers and Subservient Opificers ? what Engines and Machins for the rearing up of so huge a Fabrick ? How could he make the Matter to understand his meaning, and obey his beck ? how could he move it and turn it up and down ? For if Incorporeal, he could neither touch nor be touched, but would run through all things, without fastening upon any thing : but if Corporeal, then the same thing was both Materials and Architect, both Timber and Carpenter, and the Stones must hew themselves, and bring themselves together, with discretion, into a Structure.

X X. In the last Place, the Atheists argue from *Interest* ( which proves many times the most effectual of all Arguments ) against a Deity ; endeavouring to perswade, that it is, First, the *Interest* of *Private Persons*, and of all *Man-kind* in General ; and Secondly, the *Particular Interest* of *Civil Sovereigns*, and *Commonwealths* ; that there should neither be a *God*, nor the Belief of any such thing entertained by the minds of Men ; that is, no Religion. First, they say therefore, that it is the *Interesse* of Mankind in General ; Because so long as men are perswaded, that there is an Understanding Being infinitely Powerful, having no Law but his own Will, (because he has no Superiour) that may do whatever he pleases at any Time to them, they can never Securely enjoy themselves or any thing, nor be ever free from disquieting Fear and Solitude. What the Poets Fable of *Tantalus* in Hell, being alwaies in fear of a huge stone hanging over his Head, and ready every Moment to tumble down upon him, is nothing to that true fear which men have of a Deity, and Religion, here in this Life, which indeed was the very thing mythologized in it.

*Nec miser impendens magnum timet aëre Saxum  
Tantalus, (ut fama est) cassâ formidine torpens :  
Sed magis in vita, Divûm Metus urget inanis  
Mortales, casûmque timent, quemcumque ferat Fors.*

For besides mens *Insecurity*, from all manner of present Evils, upon the Supposition of a God, the Immortality of Souls can hardly be kept out, but it will crowd in after it, and then the fear of Eternal Punishments after Death will unavoidably follow thereupon, perpetually embittering all the Solaces of Life, and never suffering men to have the least sincere Enjoyment.

————— *si certam finem esse viderent  
Ærumnarum homines, aliquâ ratione valerent,  
Religionibus, atque minis obsistere Vatum.  
Nunc ratio nulla est restandi, nulla facultas :  
Æternas quoniam Pœnas in morte timendum.  
Ignoratur enim quæ sit natura Animâ,  
Nata sit, an contrâ nascentibus insinuetur ;  
Et simul intereat nobiscum morte dirempta,  
An Tenebras Orci visat vastâsque Lacunas.*

Wherefore it is plain, that they who first introduced the *Belief* of a *Deity* and *Religion*, whatever they might aim at in it, deserved very ill of all Mankind, because they did thereby infinitely debase and depress mens Spirits under a *Servile Fear*,

*Efficiunt animos humiles, formidine Divûm,  
Depressôsque premunt ad Terram :*

As also cause the greatest Grievs and Calamities that now disturb *Human Life*,

*Quantos*

*Quantos tum gemitus ipsi sibi, quantaq; nobis  
Volnera, quas lachrymas peperere Minoribn' nostris ?*

There can be no comfortable and happy Living, without banishing from our Mind, the belief of these two things, of a Deity and the Souls Immortality,

*Et metus ille foràs præceps Acheruntis agendus  
Funditus, humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo,  
Omnia suffundens Mortis Nigrore, neque ullam  
Esse voluptatem Liquidam, Furâmq; relinquit.*

It was therefore a Noble and Heroical Exploit of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, those two good-natured Men, who seeing the World thus oppressed under the grievous Yoke of Religion, the Fear of a Deity and Punishment after death, and taking pity of this sad Condition of Mankind, did manfully encounter that affrightful Spectre or *Empusa*, of a *Providential Deity* ; and by clear Philosophick Reasons, chase it away, and banish it quite out of the World ; laying down such Principles, as would salve all the *Phænomena* of Nature without a God ;

*Quæ bene cognita si teneas, Natura videtur  
Liberâ continuò, Dominis privata Superbis,  
Ipsa suâ per se sponte, Omnia Dis agere expers.*

So that *Lucretius* does not without just Cause, erect a *Triumphal Arch* or *Monument* to *Epicurus*, for this Conquest or Victory of his, obtained over the Deity and Religion, in this manner ;

*Humana ante oculos sædè quum vita jaceret,  
In terris oppressa gravi sub Relligione,  
Quæ caput à Cæli regionibus ostendebat,  
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans ;  
Primum Graius homo mortales tendere contra  
Est oculos ausus, primûsque obsistere contra ;  
Quem nec fama Deum nec fulmina, nec minitanti  
Murmure compressit cælum, &c.*

**XXI.** That it is also the Interest of Civil Sovereigns and of all Common-wealths, that there should neither be *Deity* nor *Religion*, the *Democritick* Atheists would perswade in this manner ; A *Body Politick* or *Common-wealth* is made up of parts, that are all naturally *Dissociated* from one another, by reason of that Principle of *private Self-love*, who therefore can be no otherwise held together than by *Fear* ; Now if there be any greater *Fear* than the *Fear* of the *Leviathan*, and *Civil Representative*, the whole Structure and Machin of this great Coloss must needs fall a-pieces, and tumble down. The *Civil Sovereign* reigns only in *Fear*, wherefore unless his *Fear* be the *King* and *Sovereign* of all *Fears*, his *Empire* and *Dominion* ceases.

ceases. But as the Rod of *Moses* devoured the Rods of the *Magicians*, so certainly will the fear of an omnipotent Deity, that can punish with eternal Torments after Death, quite swallow up and devour that comparatively Petty Fear of *Civil Sovereigns*, and consequently destroy the Being of *Commonwealths*, which have no Foundation in *Nature*, but are mere *Artificial Things*, made by the *Enchantment* and *Magical Art* of *Policy*. Wherefore it is well observed by a Modern Writer, That men ought not to suffer themselves to be abused, by the *Doctrine of Separated Essences and Incorporeal Substances*, (such as God and the Soul) built upon the vain *Philosophy* of *Aristotle*, that would fright men from obeying the *Laws* of their Country, with *Empty Names*, (as of *Hell*, *Damnation*, *Fire* and *Brimstone*) as men fright *Birds* from the *Corn*, with an empty *Hat*, *Dublet*, and a crooked *Stick*. And again; If the fear of *Spirits* (the chief of which is the Deity) were taken away, men would be much more fitted than they are for *Civil Obedience*.

Moreover, the Power of *Civil Sovereigns* is perfectly *Indivisible*; 'tis either *All* or *Nothing*, it must be *Absolute* and *Infinite*, or else 'tis none at all; now it cannot be so, if there be any other Power equal to it, to share with it, much less if there be any *Superiour* (as that of the Deity) to check it and controul it. Wherefore the Deity must of *Necessity* be removed and displaced, to make room for the *Leviathan* to spread himself in.

Lastly, 'Tis perfectly inconsistent with the *Nature* of a *Body Politick*, that there should be any *Private Judgment* of *Good* or *Evil*, *Lawful* or *Unlawful*, *Just* or *Unjust* allowed; but *Conscience* (which *Theism* and *Religion* introduces) is *Private Judgment* concerning *Good* and *Evil*; and therefore the Allowance of it, is contradictory to *Civil Sovereignty* and a *Commonwealth*. There ought to be no other *Conscience* (in a *Kingdom* or *Commonwealth*) besides the *Law* of the *Country*; the allowance of *Private Conscience* being, *ipso facto*, a *Dissolution* of the *Body Politick*, and a *Return* to the *State* of *Nature*. Upon all these accounts it must needs be acknowledged, that those *Philosophers* who undermine and weaken *Theism* and *Religion*, do highly deserve of all *Civil Sovereigns* and *Commonwealths*.

XXII. Now from all the premised Considerations, the *Democriticks* confidently conclude against a *Deity*; That the *System* and *Compages* of the *Universe*, had not its *Original* from any *Understanding Nature*, but that *Mind* and *Understanding* it self, as well as all things else in the *World*, sprung up from *Senseless Nature* and *Chance*, or from the *unguided* and *undirected Motion* of *Matter*. Which is therefore called by the Name of *Nature*, because whatsoever moves is moved by *Nature* and *Necessity*, and the mutual *Occurrences* and *Encounters* of *Atoms*, their *Plagæ*, their *Stroaks* and *Dashings* against one another, their *Reflexions* and *Repercussions*, their *Cohesions*, *Implexions*, and *Entanglements*, as also their *Scattered Dispersions* and *Divulsions*, are all *Natural* and *Necessary*; but it is called also by the name

name of *Chance* and *Fortune*, because it is all unguided by any *Mind*, *Counsel* or *Design*.

Wherefore *Infinite Atoms* of different sizes and figures, devoid of all Life and Sense, moving Fortuitously from Eternity in infinite Space, and making successively several *Encounters*, and consequently various *Implexions* and *Entanglements* with one another; produced first a confused *Chaos* of these Omnifarious Particles, jumbling together with infinite variety of Motions, which afterward by the tugging of their different and contrary forces, whereby they all hindred and abated each other, came, as it were by joint Conspiracy, to be Conglomerated into a Vortex or Vortices; where after many *Convolutions* and *Evolutions*, *Molitions* and *Essays* (in which all manner of *Tricks* were tried, and all *Forms* imaginable experimented) they chanced in length of time here to settle, into this Form and System of things, which now is, of Earth, Water, Air and Fire; Sun, Moon and Stars; Plants, Animals and Men; So that *Senseless Atoms*, fortuitously moved, and *Material Chaos*, were the first Original of all things.

This Account of the *Cosmopœia*, and first Original of the Mundane System, is represented by *Lucretius* according to the mind of *Epicurus*, though without any mention of those *Vortices*, which yet were an essential part of the old *Democritick Hypothesis*.

*Sed quibus ille modis conjectus materia?  
Fundarit cœlum, ac terram, pontique profunda,  
Solis, lunæ cursus, ex ordine ponam.  
Nam certè neque consilio primordia rerum,  
Ordine se quæque atque sagaci mente locarunt:  
Nec, quos quæque darent motus, pepigere profectò:  
Sed quia multa modis multis primordia rerum,  
Ex infinito jam tempore percita plagis,  
Ponderibusque suis consuerunt concita ferri,  
Omni modisque coire, atque omnia pertentare;  
Quæcunque inter se possent congressa creare:  
Propterea fit, uti magnum volgata per ævum,  
Omnigenos cœtus, & motus experiundo,  
Tandem ea convenient, quæ ut convenere, repente  
Magnarum rerum fiant exordia sæpe,  
Terrarum, Maris, & Cœli, generisque Animantum.*

But because some seem to think that *Epicurus* was the first Founder and Inventor of this Doctrine, we shall here observe, that this same *Atheistick Hypothesis* was long before described by *Plato*, when *Epicurus* was, as yet unborn; and therefore doubtless according to the Doctrine of *Leucippus*, *Democritus* and *Protagoras*; though that Philosopher, in a kind of disdain (as it seems) refused to mention either of their Names, πῦρ κὲ ὕδωρ κὲ γῆ κὲ ἀέρας, φύσιν πάντα εἶναι κὲ τύχην φασί· τέχνην ἢ εἶδέν τῶτων. κὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῶν σώματα, γῆς τε κὲ ἰλίδος κὲ σελίδος, ἀέρων τε πέρι, διὰ τῶτων γεγονέναι, παῖτελῶς οἴων ἀψύχων.  
τύχη

τύχη ἢ φερέμεθα τῆ ἢ δυνάμειος ἕκαστα ἕκαστων, ἢ συμπεπρωμέν, ἀερόητοια οἰκέας πωσ, &c. ταῦτη ἢ χτ ταῦτα ἔτω γεννημέναι ἢ τε ἔργον ὄλον ἢ πῶτα ὅποια κατ' ἔργον. ἢ ζῆα αὐ ἢ φύλα ξύμπαντα ὡρᾶν πασῶν ἐα τῶτων γνομύων. ἔ δὲ διὰ νῦν (φασιν) ἔδὲ διὰ τινα θεῶν, ἔδὲ διὰ τέχνην. ἀλλὰ ὁ λέγομεν, φύσῃ ἢ τύχη, τέχνην ἢ ὑπερῶν ἐκ τῶτων ὑπερῶν γνομύων, &c. *The Atheists say that Fire, Water, Air and Earth (i. e. the four Elements) were all made by Nature and Chance; and none of them by Art or Mind (that is, they were made by the fortuitous Motion of Atoms, and not by any Deity) And that those other Bodies, of the Terrestrial Globe, of the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars (which by all, except these Atheists, were, in those times, generally supposed to be Animated, and a kind of Inferiour Deities) were afterwards made out of the foresaid Elements, being altogether Inanimate. For they being moved fortuitously or as it happened, and so making various commixtures together, did by that means, at length produce the whole Heavens and all things in them, as likewise Plants and Animals here upon earth, all which were not made by Mind, nor by Art, nor by any God; but, as we said before, by Nature and Chance: Art and Mind it self, rising up afterwards from the same Senseless Principles in Animals.*

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject. It begins with a definition of the term 'philosophy' and a discussion of its history. The author then proceeds to a consideration of the various branches of philosophy, including metaphysics, epistemology, ethics, and political philosophy. The second part of the book is devoted to a more detailed examination of the foundations of philosophy. It discusses the nature of reality, the limits of human knowledge, and the possibility of objective truth. The third part of the book is devoted to a study of the major philosophical systems of the past and present. It examines the thought of Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Hegel, and Marx, among others. The fourth part of the book is devoted to a study of the contemporary philosophical movements. It discusses the rise of phenomenology, existentialism, and postmodernism, and the decline of traditional metaphysics. The book concludes with a summary of the main findings of the study and a discussion of the implications of these findings for the human condition.

CHAP. III.

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## CHAP. III.

*An Introduction to the Confutation of the Atheistick Grounds, in which is contained a particular Account of all the several Forms of Atheism. 1. That the Grounds of the Hylozoick Atheism could not be insisted on in the former Chapter, together with those of the Atomick, they being directly contrary each to other; with a further Account of this Hylozoick Atheism. 2. A Suggestion, by way of Caution, for the preventing of all mistakes, That every Hylozoist must not therefore be condemned for an Atheist, or a mere Counterfeit Histrionical Theist. 3. That nevertheless, such Hylozoists as are also Corporealists, can by no means be excused from the Imputation of Atheism, for Two Reasons. 4. That Strato Lampfacenus, commonly called Physicus, seems to have been the first Asserter of the Hylozoick Atheism, he holding no other God but the Life of Nature in Matter. 5. Further proved, that Strato was an Atheist, and that of a different Form from Democritus, he attributing an Energetick Nature, but without Sense and Animality, to all Matter. 6. That Strato not deriving all things from a mere Fortuitous Principle, as the Democritick Atheists did, nor yet acknowledging any one Plastick Nature to preside over the Whole, but deducing the Original of things from a Mixture of Chance and Plastick Nature both together, in the several parts of Matter, must therefore needs be an Hylozoick Atheist. 7. That the famous Hippocrates was neither an Hylozoick nor Democritick Atheist, but rather an Heraclitick Corporeal Theist. 8. That Plato took no Notice of the Hylozoick Atheism, nor of any other, then what derives the Original of all things from a mere Fortuitous Nature; and therefore either the Democritical, or the Anaximandrian Atheism, which latter will be next declared. 9. That it is hardly imaginable, there should have been no Philosophick Atheists in the World before Democritus and Leucippus, there being in all Ages, as Plato observes, some or other sick of the Atheistick Disease. That Aristotle affirms many of the first Philosophers, to have assigned only a Material Cause of the Mundane System, without either Efficient or Intending Cause; They supposing Matter to be the only Substance, and all things else nothing but the Passions and Accidents of it, Generable and Corruptible. 10. That the Doctrine of these Materialists will be more fully understood from the Exceptions which Aristotle makes against them; His first Ex-*

tion, That they assigned no Cause of Motion, but introduced it into the World unaccountably. 11. Aristotle's second Exception, That these Materialists did assign no Cause  $\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \eta\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , of Well and Fit, and give no account of the Orderly Regularity of things. That Anaxagoras was the first Ionick Philosopher who made Mind and Good a Principle of the Universe. 12. Concluded, That Aristotle's Materialists were downright Atheists, not merely because they held all Substance to be Body, since Heraclitus and Zeno did the like, and yet are not therefore accounted Atheists, (they supposing their Fiery Matter to be Originally Intellectual, and the whole World to be an Animal) but because these made Stupid Matter, devoid of all Understanding, and Life, to be the only Principle: 13. As also, because they supposed every thing besides the Substance of Matter, Life and Understanding, and all Particular Beings, to be Generable and Corruptible, and consequently that there could be no other God, then such as was Native and Mortal. That those ancient Theologers, who were Theogonists, and Generated all the Gods out of Night and Chaos, were only Verbal Theists but Real Atheists: Senseless Matter being to them the highest Numen. 14. The great difference observed betwixt Aristotle's Atheistical Materialists, and the Italick Philosophers; the former determining all things, besides the Substance of Matter, to be Made or Generated, the latter that no Real Entity was either Generated or Corrupted; thereupon both destroying Qualities and Forms of Body, and asserting the Ingenerability and Incorporeity of Souls. 15. How Aristotle's Atheistick Materialists endeavoured to baffle and elude that Axiom of the Italick Philosophers, That Nothing can come from Nothing nor go to Nothing, And that Anaxagoras was the first amongst the Ionicks who yielded so far to that Principle, as from thence to assert Incorporeal Substance, and the Pre-existence of Qualities and Forms in Similar Atoms, forasmuch as he conceived them to be things, really distinct from the Substance of Matter. 16. The Error of some Writers, who because Aristotle affirms, that the Ancient Philosophers did generally conclude the World to have been Made, from thence infer, that they were all Theists, and that Aristotle contradicts himself in representing many of them as Atheists. That the Ancient Atheists did generally  $\kappa\omicron\sigma\ \mu\omicron\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ , assert the World to have been Made, or have had a Beginning; as also some Theists did maintain its Eternity, but in a way of Dependency upon the Deity. That we ought here to distinguish betwixt the System of the World, and the Substance of the Matter, all Atheists asserting the Matter to have been, not only Eternal, but also such Independently upon any other Being. 17. That Plato and others concluded this Materialism or Hylopathian Atheism, to have been at least as old as Homer, who made the Ocean (or fluid Matter) the Father of all the Gods. And that this was indeed the Ancientest of all Atheisms, which verbally acknowledging Gods, yet derived the Original of them all from Night and Chaos. The description of this Atheistick Hypothesis in Aristophanes, That Night and Chaos first laid an Egg, out of which sprung forth Love, which afterwards mingling with Chaos begat Heaven and Earth, Animals and all the Gods. 18. That notwithstanding this, in Aristotle's judgment, Parmenides, Hesiod, with ~~and~~ others, who made Love in like manner,

ner,

ner, Senior to all the Gods, were to be exempted out of the number of Atheists; they understanding this Love to be an Active Principle, or Cause of Motion in the Universe, which therefore could be no Egg of the Night, nor Off-spring of Chaos, but something in Order of Nature before Matter. Simmias Rhodius his Wings, a Poem in honour of this Heavenly Love. This not that Love which was the Off-spring of Penia and Porus in Plato. In what rectified sense it may pass for true Theology, that Love is the Supreme Deity and Original of all things. 19. That though Democritus and Leucippus be elsewhere taxed by Aristotle, for this very thing, that they assigned only a Material Cause of the Universe; yet they were not the Persons intended by him in the fore-cited Accusation, but certain Ancienter Philosophers, who also were not Atomists but Hylopathians. 20. That Aristotle's Atheistick Materialists were all the first Ionick Philosophers before Anaxagoras, Thales being the Head of them. But that Thales is acquitted from this Imputation of Atheism by several good Authors (with an Account how he came to be thus differently represented) and therefore that his next Successour Anaximander is rather to be accounted the Prince of this Atheistick Philosophy. 21. A Passage out of Aristotle objected which, at first sight, seems to make Anaximander a Divine Philosopher, and therefore hath led both Modern and Ancient Writers into that mistake. That this Place well considered, proves the contrary, That Anaximander was the Chief of the old Atheistick Philosophers. 22. That it is no wonder, if Anaximander called Senseless Matter the  $\tau\omicron\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ , or God, since to all Atheists, that must needs be the the highest Numen; Also how this is said to be Immortal, and to Govern all; with the concurrent Judgment of the Greek Scholiasts upon this Place. 23. A further Account of the Anaximandrian Philosophy, manifesting it to have been purely Atheistical. 24. What ill Judges the Vulgar have been of Theists and Atheists; as also that learned men have commonly supposed fewer Atheists than indeed there were. Anaximander and Democritus Atheists both alike, though Philosophising different ways. That some Passages in Plato respect the Anaximandrian Form of Atheism, rather than the Democritical. 25. Why Democritus and Leucippus new modell'd Atheism into the Atomick Form. 26. That besides the Three Forms of Atheism already mentioned, we sometimes meet with a Fourth, which supposes the Universe though not to be an Animal, yet a kind of Plant or Vegetable, having one Plastick Nature in it, devoid of Understanding and Sense, which disposes and orders the Whole. 27. That this Form of Atheism which makes one Plastick Life to preside over the Whole, is different from the Hylozoick, in that it takes away all Fortuitousness, and subjects all to the Fate of one Plastick Methodical Nature. 28. Though it be possible that some in all ages might have entertained this Atheistical Concept, That things are dispensed by one Regular and Methodical but Unknowing Senseless Nature; yet it seems to have been chiefly asserted by certain Spurious Heracliticks and Stoicks. And therefore this Form of Atheism, which supposes one Cosmoplastick Nature, may be called Pseudo-zenonian. 29. That, besides the Philosophick Atheists, there have been always Enthusiastick and Fanatical Atheists, though

in some sence all Atheists may be said also to be both Enthusiasts and Fanaticks, they being led by an  $\sigma\epsilon\mu\eta\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron$ , or Irrational Impetus. 30. That there cannot easily be any other Form of Atheism, besides those Four already mentioned, because all Atheists are Corporealists, and yet all Corporealists not Atheists, but only such as make the first Principle of all things, not to be Intellectual. 31. A Distribution of Atheisms, producing the former Quaternio, and showing the Difference between them. 32. That they are but Bunglers at Atheism, who talk of Sensitive and Rational Matter; and that the Canting Astrological Atheists are not at all considerable, because not understanding themselves. 33. Another Distribution of Atheisms; That they either derive the Original of things from a Merely Fortuitous Principle, the Unguided Motion of Matter, or else from a Plastick and Methodical, but Senseless Nature. What Atheists denied the Eternity of the World, and what asserted it. 34. That of these Four Forms of Atheism, the Atomick or Democritical, and the Hylozoick or Stratonical are the chief, and that these Two being once confuted, all Atheism will be confuted. 35. These Two Forms of Atheism, being contrary to one another, how we ought in all reason to insist rather upon the Atomick; but that afterwards we shall confute the Hylozoick also, and prove against all Corporealists, that no Cogitation nor Life belongs to Matter. 36. That in the mean time, we shall not neglect any Form of Atheism, but confute them all together, as agreeing in one Principle; as also show, how the old Atomick Atheists did sufficiently overthrow the Foundation of the Hylozoists. 37. Observed here, that the Hylozoists are not condemned merely for asserting a Plastick Life, distinct from the Animal, (which with most other Philosophers we judge highly probable, if taken in a Right Sence) but for grossly misunderstanding it, and attributing the same to Matter. ~~The~~ The Plastick Life of Nature largely explained. 38. That though the Confutation of the Atheistick grounds, according to the Laws of Method, ought to have been reserved for the last part of this Discourse, yet we having reasons to violate those Laws, crave the Readers Pardon for this Preposterousness. A considerable Observation of Plato's, that it is not only Moral Vitiolity which inclines men to Atheize, but also an Affectation of seeming wiser than the Generality of Mankind; As likewise that the Atheists, making such pretence to Wit, it is a Seasonable undertaking to evince that they fumble in all their Ratiocinations. That we hope to make it appear, that the Atheists are no Conjurers; and that all Forms of Atheism are Non-sence and Impossibility.

I.



WE have now represented the Grand *Mysteries* of *Atheism*, which may be also called the *Mysteries* of the *Kingdom of Darknes*; though indeed some of them are but briefly hinted here, they being again more fully to be insisted on afterward, where we are to give an account of the Atheists Endeavours to Salve the *Phenomenon* of Cogitation. We have represented the chief Grounds of *Atheism* in General, as also of that most Notorious Form of *Atheism* in particular, that is called *Atomical*: but whereas there hath been already mentioned;

mentioned, another Form of Atheism, called by us *Hylozoical*; the Principles hereof could not possibly be insisted on in this place, where we were to make the most Plausible Plea for Atheism; they being directly contrary to those of the Atomical, so that they would have mutually destroyed each other. For, whereas the *Atomick Atheism* supposes, the Notion or Idea of Body to be nothing but *Extended Resisting Bulk*, and consequently to include no manner of *Life* and *Cogitation* in it; *Hylozoism* on the contrary makes all Body, as such, and therefore every smallest Atom of it, to have *Life* Essentially belonging to it (Natural Perception, and Appetite) though without any *Animal Sense* or *Reflexive Knowledge*, as if *Life*, and *Matter* or *Extended Bulk*, were but two Incomplete and Inadequate Conceptions, of one and the same Substance, called Body. By reason of which *Life* (not *Animal* but only *Plastical*) all parts of Matter being supposed able, to form themselves *Artificially* and *Methodically* (though without any Deliberation or Attentive Consideration) to the greatest advantage of their present respective Capabilities, and therefore also sometimes, by Organization to improve themselves further, into *Sense* and *Self-enjoyment* in all Animals, as also to *Universal Reason* and *Reflexive Knowledge* in Men; it is plain that there is no Necessity at all left, either of any *Incorporeal Soul* in Men to make them Rational, or of any *Deity* in the whole Universe to save the *Regularity* thereof. One main difference betwixt these two Forms of Atheism is this, that the *Atomical* supposes all *Life* whatsoever to be *Accidental*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*: But the *Hylozoick* admits of a certain *Natural* or *Plastick Life*, *Essential* and *Substantial*, *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, though attributing the same only to Matter, as supposing no other Substance in the World besides it.

II. Now to prevent all Mistakes, we think fit here by way of Caution to suggest; That as every *Atomist* is not therefore necessarily an *Atheist*, so neither must every *Hylozoist* needs be accounted such. For who ever so holds the *Life* of *Matter*, as notwithstanding to assert another kind of Substance also, that is Immaterial and Incorporeal, is no way obnoxious to that foul Imputation. However we ought not to dissemble, but that there is a great Difference here betwixt these two, *Atomism* and *Hylozoism*, in this regard; That the former of them, namely *Atomism* (as hath been already declared) hath in it self a Natural Cognation and Conjunction with *Incorporeism*, though violently cut off from it by the *Democritick Atheists*; whereas the latter of them, *Hylozoism*, seems to have altogether as close and intimate a Correspondence with *Corporealism*; Because, as hath been already signified, if all Matter, as such, have not only such a *Life*, *Perception* and *Self-active Power* in it, as whereby it can Form it self to the best advantage, making this a Sun and that an Earth or Planet, and fabricating the Bodies of Animals most Artificially; but also can improve it self into *Sense* and *Self-enjoyment*; it may as well be thought able to advance it self higher, into all the Acts of *Reason* and *Understanding* in Men: so that there will be no need either of an Incorporeal Immortal Soul in Men, or a *Deity* in the Universe. Nor indeed is it easily conceivable, how any should be induced to admit such

such a Monstrous Paradox as this is, That every Atom of Dust or other Senseless Matter, is Wiser than the greatest Politician and the most acute Philosopher that ever was; as having an Infallible Omniscience of all its own *Capabilities* and *Congruities*; were it not by reason of some strong Prepossession, against Incorporeal Substance and a Deity, there being nothing so Extravagant and Outragiously Wild, which a Mind once infected with Atheistical Sottishness and Disbelief, will not rather greedily swallow down, than admit a Deity, which to such is the highest of all Paradoxes imaginable, and the most affrightful Bug-bear. Notwithstanding all which, it may not be denied, but that it is possible for one, who really entertains the belief of a Deity and a Rational Soul Immortal, to be persuaded, first, that the Sensitive Soul, in men as well as Brutes, is merely Corporeal; and then that there is a *Material Plastick Life* in the Seeds of all Plants and Animals, whereby they do Artificially form themselves; and from thence afterward to descend also further, to Hylozoism, that all matter, as such, hath a kind of *Natural*, though not *Animal Life* in it; in consideration whereof, we ought not to Censure every *Hylozoist*, professing to hold a Deity and a Rational Soul Immortal, for a mere Disguised Atheist, or Counterfeit Histrionical Theist.

III. But though every *Hylozoist* be not therefore necessarily an *Atheist*, yet whosoever is an *Hylozoist* and *Corporealist* both together, he that both holds the *Life of Matter* in the Sence before declared, and also that there is no other Substance in the World besides Body and Matter, cannot be excused from the Imputation of Atheism, for Two Reasons. First, because though he derive the Original of all Things, not from what is perfectly Dead and Stupid, as the *Atomick Atheist* doth, but from that which hath a kind of Life or Perception in it, nay an *Infallible Omniscience*, of whatsoever it self can Do or Suffer, or of all its own *Capabilities* and *Congruities*, which seems to bear some Semblance of a Deity; yet all this being only in the way of *Natural* and not *Animal Perception*, is indeed nothing but a Dull and Drowsie, *Plastick* and *Spermatick Life*, devoid of all *Consciousness* and *Self-enjoyment*. The *Hylozoists Nature*, is a piece of very Mysterious Non-sence, a thing perfectly Wise, without any Knowledge or Consciousness of it self; Whereas a Deity, according to the true Notion of it, is such a Perfect Understanding Being, as with full Consciousness and Self-enjoyment, is completely Happy. Secondly, because the *Hylozoick Corporealist*, supposing all Matter, as such, to have Life in it, must needs make Infinite of those Lives, (forasmuch as every Atom of Matter has a Life of its own) Coordinate and Independent on one another, and consequently, as many Independent first Principles, no one Common Life or Mind ruling over the Whole. Whereas, to assert a God, is to derive all things ἀπ' ἐνός τινος, from some one Principle, or to suppose one Perfect Living and Understanding Being, to be the Original of all things, and the Architect of the whole Universe.

Thus we see that the *Hylozoick Corporealist* is really an *Atheist*, though carrying more the Semblance and Disguise of a *Theist*, than other

other Atheists, in that he attributes a kind of Life to Matter. For indeed every Atheist must of necessity cast some of the Incommunicable Properties of the Deity, more or less, upon that which is not God, namely Matter: and they who do not attribute Life to it, yet must needs bestow upon it Necessary Self-existence, and make it the First Principle of all things, which are the Peculiarities of the Deity. The Numen which the Hylozoick Corporealists pays all his Devotions to, is a certain blind Shee-god or Goddess, called Nature or the Life of Matter; which is a very great Mystery, a thing that is Perfectly Wise, and Infallibly Omniscient, without any Knowledge or Consciousness at all. Something like to that *ἡ πρώτη ἀπὸ πάντων ἀνύστατος* (in \* Plato) *ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βολὴς ἢ ψῆφος*, that vulgar Enigm or Riddle of Boys, concerning an Eunuch striking a Bat; *A Man and not a Man, Seeing and not Seeing, did Strike and not Strike, with a Stone and not a Stone, a Bird and not a Bird,* &c. The Difference being only this; that this was a thing Intelligible, but humourfomly expressed, whereas the other seems to be perfect Non-sence, being nothing but a misunderstanding of the Plastick Power, as shall be showed afterwards.

\* De Rep. l. 5.

IV. Now the First and Chief Assertour of this Hylozoick Atheism was, as we conceive, *Strato Lampfacenus*, commonly called also *Physicus*, that had been once an Auditor of *Theophrastus* and a famous Peripatetick, but afterwards degenerated from a Genuine Peripatetick, into a new-formed kind of Atheist. For *Velleius*, an Epicurean Atheist in *Cicero*, reckoning up all the several sorts of Theists, which had been in former times, gives such a Character of this *Strato*, as whereby he makes him to be a strange kind of *Atheistical Theist*, or *Divine Atheist*, if we may use such a contradictory Expression; his words are these, \* *Nec audiendus Strato, qui Physicus appellatur, qui omnem vim Divinam in Natura sitam esse censet, quæ causas gignendi, augendi minuendive habeat, sed careat omni sensu*; Neither is *Strato*, commonly called the *Naturalist* or *Physicist*, to be heard, who places all Divinity in Nature, as having within it self the Causes of all Generations, Corruptions and Augmentations, but without any manner of Sense. *Strato's* Deity therefore was a certain Living and Active, but Senseless Nature. He did not fetch the Original of all things, as the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists, from a mere Fortuitous Motion of Atoms, by means whereof he bore some slight Semblance of a Theist, but yet he was a down-right Atheist for all that, his God being no other than such a Life of Nature in Matter, as was both devoid of Sense and Consciousness, and also multiplied together with the several parts of it. He is also in like manner described by *Seneca* in *St. Augustine* \*, as a kind of Mongrel thing, betwixt an *Atheist* and a *Theist*; *Ego feram aut Platonem, aut Peripateticum Stratonem, quorum alter Deum sine Corpore fecit, alter sine Animo* ? Shall I endure either *Plato*, or the *Peripatetick Strato*, whereof the one made God to be without a Body, the other without a Mind? In which words *Seneca* taxes these two Philosophers, as guilty of two contrary Extremes; *Plato*, because he made God to be a pure Mind or a perfectly Incorporeal Being; and *Strato*, because he made him to be a Body without

\* De Nat. De. l. 1.

\* De Civ. Dei l. 6. c. 10.

without a Mind, he acknowledging no other Deity than a certain Stupid and Plastick Life, in all the several parts of Matter, without Sense. Wherefore this seems to be the only reason, why *Strato* was thus sometimes reckoned amongst the Theists, though he were indeed an Atheist, because he dissented from that only form of Atheism, then so vulgarly received, the Democritick and Epicurean, attributing a kind of Life to Nature and Matter.

V. And that *Strato* was thus an Atheist, but of a different kind from *Democritus*, may further appear from this Passage of *Cicero's*\*,  
*Strato Lampfacenus negat operâ Deorum se uti ad fabricandum Mundum, quæcunque sint docet omnia esse Effectâ Natura, nec ut ille, qui asperis, & levibus, & hamatis uncinatisque Corporibus Concreta hæc esse dicat, interjecto Inani; Somnia censet hæc esse Democriti, non docentis sed optantis: Strato denies that he makes any use of a God, for the fabricating of the World, or the salving the Phenomena thereof; teaching all things to have been made by Nature; but yet not in such a manner as he who affirmed them to be all Concreted out of certain rough and smooth, hookey and crooked Atoms, he judging these things to be nothing but the mere Dreams and Dotages of Democritus, not teaching but wishing. Here we see that Strato denied the World to be made by a Deity or perfect Understanding Nature, as well as Democritus, and yet that he dissented from Democritus notwithstanding, holding another kind of Nature, as the Original of things, than he did, who gave no account of any Active Principle and Cause of Motion, nor of the Regularity that is in Things. Democritus his Nature was nothing but the Fortuitous Motion of Matter, but Strato's Nature was an Inward Plastick Life in the several Parts of Matter, whereby they could Artificially frame themselves to the best advantage, according to their several Capabilities, without any Conscious or Reflexive Knowledg. Quicquid aut sit aut fiat, (says the same Authour) Naturalibus fieri, aut factum esse docet ponderibus & motibus: Strato teaches whatsoever is, or is made, to be made by certain inward Natural Forces and Activities.*

VI. Furthermore it is to be observed, that though *Strato* thus attributed a certain kind of Life to Matter, yet he did by no means allow of any one Common Life, whether Sentient and Rational, or Plastick and Spermatick only, as Ruling over the whole mass of Matter and Corporeal Universe; which is a thing in part affirmed by *Plutarch*\*, and may in part be gathered from these words of his;  
 ἡ ἄνομιμον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν εἶναι φησι, τὸ δὲ καὶ φύσιν ἐπεσθαι τῶν καὶ τύχῃ, ἀρχῇ δὲ ἐνδιδόναι τὸ αὐτῶν, ἔπειτα ἔτι περὶ φησὶν παθῶν ἕκαστον.  
*Strato affirmeth that the World is no Animal (or God) but that what is Natural in every thing, follows something Fortuitous antecedent, Chance first beginning, and Nature acting consequently thereupon. The full sence whereof seems to be this, that though Strato did not derive the Original of all Mundane things from mere Fortuitous Mechanism, as Democritus before him had done, but supposed a Life and Natural Perception in the Matter, that was directive of it, yet not acknowledging any one Common Life, whether Animal or Plastick, as governing*

\* Acad. Quest. 1.4.  
 \* Adv. Col. 111.

ing and swaying the whole, but only supposing the several Parts of Matter, to have so many several Plastick Lives of their own, he must needs attribute something to *Fortune*, and make the Mundane System to depend upon a certain Mixture of *Chance* and *Plastick* or *Orderly Nature* both together, and consequently must be an Hylozoist. Thus we see, that these are two Schemes of Atheism, very different from one another; that which fetches the Original of all things from the mere *Fortuitous* and *Unguided Motion* of Matter, without any *Vital* or *Directive Principle*; and that which derives it from a certain Mixture of *Chance* and the *Life of Matter* both together, it supposing a *Plastick Life*, not in the whole Universe, as one thing, but in all the several Parts of Matter by themselves; the first of which is the *Atomick* and *Democritick Atheism*, the second the *Hylozoick* and *Stratonick*.

VII. It may perhaps be suspected by some, that the famous *Hippocrates*, who lived long before *Strato*, was an Assertour of the *Hylozoick Atheism*, because of such Passages in him as these, ἀπαίδειτος ἢ φύσις ἐκ τῆς αἰσῆς \* μάθησα τὰ θεοῦ α ποιεῖν. *Nature is Unlearned or Untaught, but it learneth from it self what things it ought to do*: And again, ἀνδρείονα ἢ φύσις αὐτῆ ἐαυτῆ τὰς ἐφόδους ἐν ἐκ διανοίας. *Nature findeth out ways to it self, not by Ratiocination*. But there is nothing more affirmed here concerning Nature by *Hippocrates*, than what might be affirmed likewise of the *Aristotelick* and *Platonick Nature*, which is supposed to act for Ends, though without Consultation and Ratiocination. And I must confess, it seems to me no way misbecoming of a Theist, to acknowledge such a Nature or Principle in the Universe, as may act according to *Rule* and *Method* for the *Sake of Ends*, and in order to the *Best*, though it self do not understand the reason of what it doth; this being still supposed to act dependently upon a higher Intellectual Principle, and to have been first set a work and employed by it, it being otherwise Non-sence. But to assert any such *Plastick Nature*, as is Independent upon any higher Intellectual Principle, and so it self the first and highest Principle of Activity in the Universe, this indeed must needs be, either that *Hylozoick Atheism*, already spoken of, or else another different Form of Atheism, which shall afterwards be described. But though *Hippocrates* were a *Corporealist*, yet we conceive he ought not, to lie under the suspicion of either of those two Atheisms; forasmuch as himself plainly asserts a higher Intellectual Principle, than such a *Plastick Nature*, in the Universe, namely an *Heraclick Corporeal God*, or *Understanding Fire*, *Immortal*, pervading the whole World, in these words; Δοκεί μοι ὁ καλέομεν θερμόν, ἀθάνατόν τε εἶναι, καὶ νοεῖν πάντα, καὶ ὄντων, καὶ ἀκείων, καὶ εἰδέναι πάντα τὰ ὄντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. *It seems to me, that that which is called Heat or Fire, is Immortal, and Omniscient, and that it sees, hears, and knows all things, not only such as are present, but also future*. Wherefore we conclude, that *Hippocrates* was neither an *Hylozoick* nor *Democritick Atheist*, but an *Heraclick Corporeal Theist*.

VI. Epidem. Sect. 5.

\* Al. lect.

ἢ ἡ μάθησα τὰ θεοῦ α ποιεῖν.

ἐστ.

De Princip. aut Carnibus. Sect. 1.

K

VIII. Possibly

VIII. Possibly it may be thought also, that *Plato* in his *Sophist* intends this *Hylozoick Atheism*, where he declares it as the Opinion of many, τὴν φύσιν πάντα γεννᾶν, ἀπὸ τινος αἰτίας αὐτομάτης, ἢ ἀνὰ διανοίας φύσεως. That Nature generates all Things from a certain Spontaneous Principle, without any Reason and Understanding. But here the word αὐτομάτης may be as well rendred Fortuitous, as Spontaneous; however there is no necessity, that this should be understood of an Artificial or Methodical Unknowing Nature. It is true indeed that *Plato* himself seems to acknowledge a certain *Plastick* or *Methodical* Nature in the Universe, Subordinate to the Deity, or that perfect Mind which is the supreme Governour of all things; as may be gathered from these words of his, τὴν φύσιν μετὰ λόγου ἢ σὺν λόγῳ ἢ νόῳ τὰ πάντα διακοσμεῖν. That Nature does rationally (or orderly) together with Reason and Mind, govern the whole Universe. Where he supposes a certain *Regular* Nature to be a Partial and Subordinate Cause of things under the Divine Intellect. And it is very probable that *Aristotle* derived that whole Doctrine of his concerning a *Regular* and *Artificial* Nature which acts for Ends, from the *Platonick* School. But as for any such Form of *Atheism*, as should suppose a *Plastick* or *Regular*, but *senseless* Nature either in the whole World, or the several parts of Matter by themselves, to be the highest Principle of all things, we do not conceive that there is any Intimation of it to be found any where in *Plato*. For in his *De Legibus*, where he professedly disputes against *Atheism*, he states the Doctrine of it after this manner, τὰ μὲν μέγιστα ἢ κάλλιστα ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἢ τύχην, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα τέχνη. That Nature and Chance produced all the first, greatest and most excellent things, but that the smaller things were produced by Humane Art. The plain meaning whereof is this, that the First Original of things, and the frame of the whole Universe, proceeded from a mere *Fortuitous* Nature, or the Motion of Matter unguided by any Art or Method. And thus it is further explained in the following words, πῦρ ἢ ὕδωρ ἢ γῆν ἢ ἀέρα φύσιν πάντα εἶναι ἢ τύχῃ φασί· τέχνη δ' ἔσθ' ἐν τούτων, &c. That the first Elements, Fire, water, Air and Earth, were all made by Nature and Chance, without any Art or Method, and then, that the bodies of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and the whole Heavens, were afterward made out of those Elements, as devoid of all manner of Life, and only fortuitously moved and mingled together; and lastly, that the whole Mundane System, together with the orderly Seasons of the year, as also Plants, Animals and Men did arise after the same manner, from the mere *Fortuitous* Motion of senseless and stupid Matter. In the very same manner does *Plato* state this Controversie again, betwixt Theists and Atheists, in his *Philebus*, πόττερον ἢ πρῶταρχε, τὰ ξυμπάντα, ἢ τὸδε τὸ καλῶμενον ὄλον, ἐπιτεροῦσθαι φῶμεν τὴν τῆς ἀλόγου ἢ ἐπιθ' δυνάμιν, ἢ τὰ ὅτι ἐτύχεν; ἢ τὸναντία, καθάπερ οἱ πρότερον ἡμῶν ἔλεγον, ἴσθ' καὶ φεβησίην τινα θαυμασίην συντάξασαν διακοσμεῖν; Whether shall we say, O Protarchus, that this whole Universe is dispensed and ordered, by a mere Irrational, Temerarious and Fortuitous Principle, and so as it happens; or contrariwise, (as our fore-fathers have instructed us) that Mind, and a certain Wonderful Wisdom, did at first frame, and does still govern all things?

In *Sophist*.

Lib. 10.

p. 28. Ed. Ser.

Where-

Wherefore we conclude that *Plato* took no notice of any other Form of Atheism, as then set on foot, than such as derives all things from a mere *Fortuitous Principle*, from *Nature* and *Chance*, that is the unguided Motion of Matter, without any *Plastick Artificialness* or *Methodicalness*, either in the whole Universe, or the parts of it. But because this kind of Atheism, which derives all things from a mere *Fortuitous Nature*, had been managed two manner of ways; by *Democritus* in the way of Atoms, and by *Anaximander* and others in the way of Forms and Qualities; (of which we are to speak in the next place) therefore the Atheism which *Plato* opposes, was either the *Democritick* or the *Anaximandrian Atheism*; or else (which is most probable) both of them together.

IX. It is hardly imaginable that there should be no Philosophick Atheists in the world before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*. *Plato* long since concluded, that there have been Atheists, more or less, in every Age, when he bespeaks his young Atheist after this manner, Οὐ σὺ μόνον εἰδὲ σοὶ φίλοι πρῶτοι καὶ πρῶτον ταύτῃ δόξαν εἶδεν θεῶν ἔσχετε, γίνονται ἢ αἰεὶ πλεῖσς ἢ ἐλάττωσ ταύτῃ τὴν νόσον ἔχοντες. The full sense whereof seems to be this; Neither you (my Son) nor your friends (*Democritus*, *Leucippus* and *Protagoras*) are the first who have entertained this Opinion concerning the Gods, but there have been always some more or less, sick of this Atheistick Disease. Wherefore we shall now make a diligent search and enquiry, to see if we can find any other Philosophers who Atheized before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, as also what Form of Atheism they entertained.

*Aristotle* in his *Metaphysics*, speaking of the Quaternio of Causes, affirms that many of those who first Philosophized, assigned only a *Material Cause* of the whole Mundane System, without either *Intending* or *Efficient Cause*. The reason whereof he intimates to have been this, because they asserted *Matter* to be the only Substance, and that whatsoever else was in the World, besides the substance or bulk of Matter, were all nothing else but πάθη, different *Passions* and *Affections*, *Accidents* and *Qualities* of *Matter* that were all Generated out of it, and Corruptible again into it, the Substance of Matter always remaining the same, neither Generated nor Corrupted, but from Eternity unmade; *Aristotle's* words are \* these: τῆς πρώτων φιλοσοφισάντων, οἱ πλεῖστοι τὰς ἐν ὕλης εἰδή μόνον ἀρχαίς εἶναι πάντων, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ἔστιν ἅπαντα τὰ ὄντα, καὶ ἐξ ἧς γίνονται πρῶτα, καὶ εἰς ἃ φθείρεται τελευταῖον, καὶ μὴ ἔστιαι ὑπομείσεσι, τῶν δὲ πάθεσσι μεταβαλέσεσι, τὸτο στοιχεῖον, καὶ ταύτῃ τῆς ὄντων τὴν ἀρχὴν φασιν εἶναι. Most of those who first philosophized, took notice of no other Principle of things in the Universe, than what is to be referred to the *Material Cause*, for that out of which all things are, and out of which they are first made, and into which they are all at last corrupted and resolved, the Substance always remaining the same, and being changed only in its *Passions* and *Qualities*; This they concluded to be the first Original and Principle of all things.

Arist. Met.  
l. 1. c. 3.

X. But the meaning of these old *Material Philosophers* will be better understood, by those Exceptions which *Aristotle* makes against them, which are Two: First, that because they acknowledged no other Substance besides Matter, that might be an Active Principle in the Universe, it was not possible for them to give any account of the Original of Motion and Action. Εἰ γὰρ ὅτι μάλιστα πάντα φθορὰ καὶ γένεσις ἐν τινὶ, ὡς ἐνὸς ἢ καὶ πλείων ὄντων, διὰ τί τὸ τοιοῦτον συμβαίνει, καὶ τί τὸ αἴτιον; ἔτι γὰρ δὴ τὸ γὰρ ὑποκείμενον αὐτὸ ποιεῖ μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸ. λέγω ἢ οἷον, ἔτε το ξύλον, ἔτε το χαλκὸς αἴτιον τῆ μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸν αὐτῷ. ἔτι ποιεῖ τὸ μὲν ξύλον κλίβανον, ὃ ἢ χαλκὸς ἀνδριάντα, ἀλλ' ἕτερον τὸ μεταβολῆς αἴτιον. τὸ δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ζητεῖν, ὅτι τὸ τὴν ἕτερον ζητεῖν ἀρχὴν, ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς φαίμεθα, ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆ κινήσεως. *Though all Generation be made never so much out of something as the Matter, yet the question still is, by what means this cometh to pass, and what is the Active Cause which produceth it? because the Subject-matter cannot change it self; As for example, neither Timber, nor Brass, is the cause that either of them are changed; for Timber alone does not make a Bed, nor Brass a Statue, but there must be something else as the Cause of the Change; and to enquire after this is to enquire after another Principle, besides Matter, which we would call that from whence Motion springs.* In which words *Aristotle* intimates that these old *Material Philosophers* shuffled in, *Motion* and *Action* into the World unaccountably, or without a Cause; forasmuch as they acknowledged no other Principle of Things besides *Passive Matter*, which could never move, change or alter it self.

Met. l. 1. c. 3.

XI. And *Aristotle's* second Exception against these old *Material Philosophers* is this; that since there could be no Intending Causality in Senseless and Stupid Matter, which they made to be the only Principle of all things, they were not able to assign τὰ εὖ καὶ καλῶς αἰτίαν, any Cause of Well and Fit, and so could give no account of the Regular and Orderly Frame of this Mundane System; τὰ εὖ καὶ καλῶς τὰ μὲν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ γίνεσθαι τῷ ὄντων, ἴσως ἔτε γῆν, ἔτε ἄλλο τῷ τοιούτων ὄντων, εἰδὸς αἴτιον εἶναι. ἔτι αὐτὰ αὐτομάτως, καὶ τύχη τοσούτων ὀπίσθεσαι πρῶτον καλῶς ἔχει. *That things partly are so well in the World, and partly are made so well, cannot be imputed either to Earth or Water, or any other senseless Body; much less is it reasonable to attribute so noble and Excellent an Effect as this, to mere Chance or Fortune.* Where *Aristotle* again intimates, that as these *Material Philosophers* shuffled in Motion into the world without a Cause, so likewise they must needs suppose this Motion to be altogether *Fortuitous* and *Unguided* and thereby in a manner make *Fortune*, which is nothing but the absence or defect of an Intending Cause, to supply the room both of the Active and Intending Cause, that is, Efficient and Final. Whereupon *Aristotle* subjoyns a Commendation of *Anaxagoras*, as the first of the Ionick Philosophers, who introduced *Mind* or *Intellect* for a Principle in the Universe; that in this respect, he alone seemed to be sober and in his wits, comparatively with those others that went before him, who talked so idly and Atheistically. For *Anaxagoras* his Principle was such, saith *Aristotle*, as was ἅμα τῶ καλῶς αἰτία, καὶ ταύτη ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις ὑπάρχει, at once a cause of Motion and also of Well and Fit;

Fit; of all the Regularity, Aptitude, Pulchritude and Order that is in the whole Universe. And thus it seems *Anaxagoras* himself had determined: Ἀναξαγόρας τὸ αἴτιον τῆς καλῆς καὶ ὀρθῆς νόσου λέγει, *Anaxagoras saith that Mind is the only Cause of Right and Well*; this being proper to *Mind* to aim at *Ends* and *Good*, and to order one thing Fitly for the sake of another. Whence it was that *Anaxagoras* concluded *Good* also, as well as *Mind*, to have been a Principle of the Universe, Ἀναξαγόρας ὡς κινεῖν τὸ ἀτακτὸν ἀρχὴν ὅτι νόσος κινεῖ, ἀλλὰ κινεῖ ἐνεκά τινος, ὡς ἐπεὶ ἔτιρον, *Anaxagoras makes Good a Principle, as that which moves; For though Mind move Matter, yet it moves it for the sake of something, and being it self, as it were, first moved by Good: So that Good is also a Principle.* And we note this the rather, to show how well these three Philosophers, *Aristotle*, *Plato* and *Anaxagoras*, agreed all together, in this excellent Truth, That *Mind* and *Good* are the *First Principle* of all things in the Universe.

*Arist. de Ani.*  
Lib. 1. c. 2.

*Arist. Met.*  
l. 14. c. 10.

XII. And now we think it is sufficiently evident, that these old *Materialists* in *Aristotle*, whoever they were, were downright *Atheists*; not so much, because they made all Substance to be Body or Matter, for *Heraclitus* first, and after him *Zeno*, did the like, deriving the Original of all things from Fire, as well as *Anaximenes* did from Air, and *Thales* is supposed by *Aristotle* to have done from Water, and that with some little more seeming plausibility, since Fire being a more Subtle and Moveable Body than any other, was therefore thought by some of those Ancients to be ἀσωματώτατον, the most Incorporeal of all Bodies, as Earth was for that cause rejected by all those Corporeal Philosophers, from being a Principle, by reason of the grossness of its parts. But *Heraclitus* and *Zeno*, notwithstanding this, are not accounted *Atheists*, because they supposed their *Fiery Matter*, to have not only *Life*, but also a perfect *Understanding* Originally belonging to it, as also the whole World to be an Animal: Whereas those *Materialists* of *Aristotle*, made *Senseless* and *Stupid Matter*, devoid of all *Understanding* and *Life*, to be the first Principle and Root of all things. For when they supposed, *Life* and *Understanding*, as well as all other Differences of Things, to be nothing but mere *Passions* and *Accidents* of *Matter*, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* again into it, and indeed to be produced, but in a Secondary way, from the Fortuitous Commixture of those first Elementary Qualities, Heat and Cold, Moist and Dry, Thick and Thin, they plainly implied the substance of *Matter* in it self to be devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*. Now if this be not *Atheism*, to derive the Original of all things, even of *Life* and *Mind* it self, from *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, *Fortuitously Moved*, then there can be no such thing at all.

XIII. Moreover, *Aristotle's* *Materialists* concluded every thing besides the Substance of *Matter*, (which is in it self indifferent to all things,) and consequently all particular and determinate Beings, to be *Generable* and *Corruptible*. Which is a thing that *Plato* takes notice of as an *Atheistick Principle*, expressing it in these words; ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ἕδρα ποτ' ἔδειν, ἀεὶ δὲ γίγνεται, that *Nothing ever is, but every thing*

*In Theat.*

Lib. 14. c. 6.

thing is Made and Generated. Forasmuch as it plainly follows from hence, that not only all Animals and the Souls of men, but also if there were any Gods, which some of those Materialists would not stick, at least verbally, to acknowledge, (meaning thereby certain Understanding Beings superiour to men) these likewise must needs have been all Generated, and consequently be Corruptible. Now to say that there is no other God, than such as was Made and Generated, and which may be again Unmade, Corrupted and Die, or that there was once no God at all till he was made out of the Matter, and that there may be none again, this is all one as to deny the thing it self. For a *Native and Mortal God* is a pure Contradiction. Therefore whereas *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysics*, tells us of certain *Theologers*, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος πάντα γεννᾶντες, such as did Generate all things (even the Gods themselves) out of *Night and Chaos*, we must needs pronounce of such *Theologers* as these, who were *Theogonists*, and Generated all the Gods (without exception) out of *Senseless and Stupid Matter*, that they were but a kind of *Atheistical Theologers* or *Theological Atheists*. For though they did admit of certain Beings, to which they attributed the Name of Gods, yet according to the true Notion of God, they really acknowledged none at all, (i. e. no Understanding Nature as the Original of things) but *Night and Chaos, Senseless and Stupid Matter, Fortuitously Moved*, was to them the highest of all *Numens*. So that this *Theology* of theirs, was a thing wholly founded in *Atheistical Non-sence*.

XIV. And now we think it seasonable, here to observe, how vast a difference there was betwixt these old *Materialists* in *Aristotle*, and those other *Philosophers*, mentioned before in the first Chapter, who determined, ἄδεν ἄδεν γίνεσθαι ἄδεν φθίσεσθαι ἢ ὄντων. That no Real Entity at all was Generated or Corrupted, for this reason, because Nothing could be made out of Nothing. These were chiefly the *Philosophers* of the *Italic* or *Pythagorick* Succession, and their design in it was not, as *Aristotle* was pleased somewhere to affirm, ἀνελεῖν πάντα τὴν γένεσιν, to contradict common sence and experience, in denying all *Natural Generations and Alterations*; but only to interpret Nature rightly in them, and that in way of opposition to those *Atheistical Materialists*, after this manner; That in all the *Mutations of Nature, Generations and Alterations*, there was neither any new Substance Made, which was not before, nor any Entity really distinct from the *Preexisting Substances*, but only that Substance which was before, diversly Modified; and so Nothing Produced in *Generations*, but new *Modifications, Mixtures, and Separations* of *preexistent Substances*.

Now this Doctrine of theirs drove at these Two things; First, the taking away of such *Qualities and Forms of Body*, as were vulgarly conceived to be things really distinct from the Substance of extended Bulk, and all its *Modifications* of more or less Magnitude, Figure, Site, Motion or Rest: Because, if there were any such things as these, produced in the *Natural Generations and Alterations* of Bodies, there would then be some Real Entity Made ἐκ μηδενος ἐν πολεχοντι ἢ

*περὶ οὐδενός, out of Nothing Inexistent or Preexistent.* Wherefore they concluded, that these supposed Forms and Qualities of Bodies were really nothing else, but only the different *Modifications* of Pre-existent Matter, in respect of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion or Rest, or different *Concretions* and *Secretions*, which are no Entities really distinct from the Substance, but only cause different *Phasmata*, *Phancies* and *Apparitions* in us.

The Second thing which this Doctrine aimed at, was the establishing the *Incorporeity* and *Ingenerability* of all *Souls*. For since Life, Cogitation, Sense and Understanding, could not be resolved into those Modifications of Matter, Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, or into Mechanism and Phancie, but must needs be Entities really distinct from Extended Bulk, or Dead and Stupid Matter; they concluded, that therefore *Souls* could not be Generated out of Matter, because this would be the Production of some Real Entity out of Nothing Inexisting or Preexisting; but that they must needs be another kind of Substance Incorporeal, which could no more be Generated or Corrupted, than the Substance of Matter it self; and therefore must either Preexist in Nature, before Generations, or else be divinely Created and Infused, in them.

It hath been already proved in the First Chapter, that the Upshot of that Pythagorick Doctrine, That Nothing could be Generated out of Nothing preexisting, amounted to those Two things mentioned, viz. the Asserting of the *Incorporeity* and *Ingenerability* of *Souls*, and the Rejecting of those *Phantastick Entities* of Forms and Real Qualities of Bodies, and resolving all Corporeal *Phanomena*, into *Figures* or *Atoms*, and the different *Apparitions* or *Phancies* caused by them; but the latter of these, may be further confirmed from this passage of *Aristotle's*, where after he had declared that *Democritus* and *Leucippus* made the *Soul* and *Fire*, to consist of round *Atoms* or *Figures*, like those *ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ξύσματα*, those *Ramenta* that appear in the Air when the Sun-beams are transmitted through Cranes; he adds *οἷκε ἢ ἐν τῷ πα-* Nac. Aufc. l. 10  
*ρῷ τῶν πυθαγορείων λεγόμενον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει διάνοιαν, ἔφασαν γὰρ τινες* c. 2.  
*αὐτῶν, ψυχὴν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ξύσματα, οἱ ἢ τὰ ταῦτα κινεῖν.* And that which is said amongst the Pythagoreans, seems to have the same sense, for some of them affirm, that the Soul is those very *ξύσματα*, *Ramenta* or *Atoms*; but others of them, that it is That which Moves them; which latter doubtless were the genuine Pythagoreans. However, it is plain from hence, that the old Pythagoreans Physiologized by *ξύσματα*, as well as *Democritus*; that is, Figures and Atoms, and not Qualities and Forms.

But *Aristotle's Materialists*, on the contrary, taking it for granted that Matter or Extended Bulk is the only Substance, and that the Qualities and Forms of Bodies, are Entities really distinct from those Modifications of Magnitude, Figure, Site, Motion or Rest; and finding also by experience, that these were continually Generated and Corrupted, as likewise that Life, Sense and Understanding were produced in the Bodies of such Animals, where it had not been before, and

and again extinguished at the Death or Corruption of them, concluded, that the *Souls* of all Animals, as well as those other *Qualities* and *Forms* of Bodies, were *Generated* out of the Matter, and *Corrupted* again into it, and consequently that every thing that is in the whole World, besides the *Substance* of Matter, was *Made* or *Generated*, and might be again *Corrupted*.

L. 3. c. 13

Of this Atheistick Doctrine, *Aristotle* speaks elsewhere, as in his *Book de Cælo*. εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ φασιν, ἔστιν ἀγέννητον εἶναι τῆν πρῶτην, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι· μάλιστα μὲν οἱ ᾤοντο Ἡσίοδον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολογησάντες· οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα γίνεσθαι τε φασί, καὶ εἶναι δὲ παλαιῶς ἔστιν. ἐν δὲ τι μόνον ὑπομένειν, ἐξ ἧς ταῦτα πάντα μεταχρηματίζεσθαι πέφυκεν. *There are some who affirm, that Nothing is Ingenerable, but that all things are Made; as Hesiod especially, and also among the rest they, who First Physiologized, whose meaning was, that all other things are Made (or Generated) and did Flow, none of them having any Stability; only that there was one thing (namely Matter) which always remained, out of which all those other things were transformed and Metamorphiz'd.* Though as to *Hesiod*, *Aristotle* afterwards speaks differently. So likewise in his *Physicks*, after he had declared that some of the Ancients made Air, some Water, and some other Matter, the Principle of all things; he adds,\* τῶν καὶ ποσούτων φασιν εἶναι τὴν ἀπικσίαν ἑσάν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα πᾶσι τῶν, καὶ ἕξις, καὶ διαθέσις· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅτι ἐν εἶναι αἰδιον· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα γίνεσθαι καὶ φερέσθαι ἀπειροσίν· *This they affirmed to be all the Substance or Essence that was; but all other things, the Passions, Affections and Dispositions of it; and that this therefore was Eternal, as being capable of no Change, but all other things, Infinitely Generated and Corrupted.*

L. 2. c. 1.

XV. But these Materialists being sometimes assaulted by the other Italick Philosophers, in the manner before declared, That *no Real Entities, distinct from the Modifications of any Substance, could be Generated or Corrupted, because Nothing could come from Nothing nor go to Nothing*; they would not seem plainly to Contradict that Theorem, but only endeavoured to interpret it into a compliance with their own *Hypothesis*, and distinguish concerning the Sence of it in this manner; That it ought to be understood, only of the *Substance* of Matter and Nothing else, viz. That no Matter could be *Made* or *Corrupted*, but that all other things whatsoever, not only *Forms* and *Qualities* of Bodies, but also *Souls*; Life, Sense and Understanding, though really different from Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, yet ought to be accounted only the *ποσόν*, the Passions and Accidents of this Matter, and therefore might be generated out of it and Corrupted again into it, and that without the Production or Destruction of any real Entity, Matter being the only thing that is accounted such. All this we learn from these words of *Aristotle*, καὶ διὰ τῆτο, ἔτε γίνεσθαι ἔστιν οἶοντα, ἔτε ἀπόλυτα, ὡς τὸ ποσούτης φύσεως αἰετῶσιν. ὡσπερ δὲ τὸ Σωκράτη φαμέν ἔτε γίνεσθαι ἀπλῶς, ὅταν γίνεται καλὸς ἢ μωσικός, ἔτε ἀπόλυτα, ὅταν ἀποβάλλη ταύτας τὰς ἕξεις, διὰ τὸ ὑπομένειν τὸ ὑποκείμενον, τὸ Σωκράτη αὐτὸν, ἔτος ἔσθι τῶν ἄλλων ἔστιν· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τινὰ φύσιν, ἢ μίαν, ἢ πλείους μᾶς, ἐξ ὧν γίνεται τὰ ἄλλα σωζομένης ἐκείνης.

Metaph. l. 1.

c. 3.

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The fence whereof is this ; *And therefore as to that Axiom of some Philosophers, That Nothing is either Generated or Destroyed, these Materialists admit it to be true in respect of the Substance of matter only, which is always preserved the same, As, say they, We do not say that Socrates is simply or absolutely Made, when he is made either Handsom or Musfical, or that he is Destroyed, when he loseth those Dispositions, because the Subject Socrates still remains the same ; so neither are we to say that any thing else is absolutely either Generated or Corrupted, because the Substance or Matter of every thing always Continues. For there must needs be some certain Nature, from which all other things are Generated, that still remaining one and the same.*

We have noted this Passage of *Aristotle's* the rather, because this is just the very Doctrine of Atheists at this day. That the Substance of Matter or Extended Bulk is the only Real Entity, and therefore the only Unmade thing, that is neither Generable nor Creatable, but Necessarily Existent from Eternity ; But whatever else is in the World, as Life and Animality, Soul and Mind, being all but Accidents and Affections of this Matter (as if therefore they had no Real Entity at all in them) are Generable out of Nothing and Corruptible into Nothing, so long as the Matter in which they are, still remains the same. The Result of which is no less than this, That there can be no other Gods or God, than such as was at first Made or Generated out of Senseless Matter, and may be Corrupted again into it. And here indeed lies the *Grand Mystery of Atheism*, that every thing besides the Substance of Matter is Made or Generated, and may be again Unmade or Corrupted.

However *Anaxagoras*, though an Ionick Philosopher, and therefore, as shall be declared afterward, Successor to those Atheistick Materialists, was at length so far Convinced by that Pythagorick Doctrine, That no Entity could be naturally Generated out of Nothing, as that he departed from his Predecessors herein, and did for this reason acknowledge Mind and Soul, that is, all Cogitative Being to be a Substance really distinct from Matter, neither Generable out of it nor Corruptible into it ; as also that the Forms and Qualities of Bodies (which he could not yet otherwise conceive of than as things really distinct from those Modifications of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion) must for the same cause pre-exist before Generations in certain *Similar Atoms*, and remain after Corruptions, being only Secreted and Concreted in them. By means whereof he introduced a certain *Spurious Atomism* of his own ; For whereas the Genuine Atomists before his time had supposed ὅμοια ἀτομολογία, *Dissimilar Atoms* devoid of all Forms and Qualities to be the Principles of all Bodies, *Anaxagoras* substituted in the room of them his ὁμοιομέτεια, his *Similar Atoms*, endued from Eternity with all Manner of Forms and Qualities Incorruptibly.

XVI. We have made it manifest that those *Material Philosophers*, described by *Aristotle*, were absolute *Atheists*, not merely because they made Body to be the only Substance, though that be a thing which *Aristotle* himself justly reprehends them for also in these

Metaph. l. 1. v.  
6. 7.

these words of his, ὅσοι μὲν ἐν εἴτε τὸ πᾶν ἢ μίαν εἶναι τινὰ φύσιν, ὡς ἕλιν τιθάσι, ἢ ταύτιω σωματικῶ, ἢ μέγεθος ἔχουσαν, δῆλον ὅτι πολλαχῶς ἀμαρτάνουσι, ἢ γὰρ σωματικὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τιθάσι μόνον, τῶνδε ἀσωμάτων ἔντων ἢ ἀσωμάτων. *They who suppose the World to be one uniform thing, and acknowledge only one nature as the matter, and this Corporeal or indued with Magnitude, it is evident that they erre many ways, and particularly in this, that they set down only the Elements of Bodies, and not of Incorporeal things, though there be also things Incorporeal.* I say, we have not concluded them Atheists, merely for this reason, because they denied Incorporeal Substance, but because they deduced all things whatsoever from Dead and Stupid Matter, and made every thing in the World, besides the bare Substance of Matter, devoid of all Quality, *Generable and Corruptible.*

De I. c. 10.

Now we shall take notice of an Objection, made by some late Writers, against this Aristotelick Accusation of the old Philosophers, founded upon a passage of *Aristotle's* own, who elsewhere in his Book *De Cælo*, speaking of the Heaven or World, plainly affirms, γινόμενον μὲν ἐν ἀπαντες εἶναι φασιν, that all the Philosophers before himself, did assert the World to have been Made, or have had a Beginning. From whence these Writers infer, that therefore they must needs be all Theists, and hold the *Divine Creation* of the World, and consequently, that *Aristotle* contradicts himself, in representing many of them as Atheists, acknowledging only one Material Principle of the whole Universe, without any Intending or Efficient Cause. But we cannot but pronounce this to be a great Errour in these Writers, to conclude all those who held the World to have been Made, therefore to have been Theists, whereas it is certain on the contrary, that all the First and most Ancient Atheists did (in *Aristotle's* language) κοσμοποιεῖν ἢ γινῶν τὸν κόσμον, *Make or Generate the World*, that is, suppose it not to have been from Eternity, but to have had a Temporary Beginning; as likewise that it was Corruptible, and would sometime or other, have an End again. The sence of which Atheistick Philosophers is represented by *Lucretius* in this manner:

*Et quoniam docui, Mundi Mortalia Templa  
Esse, & Nativo consistere Corpore Cælum,  
Et quæcunque in eo sunt, sientque, necesse  
Esse ea Dissolvi.*

And there seems to be indeed a Necessity, in reason, that they who derive all things from a Fortuitous Principle, and hold every thing besides the Substance of Matter to have been Generated, should suppose the World to have been Generated likewise, as also to be Corruptible. Wherefore it may well be reckoned for one of the Vulgar Errours; *That all Atheists held the Eternity of the World.*

Moreover, when *Aristotle* subjoins immediately after, ἀλλὰ γινόμενον, οἱ μὲν αἰδίου, οἱ δὲ φθαρτόν, that though the Ancient Philosophers all held the World to have been Made, yet notwithstanding, they were divided in this, that some of them supposed for all that, that it would continue

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time to Eternity such as it is, others, that it would be Corrupted again; the former of these, who conceived the World to be *γινόμενον*, but *αίδιον*, Made, but Eternal, were none of them Atheists, but all Theists. Such as *Plato*, whom *Aristotle* seems particularly to perstringe for this, who in his *Timæus* introduceth the Supreme Deity bespeaking those Inferiour Gods, the Sun, Moon and Stars (supposed by that Philosopher to be Animated) after this manner; *ἃ δὲ ἐμὲ γινόμενα, ἃ* *Timæus p. 44*  
*λυπα, ἐμὲ γὰρ κλοντῶ τὸ μὲν ἐν δεξέον πᾶν, λυτὸν τῶν μὴν καλῶς ἀειροσθέν* *Sir.*  
*ἔχον δὲ, λυεῖν ἐδέλεον, κακῶ δὲ ἃ ἢ ἐπεσθῶ γένηται, ἀθάνατοι μὲν εἰ ἐσέ,*  
*εἰ ἀλυτοὶ τὸ πάμπαν ἔτι μὲν δὴ λυθήσεσθε γε, εἰ δὲ τὸ ἕξεισθε θανάτου μοί-*  
*ρας. ἃ ἐμὲ βελήσεως, μελλόνος ἔτι δεσμῶς ἢ πνευματῶν λαχόντες.* Those things which are made by me are Indissoluble by my will, and though every thing which is compacted, be in its own nature dissolvable, yet it is not the part of one that is good, to will the dissolution or destruction of any thing, that was once well made. Wherefore though you are not absolutely Immortal, nor altogether Indissoluble, yet notwithstanding, you shall not be dissolved, nor ever die. My will being a stronger Band to hold you together, than any thing else can be to loosen you. *Philo* and other Theists followed *Plato* in this, asserting that though the world was Made, yet it would never be Corrupted, but have a Post-eternity. Whereas all the Ancient Atheists, namely those who derived the Original of things from Nature and Fortune, did at once deny both Eternities to the World; Past and Future. Though we cannot say that none but Atheists did this, for *Empedocles* and *Heraclitus*, and afterward the Stoicks, did not only suppose the World likewise Generated, and to be again Corrupted, but also that this had been, and would be done over and over again, in Infinite vicissitudes.

Furthermore, as the World's Eternity was generally opposed by all the Ancient Atheists, so it was maintained also by some Theists, and that not only *Aristotle*, but also before him, by *Ocellus Lucanus* at least, though *Aristotle* thought not fit to take any notice of him; as likewise the latter Platonists universally went that way, yet so, as that they always supposed the World to have as much depended upon the Deity, as if it had been once Created out of Nothing by it.

To conclude therefore; neither they who asserted the world's Generation and Temporary Beginning, were all Theists; nor they who maintained its Eternity, all Atheists; but before *Aristotle's* time, the Atheists universally, and most of the Theists, did both alike conclude the World to have been Made; the difference between them lying in this, that the one affirmed the World to have been Made by God, the other by the Fortuitous Motion of Matter.

Wherefore if we would put another difference betwixt the Theists and Atheists here, as to this particular, we must distinguish betwixt the System of the World and the Substance of the Matter: For the Ancient Atheists, though they generally denied the Eternity of the World, yet they supposed the substance of the Matter, not only to have been Eternal, but also Self-existent and Independent upon any other Being; they making it the first Principle and Original of all things

things, and consequently the only *Numen*. Whereas the Genuine Theists, though many of them maintained the Worlds Eternity, yet they all concluded, both the Form and Substance of it, to have always depended upon the Deity, as the Light doth upon the Sun. The Stoicks with some others being here excepted.

XVII. *Aristotle* tells us, some were of opinion, that this Atheistick Philosophy, which derives all things from *senseless* and *stupid Matter*, in the way of *Forms* and *Qualities*, was of great Antiquity, and as old as any Records of Time amongst the Greeks; and not only so, but also that the Ancient Theologers themselves entertained it; *εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ τὸς παμπάλαιας, καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς νῦν γενέσεως, καὶ πρώτης θεολογισάντας, ἕτοιμα οἰονταὶ ὡς τὴν φύσεως διαλαθεῖν. Ὠκεανὸν τε γὰρ καὶ Τήτην ἐποίησαν τὴν γενέσεως πατέρας, καὶ τὸ ὄρεον τῆς θεῶν ὕδατος, τὴν καλεσμένην ὑπὸ ἀντὶ τὸ σπύγα τῆς ποιητῆρος. τιμιάτατον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρεσβύτατον ὄρεον ἢ τὸ τιμιάτατον ὕδωρ.* There are some who conceive that even the most ancient of all, and the most remote from this present Generation; and they also who first Theologized, did Physiologize after this manner; forasmuch as they made the Ocean and Tethys to have been the Original of Generation; and for this cause the Oath of the Gods is said to be by water (called by the Poets Styx) as being that from which they all derived their Original. For an Oath ought to be by that which is most Honourable; and that which is most Ancient, is most Honourable. In which words it is very probable that *Aristotle* aimed at *Plato*; however it is certain that *Plato* in his *Theatetus*, affirms this Atheistick Doctrine to have been very ancient, *ὅτι πάντα ἕκγονα εἴης τε καὶ κινήσεως, that all things were the off-spring of Flux and Motion, that is, that all things were Made and Generated out of Matter; and that he chargeth Homer with it, in deriving the Original of the Gods themselves in like manner, from the Ocean, (or Floating Matter) in this Verse of his,*

Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν γενέσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τητην.

The Father of all Gods, the Ocean is,  
Tethys their Mother.

Wherefore these indeed seem to have been the ancientest of all Atheists, who though they acknowledged certain Beings superiour to men, which they called by the Name of Gods, did notwithstanding really deny a God, according to the true Notion of him, deriving the Original of all things whatsoever in the Universe, from the Ocean, that is, *Fluid Matter*, or, which is all one, from *Night* and *Chaos*; and supposing all their Gods to have been Made and Generated, and consequently to be Mortal and Corruptible. Of which *Atheistick Theology*, *Aristophanes* gives us the description, in his *Aves*, after this manner: *That at first was Nothing but Night and Chaos, which laying an Egg, from thence was produced Love, that mingling again with Chaos, begot Heaven, and Earth, and Animals, and all the Gods.*

χάος ἢ νύξ, ἕρεθός τε μέλαν πρῶτον, ἢ τέτατος δὴτος.  
 γῆ δ', ἔδ' αἴηρ, ἔδ' ἕρηνός ἦν. ἕρεθός δ' εἰ ἀπειροσι κόλπαις  
 τίκτῃ πρῶτισιν ὑπλωέμον νύξ ἢ μελανόπτερος ὤον.  
 ἕξ ἔσσι πελομοχλίας ἄρασι, ἔβλασεν ἕρος ὁ ποσεινός.  
 στίλβων νῶτον πτερυγίω χρυσάιν. εἰκῶς ἀνεμάκεισι δ'ίνασι.  
 οὔτος ἢ χάει πτεροβέντι μγείς νυχίω, ἢ τέτατον δὴτον,  
 ἕρεθόβλασε γένος ἡμέτερον, ἢ πρῶτον ἀνήγαγεν ἐς φῶς,  
 πρῶτερον δ' ἐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων, πρὶν ἕρος συνέμειξεν ἀπανία

*First all was Chaos, one confused Heap,  
 Darkness enwrap the disagreeing Deep,  
 In a mixt croud, the Jumbled Elements were,  
 Nor Earth, nor Air, nor Heaven did appear;  
 Till on this horrid vast Abyss of things,  
 Teeming Night spreading o'er her cole-black Wings,  
 Laid the first Egg; whence, after times due course,  
 Issu'd forth Love (the World's Prolifick Source)  
 Glistening with golden Wings; which fluttering o'er  
 Dark Chaos, gendred all the numerous store  
 Of Animals and Gods, &c.*

And whereas the Poet there makes the Birds to have been begotten between *Love* and *Chaos* before all the *Gods*; though one might think this to have been done Jocularly by him, merely to humour his Plot; yet *Salmasius* conceives, and not without some reason, that it was really a piece of the old *Atheistick Cabala*, which therefore seems to have run thus. That *Chaos* or *Matter* confusedly moved, being the first Original of all; Things did from thence rise up gradually, from lesser to greater Perfection: First Inanimate things as the Elements, Heaven, Earth and Seas, then Brute-animals, afterwards Men, and last of all the *Gods*. As if not only the Substance of *Matter*, and those Inanimate Bodies of the Elements, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, were, as *Aristotle* somewhere speaks, according to the sence of those *Atheistick Theologers*, \* *De Gen. 8*  
 φύσιν πρῶτα τῶ θεῶ, θεοὶ ἢ ἐκ τῶντα, *First in order of Nature before* *Cor. Lib. 2. c. 6.*  
*God, as being themselves also Gods*, but also Brute-animals at least, if not men too. And this is the *Atheistick Creation* of the World, *Gods* and all, out of Senseless and Stupid *Matter*, or *Dark Chaos*, as the only *Original Numen*; the perfectly Inverted order of the Universe.

XVIII. But though this *Hypothesis* be purely *Atheistical*, that makes *Love*, which is supposed to be the Original Deity, to have it self sprung at first from an *Egg* of the *Night*; and consequently that all *Deity* was the *Creature* or *Off-spring* of *Matter* and *Chaos*, or *Dark Fortuitous Nature*; yet *Aristotle* somewhere conceives that not only *Parmenides*, but also *Hesiod*, and some others, who did in like manner make *Love* the *Supreme Deity*, and derive all things from *Love* and *Chaos*, were to be exempted out of the number of those *Atheistick Materialists* before described; forasmuch as they seemed to understand by *Love*, an *Active Principle*, and *Cause of Motion* in the Universe; which there-  
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 fore

fore could not spring from an *Egg of the Night*, nor be the Creature of Matter, but must needs be something Independent on it, and in order of Nature before it, ὑποψήσεται δ' ἂν τις Ἡσίοδον πρῶτον, ζητήσασθαι τὸ τοῖστον, κἂν εἴ τις ἄλλος, Ἔρωτα ἢ Ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐν τοῖς ἔσιν ἔθηκεν ὡς ἀρχὴν, οἷον καὶ Παρμενίδης. Καὶ γὰρ ἔστος κατασκευάζων τὴν τῶ πάντων γένεσιν

πρῶτισον μὲν (φισιν) ἔρωτα θεῶν μάλιστα πάντων.

Ἡσίοδος ὅ,

πάντων μὲν πρῶτισα χάος γένετ'· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

γαῖ' ἀγέρσεινος, —

Ἦδ' ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπῃ ἀθανάτοισιν.

ὡς δὲ οὐ ἐν τοῖς ἔσιν ὑπάρχειν τινὰ αἰτίαν, ἣτις κινήσει καὶ συνέξει τὰ πράγματα: τῶτος μὲν ἐν πᾶσι χειρὶ διανεῖμαι ὡς τὸ τίς πρῶτος, ἐξέσω κείνῃ ὑπερῶν· *One would suspect that Hesiod, and if there be any other who made Love or Desire, a Principle of things in the Universe, aimed at this very thing, (namely, the setting of another Active Principle besides Matter:.) For Parmenides, describing the Generation of the Universe, makes Love to be the Senior of all the Gods, and Hesiod, after he had mentioned Chaos, introduced Love, as the supreme Deity. As intimating herein, that besides Matter, there ought to be another Cause or Principle, that should be the Original of Motion and Activity, and also hold and conjoyn all things together. But how these two Principles are to be ordered, and which of them was to be placed first, whether Love or Chaos, may be judged of afterwards. In which latter words Aristotle seems to intimate, that Love, as taken for an Active Principle, was not to be supposed to spring from Chaos, but rather to be in order of Nature before it; and therefore by this Love of theirs must needs be meant the Deity. And indeed Simmias Rhodius in his Wings, a Hymn made in Honour of this Love, that is Senior to all the Gods, and a Principle in the Universe, tells us plainly, that it is not Cupid, Venuses soft and effeminate Son, but another kind of Love*

οὔτι γὰρ Κύπερος παῖς

Ἰωνπέτας δ' αὐτὸς ἔρος καλεῖμαι.

οὔτι γὰρ ἔκρινε βιάζειν, ὡς γὰρ δὲ πεθοῖ.

Γαῖα, θαλάσσης τε μυχοῖ, ἑρηνίων πᾶσι θεὸς μοι εἶμι.

τῶν δ' ἔργων ἐκνοσφισάμω ἀγύγιον σκάπτρον, ἐκβαλῶ τέ σφιν ἁρμύνας;

*I'm not that Wanton Boy,*

*The Sea-froath Goddess's only Joy.*

*Pure Heavenly Love I hight, and my*

*Soft Magick Charms, not Iron Bands, fast tye*

*Heaven, Earth and Seas. The Gods themselves do readily*

*Stoop to my Laws. The whole World daunces to my Harmony.*

Moreover, this cannot be that *Love* neither, which is described in *Plato's Symposium* (as some learned men have conceived) that was begotten between *Penia* and *Porus*, this being not a *Divine*

*Divine* but *Demoniack* thing (as the Philosopher there declares) no *God* but a *Demon* only, or of a Middle Nature. For it is nothing but φιλοκαλία, or the *Love of Pulchritude*, as such, which though rightly used, may perhaps Wing and Inspire the Mind, to Noble and Generous Attempts, and beget a scornful disdeign in it, of Mean, Dirty, and Sordid things; yet it is capable of being abused also, and then it will strike downward into Brutishness and Sensuality. But at best it is an Affection, belonging only to Imperfect and Parturient Beings; and therefore could not be the First Principle of all things. Wherefore we see no very great reason, but that in a Rectified and Qualified sense, this may pass for true Theology; That *Love* is the *Supreme Deity* and *Original* of all things; namely, if by it be meant, Eternal, Self-originated, Intellectual Love, or Essential and Substantial Goodness, that having an Infinite overflowing Fulness and Fecundity, dispenses it self Uninvidiously, according to the best Wisdom, Sweetly Governs all, without any Force or Violence (all things being Naturally subject to its Authority, and readily obeying its Laws) and reconciles the whole World into Harmony. For the Scripture telling us, that *God is Love*, seems to warrant thus much to us, that *Love* in some rightly Qualified sense, is *God*.

XIX. But we are to omit the Fabulous Age, and to descend to the Philosophical, to enquire there, who they were among the professed Philosophers, who Atheized in that manner, before described. It is true indeed, that *Aristotle* in other Places, accuses *Democritus* and *Leucippus* of the very same thing, that is, of assigning only a *Material Cause* of the Universe, and giving no account of the *Original of Motion*; but yet it is certain that these were not the Persons intended by him here; Those which he speaks of, being τινες τῶν πρώτων φιλοσοφισάντων, *some of the first and most ancient Philosophers of all*. Moreover it appears by his Description of them, that they were such as did not Philosophize in the way of *Atoms*, but resolved all things whatsoever in the Universe, into ὕλη, and πάθη τῆς ὕλης, *Matter*, and the *Passions* or *Affections*, *Qualities* and *Forms of Matter*; so that they were not Atomical, but Hylopathian Philosophers. These two, the old Materialists and the Democriticks, did both alike derive all things from Dead and Stupid Matter, fortuitously Moved; and the Difference between them was only this, that the Democriticks manag'd this business in the way of *Atoms*, the other in that more vulgar way of *Qualities* and *Forms*: So that indeed, this is really but one and the same Atheistick Hypothesis, in two several Schemes. And as one of them is called the *Atomick Atheism*, so the other, for Distinctions sake, may be called the *Hylopathian*.

XX. Now *Aristotle* tells us plainly, that these *Hylopathian Atheists* of his, were all the first Philosophers of the *Ionick Order* and Succession, before *Anaxagoras*. Whereof *Thales* being the Head, he is consentaneously thereunto by *Aristotle*, made to be ἀρχηγός τῆς τριακωτικής φιλοσοφίας, *the Prince and Leader of this kind of Atheistical Philosophy*, he deriving all things whatsoever, as *Homer* had done before him, from Water, and acknowledging no other Principle but the Fluid Matter.

Notwithstanding which Accusation of *Aristotle's*, *Thales* is far otherwise represented by good Authors ; *Cicero* telling us, that besides *Water*, which he made to be the Original of all Corporeal things, he asserted also *Mind* for another Principle, which formed all things out of the *Water* ; and *Laertius* and *Flutarch* recording, that he was thought to be the first of all Philosophers who determined Souls to be Immortal ; He is said also to have affirmed, that God was *πρεσβύτατον πάντων*, the oldest of all things, and that the World was *ποίημα θεῶν*, the Workmanship of God ; *Clemens* likewise tells us that being asked *εἰ λανθάνει τὸ θεῖον πράσων τι ὁ ἀνθρώπου, ἢ πᾶς ἔπειν ὅσῃ ἔσθ' ἐδὲ διανοήματος* ; Whether any of a mans Actions could be concealed from the Deity ? he replied, not so much as any Thought. Moreover *Laertius* further writes of him, that he held *τὴν κόσμον ἑμφύχον ἢ δαιμόνων πλήρη*, That the World was animated, and full of Demons. Lastly *Aristotle* himself elsewhere speaks of him as a Theist, *ἢ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ θ' εἰς τινες ψυχὴν μίχθαι φασίν. ὁ δὲν ἴσως ἢ θαλῆς ἀήδη πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι*. Somethink (saith he) that Soul and Life is mingled with the whole Universe, and thence perhaps was that of *Thales*, that all things are full of Gods. Wherefore we conceive that there is very good reason, why *Thales* should be acquitted from this Accusation of Atheism. Only we shall observe the occasion of his being thus differently represented, which seems to have been this ; Because as *Laertius* and *Themistius* intimate, he left no Philosophick Writings or Monuments of his own behind him, (*Anaximander* being the first of all the Philosophick Writers :) Whence probably it came to pass, that in after times some did interpret his Philosophy one way, some another, and that he is sometimes represented as a Theist, and sometime again as a down-right Atheist.

But though *Thales* be thus by good Authority acquitted, yet his next Successor *Anaximander* can by no means be excused from this Imputation, and therefore we think it more reasonable to fasten that Title upon him, which *Aristotle* bestows on *Thales*, that he was *ἀρχηγός τῆς τοιαύτης φιλοσοφίας*, the Prince and Founder of this Atheistick Philosophy ; who derived all things from Matter, in the way of Forms and Qualities ; he supposing a certain Infinite *Materia Prima*, which was neither Air nor Water nor Fire, but indifferent to every thing, or a mixture of all, to be the only Principle of the Universe, and leading a Train of many other Atheists after him, such as *Hippo* surnamed *ἄθεος*, by *Simplicius* and others, *Anaximines*, and *Diogenes Apolloniates*, and many more ; who though they had some petty Differences amongst themselves, yet all agreed in this one thing, that Matter devoid of Understanding and Life, was the first Principle of all things ; till at length *Anaxagoras* stopt this Atheistick Current, amongst these Ionick Philosophers ; introducing *Mind* as a Principle of the Universe.

X XI. But there is a Passage in *Aristotle's* Physicks, which seems at first sight, to contradict this again ; and to make *Anaximander* also, not to have been an Atheist, but a Divine Philosopher. Where having

having declared that several of the Ancient Physiologers, made *ἄπειρον* or Infinite to be the Principle of all things, he subjoyns these words, *Lib. 3. c. 4.*  
*διὸ καὶ ἀπὸ λέγειν, ὅτι ταύτης ἀρχὴ, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ τῆς ἄλλων εἶναι δοκεῖ. καὶ  
 εὐρέχειν ἅπαντα καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾶν, ὡς φασι ὅσοι μὴ ποῖσσι ἄλλο τὸ ἄπειρον  
 ἄλλας αἰτίας, οἷον νῦν, ἢ φιλίαν. καὶ τὸτο εἶναι τὸ θεῖον, ἀθάνατον γὰρ καὶ  
 ἀνώλεθρον, ὡς ἔφ' φισὶν ὁ Ἀναξίμανδρος καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν φυσιολόγων.* There-  
 fore there seems to be no Principle of this Infinite, but this to be the  
 Principle of other things, and to Contain all things and Govern all  
 things, as they all say who do not make besides Infinite, any other Causes,  
 such as Mind, or Friendship, and that this is the only real Numen or God  
 in the World, it it being Immortal and Incorruptible, as Anaximander  
 affirms, and most of the Physiologers. From which Place some Late  
 Writers have confidently concluded, that Anaximander, with those  
 other Physiologers, there mentioned, did by Infinite, understand  
 God, according to the True Notion of him, or an Infinite Mind, the  
 Efficient Cause of the Universe, and not Senseless and Stupid Matter;  
 since this could not be said to be Immortal and to Govern all things;  
 and consequently, that Aristotle grossly contradicts himself, in mak-  
 ing all those Ionick Philosophers before Anaxagoras, to have been  
 Mere Materialists or Atheists. And it is possible, that Clemens Ale-  
 xandrinus also, might from this very Passage of Aristotle's, not  
 sufficiently considered, have been induced to rank Anaximander, a-  
 mongst the Divine Philosophers, as he doth in his Protreptic to the  
 Greeks; where after he had condemned certain of the old Philoso-  
 phers, as Atheistick Corporealists, he subjoyns these words,\* *τῶν δὲ*  
*ἄλλων φιλοσόφων, ὅσοι τὰ στοιχεῖα ἠσπάζοντες, ἐπολυπραγμονήσαντι τὴν ψυχήν τε  
 καὶ εὐπρότερον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῆς τὸ ἄπειρον καθύμνησαν, ὡν Ἀναξίμανδρος  
 ὁ Μιλήσιος ἦν, καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ Κλαζομηνῆσις, καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀρχέλαος.*  
 But of the other Philosophers, who transcending all the Elements, search-  
 ed after some higher and more excellent thing, some of them praised  
 Infinite, amongst which was Anaximander the Milesian, Anaxagoras  
 the Clazomenian, and the Athenian Archelaus. As if these Three had  
 all alike acknowledged an Incorporeal Deity, and made an Infinite  
 Mind, distinct from Matter, the First Original of all things.

\* Clem. Protr. p. 43.

But that forecited Passage of Aristotle's alone, well consider'd, will it self afford a sufficient Confutation of this Opinion; where Anaximander, with those other Physiologers, is plainly opposed to Anaxagoras, who besides Infinite Senseless Matter, or Similar Atoms, made Mind to be a Principle of the Universe, as also to Empedocles, who made a Plastick Life and Nature, called Friendship, another Principle of the Corporeal World; from whence it plainly follows, that Anaximander and the rest, supposed not Infinite Mind, but Infinite Matter, without either Mind or Plastick Nature, to have been the only Original of all things, and therefore the Only Deity or Numen.

Moreover, Democritus being linked in the Context with Anaximander, as making both of them alike, τὸ ἄπειρον, or Infinite, to be the First Principle of all; it might as well be inferred from this Place, that Democritus was a Genuine Theist, as Anaximander. But as De-

*mocritus* his only Principle, was *Infinite Atoms*, without any thing of *Mind* or *Plastick Nature*; so likewise was *Anaximander's*, an *Infinity* of *Senseless* and *Stupid Matter*; and therefore they were both of them *Atheists* alike, though *Anaximander*, in the cited words, had the Honour (if it may be so called) to be only named, as being the most ancient of all those *Atheistical Physiologers*, and the *Ringleader* of them.

XXII. Neither ought it at all to seem strange, that *Anaximander*, and those other *Atheistical Materialists* should call *Infinite Matter*, devoid of all *Understanding* and *Life*, the τὸ θεῖον, *the Deity* or *Numen*, since to all those who deny a *God*, (according to the true *Notion* of him) whatsoever else they substitute in his room, by making it the *First Principle* of all things, though it be *Senseless* and *Stupid Matter*, yet this must needs be accounted the *Only Numen*, and *Divinest* thing of all.

Nor is it to be wondred at neither, that this *Infinite*, being understood of *Matter*, should be said to be, not only *Incorruptible*, but also *Immortal*, these two being often used as *Synonymous*, and *Equivalent Expressions*. For thus in *Lucretius*, the *Corruption* of all *Inanimate Bodies* is called *Death*,

————— *Mors ejus quod fuit ante* 5

And again,

*Quando aliud ex alio reficit Natura, nec ullam  
Rem Gigni patitur, nisi Morte adjutam alienâ.*

In like manner *Mortal* is used by him for *Corruptible*,

*Nam siquid Mortale à cunctis partibus esset,  
Ex oculis res quæque repente erepta periret.*

And this kind of *Language* was very familiar with *Heraclitus*, as appears from these *Passages* of his, πῦρ δὲ θάνατος, ἀέρι γένεσις· ἢ ἀέρος θάνατος, ὕδατι γένεσις· *The Death of Fire, is Generation to Air; and the Death of Air, is Generation to Water*, that is, the *Corruption* of them. And again, ψυχῆσιν θάνατος, ὕδαρ γένεσθαι ὕδατι ἢ θάνατος, γῆν γένεσθαι· *It is Death to Vapour or Air, to be made Water; and Death to Water, to be made Earth*. In which *Heraclitus* did but imitate *Orpheus*, as appears from this *Verse* of his, cited by *Clemens Alexand.*

\* Ἔστιν ὕδαρ ψυχῆ, θάνατος δ' ὕδατος ἀεροσθῆ.

Besides which, there are many *Examples* of this use of the word ἀθάνατος, in other *Greek Writers*, and some in *Aristotle* himself, who speaking of the *Heavens*, attributes ἀθανασία and αἰδιότης to them,

as one and the same thing: as also affirms, that the Ancients therefore made Heaven to be the Seat of the Deity, *ὡς οὐρανὸν μόνον ἀθάνατον*, as being only Immortal, that is Incorruptible.

Indeed that other Expression, at first sight, would stagger one more, where it is said of this ἀπειρον, or Infinite, that it doth not only Contain, but also Govern all things; but *Simplicius* tells us, that this is to be understood likewise of Matter, and that no more was meant by it, than that all things were derived from it, and depended on it, as the First Principle; *ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῖς ποῖστοις ὡς τῆς φυσικῶν ἀρχῶν ἀμ' ἐξὶ ὡς τῆς ὑπερφύσης, εἰ δὲ ἐξ ὡς ἐλέχθη ἔλεγον ἐκ κωβερῶν ἔθεν θαυμαστον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐλέχθη ὑπέρχη τὰ ὑλικῶς αἰτία, ὡς διὰ πολλῶν χωρῶν, τὸ δὲ κωβερῶν ὡς ἐπὶ τῶ ἐπιτηδότητα αὐτῶ, τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶ γνομῶν.* These Philosophers spake only of natural Principles, and not of Supernatural; and though they say, that this Infinite of theirs, does both Contain and Govern all things, yet this is not at all to be wondered at; forasmuch as Containing belongs to the Material Cause, as that which goes through all things, and likewise Governing, as that from which all things, according to a certain aptitude of it, are made. *Philoponus* (who was a Christian) represents *Aristotle's* sence in this whole place more fully, after this manner. Those of the ancient Physiologers who had no respect to any Active Efficient Cause, as *Anaxagoras* had to Mind, and *Empedocles* to Friendship and Contention, supposed Matter to be the only Cause of all things, and that it was Infinite in Magnitude, Ingenerable and Incorruptible, esteeming it to be a certain Divine thing, which did Govern all, or preside over the Compages of the Universe, and to be Immortal, that is, Undestroyable. This *Anaximenes* said to be Air, *Thales* to be Water, but *Anaximander*, a certain Middle thing; some one thing, and some another. *Καὶ ἔθεντα θαυμαστον φησιν, ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς ὁδῶ τῶς πρώτης μὴ ἐπισκοπίας τῆ ἐφεσκήα τῆ ὄλων δυνάμει, ἐν τῆς στοιχείων, ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ ἄθεν ἕκαστος, αἰτίων τοῖς ἄλλοις τε εἶναι, τῶτο δὲ οὐδὲ θεὸν ὑπονοῦσαι.* And *Aristotle* in this Passage, tells us, that it is no wonder, if they who did not attend to the Active Cause, that presides over the Universe, did look upon some one of the Elements (that which each of them thought to be the Cause of all other things) as God. But as they considering only the Material Principle, conceived that to be the Cause of all things; so *Anaxagoras* supposed Mind to be the Principle of all things, and *Empedocles* Friendship and Contention.

**XXIII.** But to make it further appear, that *Anaximander's* Philosophy was purely Atheistical; we think it convenient to shew what account is given of it by other Writers. *Plutarch* in his *Placita Philosophorum*, does at once briefly represent the *Anaximandrian* Philosophy, and Censure it after this manner. *Ἀναξίμανδρος φησὶ, τῆ Lib. I. c. 3* οὐρανὸν τῶ ἀρχῶ εἶναι τὸ ἀπειρον, ἐκ γὰρ τότε πάντα γίνεσθαι, ἐκ εἰς τῶτο πάντα φθέρεσθαι, διὸ ἐκ γεννάσθαι ἀπειρος κόσμος, ἐκ πάλιν φθέρεσθαι. λέγει ἔν δια τί ἀπειρὸν ὄσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλείπη ἡ γένεσις ἢ ὑφισταμένη ἀμαρτάνει δὲ ἔστις, τῶ μὲν ὕλῃ ἀποφανόμενον, τὸ δὲ ποῖσιν αἰτίων ἀναρῶν, τὸ δὲ ἀπειρον ἔθεν ἄλλο, ἢ ὕλῃ ἔσθιν ἔδυναται ἢ ἢ ὕλῃ εἶναι ἐτέργει, ἐάν μὴ τὸ ποῖσιν ὑποκρίνται. *Anaximander the Milesian affirms, Infinite to be the First Principle. And that all things are Generated out of it, and Corrupted again into it, and therefore*

therefore that Infinite Worlds, are successively thus Generated and Corrupted. And he gives the reason why it is Infinite, that so there might be never any Fail of Generations. But he erreth in this, that assigning only a Material Cause, he takes away the Active Principle of things. For Anaximander's Infinite, is nothing else but matter; but Matter can produce nothing, unless there be also an Active Cause. Where he shews also, how Anaximenes followed Anaximander herein, in assigning only a Material Cause of the Universe, without any Efficient; though he differed from him, in making the First Matter to be Air, and deriving all things from thence, by Rarefaction and Condensation. Thus, we see, it is plain, that Anaximander's Infinite, was no Infinite Mind, which is the true Deity, but only Infinite Matter, devoid of any Life or Active Power. Eusebius is more particular in giving an account of Anaximander's *Cosmopœia*. τὸ ἄπειρον φάναι τὴν πᾶσαν αἰτίαν ἔχειν ἢ τὸ πᾶν γένεσός τε καὶ φθορᾶς, ἐξ ὧς τὸς τε ἕρανους ἀποκεκελεύσθαι, καὶ καθόλου τὸς ἀπείρας ἀπείρας ὄντας κόσμους φησὶ ἢ τὸ ἐκ τῆς αἰδίδος, γόνιμον θερμὸς τε καὶ ψυχρὸς, καὶ τὴν γένεσιν τῶδε τῶ κόσμου ἀποκεκελεύσθαι, καὶ τινὰ ἐκ τῆς φλογὸς σφαιρῆσαι, ἀποκεκελεύσθαι τὰς ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν ἀέρι, ὡς τὰ δένδρα φλοιῶν. ἢς τινὸς ἀπορραγείσης, καὶ εἰς τινὰς ἀποκλεισθείσης κύκλους, ὑποσῆναι τὸ ἥλιον, καὶ τὴν σελήνην, καὶ τὸς ἀστέρους. Anaximander affirms, Infinite (Matter) to be the only Cause of the Generation and Corruption of all things. And that the Heavens, and Infinite Worlds, were made out of it, by way of Secretion or Segregation. Also that those Generative Principles of Heat and Cold, that were contained in it from Eternity, being Segregated, when this World was made, a certain Sphere of Flame or Fire, did first arise and encompass the Air, which surrounds this Earth, (as a Bark doth a Tree) which being afterwards broken, and divided into smaller Spherical Bodies, constituted the Sun and Moon and all the Stars. Which Anaximandrian *Cosmopœia*, was briefly hinted by Aristotle in these words, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐνός, ἐξίστας τὰς ἐναντιότητάς, ἐκκεκέντησαν, ὡς ἀπὸ Ἀναξίμανδρος φησὶ. Some Philosophers Generate the World, by the Secretion and Segregation of inconsistent Contrarieties, as Anaximander speaks. And elsewhere in his *Metaphysics*, he takes notice of Ἀναξίμανδρος τὸ μίγμα, Anaximander's Mixture of things. Whence we conclude, that Anaximander's Infinite, was nothing else but an Infinite Chaos of Matter, in which were either Actually, or Potentially, contained all manner of Qualities; by the Fortuitous Secretion and Segregation of which, he supposed Infinite Worlds to be successively Generated and Corrupted. So that we may now easily guess, whence *Leucippus* and *Democritus* had their Infinite Worlds, and perceive how near a kin, these two Atheistick Hypotheses were. But it will not be amiss to take notice also of that Particular Conceit, which Anaximander had, concerning the First Original of Brute Animals, and Mankind. Of the Former *Plutarch* gives us this account; Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐν ὑγρῷ γεννηθῆναι τὰ πρῶτα ζῷα, φλοιῶν ἀπὸ κελύφης ἀκανθῶδες, περιβαίνοντες ἢ τὴν ἡλικίας, ἀποβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρῶδες, καὶ ἀπορραγῆναι τὸ φλοιῶν, ἐπὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον μεταβῆναι. That the First Animals were generated in Moisture, and encompass'd about with certain Thorny Barks, by which they were guarded and defended, which after further growth, coming to be more Dry and Cracking, they issued forth, but lived only a short time after. And as for the first Original of Men, Eusebius represents

*Eu. Prap.*  
*Lib. 1. p. 15.*  
*Ed. Steph.*

*Phys. L. 1. c. 4.*

*L. 1. c. 4.*

*Plu. Ph. 1. 5. c. 19.*

represents

represents his Sence, thus: *Ἐξ ἀλλοειδῶν ζώων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγενήθη, ἐν τῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δι' ἑαυτῶν ταχὺ νέμεσθαι, μόνον δὲ τὸ ἄνθρωπον πολυχροῖς θείσθαι τινύσεως, διὸ καὶ κατ' ἀρχῆς ἐν ἄνθρωπῳ τοῖστον ὄντα διασωθῆναι.* *Men were at first generated in the Bellies of other Animals, forasmuch as all other Animals, after they are brought forth, are quickly able to feed and nourish themselves, but Man alone needs to be nursed up a long time; and therefore could not be preserved at first, in any other way. But Plutarch expresseth this something more particularly. Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐν ἰχθύσιν ἐγένεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπου ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ τραφέσθαι καὶ γενεῶν ἰκανὸς ἑαυτοῖς θοῦσθαι, ἐκελθῆναι τινικαῦτα καὶ γῆς λαβέσθαι.* *Anaximander concludes that Men were at first Generated in the Bellies of Fishes, and being there nourished, till they grew strong, and were able to subsist for themselves, they were afterward cast out upon Dry Land. Lastly, Anaximander's Theology, is thus both represented to us, and censured, by Velleius the Epicurean Philosopher in Cicero. Anaximandri opinio est Nativos esse Deos, longis Intervallis Orientis Occidentisque, eosque innumerabiles esse Mundos, sed nos Deum nisi Sempiternum intelligere quæ possumus? Anaximander's Opinion is, that the Gods are Native, rising and vanishing again, in long Periods of times; and that these Gods are Innumerable Worlds; but how can we conceive that to be a God, which is not Eternal? We learn from hence, that Anaximander did indeed so far comply with Vulgar Opinion, as that he retained the Name of Gods, but however that he really denied the Existence of the thing it self, even according to the judgment of this Epicurean Philosopher. Forasmuch as all his Gods were Native and Mortal, and indeed nothing else, but those Innumerable Worlds, which he supposed in certain Periods of Time, to be successively Generated and Destroyed. Wherefore it is plain, that Anaximander's only Real Numen, that is, his First Principle, that was Ingenerable and Incorruptible, was nothing but Infinite Matter, devoid of all Understanding and Life, by the Fortuitous Secretion of whose inexistant Qualities and Parts, he supposed, First, the Elements of Earth, Water, Air and Fire, and then, the Bodies of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and both Bodies and Souls of men and other Animals, and lastly, Innumerable or Infinite such Worlds as these, as so many Secondary and Native Gods, (that were also Mortal) to have been Generated, according to that Atheistical Hypothesis described in Plato.*

X XI V. It is certain that the Vulgar in all Ages have been very ill Judges of Theists and Atheists, they having condemned many hearty Theists, as guilty of Atheism, merely because they dissented from them, in some of their Superstitious Rites and Opinions. As for example; *Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian, though he was the first of all the Ionick Philosophers, (unless *Thales* ought to be excepted) who made an Infinite Mind to be a Principle, that is, asserted a Deity, according to the true Notion of it, yet he was notwithstanding, generally cried down for an Atheist, merely because he affirmed the Sun to be *μὲν δ' ἑὸν διάπυρον, a Mass of Fire, or a Fiery Globe, and the Moon to be an Earth, that is, because he denied them to be Animated and endued with Understanding Souls, and consequently to be Gods.* So likewise *Socrates* was both accused, and condemned, for Atheistical

E. P. 1. 1.

Symp. lib. 8. 2. 8.

De Nat. D. Lib. 1.

Plat. Apot. Socr.

cal

Plat. Apol.

cal Impiety, as denying all Gods, though nothing was pretended to be proved against him, but only this, that he did *θεὸς διδάσκον μὴ νομίζειν, ἔς ἢ πόλις νομίζει, ἕτερον δὲ δαιμόνια κακὰ εἰσφέρειν*, Teach that those were not true Gods which the City worshipt, and in the room thereof introduce other new Gods. And lastly, the Christians in the Primitive times, for the same reason, were vulgarly traduced for Atheists, by the Pagans, as *Justin Martyr* declares in his Apology, *ἀθεοὶ καλεῖσθαι, καὶ ὁμολογεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἀθεοὶ εἶναι*, We are called Atheists, and we confess our selves such, in respect of those Gods which they worship, but not of the true God. And as the Vulgar have unjustly condemned many *Theists* for Atheists, so have they also acquitted many *Rank Atheists* from the Guilt of that Crime, merely because they externally complied with them, in their Religious Worship, and Forms of Speech. Neither is it only the Vulgar that have been imposed upon herein, but also the Generality of Learned men, who have been commonly so superficial in this business, as that they have hardly taken notice of above three or four Atheists that ever were in former times, as namely, *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Euemerus*, and *Protagoras*; whereas *Democritus* and *Anaximander*, were as rank Atheists, as any of them all, though they had the wit to carry themselves externally, with more Cautiousness. And indeed it was really one and the self-same Form of Atheism, which both these entertained, they deriving all things alike, from *Dead and Stupid Matter Fortuitously Moved*, the Difference between them being only this, that they managed it two different ways; *Anaximander* in the way of *Qualities and Forms*, which is the more Vulgar and Obvious kind of Atheism; but *Democritus* in the way of *Atoms and Figures*, which seems to be a more learned kind of Atheism.

And though we do not doubt at all, but that *Plato*, in his *Tenth De Legibus*, where he attacks Atheism, did intend the Confutation as well of the *Democritick* as the *Anaximandrian* Atheism; yet whether it were, because he had no mind to take any notice at all of *Democritus*, who is not so much as once mentioned by him any where, or else because he was not so perfectly acquainted with that Atomick way of Physiologizing, certain it is, that he there describes the Atheistick Hypothesis more according to the *Anaximandrian* than the *Democritick* Form. For when he represents the Atheistick Generation of Heaven and Earth, and all things in them, as resulting from the Fortuitous Commixture of Hot and Cold, Hard and Soft, Moist and Dry *Corpuscula*; this is clearly more agreeable with the *Anaximandrian* Generation of the World, by the Secretion of Inexistent Contrarieties in the Matter, than the *Democritick Cosmopœia*, by the Fortuitous Concourse of Atoms, devoid of all manner of Qualities and Forms.

Some indeed seem to call that Scheme of Atheism, that deduces all things from Matter, in the way of Qualities and Forms, by the name of *Peripatetick* or *Aristotelick Atheism*; we suppose for this reason, because *Aristotle* Physiologized in that way of Forms and Qualities, educing them out of the Power of the Matter. But since *Aristotle* himself

himself cannot be justly Taxed for an Atheist, this Form of Atheism ought rather, as we conceive, to be denominated from *Anaximander*, and called the *Anaximandrian Atheism*.

XXV. Now the Reasons why *Democritus* and *Leucippus* New-modelled Atheism, from the *Anaximandrian* and *Hylopathian*, into the *Atomick Form*, seem to have been chiefly these; First, because, they being well instructed in that Atomick way of Physiologizing, were really convinced, that it was not only more Ingenious, but also more agreeable to Truth; the other by Real Qualities and Forms, seeming a thing Unintelligible. Secondly, because they foresaw, as *Lucretius* intimates, that the Production of Forms and Qualities out of Nothing, and the Corruption of them again into Nothing, would prepare an Easie way, for mens Belief of a *Divine Creation* and *Annihilation*. And lastly, because, as we have already suggested, they plainly perceived, that these *Forms* and *Qualities of Matter* were of a doubtful Nature, and therefore, as they were sometimes made a shelter for Atheism, so they might also prove, on the contrary, an *Asylum* for Corporeal Theism; in that it might possibly be supposed, that either the *Matter* of the whole World, or else the more Subtle and Fiery Part of it, was Originally endued with an Understanding Form or Quality, and consequently the Whole an *Animal* or *God*. Wherefore they took another more Effectual Course, to secure their Atheism, and exclude all Possibility of a Corporeal God, by deriving the Original of all things from Atoms, devoid of all Forms and Qualities, and having nothing in them, but Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, as the First Principles; it following unavoidably from thence, that *Life* and *Understanding*, as well as those other Qualities, could be only *Accidental* and *Secondary* Results from certain Fortuitous *Concretions* and *Contextures of Atoms*; so that the World could be made by no Previous Counsel or Understanding, and therefore by no Deity.

XXVI. We have here represented, Three several Forms of Atheism, the *Anaximandrian*, the *Democritical* and the *Stratonical*. But there is yet another Form of Atheism, different from them all, to be taken notice of, which is such, as supposes one kind of *Plastick* and *Spermatick*, *Methodical* and *Artificial* Nature, but without any Sense or Conscious Understanding, to preside over the whole World, and dispose and conserve all things, in that Regular Frame in which they are. Such a Form of Atheism as this, is hinted to us in that doubtful Passage of *Seneca's*; *Sive Animal est Mundus*, (for so it ought to be read, and not *Anima*) *Sive Corpus Naturâ Gubernante, ut Arbores, ut Sata*; *Whether the whole World be an Animal* (i. e. endued with one *Sentient and Rational Life*) *or whether it be only a Body Governed, by (a certain Plastick and Methodical, but Senseless) Nature, as Trees, and other Plants or Vegetables*. In which words are two several *Hypotheses*, of the Mundane System, Sceptically proposed, by one who was a Corporealist, and took it for granted that all was Body. First, that the whole World, though having nothing but Body in it, yet was notwithstanding an *Animal*, as our Humane Bodies are, endued with one *Sentient*

*XXVI. Quest. 1. 3. Sect. 29.*

ent or Rational Life and Nature, one Soul or Mind, governing and ordering the Whole. Which Corporeal Cosmo-zoism we do not reckon amongst the Forms of Atheism, but rather account it for a kind of Spurious Theism, or Theism disguised in a Paganick Dress, and not without a Complication of many false apprehensions, concerning the Deity, in it. The Second is, that the whole World is no Animal, but as it were, one Huge Plant or Vegetable, a Body endued with one Plastick or Spermatick Nature, branching out the whole, Orderly and Methodically, but without any Understanding or Sense. And this must needs be accounted a Form of Atheism, because it does not derive the Original of things in the Universe, from any clearly Intellectual Principle or Conscious Nature.

XXVII. Now this Form of Atheism which supposes the Whole World (there being nothing but Body in it) not to be an Animal, but only a Great Plant or Vegetable, having one Spermatick Form, or Plastick Nature, which without any Conscious Reason or Understanding, orders the whole, though it have some nearer Correspondence with that Hylozoick Form of Atheism before described, in that it does not suppose Nature to be a mere Fortuitous, but a kind of Artificial thing; yet it differs from it in this, that the Hylozoick supposing all Matter, as such, to have Life, Essentially belonging to it, must therefore needs attribute to every part of Matter (or at least every Particular Totum, that is one by Continuity) a Distinct Plastick Life of its own, but acknowledge no one Common Life, as ruling over the whole Corporeal Universe, and consequently impute the Original of all things (as hath been already observed) to a certain Mixture of Chance, and Plastick or Methodical Nature, both together. Whereas the Cosmo-plastick Atheism, quite excludes Fortune or Chance, subjecting all things to the Regular and Orderly Fate, of one Plastick or Plantal Nature, ruling over the Whole. Thus that Philosopher before mentioned concludes, that whether the World were an Animal (in the Stoical sense) or whether it were a mere Plant or Vegetable, *Ab initio ejus usque ad exitum, quicquid facere, quicquid pati debeat, inclusum est. Ut in Semine, omnis futuri ratio hominis comprehensa est. Et Legem Barbæ & Canorum, nondum natus Infans habet. Totius enim Corporis, & sequentis ætatis, in parvo occultoque, Lineamenta sunt. Sic Origo Mundi, non magis Solem & Lunam, & Vices Syderum, & Animalium Ortus, quàm quibus mutarentur Terrena, continuit. In his fuit Inundatio, quæ non secus quàm Hyems, quàm Æstas, Lege Mundi venit. Whatsoever, from the beginning to the end of it, it can either Do or Suffer, it was all at first included in the Nature of the whole; As in the Seed is contained the Whole Delineation of the Future man, and the Embryo or Unborn infant, hath already in it, the Law of a Beard and Gray Hairs. The Lineaments of the whole Body, and of its following age, being there described as it were in a little and obscure Compendium. In like manner, the Original and First Rudiments of the World, contained in them, not only the Sun and Moon, the Courses of the Stars, and the Generations of Animals, but also the Vicissitudes of all Terrestrial things. And every Deluge or Inundation of Water, comes to pass no less, by the Law of the World (its Spermatick or Plastick Nature) than Winter and Summer doth.*

Nat. Q. 1.3.  
629.

XXVIII. We

XXVIII. We do not deny it to be possible, but that some in all Ages might have entertained such an Atheistical Conceit as this, That the Original of this whole Mundane System was from one *Artificial, Orderly and Methodical, but senseless Nature* lodged in the Matter; but we cannot trace the footsteps of this Doctrine any where, so much as among the Stoicks, to which Sect *Seneca*, who speaks so waveringly and uncertainly in this point, (Whether the World were an *Animal* or a *Plant*) belonged. And indeed diverse learned men have suspected, that even the *Zenonian* and *Heraclitick Deity* it self, was no other than such a *Plastick Nature* or *Spermatick Principle* in the Universe, as in the *Seeds of Vegetables and Animals*, doth frame their respective Bodies, *Orderly and Artificially*. Nor can it be denied, but that there hath been just cause given for such a suspicion; forasmuch as the best of the *Stoicks*, sometimes confounding *God* with *Nature*, seemed to make him nothing but an *Artificial Fire, Orderly and Methodically proceeding to Generation*. And it was Familiar with them, as *Laertius* tells us, to call God  $\sigma\omega\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\nu\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu\ \tau\tilde{\epsilon}\ \kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , the *Spermatick Reason* or *Form of the World*. Nevertheless, because *Zeno* and others of the chief Stoical Doctors, did also many times assert, that there was  $\phi\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\sigma\epsilon\theta\iota\ \eta\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\kappa\eta$ , a *Rational and Intellectual Nature* (and therefore not a *Plastick Principle* only) in the *Matter* of the Universe; as likewise that the whole World was an *Animal*, and not a mere *Plant*: Therefore we incline rather, to excuse the generality of the first and most ancient Stoicks from the imputation of Atheism, and to account this Form of Atheism which we now speak of, to be but a certain Degeneracy from the right *Heraclitick* and *Zenonian Cabala*, which seemed to contain these two things in it; First, that there was an *Animalish, Sentient and Intellectual Nature*, or a *Conscious Soul and Mind*, that presided over the whole World, though lodged immediately in the *Fiery Matter* of it; Secondly, that this *Sentient and Intellectual Nature*, or *Corporeal Soul and Mind* of the Universe, did contain also under it, or within it, as the inferiour part of it, a certain *Plastick Nature* or *Spermatick Principle* which was properly the *Fate of all things*. For thus *Heraclitus* defined Fate  $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu\ \tau\tilde{\epsilon}\ \delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\tilde{\epsilon}\ \sigma\tilde{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\tilde{\epsilon}\ \pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu\alpha$ , *η αιθερειον σωματα σπειρμα τ τ τ παυλδς γενεσεως*; A certain *Reason passing through the Substance of the whole World, or an Ethereal Body, that was the Seed of the Generation of the Universe*. And *Zeno's* first Principle, as it is said to be an *Intellectual Nature*, so it is also said, to have contained in it  $\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \sigma\omega\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma\ \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\theta\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\theta\ \epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\omega\ \gamma\iota\gamma\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$ , *All the Spermatick Reasons and forms, by which every thing is done according to Fate*. However, though this seem to have been the genuine Doctrine, both of *Heraclitus* and *Zeno*; yet others of their Followers afterwards, divided these two things from one another, and taking only the latter of them, made the *Plastick* or *Spermatick Nature*, devoid of all *Animality* or *Conscious Intellectuality*, to be the highest Principle in the Universe. Thus *Laertius* tells us, that *Boethus*, an eminent and famous Stoical Doctor did plainly deny the World to be an *Animal*, that is, to have any *Sentient, Conscious or Intellectual Nature* presiding over it, and consequently must needs make it to be but *Corpus Naturà gubernante, ut Arbores, ut Sata, A Body govern-*

ed by a *Plastick* or *Vegetative Nature*, as *Trees, Plants and Herbs*. And as it is possible that other *Stoicks* and *Heracliticks*, might have done the like before *Boethus*, so it is very probable that he had after him many Followers; amongst which, as *Plinius Secundus* may be reckoned for one, so *Seneca* himself was not without a doubtful Tincture of this *Atheism*, as hath been already shewed. Wherefore this *Form of Atheism*, which supposes one *Plastick* or *Spermatick Nature*, one *Plantal* or *Vegetative Life* in the whole World, as the *Highest Principle*, may, for distinction sake, be called the *Pseudo-Stoical* or *Stoical Atheism*.

XXIX. Besides these *Philosophick Atheists*, whose several Forms we have now described, it cannot be doubted, but that there have been in all Ages many other *Atheists* that have not at all *Philosophized*, nor pretended to maintain any particular *Atheistick System* or *Hypothesis*, in a way of Reason, but were only led by a certain dull and sottish, though confident, *Disbelief* of whatsoever they could not either See or Feel: Which kind of *Atheists* may therefore well be accompted *Enthusiastical* or *Fanatical Atheists*. Though it be true in the mean time, that even all manner of *Atheists* whatsoever, and those of them who most of all pretend to Reason and Philosophy, may in some sence be justly stiled also both *Enthusiasts* and *Fanaticks*. Forasmuch as they are not led or carried on, into this way of *Atheizing*, by any clear Dictates of their Reason or Understanding, but only by an  $\sigma\epsilon\mu\eta\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , a certain *Blind and Irrational Impetus*, they being as it were *Inspired* to it, by that lower *Earthly Life* and *Nature*, which is called in the Scripture-oracles  $\tau\omicron\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\ \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , the *Spirit of the World*, or a *Mundane Spirit*, and is opposed to the  $\tau\omicron\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\ \epsilon\alpha\ \tau\omicron\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , the *Spirit that is of God*. For when the Apostle speaks after this manner, *We have not received the Spirit of the World, but the Spirit that is of God*, he seems to intimate thus much unto us; That as some men were Led and *Inspired* by a *Divine Spirit*, so others again are *Inspired* by a *Mundane Spirit*, by which is meant the *Earthly Life*. Now the former of these Two, are not to be accompted *Enthusiasts*, as the word is now commonly taken in a Bad Sence, because the *Spirit of God* is no *Irrational thing*, but either the very self same thing with *Reason*, or else such a thing as *Aristotle* (as it were *Vaticinating* concerning it) somewhere calls  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ , a certain *Better and Diviner thing than Reason*, and *Plotinus*  $\epsilon\iota\zeta\omicron\nu\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , the *Root of Reason*. But on the contrary, the *Mundane Spirit*, or *Earthly Life*, is *Irrational Sottishness*; and they who are *Atheistically Inspired* by it (how abhorrent soever they may otherwise seem to be from *Enthusiasm* and *Revelations*) are notwithstanding really no better, than a kind of *Bewitched Enthusiasts* and *Blind Spiritati*, that are wholly ridden and acted by a dark, narrow and captivated Principle of Life, and, to use their own Language, *In-blown* by it, and by it bereft, even in *Speculative things*, of all *Free Reason* and *Understanding*. Nay they are *Fanaticks* too, however that word seem to have a more peculiar respect to something of a *Deity*: All *Atheists* being that *Blind Goddeß, Natures Fanaticks*.

XXX. We have described four several Forms of *Atheism*; First, the

the *Hylopathian* or *Anaximandrian*, that derives all things from Dead and Stupid Matter in the way of *Qualities and Forms*, Generable and Corruptible : Secondly, the *Atomical* or *Democritical*, which doth the same thing in the way of *Atoms and Figures* : Thirdly, the *Cosmoplastic* or *Stoical Atheism*, which supposes one *Plastick and Methodical* but *Senseless Nature*, to preside over the whole Corporeal Universe : And lastly, the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical*, that attributes to all Matter, as such, a certain *Living and Energetick Nature*, but devoid of all *Animality, Sense and Consciousness*. And as we do not meet with any other *Forms or Schemes of Atheism*, besides these *Four*, so we conceive that there cannot easily be any other excogitated or devised : and that upon these two following Considerations. First, because all *Atheists* are mere *Corporealists*, that is, acknowledge no other *Substance* besides *Body or Matter*. For as there was never any yet known, who asserting *Incorporeal Substance*, did deny a *Deity* ; so neither can there be any reason, why he that admits the former should exclude the latter. Again, the same Dull and Earthly Disbelief or confounded Sottishness of Mind, which makes men deny a *God*, must needs incline them to deny all *Incorporeal Substance* also. Wherefore as the Physicians speak of a certain *Disease or Madness*, called *Hydrophobia*, the *Symptome of those that have been bitten by a mad Dog*, which makes them have a monstrous Antipathy to Water ; so all *Atheists* are possessed with a certain kind of *Madness*, that may be called *Pneumatophobia*, that makes them have an irrational but desperate Abhorrence from *Spirits or Incorporeal Substances*, they being acted also, at the same time, with an *Hylomania*, whereby they *Madly dote upon Matter*, and *Devoutly worship it*, as the only *Numen*.

The Second Consideration is this, because as there are no *Atheists* but such as are mere *Corporealists*, so all *Corporealists* are not to be accounted *Atheists* neither : Those of them, who notwithstanding they make all things to be Matter, yet suppose an *Intellectual Nature* in that Matter, to preside over the Corporeal Universe, being in Reason and Charity to be exempted out of that number. And there have been always some, who though so strongly captivated under the power of gross Imagination, as that an *Incorporeal God* seemed to them, to be nothing but a *God of Words* (as some of them call it) a mere Empty Sound or Contradictious Expression, Something and Nothing put together ; yet notwithstanding, they have been possessed with a firm belief and persuasion of a *Deity*, or that the System of the Universe depends upon one Perfect Understanding Being as the Head of it ; and thereupon have concluded that ὅλη πᾶς ἔχουσα, a certain kind of *Body or Matter*, is *God*. The grossest and most sottish of all which Corporeal Theists, seem to be those, who contend that *God* is only one particular Piece of Organized Matter, of Humane Form and Bigness, which endued with Perfect Reason and Understanding, exerciseth an Universal Dominion over all the rest. Which *Hypothesis*, however it hath been entertained by some of the Christian Profession, both in former and later times, yet it hath seemed very ridiculous, even to many of those Heathen Philosophers themselves, who were mere *Corporealists*, such as the *Stoicks*, who exploded it with a kind of Indig-

nation, contending earnestly *μη ειναι θεον ανθρωπομορφον*, That *God* (though *Corporeal*) yet must not be *conceived* to be of any *Humane Shape*. And *Xenophanes*, an Ancient Philosophick Poet, expresseth the *Childishness* of this *Conceit* after this manner;

Ἄλλ' εἴποι χεῖρας γ' ἔχον βόες ἢε λέοντες,  
ἢ γράσει χεῖρασι, ἢ ἔργα τελεῖν ἀπὸ ἀνδρες,  
καὶ καθεῶν ἰδίας ἔγραφον, ἢ σώματ' ἐποίησαν  
τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ ἢ αὐτοὶ δέμας ἔχον ὁμοῖον.

If *Oxen*, *Lions*, *Horses* and *Asses*, had all of them a *Sense* of a *Deity*, and were able to *Limn* and *Paint*, there is no *question* to be made, but that each of these several *Animals* would *paint* *God* according to their respective *Form* & *Likeness*, and contend that he was of that *shape* & no other. But that other *Corporeal Theism*, seems to be of the two, rather more *Generous* and *Gentile*, which supposes the whole *World* to be one *Animal*, and *God* to be a certain *Subtle* and *Etherial*, but *Intellectual Matter*, pervading it as a *Soul*; which was the *Doctrine* of others before the *Stoicks*, τὸ πῦρ θεὸν ὑπελήφατον Ἴππασοῦς τε ὁ μεταπόντινος ἢ ὁ ἐφεσίος Ἡρακλειτῆς, *Hippasus* of *Metapontus* and *Heraclitus* the *Ephesian* supposed the *Fiercy* and *Etherial Matter* of the *World* to be *God*. However, neither these *Heracliticks* and *Stoicks*, nor yet the other *Anthropomorphites*, are by us condemned for downright *Atheists*, but rather look'd upon as a sort of *Ignorant*, *Childish* and *Unskilful Theists*.

Wherefore we see that *Atheists* are now reduced into a narrow *Compass*, since none are concluded to be *Atheists*, but such as are mere *Corporealists*, and all *Corporealists* must not be condemned for *Atheists* neither, but only those of them who assert, that there is no *Conscious Intellectual Nature*, presiding over the whole *Universe*. For this is that which the *Adepti* in *Atheism*, of what *Form* soever, all agree in, That the first *Principle* of the *Universe*, is no *Animalish*, *Sentient* and *Conscious Nature*, but that all *Animality*, *Sense* and *Consciousness*, is a *Secondary*, *Derivative* and *Accidental thing*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, arising out of particular *Concretions* of *Matter* organized and dissolved together with them.

XXXI. Now if the *First Principle* and *Original* of all things in the *Universe*, be thus supposed to be *Body* or *Matter*, devoid of all *Animality*, *Sense* and *Consciousness*, then it must of necessity be either perfectly *Dead* and *Stupid*, and without all manner of *Life*, or else endued with such a kind of *Life* only, as is by some called *Plastick*, *Spermatick* and *Vegetative*, by others the *Life of Nature*, or *Natural Perception*. And those *Atheists* who derive all things from *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, must also needs do this, either in the way of *Qualities* and *Forms*, and these are the *Anaximandrian Atheists*; or else in the way of *Atoms* and *Figures*, which are the *Democritical*. But those who make *Matter* endued with a *Plastick Life*, to be the first *Original* of all things, must needs suppose either *One such Plastick* and *Spermatick Life* only, in the whole *Mass* of *Matter* or *Corporeal Universe*, which are the *Stoical Atheists*; or else *all Matter* as such to have

have *Life* and an *Energetick Nature* belonging to it (though without any *Animal Sense* or *Self-perception*) and consequently all the Particular Parts of *Matter*, and every *Totum* by *Continuity*, to have a distinct *Plastick Life* of its own, which are the *Stratonick Atheists*. Wherefore there does not seem to be any room now left, for any other *Form* of *Atheism*, besides these *Four*, to thrust in.

And we think fit here again to inculcate, what hath been already intimated, That one Grand *Difference* amongst these several *Forms* of *Atheism* is this, That some of them attributing no *Life* at all to *Matter*, as such, nor indeed acknowledging any *Plastick Life* of Nature, distinct from the *Animal*, and supposing every thing whatsoever is in the world, besides ἄλη ἀπειρος, the bare Substance of *Matter* considered as devoid of all *Qualities*, (that is, mere *extended Bulk*) to be *Generated* and *Corrupted*, consequently resolve, that all manner of *Life* whatsoever is *Generable* and *Corruptible*, or *educible out of Nothing* and *reducible to Nothing* again, and these are the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheisms*. But the other, which are the *Stoical* and *Stratonical*, do on the contrary suppose some *Life* to be *Fundamental* and *Original*, *Essential* and *Substantial*, *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, as being a *First Principle* of things. Nevertheless, this not to be any *Animal*, *Conscious* and *Self-perceptive Life*, but a *Plastick Life* of Nature only; all *Atheists* still agreeing in those Two forementioned Things; First, that there is no other *Substance* in the World besides *Body*; Secondly, that all *Animal Life*, *Sense* and *Self-perception*, *Conscious Understanding* and *Personality* are *Generated* and *Corrupted*, successively *Educed* out of *Nothing* and *Reduced into Nothing* again.

XXXII. Indeed we are not ignorant, that some, who seem to be Well-wishers to *Atheism*, have talk'd sometimes of *Sensitive* and *Rational Matter*, as having a mind to suppose, *Three* several sorts of *Matter* in the Universe, Specifically different from one another, that were Originally such, and Self-existent from *Eternity*; namely *Sensless*, *Sensitive* and *Rational*: As if the *Mundane System* might be conceived to arise, from a certain Jumble of these *Three several sorts* of *Matter*, as it were scuffling together in the Dark, without a *God*, and so producing *Brute Animals* and *Men*. But as this is a mere *Precarious Hypothesis*, there being no imaginable account to be given, how there should come to be such an *Essential Difference* betwixt *Matters*, or why this Piece of *Matter* should be *Sensitive*, and that *Rational*, when another is altogether *Sensless*; so the Suggestors of it are but mere *Novices in Atheism*, and a kind of Bungling *Well-wishers* to it. First, because, according to this *Hypothesis*, no *Life* would be Produced or Destroyed in the successive *Generations* and *Corruptions* of *Animals*, but only *Concreted* and *Secreted* in them; and consequently all humane *Personalities* must be *Eternal* and *Incorruptible*: Which is all one, as to assert the *Præ* and *Post-existence* of all *Souls*, from *Eternity* to *Eternity*, a thing that all *Genuine* and *Thorow-pac'd Atheists* are in a manner as abhorrent from, as they are from the *Deity* it self. And Secondly, because there can be no imaginable Reason given by them, Why there might not be as well, a certain *Divine Mat-*

ter perfectly Intellectual and Self-existent from Eternity, as a *Sensitive* and *Rational Matter*. And therefore such an *Hypothesis* as this, can never serve the turn of Atheists. But all those that are Masters of the *Craft of Atheism*, and thorowly Catechized or Initiated in the *Dark Mysteries* thereof, (as hath been already inculcated) do perfectly agree in this, That all *Animal, Sentient and Conscious Life*, all *Souls and Minds*, and consequently all humane *Personalities*, are *Generated out of Matter*, and *Corrupted again into it*, or rather *Educed out of Nothing and Reduced into Nothing again*.

We understand also that there are certain *Canting Astrological Atheists*, who would deduce all things from the *Occult Qualities and Influences* of the Stars, according to their different *Conjunctions, Oppositions and Aspects*, in a certain blind and unaccountable manner. But these being Persons devoid of all manner of Sense, who neither so much as pretend to give an Account of these Stars, whether they be Animals or not, as also whence they derive their Original, (which if they did undertake to do *Atheistically*, they must needs resolve themselves at length into one or other of those *Hypotheses* already proposed) therefore, as we conceive, they deserve not the least Consideration. But we think fit here to observe, that such Devotoes to the heavenly Bodies, as look upon all the other Stars as petty Deities, but the Sun as the *Supreme Deity* and *Monarch* of the Universe, in the mean time conceiving it also to be *Perfectly Intellectual*, (which is in a manner the same with the *Cleanthean Hypothesis*) are not so much to be accounted *Atheists*, as *Spurious, Paganical and Idolatrous Theists*. And upon all these Considerations we conclude again, that there is no other *Philosophick Form of Atheism*, that can easily be devised, besides these *Four* mentioned, the *Anaximandrian*, the *Democritical*, the *Stoical* and the *Stratonical*.

XXXIII. Amongst which Forms of Atheism, there is yet another *Difference* to be observed, and accordingly another *Distribution* to be made of them. It being first premised, that all these forementioned Sorts of Atheists (if they will speak consistently and agreeably to their own Principles) must needs suppose all things to be one way or other *Necessary*. For though *Epicurus* introduced *Contingent Liberty*, yet it is well known, that he therein plainly contradicted his own Principles. And this indeed, was the First and Principal thing intended by us, in this whole Undertaking, to confute that *Falſe Hypothesis* of the *Mundane System*, which makes all *Actions and Events Necessary upon Atheistick Grounds*, but especially in the *Mechanick way*. Wherefore in the next place we must observe, that though the Principles of all Atheists *introduce Necessity*, yet the *Necessity* of these *Atheists* is not one and the same, but of two different kinds; some of them supposing a *Necessity of Dead and Stupid Matter*, which is that which is commonly meant by *ὕλική ἀνάγκη*, or *Material Necessity*, and is also called by *Aristotle*, an *Absolute Necessity* of things: Others the *Necessity of a Plastick Life*, which the same *Aristotle* calls an *Hypothetical Necessity*. For the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheists* do both of them assert a *Material and Absolute Necessity* of all things; one in the way of

*Qualities,*

Qualities, and the other of Motion and Mechanism: But the Stoical and Stratonical Atheists assert a Plastick and Hypothetical Necessity of things only.

Now one grand Difference betwixt these two Sorts of Atheisms and their Necessities lies in this, That the Former, though they make all things Necessary, yet they suppose them also to be Fortuitous; there being no Inconsistency between these Two. And the Sence of both the Anaximandrian and Democritick Atheisms seems to be thus described by Plato, πάντα καὶ τὸ τυχὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνεκέρχονται, All things were mingled together by Necessity according to Fortune. For that Nature from whence these Atheists derived all things, is at once both Necessary and Fortuitous. But the Plastick Atheisms suppose such a Necessary Nature, for the First Principle of things, as is not merely Fortuitous, but Regular, Orderly and Methodical; the Stoical excluding all Chance and Fortune univerversally, because they subject all things to One Plastick Nature ruling over the whole Universe, but the Stratonical doing it in part only, because they derive things, from a Mixture of Chance and Plastick Nature both together.

And thus we see that there is a Double Notion of Nature amongst Atheists, as well as Theists; which we cannot better express than in the words of Balbus the Stoick, personated by Cicero: *Alii Naturam censent esse Vim quandam sine Ratione, cientem motus in corporibus necessarios; Alii autem Vim participem Ordinis, tanquam Viâ progredientem. Cujus Solertiam, nulla Ars, nulla Manus, nemo Opifex, consequi potest imitando; Seminis enim Vim esse tantam, ut id quanquam perexiguum, nactumque sit Materiam, quâ ali augerique possit, ita fingat & efficiat, in suo quidque genere, partim ut per stirpes alantur suas, partim ut movere etiam possint, & ex se similia sui generare.* Some by Nature mean a certain Force without Reason and Order, exciting Necessary Motions in Bodies; but others understand by it, such a Force as participating of Order, proceeds as it were Methodically. Whose exquisiteness, no Art, no Hand, no Opificer can reach to by Imitation. For the Force of Seed is such, that though the Bulk of it be very small, yet if it get convenient Matter for its nourishment and increase, it so Forms and Frames things in their severall kinds, as that they can partly through their Stocks and Trunks be nourished, and partly Move themselves also, and Generate their like. And again; *Sunt qui omnia Naturæ Nomine appellant, ut Epicurus; Sed nos, cum dicimus Naturâ constare administrariq; Mundum, non ita dicimus, ut Glebam, aut Fragmentum Lapidis, aut aliquid ejusmodi, nulla coherendi Natura; Sed ut Arborem, ut Animalia, in quibus nulla Temeritas, sed Ordo apparet & Artis quædam Similitudo.* There are some who call all things by the name of Nature, as Epicurus: But we, when we say that the World is administred by Nature, do not mean such a Nature as is in Clods of Earth and Pieces of Stone; but such as is in a Tree or Animal, in whose Constitution there is no Temerity, but Order and Similitude of Art. Now according to these Two different Notions of Nature, the Four forementioned Forms of Atheism may be again Dichotomized after this manner; into such as derive all things from a mere Fortuitous and Temerarious Nature, devoid of all Order and

De Nat. De.  
l. 2.

and Methodicalness; and such as deduce the Original of things from a certain *Orderly, Regular and Artificial*, though *Senseless* Nature in Matter. The former of which are the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheisms*, the latter the *Stoical* and *Stratonical*.

It hath been already observed, that those Atheisms that derive all things from a mere Fortuitous Principle, as also suppose every thing besides  $\nu\lambda\eta \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ , the bare Substance of Matter or Extended Bulk, to be Generated and Corrupted; though they asserted the Eternity of Matter, yet they could not, agreeably to their own Hypothesis, maintain the Eternity and Incorruptibility of the World. And accordingly hereunto, both the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheists* did conclude the World to be  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\delta\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \eta \phi\theta\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\nu$ , such as was at first Made and should be again Corrupted. And upon this accout, *Lucretius* concerns himself highly herein, to prove both the Novity of the World, and also its Future Dissolution and Extinction, that

*Totum Nativum Mortali Corpore constat.*

But instead of the Worlds Eternity, these Two sorts of Atheists, introduced another Paradox, namely an  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha \nu\delta\sigma\mu\omega\nu$ , an Infinity of Worlds, and that not only Successive, in that space which this World of ours is conceived now to occupy, in respect of the Infinity of Past and Future Time, but also a Contemporary Infinity of Coexistent Worlds, at all times throughout Endless and Unbounded Space.

However it is certain, that some Persons Atheistically inclined, have been always apt to run out another way, and to suppose that the Frame of things, and System of the World, ever was from Eternity, and ever will be to Eternity, such as now it is, dispensed by a certain *Orderly and Regular*, but yet *Senseless and Unknowing* Nature. And it is Prophefied in Scripture, that such Atheists as these should especially abound in these latter days of ours; *There shall come in the last days* ( $\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\iota\alpha$ ) *Atheistical scoffers, walking after their own Lusts and saying, Where is the promise of his Coming? For since the Fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the Creation.* Which latter words are spoken only according to the received Hypothesis of the Jews, the meaning of these Atheists being quite otherwise, that there was neither *Creation* nor *Beginning* of the World; but that things had continued, such as now they are, from all Eternity. As appears also from what the Apostle there adds by way of Confutation, That they were wilfully Ignorant of this, that by the word of God the Heavens were of old, and the Earth standing out of the Water and in the Water; and that as the World that then was, overflowing with Water perished, so the Heavens & Earth which now are, by the same word are kept in store, and reserved unto Fire against the day of Judgment & Perdition of Ungodly men. And it is evident, that some of these Atheists at this very day, march in the garb of Enthusiastical Religionists, acknowledging no more a God than a Christ without them, and Allegorizing the day of Judgment and future Conflagration, into a kind of seemingly Mystical, but really Atheistical Non-sence. These, if they did Philosophize, would resolve themselves into one or other of those Two Hypotheses before mentioned

2 Pet. 3.

mentioned; either that of *One Plastick Orderly and Methodical*, but *Sensless Nature*, ruling over the whole Universe; or else that of *the Life of Matter*, making one or other of these two *Natures* to be their only *God or Numen*. It being sufficiently agreeable to the Principles of both these *Atheistick Hypotheses* (and no others) to maintain the Worlds both *Antè* and *Post-Eternity*; yet so as that the latter of them, namely the *Hylozoists*, admitting a certain Mixture of *Chance* together with the *Life of Matter*, would suppose, that though the main Strokes of things, might be preserved the same, and some kind of constant Regularity always kept up in the World, yet that the whole *Mundane System* did not in all respects continue the same, from *Eternity to Eternity*, without any *Variation*. But as *Strabo* tells us that *Strato Physicus* maintained, the *Euxine Sea* at first to have had no Outlet by *Byzantium* into the *Mediterranean*, but that by the continual running in of *Rivers* into it, causing it to overflow, there was in length of time a passage opened by the *Propontis* and *Hellespont*. As also that the *Mediterranean Sea* forced open that passage of the *Herculean Straits*, being a continual *Isthmus* or neck of *Land* before; that many parts of the present *Continent* were heretofore *Sea*, as also much of the present *Ocean* habitable *Land*: So it cannot be doubted, but that the same *Strato* did likewise suppose such kind of *Alternations* and *Vicissitudes* as these, in all the greater parts of the *Mundane System*.

Strab. l. 1.

But the *Stoical Atheists*, who made the whole World to be dispensed by one *Orderly and Plastick Nature*, might very well, and agreeably to their own *Hypothesis*, maintain, besides the *Worlds Eternity*, one *Constant and Invariable Course* or *Tenor* of things in it, as *Plinius Secundus* doth, who, if he were any thing, seems to have been one of these *Atheists*; *Mundum & hoc quod nomine alio Cælum appellare libuit, (cujus circumflexu reguntur cuncta) Numen esse, credi par est, Æternum, Immensum, neque Genitum neque Interiturum*——— *Idem rerum Naturæ Opus, & rerum ipsa Natura*; *The World*, and that which by another name is called the *Heavens*, by whose *Circumgyration* all things are governed, ought to be believed to be a *Numen*, *Eternal*, *Immense*, such as was never *Made*, and shall never be *Destroyed*. Where by the way, it may be again observed, that those *Atheists* who denied a *God* according to the *True Notion* of him, as a *Conscious, Understanding Being*, presiding over the whole World, did notwithstanding look upon either the World it self, or else a mere *Sensless Plastick Nature* in it, as a kind of *Numen* or *Deity*, they supposing it to be *Ingènerable* and *Incorruptible*. Which same *Pliny*, as upon the grounds of the *Stoical Atheism*, he maintained against the *Anaximandrians* and *Democriticks* the *Worlds Eternity* and *Incorruptibility*; so did he likewise in way of *Opposition* to that ἀπειρα νοσμων, that *Infinity of Worlds* of theirs, assert that there was but *One World*, and that *Finite*. In like manner we read concerning that *Famous Stoick Boethus*, whom *Laertius* affirms, to have denied the World to be an *Animal* (which according to the language and sense of those times was all one as to deny a *God*) that he also maintained, contrary to the received *Doctrine* of the *Stoicks*, the *Worlds Antè-Eternity* and *Incorruptibility*, *Philo* in his Treatise ἐπι ἀφθαρσίας νοσμων; Or the *Incorruptibility of the World* testifying the same of him.

Nat. H. l. 2. c. 1.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless it seems, that some of these Stoical Atheists did also agree with the Generality of the other Stoical Theists, in supposing a successive *Infinity of Worlds* Generated and Corrupted, by reason of intervening *Periodical Conflagrations*; though all dispensed by such a *Stupid and Senseless Nature* as governs *Plants and Trees*. For thus much we gather from those words of *Seneca* before cited, where describing this *Atheistical Hypothesis*, he tells us, that though the World were a *Plant*, that is, governed by a *Vegetative or Plastick Nature*, without any *Animality*, yet notwithstanding, *ab initio ejus usque ad exitum*, &c. it had both a Beginning and will have an End, and from its Beginning to its End, all was dispensed by a kind of *Regular Law*, even its Successive *Conflagrations* too, as well as those *Inundations* or *Deluges* which have sometimes hapned. Which yet they understood after such a manner, as that in these several *Revolutions* and *Successive Circuits* or Periods of Worlds, all things should be ἀπερὸς ἰσότητος, *exactly alike*, to what had been Infinitely before, and should be again Infinitely afterwards. Of which more elsewhere.

XXXIV. This *Quadripartite Atheism* which we have now represented, is the *Kingdom of Darkness Divided*, or Labouring with an *Intestine Seditious War* in its own Bowels, and thereby destroying it self. Infomuch that we might well save our selves the labour of any further Confutation of Atheism, merely by committing these several *Forms of Atheism* together, and dashing them one against another; they opposing and contradicting each other, no less than they do *Theism* it self. For first, those two *Pairs of Atheisms*, on the one hand the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick*, on the other the *Stoical* and *Stratonical*, do absolutely destroy each other; the Former of them supposing the First Principle of all things to be *Stupid Matter* devoid of all manner of Life, and contending that all *Life* as well as other Qualities is *Generable* and *Corruptible*, or a mere Accidental thing, and looking upon the *Plastick Life* of Nature as a Figment or Phantastick Capritio, a thing almost as formidable and altogether as impossible as a Deity; the other on the contrary, founding all upon this Principle, That there is a *Life and Natural Perception* Essential to *Matter*, *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, and contending it to be utterly impossible to give any account of the *Phænomena* of the World, the *Original of Motion*, the *Orderly Frame and Disposition of things*, and the *Nature of Animals*, without this *Fundamental Life of Nature*.

Again, the Single Atheisms belonging to each of these several Pairs, quarrel as much also between themselves. For the *Democritick Atheism* explodes the *Anaximandrian Qualities and Forms*, demonstrating that the Natural Production of such *Entities out of Nothing*, and the *Corruption* of them again into *Nothing*, is of the two, rather more impossible, than a *Divine Creation and Annihilation*. And on the other side, the *Anaximandrian Atheist* plainly discovers, that when the *Democriticks* and *Atomicks* have spent all their Fury against these *Qualities and Forms*, and done what they can to salve the *Phænomena* of Nature, without them another way, themselves do notwithstanding like

like drunken men reel and stagger back again into them, and are unavoidably necessitated at last, to take up their Sanctuary in them.

In like manner the *Stoical* and *Stratonical* Atheists, may as effectually undo and confute each other; the Former of them urging against the Latter, That besides that Prodigious Absurdity, of making every Atom of Senseless Matter *Infallibly Wise* or *Omniscient*, without any *Consciousness*, there can be no reason at all given by the *Hylozoists*, why the Matter of the whole Universe, might not as well *Conspire and Confederate* together into *One*, as all the single Atoms that compound the Body of any Animal or Man, or why one Conscious Life might not as well result from the *Totum* of the former, as of the latter; by which means the *whole World* would become an *Animal* or *God*. Again, the Latter contending, that the *Stoical* or *Cosmo-plastick Atheist* can pretend no reason, why the whole World might not have one *Sentient* and *Rational*, as well as one *Plastick Soul* in it, that is, as well be an *Animal* as a *Plant*. Moreover, that the Sensitive Souls of Brute Animals, and the Rational Souls of Men, could never possibly emerge out of one *Single, Plastick and Vegetative Soul* in the whole Universe. And lastly, that it is altogether as impossible, that the whole World should have *Life* in it, and yet none of its Parts have any *Life* of their own, as that the whole World should be White or Black, and yet no part of it have any Whiteness or Blackness at all in it. And therefore that the *Stoical Atheists*, as well as the *Stoical Theists*, do both alike deny *Incorporeal Substance* but in words only, whilst they really admit the thing it self; because *One* and the same *Life*, ruling over all the distant parts of the Corporeal Universe, must needs be an *Incorporeal Substance*, it being all in the Whole, and all acting upon every part, and yet none of it in any part by it self; for then it would be many and not one. From all which it may be concluded, That Atheism is a certain strange kind of *Monster*, with *Four Heads*, that are all of them perpetually biting, tearing and devouring one another.

Now though these several Forms of Atheism do mutually destroy each other, and none of them be really Considerable or Formidable in it self, as to any strength of Reason which it hath; yet as they are compared together among themselves; so some of them may be more considerable than the rest. For first, as the *Qualities* and *Forms* of the *Anaximandrian Atheist*, supposed to be really distinct from the Substances, are things unintelligible in themselves; so he cannot, with any colour or pretence of Reason, maintain the Natural Production of them out of *Nothing*, and the *Reduction* of them again into *Nothing*, and yet withstand a *Divine Creation* and *Annihilation*, as an *Impossibility*. Moreover the *Anaximandrian Atheism*, is as it were swallowed up into the *Democritick*, and further improved in it, this latter carrying on the same Design, with more seeming Artifice, greater Plausibility of Wit, and a more pompous Show of Something where indeed there is *Nothing*. Upon which account, it hath for many Ages past beaten the *Anaximandrian*

*Andrian Atheism*, in a manner quite off the Stage, and reigned there alone. So that the *Democritick* or *Atomick Atheism*, seems to be much more considerable of the Two, than the *Anaximandrian* or *Hylopathian*.

Again; as for the two other Forms of Atheism, if there were any *Life* at all in Matter, as the First and Immediate Recipient of it, then in reason this must needs be supposed to be after the same manner in it, that all other Corporeal Qualities are in Bodies, so as to be *Divisible* together with it, and some of it be in every part of the Matter; which is according to the *Hypothesis* of the *Hylozoists*: Whereas on the contrary the *Stoical Atheists* supposing one *Life* only in the whole Mass of Matter, after such a manner, as that none of the parts of it by themselves should have any *Life* of their own, do thereby no less than the *Stoical Theists*, make this *Life* of theirs to be no *Corporeal Quality* or *Form*, but an *Incorporeal Substance*; which is to contradict their own *Hypothesis*. From whence we may conclude, that the *Cosmoplastick* or *Stoical Atheism*, is of the two, less considerable than the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical*.

Wherefore amongst these *Four Forms of Atheism*, that have been propounded, these Two, the *Atomick* or *Democritical*, and the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical* are the Chief. The former of which, namely the *Democritick Atheism*, admitting a true Notion of Body, that (according to the Doctrine of the first and most Ancient Atomists) it is nothing but *Resisting Bulk*, devoid of all manner of *Life*; yet because it takes for granted, that there is no other *Substance* in the World besides *Body*, does therefore conclude, that all *Life* and *Understanding* in Animals and Men, is *Generated* out of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, though not as *Qualities* and *Forms* (which is the *Anaximandrian way*) but as resulting from the *Contextures* of *Atoms*, or some peculiar Composition of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites* and *Motions*, and consequently that they are themselves really nothing else but *Local Motion* and *Mechanism*: Which is a thing, that sometime since, was very *Pertinently* and *Judiciously* both observed and perstringed, by the Learned Author of the *Exercitatio Epistolica*, now a Reverend Bishop. But the latter, namely the *Hylozoick*, though truly acknowledging on the contrary, that *Life*, *Cogitation* and *Understanding* are *Entities* really distinct from *Local Motion* and *Mechanism*, and that therefore they cannot be *Generated* out of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, but must needs be somewhere in the World, *Originally*, *Essentially*, and *Fundamentally*; yet because they take it also for granted, that there is no other *Substance* besides *Matter*, do thereupon adulterate the *Notion of Matter* or *Body*, blending and confounding it with *Life*, as making them but two *Inadequate Conceptions of Substance*, and concluding that all *Matter* and *Substance* as such, hath *Life* and *Perception* or *Understanding* *Natural* and *Inconscious*, *Essentially* belonging to it; and that *Sense* and *Conscious Reason* or *Understanding* in Animals arises only from the *Accidental Modification* of this *Fundamental Life of Matter* by *Organization*.

See 4. c. 3.

We

We conclude therefore, that if these Two Atheistick Hypotheses, which are found to be the most Considerable, be once Confuted, the Reality of all Atheism will be *ipso facto* Confuted. There being indeed nothing more requisite, to a thorough Confutation of *Atheism*, than the proving of these *Two things*; First, that *Life* and *Understanding* are not Essential to Matter as such; and Secondly, that they can never possibly rise out of any *Mixture* or *Modification* of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter* whatsoever. The reason of which Assertion is, because all Atheists, as was before observed, are mere Corporealists, of which there can be but these Two Sorts; Either such as make *Life* to be Essential to Matter, and therefore to be Ingenerable and Incorruptible; or else such as suppose *Life* and Every thing besides  $\psi\lambda\lambda\iota \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$ , the *Bare Substance of Matter*, or *Extended Bulk* to be merely Accidental, Generable or Corruptible, as rising out of some *Mixture* or *Modification* of it. And as the Proving of those Two Things will overthrow all Atheism, so it will likewise lay a clear Foundation, for the demonstrating of a Deity distinct from the Corporeal World.

XXXV. Now that *Life* and *Perception* or *Understanding*, should be Essential to *Matter* as such, or that all *Senseless Matter* should be Perfectly and Infallibly wise (though without Consciousness) as to all its own Congruities and Capabilities, which is the Doctrine of the *Hylozoists*; This I say, is an *Hypothesis* so Prodigiously Paradoxical, and so Outragiously Wild, as that very few men ever could have Atheistick Faith enough, to swallow it down and digest it. Wherefore this *Hylozoick Atheism* hath been very obscure ever since its first Emerfion, and hath found so few Fautors and Abettors, that it hath look'd like a forlorn and deserted thing. Neither indeed are there any Publick Monuments at all extant, in which it is avowedly Maintained, Stated and Reduced into any System. Infomuch that we should not have taken any notice of it at this time, as a Particular Form of *Atheism*, nor have Conjured it up out of its Grave, had we not Understood, that *Strato's Ghost* had begun to walk of late, and that among some Well-wishers to *Atheism*, despairing in a manner of the *Atomick Form*, this *Hylozoick Hypothesis*, began already to be look'd upon, as the Rising Sun of *Atheism*,---*Et tanquam Spes altera Trojæ*, it seeming to smile upon them, and flatter them at a distance, with some fairer hopes of supporting that Ruinous and Desperate Cause.

Whereas on the Contrary, that other *Atomick Atheism*, as it insists upon a *True Notion* of *Body*, that it is nothing but *Resisting Bulk*; by which means we, joyning issue thereupon, shall be fairly conducted on to a clear Decision of this present Controversie, as likewise to the disentangling of many other points of Philosophy; so it is that which hath filled the World with the Noise of it, for Two Thousand years past; that concerning which several Volumes have been formerly written, in which it hath been stated and brought into a kind of System; and which hath of late obtained a Resurrection amongst us, together with the *Atomick Physiology*, and been recommended to

the World anew, under a Specious Shew of Wit and profound Philofophy.

Wherefore as we could not here infist upon both these Forms of Atheism together, because that would have been to confound the Language of Atheists, and to have made them like the Cadmean Offspring, to do immediate Execution upon themselves; so we were in all reason obliged to make our First and Principal Assault upon the *Atomick Atheism*, as being the only considerable, upon this accompt, because it is that alone which publickly confronts the World, and like that proud *Uncircumcised Philistine*, openly *desies the Hosts of the Living God*. Intending nevertheless in the Close of this whole Discourse, (that is, the Last Book) where we are to determine the *Right Intellectual System of the Universe*, and to assert an *Incorporeal Deity*, to demonstrate, That *Life, Cogitation and Understanding* do not Essentially belong to *Matter*, and all *Substance* as such, but are the Peculiar Attributes and Characteristicks of *Substance Incorporeal*.

XXXVI. However since we have now started these Several Forms of Atheism, we shall not in the mean time neglect any of them neither. For in the Answer to the *Second Atheistick Ground*, we shall Confute them all together at once, as agreeing in this One Fundamental Principle, *That the Original of all things in the Universe is Senseless Matter, or Matter devoid of all Animality or Conscious Life*. In the Reply to the *Fourth Atheistick Argumentation*, we shall briefly hint the Grounds of Reason, from which Incorporeal Substance is Demonstrated. In the Examination of the *Fifth*, we shall confute the *Anaximandrian Atheism* there propounded, which is as it were, the *First Sciography*, and *Rude Delineation of Atheism*. And in the Confutation of the *Sixth*, we shall shew, how the ancient *Atomick Atheists*, did preventively overthertrow the Foundation of *Hylozoism*. Besides all which, in order to a Fuller and more Thorough Confutation, both of the *Cosmo-plastick* and *Hylozoick Atheisms*, we shall in this very place take occasion to infist largely upon the *Plastick life of Nature*, giving in the First Place, a True Accompt of it; and then afterwards shewing, how grossly it is misunderstood, and the Pretence of it abused by the Asserters of both these Atheistick *Hypotheses*. The Heads of which Larger *Digression*, because they could not be so conveniently inserted in the Contents of the Chapter, shall be represented to the Readers View, at the End of it.

XXXVII. For we think fit here to observe, that neither the *Cosmo-plastick* or *Stoical*, nor the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical Atheists* are therefore condemned by us, because they suppose such a thing, as a *Plastick Nature*, or *Life distinct from the Animal*; albeit this be not only exploded, as an Absolute Non-entity, by the *Atomick Atheists*, who might possibly be afraid of it, as that which approached too near to a Deity, or else would hazard the introducing of it; but also utterly discarded by some *Professed Theists* of later times; who might notwithstanding have an Undiscerned Tang of the *Mechanick Atheism*.

*Atheism*, hanging about them, in that their so confident rejecting of all *Final* and *Intending Causality* in Nature, and admitting of no other *Causes* of things, as *Philosophical*, save the *Material* and *Mechanical* only. This being really to banish all *Mental*, and consequently *Divine Causality*, quite out of the World; and to make the whole World to be nothing else, but a mere *Heap of Dust*, Fortuitously agitated, or a *Dead Cadaverous* thing, that hath no *Signatures* of *Mind* and *Understanding*, *Counsel* and *Wisdom* at all upon it; nor indeed any other *Vitality* acting in it, than only the Production of a certain *Quantity* of *Local Motion* and the Conservation of it according to some *General Laws*; which things the *Democritick Atheists* take for granted, would all be as they are, though there were no God. And thus *Aristotle* <sup>\*De Cœl. 1. 24</sup> describes this kind of Philosophy, That it made the whole World to consist, *ὅτι σωματικῶν μόνων, ἢ μονάδων τάξιν μὲν ἐχούτων, ἀψύχων ὃ πολυπαν,* <sup>c. 12.</sup> of nothing but *Bodies and Monads* (that is, *Atoms* or *Small Particles of Matter*) only ranged and disposed together into such an order, but altogether *Dead and Inanimate*.

2. For unless there be such a thing admitted as a *Plastick Nature*, that acts *ἐνεκά τ' ἑ*, for the sake of something, and in order to *Ends*, Regularly, Artificially and Methodically, it seems that one or other of these Two Things must be concluded, That Either in the Efformation and Organization of the Bodies of Animals, as well as the other Phenomena, every thing comes to pass *Fortuitously*, and happens to be as it is, without the Guidance and Direction of any *Mind* or *Understanding*; Or else, that God himself doth all *Immediately*, and as it were with his own Hands, Form the Body of every Gnat and Fly, Insect and Mite, as of other Animals in Generations, all whose Members have so much of *Contrivance* in them, that *Galen* professed he could never enough admire that Artifice which was in the Leg of a Fly, (and yet he would have admired the Wisdom of Nature more, had he been but acquainted with the Use of Microscopes.) I say, upon supposition of no *Plastick Nature*, one or other of these Two things must be concluded; because it is not conceived by any, that the things of Nature are all thus administered, with such exact Regularity and Constancy every where, merely by the Wisdom, Providence and Efficiency, of those Inferior Spirits, *Demons* or *Angels*. As also, though it be true that the Works of Nature are dispensed by a *Divine Law* and *Command*, yet this is not to be understood in a *Vulgar Sense*, as if they were all effected by the mere Force of a *Verbal Law* or *Outward Command*, because *Inanimate* things are not *Commandable* nor *Governable* by such a *Law*; and therefore besides the *Divine Will* and *Pleasure*, there must needs be some other *Immediate Agent* and *Executioner* provided, for the producing of every Effect; since not so much as a *Stone* or other *Heavy Body*, could at any time fall downward, merely by the Force of a *Verbal Law*, without any other *Efficient Cause*; but either God himself must immediately impel it, or else there must be some other subordinate Cause in Nature for that Motion. Wherefore the *Divine Law* and *Command*, by which the things of Nature are administered, must be conceived to be the Real Appointment of some *Energetick*, *Effectual* and *Operative Cause* for the Production of every Effect.

3. Now to assert the Former of these Two things, that all the Effects of Nature come to pass by *Material* and *Mechanical Necessity*, or the mere *Fortuitous Motion* of *Matter*, without any Guidance or Direction, is a thing no less Irrational than it is Impious and Atheistical. Not only because it is utterly Unconceivable and Impossible, that such Infinite Regularity and Artificialness, as is every where throughout the whole World, should constantly result out of the *Fortuitous Motion of Matter*, but also because there are many such Particular *Phænomena* in Nature, as do plainly transcend the Powers of *Mechanism*, of which therefore no Sufficient Mechanical Reasons can be devised, as the *Motion of Respiration* in Animals; as there are also other *Phænomena* that are perfectly Cross to the *Laws of Mechanism*; as for Example, that of the *Distant Poles* of the *Æquator* and *Ecliptick*, which we shall insist upon afterward. Of both which kinds, there have been other Instances proposed, by my Learned Friend Dr. *More* in his *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*, and very ingeniously improved by him to this very purpose, namely to Evince that there is something in Nature besides Mechanism, and consequently Substance Incorporeal.

Moreover those Theists, who Philosophize after this manner, by resolving all the Corporeal *Phænomena* into *Fortuitous Mechanism*, or the *Necessary and Unguided Motion of Matter*, make God to be nothing else in the World, but an *Idle Spectator* of the Various Results of the *Fortuitous* and *Necessary Motions* of Bodies; and render his Wisdom altogether Useless and Insignificant, as being a thing wholly Inclosed and shut up within his own breast, and not at all acting abroad upon any thing without him.

De part. An.  
l. 1, c. 1.

Furthermore all such *Mechanists* as these, whether *Theists* or *Atheists*, do, according to that Judicious Censure passed by *Aristotle* long since upon *Democritus*, but substitute as it were  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\ \xi\upsilon\lambda\iota\nu\omega\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , a *Carpenters* or *Artificers Wooden Hand*, moved by *Strings* and *Wires*, in stead of a *Living Hand*. They make a kind of Dead and Wooden World, as it were a Carved Statue, that hath nothing neither *Vital* nor *Magical* at all in it. Whereas to those who are Considerative, it will plainly appear, that there is a *Mixture* of *Life* or *Plastick Nature* together with *Mechanism*, which runs through the whole Corporeal Universe.

And whereas it is pretended, not only that all Corporeal *Phænomena* may be sufficiently salv'd *Mechanically*, without any *Final*, *Intending* and *Directive Causality*, but also that all other Reasons of things in Nature, besides the *Material* and *Mechanical*, are altogether *Unphilosophical*, the same *Aristotle* ingeniously exposes the Ridiculousness of this Pretence after this manner; telling us, That it is just as if a *Carpenter*, *Joyner* or *Carver* should give this accompt, as the only Satisfactory, of any Artificial *Fabrick* or *Piece of Carved Imagery*,  $\delta\tau\iota\ \epsilon\mu\ \pi\epsilon\sigma\theta\iota\sigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\ \kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\gamma\iota\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron$ ,  $\tau\omicron\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$ , that because the *Instruments*, *Axes* and *Hatchets*, *Plains* and *Chissels*, happened to fall

fall so and so upon the Timber, cutting it here and there, that therefore it was hollow in one place, and plain in another, and the like, and by that means the whole came to be of such a Form. For is it not altogether as Absurd and Ridiculous, for men to undertake to give an account of the Formation and Organization of the Bodies of Animals, by mere Fortuitous Mechanism, without any Final or Intending Causality, as why there was an Heart here and Brains there, and why the Heart had so many and such different Valves in the Entrance and Outlet of its Ventricles, and why all the other Organick Parts, Veins and Arteries, Nerves and Muscles, Bones and Cartilages, with the Joints and Members, were of such a Form? Because forsooth, the Fluid Matter of the Seed happened to move so and so, in several places, and thereby to cause all those Differences, which are also divers in different Animals; all being the Necessary Result of a certain Quantity of Motion at first indifferently impressed, upon the small Particles of the Matter of this Universe turned round in a Vortex. But as the same Aristotle adds, no Carpenter or Artificer is so simple, as to give such an Account as this, and think it satisfactory, but he will rather declare, that himself directed the Motion of the Instruments, after such a manner, and in order to such Ends: \* βέλτιον δὲ τῶν, ἢ ἡδὲ ἰκανὸν εἶσαι αὐτῶν, τὸ τοσούτον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐμπροσθέντος τῆς ὀργάνου, &c. ἀλλὰ διότι τῶν πληγῶν ἐποιήσατο τοιαύτως, ἢ τίνος ἕνεκα, ἐρεῖ πῶς αὐτῶν, ὅπως τοιούτου ἢ τοιούτου ἦ ποτε τὴν κερφήν γίνεταί. *A Carpenter would give a better account than so, for he would not think it sufficient to say, that the Fabrick came to be of such a form, because the Instruments happened to fall so and so, but he will tell you that it was because himself made such strokes, and that he directed the Instruments and determined their motion after such a manner, to this End that he might make the Whole a Fabrick fit and useful for such purposes.* And this is to assign the Final Cause. And certainly there is scarcely any man in his Wits, that will not acknowledge the Reason of the different Valves in the Heart, from the apparent Usefulness of them, according to those particular Structures of theirs, to be more Satisfactory, than any which can be brought from mere Fortuitous Mechanism, or the Unguided Motion of the Seminal Matter.

\* De Part. Anim.  
l. 1. c. 1.

4. And as for the Latter Part of the Disjunction, That every thing in Nature should be done Immediately by God himself; this, as according to Vulgar Apprehension, it would render Divine Providence Operose, Sollicitous and Distractious, and thereby make the Belief of it to be entertained with greater difficulty, and give advantage to Atheists; so in the Judgment of the Writer *De Mundo*, it is not so Decorous in respect of God neither, that he should αὐτοεργεῖν ἅπαντα, set his own Hand, as it were, to every Work, and immediately do all the Meanest and Triflingest things himself Drudgingly, without making use of any Inferior and Subordinate Instruments. \* εἰ καὶ ἀσέμνον ἦν αὐτὸν δοκεῖν ἐξέρξαι αὐτοεργεῖν ἅπαντα, ἢ διατελεῖν ἃ βέλτοιο, ἢ ἐπιστάμενον διοικεῖν, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀπρεπές ἂν εἴη τῷ θεῷ. Σεμνότερον ὃ ἢ περπαδέσκειν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, διὰ τῆς σύμπαντος κόσμου διηκίσσαι, ἢ λιὸν τε κενεῖν ἢ σελήνην, &c. *If it were not congruous in respect of the State & Majesty of Xerxes the Great King of Persia that he should condescend to do all the meanest Offices him-*

\* Cap. 7.

self; much less can this be thought decorous in respect of God. But it seems far more August, and becoming of the Divine Majesty, that a certain Power and Vertue, derived from him, and passing through the Universe, should move the Sun and Moon, and be the Immediate Cause of those lower things done here upon Earth.

Moreover it seems not so agreeable to Reason neither, that Nature as a Distinct thing from the Deity, should be quite Superfeded or made to Signifie Nothing, God himself doing all things Immediately and Miraculously; from whence it would follow also, that they are all done either *Forcibly* and *Violently*, or else *Artificially* only, and none of them by any *Inward Principle* of their own.

Lastly; This Opinion is further Confuted, by that Slow and Gradual Process that is in the Generations of things, which would seem to be but a Vain and Idle Pomp, or a Trifling Formality, if the Agent were Omnipotent: as also by those ἀμαρτήματα (as *Aristotle* calls them) those *Errors* and *Bungles* which are committed, when the Matter is Inept and Contumacious; which argue the Agent not to be Irresistible, and that *Nature* is such a thing, as is not altogether incapable (as well as *Humane Art*) of being sometimes frustrated and disappointed, by the Indisposition of Matter. Whereas an *Omnipotent Agent*, as it could dispatch its work in a Moment, so it would always do it *Infallibly* and *Irresistibly*; no *Ineptitude* or *Stubbornness* of Matter, being ever able to hinder such a one, or make him *Bungle* or *Fumble* in any thing.

5. Wherefore since neither all things are produced Fortuitously, or by the Unguided Mechanism of Matter, nor God himself may reasonably be thought to do all things Immediately and Miraculously; it may well be concluded, that there is a *Plastick Nature* under him, which as an *Inferior* and *Subordinate Instrument*, doth Drudgingly Execute that Part of his Providence, which consists in the Regular and Orderly Motion of Matter: yet so as that there is also besides this, a *Higher Providence* to be acknowledged, which presiding over it, doth often supply the Defects of it, and sometimes Overrule it; forasmuch as this *Plastick Nature* cannot act *Electively* nor with *Discretion*. And by this means the Wisdom of God will not be shut up nor concluded wholly within his own Breast, but will display it self abroad, and print its Stamps and Signatures every where throughout the World; so that God, as *Plato* (after *Orpheus*) speaks, will be not only the *Beginning* and *End*, but also the *Middle* of all things, they being as much to be ascribed to his Causality, as if himself had done them all Immediately, without the concurrent Instrumentality of any *Subordinate Natural Cause*. Notwithstanding which, in this way it will appear also to *Humane Reason*, that all things are Disposed and Ordered by the Deity, without any *Sollicitous Care* or *Distractious Providence*.

And indeed those *Mechanick Theists*, who rejecting a *Plastick Nature*, affect to concern the Deity as little as is possible in *Mundane Affairs*, either for fear of debasing him and bringing him down to

too mean Offices, or else of subjecting him to Sollicitous Encumberment, and for that Cause would have God to contribute nothing more to the Mundane System and Oeconomy, than only the First Impressing of a certain Quantity of Motion, upon the Matter, and the After-conserving of it, according to some General Laws: These men (I say) seem not very well to understand themselves in this. Forasmuch as they must of necessity, either suppose these their *Laws of Motion* to execute themselves, or else be forced perpetually to concern the Deity in the Immediate Motion of every Atom of Matter throughout the Universe, in order to the Execution and Observation of them. The Former of which being a Thing plainly Absurd and Ridiculous, and the Latter that, which these Philosophers themselves are extremely abhorrent from, we cannot make any other Conclusion than this, That they do but unskilfully and unawares establish that very Thing which in words they oppose; and that their *Laws of Nature* concerning *Motion*, are Really nothing else, but a *Plastick Nature*, acting upon the Matter of the whole Corporeal Universe, both Maintaining the Same Quantity of Motion always in it, and also Dispensing it (by Transferring it out of one Body into another) according to such Laws, Fatally Imprest upon it. Now if there be a *Plastick Nature*, that governs the *Motion of Matter*, every where according to *Laws*, there can be no Reason given, why the same might not also extend further, to the Regular Disposal of that Matter, in the *Formation of Plants and Animals* and other things, in order to that Apt Coherent Frame and Harmony of the whole Universe.

6. And as this *Plastick Nature* is a thing which seems to be in it self most Reasonable, so hath it also had the Suffrage of the best Philosophers in all Ages. For First, it is well known, that *Aristotle* concerns himself in nothing more zealously than this, That Mundane things are not Effected, merely by the *Necessary and Unguided Motion of Matter*, or by *Fortuitous Mechanism*, but by such a *Nature* as acts *Regularly* and *Artificially* for *Ends*; yet so as that this *Nature* is not the Highest Principle neither, or the Supreme *Numen*, but Subordinate to a Perfect *Mind* or *Intellect*, he affirming, that  $\nu\epsilon\sigma\ \alpha\iota\tau\iota\omicron\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\ \phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omega\delta\epsilon\ \tau\omega\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\iota\varsigma$ , That *Mind together with Nature was the Cause of this Universe*; and that Heaven and Earth, Plants and Animals were framed by them both; that is, by *Mind* as the Principal and Directive Cause, but by *Nature* as a Subservient or Executive Instrument: and elsewhere joining in like manner *God and Nature* both together, as when he concludes, *That God and Nature do nothing in Vain.*

Neither was *Aristotle* the First Broacher or Inventor of this Doctrine, *Plato* before him having plainly asserted the same. For in a Passage already cited, he affirms that *Nature together with Reason, and according to it, orders all things*; thereby making *Nature*, as a Distinct thing from the Deity, to be a Subordinate Cause under the Reason and Wisdom of it. And elsewhere he resolves, that there are  $\epsilon\mu\phi\epsilon\rho\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\tau\iota\alpha\iota,$  *Certain Causes of a Wise and Artificial Nature, which the Deity uses as Subservient to it self*; as also, that there are  $\xi\upsilon\nu\alpha\lambda\tau\iota\alpha\ \omicron\iota\varsigma\ \xi\upsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ , *Con-causes which God makes use of, as Subordinately Cooperative with himself.*

More-

Moreover before *Plato*, *Empedocles* Philosophized also in the same manner, when supposing Two Worlds, the one *Archetypal*, the other *Ex-typal*, he made *φιλία* and *νεκος*, *Friendship & Discord*, to be the *ἀρχὴ δ' ἐπιθετική*, the *Active Principle and Immediate Operator* in this Lower World. He not understanding thereby, as *Plutarch* and some others have conceited, Two Substantial Principles in the World, the one of *Good* the other of *Evil*, but only a *Plastick Nature*, as *Aristotle* in sundry places intimates: which he called by that name, partly because he apprehended that the Result and Upshot of *Nature* in all *Generations* and *Corruptions*, amounted to nothing more than *Mixtures* and *Separations*, or *Concretion* and *Secretion* of *Preexistent things*, and partly because this *Plastick Nature* is that which doth reconcile the *Contrarities* and *Enmities* of Particular things, and bring them into one *General Harmony* in the *Whole*. Which latter is a Notion that *Plotinus*, describing this very *Seminary Reason* or *Plastick Nature* of the World, (though taking it in something a larger sence, than we do in this place)

En. 3. l. 2. c. 16.

doth ingeniously pursue after this manner; ἀντιθεῖς ἢ ἀλλήλοις τὰ μέρη καὶ ποιήσας ἐνδεῶς, πόλεμος καὶ μάχης σύστασιν καὶ γένεσιν εἰργάσατο. καὶ ἕτως ἔστιν εἰς πᾶς; εἰ μὴ ἐν εἰμ. γινόμενον ἢ ἐαυτῶν τοῖς μέρεσι πολέμιον, ἕτως ἐν ἔστι καὶ φίλον, ὡς ἂν εἰ δ' ἄρα μᾶλλον λόγος εἶς, ὁ τῷ δ' ἄρα μᾶλλον, ἔχον ἐν αὐτῶν πολλὰς μάχας. τὸ μὲν ἐν δ' ἄρα μᾶλλον τὰ μεμαχημένα, οἷον εἰς μίαν ἀρμονίαν, ἀγει σύμφωνον. — ὡς τε μᾶλλον ἂν τις τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ τῇ ἐμαχημένων εἰπάσσει. *The Seminary Reason or Plastick Nature of the Universe, opposing the Parts to one another and making them severally Indigent, produces by that means War and Contention. And therefore though it be One, yet notwithstanding it consists of Different and Contrary things. For there being Hostility in its Parts, it is nevertheless Friendly and Agreeable in the Whole; after the same manner as in a Dramatick Poem, Clashings and Contentions are reconciled into one Harmony. And therefore the Seminary and Plastick Nature of the World, may fitly be resembled to the Harmony of Disagreeing things. Which Plotinick Doctrine, may well pass for a Commentary upon Empedocles, accordingly as Simplicius briefly represents his sence, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δύο κόσμους συνίστασι, τὸ μὲν ἠνωμένον καὶ νοητὸν, τὸ δὲ διακεκεμημένον καὶ αἰσθητὸν, καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν κόσμων τῶν ἐνωσιν ὁρᾷ καὶ τὴν διάκρισιν. Empedocles makes Two Worlds, the one United and Intelligible, the other Divided and Sensible; and in this lower Sensible World, he takes notice both of Unity and Discord.*

In Arist. de Cœ.  
l. 1. c. 10.

It was before observed, that *Heraclitus* likewise did assert a *Regular and Artificial Nature*, as the *Fate of things* in this Lower World; for his *Reason* passing thorough the *Substance of all things*, or *Ethereal Body*, which was the *Seed of the Generation of the Universe*, was nothing but that *Spermatick* or *Plastick Nature* which we now speak of. And whereas there is an odd Passage of this Philosophers recorded, *κόσμον τόνδε ἕτερος θεῶν ἢ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησε*, that neither any God nor Man made this World, which as it is justly derided by *Plutarch* for its *Simplicity*, so it looks very *Atheistically* at first sight; yet because *Heraclitus* hath not been accompted an *Atheist*, we therefore conceive the meaning of it to have been this, That the World was not made by any whatsoever, after such a manner as an Artificer makes an House, by

by Machins and Engins, acting from without upon the Matter, Cumberfomly and Moliminoufly, but by a certain *Inward Plaftick Nature* of its own.

And as *Hippocrates* followed *Heraclitus* in this (as was before declared) fo did *Zeno* and the *Stoicks* alfo, they fupposing befides an *Intellectual Nature*, as the *Supreme Architect* and *Mafter-builder* of the *World*, another *Plaftick Nature* as the *Immediate Workman* and *Operatour*. Which *Plaftick Nature* hath been already described in the words of *Balbus*, as a thing which acts not *Fortuitoufly* but *Regularly*, *Orderly* and *Artificially*; and *Laertius* tells \* us, it was defined by *Zeno* himfelf after this manner, ἡ φύσις ἕξις ἐξ αὐτῆς κινούμενη καὶ σπερματικὴς λόγος, ἀποτελεῖσαι τε καὶ συνέχεσαι τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐν ἀερισμένοις χρόνοις, καὶ πικρῶτα δρᾶσαι ἀφ' οὗων ἀπεκείσθαι. *Nature is a Habit moved from it felf according to Spermatick Reasons or Seminal Principles, perfecting and containing thofe feveral things, which in determinate times are produced from it, and acting agreeably to that from which it was fe-creted.*

\* In Vita Zeni

Laftly, as the *Latter Platonifts* and *Peripateticks* have unanimoufly followed their *Mafters* herein, whose *Vegetative Soul* alfo is no other than a *Plaftick Nature*; fo the *Chymifts* and *Paracelfians* infift much upon the fame thing, and feem rather to have carried the *Notion* on further, in the *Bodies* of *Animals*, where they call it by a new name of their own, the *Archeus*.

Moreover, we cannot but obferve here, that as amongst the *Ancients*, They were generally condemned for down-right *Atheifts*, who acknowledged no other *Principle* befides *Body* or *Matter*, *Necceffarily* and *Fortuitoufly* moved, fuch as *Democritus* and the *first Ionicks*; fo even *Anaxagoras* himfelf, notwithstanding that he was a professed *Theift*, and plainly afferted *Mind* to be a *Principle*, yet becaufe he attributed too much to *Material Necessity*, admitting neither this *Plaftick Nature* nor a *Mundane Soul*, was feverely censured, not only by the *Vulgar* (who unjuftly taxed him for an *Atheift*) but alfo by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, as a kind of *Spurious* and *imperfect Theift*, and one who had given great advantage to *Atheifm*. *Aristotle* in his *Metaphy-ficks* thus represents his *Philofophy*,\* Ἀναξαγόρας τε γὰρ μηχανῆ χρηταί τὰ νοῦ, πρὸς τὴν κοσμοποιίαν, καὶ ὅταν ἀπορήσῃ διὰ τιν' αἰτίαν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔσθι, τότε ἐλκεῖ αὐτὸν, ἐν ᾧ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντα μάλλον αἰτιάται ἢ τὸ γινόμενον ἢ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. *Anaxagoras ufeth Mind and Intellect, that is, God, as a Machin in the Cosmopoeia, and when he is at a lofs to give an accompt of things by Material Necessity, then and never but then, does he draw in Mind or God to help him out; but otherwife he will rather assign any thing else for a Cause than Mind. Now if Aristotle censure Anaxagoras in this manner, though a professed Theift, becaufe he did but feldom make ufe of a Mental Cause, for the falving of the Phenomena of the World, and only then when he was at a lofs for other Material and Mechanical Causes (which it feems he fometimes confessed himfelf to be) what would that Philofopher have thought of thofe our fo confident Mechanifts of later times, who will never vouchsafe fo much*

\* L. I. c. 41

as once to be beholding to God Almighty, for any thing in the Oeconomy of the Corporeal World, after the first Impression of Motion upon the Matter?

*Plato* likewise in his *Phædo* and elsewhere, condemns this *Anaxagoras* by name, for this very thing, that though he acknowledged *Mind* to be a *Cause*, yet he seldom made use of it, for salving the *Phænomena*; but in his twelfth *de Legibus*, he perstringeth him Unnamed, as one who though a professed Theist, had notwithstanding given great Encouragement to Atheism, after this manner; \* λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ διακεκοσμηκὸς πᾶνθ' ὅσα κατ' ἄστρον, αὐτοὶ ἢ πάλιν ἀμαρτάνοντες ψυχῆς φύσεως, ὅτι πρεσβύτερον ἐστὶν σωμάτων, ἅπανθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος, ἀνέτρεξαν πάλιν, τὰ γὰρ ἢ πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων πάντα, αὐτοῖς ἐφάνη, τὰ κατ' ἄστρον φερόμενα, μετὰ εἶναι λίθων, καὶ γῆς, καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀψύχων σωμάτων, διανεμόντων τὰς αἰτίας παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, ταῦτ' ἦν τὰ τότε ἐξείργασμα πολλὰς ἀθεότητος. Some of them who had concluded, that it was Mind that ordered all things in the Heavens, themselves erring concerning the Nature of the Soul, and not making that Older than the Body, have overturned all again; for Heavenly Bodies being supposed by them, to be full of Stones, and Earth, and other Inanimate things (dispensing the Causes of the whole Universe) they did by this means occasion much Atheism and Impiety.

Furthermore the same *Plato* there tells us, that in those times of his, Astronomers and Physiologers commonly lay under the prejudice and suspicion of Atheism amongst the vulgar, merely for this reason, because they dealt so much in Material Causes, οἱ πολλοὶ διανοεῖσθαι τὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταχειροματίας, ἀστρονομία τε καὶ ταῖς μετὰ ταύτης ἀναγκαίαις ἄλλαις τέχναις, ἀθέως γίνεσθαι, καθεσθαι ὡς οἶόντι γινόμενα ἀνάγκης τὰ περὶ γματ', ἀλλ' ἢ διανοίας βελήσεως ἀγαθῶν πέρη τελεσμάτων. The Vulgar think that they who addit themselves to Astronomy and Physiology, are made Atheists thereby, they seeing as much as is possible how things come to pass by Material Necessities, and being thereby disposed to think them not to be ordered by Mind and Will, for the sake of Good. From whence we may observe, that according to the Natural Apprehensions of Men in all Ages, they who resolve the *Phænomena* of Nature, into Material Necessity, allowing of no Final nor Mental Causality (disposing things in order to Ends) have been strongly suspected for Friends to Atheism.

7. But because some may pretend, that the *Plastick Nature* is all one with an *Occult Quality*, we shall here show how great a Difference there is betwixt these Two. For he that asserts an *Occult Quality*, for the Cause of any *Phænomenon*, does indeed assign no Cause at all of it, but only declare his own Ignorance of the Cause; but he that asserts a *Plastick Nature*, assigns a Determinate and proper Cause, nay the only Intelligible Cause, of that which is the greatest of all *Phænomena* in the World, namely the τὸ εὖ καλῶς, the Orderly, Regular and Artificial Frame of things in the Universe, whereof the *Mechanick Philosophers*, however pretending to salve all *Phænomena* by Matter and Motion, assign no Cause at all. Mind and Understanding

is the only true Cause of Orderly Regularity, and he that asserts a *Plastick Nature*, asserts *Mental Causality* in the World; but the *Fortuitous Mechanists*, who exploding *Final Causes*, will not allow *Mind* and *Understanding* to have any Influence at all upon the Frame of things, can never possibly assign any Cause of this Grand *Phenomenon*, unless *Confusion* may be said to be the Cause of *Order*, and *Fortune* or *Chance* of *Constant Regularity*; and therefore themselves must resolve it into an *Occult Quality*. Nor indeed does there appear any great reason why such men should assert an *Infinite Mind* in the World, since they do not allow it to act any where at all, and therefore must needs make it to be in *Vain*.

8. Now this *Plastick Nature* being a thing which is not without some *Difficulty* in the *Conception* of it, we shall here endeavour to do these *Two things* concerning it; *First*, to set down a right *Representation* thereof, and then afterwards to show how extremely the *Notion* of it hath been *Mistaken*, *Perverted* and *Abused* by those *Atheists*, who would make it to be the only *God Almighty*, or *First Principle* of all things.

How the *Plastick Nature* is in general to be conceiv'd, *Aristotle* instructs us in these words, \* εἰς ἡν ἐν ταῖς ξύλοις ἢ ναυπηγικῇ ὁμοίως ἂν τῇ φύσει ἐποίησεν. \* *Phys. l. 2. c. 8.*  
*If the Naupegeical Art, that is the Art of the Shipwright, were in the Timber it self, Operatively and Effectually, it would there act just as Nature doth.* And the Case is the same for all other Arts; If the *Oecodomic* Art, which is in the *Mind* of the *Architect*, were supposed to be transfused into the *Stones*, *Bricks* and *Mortar*, there acting upon them in such a manner, as to make them come together of themselves and range themselves into the *Form* of a complete *Edifice*, as *Amphion* was said by his *Harp*, to have made the *Stones* move, and place themselves *Orderly* of their own accord, and so to have built the *Walls of Thebes*: Or if the *Musical Art* were conceived to be immediately in the *Instruments* and *Strings*, animating them as a *Living Soul*, and making them to move exactly according to the *Laws of Harmony*, without any *External Impulse*: These and such like Instances, in *Aristotle's* Judgment, would be fit *Iconisms* or *Representations* of the *Plastick Nature*, That being *Art it self acting Immediately upon the Matter as an inward Principle in it.* To which purpose the same *Philosopher* adds, that this thing might be further illustrated by an other Instance or *Resemblance*, μάλιστα δὲ δῆλον, ὅταν τις ἰατρῆσαι αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, τῷ τῷ γὰρ ἔοικεν ἢ φύσει: *Nature may be yet more clearly Resembled to the Medicinal Art, when it is employed by the Physician, in curing himself.* So that the meaning of this *Philosopher* is, that *Nature* is to be conceived as *Art Acting* not from without and at a *Distance*, but *Immediately* upon the thing it self which is *Formed* by it. And thus we have the first *General Conception* of the *Plastick Nature*, That it is *Art it self, acting immediately on the Matter, as an Inward Principle.*

9. In the next Place we are to observe, that though the *Plastick Nature* be a kind of *Art*, yet there are some *Considerable Preeminences* which

which it hath above *Humane Art*, the First whereof is this; That whereas *Humane Art* cannot act upon the Matter otherwise than from without and at a distance, nor communicate it self to it, but with a great deal of *Tumult* and *Hurliburly*, *Noise* and *Clatter*, it using Hands and Axes, Saws and Hammers, and after this manner with much ado, by Knockings and Thrustings, slowly introducing its Form or *Idea* (as for Example of a Ship or House) into the Materials. Nature in the mean time is another kind of *Art*, which *Insinuating* it self *Immediately* into things themselves, and there acting more *Commandingly* upon the Matter as an *Inward Principle*, does its Work *Easily*, *Cleverly* and *Silently*. Nature is *Art* as it were *Incorporated* and *Imbodied in matter*, which doth not act upon it from without *Mechanically*, but from within *Vitally* and *Magically*, ὅτε χεῖρες ἐνταῦθα, ὅτε πόδες, ὅτε τι ὄργανον ἐπακτὸν ἢ σμίφυτον, ὕλης ὃ δὲ ἐφ' ἧς ποιῆσθαι, καὶ ἵν' ἐν ἑαυτῇ ποιῆσθαι πάντως δύλον. δὲ ἢ καὶ τὸ μοχλεῖν ἀφελεῖν ἐκ τῆ φυσικῆς ποιήσεως. ποῖος γὰρ ἀθισμὸς, ἢ τις μοχλεία, &c. Here are no Hands, nor Feet, nor any Instrument, Connate or Adventitious, there being only need of Matter to work upon and to be brought into a certain Form, and Nothing else. For it is manifest that the Operation of Nature is different from Mechanism, it doing not its Work by Trusion or Pulsion, by Knockings or Thrustings, as if it were without that which it wrought upon. But as God is *Inward* to every thing, so Nature Acts *Immediately* upon the Matter, as an *Inward* and *Living Soul* or *Law* in it.

Pl. En. 3.1.8.  
§.1.

10. Another Preeminence of Nature above *Humane Art* is this, That whereas *Humane Artists* are often to seek and at a loss, and therefore *Consult* and *Deliberate*, as also upon second thoughts mend their former Work; Nature, on the contrary, is never to seek what to do, nor at a stand; and for that Reason also (besides another that will be Suggested afterwards) it doth never Consult nor Deliberate. Indeed *Aristotle* intimates, as if this had been the Grand Objection of the old Atheistick Philosophers against the *Plastick Nature*, That because we do not see Natural Bodies to Consult or Deliberate, therefore there could be Nothing of Art, Counsel or Contrivance in them, but all came to pass *Fortuitously*. But he confutes it after this manner: \* ἄτοπον ὃ τὸ μὴ οἶεσθαι ἐνεκά τς γίνεσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ ἴδωσι τὸ κινεῖν βεβλῶσαι μόνον, καίτοι καὶ τὴν τέχνην ὃ βεβλῶνεται. It is absurd for Men to think nothing to be done for Ends, if they do not see that which moves to consult, although Art it self doth not Consult. Whence he concludes that Nature may Act *Artificially*, *Orderly* and *Methodically*, for the sake of Ends, though it never Consult or Deliberate. Indeed *Humane Artists* themselves do not Consult properly as they are *Artists*, but when ever they do it, it is for want of *Art*, and because they are to seek, their Art being *Imperfect* and *Adventitious*: but *Art it self* or *Perfect Art*, is never to seek, and therefore doth never Consult or Deliberate. And Nature is this *Art*, which never hesitates nor studies, as unresolved what to do, but is always readily prompted; nor does it ever repent afterwards of what it hath formerly done, or go about, as it were upon second thoughts, to alter and mend its former Course, but it goes on in one Constant, Unrepenting Tenor, from Generation to Generation, because it is the Stamp or Impress of that Infallibly Omnisci-

\* Phys. 1.2. c. 8.

Omniscient Art, of the Divine Understanding, which is the very Law and Rule of what is Simply the Best in every thing.

And thus we have seen the Difference between *Nature* and *Humane Art*; that the Latter is Imperfect Art, acting upon the Matter from without, and at a Distance; but the Former is *Art it self* or *Perfect Art*, acting as an *Inward Principle* in it. Wherefore when Art is said to imitate Nature, the meaning thereof is, that Imperfect *Humane Art* imitates that *Perfect Art of Nature*, which is really no other than the *Divine Art* it self, as before *Aristotle*, *Plato* had declared in his *Sophist*, in these words, τὰ φύσιν λεγόμενα ποιεῖσθαι θεῶν τέχνη. *Those things which are said to be done by Nature, are indeed done by Divine Art.*

II. Notwithstanding which, we are to take notice in the next place, that as *Nature* is not the *Deity* it self, but a Thing very remote from it and far below it, so neither is it the *Divine Art*, as it is in it self *Pure* and *Abstract*, but *Concrete* and *Embodied* only; for the *Divine Art* considered in it self, is nothing but *Knowledge*, *Understanding* or *Wisdom* in the Mind of *God*: Now *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, in its own Nature is κεχωρισμένον τι, a certain *Separate* and *Abstract* thing, and of so *Subtil* and *Refined* a Nature, as that it is not Capable of being Incorporated with Matter, or Mingled and Blend- ed with it, as the *Soul* of it. And therefore *Aristotle's* Second Instance, which he propounds as most pertinent to Illustrate this business of Nature by, namely of the *Physicians Art* curing himself, is not so adequate thereunto; because when the Medicinal Art Cures the Physi- cian in whom it is, it doth not there Act as *Nature*, that is, as *Concrete* and *Embodied Art*, but as *Knowledge* and *Understanding* only, which is *Art Naked*, *Abstract* and *Unbodied*; as also it doth its Work *Amba- giously*, by the Physician's Willing and Prescribing to himself, the use of such Medicaments, as do but conduce, by removing of Impedi- ments, to help that which is *Nature* indeed, or the *Inward Archeus* to effect the Cure. Art is defined by *Aristotle*, to be λόγος τῆς ἕξης ἀ- νελύτης, *The Reason of the thing without Matter*; and so the *Divine Art* or *Knowledge* in the Mind of *God* is *Unbodied Reason*; but *Nature* is *Ratio Mersa & Confusa*, *Reason Immersed and Plunged* into Matter, and as it were *Fuddled* in it, and *Confounded* with it. *Nature* is not the *Divine Art Archetypal*, but only *Ectypal*, it is a living Stamp or Sig- nature of the *Divine Wisdom*, which though it act exactly according to its *Arthetype*, yet it doth not at all Comprehend nor Understand the Reason of what it self doth. And the Difference between these two, may be resembled to that between the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, *the Rea- son of the Mind and Conception*, called *Verbum Mentis*, and the λόγος περφορευτός, *The Reason of External Speech*; the Latter of which though it bear a certain Stamp and Impress of the Former upon it, yet it self is nothing but *Articulate Sound*, devoid of all *Understanding* and *Sense*. Or else we may Illustrate this business by another Similitude, comparing the *Divine Art* and *Wisdom* to an *Architect*, but *Nature* to a *Manuary Opificer*; the Difference betwixt which two is thus set forth by *Aristotle* pertinently to our purpose; τὰς ἀρχιτέκτονας ὡς ἐν ἑ-

Μηθ. 1. 1. 1. 1.

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χάσεν τιμιωτέρας ἢ μάλλον εἰδέναι νομίζομεν τῆς χειρτέχνων, ἢ σοφωτέρας, ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς ποιημάτων ἴσασιν. οἱ δ' ὡσαύτῃ ἢ τῆς ἀψύχων ἔνια, ποιεῖ μὲν, ἐκ εἰδῶτα ἢ ποιεῖ, οἷον καλεῖ τὸ πῦρ. τὰ μὲν ἐν ἀψύχῃ φύσῃ τινὶ ποιεῖν τῶν ἔκαστου τὰς ἢ χειρτέχνων δι' ἔθος. *We account the Architects in every thing more honourable than the Manuary Opificers, because they understand the Reason of the things done, whereas the other, as some Inanimate things, only Do, not knowing what they Do: the Difference between them being only this, that Inanimate Things Act by a certain Nature in them, but the Manuary Opificer by Habit. Thus Nature may be called the χειρτέχνων or Manuary Opificer that Acts subserviently under the Architectonical Art and Wisdom of the Divine Understanding, ἢ ποιεῖ μὲν ἐκ εἰδῶτα, which does Do without Knowing the Reason of what it Doth.*

12. Wherefore as we did before observe the *Preeminences* of Nature above Humane Art, so we must here take Notice also of the *Imperfections* and *Defects* of it, in which respect it falls short of *Humane Art*, which are likewise Two; and the First of them is this, That though it Act *Artificially* for the sake of *Ends*, yet it self doth neither *Intend those Ends*, nor *Understand the Reason of that it doth*. Nature is not *Master* of that *Consummate Art* and *Wisdom* according to which it acts, but only a *Servant to it*, and a *Drudging Executioner* of the *Dictates* of it. This Difference betwixt *Nature* and *Abstract Art* or *Wisdom* is expressed by *Plotinus* in these words: τί διοίσῃ τὸ λεγόμενης

En. 4. 1. 4. c. 13.

φύσεως φρονήσις; ὅτι ἡ μὲν φρονήσις πρῶτην, ἢ ἡ φύσις ἑχάτων, ἰνδαλμα τῷ φρονήσεως ἢ φύσις, ἢ ψυχῆς ἑχάτων ὄν, ἑχάτων ἢ τῇ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐλλαμπόμενον λόγον ἔχει. οἷον εἰ ἐν κηρῷ βαθεῖ, διμνέιτο εἰς ἑχάτων ἐπι δότερα ἐν τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τύπος ἐνάργος μὲν ὄντος τῷ ἄνω, ἰχνὸς ἢ ἀδυνῆς ὄντος τῷ κάτω, ὅθεν εἰδὲ οἷδε φύσις, μόνον ἢ ποιεῖ. *How doth Wisdom differ from that which is called Nature? Verily in this Manner, That Wisdom is the First Thing, but Nature the Last and Lowest; for Nature is but an Image or Imitation of Wisdom, the Last thing of the Soul, which hath the lowest Impress of Reason shining upon it; as when a thick piece of Wax, is thoroughly impressed upon by a Seal, that Impress which is clear and distinct in the superiour Superficies of it, will in the lower side be weak and obscure; and such is the Stamp and Signature of Nature, compared with that of Wisdom and Understanding, Nature being a thing which doth only Do, but not Know. And elsewhere the same Writer declares the Difference between the Spermatick λόγοι, or Reasons, and Knowledges or Conceptions of the Mind in this manner;*

En. 2. 1. 3. f. 17.

Πότερα ἢ οἱ λόγοι ἔστοι οἱ ἐν ψυχῇ νοήματα; ἀλλὰ πᾶς ἢ τὰ νοήματα ποιήσῃ; ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἐν ὕλῃ ποιεῖ, ἢ τὸ ποιεῖν φυσικῶς, ἐνόησις, εἰδὲ ὄρασις, ἀλλὰ δύναμις τρεπτικὴ τὸ ὕλης, ἐκ εἰδῶτα, ἀλλὰ δρῶσα μόνον, οἷον τύπον ἢ χῆμα ἐν ὕδατι. *Whether are these Plastick Reasons or Forms in the Soul Knowledges? But how shall it then Act according to those Knowledges? For the Plastick Reason or Form Acts or Works in Matter, and that which acts Naturally is not Intellection nor Vision, but a certain Power of moving Matter, which doth not Know, but only Do, and makes as it were a Stamp or Figure in Water.*

And with this Doctrine of the Ancients, a Modern Judicious Writer and Sagacious Inquirer into Nature, seems fully to agree, that Nature is such a Thing as doth not Know but only Do: For after he had admired

admired

admired that *Wisdom* and *Art* by which the Bodies of Animals are framed, he concludes that one or other of these two things must needs be acknowledged, that either the *Vegetative* or *Plastick* Power of the Soul, by which it Fabricates and Organizes its own body, is more Excellent and Divine than the Rational; Or else, *In Natura Operibus neq; Prudentiam nec Intellectum inesse, sed ita solum videri Conceptui nostro, qui secundum Artes nostras & Facultates, seu Exemplaria à nobismetipsis mutuata, de rebus Naturæ divinis judicamus; Quasi Principia Naturæ Activa, effectus suos eo modo producerent, quo nos opera nostra Artificialia solemus: That in the Works of Nature there is neither Prudence nor Understanding, but only it seems so to our Apprehensions, who judge of these Divine things of Nature, according to our own Arts and Faculties, and Patterns borrowed from our selves; as if the Active Principles of Nature did produce their Effects in the same manner, as we do our Artificial Works.* Wherefore we conclude, agreeably to the Sence of the best Philosophers, both Ancient and Modern, That Nature is such a Thing, as though it act *Artificially* and for the sake of *Ends*, yet it doth but *Ape* and *Mimick* the *Divine Art* and *Wisdom*, it self not Understanding those *Ends* which it Acts for, nor the Reason of what it doth in order to them; for which Cause also it is not Capable of *Consultation* or *Deliberation*, nor can it Act *Electively* or with *Discretion*.

13. But because this may seem strange at the first sight, that Nature should be said to Act *ἐνὲν τῷ*, for the sake of *Ends*, and Regularly or Artificially, and yet be it self devoid of *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, we shall therefore endeavour to perswade the *Possibility*, and facilitate the Belief of it, by some other Instances; and first by that of *Habits*, particularly those Musical ones, of Singing, Playing upon Instruments, and Dancing. Which *Habits* direct every Motion of the Hand, Voice, and Body, and prompt them readily, without any *Deliberation* or *Studied Consideration*, what the next following *Note* or *Motion* should be. If you jogg a sleeping Musician, and sing but the first Words of a Song to him, which he had either himself composed, or learnt before, he will presently take it from you, and that perhaps before he is thoroughly awake, going on with it, and singing out the remainder of the whole Song to the End. Thus the Fingers of an exercised Lutanist, and the Legs and whole Body of a skilful Dancer, are directed to move Regularly and Orderly, in a long Train and Series of Motions, by those Artificial Habits in them, which do not themselves at all comprehend those *Laws* and *Rules of Musick* or *Harmony*, by which they are governed: So that the same thing may be said of these *Habits*, which was said before of Nature, That they do not *Know*, but only *Do*. And thus we see there is no Reason, why this *Plastick Nature* (which is supposed to move Body Regularly and Artificially) should be thought to be an Absolute Impossibility, since *Habits* do in like manner, Gradually Evolve themselves, in a long Train or Series of Regular and Artificial Motions, readily prompting the doing of them, without comprehending that *Art* and *Reason* by which they are directed. The forementioned Philosopher illustrates the *Seminary Reason* and *Plastick Nature* of the Universe, by this

En. 3. l. 2. f. 16. very Instance : ἡ τοίνυν ἐνέργεια αὐτῆς τεχνικῆ ὡς ἂν ὁ ὀρχηστὴς, κινῶμενος εἴη. ὁ γὰρ ὀρχηστὴς, τῇ ἑστῶ τεχνικῇ ζωῇ ἑοικεν αὐτὸς, ὡς ἡ τέχνη αὐτὸν κινεῖ, ὡς ἑστὸς κινεῖ, ὡς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτῆς πιαύτης πᾶς ἕσσης. *The Energy of Nature is Artificial, as when a Dancer moves ; for a Dancer resembles this Artificial Life of Nature, forasmuch as Art it self moves him, and so moves him as being such a Life in him.* And agreeably to this Conceit, the Ancient Mythologists represented the Nature of the Universe, by Pan Playing upon a Pipe or Harp, and being in love with the Nymph Eccho ; as if Nature did, by a kind of Silent Melody, make all the Parts of the Universe every where Daunce in measure & Proportion, it self being as it were in the mean time delighted and ravished with the Recchoing of its own Harmony. *Habits* are said to be an *Adventitious* and *Acquired Nature*, and Nature was before defined by the Stoicks to be ἕξις, or a *Habit* : so that there seems to be no other Difference between these two, than this, that whereas the One is *Acquired by Teaching, Industry and Exercise* ; the other, as was expressed by Hippocrates, is ἀποιδιδότος ἢ ἐκ μάθησα, *Unlearned and Untaught*, and may in some fence also be said to be αὐτοδιδάκτος, *Self-taught*, though she be indeed always Inwardly Prompted, Secretly Whispered into, and *Inspired*, by the *Divine Art and Wisdom*.

14. Moreover, that something may Act *Artificially* and for *Ends*, without Comprehending the Reason of what it doth, may be further evinced from those *Natural Instincts* that are in Animals, which without Knowledge direct them to Act *Regularly*, in Order both to their own *Good* and the *Good* of the *Universe*. As for Example ; the Bees in Mellification, and in framing their Combs and Hexagonal Cells, the Spiders in spinning their Webs, the Birds in building their Nests, and many other Animals in such like Actions of theirs, which would seem to argue a great Sagacity in them, whereas notwithstanding, as Aristotle observes, ἑτε τεχνῆ ἑτε ζήτησάντα ἑτε βελασσομύρα ποιεῖ. *They do these things, neither by Art nor by Counsel nor by any Deliberation of their own*, and therefore are not *Masters of that Wisdom* according to which they Act, but only *Passive* to the Instincts and Impresses thereof upon them. And indeed to affirm, that Brute Animals do all these things by a *Knowledge* of their own, and which themselves are *Masters* of, and that without *Deliberation* and *Consultation*, were to make them to be endued with a most *Perfect Intellect*, far transcending that of *Humane Reason* ; whereas it is plain enough, that *Brutes* are not *above Consultation*, but *Below* it, and that these Instincts of Nature in them, are *Nothing* but a kind of *Fate* upon them.

15. There is in the next place another *Imperfection* to be observed in the *Plastick Nature*, that as it doth not comprehend the *Reason* of its own Action, so neither is it *Clearly and Expressly Conscious* of what it doth ; in which Respect, it doth not only fall short of *Humane Art*, but even of that very Manner of Acting which is in *Brutes* themselves, who though they do not Understand the Reason of those Actions, that their *Natural Instincts* lead them to, yet they are generally conceived to be *Conscious* of them, and to do them by *Phancy* ; whereas the *Plastick*

*Plastick Nature* in the *Formation* of *Plants* and *Animals*, seems to have no *Animal Fancie*, no *Exprefs συναλαθησις*, *Con-sense* or *Consciousness* of what it doth. Thus the often Commended Philosopher, ἡ φύσις οὐδὲ φαίλασιαν ἔχει, ἢ ὃ νόησις φαντασίας κελήτων, φαντασία ὃ μεταξὺ φύσεως τῆς πρὸς τὴν νοήσεως· ἢ μὲν γὰρ εὐθενοῦ ἀντίληψιν οὐδὲ σύνεσιν ἔχει. *Nature hath not so much as any Fancie in it; As Intellection and Knowledge is a thing Superiour to Fancie, so Fancie is Superiour to the Impress of Nature, for Nature hath no Apprehension nor Conscious Perception of any thing. In a Word, Nature is a thing that hath no such Self-perception or Self-injoyment in it, as Animals have.*

En. 4. L. 4. s. 13.

16. Now we are well aware, that this is a Thing which the *Narrow Principles* of some late *Philosophers* will not admit of, that there should be any *Action* distinct from *Local Motion* besides *Expresly Conscious Cogitation*. For they making the first *General Heads* of all *Entity*, to be *Extension* and *Cogitation*, or *Extended Being* and *Cogitative*, and then supposing that the *Essence* of *Cogitation* consists in *Expresly Consciousness*, must needs by this means exclude such a *Plastick Life* of *Nature*, as we speak of, that is supposed to act without *Animal Fancie* or *Expresly Consciousness*. Wherefore we conceive that the first *Heads* of *Being* ought rather to be expressed thus; *Resisting* or *Antitypous Extension*, and *Life*, (i.e. *Internal Energy* and *Self-activity*;) and then again, that *Life* or *Internal Self-activity*, is to be subdivided into such as either acts with *expresly Consciousness* and *Synasthesis*, or such as is without it; the *Latter* of which is this *Plastick Life* of *Nature*: So that there may be an *Action* distinct from *Local Motion*, or a *Vital Energy*, which is not accompanied with that *Fancie*, or *Consciousness*, that is in the *Energies* of the *Animal Life*; that is, there may be a simple *Internal Energy* or *Vital Autokinetic*, which is without that *Duplication*, that is included in the *Nature* of *συναλαθησις*, *Con-sense* and *Consciousness*, which makes a *Being* to be *Present* with it self, *Attentive* to its own *Actions*, or *Animadversive* of them, to perceive it self to *Do* or *Suffer*, and to have a *Fruition* or *Enjoyment* of it self. And indeed it must be granted, that what moves *Matter* or determines the *Motion* of it *Vitally*, must needs do it by some other *Energy* of its own, as it is *Reasonable* also to conceive, that it self hath some *Vital Sympathy* with that *Matter* which it Acts upon. But we apprehend, that Both these may be without *Clear* and *Expresly Consciousness*. Thus the Philosopher, πᾶσα ζωὴ ἐνεργεια, καὶ ἡ φαύλη, ἐνεργεια ὃ, οὐχ ὡς τὸ πῦρ ἐνεργεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐνεργεια αὐτῆς, καὶ μὴ ἀλαθησις τις παρῆ, κίνησις τις ἐκ ἐαυτῆς. *Every Life is Energie, even the worst of Lives, and therefore that of Nature. Whose Energie is not like that of Fire, but such an Energie, as though there be no Sense belonging to it, yet is it not Temerarious or Fortuitous, but Orderly & Regular.*

En. 3. L. 2. s. 16.

Wherefore this *Controversie* whether the *Energy* of the *Plastick Nature*, be *Cogitation*, or no, seems to be but a *Logomachy*, or *Contention* about *Words*. For if *Clear* and *Expresly Consciousness* be supposed to be included in *Cogitation*, then it must needs be granted that *Cogitation* doth not belong to the *Plastick Life* of *Nature*: but if the *Notion* of that *Word* be enlarged so as to comprehend all *Action* distinct from *Local Motion*, and to be of equal *Extent* with *Life*, then the *Energie* of *Nature* is *Cogitation*.

Nevertheless if any one think fit to attribute some Obscure and Imperfect *Sense* or *Perception*, different from that of *Animals*, to the *Energie* of *Nature*, and will therefore call it a kind of *Drowsie*, *Unawakened*, or *Astonish'd Cogitation*, the Philosopher, before mentioned, will not very much gainsay it: *ἔτις βέλνται σύνεσιν τινὰ ἢ αἰσθασιν αὐτῇ διδόναι, ἔχουσιν λόγον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶ αἰσθασιν ἢ τῶ σύνεσιν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἔτις τῶ τῆ ὑπνῶ τῆ ἐγεννηθέντος προσεχάσθη.* If any will needs attribute some kind of *Apprehension* or *Sense* to *Nature*, then it must not be such a *Sense* or *Apprehension*, as is in *Animals*, but something that differs as much from it, as the *Sense* or *Cogitation* of one in a profound sleep, differs from that of one who is awake. And since it cannot be denied but that the *Plastick Nature* hath a certain *Dull* and *Obscure Idea* of that which it Stamps and Prints upon Matter, the same Philosopher himself sticks not to call this *Idea* of *Nature*, *θεῶμα* and *θεωρημα*, a *Spectacle* and *Contemplamen*, as likewise the *Energy* of *Nature* towards it, *θεωρεῖα ἀψοφος*, a *Silent Contemplation*; nay he allows, that *Nature* may be said to be, in some Sence, *φιλοθεάμων*, a *Lover of Spectacles* or *Contemplation*.

17. However, that there may be some *Vital Energy* without *Clear* and *Express* συναίσθησις, *Con-sense* and *Consciousness*, *Animadversion*, *Attention*, or *Self-perception*, seems reasonable upon several accompts. For first, those Philosophers themselves, who make the *Essence* of the *Soul* to consist in *Cogitation*, and again the *Essence* of *Cogitation* in *Clear* and *Express Consciousness*, cannot render it any way probable, that the *Souls* of *Men* in all profound *Sleeps*, *Lethargies* and *Apoplexies*, as also of *Embryo's* in the *Womb*, from their very first arrival thither, are never so much as one moment without *Expressly Conscious Cogitations*; which if they were, according to the *Principles* of their *Philosophy*, they must, *ipso facto*, cease to have any *Being*. Now if the *Souls* of *Men* and *Animals* be at any time without *Consciousness* and *Self-perception*, then it must needs be granted, that *Clear* and *Express Consciousness* is not *Essential* to *Life*. There is some appearance of *Life* and *Vital Sympathy* in certain *Vegetables* and *Plants*, which however called *Sensitive Plants* and *Plant-animals*, cannot well be supposed to have *Animal Sense* and *Fancy*, or *Express Consciousness* in them; although we are not ignorant in the mean time, how some endeavour to solve all those *Phenomena Mechanically*. It is certain, that our *Humane Souls* themselves are not always *Conscious*, of whatever they have in them; for even the *Sleeping Geometrician*, hath at that time, all his *Geometrical Theorems* and *Knowledges* some way in him; as also the *Sleeping Musician*, all his *Musical Skill* and *Songs*: and therefore why may it not be possible for the *Soul* to have likewise some *Actual Energie* in it, which it is not *Expressly Conscious* of? We have all *Experience*, of our doing many *Animal Actions Non-attendingly*, which we reflect upon afterwards; as also that we often continue a long *Series* of *Bodily Motions*, by a mere *Virtual Intention* of our *Minds*, and as it were by *Half a Cogitation*. That *Vital Sympathy*, by which our *Soul* is united and tied fast, as it were with a *Knot*, to the *Body*, is a thing that we have no direct *Consciousness* of, but only in its *Effects*. Nor can we tell how we come to be so different-ly

ly affected in our Souls, from the many different Motions made upon our Bodies. As likewise we are not Conscious to our selves of that Energy, whereby we impress Variety of *Motions* and *Figurations* upon the *Animal Spirits* of our Brain in our *Phantastick Thoughts*. For though the *Geometrician* perceive himself to make Lines, Triangles and Circles in the Dust, with his Finger, yet he is not aware, how he makes all those same Figures, first upon the Corporeal Spirits of his Brain, from whence notwithstanding, as from a Glass, they are reflected to him, *Fancy* being rightly concluded by *Aristotle* to be a *Weak and Obscure Sense*. There is also another more Interior kind of *Plastick Power* in the Soul (if we may so call it) whereby it is Formative of its own Cogitations, which it self is not always Conscious of; as when in Sleep or Dreams, it frames Interlocutory Discourses betwixt it self and other Persons, in a long Series, with Coherent Sence and Apt Connexions, in which oftentimes it seems to be surprized with unexpected Answers and Reparties; though it self were all the while the Poet and Inventor of the whole Fable. Not only our Nictations for the most part when we are awake, but also our Nocturnal Volutations in Sleep, are performed with very little or no Consciousness. Respiration or that Motion of the *Diaphragma* and other Muscles which causes it (there being no sufficient Mechanical accmpt given of it) may well be concluded to be always a Vital Motion, though it be not always Animal; since no man can affirm that he is perpetually Conscious to himself, of that Energy of his Soul, which does produce it when he is awake, much less when asleep. And Lastly, the Cartesian Attempts to salve the Motion of the Heart Mechanically, seem to be abundantly confuted, by Autopsy and Experiment, evincing the *Systole* of the Heart to be a *Muscular Constriction*, caused by some Vital Principle, to make which, nothing but a *Pulsifick Corporeal Quality* in the Substance of the Heart it self, is very Unphilosophical and Absurd. Now as we have no voluntary *Imperium* at all, upon the *Systole* and *Diastrale* of the Heart, so are we not conscious to our selves of any Energy of our own Soul that causes them, and therefore we may reasonably conclude from hence also, that there is some *Vital Energy*, without *Animal Fancy* or *Synæsthesis*, express *Consciousness* and *Self-perception*.

18. Wherefore the Plastick Nature acting neither by *Knowledge* nor by *Animal Fancy*, neither *Electively* nor *Hormetically*, must be concluded to act *Fatally*, *Magically* and *Sympathetically*. And thus that Curious and Diligent Inquirer into Nature, before commended, resolves, *Natura tanquam Fato quodam, seu Mandato secundum Leges operante, movet; Nature moveth as it were by a kind of Fate or Command, acting according to Laws*. Fate, and the Laws or Commands of the Deity, concerning the Mundane Oeconomy (they being really the same thing) ought not to be looked upon, neither as *Verbal things*, nor as mere *Will* and *Cogitation* in the Mind of God; but as an *Energetical* and *Effectual Principle*, constituted by the Deity, for the bringing of things decreed to pass. The Aphrodisian Philosopher with others of the Ancients, have concluded, that *Fate* and *Nature* are but two different Names, for one and the same thing, and that

Harvey de  
Gen. An.

700

τίτε εἰμαρμύλον καὶ φύσιν, καὶ τὸ καὶ φύσιν εἰμαρμύλον, both that which is done *Fatally*, is done *Naturally*, and also whatever is done *Naturally*, is done *Fatally*; but that which we assert in this place is only this, that the *Plastick Nature* may be said to be, the *True and Proper Fate* of *Matter*, or the *Corporeal World*. Now that which acts not by any *Knowledge* or *Fancy*, *Will* or *Appetite* of its own, but only *Fatally* according to *Laws* and *Impresses* made upon it (but differently in different Cases) may be said also to act *Magically* and *Sympathetically*. Ἡ ἀληθινὴ μαγεία (saith the Philosopher) ἢ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φιλία καὶ νεῖκος, *The true Magick is the Friendship and Discord that is in the Universe*; and again *Magick* is said to be founded ἐν τῇ συμπαθείᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν ποικιλίᾳ πρὸς ἓν ζῶον συντελούντων, *In the Sympathy and Variety of diverse Powers conspiring together into one Animal*. Of which Passages, though the Principal meaning seem to be this, that the ground of *Magical Fascination*, is one *Vital Unitive Principle* in the *Universe*; yet they imply also, that there is a certain *Vital Energy*, not in the way of *Knowledge* and *Fancy*, *Will* and *Animal Appetite*, but *Fatally Sympathetical* and *Magical*. As indeed that *Mutual Sympathy* which we have constant Experience of, betwixt our *Soul* and our *Body*, (being not a *Material* and *Mechanical*, but *Vital* thing) may be called also *Magical*.

19. From what hath been hitherto declared concerning the *Plastick Nature*, it may appear; That though it be a thing that acts for *Ends Artificially*, and which may be also called the *Divine Art*, and the *Fate* of the *Corporeal World*; yet for all that it is neither *God* nor *Goddeß*, but a *Low* and *Imperfect Creature*. Forasmuch as it is not *Master* of that *Reason* and *Wisdom* according to which it acts, nor does it properly *Intend* those *Ends* which it acts for, nor indeed is it *Expresly* *Conscious* of what it doth; it not *Knowing* but only *Doing*, according to *Commands* & *Laws* imprest upon it. Neither of which things ought to seem strange or incredible, since *Nature* may as well act *Regularly* and *Artificially*, without any *Knowledge* and *Consciousness* of its own, as *Forms* of *Letters* compounded together, may *Print* *Coherent Philosophick Sence*, though they understand nothing at all; and it may also act for the sake of those *Ends*, that are not intended by it self, but some *Higher Being*, as well as the *Saw* or *Hatchet* in the hand of the *Architect* or *Mechanick* doth, τὸ σιέπαρον ἐνεκά τῃ πελεκᾶ, ἀλλ' ἔπερολογιζόμενον, ἀλλὰ τῷ περολογιζόμενῳ ὑπηρετεῖν, the *Ax cuts for the sake of something*, though it self does not *ratiocinate*, nor *intend* or *design* any thing, but is only *subservient* to that which does so. It is true, that our *Humane Actions* are not governed by such exact *Reason*, *Art*, and *Wisdom*, nor carried on with such *Constancy*, *Evenness* and *Uniformity*, as the *Actions* of *Nature* are; notwithstanding which, since we act according to a *Knowledge* of our own, and are *Masters* of that *Wisdom* by which our *Actions* are directed, since we do not act *Fatally* only, but *Electively* and *Intendingly*, with *Consciousness* and *Self-perception*; the *Rational Life* that is in us, ought to be accounted a much *Higher* and more *Noble Perfection*, than that *Plastick Life* of *Nature*. Nay, this *Plastick Nature*, is so far from being the *First* and *Highest Life*, that it is indeed the *Last* and *Lowest* of all

Simplic. in Arist. Phys. L. 2.

all Lives; it being really the same thing with the *Vegetative*, which is Inferiour to the *Sensitive*. The difference betwixt Nature and Wisdom was before observed, that *Wisdom* is the *First* and *Highest* thing, but *Nature* the *Last* and *Lowest*; this latter being but an Umbratile Imitation of the former. And to this purpose, this *Plastick Nature* is further described by the same Philosopher in these Words, *ἐστὶ τὸν ἄνω λόγον καὶ ἀνεπίστατον ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄνευ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀνεπίστατον τὸ ἄνω ἢ ἐπιπέδου ἢ ἐκείνου, ἢ οἷον ἐκλαμψὶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἢ ψυχῆς, ἢ ψυχῆς καὶ ἄνω διακρίσεως γεννησάτων τὸ λόγον τῆτον.* The *Spermatick Reason* or *Plastick Nature*, is no pure *Mind* or perfect *Intellect*, nor any kind of pure *Soul* neither; but something which depends upon it, being as it were an *Effulgency* or *Eradiation*, from both together, *Mind* and *Soul*, or *Soul* affected according to *Mind*, generating the same as a *Lower kind of Life*.

En. 3.1.2.c.16.

And though this *Plastick Nature* contain no small part of *Divine Providence* in it, yet since it is a thing that cannot act *Electively* nor with *Discretion*, it must needs be granted that there is a *Higher* and *Diviner Providence* than this, which also presides over the *Corporeal World* it self, which was a thing likewise insisted upon by that Philosopher, *γίνεται τὰ ἐν τῷ παντί καὶ ἐκ σπερματικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ λόγου ἀνεπίστατου, ἢ ἐκ περὶ ἑσέων, ἢ ἐκ τῆς ἐκ σπερματικῆς λόγου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς σπερματικαῖς λόγοις ἐν, ἢ ἐκ γινόμενων, ἀλλὰ τῶν σπερματικῶν αὐτῶν λόγων.* The things in the world, are not administered merely by *Spermatick Reasons*, but by *Perileptick* (that is, *Comprehensive Intellectual Reasons*) which are in order of *Nature* before the other, because in the *Spermatick Reasons* cannot be contained that which is contrary to them, &c. Where though this Philosopher may extend his *Spermatick Reasons* further than we do our *Plastick Nature* in this place, (which is only confined to the *Motions of Matter*) yet he concludes, that there is a higher Principle presiding over the *Universe* than this. So that it is not *Ratio mersa & confusa*, a *Reason drowned in Matter*, and confounded with it, which is the *Supreme Governour of the World*, but a *Providence* perfectly *Intellectual*, *Abstract* and *Released*.

En. 4.1.4.c.39.

20. But though the *Plastick Nature* be the *Lowest* of all *Lives*, nevertheless since it is a *Life*, it must needs be *Incorporeal*; all *Life* being such. For *Body* being nothing but *Antitypous Extension*, or *Resisting Bulk*, nothing but mere *Outside*, *Aliud extra Aliud*, together with *Passive Capability*, hath no *Internal Energy*, *Self-activity*, or *Life* belonging to it; it is not able so much as to *Move it self*, and therefore much less can it *Artificially direct* its own *Motion*. Moreover, in the *Efformation* of the *Bodies of Animals*, it is *One* and the self-same thing that directs the *Whole*; that which *Contrives* and *Frames* the *Eye*, cannot be a distinct thing from that which *Frames* the *Ear*; nor that which makes the *Hand*, from that which makes the *Foot*; the same thing which delineates the *Veins*, must also form the *Arteries*; and that which fabricates the *Nerves*, must also project the *Muscles* and *Joynts*; it must be the same thing that designs and *Organizes* the *Heart* and *Brain*, with such *Communications* betwixt them; *One* and the self-same thing must needs have in it, the entire

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Idea and the complete Model or Platform of the whole Organick Body. For the several parts of Matter distant from one another, acting alone by themselves, without any common Directrix, being not able to confer together, nor communicate with each other, could never possibly conspire to make up one such uniform and Orderly System or Compages, as the Body of every Animal is. The same is to be said likewise concerning the Plastick Nature of the whole Corporeal Universe, in which ἀπαντα πρὸς ἐν συντέτακται, *all things are ordered together conspiringly into One*. It must be one and the same thing, which formeth the whole, or else it could never have fallen into such an Uniform Order and Harmony. Now that which is One and the Same, acting upon several distant parts of Matter, cannot be Corporeal.

Indeed *Aristotle* is severely censured by some learned men for this, that though he talk every where of such a Nature as acts Regularly, Artificially and Methodically, in order to the Best, yet he does nowhere positively declare whether this Nature of his be Corporeal or Incorporeal, Substantial or Accidental, which yet is the less to be wondred at in him, because he does not clearly determine these same points concerning the Rational Soul neither, but seems to stagger uncertainly about them. In the mean time it cannot be denied, but that *Aristotle's* Followers do for the most part conclude this Nature of his to be Corporeal; whereas notwithstanding, according to the Principles of this Philosophy, it cannot possibly be such: For there is nothing else attributed to Body in it, besides these three, Matter, Form and Accidents; neither of which can be the Aristotelick Nature. First, it cannot be Matter; because Nature, according to *Aristotle*, is supposed to be the Principle of Motion and Activity, which Matter in it self is devoid of. Moreover *Aristotle* concludes, that they who assign only a Material Cause, assign no Cause at all τὸ δὲ ἢ καλᾶς, *of well and fit*, of that Regular and Artificial Frame of things which is ascribed to Nature; upon both which accompts, it is determined by that Philosopher, that ἢ φύσις μᾶλλον ἀρχὴ ἢ αἰτία τῆς ὕλης, *Nature is more a Principle and Cause than Matter*, and therefore it cannot be one and the same thing with it. Again, it is as plain, that *Aristotle's* Nature cannot be the Forms of particular Bodies neither, as Vulgar Peripateticks seem to conceive, these being all Generated and Produced by Nature, and as well Corruptible as Generable. Whereas Nature is such a thing as is neither Generated nor Corrupted, it being the Principle and Cause of all Generation and Corruption. To make Nature and the Material Forms of Bodies to be one and the self-same thing, is all one as if one should make the Seal (with the Stamper too) to be one and the same thing, with the Signature upon the Wax. And Lastly, *Aristotle's* Nature can least of all be the Accidents or Qualities of Bodies; because these act only in Vertue of their Substance, neither can they exercise any Active Power over the Substance it self in which they are; whereas the Plastick Nature is a thing that Domineers over the Substance of the whole Corporeal Universe, and which Subordinately to the Deity, put both Heaven and Earth into this Frame in which now it is. Wherefore since *Aristotle's* Nature can be neither the  
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Matter, nor the *Forms*, nor the *Accidents of Bodies*, it is plain, that according to his own Principles, it must be Incorporeal.

21. Now if the *Plastick Nature* be Incorporeal, then it must of necessity, be either an *Inferiour Power or Faculty* of some *Soul* which is also *Conscious, Sensitive or Rational*; or else a lower *Substantial Life* by it self, devoid of *Animal Consciousness*. The *Platonists* seem to affirm both these together, namely that there is a *Plastick Nature* lodged in all particular *Souls of Animals, Brutes and Men*, and also that there is a *General Plastick or Spermatick Principle* of the whole *Universe* distinct from their *Higher Mundane Soul*, though subordinate to it, and dependent upon it, ἡ λεγομένη φύσις γέννημα ψυχῆς προτέρης δυνατώτερον ζώσης. That which is called *Nature*, is the *Off-spring of an higher Soul, which hath a more Powerful Life in it*. And though *Aristotle* do not so clearly acknowledge the *Incorporeity* and *Substantiality* of *Souls*, yet he concurs very much with this *Platonick Doctrine*, that *Nature* is either a *Lower Power or Faculty* of some *Conscious Soul*, or else an *Inferiour kind of Life* by it self, depending upon a *Superiour Soul*.

And this we shall make to appear from his Book *De Partibus Ani-* L.I.C.II.  
*malium*, after we have taken notice of some considerable Preliminary Passages in it in order thereunto. For having first declared, that besides the *Material Cause*, there are other *Causes* also of *Natural Generations*, namely these two, ἢτε ἡ ἐνεκα ἢ ὅθεν ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, that for whose sake, (or the *Final Cause*) and that from which the *Principle of Motion* is, (or the *Efficient Cause*) he determines that the former of these Two, is the principal, φαίνεται ὅτι πρότερον ἢν λέγομεν ἐνεκα τινος. λόγου γὰρ ἔτος, ἀρχὴ ὅς ὁ λόγος, οἰκίας, ἔντε τοῖς καὶ τέχνῳ ἢ τοῖς φύσιν συνεσκηνοῦν. The chiefest of these two Causes seems to be the *Final or the Intending Cause*; for this is *Reason*, and *Reason* is alike a *Principle in Artificial and in Natural things*. Nay the *Philosopher* adds excellently, that there is more of *Reason and Art*, in the things of *Nature*, than there is in those things that are *Artificially* made by men, μάλλον δ' ἔστι τὸ ἔνεκα ἢ τὸ καλὸν ἐν τοῖς φύσεως ἔργοις, ἢ ἐν τοῖς τῆς τέχνης. There is more of *Final or Intending Causality and of the reason of Good*, in the works of *Nature* than in those of *Humane Art*. After which he greatly complains of the first and most *Ancient Physiologers*, meaning thereby *Anaximander*, and those other *Ionicks* before *Anaxagoras*, that they considered only τὴν ὑλικὴν ἀρχὴν, the *Material Principle and Cause* of things, without attending to those Two other Causes, the *Principle of Motion*, and that which aims at *Ends*, they talking only, of *Fire, Water, Air and Earth*, and generating the whole *World*, from the *Fortuitous Concourse* of these *Senseless Bodies*. But at length *Aristotle* falls upon *Democritus*, who being *Junior* to those others before mentioned, *Philosophised* after the same *Atheistical* manner, but in a new way of his own, by *Atoms*; acknowledging no other *Nature*, neither in the *Universe*, nor in the *Bodies of Animals*, than that of *Fortuitous Mechanism*, and supposing all things to arise from the different *Compositions* of *Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, and Motions*. Of which *Democritick Philosophy*, he gives his *Cen-*  
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De part. An.  
Lib. 1. cap. 1.

sure in these following words, *εἰ μὲν ἔν τῃ χήματι καὶ τῷ χρώματι ἕκαστον ἔστι, τῷ τε ζῶον καὶ τῷ μέρει;* ὁρθῶς ἀν' ἀημόκριτος λέγει, &c. *If Animals and their several parts did consist of nothing but Figure and Colour, then indeed Democritus would be in the right: But a Dead man hath the same Form and Figure of Body, that he had before, and yet for all that he is not a Man; neither is a Brazen or Wooden Hand a Hand, but only Equivocally, as a Painted Physician, or Pipes made of Stone are so called. No member of a Dead Mans Body, is that which it was before, when he was alive, neither Eye, nor Hand, nor Foot: Wherefore this is but a rude way of Philosophizing, and just as if a Carpenter should talk of a Wooden Hand. For thus these Physiologers declare the Generations and Causes of Figures only, or the Matter out of which things are made, as Air and Earth. Whereas no Artificer would think it sufficient, to render such a Cause of any Artificial Fabrick, because the Instrument happened to fall so upon the Timber, that therefore it was Hollow here and Plane there; but rather because himself made such strokes, and for such Ends, &c.*

Now in the close of all, this Philosopher at length declares, That there is another Principle of Corporeal things, besides the Material, and such as is not only the Cause of Motion, but also acts Artificially in order to Ends, *ἔστι τι τοῖστων ὃ δὴ καλεῖται φύσις*, there is such a thing as that which we call Nature, that is, not the Fortuitous Motion of Senseless Matter, but a Plastick Regular and Artificial Nature, such as acts for Ends and Good; declaring in the same place, what this Nature is, namely that it is *ψυχὴ, ἢ ψυχῆς μέρος, ἢ μὴ ἀνεψυχῆς*, Soul, or Part of Soul, or not without Soul; and from thence inferring, that it properly belongs to a Physiologer, to treat concerning the Soul also. But he concludes afterwards, *ἔστι πᾶσα ψυχὴ φύσις*, that the whole Soul is not Nature; whence it remains, that according to Aristotle's sence, Nature is *ἢ ψυχῆς μέρος, ἢ μὴ ἀνεψυχῆς*, either part of a Soul or not without Soul, that is, either a lower Part or Faculty of some Conscious Soul; or else an Inferiour kind of Life by it self, which is not without Soul, but Subordinate to it and dependent on it.

22. As for the Bodies of Animals Aristotle first resolves in General, that Nature in them is either the whole Soul, or else some part of it, *φύσις ὡς ἡ κινῆσα, καὶ ὡς τὸ τέλος τῆς ζῶας*, ἢτοι πᾶσα ἢ ψυχὴ, ἢ μέρος τι αὐτῆς, Nature as the Moving Principle, or as that which acts Artificially for Ends, (so far as concerns the Bodies of Animals) is either the whole Soul, or else some Part of it. But afterward he determines more particularly, that the Plastick Nature is not the whole Soul in Animals, but only some part of it; *ἔστι πᾶσα ψυχὴ φύσις, ἀλλὰ τι μέρος αὐτῆς*, that is, Nature in Animals, properly so called, is some Lower Power or Faculty lodged in their respective Souls, whether Sensitive or Rational.

And that there is Plastick Nature in the Souls of Animals, the same Aristotle elsewhere affirms and proves after this manner: *τί τὸ συνέχον εἰς τ' ἀναλλία φερόμενα, τὸ πῶρ καὶ τὴν γῆν. διασπασθήσεται γὰρ εἰ μήτι ἔσται τὸ καλύσον, εἰδ' ἔστι, τὸ ἔστιν ἢ ψυχὴ, καὶ τὸ ἄπτιον τῆς ἀβέβαιου καὶ τρεφῆται.* What is that which in the Bodies of Animals holds together

De An. 1. 1. 4.

together such things as of their own Nature would otherwise move contrary ways, and flie asunder, as Fire and Earth, which would be distracted and dissipated, the one tending upwards, the other downwards, were there not something to hinder them: now if there be any such thing, this must be the Soul, which is also the Cause of Nourishment and Augmentation. Where the Philosopher adds, that though some were of Opinion, that Fire was that which was the Cause of Nourishment and Augmentation in Animals, yet this was indeed but συναλτιον πᾶς, ἢ μὴν ἀπλᾶς γε αἰτιον, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἢ ψυχὴ, only the Concause or Instrument, and not simply the Cause, but rather the Soul. And to the same purpose he philosophizeth elsewhere, ἐδὲ γὰρ ἢ πέλις δι' ἧς ἡ τροφή γίνεται τοῖς ζώοις ἢ ἀνεὶ ψυχῆς, ἢ τε θερμότητος ὄντι, περὶ γὰρ ἐργάζεται πάντα. Neither is Concoction by which Nourishment is made in Animals done without the Soul, nor without Heat, for all things are done by Fire.

De Resp. c. 8.

And certainly it seems very agreeable to the *Phænomena*, to acknowledge something in the Bodies of Animals Superiour to Mechanism, as that may well be thought to be, which keeps the more fluid parts of them constantly in the same Form and Figure, so as not to be enormously altered in their Growth by disproportionate nourishment; that which restores Flesh that was lost, consolidates dissolved Continuities, Incorporates the newly received Nourishment, and joyns it Continuously with the preexistent parts of Flesh and Bone; which regenerates and repairs Veins consumed or cut off; which causes Dentition in so regular a manner, and that not only in Infants, but also Adult persons; that which casts off Excrements and dischargeth Superfluities; which makes things seem ungrateful to an Interiour Sense, that were notwithstanding pleasing to the Taste. That Nature of *Hippocrates*, that is the Curatrix of Diseases, αἱ φύσεις τῶν νοσούντων ἰντερεῖ, and that *Archæus* of the Chymists or Paracelsians, to which all Medicaments are but Subservient, as being able to effect nothing of themselves without it. I say, there seems to be such a Principle as this in the Bodies of Animals, which is not *Mechanical* but *Vital*; and therefore since Entities are not to be multiplied without necessity, we may with *Aristotle* conclude it to be μέγας or μέγιστον τῆς ψυχῆς, a certain part of the Soul of those Animals, or a Lower Inconscius Power lodged in them.

23. Besides this Plastick Nature which is in Animals, forming their several Bodies Artificially, as so many Microcosms or *Little Worlds*, there must be also a general Plastick Nature in the *Macrocosm* the whole Corporeal Universe, that which makes all things thus to conspire every where, and agree together into one Harmony. Concerning which *Plastick Nature* of the Universe, the Author *de Mundo* writes after this manner, ἢ τὸ ὅλον κόσμον διεικορμισε μία ἢ διὰ πάντων διήκουσε δύναμις, One Power passing thorough all things, ordered and formed the whole World. Again he calls the same πνεῦμα, ἢ ἐμψυχον, ἢ γόνιμον σοίαν, a Spirit, and a Living and Generative Nature, and plainly declares it, to be a thing distinct from the Deity, but Subordinate to it and dependent on it. But *Aristotle* himself in that ge-

De Part. An.  
lib. 1. c. 1.

nuine Work of his before mentioned, speaks clearly and positively concerning this Plastick Nature of the Universe, as well as that of Animals, in these words, φαίνεται γὰρ ὡσὸρ ἐν τοῖς τεχνασίσι ἔστιν ἡ τέχνη, ἕτως ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἄλλη τις ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τοιαύτη ἢν ἔχομεν, καθάπερ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐκ τῶ πάντος. διὰ μᾶλλον εἰκός τ' ἐρεθὸν γενῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, εἰ γέγονε, καὶ εἶναι διὰ τοιαύτω αἰτίαν μᾶλλον, ἢ τὰ ζῷα τὰ θνητά. τὸ γὰρ πεταγμένον καὶ ἀεὶ σμῆνον πολὺ μᾶλλον φαίνεται ἐν τοῖς ἐρεθίοις, ἢ ὡς ἐν ἡμῶς τὸ ὃ ἀλλοτε ἄλλως, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, ὡς ἐν τὰ θνητά μᾶλλον· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μὲν ζῶων ἕκαστον φύσιν φαίνονται εἶναι καὶ γενέσθαι τ' ἄρ' ἐρεθὸν ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ τῶ αὐτομάτω τοῖστων συστῆναι, ἐν ᾧ ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ ἀταξίας ἔσθ' ὅστις φαίνεται. *It seemeth, that as there is Art in Artificial things, so in the things of Nature, there is another such like Principle or Cause, which we our selves partake of; in the same manner as we do of Heat and Cold, from the Universe. Wherefore it is more probable that the whole World was at first made by such a Cause as this (if at least it were made) and that it is still conserved by the same, than that Mortal Animals should be so: For there is much more of Order and determinate Regularity, in the Heavenly Bodies than in our selves; but more of Fortuitousness and inconstant Regularity among these Mortal things. Notwithstanding which, some there are, who, though they cannot but acknowledge that the Bodies of Animals were all framed by an Artificial Nature, yet they will needs contend that the System of the Heavens sprung merely from Fortune and Chance; although there be not the least appearance of Fortuitousness or Temerity in it. And then he sums up all into this Conclusion, ὡς εἶναι φανερόν ὅτι ἔστι τι τοῖστων ὃ δὴ καλεῖται φύσιν. Wherefore it is manifest, that there is some such thing as that which we call Nature, that is, that there is not only an Artificial, Methodical and Plastick Nature in Animals, by which their respective Bodies are Framed and Conserved; but also that there is such a General Plastick Nature likewise in the Universe, by which the Heavens and whole World are thus Artificially Ordered and Disposed.*

24. Now whereas Aristotle in the forecited Words, tells us, that we partake of Life and Understanding, from that in the Universe, after the same manner as we partake of Heat and Cold, from that Heat and Cold that is in the Universe; It is observable, that this was a Notion borrowed from Socrates; (as we understand both from Xenophon and Plato) that Philosopher having used it as an Argumentation to prove a Deity. And the Sence of it is represented after this manner by the Latin Poet;

*Principio Cælum ac Terram, Campsque Liqueutes,  
Lucentemque Globum Lunæ, Titaniæque Astra,  
Spiritus intus alit, totosque Infusa per Artus,  
Mens agit Molem, & Magno se Corpore miscet.  
Inde Hominum Pecudumque Genus, Vitæque Volantum.*

From whence it may be collected, that Aristotle did suppose, this Plastick Nature of the Universe to be, ἢ μέρος ψυχῆς, ἢ μὴ ἀείδη ψυχῆς, Either Part of some Mundane Soul, that was also Conscious and Intellectual,

ctual, (as that Plastick Nature in Animals is) or at least some Inferiour Principle, depending on such a Soul. And indeed whatever the Doctrine of the modern Peripateticks be, we make no doubt at all, but that Aristotle himself held the Worlds Animation, or a Mundane Soul; Forasmuch as he plainly declares himself concerning it, elsewhere in his Book *De Cælo*, after this manner; ἀλλ' ἡμῖς ὡς ὡς σωμα- Lib. 2. c. 12.  
των μόνον αὐτῶν, καὶ μονάδων, τάξιν μὲν ἔχοντων, ἀψύχων ἢ πάμπαν, διανο-  
σμεθα. δεῖ ἢ ὡς μετεχούτων ὑπολαμβάνειν προφθεως καὶ ζωῆς. But we com-  
monly think of the Heavens, as nothing else but Bodies and Monads,  
having only a certain Order, but altogether inanimate; whereas we  
ought on the contrary to conceive of them, as partaking of Life,  
and Action: that is, as being endued with a Rational or Intellectual  
Life. For so *Simplicius* there rightly expounds the place, δεῖ ἢ ὡς πε-  
ρεῖ ἐμψύχων αὐτῶν συλλογίζεσθαι, καὶ λογικὴν ἔχοντων ψυχὴν, ὡς καὶ προφθεως καὶ  
ζωῆς λογικῆς μέτεχον: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ψυχῶν καταγο-  
ρεσμεν, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀψύχων σωματίων, τὸ δὲ προφθεως καὶ τῶν λογικῶν ψυχῶν  
καταγορεσμεν. But we ought to think of the Heavens, as Animated with a  
Rational Soul, and thereby partaking of Action and Rational Life. For  
(saith he) though ποιεῖν, be affirmed not only of Irrational Souls, but also  
of Inanimate Bodies, yet the word προφθεως does only denominate Rational  
Beings. But further, to take away all manner of scruple or doubt,  
concerning this business; that Philosopher before in the same Book,  
ἐπιπέως affirmeth, ὅτι ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐμψύχου, καὶ ἀρχὴν κινήσεως ἔχει, That the  
Heaven is Animated, and hath a Principle of Motion within it self:  
Where by the Heaven, as in many other places of Aristotle and Plato,  
is to be understood the Whole World.

There is indeed One Passage in the same Book *De Cælo*, which at  
first sight, and slightly considered, may seem to contradict this again,  
and therefore probably is that, which hath led many into a contrary  
Perswasion, that Aristotle denied the Worlds Animation, ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτε L. 2. c. 13.  
ὑπὸ ψυχῆς ὄλορον ἀναγκάζουσιν μένειν αἰδίων. ὅθεν γὰρ τῆ ψυχῆς οἷον τ' εἶναι τὴν  
ποιούτων ζωὴν ἀλυτὸν καὶ μακαρίαν ἀνάβησιν γὰρ καὶ τὴν κίνησιν μετὰ εἰσῆς ἔσσαν,  
πεφυκότος τῶ πρώτου σώματι ἄλλως καὶ κινεῖν συνεχῆς, ἀρχολον εἶναι, καὶ πάσης  
ἀπὸ πλάγμων ἐσπῆναι ἐμφερῶν. εἶγε μὴδ' ἄσπῳ τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ τῶ θνητῶ  
ζώων ἔστι ἀνάγκησιν ἢ ὡς τῶ ὑπὸν γινόμενῳ τῶ σώματος ἀνεσις, ἀλλ' ἀναγκῶν  
ἰξίουός τινος μοῖραν κατέχον αὐτὴν αἰδίων καὶ ἀτρύτων. But it is not reasonable  
neither, to think that the Heavens continue to Eternity, moved by a  
Soul necessitating, or violently compelling them. Nor indeed is it possible,  
that the Life of such a Soul should be pleasurable or happy. Forasmuch as the  
continual Violent Motion of a Body (naturally inclining to move another  
way) must needs be a very unquiet thing, and void of all Mental Re-  
pose; especially when there is no such Relaxation, as the Souls of Mortal  
Animals have by sleep; and therefore such a Soul of the World as this,  
must of necessity be condemned to an Eternal Ixionian Fate. But in  
these Words Aristotle does not deny the Heavens to be moved by a  
Soul of their own, (which is positively affirmed by him elsewhere)  
but only by such a Soul, as should Violently and Forcibly agitate, or  
drive them round, contrary to their own Natural Inclination, where-  
by in the mean time, they tended downwards of themselves to-  
wards the Centre. And his sence, concerning the Motion of the  
P 2 Heavens,

Heavens, is truly represented by *simplicius* in this manner, τὸ ὅλον φύσικον ἢ ἐμφυχον, ὑπὸ ψυχῆς κωλύει κινεῖται, διὰ μέσης τῆς φύσεως. *The whole World or Heaven, being as well a natural, as an Animalish Body, is moved properly by Soul, but yet by means of Nature also, as an Instrument, so that the Motion of it is not Violent.* But whereas *Aristotle* there insinuates, as if *Plato* had held the Heavens to be moved, by a Soul violently, contrary to their Nature; *simplicius*, though sufficiently addicted to *Aristotle*, ingenuously acknowledges his Error herein, and vindicating *Plato* from that Imputation, shews how he likewise held a Plastick Nature, as well as a Mundane Soul; and that amongst his Ten Instances of Motion, \* the Ninth is that of Nature, τὴν ἑτέρον ἀεικινῶσαν, ἢ μετακαλλομεθῶ ὑφ' ἑτέρας that which always moves another, being it self changed by something else; as the Tenth, that of the Mundane Soul, τὴν ἑαυτὴν κινῶσαν ἢ ἑτέρα, that which originally both moves it self and other things: as if his Meaning in that place were, That though Nature be a Life and Internal Energy, yet it acts Subserviently to a Higher Soul, as the First Original Mover.

\* De Leg. l. 10.

Quaest. Nat. I.  
1. c. 1.

But the Grand Objection against *Aristotle's* holding the *Worlds Animation*, is still behind; namely from that in his *Metaphysics*, where he determines the Highest Starry Heaven, to be moved by an *Immoveable Mover*, commonly supposed to be the Deity it self, and no Soul of the World; and all the other Spheres likewise, to be moved by so many *Separate Intelligencies*, and not by *Souls*. To which we reply, that indeed *Aristotle's* First *Immoveable Mover* is no *Mundane Soul*, but an *Abstract Intellect Separate from Matter*, and the very Deity it self; whose manner of moving the Heavens is thus described by him, κινεῖ ἢ ὡς ἐρώμενον, *It Moveth only as being Loved*: wherefore besides this *Supreme Unmoved Mover*, that Philosopher supposed another Inferiour Moved Mover also, that is, a *Mundane Soul*, as the Proper and Immediate *Efficient Cause* of the Heavenly Motions; of which he speaks after this manner, κινούμενον ἢ τὰλλα κινεῖ, *that which it self being moved, (objectively, or by Appetite and Desire of the First Good) moveth other things.* And thus that safe and sure-footed Interpreter, *Alex. Aphrodisius*, expounds his Masters Meaning; That the *Heaven being Animated*, and therefore indeed Moved by an *Internal Principle* of its own, is notwithstanding Originally moved, by a certain *Immoveable and Separate Nature*, which is above Soul, τὰ νοεῖν τε αὐτὸ, ἢ ἐφροσιν ἢ ὄρεξιν ἔχον τὸ ὁμοιωσῶς αὐτῷ, *both by its contemplating of it, and having an Appetite and Desire, of assimilating it self thereunto.* *Aristotle* seeming to have borrowed this Notion from *Plato*, who makes the Constant Regular Circumgyration of the Heavens, to be an Imitation of the Motion or Energy of *Intellect*. So that *Aristotle's* First Mover, is not properly the *Efficient*, but only the *Final and Objective Cause*, of the Heavenly Motions, the Immediate *Efficient Cause* thereof being ψυχὴ καὶ φύσις, *Soul and Nature.*

Neither may this be Confuted from those other *Aristotelick Intelligencies* of the Lesser Orbs; that Philosopher conceiving in like manner concerning them, that they were also the *Abstract Minds or Intellects* of certain

certain

certain other inferior Souls, which moved their several Respective Bodies or Orbs, Circularly and Uniformly, in a kind of Imitation of them. For this plainly appears from hence, in that he affirms of these his *Inferiour Intelligences* likewise as well as of the *Supreme Mover*, that they do *κινῆν ὡς τέλος*, *Move only as the end.*

Where it is Evident, that though *Aristotle* did plainly suppose a *Mundane Intellectual Soul*, such as also contained, either in it, or under it, a *Plastick Nature*, yet he did not make either of these to be the *Supreme Deity*; but resolved the First Principle of things, to be *One Absolutely Perfect Mind or Intellect*, *Separate from Matter*, which was *ἀκίνητος ὅμοια*, an *Immoveable Nature*, whose *Essence was his Operation*, and which Moved only as being *Loved*, or as the *Final Cause*: of which he pronounces in this manner, *ὅτι ἐκ τῶαύτης ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ὁ κόσμος ἢ ἡ φύσις*, *That upon such a Principle as this, Heaven and Nature depends*; that is, the *Animated Heaven*, or *Mundane Soul*, together with the *Plastick Nature* of the *Universe*, must of necessity depend upon such an *Absolutely Perfect*, and *Immoveable Mind or Intellect*. Met. I. 14. 6. 7<sup>3</sup>  
Par.

Having now declated the *Aristotelick Doctrine* concerning the *Plastick Nature* of the *Universe*, with which the *Platonick* also agrees, that it is, *ἢ μέρος ψυχῆς, ἢ μὴ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς*, either *Part of a Mundane Intellectual Soul*, (that is a *Lower Power and Faculty* of it) or *else not without it, but some inferior thing depending on it*; we think fit to add in this place, that though there were no such *Mundane Soul*, as both *Plato* and *Aristotle* supposed, distinct from the *Supreme Deity*, yet there might notwithstanding be a *Plastick Nature* of the *Universe*, depending immediately upon the *Deity it self*. For the *Plastick Nature* essentially depends upon *Mind or Intellect*, and could not possibly be without it; according to those words before cited, *ἐκ τῶαύτης ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ἡ φύσις*, *Nature depends upon such an Intellectual Principle*; and for this Cause that *Philosopher* does elsewhere joyn *νῦς* and *φύσις*, *Mind and Nature* both together.

25. Besides this *General Plastick Nature* of the *Universe*, and those *Particular Plastick Powers* in the *Souls of Animals*, it is not impossible but that there may be other *Plastick Natures* also (as certain *Lower Lives*, or *Vegetative Souls*) in some *Greater Parts* of the *Universe*; all of them depending, if not upon some higher *Conscious Soul*, yet at least upon a *Perfect Intellect*, presiding over the whole. As for *Example*; Though it be not reasonable to think, that every *Plant*, *Herb* and *Pile of Grass*, hath a *Particular Plastick Life*, or *Vegetative Soul* of its own, distinct from the *Mechanism* of the *Body*; nor that the whole *Earth* is an *Animal* endued with a *Conscious Soul*: yet there may possibly be, for ought we know, one *Plastick Nature* or *Life*, belonging to the whole *Terrestrial* (or *Terraqueous*) *Globe*, by which all *Plants* and *Vegetables*, continuous with it, may be differently formed, according to their different *Seeds*, as also *Minerals* and other *Bodies* framed, and whatsoever else is above the *Power* of *Fortuitous Mechanism* effected, as by the *Immediate Cause*, though

always Subordinate to other Causes, the chief whereof is the Deity. And this perhaps may ease the Minds of those, who cannot but think it too much, to impose all upon one Plastick Nature of the Universe.

26. And now we have finished our First Task, which was to give an Account of the *Plastick Nature*, the Sum whereof briefly amounts to this; That it is a certain *Lower Life* than the *Animal*, which acts *Regularly* and *Artificially*, according to the Direction of *Mind* and *Understanding*, *Reason* and *Wisdom*, for *Ends*, or in Order to *Good*, though it self do not know the Reason of what it does, nor is *Master* of that *Wisdom* according to which it acts, but only a *Servant* to it, and *Drudging Executioner* of the same; it operating *Fatally* and *Sympathetically*, according to *Laws* and *Commands*, prescribed to it by a *Perfect Intellect*, and imprest upon it; and which is either a *Lower Faculty* of some *Conscious Soul*, or else an *Inferiour kind of Life or Soul* by it self; but essentially depending upon an *Higher Intellect*.

We procede to our *Second Undertaking*; which was to shew, how grossly those Two Sorts of *Atheists* before mentioned, the *Stoical* or *Cosmo-plastick*, and the *Stratonical* or *Hylozoick*, both of them acknowledging this *Plastick Life of Nature*, do mistake the Notion of it, or Pervert it and Abuse it, to make a certain Spurious and Counterfeit God-Almighty of it, (or a *First Principle* of all things) thereby excluding the True Omnipotent Deity, which is a *Perfect Mind*, or *Consciously Understanding Nature*, presiding over the Universe; they substituting this Stupid *Plastick Nature* in the room of it.

Now the Chief Errors or Mistakes of these *Atheists* concerning the *Plastick Nature*, are these *Four* following. First, that they make that to be the *First Principle* of all, and the *Highest thing* in the Universe, which is the *Last* and *Lowest* of all *Lives*; a thing *Essentially Secondary*, *Derivative* and *Dependent*. For the *Plastick Life of Nature* is but the mere *Umbrage* of *Intellectuality*, a faint and shadowy *Imitation* of *Mind* and *Understanding*; upon which it doth as *Essentially* depend, as the *Shadow* doth upon the *Body*, the *Image* in the *Glass* upon the *Face*, or the *Echo* upon the *Original Voice*. So that if there had been no *Perfect Mind* or *Intellect* in the World, there could no more have been any *Plastick Nature* in it, than there could be an *Image in the Glass* without a *Face*, or an *Echo* without an *Original Voice*. If there be  $\psi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , then there must be  $\text{N}\tilde{\sigma}\varsigma$ , if there be a *Plastick Nature*, that acts *Regularly* and *Artificially* in Order to *Ends*, and according to the *Best Wisdom*, though it self not comprehending the reason of it, nor being clearly *Conscious* of what it doth; then there must of necessity be a *Perfect Mind* or *Intellect*, that is, a *Deity* upon which it depends. Wherefore *Aristotle* does like a *Philosopher* in joyning  $\psi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  and  $\text{N}\tilde{\sigma}\varsigma$ , *Nature* and *Mind* both together; but these *Atheists* do very *Aburdly* and *Unphilosophically*, that would make a *Senseless* and *Inconscious Plastick Nature*, and therefore without any *Mind* or *Intellect*, to be the *First Original* of all things.

Secondly, these *Atheists* augment the Former Error, in supposing those

those Higher Lives of Sense or Animality, and of Reason or Understanding, to rise both of them from that Lower Senseless Life of Nature, as the only Original Fundamental Life. Which is a thing altogether as Irrational and Absurd, as if one should suppose the Light that is in the Air or Æther, to be the Only Original and Fundamental Light, and the Light of the Sun and Stars but a Secondary and Derivative thing from it, and nothing but the Light of the Air Modified and Improved by Condensation. Or as if one should maintain that the Sun and Moon, and all the Stars, were really nothing else, but the mere Reflections of those Images that we see in Rivers and Ponds of Water. But this hath always been the Sottish Humour and Guise of Atheists, to invert the Order of the Universe, and hang the Picture of the World, as of a Man, with its Heels upwards. Conscious Reason and Understanding, being a far higher Degree of Life and Perfection, than that Dull Plastick Nature, which does only Do, but not Know, can never possibly emerge out of it; neither can the Duplication of Corporeal Organs be ever able to advance that Simple and Stupid Life of Nature into Redoubled Consciousness or Self-perception; nor any Triplication or indeed Milleclupation of them, improve the same into Reason-Understanding.

Thirdly; for the better Colouring of the Former Errors, the Hylozoists adulterate the Notion of the Plastick Life of Nature, confounding it with Wisdom and Understanding. And though themselves acknowledge, that no Animal-sense, Self-perception and Consciousness belongs to it, yet they will have it to be a thing Perfectly Wise, and consequently every Atom of Senseless Matter that is in the whole World, to be Infallibly Omniscient, as to all its own Capacities and Congruities, or whatsoever it self can Do or Suffer; which is plainly Contradictious. For though there may be such a thing as the Plastick Nature, that according to the Former Description of it, can Do without Knowing, and is devoid of Express Consciousness or Self-perception, yet Perfect Knowledge and Understanding without Consciousness, is Non-sence and Impossibility. Wherefore this must needs be condemned for a great piece of Sottishness, in the Hylozoick Atheists, that they attribute Perfect Wisdom and Understanding to a Stupid Inconscious Nature, which is nothing but  $\chi\epsilon\alpha\delta\epsilon\chi\upsilon\mu\varsigma$ , the mere Drudging Instrument, or Mannary Opificer of Perfect Mind.

Lastly, these Atheists err in this, that they make this Plastick Life of Nature, to be a mere Material or Corporeal thing; whereas Matter or Body cannot move it self, much less therefore can it Artificially order and dispose its own Motion. And though the Plastick Nature be indeed the Lowest of all Lives, yet notwithstanding since it is a Life, or Internal Energy, and Self activity, distinct from Local Motion, it must needs be Incorporeal, all Life being Essentially such. But the Hylozoists conceive grossly both of Life and Understanding, spreading them all over upon Matter, just as Butter is spread upon Bread, or Plaster upon a Wall, and accordingly slicing them out, in different Quantities and Bulks, together with it; they contending that they

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are but *Inadequate Conceptions* of Body, as the only Substance; and consequently concluding, that the Vulgarly received *Notion of God*, is nothing else but such an *Inadequate Conception of the Matter* of the Whole Corporeal Universe, mistaken for a Complete and Entire Substance by it self, that is supposed to be the Cause of all things. Which fond Dream or Dotage of theirs, will be further confuted in due place. But it is now time to put a Period, to this long (though necessary) *Digression*, concerning the *Plastick Life of Nature*, or an *Artificial, Orderly and Methodical Nature*.

XXXVIII. Plato gives an accompt, why he judged it necessary in those times, publickly to propose that Atheistick Hypothesis, in order to a Confutation, as also to produce Rational Arguments for the Proof of a Deity, after this manner; *De Leg. lib. 10.* εἰ μὴ καί τις παρεμύθοι ἦσαν οἱ τοῖσ τε λόγοι ἐν τοῖς πόσιν, ὡς ἐπεὶ εἰπὲν, ἀνθρώποις, ἔδειν ἂν εἶδει τῶν ἐπαμυνόντων λόγων, ὡς εἰσι θεοὶ, νῦν ὃ ἀνάγκη. *Had not these Atheistick Doctrines been publickly divulged, and made known in a manner to all, it would not have been needful to have confuted them, nor by Reasons to prove a Deity; but now it is necessary.* And we conceive that the same Necessity at this time, will justifie our present undertaking likewise; since these Atheistick Doctrines have been as boldly vented, and publickly asserted in this latter Age of ours, as ever they could be in Plato's time. When the severity of the Athenian Government, must needs be a great check to such Designs, Socrates having been put to death upon a mere false and groundless Accusation of *Atheism*, and Protagoras, (who doubtless was a Real Atheist) having escaped the same punishment no otherwise than by flight, his Books being notwithstanding publickly burnt in the Market-place at Athens, and himself condemned to perpetual Exile, though there was nothing at that time proved against him, save only this one Sceptical Passage, in the beginning of a Book of his, *Diog. La. in Vita Prot.* περὶ μὲν θεῶν ἐν ἔχω εἰπὲν, εἶθ' ὡς εἰσιν, εἶθ' ὡς οὐ εἰσι, πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ χαλούμενα εἰδέναι, ἢ τε ἀδύνατον, ἢ βραχύς ἂν ὁ βίος τῶ ἀνθρώπου. *Concerning the Gods, I have nothing at all to say, either that they be or be not; there being many things that hinder the knowledge of this Matter, both the Obscurity of the thing it self, and the shortness of humane Life.* Whereas *Atheism* in this Latter Age of ours, hath been impudently asserted, and most industriously promoted: that very Atomick Form, that was first introduced (a little before Plato's time) by Leucippus, Protagoras and Democritus, having been also Revived amongst us, and that with no small Pomp and Ostentation of Wisdom and Philosophy.

It was before observed that there were Two several *Forms of Atomical Philosophy*; First, the most Ancient and Genuine that was Religious, called *Moschical* (or if you will *Mosaical*) and *Pythagorical*; Secondly, the *Adulterated Atheistick Atomology*, called *Leucippean* or *Democritical*. Now accordingly, there have been in this Latter Age of ours, Two several successive *Resurrections* or *Restitutions* of those Two *Atomologies*. For *Renatus Cartesius* first revived and restored the Atomick Philosophy, agreeably for the most part, to that ancient *Moschical* and *Pythagorick Form*, acknowledging besides *Extended Substance*

*Substance and Corporeal Atoms*, another *Cogitative Incorporeal Substance*, and joyning *Metaphysicks* or *Theology*, together with *Physiology*, to make up one entire *System of Philosophy*. Nor can it well be doubted, but that this *Physiology* of his, as to the *Mechanick part* of it, hath been Elaborated by the ingenious Author, into an Exactness at least equal with the best *Atomologies* of the Ancients. Nevertheless, this Cartesian Philosophy is highly obnoxious to Censure upon some Accompts, the Chief whereof is this; That deviating from that Primitive *Moschical Atomology*, in rejecting all *Plastick Nature*, it derives the whole System of the Corporeal Universe, from the *Necessary Motion of Matter*, only divided into Particles Insensibly small, and turned round in a *Vortex*, without the Guidance or Direction of any *Understanding Nature*. By means whereof, though it boast of Salving all the *Corporeal Phenomena*, by mere *Fortuitous Mechanism*, and without any *Final* or *Mental Causality*, yet it gives no Accompt at all of that which is the Grandest of all *Phænomena*, the τὸ εὐκταλᾶς, *The Orderly Regularity and Harmony of the Mundane System*. The Occasion of which Miscarriage hath been already intimated, namely from the acknowledging only *Two Heads* of Being, *Extended* and *Cogitative*, and making the *Essence of Cogitation* to consist in *Express Consciousness*; from whence it follows, that there could be no *Plastick Nature*, and therefore either all things must be done by *Fortuitous Mechanism*, or else God himself be brought Immediately upon the Stage, for the salving of all *Phænomena*. Which Latter Absurdity, our Philosopher being over careful to avoid, cast himself upon the Former, the banishing of all *Final* and *Mental Causality* quite out of the World, and acknowledging no other Philosophick Causes, beside *Material* and *Mechanical*. It cannot be denied, but that even some of the ancient Religious Atomists, were also too much infected with this *Mechanizing Humour*; but *Renatus Cartesius* hath not only outdone them all herein, but even the very Atheists themselves also, as shall be shewed afterward. And therefore as much as in him lies, has quite disarmed the World, of that grand Argument for a Deity, taken from the *Regular Frame* and *Harmony of the Universe*. To which Gross Miscarriage of his, there might be also another added, That he seems to make Matter *Necessarily Existent*, and *Essentially Infinite* and *Eternal*. Notwithstanding all which, we cannot entertain that Uncharitable Opinion of him, that he really designed *Atheism*, the Fundamental Principles of his Philosophy being such, as that no Atheistick Structure can possibly be built upon them. But shortly after this *Cartesian Restitution* of the *Primitive Atomology* that acknowledgeth *Incorporeal Substance*, we have had our *Leucippus* and *Democritus* too, who also revived and brought again upon the Stage, that other *Atheistick Atomology*, that makes ἀνευκταλᾶς, *Senseless and Lifeless Atoms*, to be the only Principles of all things in the Universe, thereby necessarily excluding, besides *Incorporeal Substance* and *Immortality of Souls*, a *Deity* and *Natural Morality*; as also making all Actions and Events, *Materially* and *Mechanically necessary*.

Now there could be no Satisfactory Confutation of this Atheistick Hypothesis, without a fair Proposal first made of the several Grounds  
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of it, to their best advantage, which we have therefore endeavour'd in the Former Chapter. The *Answers* to which *Atheistick Arguments*, ought, according to the Laws of Method, to be reserved for the Last Part of the whole Treatise, where we are positively to determine the *Right Intellectual System of the Universe*; it being properly our Work here, only to give an Account of the *Three False Hypotheses of the Mundane system*, together with their several *Grounds*. Nevertheless, because it might not only seem Indecorous, for the *Answers* to those *Atheistick Arguments*, to be so long deferred, and placed so far behind the Arguments themselves, but also prove otherwise really Inconvenient, we shall therefore choose rather to break those Laws of Method, (neglecting the Scrupulosity thereof) and subjoyn them immediately in this place, craving the Readers Pardon for this *Preposterousness*.

It is certain that the *Source* of all *Atheism*, is generally a Dull and Earthy Disbelief of the Existence of things beyond the Reach of Sense; and it cannot be denied but that there is something of *Immorality* in the Temper of all Atheists, as all *Atheistick Doctrine* tends also to *Immorality*. Notwithstanding which, it must not be therefore concluded, that all *Dogmatick Atheists* came to be such, merely by means of *Gross Intemperance, Sensuality, and Debauchery*. *Plato* indeed describes one sort of Atheists in this manner; οἷς ἂν πρὸς τῇ δόξῃ, τῇ θεῶν ἕννομα εἶναι πάντα, ἀκροῦται τε ἠδονῶν ἢ λυπῶν προσιώσασσι, μνήμαι τε ἰσχυραὶ ἢ μαθηδὸς ὀφέϊα πρᾶσαι. Such who together with this Opinion, that all things are void of Gods, are acted also by Intemperance of Pleasures and Pains, and hurried away with Violent Lusts, being Persons otherwise endued with strong Memories, and quick Wits. And these are the *Debauched, Ranting, and Hectoring Atheists*. But besides These, that *Philosopher* tells us, that there is another Sort of Atheists also, οἷς μὴ νομίζουσι θεὸς εἶναι τὸ παρεῖπαι, ἠδὲ φύσιν προσηύθειαι δ' ἰσχυρῶν, μωδὴς τε γίνονται τὸς κακοῦς, ἢ τῶν δυσχεραίνων πῶ ἀδύνατον, ἕτε τοῖς ταύτας προφίει προσηύθειαι, τὸς τε μὴ δυνάμεις τῶ ἀνθρώπων φύσει, ἢ τὸς δυνατοῖς σέβουσαν. Such, who though they think there be no Gods at all, yet notwithstanding being naturally disposed to Justice and Moderation, as they will not do Outragious and Exorbitant things themselves, so they will shun the Conversation of wicked debauched persons, and delight rather in the Society of those that are Fair and Just. And these are a sort of *Externally honest, or Civilized Atheists*. Now what that thing is, which besides *Gross Sensuality and Debauchery*, might tempt men to entertain *Atheistick Opinions*, the same *Philosopher* also declares; namely that it is, an *Affectation of Singularity*, or of seeming Wiser than the Generality of Mankind. For thus when *Clinias* had disputed honestly against Atheists, from those *Vulgar Topicks*, of the Regularity and Harmony of the Universe (observable in the Courses of Sun, Moon and Stars, and the Seasons of the Year) and of the common Notions of Mankind, in that both *Greeks and Barbarians* generally agreed in this, that there were Gods, thinking he had thereby made a Sufficient Confutation of *Atheism*, the *Athenian Hospes* hereupon discovers a great Fear and Jealousie which he had, lest he should thereby but render himself

De Leg. l. 10.  
p. 908.

Ibid.

an Object of Contempt to Atheists, as being a conceited and scornful Generation of men. ΑΘ. φοβέμαι γὰρ ὡς μακάρετε τὰς μοχθηρὰς μήπως ὑμῶν καταφρονήσωσιν, ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἴσῃ αὐτῶν πέρι, πλὴν τῆς διαφορῆς αἰτίας, ἀλλ' ἠγείθε ἀνεργεῖα μόνον ἰδόντων τε καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνεργεῖα βίον ὀρεῖσθαι τοῖς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν, &c. *I am afraid of those wicked men the Atheists, lest they should despise you: For you are ignorant concerning them, when you think the only Cause of Atheism to be Intemperance of Pleasures and Lusts, violently hurrying mens Souls on to a wicked Life.* Clin. *What other Cause of Atheism can there be besides this?* Ath. *That which you are not aware of, who live remotely, namely, ἁμαθία μάλ᾽ αὐτῶν χελεπὴ δοκῶσα εἶναι μεγίστη φρόνησις. A certain grievous Ignorance, which yet notwithstanding hath the appearance of the greatest Wisdom.* And therefore afterwards, when that Philosopher goes about to propose the Atheistick Hypothesis, he calls it, τὸ ἄριστον πολλοῖς δοξαζόμενον εἶναι σοφώτατον ἀποδόντων λόγων, *That which to many seemeth to be the Wisest and Profoundest of all Doctrines.*

And we find the same thing at this very day, that Atheists make a great Pretence to Wisdom and Philosophy, and that many are tempted to maintain *Atheistick Opinions*, that they may gain a *Reputation of Wit* by it. Which indeed was one Reason that the rather induced us, nakedly to reveal all the *Mysteries of Atheism*, because we observed, that so long as these things are concealed and kept up in Huggermugger, many will be the rather apt to suspect, that there is some great Depth and Profundity of Wisdom lodged in them, and that it is some Noble and Generous Truth, which the Bigotick Religionists endeavour to smother and oppress.

Now the Case being thus, it was pertinently suggested also, by the forementioned Philosopher, ὅτι συμπερὶν γὰρ τὸ διαφέρειν, εἰ φανεῖν οἱ λόγοι ἀπρόδρομοι ἀσεβῶν; ἄλλοις τε ἐξάεροντες, μηδὲ εὖ τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐξημαρτημένως χερόδρομοι, *That it must needs be a Matter of no small moment, for any one to make it appear, that they who maintain wicked Atheistical Opinions, do none of them reason rightly, but grossly fumble in all their Ratiocinations.* And we hope to effect this in our present Undertaking, to make it evident, that Atheists are no such Conjurers, as (though they hold no Spirits) they would be thought to be; no such Gigantick men of Reason, nor Profound Philosophers, but that notwithstanding all their Pretensions to Wit, their Atheism is really nothing else, but ἁμαθία μάλ᾽ αὐτῶν χελεπὴ, *a most Grievous Ignorance, Sottishness and Stupidity of Mind in them.*

Wherefore we shall in the next place, Conjure down all those Devils raised and displayed in their most Formidable Colours, in the Precedent Chapter; or rather we shall discover that they are really nothing else, but what these Atheists pretend God and Incorporeal Spirits to be, *Mere Phantastick Spectres and Impostures*, Vain Imaginations of deluded Minds, utterly devoid of all Truth and Reality. Neither shall we only Confute those Atheistick Arguments, and so stand upon our defensive Posture; but we shall also assault Atheism even with its own Weapons, and plainly demonstrate, that all Forms  
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of Atheism are unintelligible Nonsense, and Absolute Impossibility to Humane Reason. As we shall likewise over and above, Occasionally insert some (as we think) Undeniable Arguments for a Deity.

The Digression concerning the *Plastick Life of Nature*, or an *Artificial, Orderly and Methodical Nature*, N. 37. Chap. 3.

1. That neither the Hylozoick nor Cosmo-plastick Atheists are condemned for asserting an Orderly and Artificial Plastick Nature, as a Life distinct from the Animal, however this be a Thing exploded, not only by the Atomick Atheists, but also by some Professed Theists, who notwithstanding might have an undiscerned Tang of the Mechanically-Atheistick Humour hanging about them.
2. If there be no Plastick Artificial Nature admitted, then it must be concluded, that either all things come to pass by Fortuitous Mechanism, and Material Necessity (the Motion of Matter unguided) or else that God doth  $\omega\tau\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon \ \alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ , do all things himself Immediately and Miraculously, framing the Body of every Gnat and Fly, as it were with his own hands; since Divine Laws and Commands cannot Execute themselves, nor be the proper Efficient Causes of things in Nature.
3. To suppose all things to come to pass Fortuitously, or by the Unguided Motion of Matter, a thing altogether as Irrational as it is Atheistical and Impious; there being many Phænomena, not only above the Powers of Mechanism, but also contrary to the Laws of it. The Mechanick Theists make God but an Idle Spectator of the Fortuitous Motions of Matter, and render his Wisdom altogether Useless and Insignificant. Aristotle's Judicious Censure of the Fortuitous Mechanists, with the Ridiculousness of that Pretence, that Material and Mechanical Reasons are the Only Philosophical.
4. That it seems neither decorous in respect of God, nor congruous to Reason, that he should  $\omega\tau\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon \ \alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ , do all things himself Immediately and Miraculously, Nature being quite Superseded and made to signify nothing. The same further confuted by the Slow and Gradual Process of things in Nature, as also by those Errors and Bungles that are committed, when the Matter proves Inept and Contumacious, arguing the Agent not to be Irresistible.
5. Reasonably inferred, that there is a Plastick Nature in the Universe, as a Subordinate Instrument of Divine Providence, in the Orderly Disposal of Matter; but yet so as not without a Higher Providence presiding over it, forasmuch as this Plastick Nature, cannot act Electively or with Discretion. Those Laws of Nature concerning Motion, which the Mechanick Theists themselves suppose, really nothing else but a Plastick Nature.
6. The Agreeableness of this Doctrine with the Sentiments of the best Philosophers in all Ages, Aristotle, Plato, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Hippocrates,

pocrates, Zeno and the Paracelians. Anaxagoras, though a Professed Theist, severely censur'd, both by Aristotle and Plato, as an Encourager of Atheism, merely because he used Material and Mechanical Causes more than Mental and Final. Physiologers and Astronomers why vulgarly suspected of Atheism in Plato's time. 7. The Plastick Nature, no Occult Quality, but the only Intelligible Cause of that which is the Grandest of all Phænomena, the Orderly Regularity and Harmony of Things, which the Mechanick Theists, however pretending to solve all Phænomena, can give no account at all of. A God, or Infinite Mind, asserted by them, in vain and to no purpose. 8. Two Things here to be performed by us; First to give an Account of the Plastick Nature, and then to shew how the Notion of it hath been Mistaken, and Abused by Atheists. The First General Account of this Plastick Nature according to Aristotle, that it is to be conceived as Art it self acting, Inwardly and Immediately upon the Matter: as if Harmony Living in the Musical Instruments, should move the Strings of them, without any External Impulse. 9. Two Preeminencies of the Plastick Nature above Humane Art. First, that whereas Humane Art acts upon the Matter from without Cumberously and Moliminously, with Tumult and Hurliburly, Nature acting on it from within more Commandingly, doth its Work Easily, Cleaverly and Silently. Humane Art acts on the Matter Mechanically, but Nature Vitally and Magically. 10. The Second Preeminence of Nature above Humane Art, that, whereas Humane Artists are often to seek and at a loss, anxiously Consult and Deliberate, and upon Second thoughts Mend their former Work, Nature is never to seek, nor Unresolved what to do, nor doth she ever Repent afterwards of what she hath done, changing her Former Course. Humane Artists themselves Consult not, as Artists, but only for want of Art; and therefore Nature, though never Consulting, may act Artificially. Concluded, that what is called Nature, is really the Divine Art. 11. Nevertheless, that Nature is not the Divine Art, Pure and Abstract, but Concreted and Embodied in Matter: Ratio Mersa & Confusa: Not the Divine Art Archetypal, but Ectypal. Nature differs from the Divine Art, as the Manuary Opificer from the Architect. 12. Two Imperfections of the Plastick Nature, in respect whereof it falls short even of Humane Art; First, That though it act for Ends Artificially, yet it self neither Intends those Ends, nor Understands the Reason of what it doth, and therefore cannot act Electively. The Difference between the Spermatick Reasons and Knowledge. Nature doth but Ape or Mimick the Divine Art or Wisdom, being not Master of that Reason, according to which it acts, but only a Servant to it, and Drudging Executioner of it. 13. Proved that there may be such a thing as acts Artificially, though it self do not comprehend that Art, by which its Motions are Governed, First from Musical Habits; The Dauncer resembles the Artificial Life of Nature. 14. The same further evinced from the Instincts of Brute-animals, directing them to act Rationally and Artificially, in order to their own Good and the Good of the Universe, without any Reason of their own. The Instincts in Brutes but Passive Impresses of the Divine Wisdom, and a kind of Fate upon them. 15. The Second Imperfection of the Plastick Nature, that it

acts without Animal Phancy, *συναισθησις*, Express Con-sense, and Con-sciousness, and is devoid of Self-perception and Self-enjoyment.

16. Whether this Energy of the Plastick Nature, be to be called Cogitation or no, but a Logomachy or Contention about Words. Granted that what moves Matter Vitally, must needs do it by some Energy of its own, distinct from Local Motion; but that there may be a simple Vital Energy, without that Duplicity which is in Synæsthesis, or clear and express Consciousness. Nevertheless that the Energy of Nature might be called a certain Drowse, Unawakened, or Astonish'd Cogitation.

17. Instances which render it probable, that there may be a Vital Energy, without Synæsthesis, clear and express Con-sense, or Consciousness.

18. The Plastick Nature, acting neither Knowingly nor Phantastically, acts Fatally, Magically and Sympathetically. The Divine Laws and Fate, as to Matter, not mere Cogitation in the Mind of God, but an Energetick and Effectual Principle; and the Plastick Nature, the true and proper Fate of Matter, or the Corporeal World. What Magick is, and that Nature which acts Fatally, acts also Magically and Sympathetically.

19. That the Plastick Nature, though it be the Divine Art and Fate, yet for all that, it is neither God nor Goddess, but a Low and Imperfect Creature, it acting Artificially and Rationally no otherwise, than compounded Forms of Letters, when printing Coherent Philosophick Sense, nor for Ends, than a Saw or Hatchet in the hands of a skilful Mechanick. The Plastick and Vegetative Life of Nature the Lowest of all Lives, and Inferiour to the Sensitive. A Higher Providence than that of the Plastick Nature governing the Corporeal World it self.

20. Notwithstanding which, forasmuch as the Plastick Nature is a Life, it must needs be Incorporeal. One and the same thing, having in it an entire Model and Platform, and acting upon several distant parts of Matter at once coherently, cannot be Corporeal; and though Aristotle no where declare whether his Nature be Corporeal or Incorporeal (which he neither doth clearly concerning the Rational Soul) and his Followers conclude it to be Corporeal, yet according to the very Principles of that Philosophy it must needs be otherwise.

21. The Plastick Nature being Incorporeal, must either be a Lower Power lodged in Souls that are also Conscious, Sensitive or Rational; or else a distinct Substantial Life by it self, and Inferiour Kind of Soul. How the Platonists complicate both these together; with Aristotle's agreeable Determination, that Nature is either Part of a Soul, or not without Soul.

22. The Plastick Nature as to Animals, according to Aristotle, a Part or Lower Power of their Respective Souls. That the Phenomena prove a Plastick Nature or Archeus in Animals, to make which a distinct thing from the Soul, is to multiply Entities without necessity. The Soul endued with a Plastick Power, the chief Formatrix of its own Body, the Contribution of certain other Causes not excluded.

23. That besides that Plastick Principle in Particular Animals, forming them as so many Little Worlds, there is a General Plastick Nature in the whole Corporeal Universe, which likewise according to Aristotle is either a Part and Lower Power of a Conscious Mundane Soul, or else something depending on it.

24. That no less according to Aristotle than Plato and Socrates, our selves partake of Life from the Life of the Universe, as well as we do of Heat and Cold,  
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from the Heat and Cold of the Universe; from whence it appears, that Aristotle also held the worlds Animation, with further Undeniable Proof thereof. An Answer to Two the most considerable places of that Philosopher that seem to imply the contrary. That Aristotles First Immoveable Mover, was no Soul, but a Perfect Intellect Abstract from Matter, but that he supposed this to move only as a Final Cause, or as being Loved, and besides it a Mundane Soul and Plastick Nature, to move the Heavens Efficiently. Neither Aristotle's Nature nor his Mundane Soul, the Supreme Deity. However, though there be no such Mundane Soul as both Plato and Aristotle conceived, yet notwithstanding there may be a Plastick Nature depending upon a Higher Intellectual Principle. 25. No Impossibility of some other Particular Plastick Principles; and though it be not reasonable to think, that every Plant, Herb, and Pile of Grass hath a Plastick or Vegetative Soul of its own, nor that the Earth is an Animal; yet that there may possibly be One Plastick Inconscious Nature, in the whole Terraqueous Globe, by which Vegetables may be severally organized and framed, and all things performed which transcend the Power of Fortuitous Mechanism. 26. Our Second Undertaking, which was to shew how grossly those Atheists, (who acknowledge this Plastick Nature) Misunderstand it and Abuse the Notion, to make a Counterfeit God-almighty or Numen of it, to the exclusion of the True Deity. First, in their supposing that to be the First and Highest Principle of the Universe, which is the Last and lowest of all Lives, a thing as Essentially Derivative from, and Dependent upon a Higher Intellectual Principle, as the Eccho on the Original Voice. 27. Secondly, in their making Sense and Reason in Animals to Emerge out of a Senseless Life of Nature, by the mere Modification and Organization of Matter. That no Duplication of Corporeal Organs, can ever make One Single Inconscious Life, to advance into Redoubled Consciousness and Self-enjoyment. 28. Thirdly, in attributing Perfect Knowledge and Understanding to this Life of Nature, which yet themselves suppose to be devoid of all Animal Sense and Consciousness. 29. Lastly, in making the Plastick Life of Nature to be merely Corporeal; the Hylozoists contending that it is but an Inadequate Conception of Body, as the only Substance, and fondly dreaming, that the Vulgar Notion of God, is nothing but such an Inadequate Conception of the Matter of the Whole Universe, mistaken for a Complete and Entire Substance by it self, the Cause of all things.





## CHAP. IV.

*The Idea of God declared, in way of Answer to the First Atheistick Argument. The Grand Prejudice against the Naturality of this Idea, as Essentially including Unity or Oneliness in it, from the Pagan Polytheism, removed. Proved that the Intelligent Pagans generally acknowledged One Supreme Deity. What their Polytheism and Idolatry was: with some Account of Christianity. 1. The either Stupid Insensibility or Gross Impudence of Atheists, in denying the word GOD, to have any Signification, or that there is any other Idea answering to it, besides the mere Phantasm of the sound. The Disease called by the Philosopher, ἀπολίθωσις τῆς νοῦν, the Petrification (or Dead Insensibility) of the Mind. 2. That the Atheists themselves must needs have an Idea of God in their minds, or otherwise when they deny his Existence, they should deny the Existence of Nothing. And that they have also the same Idea of him with Theists, they denying the very same thing which the others affirm. 3. A Lemma or Preparatory Proposition to the Idea of God, That though some things be Made or Generated, yet it is not possible that all things should be Made, but something must of Necessity Exist of it self from Eternity Unmade, and be the Cause of those other things that are Made. 4. The Two most Opposite Opinions, concerning that which was Self-existent from Eternity or Unmade, and the Cause of all other things Made: One, That it was nothing but Senseless Matter, the most Imperfect of all things; The Other, That it was something Most Perfect, and therefore Consciously Intellectual. The Asserters of this latter Opinion, Theists in a strict and proper sense; of the former, Atheists. So that the Idea of God in general, is a Perfect Consciously Understanding Being (or Mind) Self-existent from Eternity, and the Cause of all other things. 5. Observed, That the Atheists who deny a God, according to the true Idea of him, do often Abuse the word, calling Senseless Matter by that Name, and meaning nothing else thereby, but a First Principle or Self-existent Unmade thing. That according to this Notion of the word God, there can be no such thing as an Atheist, no man being able to persuade himself, that all things sprung from Nothing. 6. In order to the more punctual Declaration of the Divine Idea, the Opinion of those taken notice of, who suppose Two Self-existent Unmade Principles, God and Matter, and so God not to be the Sole but only the*

Chief Principle. 7. That these are but Imperfect and Mistaken Theists. Their Idea of God declared, with its Defectiveness. A Latitude in Theism. None to be condemned for Absolute Atheists, but such as deny an Eternal Unmade Mind, ruling over the matter. 8. The most Compendious Idea of God, An Absolutely Perfect Being. That this includes not only Conscious Intellectuality and Necessary Existence, but also, Omni-causality, Omnipotence and Infinite Power: and therefore God, the sole Principle of all, and Cause of Matter. The true Notion of Infinite Power. Pagans acknowledged the Divine Omnipotence. And that the Atheists supposed Infinite Power to be included in the Idea of God, proved from Lucretius. 9. That absolute Perfection implies something more than Power and Knowledge. A Vaticination in mens minds of a Higher Good than either. That God is Better than Knowledge, according to Aristotle: and that there is Morality in the Nature of God, wherein his chief Happiness consisteth. This borrowed from Plato, who makes the Highest Perfection, and Supreme Deity, to be Goodness it self, above Knowledge and Intellect. God, and the Supreme Good, according to the Scripture, Love. God no soft or fond Love, but an Impartial Law, and the Measure of all things. That the Atheists supposed Goodness also to be included in the Idea of God. The Idea of God more Explicate and Unfolded, A Being absolutely Perfect, Infinitely Good, Wise and Powerful, Necessarily Existing, and not only the Framer of the World, but also the Cause of all things. 10. That this Idea of God Essentially includes Unity or Oneliness in it; since there can be but One Supreme, One Cause of all things, One Omnipotent, and One Infinitely Perfect. This Unity or Oneliness of the Deity, supposed also by Epicurus and Lucretius, who professedly denied a God according to this Idea. 11. The Grand Prejudice against the Naturality of this Idea of God, as it Essentially includes Unity and Solitariety, from the Polytheism of all Nations formerly, besides the Jewes, and of all the wisest men and Philosophers; from whence it is inferred, that this Idea of God is but Artificial, and owes its Original to Laws and Institution. An Enquiry to be made concerning the true sense of the Pagan Polytheism. That the Objectors take it for granted, that the Pagan Polytheists universally asserted, Many Self-existent Intellectual Beings, and Independent Deities, as so many Partial Causes of the World. 12. First, the Irrationality of this Opinion, and its manifest Repugnancy to the Phænomena, which render it less probable, to have been the Belief of all the Pagan Polytheists. 13. Secondly, That no such thing at all appears, as that ever any Intelligent Pagans asserted a Multitude of Eternal, Unmade, Independent Deities. The Hesiodian Gods. The Valentinian Æons. The nearest Approach made thereunto by the Manichean Good and Evil Gods. This Doctrine not generally asserted by the Greek Philosophers, as Plutarch affirmeth. Questioned whether the Persian Evil Dæmon or Arimanius, were a Self-existent Principle, Essentially Evil. Aristotle's Confutation and Explosion of Many Principles, or Independent Deities. Faustus the Manichean his Conceit, that the Jewes and Christians Paganized, in the Opinion of Monarchy, with St. Austin's Judgment, concerning the Pagans, thereupon. 14. Concluded that the Pagan

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*Pagan Polytheism must be understood according to another Equivocation in the word Gods, as used for Created Intellectual Beings, superior to Men, that ought to be Religiously Worshipped. That the Pagans held both Many Gods and One God, (as Onatus the Pythagorean declares himself) in different Sences: Many Inferiour Deities Subordinate to One Supreme. 15. Further Evidence of this, that the Intelligent Pagan Polytheists, held only a Plurality of Inferiour Deities, Subordinate to one Supreme: First because after the Emerision of Christianity, and its contest with Paganism, when occasion was offered, not only no Pagan asserted a Multiplicity of Independent Deities, but also all Universally disclaim'd it, and professed to acknowledge One Supreme God. 16. That this was no Refinement or Interpolation of Paganism, as might possibly be suspected, but that the Doctrine of the most Ancient Pagan Theologers, and greatest Promoters of Polytheism was agreeable hereunto; which will be proved, not from suspected Writings (as of Trismegist and the Sibyls) but such as are Indubitate. First, That Zoroaster the chief Promoter of Polytheism in the Eastern Parts, acknowledged one Supreme Deity, the Maker of the World, proved from Eubulus in Porphyry, besides his own words cited by Eusebius. 17. That Orpheus, commonly called by the Greeks, The Theologer, and the Father of the Grecanick Polytheism, clearly asserted one Supreme Deity, proved by his own words, out of Pagan Records. 18. That the Ægyptians themselves, the most Polytheistical of all Nations, had an acknowledgement amongst them of one Supreme Deity. 19. That the Poets, who were the greatest Depravers of the Pagan Theology, and by their Fables of the Gods, made it look more Aristocratically, did themselves notwithstanding acknowledge a Monarchy, one Prince and Father of Gods. That famous Passage of Sophocles not to be suspected, though not found in any of these Tragedies now extant. 20. That all the Pagan Philosophers, who were Theists, universally asserted a Mundane Monarchy. Pythagoras as much a Polytheist as any, and yet his First Principle of Things, as well as Numbers, a Monad or Unity. Anaxagoras his One Mind ordering all things for Good. Xenophanes his One and All, and his One God the Greatest among the Gods. 21. Parmenides his Supreme God, One Immoveable. Empedocles his both Many Gods Junior to Friendship and Contention, and his One God called τὸ ἐν Senior to them. Zeno Eleates his Demonstration of One God, in Aristotle. 22. Philolaus, his Prince and Governour of all, God always One. Euclides Megarensis his God called ἐν τὸ ἀγαθόν, One the Very Good. Timæus Locrus his Mind and Good, above the Soul of the World. Antisthenes his One Natural God. Onatus his Corypheus. 23. Generally believed and true, that Socrates acknowledged One Supreme God; but that he disclaimed all the Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, a Vulgar Error. Plato also a Polytheist, and that Passage which some lay so great stress upon (That he was serious, when he began his Epistles with God, but when with Gods jocular) Spurious and Counterfeit; and yet he was notwithstanding an undoubted Monotheist also in another sence; an Asserter, of One God over all, of a Maker of the World, of a First God, of a Greatest of the Gods. The First Hypostasis of the Platonick Trinity, properly*

ly the King of all things, for whose sake are all things; The Father of the Cause and Prince of the World, that is, of the Eternal Intellect, or  $\lambda\omicron\gamma\theta$ . 24. Aristotle an Acknowledger of Many Gods (he accounting the Stars such) and yet an express Asserter of  $\epsilon\varsigma\ \nu\omicron\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega\theta$ , One Prince, One Immoveable Mover. 25. Cleanthes and Chrysippus Stoicks, though they filled the whole Heaven, Earth, Air and Sea with Gods; yet notwithstanding they acknowledged, only One God Immortal, Jupiter; all the rest being consumed into him, in the successive Conflagrations, and afterwards made anew by him. Cleanthes his excellent and devout Hymn to the Supreme God. 26. Erdles to cite all the Passages of the later Pagan Writers and Polytheists, in which one Supreme God is asserted. Excellent Discourses in some of them concerning the Deity, particularly Plotinus. Who though he derived all things, even Matter it self, from one Supreme Deity, yet was a Contender for Many Gods. 27. This not only the Opinion of Philosophers and Learned men, but also the General Belief of the Pagan Vulgar; that there was One Supreme God, proved from Maximus Tyrius. The Romans Deus Optimus Maximus. The Pagans when most serious spake of God singularly. Kyrie Eleeson part of the Pagans Litany to the Supreme God. The more civilized Pagans at this very day acknowledge one Supreme Deity, the Maker of the World. 28. Plutarch's Testimony, that notwithstanding the variety of Paganick Religions, and the different Names of Gods used in them; yet One Reason, Mind or Providence ordering all things, and its Inferiour Ministers, were alike every where Worshipped. 29. Plain that the Pagan Theists must needs acknowledge One Supreme Deity, because they generally believed, the whole World to be One Animal, governed by One Soul. Some Pagans made this Soul of the World their Supreme God, others an Abstract Mind Superiour to it. 30. The Hebrew Doctors generally of this Perswasion, that the Pagans worshipped one Supreme God, and that all their other Gods were but Mediatours betwixt him and men. 31. Lastly, this confirmed from Scripture. The Pagans Knew God. Aratus his Jupiter, and the Athenians Unknown God, the True God. 32. In order to a fuller Explication of the Pagan Theology, and shewing the Occasion of its being misunderstood, Three Heads requisite to be insisted on. First, that the Pagans worshipped One Supreme God under Many Names: Secondly, that besides this One God, they worshipped also Many Gods, which were indeed Inferiour Deities Subordinate to him: Thirdly, that they worshipped both the Supreme and inferiour Gods in Images, Statues and Symbols, sometimes abusively called also Gods. First, that the Supreme God amongst the Pagans was Polyonymous, and worshipped under several Personal Names, according to his several Attributes and the Manifestations of them, his Gifts and Effects in the World. 33. That upon the same accompt, Things not Substantial were Personated and Deified by the Pagans, and worshipped as so many several Names or Notions of One God. 34. That as the whole Corporeal World Animated, was supposed by some of the Pagans to be the Supreme God, so he was worshipped in the several Parts and Members of it (having Personal Names bestowed upon them) as it were by Parcels and Piece-meal, or by so many Inadequate Conceptions. That some of

of the Pagans made the Corporeal World the Temple of God only, but others the Body of God. 35. The Second Head proposed, that besides the One Supreme God, under several Names, the Pagans acknowledged and Worshipped also Many Gods; θεοὶ πολλοί, Made Gods, Created intellectual Beings Superiour to Men. 36. The Pythagorick or Platonick Trinity of Divine Hypostases. And the Higher of the Inferiour Deities, according to this Hypothesis; Nous, Psyche, and the whole Corporeal World; with particular Noes and Henades. 37. The other Inferiour Deities acknowledged as well by the Vulgar as Philosophers, of Three Sorts. First the Sun, Moon and Stars, and other greater Parts of the Universe, Animated; called Sensible Gods. 38. Secondly, their Inferiour Deities Invisible, Ethereal and Aereal Animals, called Dæmons. These appointed by the Supreme Deity, to preside over Kingdoms, Cities, Places, Persons and Things. 39. The Last sort of the Pagan Inferiour Deities, Heroes and θεοεισώπων, or Men-gods. Euemerus taxed by Plutarch, for making all the Pagan Gods nothing but Dead Men. 40. The Third general Head proposed, That the Pagans worshipped both the Supreme and Inferiour Gods, in Images, Statues and Symbols. That first of all, before Images and Temples, Rude Stones and Pillars without Sculpture, were erected for Religious Monuments, and called βεθούλια or Bethels. 41. That afterwards Images, Statues and Symbols were used, and housed in Temples. These placed in the West-end of the Temples to face the East; so that the Pagans entering, worshipped towards the West: One probable Occasion of the Ancient Christians Praying towards the East. The Golden Calf made for a Symbolick Presence of the God of Israel. 42. All the parts of the entire Pagan Religion represented together at once in Plato. 43. That some late Writers, not well understanding the Sence of Pagans, have confounded all their Theology, by supposing them to Worship the Inanimate parts of the World as such, for Gods; therefore distinguishing betwixt their Animal and their Natural Gods. That no Corporeal thing was worshipped by the Pagans otherwise, than either as being it self Animated with a Particular Soul of its own, or as being part of the whole Animated World, or as having Dæmons presiding over it, to whom the Worship was properly directed; or Lastly, as being Images or Symbols of Divine Things. 44. That though the Egyptians be said to have Worshipped Brute Animals, and were generally therefore condemned by the other Pagans; yet the wiser of them used them only as Hieroglyphicks and Symbols. 45. That the Pagans worshipped not only the Supreme God, but also the Inferiour Deities, by Material Sacrifices. Sacrifices or Fire-offerings, in their First and General Notion, nothing else but Gifts and Signs of Gratitude, and Appendices of Prayer. But that Animal Sacrifices had afterwards a Particular Notion also of Expiation fastned on them, whether by Divine Direction, or Humane Agreement, left undetermined. 46. The Pagans Apology for the Three forementioned Things. First, for Worshipping one Supreme God under Many Personal Names, and that not only according to his several Attributes, but also his several Manifestations, Gifts and Effects, in the Visible World. With an Excuse for those Corporeal Theists, who Worshipped the whole Animated World as the Supreme God, and the sever-

*ral Parts of it under Personal Names, as Living Members of him.*  
 47. *Their Apology for Worshipping, besides the One Supreme God, Many Inferiour Deities. That they Worshipping them only as Inferiour, could not therefore be guilty of giving them that Honour, which was proper to the Supreme. That they Honour'd the Supreme God incomparably above all. That they put a Difference in their Sacrifices, and that Material Sacrifices were not the proper Worship of the Supreme God, but rather below him.* 48. *Several Reasons of the Pagans, for giving Religious Worship to Inferiour Created Beings. First that this Honour which is bestowed upon them, does ultimately redound to the Supreme God, and aggrandize his State and Majesty, they being all his Ministers and Attendants.* 49. *That as Dæmons are Mediatours betwixt the Celestial Gods and Men, so those Celestial Gods and all the other Inferiour Deities, are themselves also Mediatours betwixt Men and the Supreme God, and as it were Convenient steps, by which we ought with Reverence to approach him.* 50. *That there is an Honour in Justice due, to all those excellent Beings that are above us, and that the Pagans do but honour every thing as they ought, in that due rank and place, in which the Supreme God hath set it.* 51. *That Dæmons or Angels being appointed to preside over Kingdoms, Cities and Persons, and the several parts of the Corporeal Universe, and being many ways Benefactors to us, Thanks ought to be returned to them by Sacrifice.* 52. *That the Inferiour Gods, Demons and Heroes, being all of them able to do us either Good or Hurt, and being also Irascible, and therefore Provokable by our neglect of them, it is as well our Interest as our Duty, to Pacifie and Appease them by Worship.* 53. *Lastly, that it cannot be thought, that the Supreme God will envy those Inferiour Gods, that Worship or Honour which is bestowed upon them; nor suspected, that any of those Inferiour Deities will Factionously go about to set up themselves against the Supreme God.* 54. *That many of the Pagans worshipped none but Good Dæmons, and that those of them who worshipped Evil ones did it only in order to their Appeasment and Mitigation, that so they might do them no hurt. None but Magicians to be accompted properly Devil-Worshippers, who honour Evil Dæmons, in order to the gratification of their Revenge, Lust and Ambition.* 55. *The Pagans plead that those Dæmons, who delivered Oracles, and did Miracles amongst them, must needs be Good, since there cannot be a greater reproach to the Supreme God, than to suppose him to appoint Evil Dæmons as Presidents and Governours over the World, or to suffer them to have so great a sway and share of Power in it. The Faith of Plato in Divine Providence, that the Good every where prevails over the Bad, and that the Delphick Apollo was therefore a Good Dæmon.* 56. *The Pagans Apology for Worshipping the Supreme God in Images, Statues and Symbols. That these are only Schetically Worshipped by them, the Honour passing from them to the Prototype. And that since we living in Bodies, cannot easily have a Conception of any thing without some Corporeal Image or Phantasm, thus much must be indulged to the Infirmity of Humane Nature (at least in the Vulgar) to Worship God Corporeally in Images, to prevent their running to Atheism.* 57. *That though it should appear*  
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by this Apology of the Pagans, that their Case were not altogether so Bad, as is commonly supposed, yet they cannot be Justified thereby, in the Three Particulars above mentioned, but the Scripture-Condemnation of them is Irrefragable, That knowing God, they did not Glorifie him as God, or Sanctifie his Name; that is, Worship him according to his Uncommon and Incommunicable, his Peerless and Infociable, Transcendent and Singular, Incomparable and Unresembleable Nature; but mingled some way or other Creature-worship with the Worship of the Creatour. First, that the Worshipping of One God in his Various Gifts and Effects, under several personal Names, a thing in it self absurd, may also prove a great occasion of Atheism, when the things themselves come to be called by those Names, as Wine Bacchus, Corn Ceres. The Conclusion easily following from thence, that the Good things of Nature are the only Deities. But to Worship the Corporeal World it self Animated, as the Supreme God, and the Parts of it, as the Members of God, plainly to Confound God with the Creature, and not to Glorifie him as Creatour, nor according to his Separate and Spiritual Nature. 58. To give Religious Worship to Dæmons or Angels, Heroes or Saints, or any other Intellectual Creatures, though not honouring them equally with the Supreme God, is to deny God the Honour of his Holiness, his Singular, Infociable and Incommunicable Nature, as he is the only Self-originated Being, and the Creator of all: Of whom, Through Whom, and To Whom are all things. As God is such a Being, that there is nothing Like him, so ought the Worship which is given him, to be such as hath nothing Like to it, A Singular, Separate and Incommunicate Worship. They not to be Religiously Worshipped that Worship. 59. That the Religious Worship of Created Spirits proceeded chiefly from a Fear that if they were not worshipped, they would be provoked and do hurt, which is both highly Injurious to Good Spirits, and a Distrust of the Sufficiency of God's Power to protect his Worshippers. That all Good Spirits Uninvok'd, are of themselves officiously ready to assist those who sincerely Worship and Propitiate the Supreme Deity, and therefore no need of the Religious Worship of them, which would be also Offensive to them. 60. That Mens praying to Images and Statues, is much more Ridiculous than Childrens talking to Babies made of Clouts, but not so Innocent, they thereby Debasing both themselves and God, not Glorifying him according to his Spiritual and Unresembleable Nature, but changing the Glory of the Incorruptible God, into the Likeness of Corruptible Man or Beast. 61. The Mistake of those who think none can be guilty of Idolatry, that believe One God the Maker of the World. 62. That from the same ground of Reason, That nothing ought to be Religiously Worshipped besides the Supreme God, or whom he appoints to represent himself (because he ought to be Sanctified, and dealt withal according to his Singular Nature as unlike to every thing) it follows, contrary to the Opinion of some Opposers of Idolatry, that there ought also to be a Discrimination made, between things Sacred and Prophane, and Reverence used in Divine Worship. Idolatry and Sacrilege allied. 63. Another Scripture-Charge upon the Pagans, that they were Devil-worshippers; not as though they intended all their Worship to Evil Dæmons or Devils

Devils as such, but because their Polytheism and Idolatry ( unacceptable to God and Good Spirits ) was promoted by Evil Spirits delivering Oracles and doing Miracles for the Confirmation of it, they also insinuating themselves into the Temples and Statues, therefore the Worship was look'd upon, as done to them. The same thing said of others besides Pagans, that they Worshipped Devils. 64. Proved that they were Evil Dæmons who delivered Oracles and did Miracles amongst the Pagans, for the carrying on of that Religion, from the many Obscene Rites and Mysteries, not only not prohibited, but also enjoined by them. 65. The same thing further proved, from other cruel and bloody Rites, but especially that of Man Sacrifices. Plutarch's Clear Acknowledgement, that both the Obscene Rites and Man-Sacrifices, amongst the Pagans, owed their Original to Wicked Dæmons. 66. That the God of Israel, neither required, nor accepted of Man-Sacrifices, against a modern Diatribist. 67. That what Faith soever Plato might have in the Delphick Apollo, he was no other than an Evil Dæmon or Devil. An Answer to the Pagans Argument from Divine Providence. 68. That the Pagans Religion, unsound in its Foundation, was Infinitely more Corrupted and Depraved by means of these Four Things; First, the Superstition of the Ignorant Vulgar. 69. Secondly, the Licentious Fictions of Poets and Fable-Mongers, frequently condemned by Plato and other Wiser Pagans. 70. Thirdly, the Craft of Priests and Politicians. 71. Lastly, the Imposture of evil Dæmons or Devils. That by means of these Four Things, the Pagan Religion became a most foul and unclean thing. And as some were captivated by it under a most grievous Yoke of Superstition, so others strongly inclined to Atheism. 72. Plato not insensible that the Pagan Religion stood in need of Reformation; nevertheless, supposing many of those Religious Rites, to have been introduced by Visions, Dreams, and Oracles, he concluded that no wise Legislator would of his own head venture to make an Alteration. Implying, that this was a thing not to be effected otherwise than by Divine Revelation and Miracles. The generally received Opinion of the Pagans, that no man ought to trouble himself about Religion, but content himself to worship God, *ὁμοῦ πῶλεως*, according to the Law of that Country which he lived in. 73. Wherefore God Almighty in great compassion to Mankind, designed himself to reform the Religion of the Pagan World, by introducing another Religion of his own framing in stead of it; after he had first made a Prælude thereunto, in one Nation of the Israelites, where he expressly prohibited by a Voice out of the Fire, in his First Commandment, the Pagan Polytheism, or the worshipping of other Inferior Deities besides himself, and in the Second, their Idolatry, or the Worshipping of the Supreme God in Images, Statues or Symbols. Besides which he restrain'd the use of Sacrifices. As also successively gave Predictions, of a Messiah to come, such as together with Miracles might reasonably conciliate Faith to him when he came. 74. That afterwards in due time, God sent the promised Messiah, who was the Eternal Word Hypostatically united with a Pure Humane Soul and Body, and so a true *θεὸς ἐν σαρκί*, or God-man: Designing him for a Living Temple and Visible Statue or Image, in which the Deity should be represented and

and worshipped; as also after his Death and Resurrection, when he was to be invested with all Power and Authority, for a Prince and King, a Mediatour and Intercessour, betwixt God and Men. 75. That this Θεωάνθρωπος or God-man was so far from intending to require Men-sacrifices of his worshippers, as the Pagan Demons did, that he devoted himself to be a Catharma & Expiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, and thereby also abolished all Sacrifices or Oblations by Fire whatsoever, according to the Divine Prediction. 76. That the Christian Trinity, though a Mystery, is more agreeable to Reason than the Platonick, and that there is no absurdity at all, in supposing the Pure Soul and Body of the Messiah, to be made a Living Temple or Shechinah, Image or Statue of the Deity. That this Religion of One God and One Mediatour, or Θεωάνθρωπος God-man, preached to the Pagan World and confirm'd by Miracles, did effectually destroy all the Pagan Inferiour Deities, Middle Gods and Mediatours, Demons and Heroes, together with their Statues and Images. 77. That it is no way incongruous to suppose that the Divine Majesty, in prescribing a Form of Religion to the World, should graciously condescend to comply with Humane Infirmity, in order to the removing of Two such Grand Evils, as Polytheism and Idolatry, and the bringing of men to worship God in Spirit and in Truth. 78. That Demons and Angels, Heroes and Saints are but different Names for the same things, which are made Gods by being worshipped. And that the introducing of Angel and Saint-worship, together with Image-worship, into Christianity, seems to be a defeating of one grand design of God Almighty in it, and the Paganizing of that, which was intended for the Unpaganizing of the World. 79. Another Key for Christianity in the Scripture, not disagreeing with the former, That since the way of Wisdom and Knowledge, proved Ineffectual as to the Generality of Mankind, men might by the contrivance of the Gospel be brought to God and a holy Life (without profound Knowledge) in the way of Believing. 80. That according to the Scripture, there is a Higher, more Precious and Diviner Light, than that of Theory and Speculation. 81. That in Christianity, all the Great, Goodly and most Glorious things of this World, are slurried and disgraced, comparatively with the Life of Christ. 82. And that there are all possible Engines in it to bring men up to God, and engage them in a holy Life. 83. Two Errors here to be taken notice of; The First of those who make Christianity, nothing but an Antinomian Plot against Real Righteousness, and as it were a secret Confederacy with the Devil. The Second, of those who turn that into Matter of mere Notion and Opinion, Dispute and Controversie, which was designed by God only as a Contrivance, Machin, or Engine to bring men Effectually to a Holy and Godly Life. 84. That Christianity may be yet further illustrated, from the consideration of the Adversary or Satanical Power, which is in the World. This no Minichean Substantial Evil Principle, but a Polity of Lapsed Angels, with which the Souls of Wicked men are also Incorporated, and may therefore be called The Kingdom of Darknes. 85. The History of the Fallen Angels in Scripture briefly explained. 86. The concurrent Agreement of the Pagans concerning Evil Demons or Devils, and their Activity in the World. 87. That there is a perpet-

*tual War betwixt Two Polities or Kingdoms in the World, the one of Light, the other of Darknes; and that our saviour Christ or the Messiah, is appointed the Head or Chieftain over the Heavenly Militia, or the Forces of the Kingdom of Light. 88. That there will be at length a Palpable and Signal Overthrow, of the Satanical Power, and whole Kingdom of Darknes, by Θεός ἀπὸ μυστηρίων, God appearing in an extraordinary and miraculous manner; and that this great affair is to be managed by our Saviour Christ, as God's Vicegerent, and a Visible Judge both of Quick and Dead. 89. That our Saviour Christ designed not, to set up himself Factiously against God Almighty, nor to be accounted ὑπερθεός, superiour to God, but that when he hath done his Work, and put down all Adversary Power, himself will then be subject to God, even the Father, that so God may be all in all. 90. Lastly, having spoken of Three Forms of Religions, the Jewish, Christian and the Pagan, and there remaining only a Fourth the Mahometan, in which the Divine Monarchy is zéalously asserted, we may now Conclude, that the Idea of God (as essentially including Unity in it) hath been entertained in all Forms of Religion. An Accompt of that seemingly-strange Phænomenon of Providence; the Rise, Growth and Continuance of the Mahometan Religion, not to be attempted by us, at least in this place.*

I. AVING in the Former Chapter prepared the way, we shall now procede (with the Divine Assistance) to Answer and Confute all those Atheistick Arguments before proposed. The First whereof was this, That there is no Idea of God, and therefore, either no such Thing existing in Nature, or at least no possible Evidence of it.

To affirm that there is no *Idea of God*, is all one as to affirm, that there is no *Conception of the Mind* answering to that Word or Name; And this the Modern Atheists stick not to maintain, That the *Word God* hath no *Signification*, and that there is no other *Idea* or *Conception* in Mens Minds, answering thereunto, besides the mere *Phantasm of the Sound*. Now for any one to go about soberly to confute this, and to Prove that *God* is not the Only *Word* without a *Signification*, and that men do not every where pay all their Religious Devotions, to the mere *Phantasm* of a *Transient Sound*, expecting all Good from it, might very well seem to all Intelligent persons, a most Absurd and Ridiculous Undertaking; both because the thing is so evident in it self, and because the plainest things of all can least be Proved; for ὁ πᾶσι αὐτὸς δῖτα νενομικῶς, αὐτὴν ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀναγεῖν.  
He that thinks all things to be Demonstrable, takes away Demonstration it self. Wherefore we shall here only suggest thus much, that since there are different words for *God* in several Languages, and men have the same *Notion* or *Conception* in their Minds answering to them all, it must needs be granted, that they have some other *Idea* or *Conception* belonging to those Words, besides the *Phantasms* of their several *Sounds*. And indeed it can be nothing else, but either  
Monstrous

*Monstrous Sottishness and Stupidity of Mind, or else Prodigious Impudence, in these Atheists to deny, that there is any Idea of God at all, in the Minds of men, or that the Word hath any Signification.*

It was hereofore observed by *Epictetus*, *ἂν τις ἐκίστηται πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα ἄσφραγῆ, πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ἔστιν ἄσφραγῆ λόγον, δι' ἧς μεταπέσει τις αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ἔστιν ἄσφραγῆ τὴν ἐκείνου γινέσθαι δύναμιν, ἔστιν ἄσφραγῆ τὴν τὸ διδάσκοντος ἀδένειαν.* *Arria, l. i. c. 5.*  
 That if any man will oppose or contradict the most evident Truths, it will not be easie, to find arguments wherewith to convince him. And yet this notwithstanding, ought neither to be Imputed, to any Inability in the Teacher, nor to any strength of Wit in the Denier, but only to a certain dead Insensibility in him. Whereupon he further adds, that there is a double ἀπονεκρωσις or ἀπολιθωσις, *Mortification or Petrification of the Soul*; the one, when it is Stupified and Besotted in its *Intellectuals*; the other, when it is Bedeaded in its *Morals*, as to that *Pudor* that naturally should belong to a Man. And he concludes, that either of these States (though it be not commonly so apprehended) is a Condition little less deplorable, than that of Bodily Death; as also that such a person is not at all to be Disputed with. For ποῖον αὐτὰ πῦρ ἢ ποῖον σίδηρον προσάγω, ἵν' αἰσθῆται ὅτι νεκρωσάται; αἰσθάνομεθα ἢ προσποιοῖται; ἐπὶ χείρων ἔστι τὸ νεκρῆς, ἐκτετμηταί γὰρ τὸ αἰσθάνομεν αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ σέσημον. *What sword can one bring or what Fire, by burning or slashing, to make such a one perceive that he is dead? but if he be sensible, and will not acknowledge it, then he is worse than dead, being castrated as to that Pudor that belongs to a man.* Moreover, that Philosopher took notice that in those times, when this Denial of most Evident Truths, proceeded rather from *Impudence* than *Stupidity* or *Sottishness*, the Vulgar would be apt to admire it, for strength of Wit and great Learning; *ἂν δὲ τινος τὸ αἰσθάνομεν ἀπονεκρωθῆ, τὸ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ δύναμιν καλεῖμεθα.* *But if any mans Pudor be deaded or mortified in him, we call this Power and Strength.*

Now as this was sometimes the Case of the Academicks, so is it also commonly of the Atheists, that their Minds are Partly Petrified and Benumbed into a kind of *Sottish and Stupid Insensibility*, so that they are not able to discern things that are most Evident; and Partly Depudorated or become so void of Shame, as that though they do perceive, yet they will Obstinate and Impudently deny the plainest things that are, as this, that there is any Idea answering to the word *God*, besides the *Phantasm* of the sound. And we do the rather insist upon this *Prodigious Monstrosity* of Atheists in this place, because we shall have occasion afterwards more than once to take notice of it again, in other Instances, as when they affirm, that *Local Motion and Cogitation*, are really one and the self same thing, and the like. And we conceive it to be unquestionably True, that it is many times nothing else, but either this *Shameless Impudence* or *Sottish Insensibility* in Atheists, that is admired by the Ignorant, for *Profoundness of Wit and Learning*, *ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ δύναμιν ἔπει, μὴ γνοῖτο εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν τῆς κινώδων, καὶ ἵν' πᾶν τὸ ἐπελθὼν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ποιῆσαι καὶ λέγει.* *But shall I call this Power or Wit, and commend it upon*  
 R 2 that

that accompt? No more than I will commend the Impudence of the Cinædi, who stick not publickly to Do and Say any thing.

II. But whatever these *Atheists* deny in words, it is notwithstanding evident, that even themselves have an *Idea* or *Conception* in their Minds answering to the *Word, God*, when they deny his Existence, because otherwise they should deny the existence of *No-thing*. Nor can it be at all doubted, but that they have also the same *Idea of God* with *Theists*, they denying the Existence of no other thing than what these assert. And as in all other Controversies, when men dispute together, the one Affirming the other Denying, both Parties must needs have the same *Idea* in their Minds of what they dispute about, or otherwise their whole Disputation would be but a kind of *Babel-Language* and Confusion; so must it be likewise in this present Controversie, betwixt *Theists* and *Atheists*. Neither indeed would there be any Controversie at all between them, did they not both by *God*, mean one and the same thing; nor would the *Atheists* be any longer *Atheists*, did they not deny the Existence of that very same Thing, which the *Theists* affirm, but of something else.

III. Wherefore we shall in the next place declare what this *Idea of God* is, or what is that thing whose Existence they that affirm are called *Theists*, and they who deny *Atheists*. In order whereunto, we must first lay down this *Lemma* or *Preparatory Proposition*, That as it is generally acknowledged, that all things did not exist from Eternity, such as they are, *Unmade*, but that somethings were *Made and Generated* or produced; so it is not possible that *All* things should be *Made* neither, but there must of necessity be something *Self-existent* from Eternity, and *Unmade*; because if there had been once Nothing, there could never have been any thing. The Reason of which is so evident and irresistible, that even the *Atheists* confess themselves conquered by it, and readily acknowledge it for an indubitable Truth, That there must be something ἀρχόν, something which was never *Made* or *Produced*, and which therefore is the *Cause* of those other things that are *Made*, something αὐτόφωες and αὐθυπόστατον, that was *Self-originated* and *Self-existing*, and which is as well ἀνάλεθεον and ἀφθαρτον, as ἀρχόν, *Incorruptible* and *Undestroyable*, as *Ingenerable*; whose Existence therefore must needs be *Necessary*, because if it were supposed to have happened by Chance to exist from Eternity, then it might as well happen again to Cease to Be. Wherefore all the Question now is, what is this ἀρχόν and ἀνάλεθεον, αὐτόφωες and αὐθυπόστατον, this *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, *Self-originated* and *Self-existent* Thing, which is the *Cause* of all other things that are *Made*.

IV. Now there are Two Grand Opinions Opposite to one another concerning it: For first, some contend that the only *Self-existent*, *Unmade* and *Incorruptible Thing*, and *First Principle* of all things, is *Senseless Matter*, that is, Matter either perfectly *Dead* and *Stupid*, or at least devoid of all *Animalish* and *Conscious Life*. But because this is really the *Lowest* and most *Imperfect* of all Beings,  
Others

Others on the contrary judge it reasonable, that the *First Principle* and Original of all things, should be that which is *Most Perfect* (as Aristotle observes of *Pherecydes* and his Followers, τὸ γυνήσαν πρῶτον ἀεὶ ἄστυ τιθάσι, That they made the *First Cause and Principle of Generation to be the Best*) and then apprehending that to be endowed with *Conscious Life and Understanding*, is much a *Greater Perfection* than to be devoid of both, (as *Balbus* in *Cicero* declares upon this very occasion, *Nec dubium quin quod Animans sit, habeátque Mentem & Rationem & Sensum, id sit melius quàm id quod his careat*) they therefore conclude, That the only *Unmade* thing, which was the *Principle, Cause and Original* of all other things, was not *Senseless Matter*, but a *Perfect Conscious Understanding Nature, or Mind*. And these are they who are strictly and properly called *Theists*, who affirm that a *Perfectly Conscious Understanding Being, or Mind*, existing of it self from *Eternity*, was the *Cause* of all other things; and they on the contrary who derive all things from *Senseless Matter*, as the *First Original*, and deny that there is any *Conscious Understanding Being Self-existent or Unmade*, are those that are properly called *Atheists*. Wherefore the true and genuine *Idea* of *God* in general, is this, *A Perfect Conscious Understanding Being (or Mind) Existing of it self from Eternity, and the Cause of all other things.*

De Nat. Deor.  
L. 2.

V. But it is here observable, that those *Atheists* who deny a *God*, according to this True and Genuine *Notion* of him, which we have declared, do often *Abuse* the *Word*, calling *Senseless Matter* by that Name. Partly perhaps as endeavouring thereby, to decline that odious and ignominious name of *Atheists*, and partly as conceiving, that whatsoever is the *First Principle* of things, *Ingenerable and Incorruptible*, and the *Cause* of all other things besides it self, must therefore needs be the *Divinest Thing* of all. Wherefore by the word *God*, these mean nothing else, but that which is ἀρχήντων, *Unmade or Self-existent*, and the ἀρχή or *First Principle* of things. Thus it was before observed, that *Anaximander* called *Infinite Matter*, devoid of all manner of *Life*, the τὸ θεῖον or *God*; and *Pliny*, the *Corporeal World*, endowed with nothing but a *Plastick Unknowing Nature, Numen*; as also others in *Aristotle*, upon the same account called the *Inanimate Elements Gods*, as *Supposed First Principles* of things, θεοὶ ἢ τὰ πάντα, for these are also *Gods*. And indeed *Aristotle* himself seems to be guilty of this miscarriage of *Abusing* the word *God* after this manner, when speaking of *Love and Chaos*, as the two first Principles of things, he must, according to the *Laws of Grammar*, be understood to call them both *Gods*: τὸ τὸς μὲν ἐν πῶς καὶ διανεύμαι, ὅτι τὸ τίς πρῶτον, ἐξέσω κελύειν ὑπερῶν. Concerning these two (*Gods*) how they ought to be ranked, and which of them is to be placed first, whether *Love or Chaos*, is afterwards to be resolved. Which Passage of *Aristotle's* seems to agree with that of *Epicharmus*, Ἄλλα λέγεται μὲν χάος πρῶτον γενέσθαι θεῶν, But *Chaos* is said to have been made the first of the *Gods*; unless we should rather understand him thus, That *Chaos* was said, to have been made before the *Gods*. And this *Abuse* of the *Word God*, is a thing which the learned *Origen* took notice of in his Book against *Celsus*, where he speaks of that Religious Care, which ought to be had a-

Metaph. lib. 1.  
cap. 4.

L. I. p. 19. Cont. about the use of Words: ὁ τοίνυν μεγαλοφύεσσεν πᾶν ὀλίγην τῶτων ᾧδίνου-  
 αν ειλίφως, ἀλαβηθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ἄλλοις ἐφαρμύζειν ὀνόματα πρῶματα, μήπο-  
 τε ὄμοιον πᾶθι τοῖς τὸ θεὸς ὄνομα ἐσφαλμένως φέρων, ὅτι ἕλω ἀψυχῶν.  
 He therefore that hath but the least consideration of these things, will take  
 a Religious care, that he give not improper names to things, lest he should  
 fall into a like miscarriage with those, who attribute the name of God to  
 Inanimate and Senseless matter. Now according to this false and spu-  
 rious Notion of the word God, when it is taken for any supposed First  
 Principle, or Self-existent Unmade Thing, whatsoever that be, there  
 neither is nor can be any such thing as an *Atheist*; since whosoever  
 hath but the least dram of Reason, must needs acknowledge, that  
 Something or other Existed from Eternity Unmade, and was the  
 Cause of those other things that are Made. But that Notion or Idea of  
 God, according to which some are *Atheists*, and some *Theists*, is in  
 the strictest sence of it, what we have already declared, A Perfect  
 Mind, or Consciously Understanding Nature, Self-existent from Eterni-  
 ty, and the Cause of all other things. The genuine *Theists* being those  
 who make the First Original of all things Universally, to be a Con-  
 sciously Understanding Nature (or Perfect Mind) but the *Atheists* pro-  
 perly such, as derive all things from Matter, either perfectly Dead  
 and Stupid, or else devoid of all Conscious and Animalish Life.

VI. But that we may more fully and punctually declare the true  
*Idea of God*, we must here take notice of a certain Opinion of some  
 Philosophers, who went as it were in a middle betwixt both the  
 Former, and neither made Matter alone, nor God, the Sole Prin-  
 ciple of all things; but joyned them both together and held  
 Two First Principles or Self-existent Unmade Beings, independent up-  
 on one another, God, and the Matter. Amongst whom the *Stoicks*  
 are to be reckoned, who notwithstanding because they held,  
 that there was no other Substance besides Body, strangely con-  
 founded themselves, being by that means necessitated, to make their  
 Two First Principles, the Active and the Passive, to be both of them  
 really but One and the self-same Substance: their Doctrine to this pur-  
 pose being thus declared by Cicero; *Naturam dividebant in Res Dur-  
 as, ut Altera esset Efficiens, Altera autem quasi huic se præbens, ex qua  
 Efficeretur aliquid. In eo quod Efficeret, Vim esse censebant; in eo quod  
 Efficeretur, Materiam quandam; in Utroque tamen Utrumque. Neque  
 enim Materiam ipsam coherere potuisse si nullâ Vi contineretur, neque  
 Vim sine aliqua Materia; Nihil est enim quod non Alicubi esse cogatur.*  
 The *Stoicks* divided Nature into Two Things as the First Principles, One  
 whereof is the Efficient, or Artificer, the Other that which offers it self  
 to him for things to be made out of it. In the Efficient Principle they  
 took notice of Active Force, in the Patient of Matter; but so as that in each  
 of these were both together: forasmuch as neither the Matter could  
 cohere together unless it were contained by some Active Force, nor the  
 Active Force subsist of it self without Matter, because that is Nothing  
 which is not somewhere. But besides these *Stoicks*, there were other  
 Philosophers, who admitting of Incorporeal Substance, did suppose  
 Two First Principles, as Substances really distinct from one another  
 that were Coexistent from Eternity, an Incorporeal Deity and Matter;

as for Example *Anaxagoras*, *Archelaus*, *Atticus*, and many more; in-  
 fomuch that *Pythagoras* himself was reckoned amongst those by *Nu-*  
*menius*, and *Plato* by *Plutarch* and *Laertius*. See Euseb.  
 Præp. Ev. Li. 7.  
 c. 7.

And we find it commonly taken for granted, that *Aristotle* also was  
 of this Perswasion, though it cannot be certainly concluded from  
 thence (as some seem to suppose) because he asserted the Eternity of  
 the World: *Plotinus*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus*, *Proclus* and *Simplicius*,  
 doing the like, and yet notwithstanding maintaining, that God was  
 the Sole Principle of all things, and that Matter also was de-  
 rived from him. Neither will that Passage of *Aristotle's* in his Me-  
 taphysicks, necessarily evince the Contrary, *θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἰτίον πάντων εἶναι*  
*καὶ ἀρχὴ τις*, *God seems to be a Cause to all things and a certain Principle*,  
 because this might be understood only of the Forms of things. L. I. c. 14

But it is plain that *Plutarch* was a Maintainer of this Doctrine, from  
 his Discourse upon the Platonick *Psychogonia*, (besides other Places)  
*βέλτιον ἐν πλάτωνι πηθομένους, ἢ μὲν κόσμον ὑπὸ θεῶν γηγόναι λέγειν καὶ*  
*ἄσθεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλλιστος τῶν γεγονότων, ὁ δὲ ἄριστος τῶν αἰτίων· τίω δὲ ἴσθαι*  
*καὶ ἄλλω ἐξ ἧς γέγονεν, ἢ γνομένω, ἀλλὰ ὑποκείμενῳ αἰετῶν δημιουργῶν, εἰς δι-*  
*άθετον καὶ πάθει αὐτῆς, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑξομοίωσιν, ὡς δυνατόν ἦν ἀδραχεῖν· ἢ*  
*γὰρ ἐκ τῶ μὴ οὐθέν ἢ γένεσις, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶ μὴ καλῶς, μὴδ' ἰκανῶς ἐχούτος, ὡς*  
*οἰκίας, καὶ ἡμάτων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας.* *It is therefore better for us to follow Pla-*  
*to (than Heraclitus) and loudly to declare, that the World was made*  
*by God. For as the world is the Best of all Works, so is God the Best of*  
*all Causes. Nevertheless the Substance or Matter out of which the World*  
*was made, was not it self made; but always ready at hand, and sub-*  
*ject to the Artificer, to be ordered and disposed by him. For the making*  
*of the World, was not the Production of it out of Nothing, but out of an*  
*antecedent Bad and Disorderly State, like the Making of an House, Gar-*  
*ment or Statue.*

It is also well known, that *Hermogenes* and other ancient Preten-  
 ders to Christianity, did in like manner assert the *Self-existence* and  
*Improduction* of the Matter, for which Cause they were commonly  
 called *Materiarii*, or the *Materiarian Hereticks*; they pretending by  
 this means to give an account (as the Stoicks had done before them)  
 of the Original of *Evils*, and to free God from the Imputation of them.  
 Their Ratiocination to which purpose, is thus set down by *Tertullian*.  
*God made all things, either out of Himself, or out of Nothing, or out of Mat-*  
*ter. He could not make all things out of Himself, because himself being*  
*always Unmade, he should then really have been the Maker of No-*  
*thing. And he did not make all out of Nothing, because being Essenti-*  
*ally good, he would have made Nihil non optimum, every thing in the*  
*Best manner, and so there could have been no Evil in the World. But*  
*since there are Evils, and these could not procede from the Will of God,*  
*they must needs arise from the Fault of something, and therefore of the*  
*Matter, out of which things were made. Lastly, it is sufficiently known*  
*likewise, that some Modern Sects of the Christian Profession, at*  
*this day, do also assert the Uncreatedness of the Matter. But*  
*these*

Adver. Hermog.  
 p. 282. Reg.

these suppose, in like manner as the Stoicks did, Body to be the Only Substance.

VII. Now of all these whosoever they were who thus maintained *Two Self-existent Principles*, God and the Matter, we may pronounce Univerſally, that they were neither Better nor Worse, than a kind of *Imperfect Theists*.

They had a certain *Notion* or *Idea* of God, such as it was, which seems to be the very same, with that expressed in Aristotle, ζῷον ἄειρον αἰδίου, *An Animal the Best Eternal*, and represented also by Epicurus in this manner, ζῷον πᾶσαν ἔχον μακαριότητα μετ' ἀφθαρσίας. *An Animal that hath all Happiness with Incorruptibility*.

Wherein it was acknowledged by them, that besides *Senseless Matter*, there was also an *Animalish* and *Conscious* or *Perceptive Nature*, Self-existent from Eternity; in opposition to *Atheists*, who made *Matter*, either devoid of all manner of Life, or at least of such as is *Animalish* and *Conscious*, to be the *Sole Principle* of All things. For it hath been often observed, that some *Atheists* attributed, a kind of *Plastick Life* or *Nature*, to that *Matter*, which they made to be the *Only Principle* of the Universe. And these Two sorts of *Atheisms* were long since taken notice of by Seneca in these words; *Universum in quo nos quoque sumus, expers esse Consilii, & aut ferri Temeritate quadam aut Naturâ Nesciente quid faciat. The Atheists make the Universe, whereof our selves are part, to be devoid of Counsel, and therefore either to be carried on Temerariouſly and Fortuitouſly; or else by such a Nature, as which (though it be Orderly, Regular and Methodical) yet is notwithstanding Nescient of what it doth. But no Atheist ever acknowledged Conscious Animality, to be a First Principle in the Universe; nor that the Whole was governed by any Animalish, Sentient, and Understanding Nature, presiding over it as the Head of it; but as it was before declared, they Concluded all Animals and Animality, all Conscious, Sentient and Self-perceptive Life, to be Generated and Corrupted, or Educ'd out of Nothing, and Reduced to Nothing again. Wherefore they who on the Contrary asserted Animality and Conscious Life, to be a First Principle or Unmade thing in the Universe are to be accounted Theists. Thus Balbus in Cicero declares, that to be a Theist, is to assert, Ab Animantibus Principiis Mundum, esse Generatum, That the World was Generated or Produced at first from Animant Principles, and that it is also still governed by such a Nature, Res omnes subjectas esse Naturæ Sentienti, That all things are subject to a Sentient and Conscious Nature, steering and guiding of them.*

Cicero de Nat.  
D. 1. 2.

But to distinguish this *Divine Animal*, from all others, these Definers added, that it was ἄειρον and μακαριώτατον, *the Best and most Happy Animal*; and accordingly, this Difference is added to that *General Nature* of *Animality*, by Balbus the Stoick, to make up the *Idea* or *Definition* of God complete: *Talem esse Deum certâ Notione animi presentimus; Primum, ut sit Animans; Deinde, ut in omni Natura nihil*

*nihil Illo sit Præstantius: We presage concerning God, by a certain Notion of our Mind; First, that he is an Animans, or Consciously Living Being; and then Secondly, that he is such an Animans, as that there is nothing in the Whole Universe, or Nature of things, more Excellent than Him.*

Wherefore these *Materiarian Theists* acknowledged God to be a *Perfectly-understanding Being*, and Such as had also Power over the Whole Matter of the Universe; which was utterly unable to move it self, or to produce any thing without him. And all of them except the *Anaxagoreans* concluded, that He was the *Creator* of all the *Forms* of Inanimate Bodies, and of the Souls of Animals. However, it was Universally agreed upon amongst them, that he was at least *The Orderer and Disposer* of all, and that therefore he might upon that account well be called, the *δμωσενς, The Maker or Framers of the World.*

Notwithstanding which, so long as they Maintained *Matter* to exist Independently upon *God*, and sometimes also to be *Refractory and Contumacious* to him, and by that means to be the Cause of *Evil*, contrary to the *Divine Will*; it is plain that they could not acknowledge the *Divine Omnipotence*, according to the Full and Proper sence of it. Which may also further appear from these *Queries of Seneca concerning God. Quantum Deus possit? Materiam ipse sibi Formet, an Datâ utatur? Deus quicquid Vult efficiat? An in multis rebus illum Tractanda destituant, & à Magno Artifice Præformantur multa, non quia cessat Ars, sed quia id in quo exercetur, sæpe Inobsequens Arti est?* How far Gods Power does extend? Whether he make his own Matter, or only use that which is offered him? Whether he can do whatsoever he will? Or the Materials in many things Frustrate and Disappoint him, and by that means things come to be Ill-framed by this great Artificer, not because his Art fails him, but because that which it is exercised upon, proves Stubborn and Contumacious? Wherefore, I think, we may well conclude, that those *Materiarian Theists*, had not a Right and Genuine Idea of God.

Nevertheless, it does not therefore follow, that they must needs be concluded *Absolute Atheists*; for there may be a *Latitude* allowed in *Theism*; and though in a strict and proper sence, they be only *Theists*, who acknowledge *One God* perfectly *Omnipotent*, the *Sole Original* of all things, and as well the *Cause of Matter*, as of any thing else; yet it seems reasonable, that such Consideration should be had of the *Infirmity of Humane Understandings*, as to extend the Word further, that it may comprehend within it, those also who assert *One Intellectual Principle* Self-existent from *Eternity*, the *Framer and Governor* of the whole World, though not the *Creator* of the *Matter*; and that none should be condemned for *Absolute Atheists*, merely because they hold *Eternal Uncreated Matter*, unless they also deny, an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, ruling over the *Matter*, and so make *Senseless Matter* the *Sole Original* of all things. And this is certainly most agreeable to common apprehensions; for *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, would never

never have been condemned for Atheists, merely for asserting Eternal *Self-existent* Atoms, no more than *Anaxagoras* and *Archelaus* were, (who maintained the same thing) had they not also denied, that other Principle of theirs, a *Perfect Mind*, and concluded that the World was made, *μυθευδὸς διατάξεσσι ἢ διαταξαμένης τῷ πᾶσαν ἔχουσι μακαριότιμα μετ' ἀφθαρσίας*, *Without the ordering and disposal of any Understanding Being, that had all Happiness with Incorruptibility.*

VIII. The True and Proper *Idea* of God, in its Most Contracted Form is this, *A Being Absolutely Perfect*. For this is that alone, to which *Necessary Existence* is Essential, and of which it is Demonstrable. Now as *Absolute Perfection* includes in it all that belongs to the Deity, so does it not only comprehend (besides *Necessary Existence*) *Perfect Knowledge* or Understanding, but also *Omni-causality* and *Omnipotence* (in the full extent of it) otherwise called *Infinite Power*. God is not only *ζῶον ἄριστον*, and *Animans quo nihil in omni Natura prestantius*, as the *Materian Theists* describ'd him, *The Best Living Being*; nor as *Zeno Eleates* called him, *μικτίσων πάντων*, *the Most Powerful of all things*; but he is also *παντοκράτης*, and *παντοκράτωρ*, and *παντεξέστος*, *Absolutely Omnipotent*, and *Ininitely Powerful*: and therefore neither *Matter*, nor any thing else can exist of it self Independently upon God; but he is the *Sole Principle* and Source, from which all things are derived.

But because this *Infinite Power*, is a thing, which the Atheists quarrel much withal, as if it were altogether *Unintelligible* and therefore *Impossible*, we shall here briefly declare the Sence of it, and render it (as we think) easily *Intelligible* or *Conceivable*, in these Two following steps. First, that by *Infinite Power* is meant nothing else, but *Perfect Power*, or else as *Simplicius* calls it, *ὅλη δύναμις*, a *Whole* and *Entire Power*, such as hath no Allay and Mixture of Impotency, nor any Defect of Power mingled with it. And then again, that this *Perfect Power* (which is also the same with *Infinite*) is really nothing else, but a *Power of Producing* and *Doing*, all whatsoever is *Conceivable*, and which does not imply a *Contradiction*; for *Conception* is the *Only Measure* of *Power* and its *Extent*; as shall be shewed more fully in due place.

Now here we think fit to observe, that the Pagan Theists did themselves also, vulgarly acknowledge *Omnipotence* as an *Attribute* of the *Deity*; which might be proved from sundry Passages of their Writings.

Homer. Od. d'.

θεὸς ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλω  
 Ζεὺς ἀρχαῖν τε κανόν τε δίδωι, δύναται γὰρ ἅπαντα.

Deus aliud post aliud  
 Jupiter, Bonumque Malumque dat, Potesť enim Omnia.

And

And again, *Od.* ξ'.

— θεός τὸ μὲν δάσῃ τὸ δ' εἰάσῃ,  
 'Ὅπῃ κεν ᾧ θύμῳ ἐθέλῃ, δύναται γὰρ ἅπαντα.

— *Deus autem hoc dabit, illud omittet,  
 Quodcumque ei libitum fuerit, Poteſt enim Omnia.*

To this Purpose also before *Homer, Linus,*

Ῥάδια πάντα θεῷ τελέσαι, ἐν ἀνήνυτον εἶδεν.

And after him, *Callimachus,*

Δαίμωνι εἴηται πᾶν δυνατόν.

*All things are possible for God to do, and nothing transcends his Power:*

Thus also amongst the Latin Poets, *Virgil Æn.* the First,

*sed Pater Omnipotens, speluncis abdidit Atris.*

Again *Æn.* the Second,

*At Pater Anchises, oculos ad sydera letus  
 Extulit, & Cælo palmas cum Voce tetendit;  
 Jupiter Omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis!*

And *Æn.* the Fourth,

*Talibus orantem dictis, arâsque tenentem  
 Audiit Omnipotens.*

*Ovid* in like manner, *Metamorph.* I.

*Tum Pater Omnipotens, misso perfregit Olympum  
 Fulmine, & excussit subjectum Pelion Offe.*

And to cite no more, *Agatho* an ancient Greek Poet, is commended by *Aristotle*, for affirming, nothing to be exempted from the Power of God, but only this, that he cannot make That not to have been, which hath been; that is, do what implies a Contradiction.

Μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ, ἐν θεὸς ἐπισημαίνεται,  
 Ἀρχήντα ποιεῖν, ἅσ' ἂν ἢ πεπερασμένα.

*Eth. Nic. L. 4.  
 c. 2.*

*Hoc namque duntaxat, negatum etiam Deo est,  
 Quæ facta sunt, Insecta posse reddere.*

Lastly, that the *Atheists* themselves under Paganism look'd upon *Omnipotence,*

tence, and *Infinite Power*, as an Essential Attribute of the Deity, appears plainly from *Lucretius*, when he tells us, that *Epicurus*, in order to the Taking away of *Religion*, set himself to Confute *Infinite Power*.

Lib. I.

— Omne Immensum peragravit Mente Animoque,  
Unde refert nobis Victor, quid possit Oriri,  
Quid nequeat: Finita Potestas denique quoique  
Quanam sit ratione, atque altè Terminus hærens.  
Quare Relligio pedibus subjecta vicissim  
Obteritur, nos exæquat Victoria Cælo.

As if he should have said, *Epicurus* by shewing that all *Power* was *Finite*, effectually destroyed *Religion*; he thereby taking away the Object of it, which is an *Omnipotent* and *Ininitely Powerful Deity*. And this is a thing which the same Poet often harps upon again, that there is *No Infinite Power*, and Consequently no *Deity*, according to the true *Idea* of it. But last of all, in his Sixth Book, he condemns *Religionists*, as guilty of great folly, in asserting *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power* (that is, a *Deity*) after this manner.

Rursus in antiquas referuntur Relligiones,  
Et Dominos acres asciscunt, Omnia Posse,  
Quos miseri credunt, ignari quid queat esse,  
Quid nequeat, Finita Potestas denique quoique,  
Quanam sit ratione, atque altè Terminus hærens:  
Quo magis errantes totà regione feruntur.

Where though the Poet, speaking carelessly, after the manner of those times, seem to attribute *Omnipotence* and *Infinite Power* to *Gods Plurally*, yet as it is evident in the thing it self, that this can only be the Attribute of *One Supreme Deity*; so it may be observed, that in those Passages of the Poets before cited, it is accordingly always ascribed to *God Singularly*. Nevertheless all the Inferiour Pagan Deities, were supposed by them to have their certain shares of this *Divine Omnipotence*, severally dispensed and imparted to them.

IX. But we have not yet dispatched all that belongs to the Entire *Idea* of God. For *Knowledge* and *Power* alone, will not make a *God*. For *God* is generally conceived by all to be a *Most Venerable* and *Most Desirable* Being: whereas an *Omniscient* and *Omnipotent Arbitrary Deity*, that hath nothing either of *Benignity* or *Morality* in its Nature to *Measure* and *Regulate* its *Will*, as it could not be truly *August* and *Venerable*, according to that *Maxime, sine Bonitate nulla Majestas*; so neither could it be *Desirable*, it being that which could only be *Feared* and *Dreaded*, but not have any *Firm Faith* or *Confidence* placed in it. *Plutarch* in the *Life of Aristides*, τὸ θεῶν τελευτῶν δυνεὶ διαφέρειν, ἀφθαρσία, καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ἀρετῇ· ἐν σεμνότητι δὲ ἀρετῇ καὶ θρόνων ὅτι ἀφθάρτου μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰς κενῶν, καὶ τοῖς σοιχείοις συμβέβηκε· δυνάμει δὲ σοφοὶ καὶ κέρανοι, καὶ πνιδμάτων ὄρμαι καὶ ἐδύματων ἐπιφοραὶ μετέλλω ἔχουσι, &c. *God seems to excel in these Three things, Incorruptibility, Power*  
and

and Virtue, of all which the Most Divine and Venerable is Vertue, for Vacuum and the Senseless Elements have Incorruptibility, Earthquakes, and Thunders, Blustering Winds and Overflowing Torrents, Much of Power and Force. Wherefore the Vulgar being affected three manner of ways towards the Deity, so as to admire its Happiness, to Fear it, and to Honour it; they esteem the Deity Happy for its Incorruptibility, they Fear it and stand in awe of it for its Power, but they Worship it, that is Love and Honour it, for its Justice. And indeed an Omnipotent Arbitrary Deity, may seem to be in some sence, a Worse and more Undesireable Thing, than the Manichean Evil God; forasmuch as the Latter could be but Finitely Evil, whereas the Former might be so Infinitely. However (I think) it can be little doubted, but that the whole Manichean Hypothesis, taken all together, is to be preferred, before this of One Omnipotent Arbitrary Deity (devoid of Goodness and Morality) ruling all things; because there the Evil Principle is Yoaked with another Principle Essentially Good, checking and controlling it. And it also seems less Dishonourable to God, to impute Defect of Power than of Goodness and Justice to him.

Neither can Power and Knowledge alone, make a Being in it self completely Happy; for we have all of us by Nature *μαυιδυμα π* (as both Plato and Aristotle call it) a certain Divination, Presage, and Parturient Vaticination in our minds, of some Higher Good and Perfection, than either Power or Knowledge. Knowledge is plainly to be preferred before Power, as being that which guides and directs its blind Force and Impetus; but Aristotle himself declares, that there is *λογος τι κρειττον*, which is *λογος αρχη*, Something better than Reason and Knowledge, which is the Principle and Original of it. For (saith he) *λογος αρχη ε λογος, αλλα τι κρειττον*. The Principle of Reason is not Reason, but Something Better. Where he also intimates this to be the Proper and Essential Character of the Deity; *τι εν αν κρειττον η επιστημις, πλην ο θεος*; For what is there, that can be better than Knowledge, but God? Likewise the same Philosopher elsewhere plainly determines, that there is Morality in the Nature of God, and that his Happiness consisteth principally therein, and not in External things, and the Exercise of his Power, *οτι μω εν εκασω τ διδαιμονιας επιβαλλη τοστων, οσονω αρετης η φρονησεως, η τε προτην η ταυτας, εσω συναμολογημενον ημιν, μαρτυει τα δεω χωρηλοισ, ος διδαιμων μω ετι η μακαριος, δι εθεν δε η εξωτερικων αγαθων, αλλα δι αυτων αυτος, η τα ποιδς τις ειναι την φύσιν*. That every man hath so much of Happiness, as he hath of Vertue and Wisdom, and of Acting according to these, ought to be confessed and acknowledged by us, it being a thing that may be proved from the Nature of God, who is Happy, but not from any external Goods, but because he is himself (or that which he is) and in such a manner affected according to his Nature, that is, because he is Essentially Moral and Vertuous.

Eth Eudem.  
1.7.c.14.

De Rep. 17. c. 1.

Which Doctrine of Aristotle's, seems to have been borrowed from Plato. who in his Dialogues De Republica, discoursing about Moral Vertue, occasionally falls upon this Dispute concerning the Sum-

Lib. 6.

*num Bonum* or Chiefest Good; wherein he concludes, that it neither consisted in *Pleasure* as such, according to the Opinion of the Vulgar, nor yet in Mere *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, according to the Conceit of others, who were more Polite and Ingenious.

οἶδα ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἡδονὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθόν, τοῖς ὃ κομψότεροις φρόνισις· καὶ ὅτι οἱ τῷ ἡγέρμενοι ἐκ ἔχουσι δεῖξαι ἥτις φρόνις, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζονται τελειοῦντες τὴν τῷ ἀγαθῷ φάναι, μάλα γελοῖως, ἀντιθέουσαι γὰρ ὅτι ἐκ ἰσομῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν, λέγεισι πάλιν ἄς εἰδέει. *You know that to the Vulgar, Pleasure seems to be the Highest Good, but to those who are more Elegant and Ingenuous, Knowledge: But they who entertain this Latter Opinion, can none of them declare what kind of Knowledge it is, which is that Highest and Chiefest Good, but are necessitated at last to say, that it is The Knowledge of Good, very ridiculously: Forasmuch as herein they do but run round in a Circle, and upbraiding us for being ignorant of this Highest Good, they talk to us at the same time, as knowing what it is.* And thereupon he adds *καλῶν ἀμφοτέρων ὄντων, γνώσεως τε καὶ ἀληθείας, ἄλλο καὶ κάλλιον ἔτι τῷ ἡγέρμενον αὐτὸ, ὁρθῶς ἠγήσιν. Ἐπιτήμιω ὃ καὶ ἀλήθειαν, ἄσφ' φῶς τε καὶ ὄψιν ἠλιασθῆν μὲν νομίζου ὁρθόν, ἠλίον ὃ ἠγείσθαι ἐκ ὁρθῶς, ἔτω καὶ εἰσαῦθα ἀγαθῶσθῆν μὲν νομίζου ἀμφοτέρω ὁρθόν, ἀγαθόν ὃ ἠγείσθαι ὁπότερον αὐτῶν ἐκ ὁρθόν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μαζόνως τὴν τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔξιν τιμητέον.* *That though Knowledge and Truth be both of them Excellent things, yet he that shall conclude the Chief Good to be something which transcends them both, will not be mistaken. For as Light, and Sight or the Seeing Faculty, may both of them rightly be said to be Soliform things, or of Kin to the Sun, but neither of them to be the Sun it self; so Knowledge and Truth, may likewise both of them be said to be Boniform things, and of Kin to the Chief Good, but neither of them to be that Chief Good it self; but this is still to be look'd upon as a thing more August and Honourable.* In all which of *Plato's*, there seems to be little more, than what may be experimentally found within our selves; namely, that there is a certain *Life*, or *Vital* and *Moral Disposition* of Soul, which is much more Inwardly and thoroughly *Satisfactory*, not only than *Sensual Pleasure*, but also than all *Knowledge* and *Speculation* whatsoever.

Now whatever this Chiefest Good be, which is a Perfection *Superiour* to *Knowledge* and *Understanding*; that *Philosopher* resolves that it must needs be *First* and *Principally* in *God*, who is therefore called by him, *Ἰδέα τ' ἀγαθῶς, The very Idea or Essence of Good.* Wherein he trode in the Footsteps of the *Pythagoreans*, and particularly of *Timæus Locrus*, who making *Two Principles* of the Universe, *Mind* and *Necessity*, adds concerning the Former, *τῶν πρώτων τ' μὲν τὰς τ' ἀγαθῶς φύσιος εἶμιν, δεῖν τε ὀνομαζέσθαι ἀρχόντε τῶν ἀείρων.* *The First of these Two, is of the Nature of Good, and it is called God, the Principle of the Best things.* Agreeably with which *Doctrine* of theirs, the *Hebrew Cabalists* also make a *Sephirah* in the Deity, *Superiour* both to *Binah* and *Chochmah* (*Understanding* and *Wisdom*) which they call *Chether* or the *Crown*. And some would suspect this *Cabalistick Learning* to have been very ancient among the *Jews*, and that *Parmenides* was imbued with it, he calling *God* in like manner *σφάνω* or the *Crown*. For which *Velleius* in *Cicero*, (representing

sending the several Opinions of Philosophers concerning God) perstringes him amongst the rest, *Parmenides Commentitium quiddam, Corona similitudine efficit, Stephanem appellat, continentem ardore lucis orbem, qui cingit Cælum, quem appellat Deum.*

But all this while we seem to be to seek, What the Chief and Highest Good Superiour to Knowledge is, in which the Essence of the Deity principally consists, and it cannot be denied, but that *Plato* sometimes talks too Metaphysically and Clowdily about it; for which cause, as he lay open to the Lash of *Aristotle*, so was he also Vulgarly perstringed for it, as appears by that of *Amphys* the Poet in *Laertius*.

τὸ δ' ἀγαθὸν ὃ, πὶ ποτ' ἔστιν, ἔσθ' οὐ τὸ ἄλλο  
 μέλλεις διὰ ταύτην, ἢ πῶς οἶδα τῆς ἐγώ,  
 ἢ τὸ τῆς Πλάτωνος ἀγαθόν.

*What Good that is, which you expect from hence, I confess, I less understand, than I do Plato's Good.* Nevertheless he plainly intimates these two Things concerning it. First, that this Nature of Good which is also the Nature of God, includes *Benignity* in it, when he gives this account of Gods both Making the World and after such a Manner; *Because he was Good, and that which is Good hath no Envy in it, and therefore he both made the World, and also made it as well, and as like to himself as was possible.* And Secondly, that it comprehends Eminently all *Vertue and Justice*, the *Divine Nature* being the *First Pattern* hereof; for which cause *Vertue* is defined to be, *An Assimilation to the Deity.* *Justice and Honesty* are no *Factitious* things, Made by the Will and Command of the more Powerful to the Weaker, but they are *Nature and Perfection*, and descend downward to us from the Deity.

But the Holy Scripture without any Metaphysical Pomp and Obscurity, tells us plainly, Both what is that Highest Perfection of Intellectual Beings, which is *κρείττον λόγος ἢ ἐπιστήμη*, *Better than Reason and Knowledge*, and which is also the Source, Life and Soul of all Morality, namely that it is *Love or Charity.* *Though I speak with the Tongue of Men and Angels, and have not Love, I am but χαλκὸς ἢ χαλκόν, ἢ κώμαλον ἀλαλάζον, as Sounding Brass or a Tinkling Cymbal, which only makes a Noise without any Inward Life.* *And though I have Prophecy, and understand all Mysteries and all Knowledge, and though I have all Faith, so that I could remove Mountains, and have not Love, I am Nothing,* that is, I have no Inward Satisfaction, Peace or True Happiness. *And though I bestow all my Goods to feed the Poor, and give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing;* I am for all that utterly destitute of all True Morality, Vertue and Grace. And accordingly it tells us also in the next place, what the Nature of God is, that he is properly, neither *Power* nor *Knowledge* (though having the Perfection of both in him) but *Love.* And certainly whatever *Dark Thoughts* concerning the Deity, some Men in their Cells may sit brooding on, it can never reasonably be conceived, that that which is *ἰκανότατον ἀπολύτων ἢ αὐταρκέστατον, the*

*Most Self-sufficient and Self-happy Being*, should have any *Narrow and Selfish Designs* abroad, without it self, much less harbour any *Malignant and Despightful* ones, towards its Creatures. Nevertheless because so many are apt to abuse the Notion of the Divine *Love and Goodness*, and to frame such Conceptions of it, as destroy that *Awful and Reverential Fear* that ought to be had of the Deity, and make Men *Presumptuous and Regardless* of their Lives, therefore we think fit here to superadd also, that God is no *Soft nor Fond and Partial Love*, but that *Justice* is an Essential Branch of this *Divine Goodness*; God being, as the Writer *De Mundo* well Expresses it, νόμος ἰσοκλινης, *An Impartial Law*, and as *Plato*, μέτρον πάντων, *the Measure of all things*. In Imitation whereof, *Aristotle* concludes also, that a Good Man (in a Lower and more Imperfect sence) is μέτρον too, *an Impartial Measure of Things and Actions*.

It is evident that the Atheists themselves in those former times of Paganism, took it for Granted, that *Goodness* was an Essential Attribute of the Deity whose Existence they opposed (so that it was then generally acknowledged for such, by the Pagan Theists) from those Argumentations of theirs before mentioned, the 12th. and 13th. taken from the *Topick of Evils*, the Pretended *Ill Frame* of things, and *Want of Providence* over Humane Affairs. Which if they were true, would not at all disprove such an Arbitrary Deity (as is now phancied by some) made up of Nothing but *Will and Power*, without any Essential *Goodness* and *Justice*. But those Arguments of the Atheists are directly Level'd against the Deity, according to the True Notion or *Idea* of it; and could they be made Good, would do execution upon the same. For it cannot be denied, but that the Natural Consequence of this Doctrine, That there is a *God Essentially Good*, is this, that therefore the World is *Well Made and Governed*. But we shall afterwards declare, that though there be Evil in the *Parts* of the World, yet there is none in the *Whole*; and that *Moral Evils* are not Imputable to the Deity.

And now we have propos'd the *Three Principal Attributes* of the Deity. The First whereof is *Infinite goodness with Fecundity*, the Second *Infinite Knowledge and Wisdom*, and the Last *Infinite Active and Perceptive Power*. From which Three Divine Attributes, the Pythagoreans and Platonists, seem to have fram'd their *Trinity of Archical Hypostases*, such as have the Nature of Principles in the Universe, and which though they apprehended as several Distinct Substances, gradually subordinate to one another, yet they many times extend the τὸ θεῖον so far, as to comprehend them all within it. Which *Pythagorick Trinity* seems to be intimated by *Aristotle* in those words,

*De Cael. l. 1. c. 1.*

καὶ ὅτι τρεῖς φασὶ καὶ οἱ πυθαγορεῖοι τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τρεῖς τέλει διατετακταῖς  
*As the Pythagoreans also say, the Universe and all things, are determin'd and contain'd by three Principles. Of which Pythagorick Trinity more afterward. But now we may enlarge and fill up, that Compendious Idea of God premis'd, of A Being Absolutely Perfect, by adding thereunto (to make it more Particular) such as is Infinitely Good, Wise, and Powerful, necessarily Existing, and not only*  
 the

*the Framers of the World, but also the Cause of all things. Which Idea of the Deity, is sufficient, in order to our present Undertaking.*

Nevertheless, if we would not only attend to what is barely necessary for a Dispute with *Atheists*, but also consider the Satisfaction of other Free and Devout Minds, that are hearty and sincere Lovers of this Most Admirable and Most Glorious Being, we might venture for their Gratification, to propose yet a more Full, Free and Copious Description of the Deity, after this manner. *God is a Being Absolutely Perfect, Unmade or Self-originated, and Necessarily Existing, that hath an Infinite Fecundity in him, and Virtually Contains all things; as also an Infinite Benignity or Overflowing Love, Uninvidiously displaying and communicating it self; together with an Impartial Rectitude, or Nature of Justice: Who fully comprehends himself, and the Extent of his own Fecundity; and therefore all the Possibilities of things, their several Natures and Respects, and the Best Frame or System of the Whole: Who hath also Infinite Active and Perceptive Power: The Fountain of all things, who made all that Could be Made, and was Fit to be made, producing them according to his Own Nature (his Essential Goodness and Wisdom) and therefore according to the Best Pattern, and in the Best manner Possible, for the Good of the Whole; and reconciling all the Variety and Contrariety of things in the Universe, into One most Admirable and Lovely Harmony. Lastly, who Contains and Upholds all things, and governs them after the Best Manner also, and that without any Force or Violence; they being all-Naturally subject to his Authority, and readily obeying his Laws.* And Now we see that God is such a Being, as that if he could be supposed Not to Be, there is Nothing, whose Existence, a Good Man could Possibly more Wish or Desire.

X. From the *Idea of God* thus declared, it evidently appears, that there can be but *One* such Being, and that *μόνος*, *Unity*, *Oneliness* or *Singularity* is Essential to it: forasmuch as there cannot possibly be more than *One Supreme*, more than *One Omnipotent* or *Infinite-ly Powerful Being*, and more than *One Cause of all things* besides it self. And however *Epicurus*, endeavouring to pervert and Adulterate the *Notion of God*, pretended to satisfy that *Natural Prolepsis* or *Anticipation* in the Minds of Men, by a Feigned and Counterfeit asserting of a Multiplicity of Coordinate Deities, Independent upon *One Supreme*, and such as were also altogether unconcerned either in the Frame or Government of the World, yet himself notwithstanding plainly took notice of this *Idea of God* which we have proposed, including *Unity* or *Oneliness* in it (he professedly opposing the Existence of such a Deity) as may sufficiently appear from that Argumentation of his, in the Words before cited.

*Quis regere Immensi summam, Quis habere Profundi  
Indu manu validas potis est moderanter habenas?  
Quis pariter cælos omnes convertere, & omnes  
Ignibus ætheriis terras suffire feraces?*

S 3

*Omnibus*

*Lib. 2 p. 1, 8.  
Lamb.*

*Omnibus inq; locis esse omni tempore præsto?*

De Nat. D. l. 1.

Where he would conclude it to be a thing Utterly impossible, for the Deity to *Animadvert, Order and Dispose* all things, and be *Present every where* in all the distant places of the World at once; which could not be Pretended of a Multitude of Coordinate Gods, sharing the Government of the World amongst them, and therefore it must needs be levell'd against a Divine Monarchy, or One Single, Solitary Supreme Deity, ruling over all. As in like manner, when he pursues the same Argument further in *Cicero*, to this purpose, that though such a thing were supposed to be Possible, yet it would be notwithstanding absolutely Inconsistent with the Happiness of any Being, he still proceeds upon the same *Hypothesis* of one Sole and Single Deity: *Sive ipse Mundus Deus est, quid potest esse minus quietum, quam nullo puncto temporis intermisso, versari circum axem Cæli admirabili celeritate? Sive in ipso Mundo Deus inest aliquis qui regat, qui gubernet, qui cursus astrorum, mutationes temporum, hominum commoda vitæque tueatur; næ Ille est implicatus molestis negotiis & operosis. Whether you will suppose the World it self to be a God, what can be more unquiet, than without intermission perpetually to whirl round upon the Axis of the Heaven, with such admirable celerity? Or whether you will imagine a God in the World distinct from it, who does govern and dispose all things, keep up the Courses of the Stars, the Successive Changes of the Seasons, and Orderly Vicissitudes of things, and contemplating Lands and Seas, conserve the Utilities and Lives of men; certainly He must needs be involved in much solicitous trouble and Employment. For as Epicurus here speaks Singularly, so the Trouble of this Theocracy could not be thought so very great, to a Multitude of Coordinate Deities, when parcel'd out among them, but would rather seem to be but a sportful and delightful Diverstifement to each of them. Wherefore it is manifest that such an *Idea of God*, as we have declared, including *Unity, Oneliness* and *Singularity* in it, is a thing, which the ancient *Atheists*, under the times of Paganism, were not unacquainted with, but principally directed their Force against. But this may seem to be *Anticipated* in this place, because it will fall in afterwards more opportunely to be discoursed of again.*

XI. For this is that which lies as the *Grand Prejudice* and *Objection* against that *Idea of God*, which we have proposed, Essentially including *μὴ ἓνα, Singularity* or *Oneliness* in it, or the Real Existence of such a Deity, as is the *Sole Monarch* of the Universe; Because all the Nations of the World heretofore (except a small and inconsiderable handful of the *Jews*) together with their Wisest men and greatest Philosophers, were generally look'd upon as *Polytheists*, that is, such as Acknowledged and Worshipped a *Multiplicity of Gods*. Now *One God* and *Many Gods*, being directly Contradictious to one another, it is therefore concluded from hence, that this *Opinion of Monarchy* or of *One Supreme God*, the Maker and Governour of all, hath no Foundation in *Nature*, nor in the genuine *Idea's* and *Prolepses* of mens minds, but is a mere *Artificial* thing, owing its Original wholly

wholly to *Private Phancies and Conceits*, or to *Positive Laws and Institutions*, amongst *Jews, Christians and Mahometans*.

For the affoiling of which Difficulty (seeming so formidable at first sight) it is necessary, that we should make a Diligent Enquiry into the True and Genuine sence of this *Pagan Polytheism*. For since it is impossible that any man in his Wits, should believe a *Multiplicity of Gods*, according to that *Idea of God* before declared, that is, a *Multiplicity of Supreme, Omnipotent, or Infinitely Powerful Beings*; it is certain that the *Pagan Polytheism*, and *Multiplicity of Gods*, must be understood according to some other *Notion* of the Word *Gods*, or some *Equivocation* in the use of it. It hath been already observed, that there were sometime amongst the Pagans, such, who meaning nothing else by *Gods*, but *Understanding Beings Superiour to men*, did suppose a Multitude of such Deities, which yet they conceived to be all (as well as Men) *Native and Mortal*, Generated successively out of Matter and Corrupted again into it, as *Democritus* his *Idols* were. But these *Theogonists*, who thus Generated all things whatsoever, and therefore the *Gods* themselves univervally, out of *Night and Chaos*, the *Ocean or Fluid Matter*, (notwithstanding their Using the Name *Gods*) are plainly condemned both by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, for down-right *Atheists*, they making *Sensless Matter*, the *Only Self-existent thing*, and the Original of all things.

Wherefore there may be another *Notion* of the Word *Gods*, as taken for *Understanding Beings Superiour to Men*, that are not only *Immortal*, but also *Self-existent* and *Unmade*; and indeed the Assertors of a *Multiplicity* of such *Gods* as these, though they cannot be accounted *Theists* in a strict and proper sence (according to that *Idea of God* before declared) yet they are not vulgarly reputed *Atheists* neither, but look'd upon as a kind of Middle thing betwixt Both, and commonly called *Polytheists*. The reason whereof seems to be this, because it is generally apprehended to be Essential to *Atheism*, to make *Sensless Matter* the Sole Original of all things, and consequently to suppose all *Conscious Intellectual Beings* to be *Made or Generated*; wherefore they who on the contrary assert (not One but) Many *Understanding Beings Unmade and Self-existent*, must needs be look'd upon as those, who of the Two, approach nearer to *Theism* than to *Atheism*, and so deserve rather to be called *Polytheists*, than *Atheists*.

And there is no Question to be made, but that the Urgers of the forementioned Objection against that *Idea of God*, which includes *Onelines* and *Singularity* in it, from the *Pagan Polytheism*, or *Multiplicity of Gods*, take it for granted, that this is to be understood of *Many Unmade Self-existent Deities*, Independent upon one Supreme, that are so many *First Principles* in the Universe, and *Partial Causes* of the World. And certainly, if it could be made to appear, that the *Pagan Polytheists* did univervally acknowledge such a *Multiplicity of Unmade Self-existent Deities*, then the Argument fetch'd from thence, against the *Naturality* of that *Idea of God* proposed

posed (Essentially including *Singularity* in it) might seem to have no small Force or Validity in it.

XII. But First this Opinion of Many *Self-existent Deities*, Independent upon One *Supreme*, is both Very *Irrational* in it self, and also plainly *Repugnant* to the *Phænomena*. We say First, it is *Irrational* in it self, because *Self-existence*, and *Necessary Existence* being Essential to a Perfect Being and to nothing else, it must needs be very *Irrational* and *Absurd*, to suppose a *Multitude* of *Imperfect* Understanding Beings *Self-existent*, and no *Perfect One*. Moreover, if *Imperfect* Understanding Beings were imagined to Exist of themselves from Eternity, there could not possibly be any reason given, why just so many of them should exist, and neither More nor Less, there being indeed no reason why any at all should. But if it be supposed, that these Many *Self-existent Deities* happened only to Exist thus from Eternity, and their Existence notwithstanding, was not *Necessary* but *Contingent*, the Consequence hereof will be, that they might as well happen again to cease to be, and so could not be *Incorruptible*. Again, if any *One Imperfect* Being whatsoever, could exist of it self from Eternity, then all might as well do so, not only *Matter*, but also the *Souls* of Men and other Animals, and consequently there could be No *Creation* by any Deity, nor those supposed Deities therefore deserve that Name. Lastly, we might also add, that there could not be a *Multitude* of *Intellectual Beings Self-existent*, because it is a thing which may be proved by Reason, that all *Imperfect* Understanding Beings or Minds, do partake of *One Perfect Mind*, and suppose also *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power*; were it not, that this is a Consideration too remote from *Vulgar Apprehension*, and therefore not so fit to be urged in this place.

Again, as this Opinion of *Many Self-existent Deities*, is *Irrational* in it self, so is it likewise plainly *Repugnant* to the *Phænomena* of the World. In which, as *Macrobius* writes, *Omnia sunt connexa*, all things conspire together into *One Harmony*, and are carried on Peaceably and Quietly, Constantly and Eavenly, without any Tumult or Hurly-burly, Confusion or Disorder, or the least appearance of *Schism* and *Faction*; which could not possibly be supposed, were the World Made and Governed, by a Rabble of *Self-existent Deities*, Coordinate, and Independent upon One *Supreme*. Wherefore this kind of Polytheism was obiter thus confuted by *Origen*; πῶσω ἐν βέλτιον τὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁραμένηων παρόμενον τοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀταξίαν τῶ νόμου σέβειν ἢ δημιουργὸν αὐτῶ ἐνὸς οὐτῶ ἑνα, ἢ συμπνέοντῶ αὐτῶ ὅλων ἑαυτῶ, ἢ διὰ τῶτο μὴ δυναμῆς ὑπὸ πολλῶν δημιουργῶν γεγονέναι, ὡς εἶδ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν ψυχῶν συνέχεσθαι ὅλον ἢ σεσημῶν κινεσῶν; How much better is it, agreably to what we see in the harmonious System of the World, to worship one only Maker of the World, which is one, and conspiring throughout with its whole self, and therefore could not be made by many Artificers, as neither be contained by Many Souls, Moving the Whole Heaven? Now since this Opinion is both *Irrational* in it self and *Repugnant* to the *Phænomena*, there is the less Probability that it should have been received and entertained by all the more *Intelligent Pagans*.

Contr. Cels. l. 1.  
p. 18.

XIII. Who,

XIII. Who, that they did not thus Universally, look upon all their Gods as so many *Unmade Self-existent Beings*, is unquestionably manifest from hence, because ever since *Hesiod's* and *Homer's* time at least, the Greekish Pagans generally acknowledged a *Theogonia*, a *Generation and Temporary Production of the Gods*; which yet is not to be understood Universally neither, forasmuch as he is no Theist, who does not acknowledge some *Self-existent Deity*. Concerning this *Theogonia*, *Herodotus* writeth after this manner: ὅθεν γὰρ ἐγένετο ἑκάστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἰετῶς πάντες ὁμοίῳ τὲ τίνας τὰ εἶδη, ἢ ἐπιτέτατο μὲν ἔτι ἢ πάλω τε καὶ χρόνος, ὡς εἰπὼν λόγῳ· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὁμήρου ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτι δεκάω μὲν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ ἄλλοι. Ἔτοι ἦ εἰσι οἱ ποιηταὶ θεογονίαν ἔμνησι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες. *Whence every one of the Gods was Generated, or whether they all of them ever were, and what are their forms, is a thing that was not known till very lately; for Hesiod and Homer, were (as I suppose) not above four hundred years my Seniors. And these were they who introduced the Theogonia among the Greeks, and gave the Gods their several Names: that is, settled the Pagan Theology.* Now if before *Hesiod's* and *Homer's* time, it were a thing not known or determined amongst the Greeks, whether their Gods were *Generated*, or all of them *Existed from Eternity*; then it was not Universally concluded by them, that they were all *Unmade and Self-existent*. And though perhaps some might in those ancient times believe one way, and some another, concerning the *Generation and Eternity* of their Gods, yet it does not follow, that they who thought them to be all *Eternal*, must therefore needs suppose them to be also *Unmade or Self-existent*. For *Aristotle*, who asserted the *Eternity* of the World, and consequently also, of those Gods of his, the Heavenly Bodies, did not for all that, suppose them to be *Self-existent* or *First Principles*, but all to depend upon *One Principle or Original Deity*. And indeed the true meaning of that Question in *Herodotus*, Whether the Gods were *Generated* or *Existed* all of them from *Eternity*, is (as we suppose) really no other than that of *Plato's*, εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος ἢ ἀρχῆς ἔστι· *Whether the World were Made or Unmade*; and whether it had a *Temporary beginning*, or existed such as it is from *Eternity*; which will be more fully declared afterwards. But ever since *Hesiod's* and *Homer's* time, that the *Theogonia* or *Generation of the Gods*, was settled, and generally believed amongst the Greeks, it is certain that they could not possibly think, all their Gods *Eternal*, and therefore much less, *Unmade and Self-existent*.

Euter. p. 13.

But though we have thus clearly proved that all the Pagan Gods were not Universally accounted by them, so many *Unmade Self-existent Deities*, they acknowledging a *Theogonia* or a *Generation* of Gods, yet it may be suspected notwithstanding, that they might suppose a *Multitude* of them also (and not only *One*) to have been *Unmade* from *Eternity* and *Self-existent*. Wherefore we add in the next place, that no such thing does at all appear neither, as that the Pagans or any others, did ever publickly or professedly assert a *Multitude* of *Unmade Self-existent Deities*. For First, it is plain concerning the *Hesiodian Gods*, which were all the Gods of the Greekish Pagans

Pagans



tastick Devizer of them, from One Self-originated Deity, called *Bythus*. For thus *Epiphanius* informs us, *τεράκοντα γὰρ ἐστὶ θεοὶ καὶ αἰῶνες καὶ οὐρανοὶ βέλεται παρεισθῆναι, ὧν ὁ πρῶτος ἐστὶν οὐρανός.* *This (Valentinus) would also introduce Thirty Gods and Æons, and Heavens, the first of which is Bythus; he meaning thereby an Unfathomable Depth and Profundity; and therefore this Bythus, was also called by him ὁ ἀνώτατος καὶ ἀκατανόητος πατήρ, The Highest and Ineffable Father.* Her. 31.

We do indeed acknowledge that there have been some, who have really asserted a *Duplicity of Gods*, in the sense declared; that is of *Animalish or Perceptive Beings Self-existent*; One as the *Principle of Good*, and the other of *Evil*. And this *Ditheism* of theirs, seems to be the nearest approach, that was ever really made to *Polytheism*. Unless we should here give heed to *Plutarch*, who seems to make the ancient *Persians*, besides their *Two Gods*, the *Good* and the *Evil*, or *Oromasdes* and *Arimanius*; to have asserted also a *Third Middle Deity* called by them *Mithras*; or to some Ecclesiastick Writers, who impute a *Trinity of Gods* to *Marcion*; (though *Tertullian* be yet more Liberal, and encrease the Number to an *Ennead*.) For those that were commonly called *Tritheists*, being but mistaken Christians and Trinitarians, fall not under this Consideration. Now as for that forementioned *Ditheism*, or Opinion of *Two Gods*, a *Good* and an *Evil* one, it is evident that its Original sprung from nothing else, but First a Firm Perswasion of the *Essential Goodness* of the Deity, together with a Conceit that the *Evil* that is in the world, was altogether *Inconsistent* and *Unreconcilable* with the same, and that therefore for the salving of this *Phenomenon*, it was absolutely necessary, to suppose another *Animalish Principle Self-existent*, or an *Evil God*. Wherefore as these *Ditheists*, as to all that which is *Good* in the World, held a *Monarchy*, or one Sole Principle and Original, so it is plain, that had it not been for this business of *Evil* (which they conceived could not be salved any other way) they would never have asserted any more *Principles* or *Gods* than *One*.

The chiefest and most eminent Assertors of which *Ditheistick Doctrine* of *Two Self-existent Animalish Principles* in the Universe, a *Good God* and an *Evil Demon*, were the *Marcionites* and the *Manicheans*, both of which, though they made some slight Pretences to Christianity, yet were not by Christians owned for such. But it is certain that besides these and before them too, some of the Professed Pagans also, entertained the same Opinion, that famous Moralist *Plutarchus Chæronensis*, being an Undoubted Patron of it; which in his Book *De Iside & Osride* he represents, with some little difference, after this manner; *μεμυμένη γὰρ ἡ τῶδε τῷ κόσμῳ γένεσις καὶ σύστασις ἐξ ἐναντίων, ἔμψυχοι ἰσοδυνάμειον, ἀλλὰ τὸ βελτίονος τὸ κρείττονος ἐστὶν ἀπολέσθαι ἢ τὴν φαύλων πάντων ἀδυνατον, πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπεφυκυῖαν τὰ σώματα, πολλὰ δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τῶ πάντων, ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν βελτίονα δυσμαχῶσαν.* *The Generation and Constitution of this World is mixt of contrary Powers or Principles (the one Good, the other Evil) yet so as that they are not both of equal force, but the Better of them more prevalent: notwithstanding* P. 371. Pat.

standing which, it is also absolutely impossible, for the Worse Power or Principle to be ever Utterly destroyed, much of it being always intermingled in the Soul, and much in the Body of the Universe, there perpetually tugging against the Better Principle.

P. 1003. Par.

Indeed learned men of later times, have for the most part look'd upon Plutarch here, but either as a bare Relater of the Opinion of other Philosophers; or else as a Follower only, and not a Leader in it. Notwithstanding which, it is evident, that Plutarch was himself heartily Engaged in this Opinion, he discovering no small fondness for it, in sundry of his other Writings: as for Example in his Platonick Questions, where he thus declares himself concerning it, ἢ τὸ πῶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενον ἀληθές ἔστιν, ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀνεὸς ψυχῆ, καὶ τὸ ἀμορφὸν σῶμα, συνυπῆρχον ἀλλήλοις ἀεί, καὶ τὸ ἐδέτερον αὐτῷ γένεσθαι ἔχειν ἐδὲ ἀρχὴν, Or else that which is often affirmed by us is true, that a Mad Irrational soul, and an unformed disorderly Body did coexist with one another from Eternity, neither of them having any Generation or Beginning. And in his Timean Psychogonia, he does at large industriously maintain the same, there and elsewhere endeavouring to establish this Doctrine, as much as possibly he could, upon Rational Foundations. As First, that Nothing can be Made or Produced without a Cause, and therefore there must of necessity, be some Cause of Evil also, and that a Positive one too; he representing the Opinion of those as very ridiculous, who would make the Nature of Evil, to be but ἐπιεσόδιον an Accidental Appendix to the World, and all that Evil which is in it, to have come in only by the by, and by Consequence, without any Positive Cause. Secondly, that God being Essentially Good could not possibly be the Cause of Evil, where he highly applauds Plato for removing God to the greatest distance imaginable from being the Cause of Evil. Thirdly, that as God could not, so neither could ὕλη ἄποιος, Matter in it self devoid of all form and Quality, be the Cause of Evil, noting this to have been the Subterfuge of the Stoicks. Upon which account, he often condemns them, but uncertainly, sometimes as such, who assigned No Cause at all of Evils, and sometimes again as those who made God the Cause of them. For in his Psychogonia he concludes that unless we acknowledge a Substantial Evil Principle, αἱ στοιχοὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀπορίας, τὸ κακὸν ἢ τῷ μὴ ὄντος ἀναγίγναι καὶ ἀγεννήτως ἐπιεσάγοντες, ἐπεὶ ἢ τῷ ὄντι ἢ τῷ ἀγαθῷ, ἢ τῷ ἀποιοῦ, εἰκὸς ἔστιν εἶναι κακὸν καὶ γένεσθαι παρεχθῆναι, The Stoical Difficulties will of necessity overtake and involve us, who introduce Evil into the World from Nothing, or Without a Cause, since neither that which is Essentially Good (as God) nor yet that which is devoid of all Quality (as Matter) could possibly give being or Generation to it. But in his Book against the Stoicks, he accuses them as those, who made God, Essentially Good, the Cause of Evil. αὐτοὶ τὴν κακῶν ἀρχὴν, ἀγαθὸν ὄντα τὸ θεὸν ποίησι, ἢ γὰρ ἢ ὕλη τὸ κακὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς παρέχεται, ἀποιος γὰρ ἔστι καὶ πῶς ὅσας δέχεται διαφορᾶς, ὑπὸ τῷ ποίητος αὐτὴν καὶ χημαλίζοντος ἔχεται. ὥστε ἀνάσσει τὸ κακὸν εἰ μὲν δι' ἐδὲν, ἢ τῷ μὴ ὄντος, εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν κινῆσαν ἀρχὴν ἢ τῷ θεῷ γέγονος ὑπελεχεν. Themselves make God being Good, the Principle and cause of Evil, since Matter which is devoid of Quality, and receives all its Differences from

from the Active Principle, that moves and forms it, could not possibly be the Cause thereof. Wherefore Evil must of necessity, either come from Nothing, or else it must come from the Active and Moving Principle, which is God. Now from all these Premises joyned together, Plutarch concludes, that the Phenomenon of Evil, could no otherwise possibly be salved, than by supposing a Substantial Principle for it, and a certain Irrational and Maleficent Soul or Demon, Unmade, and Coexisting with God and Matter from Eternity to have been the Cause thereof. And accordingly he resolves, that as whatsoever is Good in the Soul and Body of the Universe, and likewise in the Souls of Men and Demons, is to be ascribed to God as its only Original, so whatsoever is Evil, Irregular and Disorderly in them, ought to be imputed to this other Substantial Principle, a ψυχὴ ἄνευ κακοποιῆς, an Irrational and Maleficent Soul or Damon, which insinuating it self every where throughout the World, is all along intermingled with the Better Principle : καὶ μὴ πᾶν εἶναι ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ τῶ ψυχῶν, so that neither the Soul of the Universe, nor that of Men and Demons, was wholly the Workmanship of God, but the Lower, Brutish and Disorderly part of them, the Effect of the Evil Principle.

But besides all this, it is evident that Plutarch was also strongly possessed with a Conceit, that nothing Substantial could be Created (no not by Divine Power) out of Nothing Preexisting; and therefore that all the Substance of whatsoever is in the World did Exist from Eternity Unmade: so that God was only the Orderer, or the Methodizer and Harmonizer thereof. Wherefore as he concluded that the Corporeal World was not Created by God out of Nothing, as to the Substance of it, but only the Preexisting Matter, which before moved Disorderly, was brought into this Regular Order and Harmony by him: In like manner he resolved that the Soul of the World (for such a thing is always supposed by him) was not made by God out of Nothing neither, nor out of any thing Inanimate and Soulless Preexisting, but out of a Preexisting Disorderly Soul, was brought into an Orderly and Regular Frame; ἀνομοκράτεια γὰρ ἦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς νόμοκρας γενέσεως, ἀνομοκράτεια ἢ ἐν ἀσώματῳ ἢ ἐν ἀκίνητῳ, ἢ ἐν ἀψυχῳ, ἀλλὰ ἀμορφον μὲν καὶ ἀσώματον τὸ σωματικόν, ἐμπληκτικόν ἢ καὶ ἀλογον τὸ κινήτικόν ἔχουσα. τῆτο ἢ ἦν ἀναεμοκράτεια ψυχῆς ἐν ἐχούσης λόγον. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἴτε σῶμα τὸ ἀσώματον, εἴτε ψυχὴν τὸ ἀψυχον ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἀσώφ' ἀεμόνικον ἀνδρα, &c. There was Unformed Matter, before this Orderly World was made, which Matter was not Incorporeal, nor Unmoved or Inanimate, but Body discomposed and acted by a Furious and Irrational Mover, the Deformity whereof was the Disharmony of a Soul in it, devoid of Reason. For God neither made Body out of that which was No-Body, nor Soul out of No-soul. But as the Musician who neither makes Voice nor Motion, does by ordering of them notwithstanding produce Harmony; so God, though he neither made the Tangible and Resisting Substance of Body, nor the Phantastick and Self-moving Power of Soul, yet taking both those Principles preexisting (the one of which was Dark and Obscure, the other Turbulent and Irrational) and orderly disposing and Harmonizing of them, he did by that means produce this most beautiful and perfect Animal of the World. And further to the same purpose; ἐχὶ σῶματος ἀπλῶς ἔστι οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ὕλης, ἀλλὰ συμμειγείας αὐτῶ σῶμα καὶ κάλλος καὶ ὁμοιότητος, ἣν ὁ θεὸς παθεῖ καὶ δημιουργεῖ.

De Psychog. p. 1014. Par.

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γ'· ταῦτα δ'εἰ διανοεῖσθαι ἢ αὐτὴ ψυχῆς, ὡς πῶ μὲν ἔτε ὑπὸ τῆ θεῶ  
 γενόμενον ἔτε κόσμος ψυχῶν ἔσαν, ἀλλὰ πῶ φανταστικῆς ἢ δοξαστικῆς ἀλόγου  
 ἢ ἢ ἀπειλῆς φοβῆς ἢ ὀρμῆς δυνάμει αὐτοκίνητον ἢ αἰετίνων. πῶ ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ  
 θεὸς διαρρησάμενος, προσήκουσιν ἀεθμοῖς ἢ λόγοις, ἐκάλῃσεν ἡγεμόνα τῆ  
 κόσμος γεγονότος γεννητῶ ἔσαν. *God was not the Cause or Maker of Body simply, that is, neither of Bulk nor Matter, but only of that Symmetry and Pulchritude which is in Body, and that likeness which it hath to himself. Which same ought to be concluded also, concerning the Soul of the World, that the Substance of it was not made by God neither; nor yet that it was always the Soul of this World, but at first a certain Self-moving Substance, endowed with a Phantastick Power, Irrational and Disorderly, Existing such of it self from Eternity, which God by Harmonizing, and introducing into it fitting Numbers and Proportions, Made to be the Soul and Prince of this Generated World.* According to which Doctrine of Plutarch's, in the supposed Soul of the World, though it had a Temporary beginning, yet was it never Created out of Nothing, but only that which preexisted disorderly, being acted by the Deity, was brought into a Regular Frame. And therefore he concludes, ἢ ψυχῆ νῦν μετὰ ἄρμονίαν ἢ λογισμῶν ἢ ἀρμονίας, ἐκ ἔργου ἔστι τῆ θεῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἢ μέρος, ἔστι ὑπ' αὐτῆ, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῆ, ἢ ἐξ αὐτῆ γέγονεν. *Soul partaking of Mind, Reason and Harmony, is not only the Work of God, but also a Part of him, nor is it a thing so much made by him, as from him and existing out of him.* And the same must he likewise affirm concerning all other Souls, as those of Men and Demons, that they are either all of them the Substance of God himself, together with that of the Evil Demon, or else certain Delibations from both, (if any one could understand it) blended and confounded together: He not allowing any new Substance at all to be created by God out of nothing preexistent. It was observed in the beginning of this Chapter, that Plutarch was an Assertor of two αὐθιπέσσια or *Self-existent Principles* in the Universe, *God and Matter*, but now we understand, that he was an Earnest Propugnator of another *Third Principle* (as himself calls it) besides them both, *viz. a ψυχῆ ἄνευ ἢ κακοποιῆς, a Mad Irrational and Maleficent Soul or Demon*: So that Plutarch was both a *Triarchist*, and a *Ditheist*, an Assertor of *Three Principles*, but of *Two Gods*; according to that forementioned *Notion of a God*, as it is taken, for an *Animalish or Perceptive Being Self-existent*.

We are not ignorant, that Plutarch endeavours with all his might to persuade, this to have been the constant Belief of all the Pagan Nations, and of all the Wisest men and Philosophers that ever were amongst them. *For this* (saith he, in his Book *De Iside & Osiride*) *is a most ancient Opinion, that hath been delivered down from Theologers and Law-makers, all along to Poets and Philosophers; and though the first Author thereof be Unknown, yet hath it been so firmly believed every where, that the Footsteps of it have been imprinted upon the Sacrifices and Mysteries or Religious Rites, both of Barbarians and Greeks, Namely, That the World is neither wholly Ungoverned by any Mind or Reason, as if all things floated in the streams of Chance and Fortune, nor yet that there is any one Principle steering and guiding all, without Resistance or Control: because there is a Confused Mixture of Good and Evil in every thing, and nothing is Produced by Nature sincere. Wherefore*

it is not one only Dispenser of things, who as it were out of several Vessels distributeth those several Liquors of Good and Evil, mingling them together and dashing them as he pleaseth. But there are two Distinct and Contrary Powers or Principles in the World, One of them always leading as it were to the Right hand, but the other tugging a Contrary way. Insomuch that our whole Life and the whole World is a certain Mixture and Confusion of these Two: at least this Terrestrial World below the Moon is such, all being every where full of Irregularity and Disorder. For if nothing can be Made without a Cause, and that which is Good cannot be the Cause of Evil, there must needs be a distinct Principle in Nature for the Production of Evil as well as Good. And this hath been the Opinion of the Most and Wisest Men, some of them affirming θεὸς εἶναι δύο καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλων, that there are Two Gods as it were of Contrary Crafts and Trades, one whereof is the Maker of all Good, and the other of all Evil; but others calling the Good Principle only a God, and the Evil Principle a Demon, as Zoroaster the Magician. Besides which Zoroaster and the Persian Magi, Plutarch pretends that the Footsteps of this Opinion were to be found also in the Astrology of the Chaldeans, and in the Mysteries and Religious Rites, not only of the Egyptians, but also of the Grecians themselves; and lastly he particularly imputes the same, to all the most famous of the Greek Philosophers, as Pythagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Plato and Aristotle; though his chiefest endeavour of all be to prove, that Plato was an Undoubted Champion for it; ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Πλάτων ἐκ ἐπιπέδου τοῖς ὑπερῶν, εἰδὲ παρεδῶν, ὡς ἐκείνοι, τὴν μεταξὺ τῆς ἕλης καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τρίτῳ ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν, ὑπομεινὲν τῆς λόγων τῆ ἀτομώτατον ἐπιστάδιον ἐκ οἶδα ὅπως ποιεῖντα, τῆς κακῶν φύσιν ἀπ' αὐτομάτε καὶ συμβεβηκός. Ἐπιπέδου μὲν γὰρ εἰδὲ ἀκαρῆς ἐκκλίνει τὴν ἀτομον συζωοῦσαν, ὡς ἀνάπτον ἐπιστάδιον κίνησιν ἐκ τῆς μὴ ὄντος, αὐτοὶ ἢ κακίαν καὶ κακοδαίμονίαν τοσαύτῳ, ἐτέρας τε αὐτῶν σῶμα μυρίας ἀτομίας καὶ δυχερείας, αἰτίαν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐκ ἐχέστας, κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν γεγονέναι λέγουσιν. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων εἰς ἕτας. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἕλῳ διαφορῆς ἀπόσης ἀπαμάτητων, καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν τῆς κακῶν αἰτίαν ἀπὸ τῶν πηδύμων. But Plato was not guilty of that Miscarriage of Later Philosophers, in overlooking the Third Power which is between the Matter and God, and thereby falling into the grossest of all Absurdities, That the Nature of Evils was but an Accidental Appendix to the World, and came into it merely by chance, no body knows how. So that those very Philosophers who will by no means allow to Epicurus, the Smallest Declension of his Atoms from the Perpendicular, alledging that this would be to introduce a Motion without a Cause, and to bring something out of Nothing; themselves do notwithstanding, suppose all that Vice and Misery which is in the World, besides innumerable other Absurdities and Inconveniencies about Body, to have come into it, merely by Accidental Consequence, and without having any Cause in the First Principles. But Plato did not so, but devesting Matter of all Qualities and Differences, by means whereof, it could not possibly be made the Cause of Evils, and then placing God at the greatest distance from being the Cause thereof; he consequently resolved it into a Third Unmade Principle between God and the Matter, an Irrational Soul or Demon, moving the Matter disorderly.

De Psychog.  
p. 1015. Ed.

Now because Plutarch's Authority passeth so uncontrolled, and

his Testimony in this particular seems to be of late generally received as an Oracle, and consequently the thing taken for an Unquestionable Truth, that the *Ditheistick Doctrine* of a Good and Evil Principle, was the Catholick or Universal Doctrine of the *Pagan Theists*, and particularly that *Plato*, above all the rest, was a Professed Champion for the same; we shall therefore make bold to examine *Plutarch's* Grounds for this so confident Assertion of his; and principally concerning *Plato*. And his Grounds for imputing this Opinion to *Plato*, are only these Three which follow. First, because that Philosopher in his *Politicus*, speaks of a *Necessary and Innate Appetite, that may sometimes turn the Heavens a contrary way*, and by that means cause Disorder and Confusion; Secondly because in his Tenth *De Legibus*, he speaks of *Two kinds of Souls*, whereof *One is Beneficent, but the other Contrary*; And Lastly, because in his *Timæus* he supposeth, the *Matter* to have been *Moved disorderly* before the World was made, which implies that there was a Disorderly and Irrational Soul consisting with it as the Mover of it, Matter being unable to move it self. But as to the First of these Allegations out of *Plato's Politicus*, we shall only observe, that that Philosopher, as if it had been purposely to prevent such an Interpretation of his meaning there as this of *Plutarch's*, inserts these very words; μήτ' αὖ δύο τιθε δεῶ, φρονέιντε ἑαυτοῖς ἀναντία, σέφειν αὐτὸν. *Neither must any such thing be supposed, as if there were two Gods, contrarily minded to one another, turning the Heavens sometimes one way and sometimes another.* Which plain declaration of *Plato's* Sence, being directly contrary to *Plutarch's* Interpretation, and this *Ditheistick Opinion*, might serve also for a sufficient Confutation of His Second Ground from the Tenth *De Legibus*, as if *Plato* had there affirmed, that there were *Two Souls* moving the Heavens, the *One Beneficent, but the other Contrary*; because this would be all one as to assert *Two Gods, contrarily minded to one another.* Notwithstanding which, for a fuller Answer thereunto, we shall further add, that this Philosopher, did there, First, only distribute Souls in General into Good and Evil, those *Moral Differences* Properly belonging to that rank of Beings called by him *Souls*, and first emerging in them, according to this Premised Doctrine, τῆς ἀγαθῶν αἰτία ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τῆς καλῶν, καὶ κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων. *Soul is the Cause of Good and Evil, Honest and Dishonest, Just and Unjust.* But then afterwards, making Enquiry concerning the Soul of the World or Heaven, what kind of Soul that was, he positively concludes, that it was no other than a Soul endued with all Vertue. ΑΘ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ψυχὴ μὲν ἔστιν ἡ ἀειάγασα ἡμῖν πάντα, τὴν ὃ θεοὺς ἀειφοροῦν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀειάγειν φατέον, ἑπιμελεσμένη καὶ κοσμοῦσαν, ἥτοι τὴν ἀείσω ψυχὴν ἥτοι τὴν ἀναντία. ΚΛ. Ω ξένη, ἀλλὰ ἐν γὰρ τῆς εἰρημύσαν ἔσ' ὅσον ἄλλως λέγειν, ἢ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσαν ψυχὴν μίαν ἢ πλείους ἀειάγειν αὐτά. *Ath. Hosp. Since it is Soul that moves all things, we must of necessity affirm, that the Heaven or World is moved by some Soul or other, adorning and disposing of it, whether it be the Best Soul, or the Contrary. Clin. O Hospes, it is certainly not Holy nor pious to conclude otherwise, than that a Soul endued with all Vertue, One or More, moves the World.* And as for the last thing urged by *Plutarch*, that before the World was made, the

P. 858. Steph.

the Matter is said by *Plato*, to have been *Moved disorderly*, we conceive that that *Philosopher* did therein only adhere to that *Vulgarly* received Tradition, which was Originally *Mosaical*, that the First beginning of the *Cosmopœia*, was from a *Chaos*, or *Matter confusedly moved*, afterward brought into Order. And now we think it plainly appears, that there is no strength at all in any of *Plutarch's* forementioned Allegations, nor any such Monster to be found any where in *Plato*, as this *Substantial Evil Principle* or *God*, a *Wicked Soul* or *Demon*, Unmade and Self-existent from Eternity, Opposite and Inimicous to the *Good God*, sharing the Empire and Dominion of the World with him. Which Opinion is really nothing else but the *Deifying of the Devil*, or *Prince of Evil Spirits*, making him a *Corrival* with *God*, and entitling him to a *Right of receiving Divine Honour* and *Worship*.

And it is observable, that *Plutarch* himself confesseth this Interpretation which he makes of *Plato*, to be *New* and *Paradoxical*, or an Invention of his own, *καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστοις ἤδη ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος ὑπενανίσταται, δεόμενον παρεμυθίας*, *Such as because it was contrary to the Generally received Opinion of Platonists, himself thought to stand in need of some Apology and Defence.* To which purpose therefore he adds again, *πρωτὸν ἐν ἡν ἔχω ὡς ἐπί τῶν διανοιῶν, ἐκδήσομαι πιστέμενον τὰ εἰκότι, καὶ παρεμυθόμενον ὡς ἔνεστι, τὸ ἀληθές τῶ λόγῳ, καὶ παρεδόξον.* *I will (saith he) declare mine own Opinion first concerning these things, confirming it with Probabilities, and as much as possibly I can, aiding and assisting the Truth and Paradoxicalness thereof.* Moreover *Proclus* upon the *Timæus* takes notice of no other Philosophers, that ever imputed this Doctrine to *Plato*, or indeed maintained any such Opinion, of Two Substantial Principles of *Good* and *Evil*, but only *Plutarch* and *Atticus*; (though *I* confess *Chalcidius* cites *Numenius* also to the same purpose) *Proclus* his words are these: *οἱ μὲν ὡς Πλάτωνος ἔχει χερωνεῖα καὶ Ἀθηναίων, προεῖναι φασὶ τὴν ἀκόσμητον ὕλην πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως, προεῖναι ἢ καὶ τὴν κακουργάτην ψυχὴν τὴν τῷ κινῆσαι, πῶθεν γὰρ ἢ κίνησις ἦν, ἢ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς; εἴ ἢ ἄτακτος ἢ κίνησις, ἀπὸ ἀτάκτου ψυχῆς.* *Plutarchus Cheronensis and Atticus maintain, that before the Generation and Formation of the World, there was Unformed and disorderly Matter existing (from Eternity) together with a Maleficent Soul; for whence, say they, could that Motion of the Matter, in Plato's Timæus, procede, but from a Soul? and if it were a Disorderly Motion, it must then needs come from a Disorderly Soul.* And as *Proclus* tells us, that this Opinion of theirs had been before confuted by *Porphyrus* and *Jamblichus*, as that which was both Irrational and Impious, so doth he there likewise himself briefly refer it in these Two Propositions; First, that *πᾶσα ψυχὴ γένημα ἐστὶ τῷ θεῷ*, *Every Soul is the Offspring of God*, and there can be no Soul nor any thing else, besides *God* Self-existing; and Secondly, *τὸ κακὸν διαίονιον ποιεῖν ὡς ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἄτοπον, ἢ γὰρ ὁμοτίμιον τὰ θεῷ τὸ ἄθεον, ἕτε ἐπίσης ἀγόνιμον, ἕτε ὅλας ἀντιδιμεμελῶν.* *It is absurd to make Evil alike Eternal with Good, for that which is Godless cannot be of like honour with God, and equally Unmade, nor indeed can there be any thing at all, positively opposite to God.*

*Psych. g. p. 1012.*

*P. 1014.*

*P. 110.*

But because it may probably be here demanded, What Account it was then possible for *Plato* to give, of the Original of Evils, so as not to impute them to God himself, if he neither derived them from ὕλη ἀπειρος, *Unqualified Matter* (which *Plutarch* has plainly proved to be absurd) nor yet from a ψυχή ἀνευς, *an Irrational and Maleficent Soul of the World or Demon*, Self-existent from Eternity; we shall therefore hereunto briefly reply: That though that Philosopher derived not the Original of Evils, from *Unqualified Matter*, nor from a *Wicked Soul or Demon Unmade*, yet did he not therefore impute them to God neither, but as it seemeth, to the *Necessity of Imperfect Beings*. For as *Timæus Locrus* had before *Plato* determined, that the World was made by God and *Necessity*, so does *Plato* himself accordingly declare in his *Timæus*, ὅτι μεμυγμένη τῶδε τῶ νόμου καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τῆς συστάσεως, καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκης ἀρχόντος. *That the Generation of this World is mixt and made up of a certain composition of Mind and Necessity both together, yet so as that Mind, doth also (in some sence) rule over Necessity*. Wherefore though according to *Plato*, God be properly and directly the Cause of nothing else but *Good*, yet the *Necessity of these Lower Imperfect things*, does unavoidably give Being and Birth to *Evils*. For First, as to *Moral Evils*, (which are the Chiefest) there is a *Necessity* that there should be *Higher and Lower Inclinations* in all Rational Beings Vitally United to Bodies, and that as *Autonomous or Free-willed*, they should have a Power of determining themselves more or less, either way; as there is also a *Necessity*, that the same Liberty of Will (essential to Rational Creatures), which makes them capable of *Praise and Reward*, should likewise put them in a Possibility of *deserving Blame and Punishment*. Again, as to the *Evils of Pain and Inconvenience*; there seems to be a *Necessity*, that *Imperfect Terrestrial Animals*, which are capable of the *Sense of Pleasure*, should in contrary Circumstances (which will also sometimes happen, by reason of the *Inconsistency and Impossibility* of things) be obnoxious to *Displeasure and Pain*. And Lastly, for the *Evils of Corruptions and Dissolutions*; there is a plain *Necessity*, that if there be *Natural Generations* in the World, there should be also *Corruptions*; according to that of *Lucretius* before cited,

*Quando alid ex alio rescit Natura, nec ullam  
Rem gigni patitur, nisi Morte adjutam alienâ.*

To all which may be added, according to the Opinion of many, That there is a kind of *Necessity* of some *Evils* in the World, for a *Condiment* (as it were) to give a *Relish and Haut-goust* to *Good*; since the Nature of *Imperfect Animals* is such, that they are apt to have but a *Dull and Sluggish Sense*, a *Flat and Insipid Taste* of *Good*, unless it be quickned and stimulated, heightened and invigorated, by being compared with the *Contrary Evil*. As also, that there seems to be a *Necessary Use* in the World of the κατὰ ἀνάγκη, those *Involuntary Evils of Pain and Suffering*, both for the Exercise of *Vertue*, and

and the Quickning and Exciting the *Activity* of the World, as also for the Repressing, Chastising and Punishing of those κακά ἐκείνα, those *Voluntary Evils of Vice and Action*. Upon which several accounts, probably, *Plato* concluded, that Evils could not be utterly destroyed, at least in this Lower World, which according to him, is the *Region of Lapsed Souls*: ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακά δυνατόν εἴ θεόδωρε (ὑπερπαντίων γὰρ τι τὰ ἀρχαῖα αἰεὶ εἶναι ἀνάγκη) ἔτ' ἐν θεοῖς αὐτὰ ἰδεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ θνητῶν φύσιν, καὶ τὸνδε ἢ τόπον ἀεὶ πολεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης· διὸ περιεχόσθαι χρὴ ἐν θεοῖς ἐκείσε, φύλαξιν ὀπίσταρχα· φυγὴν ὃ ὁμοίωσι θεῶν καὶ τὸ δυνατόν, ὁμοίωσι δὲ, δίκαιον καὶ ὅσον μετὰ φρονήσεως γινέσθαι. *But it is neither possible (O Theodorus) That Evils should be quite destroyed (for there must be something always Contrary to Good) nor yet that they should be seated amongst the Gods, but they will of necessity infest this Lower Mortal Region and Nature. Wherefore we ought to endeavour to flee from hence, with all possible speed, and our flight from hence is this, to assimilate our selves to God as much as may be. Which Assimilation to God consisteth in being Just and Holy with Wisdom.* Thus, according to the Sence of *Plato*, though God be the Original of all things, yet he is not to be accounted properly the *Cause of Evils*, at least Moral ones, (they being only *Defects*) but they are to be imputed to the *Necessity of Imperfect Beings*, which is that ἀνάγκη πολλὰ τὰ θεῶν δυσμαχέσσα καὶ ἀφιμιάζουσα, *That Necessity which doth often resist God, and as it were shake off his Bridle.* Rational Creatures being by means thereof, in a Capability of acting contrary to God's *Will and Law*, as well as their own true *Nature and Good*; and other things hindred of that Perfection, which the Divine Goodness would else have imparted to them. Notwithstanding which, *Mind*, that is, *God*, is said also by *Plato*, to Rule over *Necessity*, because those *Evils*, occasioned by the *Necessity of Imperfect Beings*, are *Over-ruled* by the *Divine Art, Wisdom and Providence*, for *Good*; *Typhon* and *Arimanius* (if we may use that Language) being as it were *Outwitted*, by *Osiris* and *Oromasdes*, and the worst of all Evils made, in spite of their own *Nature*, to contribute subserviently to the *Good and Perfection of the Whole*; καὶ τὸ τοῦ μεγίστου τέχνης ἀρχαιοποιεῖν τὰ κακά, and this must needs be acknowledged to be the greatest Art of all, to be able to *Bonifie Evils, or Tincture them with Good.*

In Thie. p. 176. Steph.

And now we have made it to appear (as we conceive) that *Plutarch* had no sufficient Grounds to impute this Opinion, of *Two Active Perceptive Principles* in the World, (one the Cause of *Good* and the other of *Evil*) to *Plato*. And as for the other Greek Philosophers, his Pretences to make them Assertors of the same Doctrine, seem to be yet more slight and frivolous. For he concludes the \* *Pythagoreans* to have held *Two* such *Substantial Principles of Good and Evil*, merely because they sometimes talkt of the ἐναντιότητες and συσχημαί, *The Contrarieties and Conjugations* of things, such as *Finite and Infinite, Dextrous and Sinistrous, Eaven and Odd*, and the like. As also that *Heraclitus* entertain'd the same Opinion. because he spake of a πανλίλογος ἀρμονία κόσμου, *A Versatil Harmony of the World*, whereby things reciprocate forwards and backwards, as when a Bow is successively Intended

\* Οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι εἶδον τὸ κακὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς παρελθόντων. The Pythagoreans no where admitted Evil amongst the Principles. Syrianus in Aristot. Metaphys. MS. p. 218.

tended and Remitted; as likewise because he affirmed, *All things to flow, and War to be the Father and Lord of all.* Moreover he resolves that *Empedocles* his *Friendship* and *Contention* could be no other than a *Good and Evil God*; though we have rendred it probable, that nothing else was understood thereby, but an *Active Spermatick Power* in this Corporeal World, causing *Vicissitudes of Generation and Corruption.* Again *Anaxagoras* is entitiled by him to the same Philosophy, for no other reason, but only because he made *Mind* and *Infinite Matter*, *Two Principles* of the Universe. And Lastly, *Aristotle* himself cannot scape him from being made an *Affertor* of a *Good and Evil God* too, merely because he concluded *Form* and *Privation*, to be *Two Principles* of Natural Bodies. Neither does *Plutarch* acquit himself any thing better, as to the Sence of Whole Nations, when this Doctrine is therefore imputed by him to the *Chaldeans*, because their *Astrologers* supposed *Two* of the *Planets* to be *Beneficent*, *Two Maleficent*, and *Three* of a *Middle Nature*: and to the ancient Greeks, because they sacrificed, not only to *Jupiter Olympius*, but also to *Hades* or *Pluto*, who was sometimes called by them the *Infernal Jupiter.* We confess that his Interpretation of the *Traditions* and *Mysteries* of the ancient Egyptians is ingenious, but yet there is no necessity for all that, that by their *Typhon* should be understood a *Substantial Evil Principle*, or *God Self-existent*, as he contends. For it being the manner of the ancient Pagans, (as shall be more fully declared afterwards) to *Physiologize* in their *Theology*, and to *Personate* all the several *Things* in Nature; it seems more likely, that these Egyptians did after that manner, only *περσωποποιεῖν*, *Personate* that *Evil* and *Confusion*, *Tumult* and *Hurliburly*, *Constant Alternation* and *Vicissitude* of *Generations* and *Corruptions*, which is in this Lower World, (though not without a *Divine Providence*) by *Typhon.*

Wherefore the only Probability now left, is that of the *Persian Magi*, that they might indeed assert *Two* such *Active Principles* of *Good* and *Evil*, as *Plutarch* and the *Manicheans* afterwards did; and we must confess, that there is some Probability of this, because besides *Plutarch*, *Laertius* affirms the same of them, *δύο κατ' αὐτὸς εἶναι ἀερεῖς, ἀγαθὸν δ' αἰμωνα καὶ κακόν*, *That there are Two Principles according to the Persian Magi, a Good Demon and an Evil one*; he seeming to Vouch it also from the Authorities of *Hermippus*, *Eudoxus* and *Theopompus.* Notwithstanding which, it may very well be Questioned, whether the meaning of those *Magi*, were not herein misunderstood, they perhaps intending nothing more by their *Evil Demon*, than such a *Satanical Power* as we acknowledge, that is, not a *Substantial Evil Principle*, *unmade* and *Independent* upon *God*, but only a *Polity* of *Evil Demons* in the World, united together under *One Head* or *Prince.* And this not only because *Theodorus* in *Photius*, calls the *Persian Arimanius*, by that very name, *Satanas*; but also because those very *Traditions* of theirs, recorded by *Plutarch* himself, seem very much to favour this *Opinion*, they running after this manner; *ἐπιδοὶ δὲ χερόνος εἰμαρμένος, ἐν ᾧ τ' Ἀρειμάνιον λοιμὸν ἐπαγοῖτα καὶ λιμὸν, ὑπὸ τῶτων ἀνάβηθι φθαεῖναι παντάπασι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι. τὸ δὲ γῆς ἔπι- πείσθαι*

De Is. & Osir.  
370. Par.

πίδες ἢ ὁμαλῆς ἡσυχίας, ἓνα βίον ἢ μίαν πολιτείαν ἀνθρώπων μακαρίων ἢ ἐμοιλάσων ἀπόντων ἡρέσθαι. That there is a Fatal time at hand, in which Arimanius, the Introducer of Plagues and Famines, must of necessity be utterly destroyed, and when, the Earth being made plain and equal, there shall be but one Life, and one Polity of men, all happy and speaking the same Language. Or else as Theopompus himself represented their sence, τέλος ἀπολεῖσθαι τὸ Ἄδλω, ἢ τὰς μὲν ἀνθρώπους διδάμονας ἔσεσθαι, μὴτε τροφῆς δεομένης, μὴτε σκίαν ποίοντες. τὸ δὲ τὰ πάντα μηχανισμῶν θεῶν ἡρεμῆν ἢ ἀναπαύεσθαι χεῖρα καλῶς μὲν ἔσονται πολὺν τὰ θεῶν, ὡς ὅτι ἀνθρώπων κοίμωντων μετέρον, That in conclusion, Hades shall be utterly abolished, and then men shall be perfectly happy, their Bodies neither needing food, nor casting any shadow. That God, which contrived this whole Scene of things, resting only for the present a certain season, which is not long to him, but like the intermission of sleep to men. For since an Unmade and Self-existent Evil Demon, such as that of Plutarch's and the Manicheans, could never be utterly abolished or destroyed; it seems rather probable, that these Persian Magi did, in their Arimanius, either προσωποποιεῖν, personate Evil only, as we suppose the Egyptians to have done in Typhon; or else understand a Satanical Power by it: notwithstanding which, they might possibly sacrifice thereunto (as the Greeks did to Evil Demons) for its Appeasement and Mitigation; or else as worshipping the Deity it self, in the Ministers of its Wrath and Vengeance.

However, from what hath been declared, we conceive it does sufficiently appear, that this *Ditheistick Doctrine* of a Good and Evil God, (or a Good God and Evil Demon both Self-existent) asserted by Plutarch and the Manicheans, was never so universally received amongst the Pagans, as the same Plutarch pretendeth. Which thing may be yet further evidenced from hence, because the Manicheans professed themselves not to have derived this Opinion from the Pagans, nor to be a Subdivision under them, or Schism from them, but a quite different Sect by themselves. Thus *Faustus* in St. Augustine: *Pagani Bonâ & Mala, Tetra & Splendida, Perpetua & Caduca, Mutabilia & Certa, Corporalia & Divina, Unum habere Principium dogmatizant. His ego valde contraria censeo, qui Bonis omnibus Principium fateor Deum, Contrariis verò Hylem (sic enim Mali Principium & Naturam Theologus noster appellat.)* The Pagans dogmatize, that Good and Evil things, Foul and Splendid, Perishing and Perpetual, Corporeal and Divine, do all alike procede from the same Principle. Whereas we think far otherwise, that God is the Principle of all Good, but Hyle (or the Evil Demon) of the contrary, which names our Theologer (Manes) confounds together. And afterwards *Faustus* there again determines, that there were indeed but Two Sects of Religion in the World, really distinct from one another, viz. Paganism and Manicheism. From whence it may be concluded, that this Doctrine, of Two Active Principles of Good and Evil, was not then look'd upon, as the Generally received Doctrine of the Pagans. Wherefore it seems reasonable to think, that Plutarch's imputing it so Universally to them, was either out of Design, thereby to gain the better countenance and authority, to a Conceit which himself was fond of; or else because he being

Contra Faust.  
Lib. 20. c. 3.

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ing deeply tingured, as it were, with the Suffusions of it, every thing which he look'd upon, seem'd to him coloured with it. And indeed for ought we can yet learn, this *Plutarchus Charonensis*, *Namenius* and *Atticus* were the only Greek Philosophers, who ever in Publick Writings positively asserted any such Opinion.

And probably *S. Athanasius*, is to be understood of These, when in his Oration *Contra Gentes*, he writes thus concerning this Opinion, Ἑλλήνων ἔντινες πλανηθέντες τῷ ὁδοῦ, καὶ τῷ χειρὶν ἐν ἔγνωότες, ἐν ὑποστάσει καὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν κακίαν ἀπεφάνησαν. ἀμαρτάνοντες καὶ διὰ ταῦτα, ἢ τὴν δημιουργὸν ἀποσερῶντες τὸ εἶναι ποιητὴν τῆς ὀνείας, ἢ ὅτι ἂν εἴη τῆς ὀνείας ὡς αὐτῆς, εἶχε κατ' αὐτὸς ἡ κακία καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει καὶ ἴσιν, ἢ πάλιν θελοῦντες αὐτὸν ποιητὴν εἶναι τῆς ὀνείας, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸ κακὸν δάσασιν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ τοῖς ἴσιν καὶ τὸ κακὸν κατ' αὐτὸς ἔστι. *Some of the Greeks, wandering out of the right way, and ignorant of Christ, have determined Evil to be a Real Entity by it self, erring upon two accounts, because they must of necessity, either suppose God not to be the Maker of all Things, if Evil have a Nature and Essence by it self, and yet be not made by him; or else that he is the Maker and Cause of Evil, whereas it is impossible, that he who is Essentially Good, should produce the Contrary.* After which that Father speaks also of some degenerate Christians, who fell into the same Error; οἱ ὃ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐκπεσόντες τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διδασκαλίας, καὶ ὡς τὴν πίσιν ναυαγήσαντες, καὶ ἔτσι μὲν ὑπόστασιν τὸ κακὸν ὡς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι. *Some Hereticks, forsaking the Ecclesiastical Doctrine, and making shipwrak of the Faith, have in like manner, fassly attributed a Real Nature and Essence to Evil.* Of which Hereticks there were several Sects before the *Manicheans*, sometime taken notice of and censur'd by Pagan Philosophers themselves; as by *Celsus*, where he charges Christians with holding this Opinion, that there is εἰσαίτιος τῷ μεγάλῳ θεῷ θεὸς κατ' ἐναντίον, *An Execrable God contrary to the Great God*, and by *Plotinus*, writing a whole Book against such Christians, the 9th of his Second Ennead, which by *Porphyrius* was inscribed πρὸς τοὺς γνῶστικῶν, *Against the Gnosticks.*

But if notwithstanding all that we have hitherto said to the contrary, that which *Plutarch* so much contends for, should be granted to be true, that the Pagan Theologers generally asserted *Two Self-existent Principles* (a *Good God*, and an *Evil Soul* or *Demon*) and no more, it would unavoidably follow from thence, that all those other Gods which they worshipped, were not look'd upon by them, as so *Many Unmade Self-existent Beings*, because then they should have acknowledged so many *First Principles*. However it is certain, that if *Plutarch* believed his own Writings, he must of necessity take it for granted, that none of the Pagan Gods (those *Two Principles* of *Good* and *Evil* only excepted) were by their Theologers accounted *Unmade* or *Self-existent* Beings. And as to *Plutarch* himself, it is unquestionably manifest, that though he were a Pagan, and a Worshipper of all those Many Gods of theirs, but especially amongst the rest, of the *Delian Apollo* (whose Priest he declares himself to have been) yet he supposed them all (except only one *Good God*, and

and another *Evil Soul of the World*) to be no Self-existent Deities, but *θεῶν γεννητῶν*, *Generated or Created Gods* only. And the same is to be affirmed of all his Pagan Followers, as also of the Manicheans, forasmuch as they, besides their Good and Evil God (the only Unmade Self-existent Beings acknowledged by them) worshipped also Innumerable other Deities.

Hitherto we have not been able to find amongst the Pagans, any who asserted a *Multitude of Unmade Self-existent Deities*, but on the contrary we shall now find One, who took notice of this Opinion of *πολλὰ ἀρχαί*, *Many Principles*, so far forth as to confute it, and that is *Aristotle*, who was not occasioned to do that neither, because it was a Doctrine then Generally Received, but only because he had a mind, odiously to impute such a thing to the Pythagoreans and Platonists, they making *Idea's* (sometimes called also Numbers) in a certain sence, the Principles of things. Nevertheless the Opinion it self is well confuted by that Philosopher, from the *Phænomena* after this manner; *οἱ ἡ λέγοντες τὸ ἀρχὴν πρῶτον τὸ μαθηματικόν, καὶ ἕτερον ἀλλῶ ἐχρησίζω ἕσται καὶ ἀρχὴς ἑκάστης ἄλλης, ἐπιδοξιάδι τὴν τῶ πάντων ἕσται πρῶτον*. *They who say that Mathematical Number is the First, and suppose one Principle of one thing, and another of another, would make the whole World to be like an incoherent and disagreeing Poem, where things do not all mutually contribute to one another, nor conspire together to make up one Sence and Harmony; But the contrary (saith he) is most evident in the World; and therefore their cannot be Many Principles, but only One.* From whence it is manifest, that though *Aristotle* were a Worshipper of *Many Gods*, as well as the other Pagans, (he somewhere representing it as very absurd to Sacrifice to none but *Jupiter*) yet he was no *Polytheist*, in the sence before declared, of *many Unmade Self-existent Deities*, nor indeed any *Ditheist* neither, no assertor of *Two Understanding Principles*, a *Good and Evil God*, (as *Plutarch* pretended him to be) he not only here exploding that Opinion of *πολλὰ ἀρχαί*, *Many Principles*, but also expressly deriving all from *One*, and in that very Chapter affirming, that *Good* is a *Principle*, but not *Evil*. But as for the Platonists and Pythagoreans there perstringed by him, though it be true that they made *Idea's* in some sence Principles, as the *Paradigms* of things, yet according to *Aristotle's* own Confession, even in that same Chapter, they declared also, that there was *ἄλλη ἀρχὴ κρείωντερον*, *another Principle more excellent or Superiour*, which is indeed that that was called by them the *τὸ ἓν*, or *μονάς*, *Unity it self* or a *Monad*, that is, *One* most Simple Deity.

Arist. Met. E.  
14. c. 10.

Though we did before demonstrate, that the *Pagan Gods* were not all supposed by them to be *Unmade Self-existent Beings*, because they acknowledged a *Theogonia*, a *Generation and Temporary Production of Gods*; yet forasmuch as it might be suspected, that they held notwithstanding a *Multitude of Unmade Deities*, we have now made the best Enquiry that we could concerning this, and the utmost that we have been able yet to discover is, that some few of the Professed Pagans, as well as of pretended Christians, have indeed asserted a

Duplicity

*Duplicity of such Gods (viz. Understanding Beings Unmade) one Good and the other Evil, but no more. Whereas on the contrary we have found, that Aristotle did professedly oppose, this Opinion of Many Principles, or Unmade Gods, which certainly he durst never have done, had it then been the Generally received Opinion of the Pagans. And though it be true, that several of the Ancient Christians, in their Disputes with Pagans, do confute that Opinion of Many Unmade Deities, yet we do not find for all that, that any of them seriously charge the Pagans with it, they only doing it occasionally and ex abundanti. But we should be the better enabled, to make a clear Judgment concerning this Controversie, whether there were not amongst the Pagan Deities, a Multitude of Supposed Unmade Beings; if we did but take a short survey of their Religion, and consider all the several kinds of Gods worshipped by them; which may, as we conceive, be reduced to these following Heads. In the First place therefore it is certain, that Many of the Pagan Gods, were nothing else but Dead Men (or the Souls of Men Deceased) called by the Greeks Heroes, and the Latines Manes, such as Hercules, Liber, Æsculapius, Castor, Pollux, Quirinus, and the like. Neither was this only true of the Greeks and Romans, but also of the Ægyptians, Syrians and Babylonians. For which cause the Pagan Sacrifices, are by way of contempt in the Scripture called, the Sacrifices of the Dead, that is, not of Dead or Lifeless Statues, as some would put it off, but of Dead Men. which was the reason, why many of the Religious Rites and Solemnities, observed by the Pagan Priests, were Mournful and Funeral; accordingly as it is expressed in Baruch concerning the Babylonians, The Priests sit in their Temples having their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven, and nothing upon their heads; They rore and cry before their Gods, as men do at the Feast, when one is dead. (Some of which Rites, are therefore thought to have been Interdicted to the Israelitish Priests.) And the same thing is noted likewise by the Poet concerning the Egyptians,*

Chap. 6. v. 31.

*Et quem tu plangens, Hominem testaris, Osirin :*

And intimated by Xenophanes the Colophonian, when he reprehensively admonished the Egyptians after this manner, *εἰ θεοὺς νομίζουσι μὴ θεννέειν, εἰ δὲ θεννέουσι μὴ θεοὺς νομίζουσι, That if they thought those to be Gods, they should not so lament them, but if they would lament them, they should no longer think them Gods.* Moreover it is well known, that this Humour of Deifying Men, was afterwards carried on further, and that Living Men (as Emperors) had also Temples and Altars, erected to them; Nay Humane Polities and Cities, were also sometimes Deified by the Pagans, Rome it self being made a Goddess. Now no man can imagine that those Men-gods and City-gods, were look'd upon by them, as so many Unmade Self-existent Deities, they being not indeed so much as φύσιν ἔχοντες θεοὶ, Gods Made or Generated by Nature, but rather Artificially Made, by Humane Will and Pleasure. Again, Another sort of the Pagan Deities, were all the Greater Parts of the Visible Mundane System, or Corporeal World, as supposed to be Animated,

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The Sun, the Moon and the Stars, and even the Earth it self, under the Names of *Vesta*, and *Cybele*, the *Mother of the Gods*, and the like. Now it is certain also, that none of these could be taken for Unmade Self-existent Deities neither, by those who supposed the whole World it self to have been *Generated*, or had a *Beginning*, which as *Aristotle* tells us, was the Generally received Opinion before his time. There was also a *Third Sort* of Pagan Deities, *Ethereal* and *Aerial Animals* Invisible, called *Demons*, *Genii* and *Lares*, Superiour indeed to Men, but Inferiour to the *Celestial* or *Mundane Gods* before mentioned. Wherefore these must needs be look'd upon also by them but as *ἑρμητικοὶ θεοὶ*, *Generated or Created Gods*, they being but certain *Inferiour Parts* of the whole *Generated World*.

Besides all these, the Pagans had yet another *Sort of Gods*, that were nothing but mere *Accidents* or *Affections* of *Substances*, which therefore could not be supposed by them to be *Self-existent Deities*, because they could not so much as *Subsist* by themselves. Such as were, *Vertue*, *Piety*, *Felicity*, *Truth*, *Faith*, *Hope*, *Justice*, *Clemency*, *Love*, *Desire*, *Health*, *Peace*, *Honour*, *Fame*, *Liberty*, *Memory*, *Sleep*, *Night*, and the like; all which had their *Temples* or *Altars* erected to them. Now this kind of *Pagan Gods*, cannot well be conceived to have been any thing else, but the *Several and Various Manifestations* of that *One Divine Force, Power and Providence* that runs through the *Whole World* (as respecting the *Good* and *Evil* of Men) *Fictitiously Personated*, and so represented as so *Many Gods* and *Goddeffes*.

Lastly, There is still *Another kind of Pagan Gods* behind, having *Substantial* and *Personal Names*, which yet cannot be conceived neither to be so many *Understanding Beings*, *Unmade*, and *Independent* upon any *Supreme*, were it for no other reason but only this, because they have all of them their *Particular Places* and *Provinces*, *Offices* and *Functions* severally (as it were) assigned to them, and to which they are confined; so as not to enterfere and clash with one another, but agreeably to make up one *Orderly* and *Harmonious System* of the *Whole*; One of those Gods ruling only in the *Heavens*, Another in the *Air*, Another in the *Sea*, and Another in the *Earth* and *Hell*; One being the *God or Goddeff* of *Learning* and *Wisdom*, Another of *Speech* and *Eloquence*, Another of *Justice* and *Political Order*; One the *God of War*, Another the *God of Pleasure*, One the *God of Corn*, and Another the *God of Wine*, and the like. For how can it be conceived, that a *Multitude* of *Understanding Beings* *Self-existent* and *Independent*, could thus of themselves have fallen into such a *Uniform Order* and *Harmony*, and without any clashing, peaceably and quietly sharing the *Government* of the whole *World* amongst them, should carry it on with such a *Constant Regularity*? For which Cause we conclude also, that neither those *Dii Majorum Gentium*, whether the *Twenty Selecti*, or the *Twelve Consentes*, nor yet that *Triumvirate* of Gods, amongst whom *Homer* shares the *Government* of the whole *World*, according to that of *Maximus Tyrius*, τὰ μὲν ὁμοῦ δέδασται τὰ πάντα, ποσῶν μὲν ἔλαχε, πόλιν ἄλλα ναίεμεν αἰεὶ, Ἄθης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἱερῶ-  
Diff. 167

εἴτα, τῶς ἢ ἑγεῖν, *The Sea being assigned to Neptune, the Dark and Subterraneous Parts to Pluto, but the Heaven to Jupiter, which Three are sometimes called also the Celestial, Marine, and Terrestrial Jupiter; Nor lastly, that other Roman and Samothracian Trinity of Gods, worshipped all together in the Capitol, Jupiter, Minerva and Juno; I say, that none of all these could reasonably be thought by the Pagans themselves, to be so many really distinct, Unmade, and Self-existent Deities.*

Wherefore the Truth of this whole business seems to be this, that the ancient Pagans did *Physiologize* in their *Theology*, and whether looking upon the *Whole World Animated*, as the *Supreme God*, and consequently the *Several Parts* of it, as his *Living Members*, or else apprehending it at least to be a *Mirror*, or *Visible Image* of the *Invisible Deity*, and consequently all its *Several Parts*, and *Things of Nature*, but so many *Several Manifestations* of the *Divine Power* and *Providence*, they pretended, that all their *Devotion* towards the *Deity*, ought not to be *Huddled up* in one *General* and *Confused Acknowledgment*, of a *Supreme Invisible Being*, the *Creator* and *Governour* of all, but that all the *Several Manifestations* of the *Deity* in the *World*, considered singly and apart by themselves, should be made so many *Distinct Objects* of their *Devout Veneration*; and therefore in order hereunto did they *περὶ ἡμῶν ποιεῖν*, *speak of the things in Nature, and the Parts of the World, as Persons*, and consequently as so many *Gods* and *Goddesses*; yet so, as that the *Intelligent* might easily understand the *Meaning*, that these were all really nothing else, but so many *Several Names* and *Notions*, of that *One Numen*, *Divine Force* and *Power*, which runs through the whole *World*, multiformly displaying it self therein. To this purpose *Balbus* in *Cicero*, *Videtisne ut à Physicis rebus, tracta Ratio sit ad Commentitios & Fictos Deos?* See you not how from the *Things of Nature*, *Fictitious Gods* have been made? And *Origen* seems to insist upon this very thing, (where *Celsus* upbraids the *Jews* and *Christians* for worshipping *One only God*) shewing that all that seeming *Multiplicity* of *Pagan Gods*, could not be understood of so *Many Distinct Substantial Independent Deities*; δεινύτω τῶν πᾶς αὐτὸς διατασσάσθαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν, ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν βαρβάρων. Δεινύτω ὑπόσταν εἶδαν μνημοσύνης ἡρώσεως οἰπὸ διὸς τὸς μέσους, ἢ οἰμῶν τὸς ἄλλοις, ἢ τὸς χάρτας αἰεὶ γυμνὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὸ δύνασθαι κατ' εἶδαν ὑπερμένει, ἀλλ' εἰ δυνήσεται τὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα (σωματοποιεῖσθαι δευδέντα ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων) δεινύσει οἷος. To this Sense; Let *Celsus* therefore himself shew, how he is able to make out a *Multiplicity of Gods* (*Substantial* and *Self-existent*) according to the *Greeks* and other *Barbarian Pagans*; let him declare the *Essence* and *Substantial Personality* of that *Memory* which by *Jupiter* generated the *Muses*, or of that *Themis* which brought forth the *Hours*; Or let him shew how the *Graces* always *Naked* do subsist by themselves. But he will never be able to do this, nor to make it appear that those *Figments* of the *Greeks* (which seem to be really nothing else but the *Things of Nature* turned into *Persons*) are so many *distinct* (*Self-existent*) *Deities*. Where the latter Words are thus rendered in a *Late Edition*; Sed nunquam poterit (*Celsus*) *Græcorum Figmenta, quæ validiora fieri videntur, ex rebus* ipsis

L. 1. p. 18. C.

*ipſis Deos eſſe arguere*, which we confeſs we cannot underſtand ; but we conceive the word *σωματοποιεῖσθαι*, there turned *Validiora fieri*, is here uſed by *Origen* in the ſame ſence with *περσωποποιεῖσθαι*, ſo that his meaning is as we have declared, that thoſe *Figments of the Greeks* and other Barbarian Pagans, (which are the ſame with *Balbus* his *Commentitii & Fiſti Dii*) are really nothing elſe but the *Things of Nature*, *Figuratively* and *Fiſtitiouſly Perſonated*, and conſequently not ſo many *Diſtinſt Subſtantial Deities*, but only ſeveral *Notions* and *Conſiderations* of One God, or Supreme Numen, in the World.

Now this *Fiſtitious Perſonating*, and *Deifying* of Things, by the Pagan Theologers, was done *Two manner* of ways ; One, when thoſe Things in Nature, were themſelves without any more ado or Change of Names, ſpoken of as *Perſons*, and ſo made *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, as in the many inſtances before propoſed. Another, when there were diſtinſt *Proper and Perſonal Names* accommodated ſeverally to thoſe Things, as of *Minerva* to *Wiſdom*, of *Neptune* to the *Sea*, of *Ceres* to *Corn* and of *Bacchus* to *Wine*. In which Latter Caſe, thoſe Perſonal Names *Properly* ſignifie, the *Inviſible Divine Powers*, ſuppoſed to preſide over thoſe ſeveral Things in Nature, and theſe are therefore properly thoſe *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, which are *δωτῆρες ἐάων*, the *Givers* and *Diſpenſers of the Good Things*, and the *Removers of the Contrary* ; but they are uſed *Improperly* alſo, for the *Things of Nature* themſelves, which therefore as *Manifeſtations of the Divine Power*, *Goodneſs* and *Providence*, *Perſonated*, are ſometimes alſo *Abuſively*, called *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*. This *Mystery of the Pagan Polytheiſm*, is thus fully declared by *Moſcopulus* ;

In Heſiod. p. t.

ἴστέον ἔπι πάντα οἱ Ἑλλῆνες ἀ δὴνάμην ἐχοῦσα ἐάειν, ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιſταſίας θεῶν τῶν δὴνάμην αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖν ἐνὶ οὐρανῷ, ἐνὶ ἧ ὀνόματι τὸ τε τῶν δὴνάμην ἔχον, καὶ τὸ ἐπιſταſίοντα τῶν θεῶν ἀνόμαζον. ὅθεν ἠφῆμιſον ἐκάλεſαν τότε διακονικὸν τῶν τε πυρὸς, καὶ τὸ ἐπιſτατῶντα ταῖς διὰ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων τέχναις, καὶ δὴμίθεον τὸ σίτον καὶ τὰς καρπῶν, καὶ τῶν δαρυμῶν τῶν τε θεῶν, καὶ ἐπιſτατῶσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ Ἀθηνῶν τῶν φρονήſιν, καὶ τὴν ἐφορεῖν τὴν φρονήſεως θεῶν. καὶ τὸ Διόνυſον τὸ οἶνον καὶ τὸ δίδόντα τῶν τε θεῶν. ὃν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δίδοναι τὸ οἶνον ὁ Πλάτων παράγει, καὶ δίδόνουſον τῶν τε ποιεῖ εἶτα καὶ Διόνυſον. καὶ εἰλειθέας τὰς τῶν τε, καὶ τὰς ἐφορέας τὰς τῶν τε θεῶν. καὶ Ἀφροδίτην τὴν ſυνουſίαν καὶ ἐπιſτατῶσαν ταύτῃ θεῶν. καὶ τῶν τε καὶ μάſας ἐλεγον τὰς τε λογικὰς τέχναις, οἶον ἐπιſορμῆν, ἀρεθνομίαν, κωμωδίαν, τραγωδίαν, καὶ τὰς ἐφόρους καὶ παρεχούſας τῶν τε θεῶν. We muſt know, that whatſoever the Greeks ( or Pagans ) ſaw to have any Power, Vertue or Ability in it, they looked upon it as not acting according to ſuch Power, without the Providence, Preſidency, or Influence of the Gods ; and they called both the Thing it ſelf, which hath the Power, and the Deity preſiding over it, by one and the ſame Name ; whence the *Minifterial Fire* uſed in *Mechanick Arts*, and the *God preſiding over thoſe Arts that work by fire*, were both alike called *Hephæſtus* or *Vulcan* ; ſo the name *Demetra* or *Ceres*, was given as well to *Corn* and *Fruits*, as to that *Goddeſſ* which beſtows them ; *Athena* or *Minerva*, did alike ſignifie, *Wiſdom*, and the *Goddeſſ* which is the *Diſpenſer of it* ; *Dionyſus* or *Bacchus*, *Wine*, and the *God that giveth Wine* ( whence *Plato* etymologizes the Name from giving of *Wine*.) In like manner, they called both the *Childbearing of Women*, and the *Goddeſſes that ſuperintend over the ſame* *Eilithuia* or *Lucina* ; *Coitus* or *Copulation*, and

the Deity presiding over it, Aphrodite or Venus. And lastly, in the same manner, by the Muses, they signified both those Rational Arts, Rhetorick, Astronomy, Poetry, and the Goddesses which assist therein or promote the same. Now as the several Things in Nature and Parts of the Corporeal World, are thus Metonymically and Catacrestically, called Gods and Goddesses, it is evident, that such Deities as these, could not be supposed to be Unmade or Self-existent, by those who acknowledged the whole World to have been Generated and had a Beginning. But as these Names were used more Properly, to signify Invisible and Understanding Powers, Presiding over the Things in Nature, and Dispensing of them, however they have an appearance of so many several distinct Deities, yet they seem to have been all really nothing else, but as Balbus in Cicero expresses it, *Deus Pertinens per Naturam cujusque Rei*, God passing through, and acting in the Nature of every thing, and consequently, but several Names, or so many Different Notions and Considerations of that One Supreme Numen, that Divine Force, Power, and Providence, which runs through the whole World, as variously Manifesting it self therein.

Wherefore, since there were no other Kinds of Gods amongst the Pagans, besides these already enumerated, unless their Images, Statues and Symbols should be accounted such (because they were also sometimes Abusively called Gods) which could not be supposed by them to have been Unmade or without a Beginning, they being the Workmanship of mens own hands; We conclude univervally, that all that Multiplicity of Pagan Gods, which makes so great a shew and noise, was really either nothing but Several Names and Notions of One Supreme Deity, according to its different Manifestations, Gifts and Effects in the World, Personated; or else Many Inferiour Understanding Beings, Generated or Created by One Supreme: so that One Unmade Self-existent Deity, and no more, was acknowledged by the more Intelligent of the ancient Pagans, (for of the Sottish Vulgar no man can pretend to give an account, in any Religion) and consequently, the Pagan Polytheism (or Idolatry) consisted not, in worshipping a Multiplicity of Unmade Minds, Deities and Creators Self-existent from Eternity and Independent upon One Supreme; but in Mingling and Blending, some way or other unduly, Creature-worship, with the Worship of the Creator.

And that the ancient Pagan Theists thus acknowledged One Supreme God, who was the only *Deus à se ipso*, Unmade or Unproduced Deity, (I say, Theists, because those amongst the Pagans, who admitted of Many Gods, but none at all Unmade, were absolute Atheists) this may be undeniably concluded from what was before proved, that they acknowledged Omnipotence or Infinite Power, to be a Divine Attribute. Because upon the Hypothesis of Many Unmade Self-existent Deities, it is plain that there could be none Omnipotent, and consequently no such thing as Omnipotence in rerum natura: and therefore Omnipotence was rightly and properly styled by Macrobius, *Summi Dei Omnipotentia*, it being an Attribute Essentially Peculiar, to One Supreme, and Sole Self-existent Deity. And  
Simplicius

*Simplicius* likewise a Pagan, confuted the Manichean Hypothesis of Two Self-existent Deities from hence also, because it destroyed Omnipotence: ἀναγκάζονται δύο λέγουτες τῆς ὅλων ἀρχῆς (τὸ τε ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακὸν) καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγόμενον θεὸν, μηκέτι πάντων αἴτιον λέγειν, μηδὲ ὡς παντοκράτορα δικαίως ἀνυμνεῖν, μηδὲ δυνάμιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκερδαίω καὶ ὅλῳ ἀνατιθέ- ναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἡμισὺ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως, ἕως ἄρα καὶ τῆτο. For they who as- sert Two Principles of the Universe (One Good, the other Evil) are necessitated to grant, that the Good Principle called by them God, is not the Cause of all things, neither can they praise it as Omnipotent, nor ascribe a Perfect and Whole Entire Power to it, but only the Half of a Whole Power at most, if so much. Over and besides all which, it hath been also proved already, that the ancient Atheists under Paganism, directed themselves principally, against the Opinion of Monarchy, or of One Supreme Deity ruling over all; from whence it plainly appears, that it was then asserted by the Pagan Theists.

In Epist. C. 4.

And we think it here observable, that this was a thing so generally confessed and acknowledged, that *Faustus* the Manichean, took up this Conceit, that both the Christians and Jews Paganized in the Opinion of Monarchy, that is, derived this Doctrine of One Deity, the Sole Principle of all things, only by Tradition from the Pagans, and by consequence were no other than Schisms or Subdivided Sects of Paganism. Vos desciscentes à Gentibus (saith he) Monarchiæ Opinionem primò vobiscum divulsistis, id est, ut Omnia credatis ex Deo. Estis sanè Schisma, necnon & Priores vestri Judei. De Opinione Monarchiæ, in nullo etiam ipsi dissentiunt à Paganis. Quare constat Vos atque Judeos, Schisma esse Gentilitatis. Sectas autem si quæras, non plus erunt quàm Duæ, Gentium & Nostra. You revolting from the Gentiles, broke off their Opinion of Monarchy, and carried it along with you, so as to believe all things to come from God. Wherefore you are really nothing but a Schism of Paganism, or a Subdivided Branch of it, and so are your Predecessors the Jews; who differ nothing from Pagans neither, in this Opinion of Monarchy. Whence it is manifest, that both Christians and Jews are but Schisms of Gentilism. But as for Sects of Religion, really differing from another, there are but these Two, That of the Pagans, and That of ours, who altogether dissent from them. Now though this be false and foolish, as to the Christians and Jews, deriving that Opinion of Monarchy, only by way of Tradition, from the Pagans, which is a thing founded in the Principles of Nature; yet it sufficiently shews, this to have been the General Sence of the Pagans, that all their Gods were derived from One Sole Self-existent Deity; so that they neither acknowledged a Multitude of Unmade Deities, nor yet that Duplicity of them, which *Plutarch* contended for, (One Good and the Other Evil) who accordingly denied God to be the Cause of all Things, writing thus in his Defect of Oracles, οἱ μὲν εἰδένος ἀπλῶς τὸ θεὸν, οἱ δὲ ὅμῃ τι πᾶν ἄτιον ποιοῦντες, ἀσχῆσα τὸ μέλει καὶ πρέποιος, They are guilty of one Extreme, who make God the Cause of Nothing, and they of another, who make him the Cause of all things. But this Paradox, was both late started amongst the Greeks, and quickly cried down by the Succession of their Philosophers, and therefore prejudiceth not the Truth of *Faustus* his

S. Aug. contra Faust. L. 20.

L. 20. cap. 10.

General Assertion, concerning the Pagans. Which is again fully confirmed, by St. *Austin* in his Reply; *Siquis ita dividat, ut dicat eorum quæ aliquã Religione detinentur, Aliis placere Unum Deum colendum, Aliis Multos; per hanc differentiam & Pagani à nobis Remoti sunt, & Manichæi cum Paganis deputantur, nos autem cum Judæis. Hic fortè dicatis, quòd Multos Deos Vestros, ex Una Substantia perhibetis; Quasi Pagani Multos suos, non ex Una asserant, quamvis diversa illis Officia, & Opera, & Potestates illis attribuant; sicut etiam apud vos, Alius Deus expugnat Gentem Tenebrarum, Alius ex eà captà fabricat Mundum, &c.* If one should make another Distribution of Religionists, into such as Worship either One God, or Many Gods; according to this Division the Pagans will be removed from us Christians, and joyned with You Manicheans. But perhaps you will here say, that all your Many Gods are derived from One Substance, as if the Pagans did not also derive all their Gods from One, though attributing several Offices, Works and Powers to them; in like manner as amongst you, One God expugns the Nation of Darkness, Another God makes a World out of it, &c. And again afterwards he writes further to the same purpose; *Discat ergò Faustus Monarchiæ Opinionem, non ex Gentibus nos habere, sed Gentes non usque aded ad Falsos Deos esse dilapsas, ut Opinionem amitterent Unius Veri Dei, ex quo est Omnis qualiscunque Natura: Let Faustus therefore know, that We Christians have not derived the Opinion of Monarchy from the Pagans, but that the Pagans have not so far degenerated, sinking down into the Worship of false Gods, as to have lost the Opinion of One True God, from whom is all Whatsoever Nature.*

S. Aug. contra  
Faust. L. 20.  
c. 19.

XIV. It follows from what we have declared, that the Pagan Polytheism or Multiplicity of Gods, is not to be understood in the sence before expressed, of *Many θεοὶ ἄχροντοὶ ἢ αὐθιγόντοιοι, Many Unproduced and Self-existent Deities*, but according to some other Notion or Equivocation of the word Gods. For God is, *ἡ πολλὰ καὶ ἕως λεγομένη*, one of those words that hath been used in many different sences, the Atheists themselves acknowledging a God and Gods, according to some Private Sences of their own, (which yet they do not all agree in neither) and Theists not always having the same Notion of that Word: Forasmuch as Angels in Scripture are called Gods in one sence, that is, as Understanding Beings Superiour to men, Immortal, Holy and Happy; and the word is again sometimes carried down lower to Princes and Magistrates; and not only so, but also to Good men as such, when they are said to be Made Partakers of the Divine Nature. And thus that learned Philosopher and Christian *Boethius*, *Omnis Beatus Deus; sed Natura quidem Unus, Participatione verò nihil prohibet esse quamplurimos*, every Good and Happy man is a God, and though there be only One God, by Nature, yet nothing hinders but that there may be Many by Participation. But then again all Men and Angels are alike denied to be Gods in other Respects, and particularly, as to Religious Worship. Thou shalt Worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Now this is that, which seems to be Essentially included in the Pagan Notion of the word God or Gods, when taken in general, namely, a Respect to Religious Worship. Wherefore a God in general according to the sence of the Pagan Theists, may be thus defined, An Understanding

derstanding Being superiour to Men, not originally derived from Senseless Matter, and look'd upon as an Object for mens Religious Worship. But this general Notion of the word God, is again restrained and limited, by Differences, in the Division of it. For such a God as this, may be either ἀγέννητος, *Ingenerate or Unproduced*, and consequently *Self-existent*; or else γεννητός, *Generated or Produced*, and *Dependent* on some Higher Being as its Cause. In the former sence, the Intelligent Pagans, as we have declared, acknowledged only *One God*, who was therefore called by them ὁ Θεός κατ' ἐξοχὴν, according to that of *Thales in Laertius*, προσεβύτατον τῶν ὄντων, ὁ Θεός, ἀγέννητον γὰρ. *God is the oldest of all things, because he is Unmade or Unproduced, and the only thing that is so*: but in the latter, they admitted of *Many Gods*, *Many Understanding Beings*, which, though *Generated or Produced*, yet were *Superiour to Men*, and look'd upon as *Objects for their Religious Worship*. And thus the *Pagan Theists* were both *Polytheists* and *Monotheists* in different Sences, they acknowledged both *Many Gods* and *One God*; that is, *Many Inferiour Deities*, subordinate to *One Supreme*. Thus *Onatus* the *Pythagorean* in *Stobæus* declares himself, δοκεῖ δέ μοι, *Ecl. Phys. L. i.*  
 ἢ μὴ εἰς ἑμὸν ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν ὁ μέγιστος, ἢ καὶ ὑπέροχος, ἢ ὁ κοσμίαν P. 4.  
 τῶ παντός. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολλοὶ διαφέρουσιν καὶ δύνανται βασιλεύειν ἢ πάντων αὐτῶν ὁ ἢ κρείττω ἢ μεγαθεὶς ἢ ἀρετῶν μέγιστος. Ἔτι ἢ κ' εἴη ὁ ὄψιμτος ἢ σύμπαντα κόσμον. τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι οἱ θεοὶ εἰσὶ κατ' ἕρανόν, σὺν τε τῶ παντός ὄψιμτος, καὶ λόγον ὑπαδέουτες, τῶ πρώτῳ ἢ νοητῶ. *It seemeth to me that there is not only One God, but that there is One the Greatest and Highest God, that governeth the whole World, and that there are Many other Gods, besides him differing as to power, that One God reigning over them all, who surmounts them all, in Power, Greatness and Vertue. This is that God, who contains and comprehends the whole World; but the other Gods, are those who together with the Revolution of the Universe, orderly follow that First and Intelligible God.* Where it is evident, that *Onatus* his πολλοὶ θεοὶ or *Many Gods*, were only the *Heavenly Bodies*, or *Animated Stars*. And partly, from those words cited, but chiefly others which follow after in the same place, (that will be produced elsewhere) it plainly appears, that in *Onatus* his time, there were some who acknowledged *One Only God*, denying all those other *Gods*, then commonly Worshipped. And indeed *Anaxagoras*, seems to have been such a one; forasmuch as asserting *One Perfect Mind* Ruling over all, (which is the *True Deity*) he effectually degraded all those other *Pagan Gods*, the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars* from their *Godships*, by making the *Sun* nothing but a *Globe of Fire*, and the *Moon* *Earth* and *Stones*, and the like of the other *Stars* and *Planets*. And some such there were also amongst the *Ancient Egyptians*, as shall be declared in due place. Moreover *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus* tells us, that there hath been P. 206.  
 always less doubt and controversie in the World concerning the *One God*, than concerning the *Many Gods*. Wherefore *Onatus* here declares his own sence, as to this particular, viz. that besides the *One Supreme God*, there were also *Many other Inferiour Deities*, that is, *Understanding Beings*, that ought to be *Religiously Worshipped*.

But because it is not impossible, but that there might be imagin'd *One Supreme Deity*, though there were many other θεοὶ ἀγέννητοι *Un-*  
*made*

Diff. 1. pag. 5.

made and Self-existent Gods besides, as *Plutarch* supposed before, One Supreme God, together with a  $\Psi\upsilon\chi\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\sigma\varsigma$ , an Irrational Soul or Demon Unmade Inferiour in power to it; therefore we add in the next place, that the more Intelligent Pagans, did not only assert One God that was Supreme and  $\kappa\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon$ , the most Powerful of all the Gods, but also who being Omnipotent, was the Principle and Cause of all the rest, and therefore the only  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\ \kappa\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\omega\delta\upsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , the only Unproduced and Self-existent Deity. *Maximus Tyrius* affirms this to have been the general sence of all the Pagans, that there was,  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\ \beta\epsilon\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\epsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\iota\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ ,  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\omicron\iota\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\omega$ , One God the King and Father of all, and many Gods, the Sons of God, reigning together with God. Neither did the Poets imply any thing less, when  $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$  was so often called by the Greeks and *Jupiter* by the Latins  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\acute{\rho}\omega\pi\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\epsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon$ , and *Hominum Pater atq; Deorum*, or *Hominum Satorque Deorum*, and the like. And indeed the *Theogonia* of the ancient Pagans before mention'd, was commonly thus declared by them universally,  $\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\alpha\iota$  that the Gods were Generated, or as *Herodotus* expresseth it,  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\ \tau\acute{\eta}\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\omega\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$ , that every one of the Gods was Generated or Produced; which yet is not so to be understood, as if they had therefore supposed, no God at all Unmade or Self-existent, (which is *Absolute Atheism*) but that the  $\omicron\iota\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\iota$  the Gods, as distinguish'd from the  $\acute{\omicron}\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  or  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\iota\omega$ , from God or the Supreme Deity, were all of them universally, Made or Generated.

Pag. 29.

Pag. 29.

But to the end that we may now render this business, yet something more easie to be believed, that the Intelligent Pagans did thus suppose all their Gods save One, to have been Made or Generated, and consequently acknowledged only One  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\ \kappa\epsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\omega\delta\upsilon\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , One Unproduced and Self-existent Deity, we shall in this place further observe, that the *Theogonia* of those Ancient Pagans, their *Genesis* and *Generation* of Gods, was really one and the same thing with the *Cosmogonia*, the *Genesis* and *Generation* of the World, and indeed both of them understood of a *Temporary Production* both of these Gods and the World. And this we shall first prove from *Plato* in his *Timæus*; where he being to treat of the *Cosmogonia*, premiseth this Distinction, concerning Two Heads of Being; That Some were *Eternal and never Made*, and Some again *Made or Generated*, the former whereof he calls  $\zeta\omicron\iota\acute{\alpha}$  or *Essence*, the latter  $\gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$  or *Generation*: adding also this difference betwixt them, that the *Eternal and Immutable* things, were the proper Objects of *Science and Demonstration*, but the other *Generated things* of *Faith and Opinion* only;  $\acute{\omicron}\ \pi\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \gamma\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\ \zeta\omicron\iota\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha$ , For what *Essence* is to *Generation*, the same is *certainty of Truth or Knowledge* to *Faith*. And thereupon he declares that his Reader was not to expect the same Evidence and Certainty of Truth from him, where he was now to treat of things *Generated* (namely the Gods and the *Visible World*) as if he had been to discourse about things *Immutable and Eternal*, in these words,  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\ \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\kappa\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon\ \omega\zeta\iota\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\acute{\omega}\ \kappa\epsilon\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma$ , &c. If therefore, O *Socrates*, many things having been spoken by many men, concerning the Gods, and the Generation of the Universe, we be not able to discourse *Demonstratively* concerning the same, you ought not at all to wonder at it, or be displeas'd with us, but

or

on the contrary, to rest well satisfied with our performance, if upon this Argument we do but deliver Probabilities. Where the Gods are by Plato plainly referred to *ἄθεος* and not to *ἄσεία*, to Generation and not to Eternal or Immutable Essence, as they are also joyned with the Generation of the World, as being but a Part thereof. Neither is this at all to be wondred at in Plato, since first the whole *Visible World*, was no less to him, than it was to the other Pagans, a God; he calling it *θεὸν ἁδαιμονία*, a *Happy God*, and before it was yet Made, *θεὸν ἐσόμενον*, a *God about to be Made*. Not as if Plato accompted the Senseless Matter of this Corporeal World, whether as perfectly Dead and Stupid, or as endued with a Plastick Nature only, to be a God, (for no Inanimate thing was a God to Plato) but because he supposed the World to be an *Animal*, endued with an Intellectual Soul, and indeed the best of all Animals compounded of Soul and Body, *ἕτως ἔν δὲ καὶ λόγον ἔ* P. 302  
*εἰκότα δ' εἰ λέγειν, τὸνδε ἔ καὶ μόνον, ζῶον ἐμψυχον ἔννεον τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τῆ*  
*θεῶν γένεσιν περιένοιαν.* Wherefore we are thus according to Probability to conclude, that this World was really made by the Providence of God, an Intellectual Animal; whence from an Animal forthwith it became a God. So that here we are to take notice, of Two Gods in Plato, very different from one another, One a Generated God, this whole World Animated, and another that God, by whose Providence this World was Generated, and thus made an Animal and a God; which latter must needs be an *Unmade, Self-existent Deity*, and not belong to *ἄθεος* but to *ἄσεία*, not to Generation but to *Immutable Essence*. Again those greater Parts of the World, the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, (as supposed also to be Animated with Particular Souls of their own) were as well accompted by Plato, as by the other Pagans, Gods, he plainly calling them there *ὁρατοὶ καὶ γυνήτοιοι θεοὶ*, *Visible and Generated Gods*. Besides which *Celestial Gods*, the Earth it self also is supposed by him, to be either a God or Goddess, according to those Ancient Copies of the *Timæus*, used both by Cicero and Proclus: *γῆν δὲ, τερφὸν μὲν ἡμετέ*  
*ρον, εἰς μὲν ἡμετέρον ἢ ἄλλοι ἢ διὰ παντὸς πόλον τεταμμένον, φύλακα καὶ διμμερόν*  
*νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐμμηχανήσατο, πρῶτον καὶ πρεσβυτάτῳ θεῶν ὅσοι εἰς τὴν ἔραν*  
*γενόμεσι.* God Fabricated the Earth also, which is our Nurse, turning round upon the Axis of the World, and thereby causing and maintaining the Succession of Day and Night, the First and Oldest of all the Gods, Generated within the Heavens. Where since that Philosopher seems the rather to make the Earth an Animal and a God, because of its *Diurnal Circumgyration* upon its own Axis, we may conclude that afterwards when in his old age, (as Plutarch records from Theophrastus) he gave entertainment also to that other part of the *Pythagorick Hypothesis*, and attributed to the Earth a *Planetary Annual Motion* likewise about the Sun, (from whence it would follow, that as Plotinus expresseth it, the Earth was *ἐν τῇ ἄστρων*, one of the Stars) he was therefore still so much the more inclin'd, to think the Earth to be a God as well as the other Planets, or at least as the Moon; that having been formerly represented in the *Orphick Tradition*, but as another *Habitable Earth*. For these Verses of Orpheus, are recorded by Proclus, to that purpose;

μήποτε δ' ἄλλω γαῖαν ἀπέθετον, ἣν τε σελήνῳ  
 Ἀθάνατοι κλήζουσιν, Ἐπιχθόνιοι δὲ τε μήνῳ,  
 ἢ πολλ' ἕρε' ἔχει, πόλλ' ἄστρα, πολλὰ μέλαθρα.

The sense whereof is this; That God in the *Cosmogonia* or *Cosmopœia*, besides this Earth of ours, fabricated also another Vast Earth, which the Immortal Gods call Selene, but mortal men Mene, or the Moon; that hath many Hills and Vallies, many Cities and Houses in it. From whence Proclus, though as it seems a Stranger to the Pythagorick System, yet being much addicted to these Orphick Traditions, concluded the Moon to be, γῆν αἰθερίαν, an Ethereal Earth.

See Macrobius.  
 Som. Scip. L. I.  
 c. 11.

After all this, Plato, that he might be thought to omit nothing in his *Timean Cosmogonia*, speaks also of the *Genesis*, *Ortus* or *Generation* of the *Poetick Gods*, under the name of *Demons*, such as *Tethys* and *Phorcys*, *Saturn* and *Rhea*, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and the like; which seem to be really nothing else, but the other *Inanimate Parts* of the World and *Things of Nature* θεοποιήματα, that is, *Fictionally Personated and Deified* (as is elsewhere declared.) Which whole business was a Thing set off by those Poets with much *Fiction* and *Physiological Allegory*. And though Plato, out of a seeming compliance with the Laws of his City, pretends here to give credit to this *Poetick Theogonia*, as Tradition delivered down from the *Sons of the Gods*, who must not be supposed to have been ignorant of their Parents; yet as *Eusebius* well observeth, he doth but all the while slyly jeer it, plainly insinuating the *Fabulosity* thereof, when he affirmeth it to have been introduced not only ἀνά ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων without necessary Demonstrations, but also ἀνά εἰκότων, without so much as Probabilities. Nevertheless Proclus suspecting no such matter, but taking Plato in all this, to have been in very good earnest, interprets these *Poetick Gods* or *Demons* mentioned by him, to be the *Gods below the Moon*, (notwithstanding that the Earth was mentioned before by Plato) calling them γυναικίους θεούς, the *Gods that cause Generation*, and seeming to understand thereby the *Animated Elements*; *Jupiter* being here not taken, as he is often elsewhere, for the *Supreme God*, but only for the *Animated Ether*, as *Juno* for the *Animated Air*. And upon this occasion, he runs out into a long Dispute, to prove, that not only the Stars were Animated, but also all the other *Sublunary Bodies* or *Elements*: εἰ γὰρ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος θεός διδαιμάν ἔστι ἔθεν ἔστι τῶ συμπληθέντων αὐτῶν μορίων, ἄθεον, καὶ ἀπρονόητον, εἰ ἢ καὶ θεὸς πάντα μετέχει καὶ προνοίας, θεῶν ἔλαχε φύσιν, εἰ ἢ τῶτο, καὶ οἰκείαι τάξεις θεῶν ἐφεισήλασιν αὐτοῖς, εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἕρσενός διὰ μέσων ψυχῶν καὶ νόων μετέχει τῆς μᾶς ψυχῆς, καὶ τῶ ἐνός νῆς, τί χεῖν ὦλε τῶτων οἰεσθαι τῆς σοφείων· πᾶς ἢ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ταῦτα διὰ δὴ τινῶν μέσων θεῶν τάξεων μετέειληχε τῆς μᾶς τῶ κόσμου θεότητος. For if the whole World be a Happy God, then none of the Parts of it are Godless, or devoid of Providence; but if all things partake of God and Providence, then are they not unfurnished of the Divine Nature, and if so, there must be some peculiar Orders of Gods presiding over them. For if the Heavens by reason of particular Souls and Minds, partake of that one Soul and one Mind; why should we not conclude the same, concerning the Elements, that they also by certain

p. 287.

certain intermedious Orders of Gods, partake of that One Divinity of the whole World. Wherefore a little before, the same Proclus highly condemns, certain Ancient Physiologers, whom he supposeth Aristotle to have followed: πολλοῖς τῶν φυσιολόγων ἀψυχα εἰκὴ φερόμενα, καὶ ἀπρονόητα ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα νερόμισο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἕρνια διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τάξιν, ἢ ἐν καὶ θεῶν μετέχειν ἀμιολόγουν, τὴν δὲ γῆν, ὡς πολυμετέωρον, καὶ ἀόριστον, καὶ ἀπρονόητον ἀπέλιπον, οἷα δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὕπερον ἐδόξασε, ταῖς ἕρνιας περιφοραῖς μόνως ὀπισθίσας, τὰς ἀκινήτας αἰτίας· εἴτε οὕτω εἶεν, εἴτε πλείους· ἀψυχα δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα ταῦτα καταλείπων· The Elements were thought by most of the Ancient Physiologers to be Inanimate, and to be moved Fortuitously without Providence. For though they acknowledged the Heavenly Bodies, by reason of that Order that appears in them, to partake of Mind and Gods; yet they left this Sublunary World (or Genesis) to Float up and down without Providence. And these Aristotle afterwards followed, appointing immoveable Intelligences to preside over the Celestial Spheres only, (whether Eight or more) but leaving all the lower Elements Dead and Inanimate

Lastly, besides all those other Mundane Gods before mentioned, as Generated together with the World, though Proclus seem to be of another Opinion, yet it is manifest that Plato doth not there in his *Timæus*, altogether forget those properly called Demons (elsewhere so much insisted upon by him) but in the very next following words, he plainly insinuates them, after this manner; ὅσοι φαίνονται καὶ ὅσον ἂν ἐθέλωσι θεοὶ, the Gods which appear visibly to us as often as they please, or which can appear and disappear at pleasure, speaking also of their Genesis or Generation as part of the *Cosmogonia*; and then again afterwards calling them νεοὶ θεοὶ, Junior Gods, he describes them as those, whose particular Office it was, to superintend and preside over Humane Affairs, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα τὸ θνητὸν διακυβερεῖν ζῶον, ὅτι μὴ κακῶν αὐτὸ ἕαυτῷ γίγνοιτο αἴτιον, and to govern this mortal Animal, Man, after the best manner possible, so that he should no otherwise fail of doing well or being happy, than as he became a cause of Evil and Misery to himself, by the abuse of his own Liberty.

And thus much out of Plato's *Timæus*; but the same thing might be proved also out of his other Writings, as particularly from that Passage in his Tenth Book of Laws, where he takes notice again of the *Theogonia* of the Ancients, and that as it had been depraved and corrupted by a great mixture of Impious and Immoral Fables. Ἔσιν ἡμῖν ἐν γραμμασι λόγοι κείμενοι. οἱ μὲν ἐν ποι μέτροις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀνδ' ἑτέροις· λέγοντες αὐτὴν θεῶν, οἱ μὲν παλαιότατοι, ὡς γέγονεν ἢ πρώτη φύσις ἕρνης τῶν τε ἄλλων· προϊόντες δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ πολλῆς θεογονίαν διεξέερχονται, γυμνασμοὶ τε ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμιλιῶσαν· There are, saith he, extant amongst us Athenians, certain stories and traditions, very ancient, concerning the Gods, written partly in Metre and partly in Prose, declaring how the Heaven, and the other Gods were at first made, or Generated, and then carrying on their fabulous *Theogonia* farther, how these Generated Gods, afterward conversed with one another, and ingendring after the manner of men, begat other Gods. Where that Philosopher taking off his vizard, plainly discovers his great dislike of that whole *Fabulous Theogonia* (however he acknowledges elsewhere

elsewhere that it did contain ὑπονοίας, that is, *Physiological Allegories* under it) as a thing that was destructive of all Piety and Vertue, by reason of its attributing all Humane Passions and Vices to the Gods. However it plainly appears from hence, that the *Theogonia* and the *Cosmogonia* were one and the same thing, the *Generation of the Gods* being here, the *Generation of the Heaven*, and of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the like.

Moreover this same thing is sufficiently manifest also, even from *Hesiod's own Theogonia*, which doubtless was that which *Plato* principally aimed at, and if it were not absolutely the First, yet is it the most ancient Writing now extant, in that kind. For there in the beginning of that Poem, *Hesiod* invokes his Muses after this manner;

Χαίρετε Πικνα Δίος, δότι ἡ ἱμερρέσαν ἀοιδίῳ·  
 κλειέτε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἔόντων,  
 οἱ γῆς ἐξεργάζοντο καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀσερδέντος,  
 νυκτὸς ἢ ἠνοφερῆς, ὅς δ' ἀλμυρὸς ἔτρεφε πόντος.  
 εἰπατέ δ' ἄς τοι πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα γέγοντο,  
 καὶ ποταμοὶ, καὶ πόντος ἀπέριτος οἰδμοσσι θύων,  
 ἄστρά τε λαμπρόντα, καὶ οὐρανοῦ δόρυς ὑψέθεν,  
 οἱ τ' ἔα γῆν ἐργάζοντο θεοὶ δατήρες ἑσών.

*Salvete natae Jovis, date verò amabilem cantilenam :*  
*Celebrate quoq; immortalium divinum genus semper existentium,*  
*Qui Tellure prognati sunt, Cælo stellato,*  
*Noctèq; caliginosâ, quos item salsus nutritiv Pontus.*  
*Dicite insuper, ut primùm Dii & Terra facti fuerint,*  
*Et Flumina, & Pontus immensus æstu fervens,*  
*Astraq; fulgentia, & Cælum latum supernè,*  
*Et qui ex his nati sunt Dii datores bonorum.*

Where we see plainly, that the *Generation of the Gods*, is the *Generation of the Earth, Heaven, Stars, Seas, Rivers*, and other things begotten from them (as probably amongst the rest Demons and Nymphs which the same *Hesiod* speaks of elsewhere.) But immediately after this Invocation of the Muses, the Poet begins with *Chaos* and *Tartara* and *Love*, as the First Principles, and then proceeds to the Production of the Earth, and of *Night* out of *Chaos*; of the *Ether* and of *Day* from *Night*; of the *Starry Heavens, Mountains* and *Seas*, &c. All which *Genesis* or *Generation of Gods* is really nothing but a Poetical Description of the *Cosmogonia*: as throughout the Sequel of that whole Poem, all seems to be *Physiology*, veiled under *Fiction* and *Allegories*. And thus the Ancient *Scholia* upon that Book begin, ἴσθον ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἡ θεογονίας λόγος φυσικὴν διήγησιν γῆς ὄντων ὑπαγορεύει, we must know, that the whole Doctrine of the *Theogonia*, contains under it, in way of *Allegory*, a *Physiological Declaration of things*. *Hesiod's* Gods being not only the Animated Parts of the World, but also all the other Things of Nature, fictitiously Personated and Deified, or Abusively called Gods and Goddesses.

Neither



De Psychog.  
Plat. P. 1013.  
P.

λυπέμενοι, πάντα μηχανῶνται, ἢ διαβιάζονται ἢ σρέφουσιν, ὡς τι δεινὸν καὶ ἀρέητον οἰόμενοι δεῖν διακαλύπτειν ἢ ἀρνεῖσθαι, τὴν τε τῷ κόσμῳ τὴν τε τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῆ ἡδέσιν ἢ οὐσῶσιν, ἐκ ἐξ ἀϊδίῳ συνεστάτων, εἶδε τὸ ἀπείρονον χρόνον ἕως ἐχόντων. *The most of Plato's Followers, being infinitely troubled and perplexed in their minds, turn themselves every way, using all manner of Arts, and offering all kind of violence to his Text, as conceiving, that they ought by all means possible, to hide and conceal that Opinion (as insand and detestable) of the Generation of the World, and of the Soul of it, so as not to have continued from Eternity, or through a succession of Infinite Time. Notwithstanding which, we conceive it to be undeniably evident, that Plato in his Timæus, doth assert the Genesis of the World in this sence, to wit of a Temporary Production of it, and as not having existed from Eternity or without Beginning, First, because in the entrance of that Discourse, he opposeth these Two things to one another, τὸ αἰεὶ ὄν, that which alway is, and τὸ γένεσθαι ἔχον, that which is Generated or Made, and therefore in affirming the World to have been Generated, he must needs deny the Eternity thereof. Again, the Question is so punctually stated by him afterwards, as that there is no possibility of any Subterfuge left, πότρου ἢ αἰεὶ χρόσεως ἀρχῶν ἔχων ἐδεμίαν, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρεξάμενος. Whether the World always were, having no Beginning or Generation, or whether it was Made or Generated, having commenced from a certain Epocha? To which the Answer is, γέγονεν, that it was Made or had a Beginning. Moreover this Philosopher, there plainly affirms also, that Time it self was Made, or had a Beginning, χρόνον δ' ἐν μετ' ἐρεως γέγονεν, ἵνα ἅμα χρονιθέτες, ἅμα καὶ λυθῶσιν, ἂν ποτε λύσις τις αὐτῶν γούσται. Time was made together with the Heaven, that being both Generated together, they might be both dissolved together likewise, if at least there should ever be any dissolution of them. Besides which, he plainly declares that before this Orderly World was produced, the Matter of it did move disorderly, πᾶν ὅσον ἢ ὄρατον, ἀδυσχερῶν, ἐκ ἰσυχίαν ἄγον, ἀλλὰ κενόμορον πλημμελῆς καὶ ἀτάκτως, εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας. God taking all that Matter, which was, (not then resting, but moving confusedly and disorderly) he brought it into Order, out of Confusion. Which is no more than if he should have said, God made this World, out of an antecedent Chaos; which, as we said before, was the constant Tradition of the Ancient Pagans. Now as to Authority, we may well conclude, that Aristotle was better able to understand both Plato's Philosophy, and Greek, than any of those Junieur Platonists, who lived hundreds of years after. And yet we are not quite destitute of other Suffrages besides Aristotle's neither, not only Philo the Jew, but also Plutarch and Atticus, who were both of them Platonick Pagans, voting on this side, besides Alexander Aphrodisius a judicious Peripatetick. The only Objection considerable, is from what Plato himself writes in his Third and Sixth Book of Laws. In the former whereof Clinias, and the Athenian Hospes, discourse together after this manner, concerning the Original or First Beginning of Common-wealths: πολιτείας δ' ἀρχῶν τίνα ποτὲ φάμεν γεγονέναι; ΚΑ. λέγεις ἢ πόθεν; ΑΘ. οἶμαι μὲν ἀπὸ χρόνου μήκους τε καὶ ἀπείρας, καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις. ΚΑ. Πᾶς λέγεις; ΑΘ. ἔρεε, ἀφ' ἧς πόλεις τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολιτεύόμενοι, δοκεῖς ἂν ποτε κατὰ*

P. 676. Steph.

κατανοῆσαι χρόνος πλῆθος ὅσον γέγονεν ; κλ. οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔσθλα μῶς. αθ. τὸ δὲ γὰρ ὡς ἀπειρὸν τι καὶ ἀμήχανον ἂν εἴη. κλ. πάντῳ μὲν ἐν τῷ γὰρ. αθ. μῶν γὰρ ἐν ἑ μὲν μὲν ἐπὶ μὲν ἡμῶν γέγονασι πόλεις ἐν τῷ τῷ χρόνῳ ; καὶ αὐτὸν ὃ τὸ πλῆθος λόγον, ἐκ ἐλάττω εὐφραδῶν ; πεπολιδὸν μὲν αὖ πάσας πολιτείας πολλάκις ἐκασαχῶ ; καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἐλατῶν, μείζων, τὸ ἐκ μείζονων, ἐλάττω. καὶ χεῖρος ἐκ βελτιῶν γέγονασι, καὶ βελτίος ἐκ χεῖρων. Ath. *What beginning shall we say there was of Common-wealths ?* Cl. *Whence would your self derive them ?* Ath. *I suppose from a great length and Infinity of time, through Successive Changes.* Cl. *I understand not well what you mean.* Ath. *Thus therefore, Do you think that you are able to determine, what Length or Quantity of Time there hath been since Cities and Politics of Men first began ?* Cl. *This is by no means easie to be done* Ath. *Wherefore there is a kind of Infinity and Inestimability of this time.* Cl. *It is very true.* Ath. *Have there not then been Innumerable Cities constituted within this time, and as many again destroyed, of all several Forms ; they being changed from Greater to Lesser, and from Lesser to Greater, from Better to Worser and from Worser to Better ?* Now we say that if *Plato* intended here, to assert an Absolute Infinity of Time Past, then it must needs be granted, that in his old age, when he wrote his Book of Laws, he changed his Opinion from what it was before when he wrote his *Timæus* ; and if so, he ought in all reason to have retracted the same, which he does not here do. But in very truth, the meaning of this Philosopher, in those words cited, seems to be this ; not that there was an Absolute Infinity of Time past (as *Proclus* contends, taking advantage of that word ἀπερίετα) but only that the World had lasted such a Length of Time, as was in a manner inestimable to us, or uncomputable by us, there having happened, as he addeth, in the mean time, several Successive Destructions and Consumptions of Mankind, by means of various Accidents, as particularly, One most remarkable Deluge and Inundation of Waters. The Latter place, in his Sixth Book of Laws, runs thus ; P. 781.  
 ἢ τῷ ἀνθρώπων ἄρχησι ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἀρχὴν ἔδεξιαν ἔλιχεν, ἔσθ' ἔξει ποτέ γε τελευτήν. ἀλλ' ἦν τε αἰεὶ καὶ ἔσθαι πάντως. ἢ μήκός τι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφ' ἧς γέγονεν, ἀμήχανον ἂν χρόνον ἔσον γεγονὸς ἂν εἴη. *Either the Generation of Men had no Beginning at all, and will have no End, but always was and always will be, or else, there has been an Inestimable Length of Time, from the Beginning of it.* Which place affordeth still more light to the former, for we may well conclude that by ἀπειρὸν τι καὶ ἀμήχανον there, was not meant an *Absolute Infinity* of Time, but only such as had a very remote or distant Beginning, because ἀμήχανον here, is plainly taken in that sense. We conceive therefore, that this was *Plato's* Opinion in his Old Age, when he wrote his Book of Laws, that though the World had a Beginning, yet it had continued a very long Time, not computable by us ; or at least, he thought fit to declare himself after that manner, perhaps by reason of the Clamours of *Aristotle*, or some others against his *Timæus*, that so he might thereby somewhat mollifie that Opinion of the *Novity of the World*, by removing the *Epocha* and Date thereof to so great a distance.

Now it is very true, what we have several times before suggested, that there have been amongst the Pagans, both *Theogonists* and *Cosmogonists*

nists too, that were *Atheists*. They abusing the word *Gods* several ways; Some of them, as *Anaximander*, understanding thereby *Inanimate Worlds* successively Generated out of Senseless Matter, and Corrupted again into it; others, as *Anaximenes* and *Democritus*, allowing that there were certain Animals and Understanding Beings Superior to Men, but such only as were *Native* and *Mortal*, in like manner as Men, and calling these by the Name of *Gods*. Of the former of which Two Philosophers, *St. Austin* gives us this account; *Anaximenes omnes rerum causas Infinito Aeri dedit, nec Deos negavit aut tacuit, non tamen ab ipsis Aerem factum, sed ipsos ex Aere ortos credidit*: *Anaximenes made Infinite Air, to be the first Original and Cause of all things, and yet was he not therefore silent concerning the Gods, much less did he deny them; nevertheless he did not believe the Air to have been Made by the Gods, but the Gods to have been all generated out of the Air*. These were therefore such *Theogonists*, as supposed all the *Gods* without exception, to be *Generable* and *Corruptible*, and acknowledged no *θεόν ἀγέννητον* at all, no Understanding Being *Unmade* and *Self-existent*, but concluded *Senseless Matter* to be the only *ἀγέννητον* and Original of all things, which is *Absolute Atheism*. Notwithstanding which, it is certain that all the *Pagan Theogonists* were not *Atheists*, (no more than all their *Cosmogonists Theists*) but that there was another sort of *Theogonists* amongst them, who supposed indeed all the *Inferiour Mundane Gods* to have been *Made* or *Generated* in one Sence or other, but asserted One *θεόν ἀγέννητον ἢ ἀόριστον*, One *Supreme Unmade Self-existent Deity*, who was the Cause of them all, Which *Theogonists* for distinction sake, from those other *Atheistical ones*; may be called *Divine*.

And that *Plato* was such a *Divine Theogonist*, is a thing as we conceive out of question. But if there had been any doubt concerning it, it would have been sufficiently removed from those Passages before cited out of his *Timæus*. To which nevertheless, for fuller satisfaction sake, may be added these Two which follow. The first, pag. 34. *Ἔτι δὲ πᾶς ὄντι ἀεί λογισμὸς θεῶν, ὅτι ἢ πρὶ ἐσόμενον θεόν λογισθεῖς*. For thus it ought to be read *ὄντι*, as it is also in *Aldus* his Edition, and not *όντως*, as in *Stevens*, following an error in that of *Ficinus*. And accordingly the words are thus rendred by *Cicero*, *Hæc Deus is qui Semper erat, de Aliquando Futuro Deo cogitans, levem eum effecit, & undique æquabilem, &c.* This was the *Ratiocination* or *Resolution* of that *God, which Always Is*, concerning that *God which was sometime about to be made*; that he should be *Smooth* and *Spherical*, &c. Where again, it presently follows in *Cicero's* Version, *Sic Deus ille Æternus, Hunc Perfectè Beatum Deum procreavit*, Thus that *Eternal God, procreated this perfectly Happy God, the World*. Where there is plainly mention made, of *Two Gods*, one a *Generated God*, the *Animated World*, called elsewhere in *Plato* *θεῖον ζωννιστόν*, and another *Eternal and Unmade God, Innatus & Insectus Deus*, who was the Cause of the *Worlds Generation* or *Production*. Or to keep close to *Plato's* own Language, One *God* who belonged to *Genesis*, or that head of Being which he calls *Generation*, and therefore must needs have an Antecedent Cause of his Existence; since nothing can be *Made* without a Cause; and

and another God, that was truly and properly *ἄσῳα*, *Immutable Essence*, who was the Cause of that *Generated God*, the *Universe*, and therefore of All things. The other Passage of *Plato's* is pag. 41. of his *Timæus*, ἐπεὶ ἐν πάντες ὅσοι τε ὠκυπολοῦσαι φανεραῖς ἢ ὅσοι φαίνονται καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἐθέλωσι θεοὶ, γέσων ἔχον, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὰς ὁ τὸδε τὸ πᾶν γυνήσας, τὰδε, θεοὶ θεῶν ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργός, πάσης τε ἔργων, ἃ δι' ἐμῆ γυρόμενα. When therefore all the Gods, both those which move visibly about the Heavens, and those which appear to us as often as they please (that is both the Stars & Demons) were Generated or Created; that God which made this whole Universe, bespake these Generated Gods, after this manner, Ye Gods of Gods (whom I myself am the Maker and Father of) attend. Where the words θεοὶ θεῶν, notwithstanding *Proclus* his other differing conjectures, seem to have been very well rendred by *Cicero*, *Dii qui Deorum Satu orti estis*, Ye Gods which are the Progeny or Off-spring of the Gods. And the Gods whose Off-spring these Generated Gods (the Animated Stars and Demons) are said to be, must needs be those αἰδίοι θεοὶ, those Eternal Gods, elsewhere mentioned in the same *Timæus*, as where the Philosopher calls the World, τῆς αἰδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἀγαλμα, a Generated or Created Image of the Eternal Gods; as *Cicero* also is to be understood of these, when he speaks of the Worlds being Made by The Gods, and by the Counsel of The Gods. Now these Eternal Gods of *Plato*, called by his Followers θεοὶ ὑπερκόμοι, the Supramundane Gods, though according to that stricter Notion of the word γέσεις, as it is used both in *Plato* and *Aristotle*, for a Temporary Production of things ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων, they were indeed all ἀγέννητοι, because they never were not, and had no beginning of their Existence: yet notwithstanding were they not therefore supposed by that Philosopher, to be all αὐτόγονοι and αὐθυπόστατοι so many Self-originated and Self-subsistent Beings, or First Principles, but only One of them such; and the rest derived from that One: it being very true, as we conceive, what *Proclus* affirms, ὅτι ὁ Πλάτων ἐπιμίαν ἀρχὴν ἀνάγει πάντα, That *Plato* reduces all things to One Principle, even Matter it self; but unquestionable, that he deriveth all his Gods from One. Wherefore all those Eternal Gods of *Plato* (One only excepted) though they were not γέννητοι or Generated in one sence, that is ἐκ χερόνων, as to a Temporary beginning, yet were they notwithstanding as *Proclus* distinguisheth, γέννητοι ἀπ' αἰτίας, Generated in another sence, as produced from a Superiour Cause, there being only One such ἀγέννητος One Ingenerate or Unproduced Deity. Thus according to *Plato*, there were Two sorts of Secondary or Inferiour and Derivative Gods, First the θεοὶ ἐκόμοι or Mundane Gods, such as had all of them a Temporary Generation with the World, and of whom *Plato's* Theogonia and γέσεις θεῶν is properly to be understood; And Secondly the ὑπερκόμοι and αἰδίοι θεοὶ, the Supramundane and Eternal Gods, which were all of them also, save only One, produced from that One, and dependent on it as their Cause. But of these Inferiour Eternal Gods, of the Platonists and Pythagoreans, we are to speak again afterwards. In the mean time it is evident, that in that Passage of *Plato's* before-cited, there is plain mention made, both of θεοὶ γέσων ἔχοντες, of *Dii Orti*, Gods who were made or Generated with the World, and of ὁ τὸδε τὸ πᾶν γυνήσας, of One God who was the maker of them, and of the Whole Universe, who therefore is himself every way ἀγέννητος Unmade or Unproduced.

In *Timæus*. p. 116

And accordingly he afterwards subjoyns, *ὃ δὲ μὲν διὰ τὰ πάντα διατάξας, ἔμεινεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τέλει ἕξει. μὲν δὲ οἱ νοήσαντες οἱ παῖδες τῷ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ τῷ, ἐπέδοτο αὐτῷ* which Cicero thus renders, *Atque is quidem (Deus) qui cuncta composuit, constanter in suo manebat statu, qui autem erant ab eo creati (Dii) cum Parentis ordinem cognovissent, hunc sequebantur, &c.* Then that God who framed all things, remained constantly in his former State; and his Sons, or the Gods that were Created by him, observed his Order and Appointment.

Neither was Plato singular in this, but the Generality of the other Pagan Theists who were more Intelligent, all along agreed with him herein, as to the Generation of the Mundane Gods, and so were both Theists and Theogonists, they indeed understanding nothing else by their Theogonia or Generation of Gods, than a Divine Cosmogonia or Creation of the World by God; forasmuch as they supposed the World it self as Animated, and its several Parts, to be Gods. So that they asserted these Three Things, First a Cosmogonia the Generation of the World, that it was not from Eternity, but had a Novity or Beginning. Secondly, that this Cosmogonia or Generation of the World, was also a Theogonia or Generation of Gods, the World it self and several of its Parts Animated being esteemed such. And Lastly, that both these Gods and the World, were Made and Produced by One θεὸς ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀτορυχὸς, One Unproduced and Self-originated Deity. All which Particulars, we may here briefly exemplifie in P. Ovidius Naso, whose Paganity sufficiently appears, from his *Fastorum* and all his other Writings, and who also went off the Stage, before Christianity appeared on it, and may well be presumed, to represent the then generally received Doctrine of the Pagans. First therefore, as for the Generation and Novity of the World, and its First Production out of a Chaos, we have it fully acknowledged by him in these following Verses.

*Metam. l. 1.*

*Ante Mare & Terras, &, quod tegit omnia, Cælum,  
Unus erat toto Naturæ Vultus in orbe,  
Quem dixere Chaos; rudis indigestaque moles,  
Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners, congestaque eodem  
Non benè junctarum discordia semina rerum.  
Nullus adhuc mundo præbebat Lumina Titan,  
Nec nova crescendo reparabat cornua Phebe,  
Nec circumfuso pendebat in æere Tellus,  
Ponderibus librata suis; nec brachia longo  
Margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite.  
Quaque erat & Tellus, &c.*

Which in Mr. Sandys his English, with some little alteration, speaks thus:

*Before that Sea and Earth and Heaven was fram'd,  
One face had Nature which they Chaos nam'd.  
No Titan yet the World with Light adorns,  
Nor waxing Phebe fills her wained Horns;*

Nor

*Nor hung the self-poiz'd Earth in thin Air plac'd,  
Nor Amphitrite the vast shore embrac'd;  
Earth, Air and Sea Confounded, &c.*

In the next place, when there was a *World* made out of this *Chaos*, that this *Cosmogonia* or *Generation* of the *World*, was also a *Theogonia* or *Generation* of *Gods*, is plainly intimated in these Verses.

*Non Regio foret ulla suis Animalibus orba,  
Astra tenent caeleste solum, Formæque Deorum.*

To this fence,

*That nought of Animals might unfurnish'd lie,  
The Gods, in Form of Stars, possess the Skie.*

And that all this was effected, and this *Orderly Mundane System* produced out of a disorderly confused *Chaos*, not by a *Fortuitous Motion* of *Matter*, or the *Jumbling* of *Atoms*, but by the *Providence* and *Command* of *One Unmade Deity*, which was also that that furnish'd all the several *Parts* of the *World* with respective *Animals*; the *Sea* with *Fishes*, the *Earth* with *Men*, and the *Heaven* with *Gods*; is thus declared also by the *Poet*;

*Hanc Deus & Melior litem Natura diremit,  
Nam Cælo Terras, & Terris abscidit Undas:  
Et liquidum spisso secrevit ab Aere Cælum, &c.  
Sic ubi dispositam, Quisquis fuit Ille Deorum,  
Congeriem secuit, sectamque in membra redegit;  
Principio terram, nè non æqualis ab omni  
Parte foret, magni speciem glomeravit in orbis:  
Tum freta diffudit, rapidisque tumescere ventis  
Fussit, &c.  
Sic onus inclusum, numero distinxit eodem  
Cura Dei, &c.*

*This Strife (with Better Nature) God decides,  
He Earth from Heaven, the Sea from Earth divides:  
He Ether pure extracts from Groffer Air.  
All which unfolded by His Prudent Care,  
From that blind Mass; the happily disjoyn'd  
With strifeless peace, He to their seats confin'd, &c.  
What God soever this Division wrought,  
And every part to due proportion brought,  
First lest the Earth unequal should appear,  
He turn'd it round in figure of a Sphere.  
Then Seas diffus'd, Commanding them to roar  
With ruffling Winds, and give the Land a shore.  
To those he added Springs, Ponds, Lakes immense,  
And Rivers whom their winding borders fence.*

Where

Where though that learned Paraphrast, supposed (and not without some probability neither) that *Deus & Melior Natura*, *God and the Better Nature*, were one and the self same thing, yet we rather conceived them to be distinct, but one of them subordinate to the other as its Instrument, *God and the Plastick Nature*, accordingly as *Aristotle* writes in his *Physicks*, Νῆς κ' ἐφύμις αὐτίον τῆδε τῆ παντός, *That Mind and Nature, were both together, the Cause of this Universe.*

Nevertheless we cannot but observe in this place, that though that Poet speak more than once of *God Singularly*, as also calls him *Mundi Fabricator*, and *Ille Opifex Rerum*, and *Mundi melioris Origo*, yet notwithstanding, where he writes of the making of Man, Pagan-like, he affirms him, though to have been made by God, yet according to the *Image or Likeness of The Gods, which govern all things.*

*Sanctius his Animal, mentisque capacius alta  
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cetera posset :  
Natus homo est : sive hunc divino semine fecit,  
Ille Opifex rerum, mundi melioris Origo :  
Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto  
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cæli.  
Quam satus Iapeto, mistam fluvialibus undis,  
Finxit in effigiem Moderantum cuncta Deorum.*

*The Nobler Being, with a Mind possess'd,  
Was wanting yet, that should command the rest.  
That Maker, the best Worlds Original,  
Either him fram'd of seed Celestial ;  
Or Earth which late he did from Heaven divide,  
Some sacred seeds retain'd to Heaven allied :  
Which with the living stream Prometheus mixt,  
And in that Artificial Structure fixt,  
The Form of all the All-ruling Deities.*

And because some may probably be puzzled with this seeming Contradiction, that *One God* should be said to be the *Maker of the whole World and of Man*, and yet the *Government of all* should be attributed to *Gods, Plurally* ; and *Man* said to be made in the *Image and Likeness of the Gods* ; we shall therefore add here, that according to the tenor of the *Pagan Theology*, the *Inferiour and Minor Gods* were supposed also, to have all of them, their several share in the *Government of things* below them : For which cause they are called not only by *Maximus Tyrinus* συνάρχοντες θεῶν, *Co-rulers with God*, but also by *Plato* himself, τὰ μέγιστα δ' αὐτοῖσι συνάρχοντες, *the Co-governours and Co-reigners with the Supreme God.* So that the *Government of this Inferiour World*, was by the Pagans often attributed to them joyntly, the *Supreme and Inferiour Gods* both together, under that one general name of *Gods*. But the chief of those *Inferiour Deities*, in whose *Image* Man is also said to have been made, as well as in the *Likeness of the Supreme*, were either those *Celestial Gods and Animated Stars*, before mentioned by the Poet, or else the *Eternal Gods of Plato*, which were look'd upon likewise as *Co-makers of the World* subordinate.

Besides

Besides *Ovid*, we might instance here in many more of the Pagan Theogonists, clearly acknowledging in like manner *One Unmade Deity*, which Generated both the World, and all the other Gods in it; as for example, *Strabo*, who affirming that the World was  $\tau^{\delta}$  φύσεως ἅμα καὶ τῆς προνοίας ἔργον, *The joint work both of Nature and Providence*, as it was before ascribed by *Ovid*, to *Deus & Melior Natura*; adds concerning *Providence* or the *Deity* in this manner: τὸ δὲ τῆς προνοίας, ὅτι βεβήληται καὶ αὐτὴ ποικιλοτέρα τις ἔσται; καὶ μείζων ἔργων δημιουργός, ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ζῶα γῆναν, ὡς πολὺ διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων; καὶ τῶτων τὰ κρείτιστα θεός τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ὧν ἕνεκεν καὶ τὰ ἅλλα συνέστηκε. τοῖς μὲν ἐν θεοῖς ἀπέδιδξε τὸ ἄρχειν, τοῖς δὲ ἄνθρώποις τὴν γῆν. *That having a multiform Fecundity in it, and delighting in variety of works, it designed principally to make Animals, as the most excellent things, and amongst them chiefly those Two Noblest kinds of Animals, Gods and Men; for whose sakes the other things were made; and then assigned Heaven to the Gods, and Earth to Men, the Two extreme parts of the World, for their respective Habitations.* Thus also *Seneca* in *Lactantius*, speaking concerning God, *Hic cum prima Fundamenta molis pulcherrime jaceret, & hoc ordiretur quo neque majus quicquam novit Natura nec melius; ut omnia sub Ducibus irent, quamvis ipse per totum se corpus intenderat, tamen Ministros regni sui Deos genuit.* *God when he laid the Foundations of this most beautiful Fabrick, and began to erect that Structure, than which Nature knows nothing greater or more excellent; to the end that all things might be carried on under their respective Governours orderly, though he intended Himself through the whole, as to preside in chief over all, yet did he Generate Gods also; as subordinate Ministers of his Kingdom under him.* We shall forbear to mention the Testimonies of others here, because they may be more opportunely inserted elsewhere, only we shall add, as to *Hesiod* and *Homer*, that though they seem to have been sometimes suspected, both by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, for *Atheistick Theogonists*, yet as *Aristotle* did upon maturer thoughts, afterwards change his Opinion concerning both of them, so is it most probable that they were no *Atheists* but *Divine Theogonists*, such as supposed indeed *Many Generated Gods*, but *One Supreme Unmade Deity*, the *Maker both of the World and Them*. And this not only for the Grounds before alledged concerning *Hesiod*, and because both of them do every where affirm, even their *Generated Gods* to be *Immortal*, (which no *Atheists* did) but also for sundry other Reasons, some of which may be more conveniently inserted elsewhere. Moreover it hath been already intimated, that the *Generated Gods* of *Hesiod* and *Homer*, extend farther than those of *Plato's*, they being not only the *Animated Parts of the World*, but also all the other *Things of Nature Fictitiously Personated*, and *Improperly or Abusively called Gods and Goddesses*, whereof a farther account will be afterwards given.

Neither ought it at all to be wondred at, if these *Divine Theogonists* amongst the Pagans, did many times as well as those other *Atheistick ones*, make *Chaos* and the *Ocean*, *Seniour to the Gods*, and *Night* the *Mother of them*. The former of these being not only done by *Hesiod* and *Homer*, but also by the Generality of the ancient Pagan Theists in  
Epichar-

L. 17. p. 809.

*Epicharmus* : and the Latter by *Orpheus* an undoubted *Theist*, in his Hymn of the *Night*,

Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτρεον, αἰέσσομαι, ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδ' ἑῶν ·

*Noctem concebro Genetricem Hominumque Deumque.*

They not understanding this Absolutely and Universally, of all the *Gods* without exception, as the other *Atheistick Theogonists* did, as if there had been no *Unmade Deity* at all, but *Chaos* and *Night*, (that is, *Senseless Matter*, blindly and fortuitously moved) had been the Sole Original of all things, but only of the οἱ θεοὶ, *The Gods*, so called by way of Distinction from *God* or the *Supreme Deity*, that is, the *Inferiour Mundane Gods* Generated together with the *World*. The Reason whereof was, because it was a most ancient and in a manner Universally received Tradition amongst the Pagans, as hath been often intimated, that the *Cosmogonia* or Generation of the *World* took its first Beginning from a *Chaos*, (the *Divine Cosmogonists* agreeing herein with the *Atheistick* ones;) this Tradition having been delivered down, from *Orpheus* and *Linus* (amongst the Greeks) by *Hesiod* and *Homer* and others; acknowledged by *Epicharmus*; and embraced by *Thales*, *Anaxagoras*, *Plato*, and other Philosophers, who were *Theists*: The Antiquity whereof was thus declared by *Euripides*;

οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρος,  
ὡς θεῖνός τε γαῖα τ' ἦν μορφή μία,  
ἔπει δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχως,  
τίκτεσι πάντα, κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος,  
τὰ δένδρα, πῆνὰ, θήρεας, ἔς δ' ἄλμυ τρέφει,  
γένος τε θνητῶν ·

*Non hic Mens, sed Matris est sermo meæ,  
Figura ut Una fuerit & Cæli & Soli,  
Secreta quæ mox ut receperunt Statum,  
Cuncta ediderunt hæc in oras Luminis;  
Feras, Volucres, Arbores, Ponti Gregem,  
Homines quoque ipsos.*

Neither can it reasonably be doubted, but that it was *Originally Mosai- cal*, and indeed at first a *Divine Revelation*, since no man could otherwise pretend to know, what was done before Mankind had any Being. Wherefore those *Pagan Cosmogonists* who were *Theists*, being *Polytheists* and *Theogonists* also, and asserting besides the One *Supreme Unmade Deity*, other *Inferiour Mundane Gods*, Generated together with the *World* (the Chief whereof were the *Animated Stars*) they must needs according to the Tenor of that Tradition, suppose them as to their Corporeal Parts at least, to have been Juniors to *Night* and *Chaos*, and the Off-spring of them, because they were all made out of an Antecedent *Dark Chaos*. Τὴν μυγαλὴν ὀκτεθειάσαι λέγουσιν (saith *Plutarch*) ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τυφλῶ ἔσαν, ὅτι τὸ σκότος τῷ φάτος ἠγένετο παρὰ τούτων ·  
*The Mus Araneus being blind, is said to have been deified by the Egyptian- ans,*

ans, because they thought, that Darkneß was older than Light. And the Cause was the same concerning their Demons likewise, they being conceived to have their Corporeal Vehicula also; for which Cause as Porphyrius from Numenius writeth, the ancient Egyptians pictured them in Ships or Boats floating upon the Water: τὰς ἢ Αἰγυπτίους διὰ τὸ τὸ τὸ δαλμωνὰς ἀπαιτὰς ἐν ἐσάνοι ἐπὶ σφεῶν, ἀλλὰ πλοίας ἐπὶ πλοίας. The Egyptians therefore represented all their Demons, as not standing upon firm Land, but in Ships upon the Water. But as for the Incorporeal Part or Souls of those Inferiour Gods, though these Divine Theogonists could not derive their Original from Chaos or Matter, but rather from that other Principle called Love, as being Divinely Created, and so having God for their Father, yet might they notwithstanding, in another sence, phancy Night to have been their Mother too, inasmuch as they were all made ἐξ ἐν ὄντων, from an antecedent Non-existence or Nothing, brought forth into Being. For which Cause there seems to have been in Orpheus, a Dialogue betwixt the Maker of the World and Night. For that this ancient Cabala, which derived the Cosmogonia from Chaos and Love, was at first Religious and not Atheistical, and Love understood in it not to be the Off-spring of Chaos; may be concluded from hence, because this Love as well as Chaos, was of a Mosaiical Extraction also, and plainly derived from that Spirit of God, which is said in the Scripture, To have moved upon the waters, that is, upon the Chaos: whether by this Spirit be to be meant God Himself, as acting immediatly upon the Matter, or some other Active Principle derived from God and not from Matter (as a Mundane Soul or Plastic Nature.) From whence also it came, that as Porphyrius testifieth, the ancient Pagans thought the Water to be Divinely inspired, ἠγόντο γὰρ προσελάειν τὰ ὕδατι τὰς ψυχὰς θεοπνοῶ ὄντι ὡς φησὶν ὁ Νουμηνίου διατὸ λέγων ἢ τὸ προσφάτω εἰρηπνεύει, ἐμφέρεσθαι ἐπάνω τῷ ὕδατος θεῶν πνεύματι. They thought that Souls attended upon the Water or resorted thereunto, as being Divinely Inspired, as Numenius writeth, adding the Prophet also, therefore to have said, That the Spirit of God moved upon the Water.

De Aut. Nymph. p. 256.

And that this Cabala was thus understood by some of the ancient Pagan Cosmogonists themselves, appears plainly, not only from Simmias Rhodius and Parmenides, but also from these following Verses of Orpheus, or whoever was the Writer of those Argonauticks, undoubtedly ancient, where Chaos and Love are thus brought in together;

Πρῶτα μὲν ἀρχαῖς χάος μελίφρον ὕμνον,  
ὣς ἐπάμειψε φύσεως, ὡς τ' ἑρανοῦ εἰς πέρας ἦλθε,  
Γῆς τ' ἀεστεροῦ χέου, πηλιδυρὰ τε θαλάσσης,  
Προσφύτατόν τε ἢ αὐτοτελή πολὺμντιν ἔρωτα,  
Ὅσα τ' ἔφυκεν ἀπαιτὰ, δέκενε δ' ἄλλον ἀπ' ἄλλο.

P. 17. Ed. Steph.

To this Sence; We will first sing a pleasant and delightful Song, concerning the ancient Chaos, how Heaven, Earth and Seas, were framed out of it, as also concerning that Much-wise and Sagacious Love, The Oldest of all, and Self-perfect, which actively produced all these things, separating one thing from another. Where this Love is not only called πολὺμντις of Much-counsel or Sagaciousness, which implies it to have been

been

Lib. I. c. 6. p.  
849.

been a *Substantial and Intellectual Thing*, but also *πρεσβύτατος* the *Oldest of all*, and therefore *Senior to Chaos*, as likewise *αὐτοτελής*, *Self-perfect or Self-originated*. From whence it is manifest, that according to the *Orphick Tradition*, this *Love* which the *Cosmogonia* was derived from, was no other than the *Eternal Unmade Deity* (or an *Active Principle* depending on it) which produced this whole *Orderly World*, and all the *Generated Gods* in it, as to their *Material part*, out of *Chaos* and *Night*. Accordingly as *Aristotle* determines in his *Metaphysics*, not only in the place before-cited, but also afterward; *ἔτι ἐπι δε τινας, ὄθεν ἢ ἀρχῆ τῆ κινήσεως, ὅσοι ἢ Νῦν ἢ Ἐξῶτα ποιεῖσιν ἀρχῶ*. *Others, besides the Material Cause of the World, assign an Efficient, or Cause of Motion, namely whosoever make, either Mind (and Intellect) or Love a Principle*. Wherefore we conclude that that other *Atheistick Cabala*, or *Aristophanick Tradition* before-mentioned, which accordingly as *Aristotle* also, elsewhere declareth concerning it, did *ἐκ νυκτὸς πάντα γεννᾶν*, *Generate all things whatsoever, even the Gods themselves universally out of Night and Chaos*, making *Love* it self likewise, to have been produced from an *Egg of the Night*. I say, that this was nothing else but a mere *Depravation* of the ancient *Mosaick Cabala*, as also an *Absolutely Impossible Hypothesis*, it deriving all things whatsoever in the *Universe*, besides the *Bare Substance of Senseless Matter*, in another *Sence* then that before-mentioned, out of *Non-entity or Nothing*; as shall be also farther manifested afterwards.

We have now represented the *Sence* and generally received *Doctrine* of the ancient *Pagan Theologers*, that there was indeed a *Multiplicity of Gods*, but yet so that *One* of them only was *ἀγέννητος*, *Ingenerate or Unmade*, by whom all the other *Gods* together with the *World* were *Made*, so as to have had a *Novity of Being* or a *Temporary Beginning* of their *Existence*. *Plato* and the *Pythagoreans* here only differing from the rest in this, that though they acknowledged the *World* and all the *Mundane Gods*, to have been *Generated* together in *Time*, yet they supposed certain other *Intelligible and Supramundane Gods* also, which however produced from one *Original Deity*, were nevertheless *Eternal* or without *Beginning*. But now we must acknowledge, that there were amongst the *Pagan Theists* some of a different persuasion from the rest, who therefore did not admit of any *Theogonia* in the *sence* before declared, that is, any *Temporary Generation* of *Gods*, because they acknowledged no *Cosmogonia*, no *Temporary Production* of the *World*, but concluded it to have been from *Eternity*.

That *Aristotle* was one of these, is sufficiently known, whose *Inferior Gods* therefore, the *Sun, Moon and Stars*, must needs be *ἀγγύνητοι* or *Ingenerate*, in this *sence*, so as to have had no *Temporary Production*, because the *Whole World* to him was such. And if that *Philosopher* be to be believed, himself was the very *First*, at least, of all the *Greeks*, who asserted this *Ingenerateness* or *Eternity* of the *World*, he affirming that all before him, did *γεννᾶν τὸ κόσμον*, and *κοσμοποιεῖν*, *Generate or Make the World*, that is attribute a *Temporary Production* to it, and consequently to all those *Gods* also, which were a *Part* thereof. Notwithstanding

standing which, the Writer *de Placitis Philosophorum*, and *Sto- baeus*, impute this Dogma of the *Worlds Eternity*, to certain others of the Greek Philosophers before *Aristotle*, (besides *Ocellus Lucanus*, who is also acknowledged by *Philo* to have been an assertor thereof.) And indeed *Epicharmus*, though a Theist, seems plainly to have been of this Perswasion, that the World was *Unmade*, as also that there was no *Theogonia* nor *Temporary Production* of the *Inferiour Gods*, from these Verses of his, according to *Grotius* his Correction.

ἌΜ' αἰεὶ τοὶ θεοὶ παρήσαν, ὑπέλιπον δ' ἔσ' πάποκα·  
 τὰδε δ' αἰεὶ πάρεσθ' ὁμοία, διὰ ἣ τῆ' αὐτῆ' αἰεὶ·  
 Ἄλλὰ λέγωμαι μὲν χάθ' πρῶτον γένησθαι τῆ' θεῶν·  
 Πῶς ἢ; ἀμάχανον γ' ἀπὸ μηδὲ τίνος ὃ, τι πρῶτον μῶλοι·  
 οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμολε πρῶτον εἶδεν, εἶδ' ἄρ' ἀπὸ δὲ δεύτερον,  
 τῶν δ' ἔ γ' ὦν ἄμμες νῦν λέγομεν ὅδ' εἶναι μέλλει τὰδε.

*Excerpt p. 478.*

*Nempe Di semper fuerunt, atque nunquam intercedunt :  
 Hæc quæ dico semper nobis rebus in iisdem se exhibent.  
 Exstitisse sed Deorum Primum perhibetur Chaos :  
 Quinam verò ? nam de nihilo nil pote primum existere.  
 Ergo nec Primum profecto quicquam, nec fuit Alierum :  
 Sed quæ nunc sic appellantur, alia fient postmodum.*

Where, though he acknowledges this to have been the *General Tradition* of the ancient *Theists*, That *Chaos* was before the *Gods*, and that the *Inferior Mundane Gods*, had a *Temporary Generation* or *Production* with the *World*, yet notwithstanding does he conclude against it, from this Ground of Reason, because *Nothing could procede from Nothing*, and therefore, both the *Gods*, and indeed whatsoever else is *Substantial* in the *World*, was from *Eternity Unmade*, only the *Fashion* of things having been altered.

Moreover *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, the *Chaldeans* likewise to have asserted this Dogma of the *Worlds Eternity*, οἱ δ' ἐν χαλδαίοι τιμῶ μὲν τῆ νό-  
 ρως φύσιν ἀίδιον φασι εἶναι, καὶ μήτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένησθαι ἐχρηκέναι, μήτ' ὑστερον  
 φθορῆν ἐπιδέξασθαι. *The Chaldeans affirm, the Nature of the World to be*  
*Eternal, and that it was neither Generated from any Beginning, nor will*  
*ever admit Corruption.* Who, that they were not *Atheists* for all that  
 (no more than *Aristotle*) appears from those following words of that  
*Historiographer*, τὴν τε τῆ' ὅλων τάξιν τε καὶ διακόσμησιν, θεῶν τινα προνοία  
 γεγονέναι, καὶ νῦν ἕκαστα τῆ' εἰ ἐρανοῦ γινόμενων, εἶχ' ὡς ἐτυχεν, εἶδ' αὐτομά-  
 τως, ἀλλ' ἀριστομένη τι καὶ βεβαίας κινεσθῆναι θεῶν κρείσει, συντελεῖσθαι.  
*They believe also, that the Order and Disposition of the World, is by a*  
*certain Divine Providence, and that every One of those things which*  
*come to pass in the Heavens, happens not by chance, but by a certain de-*  
*terminate and firmly ratified Judgment of the Gods.* However, it is a  
 thing known to all, that the *Generality* of the later *Platonists* stiffly  
 adhered to *Aristotle* in this, neither did they onely assert the *Cor-*  
*poreal World*, with all the *Inferior Mundane Gods* in it, to be  
 ἀγενήτως, or *Ingenerate*, and to have existed from *Eternity*, but also  
 maintained the same concerning the *Souls of Men* and all other *Ani-*

*L. 2. p. 82.*

Y

*mals*

mals; (They concluding that *no Souls* were *Younger* than *Body* or the *World*;) and because they would not seem to depart from their Master *Plato*, therefore did they endeavour, violently to force this same sence upon *Plato's* words also.

Notwithstanding which, concerning these *Latter Platonists*, it is here observable, that though they thus asserted, the *World*, and all *Inferior Gods and Souls*, to have been ἀρχαίως, according to that stricter sence of the Word declared, that is, to have had no *Temporary Generation* or *Beginning*, but to have Existed from *Eternity*, yet by no means did they therefore conceive them to be αὐτογενεῖς ἢ αὐθουποῦντες, *Self-originated, and Self-existing*, but concluded them to have been all derived from *one sole Self-existent Deity* as their Cause, which therefore, though not in order of *Time*, yet of *Nature*, was before them. To this purpose *Plotinus*, νῦν πρὸς αὐτὸ εἶναι ἔχ' ὡς χρόνω πρὸς πρῶν αὐτῶ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρῶτον ἔστι καὶ φύσιν πρότερον ἐκείνου, καὶ αἴτιον τῶν τῶν, ἀρχετυπον οἶον καὶ ἀρχοτύπον εἰκόνου. καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ὄντος καὶ ὑποστάτου αἰεὶ τὸνδε τὸν τρέπον. *Mind or God, was before the World, not as if it existed before it in Time, but because the World proceeded from it, and that was in order of Nature First, as the cause thereof, and its Archetype or Paradigm; the World also always subsisting, by it and from it.* And again elsewhere to the same purpose, καὶ τοῖνον ἐγγύετο, ἀλλ' ἐγένετο καὶ ἡμῶνται, ὅσα γεννητὰ λέγεσθαι, καὶ ὅ φθαρήσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ ὅσα ἐχθ' εἰς αἰ. *The things which are said to have been made or Generated, were not so Made, as that they ever had a Beginning of their Existence, but yet they were Made and will be always Made, (in another sence;) nor will they ever be destroyed, otherwise than as being dissolved into those Simple Principles, out of which some of them were compounded.* Where though the *World* be said never to have been *Made*, as to a *Temporary* beginning, yet in another sence, is it said to be *always Made*, as depending upon *God* perpetually, as the *Emanative Cause* thereof. Agreeably whereunto, the Manner of the *Worlds* Production from *God*, is thus declared by that Philosopher; οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἱ φθέρεσσι καὶ γεννῶσιν αὐτὸν, ὅτις γὰρ τρέπον τὸ ποιήσας ταύτης, ἐν ἐθέλει συνιέναι, καὶ ἴσασιν, ὅτι ὅσον ἐλπίνα ἐλάμπει, καὶ μήποτε τὰ ἄλλα ἐμείπει. *They do not rightly, who Corrupt and Generate the World, for they will not understand what Manner of Making or Production the World had, to wit, by way of Effulgency or Eradiation from the Deity. From whence it follows, that the World must needs have been so long as there was a God, as the Light was coeve with the Sun.* So like wise *Proclus* concludes, that the *World* was αἰεὶ γινόμενον, καὶ ἐλαμπόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος, *always Generated or Eradiated from God, and therefore must needs be Eternal, God being so.* Wherefore these *Latter Platonists*, supposed the same thing concerning the *Corporeal World*, and the *Lower Mundane Gods*, which their Master *Plato* did, concerning his *Higher Eternal Gods*; that though they had no *Temporary Production*, yet they all depended no less upon one *Supreme Deity*, than if they had been made out of *Nothing* by Him. From whence it is manifest, that none of these *Philosophers* apprehended any *Repugnancy* at all, betwixt these *Two Things*; *Existence from Eternity, and Being Caused or produced by Another.* Nor can we make any great *Doubt*, but that if the *Latter Platonists*, had been fully convinced

En. 3. 1. 2. c. 1.

En. 2. 1. 9. c. 3.

En. 5. 1. 8. c. 12.

convinced of any *Contradictious Inconsistency* here, they would readily have disclaimed, that their so beloved *Hypothesis*, of the *Worlds Eternity*; it being so far from Truth what some have supposed, that the Assertors of the *Worlds Eternity*, were all *Atheists*, that these Latter *Platonists*, were led into this Opinion no otherwise than from the sole Consideration of the *Deity*; to wit, its ἀγαθοειδής βέλησις, ἢ γόνιμος δύναμις, its *Essential Goodness, and Generative Power*, or *Emanative Fecundity*, as *Proclus* plainly declares upon the *Timæus*.

Page 116.

Now though *Aristotle* were not Acted with any such *Divine Enthusiasm*, as these *Platonists* seem to have been, yet did he notwithstanding, after his sober Manner, really maintain the same thing; That though the *World* and *Inferior Mundane Gods*, had no *Temporary Generation*, yet were they nevertheless, all *Produced* from *One Supreme Deity* as their Cause. Thus *Simplicius* represents that Philosopher's Sence.

Ἀριστοτέλης ἔ γίνεσθαι ἀξιοί τ' ἠόριμον, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι. *Aristotle would not have the World to have been made (so as to have had a Beginning) but yet nevertheless to have been produced from God after some other manner.* And again afterward;

Ἀριστοτέλης τὸ ἀπὸν τῶ θεῶν ἢ τ' ἀίδεισ κινήσεως αὐτῶ θεὸν λέγων, ὅμως ἀρῶντων αὐτῶν ἀποδείκνυσι. *Aristotle though making God the Cause of the Heaven and its Eternal Motion, yet concludes it notwithstanding to have been Ingenerate or Unmade, that is, without Beginning.* However, we think fit here to observe, that though *Aristotle* do for the most part express, a great deal of Zeal and Confidence, for that Opinion of the *Worlds Eternity*, yet doth he sometimes for all that, seem to flag a little, and speak more Languidly and Sceptically about it; as for Example, in his Book *De Partibus Animalium*, where he treats concerning an *Artificial Nature*, μᾶλλον εἰκός τ' ἐρεῶν γινῆσθαι, ὑπὸ ποιῆτης αἰτίας, εἰ γέγονε, ἢ εἶναι διὰ ποιῆτιω αἰτίαν, μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶα τὰ θνητά.

*It is more likely that the Heaven was made by such a Cause as this (if it were Made) and that it is maintained by such a Cause, than that Mortal Animals should be so; which yet is a thing more generally acknowledged.* Now it was before declared, that *Aristotle's Artificial Nature*, was nothing but the mere Executioner or Opificer of a *Perfect Mind*, that is, of the *Deity*, which Two therefore he sometimes joyns together in the *Cosmopœia*, affirming that *Mind* and *Nature*, that is, *God* and *Nature*, were the Cause of this Universe.

And now we see plainly, that though there was a Real Controversie amongst the *Pagan Theologers*, (especially from *Aristotle's* time downward) concerning the *Cosmogonia* and *Theogonia*, according to the Stricter notion of those words, the *Temporary Generation* or *Production* of the *World* and *Inferior Gods*; or whether they had any Beginning or no; yet was there no Controversie at all, concerning the *Self existency* of them, but it was Universally agreed upon amongst them, That the *World* and the *Inferior Gods*, however supposed by some to have existed from Eternity, yet were nevertheless all derived, from one *Sole Self-existent Deity*, as their Cause; ὑπὸ θεῶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ ἐλαμπύροισι, being either *Eradiated* or *Produced* from *God*. Wherefore it is observable, that these *Pagan Theists*, who asserted

Simplic. in Arist. Phys. fol. 265.

the *Worlds Eternity*, did themselves distinguish concerning the word  $\chi\lambda\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$  *Ortum, Natum, & Factum*, as that which was Equivocal, and though in one sence of it, they denied that the World and Inferior Gods were  $\chi\lambda\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ , yet notwithstanding did they in another sence clearly affirm the same. For the word  $\chi\lambda\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$  (say they) strictly and properly taken, is τὸ ἐν μέρει χρόνου τινὸς εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρ᾽ ἑσθὺν λαχόν, *that which in respect of time, passed out of Non-existence into Being*, or ὁ τὸ πρότερον μὴ ὄν, ὕστερον δὲ ὄν, *that which being not before, afterwards was*. Nevertheless they acknowledge, that in a larger sence, this Word  $\chi\lambda\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$  may be taken also for τὸ ὅπως ἐν ἀπ' αἰτίας ὑπερ᾽ ἐμμέτρου, *that which doth any way depend upon a Superior Being as its Cause*. And there must needs be the same Equivocation in the word ἀχλὺν, so that this in like manner may be taken also, either  $\chi\epsilon\gamma\eta\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ , for that which is *Ingenerate* in respect of Time, as having no Temporary Beginning; or else for that which is, ἀπ' αἰτίας ἀχλὺν, *Ingenerate or Unproduced from any Cause*; in which latter sence, that word ἀχλὺν or *Unmade* is of equal force and extent, with αὐθυπόστατον or αὐτόγενης, *that which is Self-subsistent or Selforiginated*; and accordingly it was used by those Pagan Theists, who concluded ὅτι ὅλη ἀγέννητος, i. e. *That Matter was Unmade*, that is, not only existed from *Eternity* without *Beginning*, but also was *Self-existent*, and *Independent upon any Superior Cause*. Now as to the Former of these two senses of those words,  $\chi\lambda\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$  and ἀγέννητον, the Generality of the ancient Pagans, and together with them *Plato*, affirmed, the World and all the *Inferior Gods* to be γεννητός, *to have been Made in Time*, or to have had a *Beginning*; (for whatever the Latter Platonists pretend, this was undoubtedly *Plato's* Notion of that word and no other, when he concluded the World to be γεννῶν, forasmuch as himself expressly opposes it to αἰδῶν, *that which is Eternal*.) But on the contrary, *Aristotle* and the Later Platonists, determined the World and all the *Inferior Gods*, to be in this sence ἀγέννητος, *such as had no Temporary Beginning*, but were from *Eternity*. However according to the later Sence of those words, all the Pagan Theologers agreed together, that the World and all the *Inferior Gods*, whether having a *Beginning*, or Existing from *Eternity*, were notwithstanding γεννητοὶ ἀπ' αἰτίας, *produced or derived from a Superior Cause*; and that thus, there was only One θεὸς ἀχλὺν, *One Unproduced and Self-existent Deity*, who is said by them to be αἰτίας κρείττων ἢ προσηύτερος, *Superior to a Cause and Older than any Cause*, he being the Cause of all things besides himself. Thus *Crantor* and his Followers in *Proclus*, zealous Assertors of the *Worlds Eternity*, determined,  $\chi\lambda\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$  λέγεσθαι ἢ ποσειον ὡς ἀπ' αἰτίας ἄλλης παρ᾽ ἑμμέτρου, ἢ ἐκ ὅτι αὐτόγενον ἔδδὲ αὐθυπόστατον. *that the World (with all the Inferior Mundane Gods in it) notwithstanding their Being from Eternity, might be said to be γεννητοὶ that is orti or made, as being produced from another Cause, and not Self-originated or Self-existing*. In like manner *Proclus* himself, that grand Champion for the *Worlds Eternity*, plainly acknowledged notwithstanding, the *Generation of the Gods and World* in this sence, as being produced from a Superior Cause, λέγομεν θεῶν γενέσεις, τινὸς ἀρχῆτον αὐτῆς πρόσθεν ἐνδ' ἐμμέτρους, ἢ τινὸς τῆς δευτέρας ἐπεσπῆται, πρὸς τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῆς. *We call it the Generations of the Gods, meaning thereby, not any Temporary Production*

In Time. pag. 85.

duction of them, but their *Ineffable Proceſſion, from a Superior Firſt Cauſe.* Thus alſo *Saluſtius*, in his Book *de Diis & Mundo*, where he contends the World to have been from Eternity or without Beginning, yet concludes both it, and the other Inferiour Gods to have been made by One Supreme Deity, who is called by him, ὁ πρῶτος θεός, *the Firſt God.* For ſaith he, μεγίςτος ἢ δυνάμεως ἕως, ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔσθ' ἢ ζῴων μόνον ποιῆν, ἀλλὰ θεός τε ἢ δαίμωνας. *God or the Firſt Cauſe, having the greateſt power or being Omnipotent, ought therefore to make, not only Men, and other Animals, but alſo Gods and Demons.* And accordingly this is the Title of his 13. Chapter, πῶς τὰ αἰδία λέγεσθαι γίνεσθαι, *How Eternal things may be ſaid to be Made or Generated.* It is true indeed (as we have often declared) that ſome of the Pagan Theiſts aſſerted, God not to be the only ἀγέννητον ἢ ἀωδουπόστονον, *the only Unmade and Self-existent Being,* but that Matter alſo was ſuch; nevertheleſs, this Opinion was not ſo generally received amongſt them, as is commonly ſuppoſed: and though ſome of the ancient Fathers confidently impute it to *Plato*, yet there ſeems to be no ſufficient ground for their ſo doing; and *Porphyrius*, *Jamblychus*, *Proclus*, and other Platonists, do not only profeſſedly oppoſe the ſame, as falſe, but alſo as that which was diſſonant from *Plato's* Principles. Wherefore according to that larger Notion of the Word ἀγέννητον, as taken ſynonymouſly with ἀόψυχες and ἀωδουπόστονον, there were Very many of the Pagan Theologers who agreed with Chriſtians in this, ὅτι αὐτὸ Ἀγέννητον ὁ θεός, ἢ ἐξία αὐτῆ ὡς ἀν' ἑτοί τις ἢ Ἀγέννητος, *That God is the only Ingenerate or Unmade Being, and that his very Eſſence is Ingenerability or Innateſcibility;* all other things, even Matter it ſelf, being made by him. But all the reſt of them (only a few Ditheists excepted) though they ſuppoſed Matter to be Self-existent yet did they conclude, that there was only, εἰς θεός ἀγέννητος, *only One Unmade or Unproduced God,* and that all their other Gods, were γεννητοί, in One ſence or other, if not as *Made in Time,* yet at leaſt as *Produced from a Superiour Cauſe.*

Nothing now remaineth, but onely that we ſhew, how the Pagans did diſtinguiſh, and put a difference, betwixt the *One Supreme Unmade Deity,* and all their other *Inferior Generated Gods.* Which we are the rather concerned to do; becauſe it is notorious that they did many times alſo confound them together, attributing the Government of the Whole World to the Gods promiſcuouſly, and without putting any due Diſcrimination, betwixt the Supreme, and Inferior; (the true reaſon whereof ſeems to have been this, becauſe they ſuppoſed the Supreme God, not to do all immediatly, in the Government of the World, but to permit much to his Inferior Miniſters) One Inſtance of which we had before in *Ovid*, and innumerable ſuch others might be cited out of their moſt ſober Writers. As for Example *Cicero*, in his Firſt Book of *Laws*; *Deorum Immortalium vi, ratione, po-teſtate, mente, numine, Natura omnis regitur, The Whole Nature, or Univerſe, is governed by the Force, Reaſon, Power, Mind, and Divinity of the Immortal Gods.* And again in his Second Book, *Deos eſſe Dominos ac Moderatores omnium rerum, eaque quæ geruntur, eorum geri judicio at-que Numine, eofdémque optimè de genere hominum mereri, & qualis*  
Y 3
quisque

quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate Religionem colat, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere Rationem; à Principio Civibus suavis esse debet: The Minds of Citizens, ought to be first of all imbued with a firm persuasion, that the Gods are the Lords and Moderators of all things, and that the Conduct and Management of the whole World is directed and over-ruled by their Judgment and Divine Power; that they deserve the best of mankind, that they behold and consider what every man is, what he doth and takes upon himself, with what Mind, Piety and Sincerity he observes the Duties of Religion; and Lastly, that these Gods have a very different regard to the Pious and the Impious. Now such Passages as these, abounding every where in Pagan Writings, it is no wonder if many, considering their Theology but slightly and superficially, have been led into an Error, and occasioned thereby to conclude, the Pagans not to have asserted a Divine Monarchy, but to have imputed both the making and Governing of the World to an Aristocracy or Democracy of Coordinate Gods, not only all Eternal, but also Self-existent and Unmade. The contrary whereunto, though it be already sufficiently proved, yet it will not be amiss for us here in the Close, to shew how the Pagans, who sometimes jumble and confound the Supreme and Inferior Gods all together, do notwithstanding at other times, many ways distinguish, betwixt the One Supreme God, and their other Many Inferior Gods.

First therefore, as the Pagans had Many Proper Names for One and the same Supreme God, according to several Particular Considerations of him, in respect of his several different Manifestations and Effects in the World; which are oftentimes mistaken for so many Distinct Deities; (some supposing them Independent, others Subordinate;) so had they also besides these, other Proper Names of God, according to that more full and comprehensive notion of him, as the Maker of the Whole World, and its Supreme Governour, or the Sole Monarch of the Universe. For thus the Greeks called him Ζεύς and Ζην, &c. the Latins Jupiter and Jovis, the Babylonians Belus and Bel, the Persians Mithras and Oromasdes, the Egyptians and Scythians (according to Herodotus) Ammoun and Pappæus. And Celsus in Origen, concludes it to be a Matter of pure Indifferency, to call the Supreme God by any of all these Names, either Ζεύς or Ammoun or Pappæus or the like, Κέλσος οἶεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν, δια Ἰψισον, χαλεβὴν ἢ Ζήνα, ἢ Ἀδωναῖον, ἢ Σαβαώθ ἢ (ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι) Ἀμμουν, ἢ (ὡς Σκύθαι) Παππαῖον. Celsus thinks it to be a matter of no moment, whether we call the Highest and Supreme God, Adonai and Sabaoth, as the Jews do; or Dia and Zena, as the Greeks; or as the Egyptians Ammoun; or as the Scythians Pappæus. Notwithstanding which, that Pious and Jealous Father expresseth a great deal of Zeal, against Christians then using any of those Pagan Names. But we will rather endure any torment (saith he) than confess Zeus (or Jupiter) to be God; being well assured that the Greeks often really worship, under that Name, an Evil Demon, who is an enemy both to God and Men. And we will rather suffer death, than call the Supreme God Ammoun, whom the Egyptian Enchanters thus Invoke; λεγέτωσαν ὃ ἐστὶ Σκύθαι ἢ Παππαῖον, θεὸν εἶναι ἢ ἔστι πάντων. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἔπεισόμεθα, πθεύεις μὲν

Lib. 5. c. Cel.  
sum.

μὲν ἔπι πᾶσι θεῶν, ὡς ἡ φίλον τῶν λαχόντι τῶν Σκυθῶν ξημῖαν, καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν καὶ διάλεκτον, οὕτως ὀνομάζοντες τὸ θεῶν, ὡς κυρίῳ ὀνόματι τῶν Παππαίων. Σκυθῆσι γὰρ τὸ προσγεμῶν τὸ θεῶν, καὶ Αἰγυπτίοι, καὶ πολλῇ διαλέκτῳ, ἢ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὀνομάζων, ἔχει ἀμαρτησέται. *And though the Scythians call the Supreme God Pappæus, yet we acknowledging a Supreme God, will never be persuaded, to call him by that name, Which it pleased that Demon (who ruled over the Scythian Desert, People and Language) to impose. Nevertheless he that shall use the Appellative name for God, either in the Scythian, Egyptian, or any other Language, which he hath been brought up in, will not offend.* Where Origen plainly affirms, the Scythians to have acknowledged *One Supreme God*, called by them *Pappæus*, and intimates that the Egyptians did the like, calling him *Ammon*. Neither could it possibly be his intent, to deny the same of the Greeks and their *Zeus*, however his great Jealousie, made him to call him here a Demon, it being true in a certain sence, which shall be declared afterward, that the Pagans did oftentimes, really worship an Evil Demon, under those very Names, of *Zeus*, and *Jupiter*, as they did likewise under those of *Hammon* and *Pappæus*.

In the mean time we deny not, but that both the Greeks used that word *Zeus*, and the Latins *Jupiter*, sometimes φυσικῶς, for the *Æther*, *Fire*, or *Air*, some accordingly etymologizing *Ζεὺς* from *ζέω*, others *Δεὺς* from *δέω*: Whence came those Formes of Speech, *Sub Jove*, and *Sub Dio*. And thus *Cicero*, *Jovem Ennius nuncupat ita dicens*,

*De nat. D. l. 2. 223. Lamb.*

*Aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem.*

*Hunc etiam Augures nostri cum dicunt, Jove Fulgente, Jove Tonante; dicunt enim in Cælo Fulgente, Tonante, &c.* The reason of which speeches seems to have been this, because in ancient times, some had supposed the *Animated Heaven*, *Ether* and *Air*, to be the *Supreme Deity*. We grant moreover, that the same words have been sometimes used *ισομενῶς* also, for an *Hero* or *Deified Man*, said by some to have been born in *Crete*, by others in *Arcadia*. And *Callimachus* though he were very angry with the *Cretians*, for affirming *Jupiter's* Sepulchral Monument, to have been with them in *Crete*, as thereby making him *Mortal*,

Κρήτες αἰεὶ Ἰδύσαι, καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ᾧ ἄνα, σείο,  
Κρήτες ἐτεκμήναντο· σὺ δ' ἔθανες, ἐσὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ.

*Cretes semper mendaces, tuum enim, Rex, Sepulchrum Extruxerunt: Tu verò non es mortuus, semper enim es.*

Himself nevertheless (as *Athenagoras* and *Origen* observe) attributed the beginning of death to him, when he affirmed him to have been born in *Arcadia*; ἀρχὴ γὰρ θανάτου ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς γένεσις, because a *Terrene Nativity is the Beginning of Death*. Wherefore this may pass for a general Observation here, that the *Pagan Theology*, was all along Confounded with a certain Mixture, of *Physiology* and *Herology* or *History* blended together. Nevertheless it is unquestionable, that the more intelligent,