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A REVIEW
OF
TRAVELS TO THE EAST ;
FROM
"ROSENMULLER'S ALTERTHUMSKUNDE."

Translated by Rev. James W. Alexander.

EXTRACTS.

Extracted from the "Handbuch der Biblischen Alterthumskunde, von Ernst Friedr. Karl Rosenmüller, der Theologie Doctor, und der morgenländ. Literatur ordentl. Professor zu Leipzig. Erster Band. Erster Theil. Einleitung. §7. pp. 59—106.

Among the sources of information to which the student of Biblical Antiquities has resort, an important place must be given to the accounts of such travellers as have visited those countries which are the theatre of important events mentioned in the Bible. It is evident at first sight that we must borrow first and chiefly from travellers, the knowledge of all that nature has bestowed upon a country, as its Seas, Rivers, Mountains, Valleys and Plains; its climate, weather, natural phenomena, peculiarities of the seasons and the times of sowing and harvest dependant on these, as also other facts relative to husbandry. As all these things have suffered little or no change, we may use with sufficient confidence the accounts of recent observers, for the elucidation of ancient writings. The importance of travels in the East arises from this fact among others, that the manners, customs, and economy of these countries have undergone less change than those of the West. This is especially true of such usages and customs as have their foundation in the climate and the physical condition of

those regions. The clothing of the Orientals, the arrangements of their dwellings, their mode of agriculture, their baths and unguents, their despotic government, their domestic economy and their polygamy, are at this moment what they were 2000 years ago, since these are grounded upon their climate and consequent temperament. The deserts of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt are at this day, as in the days of Abraham, traversed by wandering herdsmen who live under tents as in ancient times, and whose manners have been so little altered in the lapse of some thousand years, that he who visits their deserts and tents is strikingly reminded of the usages of the patriarchs as they are depicted in the first book of Moses. To this ambulatory life they are condemned by the nature of the wilderness, and in this wandering are founded their social institutions, and a great part of their domestic habits and usages, which will remain unaltered as long as their existence shall endure. Many valuable accounts of travels have been published by men of credibility and judicious observation, especially since the seventeenth century; and we would not pass unnoticed the older books of travels, as their authors stood nearer to scriptural times, by several centuries, than ourselves, and particularly as they were better able than later travellers to find in existence ancient monuments, which from time to time in the progress of so many centuries, are either ruined, or entirely swept away. Among these old books of travels, we reckon the relations of the Crusaders. The Crusades, which began about the end of the 11th century, caused more Europeans to visit Palestine than ever before sought that country, and led numbers who engaged in these campaigns to give accounts of their adventures, and the places where they occurred. These writers had in most

eases not only travelled in the East, but sometimes remained there many years in the enjoyment of distinguished honours.

A very full account of travels as late as 1780 is to be found in J. G. Meusel's *Biblioth. Histor.* Vol. I. P. II. pp. 54 & 72. Vol. II. P. I. pp. 22, 207 & 243. Vol. I. P. II. p. 319. & Vol. III. P. I. p. 88. to which may be added the Appendix as far as the year 1801 in Vol. X. P. II.—Ample notices of travels in the countries which compose the Turkish Empire, extending as far as 1789, with good remarks, were published by Chrph. Wilh. Lüdeke (Preacher to the Evangelical congregation at Smyrna from 1759 to 1768) in his *Description of the Turkish Empire.* P. I. p. 389, &c. P. II. p. 92, &c. P. III. p. 67, &c. Remarks upon the ancient and modern writers of travels, especially with reference to their value for the natural history of the East, are contained in the Prefaces to the first five parts of Samuel Oedmann's miscellaneous collections of natural history, for the elucidation of the Sacred Scriptures, from the Swedish, Rostock, 1786—1795. Consult also Bellermann's *Manual for Biblical Literature*, P. II. p. 73. Second edition, Erfurt. The "Collection of remarkable travels in the East, in translations and extracts, with maps and engravings, and with useful introductions and indexes," contains accounts of travels important in reference to Biblical Archaeology: it was published by H. E. G. Paulus in 7 vols. 8vo. Jena, 1792—1803. We ought also to mention the "Collection portative de Voyages traduits de différentes langues orientales et Européennes, par L. Langlèz," in five small volumes, Paris, 1797—1805, with an atlas and plates.

We shall now proceed to give a review of the most important accounts of travels in the East, especially of

such as shall be referred to in the following work; in which we shall observe the chronological order of the travels, as they were made.

A valuable collection of the narratives of such as were actors in the Crusades, and who visited the Holy Land after the end of the 11th century, is contained in a work compiled by *Jacob Bongars*, under the following title: "Gesta Dei per Francos, sive orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia, a variis, sed illius aevi scriptoribus, litteris commendata, nunc primum aut editis, aut ad libros veteres emendatis," Hanau, 1611, two volumes fol. An ample account of the contents of the two volumes is contained in *Meusel's Bibl. Histor.* Vol. II. P. II. p. 271, &c.

Reyssbuch des heyligen Landes--that is, an accurate account of all and every voyage and pilgrimage to the Holy Land whilst in the power of the Infidels, whether undertaken in warlike array, or for purposes of devotion, &c. &c. together with a description of the Holy Land, its provinces, &c. with their cities, villages, &c. &c. Frankfurt am Mayn, 1609.*

The Publisher, *Nicholas Roth*, informs us in the preface, that this collection was first undertaken by *Sigmund Feyrabend*, and in 1583 appeared in one volume. As he had now purchased the whole edition of *Feyrabend*, the copies of which were almost all scattered, he resolved to publish a new edition enlarged by new travels, and comprised in two volumes. This collection contains twenty-one accounts of travels, of which some are translated into German from the Latin and other European languages, though in a negligent manner. The most complete ac-

* We do not think it necessary to give in full in every instance the titles of those old German books, which in some cases take up nearly a page.—*Translator.*

count of this work is given by *Lüdeke*, in the work above mentioned, P. II. p. 96. The oldest of these selections is the description of the notable campaign of the Christians in the Holy Land, in the year 1095, under Godfrey of Boulogne, by *Ruperti*, Abbot of Bergen; the latest is *John Schwallart's* (*Zuallart's*) account of his pilgrimage in 1586: the author was a Netherlander, and the book originally appeared in French.

A number of old travels, earlier than the 16th century, may be found described in the following collection of French translations: "*Voyages faits principalement en Asie dans les XII. XIII. XIV. et XV. siècles, par Benjamin de Tudele, Jean du Plan-Carpin, Nic. Ascelin, Guillaume de Rubriquis, Marc Paul Venitien, Haiton, Jean de Mandeville, et Ambroise Contarini, accompagnés de l'histoire des Sarrassins et des Tartares, etc. par Pierre Bergeron: à la Haye,*" 1735, two vols. small folio. The author of the first production of this series, Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Navarre, left behind him in the Hebrew language, a description of his travels made in the years between 1160 and 1173, through a great part of the then known world. These travels appear to have been printed first in Hebrew, at Constantinople, 1543, in octavo: then at Ferrara 1556, and at Freyburg in Swabia, 1583. *Benedict Arias Montanus* gave a latin translation at Antwerp 1575, in octavo, and *Constantin L'Empereur* a new Latin version with the Hebrew text on one side, and annotations, at Leyden 1633, in small octavo. A translation more correct in many points, with critical investigations concerning the information of Benjamin, was published by *Baratier*, so celebrated for his precocity of intellect, under the following title: "*Voyages de Rabbi Benjamin, fils de Jona de Tudele, en Europe, en Asie, et en Afrique, depuis l'Espagne jusqu'à la Chine. Ou l'en trouve plu-*

sieurs choses remarquables concernant l'histoire et la géographie et particulièrement l'état des Juifs au douzième siècle. Traduits de l'Hebreu et enrichis de notes et de Dissertations historiques et critiques sur ces Voyages. Par J. P. Baratier, T. I. II. Amsterdam, 1734," in octavo. Baratier, who wrote this work, replete with astonishing learning, at the age of *thirteen years*, makes it in the highest degree probable (Vol. II. p. 7.) that Benjamin never visited the lands of which he gives an account, as he shews that what purports to be a description of travels swarms with the silliest fables ; and in particular, that the many palpable errors in the statement of the distances between places, could proceed only from a writer whose knowledge of the countries concerning which he speaks was exceedingly imperfect. For the literary notices of Benjamin's travels, see *Wolfii Bib. Hebr.* Vol. I. p. 247. Vol. III. p. 152. Vol. IV. p. 798, and *Köcher's Nova Biblioth. Hebr.* P. I. p. 34.

"Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grece, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres pays estranges, redigées en trois Livres, par *Pierre Belon du Mans*," Paris, 1553. "Reucuz de rechef, et augmentez de figures, avec une nouvelle table de toutes les matieres traictées en iccux," from Slantin's press, with many wood-cuts. Antwerp, 1555, 8vo. and Paris 1588, 4to. Extracts with remarks of a naturalist in Paulus's Collection of Travels, P. I. p. 197. P. II. pp. 1—26. P. III. pp. 17—42, and 130—223. The author, one of the most learned and excellent naturalists, made his journey in the East, not, as it is said in Paulus's Collection, (P. I. pp. 197, 199) in the years 1546—1549, but in 1537 and the following years, (v. Livr. II. c. 74. fol. 239 of the Antwerp edition). Although the principal object of the author was to describe the natural phe-

nomena observed by him, yet he has also carefully and accurately depicted the manners, usages, and public and domestic arrangements of the countries through which he passed. The author was murdered in the year 1564, in the forest of Boulogne near Paris.

Leonharti Rauwolfen, Doctor of Medicine and Physician in Augsburg—"Description of a journey which he has recently completed with no little trouble and danger, in the East, especially in Syria, Judaea, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, Armenia, &c. together with an account of certain beautiful foreign plants, &c. &c. &c. Langingen, 1583, quarto."

The pages of the first three parts go on without interruption to page 487. The fourth part consists of forty-two wood-cuts of plants. The author commenced his journey in May 1573, and returned in February 1576. An ample notice of the contents of this book of travels is given by Lüdeke, P. II. pp. 113—116. At the conclusion of his remarks he says, "One would scarcely suppose that 200 years ago so good a book of travels would have been composed as this actually is. We have only to regret that it is written in such antiquated German, which in words and orthography strangely differs from the present language, and also the incorrect printing of foreign words, by which it is still more disfigured. He inserts very strange, and often entirely false accounts, but in what he himself describes he appears to deserve the greatest credit. He has carefully observed the Oriental manners. This book is not unworthy of being again published, either in a good abridgment, or in a version into our own dialect, for the more general use of readers." These travels are in the first volume of the *Reyssbuch* or Book of travels in the Holy Land, already mentioned. In *Jöcher's Gelehrten-Lexicon*, it is said that *Rauwolf* had come on his re-

turn from his Oriental travels as far as Hungary, and that he died at Hatwan in the year 1606. This probable account, taken from *Adami's Vitis Eruditorum* and *Kestner's Lexicon* of learned Physicians, is contradicted by another, which is written by some ancient hand opposite to the title page of the copy of Rauwolf's travels which is in the possession of the author, as old probably as the end of the 16th century, and which we here insert with diplomatic exactness. "This Leonhard Rauwolf D. perished miserably in the flower of his youth. A few years after his return to Augsburg, having undergone a great deal of labour, fatigue, and danger, he engaged in a bet for a few ducats, to jump over the cistern at the well of St. Anna. Unfortunately he sprang into the water. The youth present, interested in the result of the bet, failed in time to render him assistance, and he thus was miserably drowned.—God grant him a happy resurrection. Amen." [This is the substance of the old German note to which Rosenmuller refers.]

"Ierosolymitana peregrinatio Illustrissimi Principis Nicolai Christophori Radzivili, Ducis Olicae et Niewisii, Palatini Vilnensis, militis Hierosolymitani, etc., primum a Thoma Tretero, custode Varmiensi, ex Polonico sermone in Latinum translata, nunc varie aucta et correctius in lucem edita," Antwerp 1614, fol. These travels do not consist, as *Lüdeke* asserts (P. II. p. 98), of four volumes, but of four letters. The first is dated the last of May 1583, at Cyprus, and treats of what is remarkable in the islands of Crete and Cyprus; the second is from Tripolis in Syria, written July 29, 1583, and gives an account of Palestine; the third from Sitia, Oct. 25, 1583, contains a full description of Egypt; the fourth is after the return of the author to Nieswitz, of date July 10th, 1584, and details the incidents of his journey homeward.

As an appendix follows "Ordo processionis S. Sepulchri, item modus ordinandi S. Sepulchri militem," together with a plan from copper-plate of the church of the holy sepulchre. A German translation of this very useful book of travels is contained in the "Reyssbuch des heyligen Landes."

"Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum, in quo variarum gentium mores et instituta, insularum, regionum urbium situs, una ex prisca recentiorisque saeculi usu; una cum eventis, quæ auctori terra marique acciderunt, dilucide recensentur. Accessit Synopsis Reipublicæ Venetæ. Auctore Joanne Cotovico, Ultrajecto, J. V. D. et Milite Hierosolymitano;" Antwerp, 1619, in large quarto. Cotowyk entered upon his journey in the beginning of August, 1598, and returned to Venice in May 1599. *Lüdeke*, who gives the contents of his book at large, expresses concerning it the following very correct opinion, Part II. p. 125. "This is one of the best books of travels which we have, upon Palestine and Syria, and is a masterpiece for the age in which the author lived. His accounts have been used by many who have not mentioned his name."

"Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino, descritti da lui medesimo in lettere familiari al suo amico Mario Schipano, scritte dell' anno 1614, fin', al 1626, divisi in trè parti; cioe la Turchia, la Persia e l'India." Rome, 1658, 1658, 1663. Three Parts in four Volumes quarto. The first part was reprinted in 1662, with the life of the author and his likeness. Both are prefixed to the German translation, which appeared in folio with copper-plates, at Geneva, under the following title, "Petri della Valle, eines vornehmen Römischen Patritii, Reiss-Beschreibung in unterschiedliche Theile der Welt, nemlich in Turkey, Aegypten, Palestina, Persien, Ost-Indien,

und andere weit entlegene Landschafften," U. S. W. Della Valle was not only one of the most learned of travellers, but also one of the most interesting of men, and there are few books of travels which furnish the reader with such a union of instruction and entertainment. An excellent view of the life and travels of Peter Della Valle is given by Goethe in his *Westöstlichen Divan*, (pp. 466—497) which may be inserted here as the most valuable opinion of these travels. "It may be remarked that every man prefers above all others that path by which he has himself been conducted to any knowledge or instruction, and would gladly introduce and initiate his successors through the same way. In this view I have given a circumstantial account of Peter Della Valle, as he was the traveller by whose means the peculiarities of the East were first and most clearly developed before my mind, and as from my predilections it seems to me that from his representations I derived a peculiar ground and basis for my *Divan*. May this prove an incitement to some, in this age which is so rich in single sheets and pamphlets, to peruse a folio, by which they will be introduced to an important World, which, though from recent travels it may appear superficially altered, will still prove to be fundamentally the same, as it appeared at that day to this distinguished man." We remark here that Della Valle was the first who gave certain information of the Samaritans, and that we are to thank him also for the knowledge of the Samaritan Recension of the Pentateuch. Through his hands arrived the first copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch in Europe. He had purchased it in the year 1616 at Damascus, for Mons. de Sancy, then French ambassador, afterwards Bishop of St. Malo, who at a late period presented it to the Fathers of the Oratory at Paris.

By the side of *Della Valle* deserves to be placed a German traveller of the same century, *Adam Olearius*. He visited Persia a few years after *Della Valle*, (1636 to 1638) as *Conseiller d'ambassade* to an embassy which the duke Frederic third, of Sleswick and Holstein, sent to the Shah of Persia for the purpose of instituting commercial connexions. After his return he was appointed Librarian at Gottorf, and made public the history of his journey, first in 1647 at Sleswick, in folio. A second and third augmented edition appeared in the years 1656 and 1663, likewise at Sleswick, in folio. After his death an edition enriched with new matter was published under the following title: "The Travels of the celebrated Adam Olearius, collected and augmented, with the Oriental travels of John Albrechts von Mandelslo, and Jürgen Anderson, and Volquart Iversen;" &c. &c. Hamburg, 1696, in two folio volumes. Olearius not only describes the natural condition, and the state-constitutions of the countries through which he travelled, but also gives graphic and lively delineations of life and manners in Persia, from the highest to the lowest order. His travels are still numbered among the best works upon Persia.

At the same time that Olearius was in Persia, this kingdom was visited for the first time by *John Baptist Tavernier*, Baron of Aubonne. In subsequent times, and as late as 1664, he five times visited Persia and India as a Jewel-merchant. The history of his travels appeared under the following title: "Six Voyages en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes faits pendant l'espace de quarante ans, accompagnés d'observations particulières sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coutumes, et le commerce de chaque país, avec les figures, les poids, et la valeur des monnoies, qui y ont cours. Par J. B. Ta-

vernier, Paris, 1676," in two quarto volumes. A few years after the author published a Supplement, entitled : "Recueil de plusieurs relations et traitès singuliers et curieux non compris dans ses six premiers voyages, avec figures en taille douce, Paris, 1679," in quarto. Editions of the whole work were afterwards printed at Utrecht, in 1712, in three 8vo. volumes, at Rouen in 1713, in five 12mo. volumes, and at the Hague in 1718, in three 8vo. volumes. In the same year appeared two German translations, the one by *J. Menudier*, at Nuremberg, 1681, the other by *John Herm. Widerhold*, at Geneva 1681 ; both in three Parts, (forming however but one volume) in folio, with copper-plates. From his having spent the greater part of his life in Persia, and having travelled through the land in every direction, he was in a situation to acquire more correct information of many things than other travellers, who remain there often only a few months. His descriptions shew him to have been a man of penetration, and in a high degree possessed of the faculty of forming correct opinions.

In the same year in which Tavernier for the last time visited Persia, (1664) a countryman of his, and like him a Jeweller, travelled to the same country ; this was *John Chardin*. He soon acquired the title of Merchant of the Schah of Persia, which afforded him free access to the greatest men of the kingdom, and to the Shah himself.

He remained six years in Persia, and returned in the year 1670 to his native land, but betook himself in the following year a second time to Persia, which he again left towards the end of the year 1677. About this time began the persecution of the Huguenots in France. Chardin, who was a Protestant, chose England as the place of his retreat, where he arrived in April of the year 1681. Charles II. conferred upon him by patent

the honours of knighthood, and decorated him with the insignia of the order. He published first in London a part of the description of his travels in one volume, small folio, with plates, in 1686. His complete travels he published first, twenty-five years afterwards, at Amsterdam in the year 1711, in two editions, in three volumes quarto, and in ten volumes duodecimo, with seventy-nine copper-plates. The Editor, Delorme, was induced to suppress a number of anecdotes and remarks which had hindered the sale of the work in Roman Catholic countries. After the death of Chardin, however, (1713) a company of Dutch booksellers who had purchased the original manuscripts of the author, and the copper-plates belonging to it, took care to set forth a complete edition, which appeared at Amsterdam, in the year 1735, in four volumes quarto. As this edition was always scarce, and as according to the assertion of the latest Editor, it was disfigured by many typographical errors, omissions of words and phrases, the enterprize of a new and improved publication of the work was certainly a laudable undertaking. It appears with the following title: "Voyages de Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient, enrichi d'un grand nombre de belles figures en taille-douce, representant les antiquités et les chose remarquables du pays. Nouvelle édition, Soigneusement conférée sur les trois éditions originales, augmentée d'une Notice de la Perse depuis les tems le plus reculés jusqu'à ce jour, de Notes, etc. Par L. Langlès, Membre de l'Institut, un des Administrateurs—Conservateurs de la Bibliotheque Imperiale, Professeur de Persan a l'Ecole Speciale des langues Orientales vivantes, etc ;" Paris, 1811, in ten octavo volumes, with a folio atlas containing charts and copper-plates.

The work of Chardin has a distinguished and lasting

worth as the most full and true delineation of the state of Persia, and of a great part of middle Asia, in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The Chevalier *Laurent d'Arvieux* at the early age of eighteen years, viz. in the year 1653, accompanied a relation who went as French consul to Saida (the ancient Sidon), and during a residence of twelve years in different cities of Syria and Palestine, acquired a competent knowledge of the manners and languages of those countries. In the year 1668, he was sent by the French government to Tunis, to mediate concerning a peace, and thus bestowed freedom upon 380 of his countrymen who were there held in slavery. In the year 1672, he went with orders of his government to Constantinople, and in 1679 he was French Consul at Aleppo, where he died in October 1702. The account of his travels was not published by himself, nor did it receive his last corrections. Some years after his death there appeared from his papers the "Voyage dans la Palestine, vers le grand Emir, Chef des Princes Arabes du Desert, connus sous le nom de Bedouins, ou d'Arabes Scenites, qui se disent la vraie posterité d'Ismaël fils d'Abraham. Fait par ordre du Roi Louis XIV. Avec la description generale de l'Arabie, faite par le Sultan Ismael Abulfeda, traduite en François sur les meilleurs Manuscrits, avec des Notes, Par Mr. de la Roque," Paris, 1717, and Amsterdam, 1718, in small octavo. *Arvieux's* account of the Bedouin Arabs is proved by penetrating and credible travellers who have after him visited those tribes, to be a most faithful and complete delineation of the manner of life and habits of these dwellers in the desert. The use of which these accounts may be to the interpreter of the ancient books of the Bible, has been in an eminent manner exhibited by *J. D. Michaelis* in his Commentary on the Laws of Moses, and in his An-

notations to his version of the Old Testament. A German translation of the work has appeared, entitled, "Die Sitten der Bédouinen-Araber. Ausdem Französischeu des Ritter's Arvieux übersetzt mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen von E. F. K. Rosenmüller. Mit einem biblisch-zoologischen Anhang des Uebersetzers. Leipzig, 1789," 8vo. The account of d'Arvieux's whole travels, including the above-named description of the manners of the Bedouins, is contained in the "Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux, contenant ses voyages à Constantinople, dans l'Asie, la Syrie, la Palestine, l'Égypte, et la Barbarie, recueillis de ses originaux, par (J. B.) Labat," Paris, 1785 : in six octavo volumes. In German : "Des Herrn von Arvieux hinterlassene merkwürdige Nachrichten," U. S. W. Copenhagen and Leipsick, 1753, in six octavo volumes.

"Oriental Travels, by Francis Ferdinand von Troilo, of Tassot, Jeutritz, Giessdorff and Kalsdorff (in Upper Silesia), Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, which he accomplished from Germany by the way of Venice, through the kingdom of Cyprus, to the Holy Land, especially the City of Jerusalem, thence into Egypt, to Mount Sinai, and many other distant parts of the East, by water and land, and with many vicissitudes of good and bad fortune ; particularly how he was made captive by pirates on his return, carried to Algiers in Barbary, twice sold, and through divine Providence again set free ; in which all the countries and places are amply described, their inhabitants, customs, religion, manners, and whatever appeared remarkable, with special care are distinguished, and all digested in a complete register." Dresden, 1677, in quarto : Leipsick 1717, octavo : and Dresden and Leipsick, 1733, octavo. The author commenced his journey in January of the year 1666, and returned to his native coun-

try in March of the year 1670. He is in particular satisfactory in describing the places mentioned in the Bible, and the notices of such things as he saw and experienced bear the stamp of truth.

“Relation d’un Voyage fait au Levant, dans laquelle il est curieusement traité des états sujets au Grand Seigneur, des moeurs, religions, forces, gouvernemens, politiques, langues, et coutumes des habitans de ce grand empire. Et des singularitez particulieres de l’Archipel, Constantinople, Terre Sainte, Egypte, Pyramides, Mummies, Deserts d’Arabie, la Méque, et de plusieurs autres lieux de l’Asie et de l’Afrique, remarqués depuis peu et non encore décrits jusqu’ à present. Outre les choses memorables arrivées au dernier Siège de Bagdat, les ceremonies faites aux receptions des ambassadeurs du Mogol, et l’entretien de l’Auteur avec celuy du Pretejan, où il est parlé des cources du Nil. Par Mr. de Thevenot,” Rouen and Paris, 1663, quarto. “Suite du voyage de Levant de Mr. Thevenot,” Paris, 1674, quarto; and “Voyage de Mr. de Thevenot contenant la relation de l’Indostan, etc.,” Paris, 1684. quarto. Republished together in five volumes 8vo. with copper-plates. Amsterdam 1727. In German, entitled “Des Herrn von Thevenot Reisen in Europa, Asia, und Africa, in drey Einen Band ausmachenden Theilen Frankfurt am Mayn,” 1693, 4to. Lüdke says in the description of the Turkish Empire, P. I. p. 415: “Melchisedeck de Thevenot, a celebrated European traveller, Librarian to the King of France, who died 1692, has acquired a place among the writers upon the Levant and Eastern countries, although he never saw those lands, but has merely collected the materials of his works from the mouths of travellers, and from credible writers, from *d’Arvieux* in particular.” This opinion, which *Meusel* in the *Biblioth. histor.* Vol. II. P. I. p. 257.

has transcribed, is totally unfounded, and arose from confounding two persons who had the same surname, as *John Beckmann* has amply shewn in an *Essay* in the *Leipziger Allgem. Literarischen Anzeiger*, for the year 1799, p. 113—1120. from which *Meusel*, in the Supplement to the *Biblioth. histor.* Vol. X. P. II. p. 171. took the principal idea. *Melchisidek de Thevenot*, whom some name *Nicholas* and some *Melchior*, certainly travelled only through some parts of Europe, so that *Lüdeke* rather improperly terms him “a celebrated European traveller,” but published, under the title of “*Relations de divers voyages curieux*,” Paris, 1663, a collection of several accounts of travels, by various authors. The author of the travels whose title is above mentioned, on the other hand, (called *John* in the “*Siècles littéraires de la France*,” by *Desessarts*, Paris, 1801. VI. B. p. 207.) entered upon his first journey to Egypt, Palestine and Syria, in the last of May 1655, going from Rome, where he had enjoyed the society of the celebrated *D’Herbelot*, author of the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, as a preparation for his journey; and returned in April of the year 1659. In October 1663, he undertook a second journey through Syria to Persia and India, but died on his return at Miana, a village between Ispahan and Tabriz, on the 28th of November 1667. The account of these two journeys has been published from the traveller’s journals by an unknown person, who speaks of himself in the preface as *Thevenot’s* heir, in 1674: and in 1684 appeared at Paris two 4to volumes, which make the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the 8vo edition. *Thevenot’s* travels appear to be less esteemed of late than they deserve to be; his accounts, which are given in a manner simple and artless, exhibit him as a correct observer and judge.

The description of Egypt by *John Michael Wansleb*,

in the year 1664, remained unpublished, until it was printed in the third volume of *Paulus's* Collection of Oriental travels, from a manuscript of the original in the University library at Göttingen, formerly belonging to Job Ludolf. Wansleb himself made public an account of a later journey, under the following title: "*Nouvelle Relation en forme de Journal d'un Voyage fait en Egypte en 1672 et 1673,*" at Paris, 1677, in small octavo. A translation somewhat abridged is to be found in the Collection of Paulus, p. 127, &c. The value of the narrative of Wansleb for information respecting Egypt is generally unknown. In the Introduction to the description of Egypt first published by Paulus, *Reuss* gives some account of the author's life and circumstances.

"Voyage au Levant, c'est-à-dire, dans les principaux endroits de l'Asie mineure, dans les-iles de Chio, Rhodes et Chypre, etc., de même que dans les plus considerables villes d'Egypte, de Syrie, et de la Terre Sainte; enrichi de plus de deux cens Tailles-douces, où sont représentées les plus célèbres villes, païs, bourgs, et autres choses dignes de remarque, le tout dessiné d'après nature, par Corneille le Brun, Paris, 1714:" folio. The name of the author, who was a native of the Netherlands, is upon the title page printed *Le Brun*, being probably gallicized by the Editor. He calls himself *De Bruyn* in the Dedication to Anthony Ulrich Duke of Brunswick, and also in the poems and letters printed after the preface. He began his travels in October 1674, and returned towards the end of the year 1683. His narrative was published first in Dutch, at Delft, 1699. In the French edition, the title of which is given above, we are informed that it is much enlarged and improved. His object was chiefly to present accurate views of the countries and places visited by him, and of the remarkable build-

ings and antiquities there remaining, as well as of the objects of nature and domestic life. He is likewise known to have used the words of earlier travellers, when he found them correct.—In the year 1701 *De Bruyn* undertook a second extensive journey, of which he published an account, after his return in October 1708, entitled: “*Voyages de Corneille Le Brun par la Moscovie en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales. Ouvrage enrichi de plus de 320 Tailles douces, des plus curieuses, représentant les plus belles vuës de ces païs, leur principales villes, les différens habillemens des peuples, qui habitent ces regions éloignées, les animaux, les oiseaux, les poissons, et les plantes extraordinaires, qui s’y trouvent, avec les antiquites de ces païs, et particulièrement celles du fameux Palais de Persepolis, que les Perses appellent Chelminar. Le tout dessinée d’après nature sur les lieux. On y ajouté le route qu’a suivie Mr. Isbrants, Ambassadeur de Moscovie, en traversant la Russie et la Tartarie, pour se rendre à la Chine et quelques Remarques contre Mrs. Chardin et Kaempfer. Avec une Lettre à l’Auteur sur ce sujet.*” Amsterdam, 1718, in two parts, forming one volume folio. *De Bruyn* employed great care during this journey upon the representation of the ruins of Persepolis, among which he remained three months for this purpose. Both the books of *De Bruyn* belong to the elegant works of their age. One printed at Rouen in 1725 in five 4to volumes, is negligently done, the plates are diminished, and many are omitted.

“*Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-medicarum fasciculus V, quibus continentur variae relationes, observationes et descriptiones rerum Persicarum et ulterioris Asiae, multa attentione in peregrinationibus per univ-ersum Orientem collectæ auctore Engelberto Kaempfero, D.*” Lemgo, 1712, in quarto. The author, who died in

the year 1716, while Physician in ordinary to the Count von der Lippe, went in 1683 as secretary of legation with the Swedish embassy to Russia and Persia, and travelled through a large part of Eastern Asia. The work mentioned above contains a treasure of valuable information, highly important to the Biblical Archaeologist, which Kämpfer had an opportunity of collecting during a ten years' residence in the East.

“ Voyage de Syrie et du Mont-Liban, contenant la description de tout le pays compris sous le nom de Liban et d'Anti-Liban, Kesroan, etc., ce qui concerne l'origine, la créance, et les moeurs des peuples qui habitent ce pays, la description des ruines d'Heliopolis, aujourd'huy Balbek, et une Dissertation historique sur cette ville ; avec un abrégé de la vie de Mr. de Chasteuil, Gentilhomme de Provence, Solitaire du Mont-Liban, et l'histoire du Prince Junès, Maronite, mort pour la religion dans ces derniers temps. Par Mr. de la Roque.” Paris 1722, in two small octavo volumes. The author travelled through Lebanon and the neighbouring countries in the year 1688. His account shews him to have been a well educated man, of careful observation.

“ Description de l'Egypte, contenant plusieurs remarques curieuses sur la Geographie ancienne et moderne de ce païs, sur ses monumens anciens, sur les moeurs, les coutumes et religion des habitans, sur le gouvernement et la commerce, sur les animaux, les arbres, les plantes, etc. Composée sur les Mémoires de Monsieur de Maillet, ancien Consul de France en Caire, par Mr. l'Abbé Le Mascrier. Ouvrage enrichi de Cartes et de Figures,” Paris, 1735, in quarto, and at the Hague, 1740, in 2 vols. 8vo. Maillet was from 1692 sixteen years French Consul in Egypt, and his work is among the best which we have upon Egypt.

“A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, at Easter A. D. 1697. With an account of the Author’s Journey to the banks of Euphrates, to Beer, and to the country of Mesopotamia. By Henry Maundrell,” Oxford, 1740, in octavo. This is the title of the sixth edition; the first appeared without the description of the Journey to the Euphrates, at Oxford, 1703. In German in the first volume of Paulus’s Collection. This book of travels, written by a Preacher to the English factory at Aleppo, contains many useful remarks upon the Antiquities and Geography of the Bible.

“Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant. On y trouvera entr’autre une description de la haute Egypte, suivant le cours du Nil, depuis le Caire jusques aux Cataractes, avec une Carte exacte de ce fleuve, que personne n’avoit donnée :” Hague, 1705, 2 volumes small octavo, also at Paris 1731, in like form. “Voyage du Paul Lucas, fait par ordre du Roi dans la Grèce, l’Asie mineure, le Macedoine et l’Afrique, avec figures,” Paris, 1712, and Amsterdam, 1714, in two volumes octavo. “Voyage du Paul Lucas, fait en 1714 par ordre de Louis XIV. dans la Turquie, L’Asie, Sourie, Palestine, haute et basse Egypte,” Rouen, 1719, and Amsterdam, 1720, in 2 volumes octavo, and Paris, 1724, in three volumes octavo, with copper-plates. The German translation of these travels appeared from time to time at Hamburg, 1709 1715, 1721, and 1722, in small octavo. Lucas made his first voyage in the year 1699. He gives account chiefly of what befel him upon his travels, with cursory remarks upon such things as he observed, but seldom any careful descriptions. According to information derived by *Lüdeke* (P. III. P. 174) from a letter of the former Swedish Ambassadors at Constantinople, *Höpken* and *Carlson*, (in *Gjörwell’s Svenska Biblioth.* P. IV.) Lucas on his return from the Levant to Paris had the description

of his travels written by a monk who had also travelled in the east, accounts being also interspersed of countries which he had never visited.

“*Reizen door en gedeelte van Europa, klein Asien, verscheide Eilanden van de Archipel, Syrien, Palestina, Aegypten, den Berg Sinai, etc. door J. A. van Egmond van der Nyenburg, en Joh. Heyman, Leyden,*” 1757 and 1758 : in two quarto volumes. *Heymann*, Professor of Oriental Literature at Leyden, travelled in the years between 1700 and 1709 ; *Egmond*, Dutch ambassador to Naples, in the years 1720 to 1723. Dr. John Wm. Heymann reduced the papers of both to an epistolary form, and appended literary notes. In *Lüdeke's* judgment (P. II. p. 182.) this is one of the best of the existing books of Travels, and affords more satisfaction than most of an early date.

“*Relation d'un Voyage du Levant, contenant l'histoire ancienne et moderne des plusieurs isles de l'Archipel, de Constantinople, des côtes de la Mer Noir, de l'Armenie, de la Georgie, des frontieres de Perse et de l'Asie mineure, par Mr. Pitton de Tournefort ;*” Paris, 1717, in two volumes quarto, at Lyons, 1717, in three volumes octavo, and at Amsterdam, 1718 and 1728, in two volumes quarto. All these editions are furnished with copperplates, as is also the complete German translation, Nuremberg, 1776, 1777, in three volumes octavo. Tournefort entered upon his travels in the month of March 1700, and gave the results in letters written to Count Pontchartrain. This is one of the richest books of travels, containing especially valuable remarks upon comparative Geography and Botany.

Father *Claudius Sicard*, of the Society of Jesus, went in the year 1706 as Missionary to Syria, and thence to Egypt, where he died in 1726. His excellent remarks upon

Egypt, which are scattered through several volumes of the “Memoires des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant,” as well as an essay in the same work upon the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, are translated in *Paulus’s* Collection, P. IV. p. 289, &c., and P. V. pp. 1—263. To these volumes are added out of the above mentioned “Memoires,” accounts of certain other Missionaries in Egypt, in the first twenty years of the eighteenth century.

“*Thomas Shaw’s* Travels, or Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and of the Levant. With a collection of such papers as serve to illustrate the foregoing observations, and a Specimen Phytographiae Africanae, of Corals, of the rarest fossils, fishes, shells, &c. With copper-plates.” Oxford, fol. 1738. “Supplement to a book entitled Travels, Observations, &c. Wherein some objections lately made against it are fully considered and answered, with several additional remarks and dissertations.” Oxford, fol. 1746. The additional matter contained in this supplement is interspersed through the book at proper places, in the second edition which appeared at London in a large 4to vol. 1757. A German translation, which however is considered by J. D. Michaelis (*Oriental. Biblioth.* Vol. VIII. p. 115) as very imperfect, appeared at Leipsick in quarto, 1765. Shaw, who at his death in 1751 was Professor of the Greek language at Oxford, and Master of Edmund Hall, was from 1720 to 1732, Chaplain to the English factory at Algiers, and travelled in Barbary, Egypt, and Syria. The results of his observations made during a residence of twelve years in the East, he has embodied in the works of which we have given the title above, not however in the form of a Journal, but systematically arranged. It contains a fund of geographical, physical, and antiquarian in-

struction, which no man could exhibit who did not unite the greatest learning, the most remarkable faculty of observation, and the soundest judgment. Throughout the whole he has reference to the elucidation of the Scriptures, and the fifth chapter of the second part contains a treatise upon the land of Goshen, the place where the Israelites passed the Arabian gulph, and their course through the wilderness of Mount Sinai.—A letter of Dr. Shaw to Dr. Sherrard, upon some plants of the Arabian desert, which first appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, Jan. 1796, is translated into German by *Paulus* in the Collection of remarkable travels in the East. P. IV. p. 224, &c.

“The Travels of the late Charles Thompson, Esqr. containing his observations on France, Italy, Turkey in Europe, the Holy Land, Arabia, Egypt, and many other parts of the world; giving a particular and faithful account of what is most remarkable in the manners, religion, polity, antiquities, and natural history of those countries; with a curious description of Jerusalem as it now appears, and other places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures: the whole forming a complete view of the ancient and modern state of a great part of Europe, Asia, and Africa, published from the author's original manuscript, interspersed with the remarks of several other travellers, and illustrated with historical, geographical and miscellaneous notes by the Editor:” Dublin, 1744, 4 vols. 8vo. and London 1748, in 3 vols. 8vo. with plates. The author visited Palestine in the year 1734, and his observations upon this country are completely translated into the German in the Historical Collections of Baumgarten.*

* Sammlung von Erläuterungsschriften und Zusätzen zur allgemeinen Welthistoire, von S. J. Baumgarten, 4to Halle, 1747. Band I. Zweite Abtheil. S. 1.—106.

“Voyage en Turquie et en Perse. Avec une relation des expéditions de Tahmas Kouli-Khan. Par Mr. Otter, de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et belles Lettres.” Paris, 1748, 2 vols. 8vo. A German translation of the first volume by *G. F. C. Schad* appeared at Nuremberg in 1781. The author went with despatches of his government in the beginning of the year 1734 to Constantinople, and thence in 1736 with the Persian ambassador to Persia, where he remained until the year 1739. He then visited Bagdad and Bassora, and returned to Constantinople in 1743. This is one of the best books of travels. The author touches only briefly on such things as have been satisfactorily described by other travellers. This work has peculiar worth with reference to Geography, as the provinces, cities, mountains, rivers, productions, &c. are described, and the situation of the most remarkable places is given according to their latitude and longitude.

“Richard Pococke's Travels in the East, and some other countries, with cuts and maps.” London, from 1743 to 1748, in three volumes folio, and again at the same place in 1770, in three volumes quarto. A German translation by *Christ. Ernest von Windheim*, appeared at Erlangen in three 4to volumes, in 1754; entitled “Richard Pococke's Beschreibung des Morgenlandes und einiger anderer Länder,” with all the maps and plates of the original, and a Preface by *Chancellor von Mosheim*. Improved by *J. F. Breyer* and enriched with the remarks on natural history of *J. Chr. D. Schreber*, A. D. 1771. Pococke began his travels in the year 1737, and returned in 1740. He was a man well versed in classical literature and antiquities, and his work is justly esteemed one of the most important upon the East. In using this work it may be well to attend to a remark of *J. D. Michaelis*, in the *Ori-*

ental Biblioth. P. VIII. p. 111. "Unless his work is read with a peculiar attention, it is by no means so deserving of confidence as many others of the best or even the middle class of travellers. The reader must distinguish between Pococke the eye-witness and Pococke who has heard something in those countries, and yet again from Pococke the copyist of the ancients; and to make this distinction is through his own fault sometimes difficult. He has the fault,—of mingling in such a manner among his own, not only accounts derived from other travellers, but also what he has taken from Greek authors, that one would suppose he had himself seen or heard these things in the East. This I have observed in many evident mistakes, especially of a geographical kind; I could not well credit some things, and soon perceived that he had never been upon the ground. With all these faults, Pococke is a very important writer."

"Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie, par Frederic Louis Nordon : ouvrage enrichi de cartes et de figures dessinées sur les lieux." Copenhagen, 1752 and 1755, in two volumes large folio. The author, a native of Holstein, Marine officer in the Danish service, made the journey which is described in this splendidly executed work, by order of Christian VI. King of Denmark, in the years 1737 and 1738. Some London booksellers purchased the copper-plates, and had the work translated into English. This translation appeared in London with Templeman's notes, in 1757, in two folio volumes. At the same time a cheap English edition was published, and from this was made the German translation of *Steffens*, which came out in 1779, at Leipsig and Breslau, in octavo, with a chart of the Nile and several copper-plates. An edition enriched with remarks and illustrations from Arabic works which had just then been printed, in which likewise the Ara-

bie names are corrected, was produced by the care of *Louis Langlés*, at Paris, 1795, in three quarto volumes, with all the maps and plates of the original, yet upon a smaller scale. The annotations and illustrations of the Editor, among which is a learned treatise upon the Pyramids, form more than one half of the third volume, (pp. 157—351). A complete Index enhances the value of this edition.

“The travels of *Jonas Korte*, formerly Bookseller at Altona, in the land once renowned but now for seventeen hundred years lying under the curse, also in Egypt, Mount Lebanon, Syria, and Mesopotamia, described accurately by himself;” Altona, 1741, in octavo. A Supplement published in 1742, is in the second edition of 1743, incorporated with the work, and the further additions printed as a second Supplement. A third enlarged edition appeared at Halle in 1751, in 8vo, with a third and fourth supplement. An abridgment is contained in *Paulus’s Sammlung*, P. II. p. 33, &c. *Korte* travelled over Palestine in the years 1737 and 1738. Although he was without a literary education, yet his book contains, as *Paulus* remarks truly, in the advertisement prefixed to his abridgment, very many correct and satisfactory observations. “A fanatical spirit of devotion fastened the attention of *Korte* much more steadfastly on certain objects than would have been the case with other travellers who had different views and partialities. But even this fanaticism gave occasion for many casual reflections, half-learned explanations of the Bible, moralizing remarks, and well intended expressions of feeling.” A principal merit of this journey is the discovery that the so called Mount Calvary in Jerusalem cannot be the true Golgotha. *Paulus* has given, in the preface to the fourth volume of his Collection, an account of *Korte’s* life, derived from manuscript communications.

“The natural history of Aleppo and parts adjacent ; containing a description of the city and the principal natural productions in its neighbourhood, together with an account of the climate, inhabitants and diseases, particularly of the plague, with the methods used by the Europeans for their preservation. By Alexander Russell. M. D. London, 1756,” in large quarto, with copper-plates. A second edition, much enlarged and improved from the papers left by the author, was prepared by his nephew *Patrick Russell*, and appeared at London in 1796, in two vols. 4to with plates. In German this second edition was presented with the title, “Naturgeschichte von Aleppo u. s. w. von J. F. Gmelin, Professor der Naturgeschichte zu Göttingen, übersetzt, und mit dessen Anmerkungen versehen,” Göttingen, 1797 and 1798, in two octavo volumes. The second and third divisions of the second volume had their own peculiar titles ; the second had the following : “Alexander Russell’s description of the animals and productions of Aleppo, together with meteorological observations, which have been made during a long course of years,” &c.

The title of the third division is this : “Alexander Russell’s account of the state of learning, principally of medical science, at Aleppo, of the most celebrated ancient Arabian physicians and their writings, of the diseases prevalent at Aleppo, and particularly of the Plague,” &c. Russell lived eleven years (from 1742 to 1753) at Aleppo, as physician of the British factory. An extensive medical practice among people of all ranks and conditions, placed him in a situation favourable for acquiring a knowledge of the customs and manners of the inhabitants of Aleppo, and with the physical condition of that city and its environs. The result of these observations he

has given in the work of which we have quoted the title above. It belongs to the classical works upon Syria, and contains much that is valuable for the Biblical antiquarian. The Editor, who likewise lived some years at Aleppo as Physician, has appended useful annotations, in which he appears as an Arabic scholar.

“Frederic Hasselquist’s *Iter Palaestinum*,” &c. appeared in the Swedish language at Stockholm, in the year 1757; it was translated into German by *Thomas Henry Gadebusch*, with the following title: “Dr. Friedrich Hasselquist’s, der Academie der Wissenschaften zu Stockholm und Upsala Mitglieds, Reise noch Palästina in den Jahren von 1749 bis 1752. Aus Befehl Ihro Majestät der Königin von Schweden herausgegeben von Carl Linnæus, Rostock:” 1762, 8vo. The author died at Smyrna on his return in Feb. 1752. From his papers his instructor *Linnæus* published this book of travels, which extend not only to Palestine, but also to Egypt, and are reckoned among the most important writings upon these Countries. The first half contains the Journal, together with letters to Linnæus; the other, which is principally in Latin, an account of the most remarkable natural objects of those countries, of the three kingdoms of nature after the Linnæan method. There are also appended miscellaneous remarks relative to medical knowledge, and trade.

The *Leadings of Providence on a Journey through Europe, Asia, and Africa*, the first (to the fifth) part. Described from personal experience.—Given to the public by earnest request: by *M. Stephanus Schulz*, for twenty years member of the *Institutum Judaicum*, at present Preacher in St. Ulrich church Halle, and director of the above-named Institution, Halle, 1771—1775.

To our subject only the last two volumes belong, containing an account of the Author’s travels through a part

of Asia, Egypt, and Syria, in the years from 1752 to 1756 ; of which Paulus has given a continuous abstract in the sixth and seventh volumes of his Collection of remarkable travels in the East. This work contains a Journal in which are found all that the author said, heard, and saw, of himself and others, true and false, prayers, sermons, extracts, and a great mass of anecdotes. Among many useless things we still find somewhat which other travellers have not observed, or at least not reported, and which should not be neglected by the Biblical Archæologist. These observations are fully confirmed by Michaelis in his ample review of the last two parts of this work ; *Orient. & Exeget. Biblioth.* Vol. VIII. p. 124. Vol. X. p. 59, &c.

“ A Voyage from England to India in the year 1754. Also a Journey from Persia to England by an unusual route. By Edward Ives, Esqr. formerly Surgeon of Admiral Watson’s Ship, and of his Majesty’s Hospital in the East Indies.” London 1773, in quarto, with maps and plates. A German translation by *L. W. Dohm* appeared at Leipsig in 1774, in two vols. octavo. For the object which we have in view, that part of the work is serviceable which contains the description of the Author’s travels from Bassora on the Euphrates to Hilla, and thence by land to Bagdad, thence chiefly on the further side of the Tigris to Mosul, along the Kurdish chain of mountains to Nesibis, Diarbekir, &c. Compare *J. D. Michaelis, Or. Bib. X. 116.*

“ Viaggi per l’Isola di Cipro e per la Soria e Palestina, fatti di Giovanni Mariti, Fiorentino, dall’ anno 1760 al 1768,” Lucca and Florence, 1769 to 1771, in five 8vo volumes. An abridgment of this book, which together with much which is superfluous and already known, contains also many things new, and good accounts of the manners, customs, and natural objects, and accurate des-

scriptions of the countries and towns visited by the author, appeared under the following title : “ Johann Mariti (’s), Mitglieds der Hetruskischen Academie, Reise durch die Insel Cypem, durch Syrien und durch Palästina in den Jahren 1760 bis 1768, in einem Auszuge aus dem Italiärischen übersetzt von M. Christ. Heinr. Hase, Consistorialrath und Pastor zu Stadt-Sulza, Altenburg, 1777 :” in octavo.

“ Account of Morocco and Fez, obtained in the countries themselves, in the years from 1760 until 1768, by George Höst.” Translated from the Danish, Copenhagen, 1781, quarto, with maps and plates. The author during the years mentioned in the title, resided at Morocco, first in the service of the Danish African Company, and afterwards as Danish Vice-consul, and furnishes observations upon the manners, usages, public and private affairs, which may be useful in the interpretation of Scripture. Much of this kind is selected by J. D. Michaelis, in the *Orient. Biblioth.* P. XIX. p. 53, &c.

“ Description of Arabia : from observations and intelligence collected in the country itself, by Carsten Niebuhr, Copenhagen, 1772,” in quarto, with plates and maps. — “ Travels of Carsten Niebuhr in Arabia and other adjacent countries,” Vol. I. Copenhagen 1774 ; Vol. II. 1778, in quarto, with maps and numerous plates. — “ Descriptiones animalium, avium, amphibiorum, piscium, insectorum, vermium, quae in itinere Orientali observavit Petrus Forskäl, Prof. Havn. Post mortem Auctoris edidit Carsten Niebuhr. Adjuncta est Materia Medica Kahirina atque Tabula Maris Rubri geographica.” Copenh. 4to 1775. — “ Flora Aegyptiaco-Arabica, sive Descriptiones plantarum, quas per Aegyptum inferiorem et Arabiam felicem detexit, illustravit Petrus Forskäl, &c. Accedit Tabula Arabiae felicitis geographico-botanica.” Copenh. 4to 1775. These works are the fruit of a journey

which a company of learned men undertook in the year 1761, at the instance of that benefactor of science, J. D. Michaelis, and by order and at the expense of Frederick V. and his successor Christian VI. of Denmark ; their object being solely to extend the knowledge of the East, principally with reference to the elucidation of the Bible, and the sciences connected with it. The company consisted of four men of science, viz. Prof. *von Haven* for languages, Prof. *Forskäl* for natural history, Lieut. Engineer *Niebuhr* for geography and astronomy, Dr. *Cramer* for medicine and surgery, and *Baurenfeind* a painter. Of these *Niebuhr* alone returned to his native land ; the others died, some in Arabia, and others on the return over India. The instructions which these travellers received from their government, and the specification of subjects which they were to investigate, are contained in "J. D. Michaelis's Questions to a company of learned men," &c., Frankfort on Mayn, 1762, 8vo, a book which to the Biblical scholar is still valuable, as while it informs the travellers of those things which are already known, it gives learned information concerning them. Although in consequence of the death of *Niebuhr's* companions, the accomplishment of the extensive plan of this Journey was frustrated, yet its results are important to Science. We have to thank the solitary *Niebuhr*, who, not only in the department assigned to him, but in those out of his line, has accomplished all which could justly be demanded. He has also made use of the remaining papers of his deceased fellow-travellers to the greatest profit and advantage. The works by him completed, and whose titles are given above, have a worth long since acknowledged and established. V. Michaelis's Or. Bibl. Vol. IV. p. 64. Vol. VII. p. 1, &c. Vol. XIII. p. 18.

"Travels to discover the Source of the Nile in the

years 1768, 69, 70, 71, 72 and 73, in five volumes. By James Bruce of Kinnard, Esq. F.R.S. Edinburgh and London, 1790." Large quarto, with maps and plates. A German translation by *J. J. Volkmann*, with a preface and notes by *John Frederick Blumenbach*, under the title "Reisen zur Entdeckung der Quellen des Nils, u. s. w." appeared at Leipsig, 1790, in five octavo volumes, with maps and plates similar to the original. In addition to the excellent remarks of Blumenbach, principally upon natural history and the human race, which are printed together at the end of the fifth volume, it also contains the valuable notes of *Thom. Chr. Tyshcen*, historical, antiquarian, and philological. Partial republications of Bruce's works have been made both in England and Germany. The English by *Samuel Shaw* appeared in London, in an octavo volume, 1790. In German three have been published; the first with the necessary abridgment translated by *E. W. Cuhn*, with notes by *J. F. Gmelin*, Rinteln and Leipsick 1791, in two vols. 8vo, forming the second and third volumes of Cuhn's Collection of remarkable travels into the interior of Africa. Of the three other abridgments, that of *J. G. C. Fick* was printed at Erlangen, 1792, in two octavo volumes, as the fifth and sixth volumes of a new collection of true and remarkable adventures of travellers, &c.; the other, under the title "Short description of Abyssinia and its present inhabitants," a historical and geographical abridgment of J. Bruce's travels, &c. by *Gottl. Fred. Ehrmann*, Nuremberg and Jena, 1792, in one octavo, forming the eighteenth volume of Ehrmann's Library of travels.—Bruce's work contains a mass of valuable information upon Geography and Natural History, and upon people and manners. The author travelled after the necessary preparation, observed much and with care, and remained long enough

among the Arabs and Abyssinians, to acquire their languages, at least sufficiently for intercourse. In the investigations embodied in the work of points in ancient history, the author appears to be a man of knowledge and acuteness in combination, but his science is not sufficiently refined and guarded by correct interpretation and historical criticism. Many of his historical investigations are examined and corrected in the remarks of Tychsen, in the fifth volume of Volkmann's translation.

“A series of Adventures in the course of a Voyage up the Red-Sea on the coasts of Arabia and Egypt, and of a route through the Deserts of Thebais, hitherto unknown to the European traveller, in the year 1777, in letters to a lady by Eyles Irwin, Esqr. in the service of the hon. East India Company; illustrated with maps and cuts.” London, 1781, large quarto. A second edition appeared in the same year, and a German translation, entitled “Eyles Irwin's Begebenheiten einer Reise auf dem Rothen Meere, u. s. w.” at Leipsick, 1718, in 8vo. This book of travels not only affords entertainment to the reader, but contains much information never before made public, concerning the countries which no European had before visited, and the manners of the inhabitants. J. D. Michaelis has extracted much that may be useful in Biblical Archaeology, in the extended review of this book, which may be found in Vol. XVI. of the *Orient. Biblioth.* p. 20, &c. A supplement to this review is given in the beginning of Vol. XX. A third edition of the original, with a description of a journey undertaken by the author in 1780—81, from Venice to Latikia, and thence to the Persian gulph and the East Indies, appeared at London, 1789, in two octavos. A French translation of this third edition was published at Paris 1792, in two octavo volumes; the translator was *Parraud*.

Voyage dans la haute et basse Egypte, fait par ordre de l'ancien gouvernement, et contenant des observations de toutes genres, par C. S. Sonnini, ancien Officier et Ingenieur de la marine Française, et Membre de plusieurs sociétés savantes et literaires. Avec une collection de XL Planches en taille-douce par J. B. Tardieu." Paris, 1799, in three volumes octavo. A German translation by J. A. Bergk, together with an abridgment of *Norry's* Observations upon Egypt, and other appendages, appeared at Leipsick and Gera, 1800, in two octavo volumes, with thirteen copper-plates. Sonnini began his journey in April 1777, and returned in October 1778. His observations are excellent and instructive upon natural history and anthiopoly.

"Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, pendant les années 1783, 1784, and 1785. Avec deux Cartes geographiques et deux planches gravées. Par C. F. (Chasse-Bœuf) Volney," Paris, 1787, in two octavo volumes. The fourth edition, enriched with numerous additions, appeared in 1807 in two volumes. A German translation of the first edition was published at Jena, 1788, in two volumes octavo, with maps and plates; and a third volume, which contained the additions of the second edition followed it in 1790. The author has not presented his observations in the Journal form, but arranged in connected treatises. He is known by means of various other writings as a man of genius and information, and his account of Egypt and Syria is one of the best extant upon these countries. Of this much that serves for the elucidation of Scripture has been pointed out by J. D. Michaelis, in his review of the book in the new *Oriental Biblioth.* Vol. IV. p. 134, &c, and 175, &c.

"Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792—1798; by W. G. Browne." London, 1799, in quarto, with maps and plates. A German translation (by

J. A. Bergk) with annotations of the translator, appeared at Leipsick and Gera, in 1800, with maps and plates after the original. The delineations of the manners and mode of life of the countries visited by the author, and their natural curiosities are principally important to the biblical Archaeologist.

“Voyage dans l’Empire Othoman, l’Egypte et la Perse, fait par ordre du Gouvernement, pendant les six premières années de la République; par G. H. Olivier, Membre de l’Institut national, etc. avec Atlas.” Paris, 1800—1807, in six volumes octavo. The first two volumes are translated into German, in the sixth volume of the *Bibliothek* of Sprengel and Ehrmann; the third and fourth, in the twenty-first; and the fifth and sixth in the thirty-sixth volume. Between April 1793, and the close of 1798, the author travelled through Turkey in Asia, Persia, Egypt, and the Greek islands. His accounts are comprehensive, and bear the stamp of truth and credibility.

The conquest of Egypt by a French army under the command of *Napoleon Bonaparte* in July 1798, gave rise to the most lively hopes for the cause of Science. In the train of this army was a band of respectable men of science, whose object it was to establish in Cairo, the capital of Egypt, an Institute for Arts and Sciences, which should observe the arrangements of European Academies. Unhappily this was of brief duration; for as early as 1800 the French were under the necessity of evacuating Egypt. The gain however which the sciences received even from this short residence of the French *savans* in that country was not trifling. It was made the first duty of the members of the Institute, to acquire the most exact knowledge of the country in every particular. Under the protection of their soldiers’ arms they were

able to extend their investigations farther, and conduct them with more care and accuracy, than was possible for the insulated individuals who had preceded them. After their return the government ordered that all writings, maps, designs, and in general all remarks upon the subject of the arts and sciences, which had been made during the occupation of Egypt by the French army, should be collected into a single work, which might present a description and representation as near perfection as possible, of ancient as well as modern Egypt, its monuments, products, inhabitants, and condition in general. A commission was named, the members of which were *Berthollet*, *Conté*, *Costaz*, *Desgenettes*, *Fourier*, *Girard*, *Laurent* and *Monge*. In the place of *Conté* and *Laurent*, who died during the progress of the work, were appointed *Jomard* and *Jallois*, to whom were afterwards added *Delille* and *Deville*. The numerous labourers resigned their treatises to the Commission, who investigated and corrected them, and judged of the propriety of admitting them.

The work was printed in nine volumes, three-fold folio, with eight hundred and ninety copper-plates. The Text is divided into three principal heads: the Antiquities, the present condition, and the Natural History of Egypt; but with reference to the form, into the "Explications des planches," the "Descriptions," and the "Memoires." The plates were so distributed that to the Antiquities belong 450, in five volumes, to the present condition 170 in two volumes, and to the natural history 250 in two volumes. The Geographical Atlas with fifty maps followed the whole. After long and elaborate preparation it was published, under the title "Description de l'Egypte, ou Recueil des Observations et des Recherches, qui ont été faites en Egypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée Française, publié par les ordres de sa Majesté l'Empereur Napoleon

le Grand;” in the years 1809 and 1810: the three first specimens of a work unique of its kind, and executed with a typographical magnificence as yet unwitnessed, and decorated with plates for surpassing in greatness of design and perfect completion all that the engravers of France or England had hitherto produced. The fall of the Imperial throne did not impede the prosecution of this work, which was happily completed at the expense of the present French government. But the extraordinary price of this colossal production, amounting to the sum of a thousand dollars, made it almost inaccessible to the learned, and permitted but few even of the public libraries to obtain it. It was therefore a laudable enterprize of *Panckoucke*, a Parisian bookseller and printer, to set on foot an edition of such price as to be within the reach of more public libraries, and individuals of good circumstances. Since the year 1821 this edition has appeared in successive parts, the text in a convenient octavo form, and the designs from the original plates.

Among the antiquities there are represented with the greatest accuracy, by engravings, sculptures of extraordinary richness, which are preserved upon certain monuments of the greatest antiquity with their lively colours, for the most part still unimpaired. Some of the learned men and artists who accompanied the French expedition, have published in private works very valuable treatises upon ancient and modern Egypt; among which *Denon's* “*Voyage en Egypte*,” Paris, 1800, large folio, (German, by *Tiedemann*, Berlin, 1803, in octavo) and the “*Memoires sur l’Egypte*,” in four volumes 8vo, are the most comprehensive and interesting.

“*Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa.*” By *E. D. Clarke*, L. L. D. London, 1811, in five volumes quarto. The fourth edition, in eight octavo

volumes, appeared in London, 1816—18. The author travelled over Egypt, Palestine, and Greece, in the years 1800, 1801, and 1802. He directed his attention chiefly to ancient monuments and inscriptions, but observed with care the manners and customs of the Orientals.

In the year 1803, the Imperial Russian College-assessor *Ulrich Jacob Seezen*, a native of Jener, undertook a journey into the East with the intention of visiting the parts of Syria, Arabia, and particularly the interior of Africa, which are little known. This traveller, whose knowledge, zeal, and spirit justified an expectation of uncommon results for the sciences, was unhappily prevented from accomplishing more than a part of his enterprize; for in September 1811, near Taäs in Yemen, on his way to Sanaa, he was murdered by the Arabs, whose rapacity was aroused by the quantity of baggage which he carried with him. An account of his journey in 1805 and 1806 in the countries lying east of the Jordan and the Red Sea, not very extensive and yet satisfactory, was by him sent to the Astronomer *Von Zach*, at that time of the Observatory of Seeburg near Gotha, and this the latter published in the 18th vol. of the *Monthly Correspondence*, of which he was Editor, Gotha, 1808. In the nineteenth volume of the same work may be found letters of *Seezen*, which give accounts of his travels in Arabia, and also a treatise upon *Ophir*.

“Itinéraire de Paris a Jerusalem et de Jerusalem a Paris, allant par la Grèce, et revenant par l’Égypte, la Barbarie et l’Espagne, par F. A. de Chateaubriand,” Paris, 1811, in three octavo volumes. German by *Müller* and *Lindau*, Leipsick, 1812, in three octavo volumes. The author commenced his journey in July 1806, and returned as soon as May 1807. The lively and brilliant style of the Viscount de Chateaubriand has obtained many read-

ers for his travels, as well as his earlier productions. In solid and new information, however, this work is meagre, and much richer in declamations, for which the author had frequent occasions given him by events which once occurred upon the spots which he visited.

“*Les Bédouins, ou Arabes du Desert. Ouvrage publié d’après les notes inédites de Dom Raphaël, sur les mœurs, usages, lois, coutumes civiles et religieuses, de ce peuple. Par F. J. Mayeux, et orné de 24 figures dessinées par F. Massard,*” Paris, 1816, three vols. 12mo. That the author of the information contained in these works is an ecclesiastic, appears from the title *Dom*, which is conferred upon him. In the preface of the Editor, it is said that Dom Raphael had brought with him to France the remarks which he had made upon Egypt, his native country, upon Syria, where he lived a long time, and upon the Arabs, whom he had observed partly in the desert, and partly in the vicinity of towns. His intention was from time to time to make known the accounts of his travels; this he has been by circumstances prevented from doing in full; and from his delineations of the Bedouin Arabs the reader is led to regret that the author has not been able wholly to accomplish his design. In truth, the information here given of the inhabitants of the Arabian desert is very complete, has the impress of truth, and deserves to be ranked with the travels of Arvieux already noticed. In the first volume the Bedouin tribes who wander over Egypt and Syria are described individually, with their circles, strength, and characteristics; the second and third volumes contain a delineation of the manners, customs, and constitution which they have in common, arranged under heads.

“*A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, during the years 1808 and 1809, by James Morier. Esq. With two maps and engravings*

from the designs of the Author," London, 1811, large quarto.—“A second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, between the years 1810 and 1816. With a Journal of the Voyage by the Brazils and Bombay to the Persian Gulf. Together with an Account of the proceedings of His Majesty's embassy under his Excellency Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. By James Morier, Esqr, late his Majesty's Secretary of Embassy and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Persia. With two maps, and engravings, from the designs of the Author," London, 1818, large quarto. A French translation of the first Journey appeared at Paris in 1813, in three volumes octavo, with the maps and engravings of the original, and some additions; viz. *Beauchamp's* “Memoire géographique et historique du voyage de Constantinople à Trebizonde,” a translation of *Edward Scott Waring's* tour from India to Shiraz, and an anonymous account never before printed of a Journey from Constantinople to Téhéran in the year 1805. *Morier's* Travels are among the best works of the kind. In the second he has a constant reference to the elucidation of Scripture passages, which receive much light from Oriental manners and customs.

“Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia. A work wherein the author has described, as far as his own observations extended, the state of those countries in 1810, 1811, and 1812; and has endeavoured to illustrate many subjects of antiquarian research, History, Geography, Philology, and miscellaneous Literature, with extracts from rare and valuable Oriental Manuscripts. By Sir William Ouseley, Knight, L. L. D. private secretary to his Excellency Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart. His Majesty's Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Court of Persia.” Vol. I. London, 1819, Vol. II. 1821. in 4to. with maps, and 55 engravings.

This work, of which the conclusion forms a third volume, is principally valuable to the student of Oriental Antiquities, on account of its antiquarian researches instituted upon the very places, which touch upon many points of biblical archaeology, and on account of its extracts from Arabic and Persian manuscripts.

“Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, by the late John Lewis Burckhardt. Published by the Association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa,” London 1822, 4to. The author, a Swiss by birth, visited Syria in the year 1809, to prepare himself for a journey which he contemplated to take under the direction and at the expense of the African Association of London. During a residence of two years and a half in Syria, he travelled through the northern, and especially the eastern parts of that country, which last are little known, in various directions. The work of which we have given the title, contains the Journal of five Journeys, which Burckhardt made in the countries above-named in the years 1810 and 1812, and likewise the account of a Journey in 1816 from Cairo into the peninsula of Mount Sinai. These Journals contain a mine of valuable information concerning countries which deserve in the highest degree the attention of Geographers and Antiquarians.

A review of the contents of these journals may be found in the Leipsick “*Literat. Zeitung*” for Sept. 21. 1822 : No. 218. Burckhardt died in October 1817 at Cairo in the thirty-third year of his age. Shortly before his death he committed the whole of his papers to the English Consul *Salt*, who sent them to the directors of the African Association, whose Secretary, *Leake*, published the Journals above-mentioned, as he had previously been Editor of his Travels in Nubia in the years 1812—

1814. (Travels in Nubia, by the late J. L. Burckhardt, London, 1819, 4to).

“Adventures of a Swiss, during his travels to Jerusalem and Lebanon. Described by himself,” St. Gallen, 1815, three small octavo volumes: second edition 1821, in one volume. The author, *John Henry Mayr*, merchant at Arbon and Bodensee, undertook his journey in 1812, for mercantile purposes, and returned to his native country in the beginning of 1814. Although he did not travel as a learned man, yet this very circumstance, as the Editor, the Rev. Mr. Appenzeller, justly remarks, gives to his accounts a peculiar charm. “For the very circumstance that the author neither looked through the glasses of the learned, nor coloured what he saw with deep, scientific, multifarious knowledge, nor travelled with preconceived notions, views, prejudices and opinions, causes these travels to be so much the more true and impartial.” Indeed, these travels afford a piece of reading as entertaining as they are instructive; while the author, by his simple narration, which is by no means deficient in vivacity of description, sets before the eyes of the reader the peculiarities of the countries which he visited.

“Letters from Palestine, descriptive of a tour through Galilee and Judea, with some account of the Dead Sea and the present state of Jerusalem, by T. R. Joliffe,” London, 1819, octavo; German under the title “T. R. Joliffe’s Reise in Palästina, Syrien and Aegypten in Jahre 1817. Mit vielen Zusätzen aus neuen ausländischen Reisebeschreibungen übersetzt. Zum Behufe für Bibel-leser. Nebst einer Vorrede von Dr. E. F. K. Rosenmüller. Mit einer Abbildung der Ausschrift auf der Pompeius-säule, Leipzig 1821,” 8vo. The additions and remarks of the translator *Dr. Bergck* give this book a preference over the original. In this work may be found

accounts of several travellers who shortly before and after Joliffe visited Palestine, introduced at the proper places ; so that the reader has here at one view the most important information of the latest times upon this interesting country, and can conveniently compare the several accounts.

“ Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia, &c. &c, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820. By Sir Robert Ker Porter. With numerous engravings of Portraits, Costumes, Antiquities,” &c. In two volumes, London, 1821 and 1822, in two volumes, large quarto ; a work which is highly important to the Antiquarian in reference to the knowledge of countries and men, and which has peculiar value on account of exact designs of ancient monuments made by the author himself.

“ Voyage dans le Levant en 1817 et 1818, par Mr. le Comte de Forbin,” Paris, 1819, in folio, with 78 engravings by the most distinguished living French artists, and numerous plans. The work has more value as a specimen of art than of Science. A reprint of the text in one octavo volume, together with a plan of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, appeared likewise in 1819.

“ Travels in the region between Alexandria and Parætonium, the Libyan Desert, Siwa Egypt, Palestine and Syria, in the years 1820 and 1821, by Dr. John Martin Augustin Scholz, Professor of Theology at the University of Bonn.” Leipsick, 1822, 8vo. This account given by a learned German Theologian of his travels in countries rendered familiar to him by his studies, derives from the person of its author a peculiar interest, which is increased by the present work, containing as it does the latest information respecting the countries mentioned in the title.

The following Collections contain information extracted from Books of Travels, for the elucidation of the Bible, and Biblical Archaeology: "Biblical Illustrations from Oriental and other Travels, by Frederick Matthew Luft," Nuremberg, 1735, 8vo.—"Illustrations of holy writ, from Oriental Travels, compiled by Balthazar Lewis Estuche, Instructor of the High School, and preacher to the Reformed congregation at Rinteln:" Lemgo, 1745—1755; twenty-five essays in two volumes octavo.—"Authentic accounts of the Agriculture of the East, for the illustration of certain passages of Scripture, collected out of travels in the East, with a preface by Chancellor Von Mosheim, edited by Herman Christian Paulsen, Preacher in Crempe;" Helmstädt, 1748, in quarto. "the Government of the East according to the exhibitions of travels in the East, for the illustration of certain passages of Scripture, compiled by Herm. Christian Paulsen. First Part," (the second was never published), 1755, in quarto. "Observations on divers passages of Scripture, placing many of them in a light altogether new; ascertaining the meaning of several not determinable by the methods commonly made use of by the learned; proposing to consideration probable conjectures on others; different from what have been hitherto recommended to the attention of the curious, and more amply illustrating the rest than has yet been done by means of circumstances incidentally mentioned in books of Voyages and Travels in the East," London, 1764, in one volume octavo. A second edition appeared at London, 1776, in two octavo volumes, in addition to which a third and fourth volume were published in 1787. The first edition of this work, which is by Thomas Harmer, Dissenting Preacher at Watesfield, appeared in German, with the title: "Beobachtungen über den Orient aus

Reisebeschreibungen, zur Aufklärung der heiligen Schrift. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Joh. Ernst Faber," Hamburg, 1772 and 1775, in two volumes octavo. The Supplements to the second edition (translated by Wolfg. Panzer) formed a third volume : Hamb. 1779.—“ Oriental Customs : or an Illustration of the Sacred Scriptures by an explanatory application of the customs and manners of the eastern nations, and especially of the Jews therein alluded to. Collected from the most celebrated travellers and most eminent critics. By the Rev. Sam. Burder, A. M. etc. Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, London, 1802, in one vol. oct. The fifth edition, considerably enlarged, was published in two vols. oct. in 1816. It was translated into German, together with Ward's Illustrations of the Scriptures, from the manners and customs of the Hindoos, by C. F. K. Rosenmüller, Leipsick, 1818—20, in six vols. octavo.

ON THE
SONG OF SOLOMON,

FROM DER EVANGELISCHEN KIRCHEN ZEITUNG.

TRANSLATED BY

MR. REZEAU BROWN.

THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

THERE is scarcely a book in the Bible, which has been so variously interpreted as the Song of Solomon. The different interpretations may be divided into three classes. One of these explains the whole book, from the relation of God to the Jewish nation, and finds in every figure a reference to some particular event in their history. According to them, the whole is an allegorical and figurative narration of the government of God over the Jews. This mode of interpretation we meet with among the Jews, almost as soon as we find the book mentioned. Jesus, the son of Sirach, who lived about 200 years before Christ, seems to have explained it thus. In the Book of Wisdom, chap. 47, v. 13—17, he praises Solomon on account of his composition of dark parables. This cannot be referred to the Proverbs, for these are separately mentioned. Another common method of interpretation, and one which has been received in all ages by the Christian Church, is, that Christ is the subject of the Song of Solomon. This general opinion has two varieties: Christ is generally admitted to be represented by the “*Lover*,” while the “*Beloved*” is made to refer to either the Church of the New Testament, taken as a body, or to each individual Christian soul. Some have endeavoured to unite both these. A third class, finally, supports the opinion, that mere human love is the subject of the Poem. This interpretation was very little received, until the latter half of the eighteenth century. From that time forward, it became quite general, and was defended under various

modifications. Some sought to maintain the honour of the Book, by supposing it a description of a happy marriage, or a defence of monogamy ; others asserted its claim to a place among the sacred writings, on the ground of its being a description of a chaste affection, while others found passages in it which were grossly immoral. The one placed this, the other that historical fact in connection, in order to explain the Book ; and when this did not suffice, they had recourse to dreams ! One interpreted it as a collection of unconnected songs ; another sought to discover a plan which pervaded the whole. The charge of *arbitrary interpretation*, which this third class make against their opponents, appealing, as a proof, to their differences from one another, applies in its fullest force to themselves ; for no two of them coincide in their views on this subject.

The first two classes unite in the opinion, that in the Song of Solomon, spiritual relations are represented under sensible figures, and are, as defenders of a spiritual or allegorical interpretation, together opposed to those who interpret it literally. The arguments which have been used, with some correctness, against the *allegorical* method of interpretation, cannot be made successfully against a *spiritual* ; for we must be careful to distinguish writings which the author wished to be understood historically, from those in which it is his intention to exhibit spiritual relations under the figure of sensible. In the former case, an allegorical explanation does not deserve the name of an *interpretation*. If the latter design be made apparent, the allegorical interpretation is accordant with the purpose of the author, and is, therefore, the only correct one.

In attempting then, to establish the correctness of such an exposition of the Song of Solomon, we must, I. Show

that it is not unworthy the Divine Being, and not inconsistent with the genius of the Sacred writings, to present a spiritual relation under such figures. In this way we shall prove that a spiritual interpretation is possible ; and in order to show that it must here be adopted, we will, 2. Give the reasons which authorize us to conclude, that in this book, the figures used are appropriate only to the purpose of making such relations manifest.

We come now to the consideration of the first point. The Christian, in determining what is consistent with the divine character, does not follow mere abstract philosophical speculations, but considers those things which the Living God, who reveals himself historically, has said and done. Now, he has not, in his revelation, kept in view so much his own nature, as the wants of fallen man. In order to elevate men to himself, he has veiled his eternal majesty, and condescended to them. Since man can only understand and love what is kindred with his own nature, the Godhead appears to him as righteous and good, as full of wrath, and full of mercy. And to present these various attributes in such a manner, that men might be feelingly sensible of them, when he spoke to them by his Son, by his prophets, and servants, he used such figures as were taken from their situation and relations. Thus, he calls himself a Father, and a Shepherd, in order to show the tenderness of his love to them. He represents it under the figure of *marriage love*. He speaks of longing, of distress on account of their faithlessness, and of jealousy. We can best judge of the propriety of the strongly figurative language of Solomon's Song, when we have shown that in various passages of both the old and new Testament, where any other interpretation is impossible, (which is not the case here,) the representation of the relations

of God or Christ to his people, under these same figures, is not uncommon.

In many passages of the Old Testament, the relation of God to the Israelites is presented under figures taken from that of a lover to the object of his affection. On leaving Egypt, Israel is found in the condition of a betrothed maiden : they are married to Jehovah, when at Sinai they enter into a covenant with him : every subsequent apostacy is represented as adultery, and every return as the renewed reception of one who had been divorced. The following passages deserve attention here. Isaiah (chap. 54, 5,) speaks thus : “For thy Maker is thy Husband, the Lord of Hosts is his name, thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel, the God of the whole earth shall he be called.” Also, (62, 5,) “For, as a young man marries a wife, so shall thy Creator marry thee.” And, (50, 1,) the decree of rejection which God had declared against Israel, is called a writing of divorcement. Jeremiah, chap. 3, 1, uses the same comparison ; and Hosea employs the whole former part of his prophecy in carrying out these representations. The Jews are there exhibited under the figure of a woman who has been unfaithful to her lawful husband, and has fixed her affection on another ; on which account her husband has rejected her, but afterwards forgives the offence, and reinstates her in his favour. Ezekiel has made use of this comparison with the greatest boldness, in two descriptions, (chap. 16 and 23,) in which the chaste will find nothing to offend, but which, to the licentious, may be cause of offence. But the Jehovah, who, under the Old Testament economy, loved his people so tenderly, is none other than the Lord Jesus Christ, who, in the New, shed his blood for them ; and since no other figure seems more appropriate to represent the love of God to his children than that

of conjugal affection, we have reason to expect that the same figure will be found in the New Testament; and in this expectation we are not disappointed. John the Baptist calls himself the friend of the bridegroom, (John, 3, 29,) and refers to Christ as the bridegroom, who will conduct home the bride. Our Lord calls himself the bridegroom, (Matt. 9, 15.) Paul speaks of marriage as representing the connection of Christ with believers, Rom. 7, Eph. 5, and in 2 Corinth., chap. 1, he compares the Church, when it is purified through the blood of Christ, and sanctified through his spirit, to a Bride without spot or wrinkle. We see now, why this figure is so appropriate to represent the relation of Christ or God to his church. As the husband, in marriage, is connected to the wife by the ties of love and faithfulness, so God has entered into the same with his people; as the most sincere affection exists between the man and wife, so the most tender ties unite God's people to him; as the woman is subject to the man, and he, in return, affords her protection, so God is, with his gracious assistance, ever nigh those who distrust their own strength, and seek protection and help from him. As activity is the part of the man, and as, from her character, the woman has a right to receive protection and support, so, in relation to God, all are recipients. As the woman must leave father and mother, and must depend entirely upon her husband, so, every one who would belong to Christ, must break through the dearest ties which bind them to the world. They must die to the world, that they may live to Christ.

It remains for us now to show that, in the Song of Solomon, under such figures, this spiritual relation is delineated; and that, consequently, the allegorical interpretation of the same is the only correct one. There is one important external argument for this. It is taken from tra-

dition, which, among a people who believed so firmly its authority as the Jews, is not to be disregarded, though its voice may not be altogether decisive. Now, the Jewish literati, so far as we are acquainted with their writings, with great unanimity explain this Book allegorically. They themselves appeal to a tradition, of which the old Chaldaic translator is the principal witness. But we can trace this interpretation even farther. There can be no doubt that those who made the collection of the books of the Old Testament, explained it thus. Even a slight inspection of these writings will teach any one, that it was not their object to collect all the remains of the national literature. They had constantly in view, the displaying of the divine government, and they selected for this purpose, every thing that would cast light upon the relation subsisting between God and the Jewish people; that would, as history, prophecy, devotional writings, or doctrinal, tend to enliven their sense of their duty to God and to promote a godly life. When, therefore, they received this book into such a collection, they must have had a strong conviction that it did not celebrate mere human love, but the love of Jehovah to his people. All that recent commentators say in praise of human love, and in proof of the opinion that a book, whose object it was to exalt the same, is worthy of a reception into the Sacred Canon, is nothing to the purpose. The only question here, is, by what principles were they who arranged the sacred writings, governed? and this question is an historical one, and is to be answered from the nature of the books received. If, then, it be proved, that these Collectors interpreted the Song of Solomon allegorically, it would be exceedingly arbitrary to affirm that the true interpretation was lost at that time, when the allegorical had been universally received down previously to that period.

and especially as the time when the book was written was not very distant.

But in addition to this external proof, there is a stronger internal argument, taken from passages in the Poem itself, which impel us to the opinion that, under the figure of human love, a higher affection is represented. We will not, here, urge the consideration, that those who would interpret the Song of Solomon literally, must conjecture a multitude of historical circumstances, in order to give their interpretation even the appearance of probability. It may be replied indeed to this, that this obscurity arises only from ignorance of the place where the lovers dwelt. We will only give a collection of passages which, according to the literal interpretation, are either entirely without meaning, or require an exceedingly forced explanation; but which, *allegorically*, give a sense at once elegant and easy.

It is evident from chap. I, v. 4, that the "Beloved" has a collective signification. "Draw me, says she, and *we* will run after thee. *We* will remember thy love more than wine." It is entirely contrary to oriental customs, and quite unmeaning according to the literal interpretation, when the Beloved says "I am black but lovely. Oh! ye daughters of Jerusalem, look not on me, for I am black: the sun hath looked upon me, and my mother's children were angry with me. They made me keeper of the vineyards, but mine own vineyard have I not kept." But when figuratively interpreted, the sense is beautiful and plain. "Do not despise me, oh! my friends, for though I have, through a sinful desertion of my God, polluted myself and separated myself from him, yet he has not forever cast me off. His love will purify me again from all my sins. My blackness is not natural, and can be removed. I have suffered myself to be seduced

by my neighbours to the service of their gods, and have neglected the keeping of my vineyard." The parables of Isaiah, chap. 5, and our Lord are similar, in which the Jews are represented as the vineyard of the Lord. The passages, chap. 3, 4, and 8, 2, are entirely opposed to the customs of the East, where the women live in the closest seclusion, in which the Beloved is represented as bringing her Beloved into the house and chamber of her mother. And the passage, chap. 5, 3—7, is clearly against all historical probability, according to which she, in order to seek her lover, wanders by night through the city, and is wounded by the watchmen, without there being any conceivable occasion for such conduct. If interpreted figuratively, the sense is elegant. The lover comes to her house—she refuses him admission—her severity relents—she determines to go and seek him—she is wounded by the watchmen—she, however, finds him—he becomes reconciled to her, and sings her praises, chap. 6, 4, &c. Jehovah came to the Israelites with love and favour—they despised him—he takes away his assistance, and suffers them to be oppressed by the surrounding nations—notwithstanding, as soon as they seek him again, he suffers himself to be found. The same things are told here figuratively, which in the historical books and prophets, are matter of history. There are, not unfrequently, figures used in this poem, which would appear ridiculous if applied to any single beloved object; particularly to a country maiden, as some suppose the "Beloved" to have been. Thus, chap. 1, 9, she is compared to the horses in Pharaoh's chariots. It is said of her, chap. 3, 6, "Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like a pillar of smoke?" a figure entirely applicable to the progress of the immense host of Israel through the desert. In like manner, chap. 8, 5, "Who is this coming up from the de-

sert, leaning on her beloved?" Chap. 6, 4. The lover speaks: "Thou art beautiful, my love, as Tirza, (a royal residence,) comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army;" and, 6, 10, 12, compares her with the blushing red of the morning, with the sun, moon, and says again, "thou art terrible as an army with banners." Very appropriate figures to be applied to a country maiden! He invites her, chap. 4, 8, to come with him from Lebanon, from the high Amama, from Senir and Hermon, the dwelling-places of lions and leopards; and also in many other places. In other passages the possibility of a merely literal exposition cannot be denied; yet the allegorical deserves the preference, and in none is there any thing which will forbid it. This will appear manifest on explaining some of the principal passages of the Poem. The Book begins: "Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth." This verse, together with the 4th, "Draw me and we will run after thee," is expressive of a strong desire for a reconciliation; for the restoration of the former relation, by which Jehovah manifested his love to his people. "How lovely smell thine ointments," says the Beloved, "thy name is as ointment poured forth, therefore the young women love thee." The Chaldaic translator interprets this correctly: "Thy holy name is heard through all the earth; it is precious as the holy oil with which kings and priests were anointed." "Show me, chap. I, 7, my love, where thou feedest, for why should I be as one that turneth aside, as a dishonoured maiden by the flocks of thy companions?" Comp. Gen. 38, 14. The sense is: "Tell me, oh! my God, how I may return to Thee, for wherefore should I any longer injure myself by uniting with other people who serve not thee, the true God, but useless idols?" In many places, God is represented as a shepherd, and Israel as his flock. Comp.

Jerem. 23, 3, 4. Ezek. 34, 11. The apostacy of the Israelites is also frequently compared to adultery. The Lover replies in v. 8, "Knowest thou not, oh! fairest among women, where, &c., follow in the footsteps of my flocks?" i. e. Wouldst thou know by what means thou mightest be reconciled to me, look at the example of thy pious fathers, and follow in their footsteps. The reunion of God to his people is represented by the reconciliation of lovers, who afterwards express their joy in each other.

The time in which God had withdrawn himself from his people, chap. 2, 11, is presented under the figure of a rainy season, and winter; the time of his return, by spring.

Here follows in v. 15, an exhortation to drive away the foxes which destroy the vineyard. This means that the people returning to the Lord, should expel the seducers, i. e. the false prophets who would overthrow the government of God. Chap. 3, The Beloved has lost her Lover, but she seeks and finds him. Taking away the figure: The people return unto the Lord, who receives them, and this restoration is represented by a royal festival. Chap. 4, 12, The faithfulness of the people to their God, is *drawn out* under the figure of the chastity of the Beloved. The Lover says, chap. 6, 8, "There are threescore queens and fourscore concubines, but this is the one that I love," which signifies that God had chosen the small and despised nation of the Jews as his own, before all the powerful kingdoms of the earth.

In addition to these, there is a collateral argument for the allegorical interpretation, drawn from the names of the lovers. The Lover is called Solomon, i. e. the Peaceful, the Prince of Peace; the Beloved, Salamite, the Peaceful or the Happy. This can hardly be a mere ac-

cidental coincidence The Book* takes its name from the spiritual sense: The Song of Songs, i. e. The most sublime song.

It appears, then, from sufficient proof, that the spiritual interpretation of the Song of Solomon is the correct one. The common objection, that those who explain it allegorically differ so much from one another, is not to be charged to the Book itself, but to its interpreters. This difference has arisen from the fact that these persons misapprehending the figurative character of the Old Testament, and destitute of practical feeling, without any fixed principle, have explained every figure as if they had found in it an allusion to some event in history, or to the state of experimental religion among God's people. This mode of interpretation is inconsistent with the character of the Song of Solomon, in which there is so much ornament. We cannot find for every individual figure, a correspondent reality, but we must collect them into one grand picture, and then we may easily discover what is referred to. Thus, in the representation of the beauty and loveliness of the Beloved, we need go no farther for an explanation, than to an expression of the love of God to his people. A comparison of other oriental poets, who in like manner represent the love of God by human affection, would be instructive. If any one will interpret this Poem, upon such principles as we have advanced, he will avoid the arbitrary manner in which both early and late critics have, so improperly, explained it; and the difference of interpretations, so often urged as an argument against the allegorical method, will disappear entirely.

If, then, the spiritual interpretation of the Song of Solomon be the correct one, it is certainly worthy of a place

* In the German Bible, the name of the Song of Solomon is *The High Song*.

in the Sacred Canon, from which some would, on various accounts, reject it. While, however, some thus seek to degrade this Book, others, in early times, went so far in praise of it, as to place it before every other one in the Old Testament. If this preference be proper, why is it that it is never expressly quoted either by our Saviour or his apostles? Although we are far from questioning the inspiration of the Song of Solomon, we cannot but rank it beneath the prophetic writings. It may *possibly* appear that the *figurative* is too abundant in this Poem. The Prophets make use of the same comparisons, but the object, to wit, the moral relation of Jehovah to the Jews, is ever obvious; in the Song of Solomon, the figures may, on the contrary, be too far-fetched for perspicuity.

Finally, it is a disputed point among those who interpret this Book allegorically, whether it is the object, to represent the relation which the Almighty sustained to the Jewish nation, or that of Christ to the whole church, or his relation to every soul. It may be gathered from our defence of the allegorical interpretation, on which side the truth is found. Most of the arguments which favour such an explanation, go to show that the *relation of Jehovah to the Jewish nation* is the subject of the allegory. The question, whether the relation of Christ to his Church is represented, must be answered negatively, if it be asserted that the Poem has no reference whatever to the Old Testament times; negatively too, when it is taken entirely out of its historical connection, and made to refer *prophetically* to the love of Christ for his New Testament Church. It may, on the other hand, be answered affirmatively, inasmuch as the God, of whose love to his people in the ancient church we have a representation, is the same as Christ who, in all ages, has revealed the glory of the Godhead to men. and who. to lay the foun-

dation of the new covenant, shed his own blood for them. Affirmatively too, inasmuch as the church of the Old and New Testament stands in the same relation to Christ; and as sin, and grace, backslidings, and returns, the subjects represented by the figurative language of the Song of Solomon, are constantly repeated in both. This Poem may represent the relation of Christ to every Christian, only so far as the history of the Children of Israel is the history of every believing soul. It can *thus* be accommodated to the relation of an individual soul to Christ, and in no other way. Great care is here necessary: a false interpretation of the Song of Solomon may lead to the invention of a mysticism, or may be applied to the adorning of one already existing, which has more affinity with the doctrines of the Persian Soofies than with the gospel; thus degrading holy things, while it perverts the moral relation of Christ to the soul into something romantic, creating thus a kind of spiritual intoxication, destructive to Christian humility and self-denial. It is *certainly, not without design, that in the Holy Scriptures, the relation of God or Christ to the individual soul, is never represented under the figure of a marriage.* For although the relation to His church and to the individual members may be substantially the same, in the former case, there would be much less room for abuse than in the latter.

HORSLEY'S DISCOURSES

ON

Prophecy.

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HORSLEY'S DISCOURSES

ON

PROPHECY.

2 PETER, i. 20.

Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation.

I PROCEED in the task I have undertaken, to exemplify the use of those rules of interpretation which the maxim of my text contains; which are these two,—to refer particular predictions to the system, and to compare prophecies with events. In my last discourse, I showed you with what certainty and facility they lead to the explication of the first prophecy that was ever given—that which was uttered by the voice of God himself, in the form of a curse upon the serpent, the adviser of Adam's disobedience. I shall now try them in an instance of a very different kind, where the occasion of the prediction does not so clearly ascertain its general purport,—where the images employed are less fixed to one constant meaning,—and where, among the events that have happened since the prophecy was given, a variety may be found to correspond with it, all in such exactness, that every one of the number may seem to have a right to pass for the intended completion.

The first prophecy uttered by the voice of God, furnished an example of a prediction in which the general

meaning was from the first certain, and the imagery of the diction simple, and of which the accomplishment hath been single. The earliest prophecy recorded in the sacred volume, of those which were uttered by men, furnishes the example that we now seek, of a prediction originally doubtful in its general meaning, comprehensive in its imagery, various in its completion. Such was the prophecy in which Noah, awakened from his wine, and inflamed with resentment at the irreverent lenity of his younger son, denounced the heavy curse on his posterity, and described the future fortunes of the three general branches of mankind. "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Blessed be Jehovah, God of Shem!—and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be *his* servant."

The only explicit part of this prophecy is the curse upon Canaan, Ham's youngest son; of whose descendants it is openly foretold that they should live in a state of the lowest subjection to nations which should issue from the two other sons of Noah. And yet here we find some obscurity; for how was Canaan to be in slavery both to Shem and Japhet? The evangelic maxim, "that no man can serve two masters," seems applicable here in a literal sense. This difficulty, the apostle's maxim, of applying for the explication of the sacred oracles to the occurrences of the world, readily removes. It appears from sacred history, that so early as in the time of Abraham, the Canaanites were governed by petty princes of their own, who were the tributary vassals of the Assyrian monarchy, then newly arisen under princes of the family of Ashur, Shem's second son. And from profane history we learn, that when the Canaanites fled from the victorious arms of Joshua, and when the remainder of them

were expelled by David, they settled in those parts of Africa which first fell under the dominion of the Romans, the undoubted descendants of Japhet. Thus Canaan in early ages was the slave of Shem, and in later times of Japhet.

But this is neither the most difficult nor the most interesting part of the prophecy. Let us turn our attention to the blessings pronounced upon the two other branches. And we will first consider Japhet's part, because it seems of the two the most explicit. "God shall enlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem." The most obvious meaning of the words, I think, is this,—that the gracious purpose of Providence was to bless Japhet with a numerous progeny, which should spread over an ample tract of country; and that, not satisfied, or not sufficiently accommodated with their own territory, they would be apt to encroach upon Shem's descendants, and make settlements within their borders. And as this is the most obvious sense of the words, so it is justified by the apostle's rules; for history supports it. The whole of Europe, and a considerable part of Asia, was originally peopled, and hath been ever occupied by Japhet's offspring, who, not contented with these vast demesnes, have been from time to time repeatedly making encroachments on the sons of Shem; as was notoriously the case, when Alexander the Great, with a European army, attacked and overthrew the Persian Monarchy—when the Romans subjugated a great part of the East,—and still more notoriously, when the Tartar conquerors of the race of Genghis Khan demolished the great empire of the Caliphs, took possession of their country, and made settlements and erected kingdoms in all parts of Asia and the East—and again, when Tamerlane settled his Moguls, another branch of Japhet's progeny, in Indostan. whose descend-

ants gradually got possession of that immense country, a part of Shem's original inheritance, which forms the present empire of the Great Mogul. These events, not to mention other less remarkable incursions of Scythians into Shem's parts of Asia, may well be deemed an accomplishment of the patriarch's prophetic benediction ; not only because they answer to the natural import of the terms of it, but because every one of them had great consequences upon the state of the true religion, and the condition of its professors in various parts of the world, and some of them have been the subjects of later prophecies. So that, in this interpretation, we find the two circumstances which, according to the apostle, are the best characteristics of a true interpretation,—an agreement with the truth of history, and a connection of this particular prediction with the system of the prophetic word.

It may seem, however, that some amicable intercourse between certain branches of the two families—some peaceable settlements of descendants of Japhet in nations arisen from the other stock, may be no less conveniently denoted, by the expression of “Japhet's dwelling in the tents of Shem,” than the violent encroachments of conquerors of the line of Japhet. And this interpretation does not ill agree with history, or, to speak more properly, with the present state of the two families. The settlements of Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French—all of us descended from the loins of Japhet, made within the three last centuries in different parts of India—all of it a part of Shem's inheritance, have given the prophecy in this sense a striking accomplishment. Nor, in this interpretation, is the necessary connection wanting of this particular prediction with the prophetic system ; for consequences cannot but arise, although they

have not yet appeared, of great moment to the interests of the true religion, from such numerous and extensive settlements of professed Christians, in countries where the light of the gospel hath for many ages been extinguished.

Thus you see, history leads us to two senses of this prophecy, of which each may contain an unlimited variety of particular accomplishments ; since every settlement of Europeans or of Asiatic Tartars in the lower Asia and the East, whether gained by war or procured by commercial treaties, connects with the prophecy in one or other of these two senses.

A third sense is yet behind : but, to bring it the more readily to light, it will be proper previously to consider the sense of Shem's blessing,—a blessing obliquely conveyed in this emphatic ejaculation, “Blessed be Jehovah God of Shem !”—an ejaculation in which this assertion is evidently implied, that “Jehovah should be Shem's God ;” and this is the whole of Shem's blessing,—a blessing, indeed, which could receive no addition or improvement. It can admit of no dispute, that Jehovah is here styled the God of Shem, in the same sense in which in later times he vouchsafed to call himself the God of a particular branch of Shem's progeny—of Abraham, Isaac, and of Jacob, and of their descendants the Jewish people. Jehovah is indeed the God of all the nations of the earth—the Universal Father, whose tender mercies are over all his works ; but to a particular branch of Shem's family, he was for a time more peculiarly a God, inasmuch as he chose them to be the depositaries of the true religion, while the rest of mankind were sunk in the ignorance and abomination of Idolatry. Their temporal concerns he condescended to take under the visible direction of his special providence.—to them he revealed

his sacred incommunicable name,—among them he preserved the knowledge and worship of himself, by a series of miraculous dispensations, till the destined season came for the general redemption ; and then he raised up, among the offspring of that chosen stock, that Saviour, whose divine doctrine hath spread the knowledge and worship of the true God among all nations, and whose meritorious sacrifice of himself hath made atonement for the sins of the whole world. These were the privileges in store for a select branch of Shem's family, when this prophecy was delivered,—privileges by which they were put in a condition to attain the highest blessings both in this world and in the next—the height of national prosperity, and the sum of future bliss ; and Shem being yet alive, and his family not split into its branches, it was natural, and agreeable to the usage of the prophetic style, that the future blessings of the offspring should be referred to the ancestor. This, therefore, is the oracular sense of the patriarch's emphatic compellation of Jehovah as the God of Shem. “Thou, O Jehovah ! shalt be the God of Shem,—the object of his worship and the guardian of his fortunes ; while the progeny of his brethren shall place their foolish trust in those which are no gods.”

This exposition of Shem's blessing will naturally lead to a new sense of Japhet's, if we only recollect what external means were used by Providence to preserve the knowledge of the true God in the chosen branch of Shem's family. These means were—the call of Abraham—the personal intercourse holden with him and his two next descendants—and, in due time, the institution of the Mosaic religion ; of which religion, you will particularly observe, the tabernacle and the service performed in it were the chief external instruments. The magnifi-

cence of the tabernacle—its stately support of upright pillars resting on their silver sockets, and transverse beams overlaid with gold—its gorgeous hangings within, of purple, linen, blue, and scarlet, with the buttons of gold—its noble covering without, of the shaggy skins of goats—its rich furniture, the seven-branched candlestick, the altars, and the implements of sacrifice, all of brass or gold, pure or overlaid—the ark, containing the tables of the law, with the mercy-seat overshadowed by the wings of a cherubim—but above all, the glorious light which filled the sacred pavillion, the symbol of Jehovah's presence,—this glory of the tabernacle in ancient times, and of the temple afterwards, was probably what most caught the admiration of the Jewish people, and attached them to a religion which had so much splendour in its externals, and in which something of what is visible of the majesty of the Divine Being met the senses of the worshippers.

Bearing this remark in mind, let us now turn again to that part of the prophecy which concerns Japhet's family, especially the latter clause of it—"he shall dwell in the tabernacles of Shem." The blessing promised to Shem, we have found to be the miraculous preservation of the true religion in a chosen branch of Shem's family. Might not the prediction of this merciful design of Providence naturally introduce an allusion to the external means by which it was to be effected? Among the external means, we have seen reason to think that the Jewish tabernacle was the most generally efficacious: but under what description is it likely that the tabernacle, not erected till the days of Moses, should be mentioned in prophecy so early as the days of Noah,—and in this prophecy in particular, in which Jehovah, for the intention of maintaining the true religion in a branch of Shem's

family, is characterized as the God of Shem?—A beautiful consistency of imagery will be maintained, if the tent which Jehovah was to pitch for this purpose among men, should be called Shem's tabernacle, or Shem's tent; for a tent and a tabernacle are one and the same thing, and the word in the Hebrew is the same. This holy tent or tabernacle was Shem's tabernacle, because it was erected among the sons of Shem, and because none might bear a part in the whole service of it, who did not incorporate with the chosen family.

But, farther. This tabernacle, and the service performed in it, were emblems of the Christian church and of the Christian service. When all these circumstances are put together, can any doubt remain, that, in the mention of the tents of Shem, the Holy Spirit made allusion to the Jewish tabernacle as an emblem of the Christian church; and that the dwelling of Japhet in these tents of Shem, took place when the idolatrous nations of Japhet's line, converted to the faith of Christ, became worshippers of the God of Shem in Shem's tabernacles—worshippers of the true God, in the modes of worship prescribed by revealed religion?

And this interpretation well agrees with the apostle's maxim, being supported both by the harmony of the prophetic system and the truth of history.

For the harmony of the prophetic system. This interpretation brings this particular prediction to bear directly upon the general object of prophecy, the uniting of all nations in the faith of Christ; and it is worthy of particular remark, that, from the delivery of this prediction, the conversion of the Gentiles made a standing part of all the prophecies of the Saviour. Now, that nothing of variation might appear in the schemes of Providence, it should seem that it was requisite that the first intima-

tion of the design of selecting a peculiar people, which is contained in Shem's blessing, should be accompanied with an intimation of the general mercies of which that measure was to be productive to all mankind : but of the general benefit intended we have in this place no intimation, if it be not conveyed in Japhet's benediction, —in which benediction it is not conveyed, unless this sense of that benediction be admitted. This interpretation, therefore, of the prophetic blessing pronounced on Japhet, most of all connects it with the great object of prophecy, and best maintains the harmony of the prophetic system.

Then for history. The fact is notorious, that the gospel, from the beginning to the present times, hath made the greatest progress in Europe, and in those parts of Asia which were first peopled by the posterity of Japhet. Among the uncivilized descendants of Ham, and the degenerate sons of Shem, it hath not been so generally spread, or hath not so deeply taken root.

Beside this evident agreement with history and the prophetic system, another circumstance is much in favour of this interpretation, which is this,—that the image of this prediction bear a near affinity to those under which later prophets have described the same event. Hear in what language the prophet Isaiah announces the conversion of the Gentiles, in words addressed to the Jewish church, as the emblem of the Christian. “Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations.” Or, as the words are more significantly rendered in a late translation, “Let the canopy of thy habitation be extended. Spare not : lengthen thy cords, and firmly fix thy stakes. For on the right hand and on the left thou shalt burst forth with increase, and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles.” Here, you see.

Isaiah's allusion is to the tabernacle ; and the image presented to him is an enlargement of the sacred tent, to contain new crowds of worshippers ; and the stakes are to be driven deep and firm—the cords are to be lengthened and drawn tight, that the sides of the tent may be able to sustain the pressure of the multitudes within it. Noah's allusion is also to the tabernacle ; and the image presented to him is the admission of foreign worshippers. It is therefore one and the same scene which the patriarch and the younger prophet have before them ; and, except in the distinct mention of that particular circumstance, that the new worshippers should be chiefly of Japhet's stock, Noah's prophecy differs not from Isaiah's, otherwise than as an outline differs from a more finished drawing of the same objects.

Thus, by the apostle's rules, prophecy, in that part of it which regards the family of Japhet, is brought to three senses, in each of which it hath been remarkably verified,—in the settlements of European and Tartarian conquerors in the Lower Asia and in the East,—in the settlements of European traders on the coasts of Indostan,—but especially in the numerous and early conversions of the idolaters of Japhet's line (among whom it is fit that we of this island should remember our own ancestors were included) to the worship of the one true God, and to the faith of Christ.

I am sensible that this variety of intent and meaning discovered in a single prophecy, brings on a question of no small difficulty, and of the first importance. It is this,—What evidence of a providence may arise from predictions like the one we have now been considering, in which a variety of unconnected events, independent, to all appearance, of each other, and very distant in times, seem to be prefigured by the same images ? And, al-

though it be a digression from my main subject, yet as the inquiry is of the highest importance, and spontaneously presents itself, it is to this that I shall devote the remainder of the present discourse.

I shall not wonder, if, to those who have not sifted this question to the bottom (which few, I am persuaded, have done), the evidence of a providence, arising from prophecies of this sort, should appear to be very slender, or none at all. Nor shall I scruple to confess, that time was when I was myself in this opinion, and was therefore much inclined to join with those who think that every prophecy, were it rightly understood, would be found to carry a precise and single meaning, and that, wherever the double sense appears, it is because the one true sense hath not yet been detected. I said, "Either the images of the prophetic style have constant and proper relations to the events of the world, as the words of common speech have proper and constant meanings,—or they have not. If they have, then it seems no less difficult to conceive that many events should be shadowed under the images of one and the same prophecy, than that several likenesses should be expressed in a single portrait. But, if the prophetic images have no such appropriate relations to things, but that the same image may stand for many things, and various events be included in a single prediction, then it should seem that prophecy, thus indefinite in its meaning, can afford no proof of providence : for it should seem possible, that a prophecy of this sort, by whatever principle the world were governed, whether by providence, nature, or necessity, might owe a seeming completion to mere accident." And since it were absurd to suppose that the Holy Spirit of God should frame prophecies by which the end of prophecy might so ill be answered, it seemed a just and fair conclusion,

that no prophecy of holy writ might carry a double meaning.

Thus I reasoned, till a patient investigation of the subject brought me, by God's blessing, to a better mind. I stand clearly and unanswerably confuted, by the instance of Noah's prophecy concerning the family of Japhet; which hath actually received various accomplishments, in events of various kinds, in various ages of the world,—in the settlements of European and Tartarian conquerors in the Lower Asia, in the settlements of European traders on the coasts of India, and in the early and plentiful conversion of the families of Japhet's stock to the faith of Christ. The application of the prophecy to any one of these events bears all the characteristics of a true interpretation,—consistence with the terms of the prophecy, consistence with the truth of history, consistence with the prophetic system. Every one of these events must therefore pass, with every believer, for a true completion.

A plain instance, therefore, being found in holy writ, of a prophecy which bears more than a double meaning, the question, what evidence such prophecies may afford of a divine providence, becomes of the highest moment. I enter upon the discussion of it with this preliminary observation,—that if our suspicion that such prophecies may receive a seeming accomplishment by chance, or by the natural and necessary course of the world, should appear, upon a strict examination, unreasonable and ill-founded, the consequence will be, that the evidence arising from this sort of prophecy is of the highest kind; since the greater the variety of events may be to which a single combination of images shall be found to correspond, the more of art and contrivance is displayed in the framing of the prophecy, and the more of power (if ac-

cident be clearly excluded) in bringing about the completion. Our whole inquiry, therefore, is reduced within a narrow compass, since the whole is brought to rest upon this single question, May the accomplishment of such predictions be, or may it *not* be accidental? If it may, then such prophecies are frivolous, and the Deity is blasphemed when they are ascribed to him. If it may not, then such prophecies are most complete and wonderful demonstrations of the absolute foreknowledge and universal providence of God. The negative of this great question, which leads to these comfortable and glorious consequences, I purpose to sustain. I mean to show you, that, amidst all the comprehension and variety of meaning which is to be found in any prophecies of holy writ, and which, in the instance before us, of Noah's prophecy, is indeed wonderful, certain restrictions and limitations will always be found, by which the power of accident, or any other but an intelligent cause, is no less excluded from any share in the completion, than it is in other instances, where the prediction, like the curse upon the serpent, points direct and full at a single event. The method which I shall pursue to make this appear, shall be to argue upon Noah's prophecy, which I have so particularly expounded, as an instance; and my method of arguing upon this instance shall be, to contrast it, in every circumstance, with a pretended prediction, which, for the propriety of its images, and the exactness of its completion, hath been compared and set in competition with the prophecies of holy writ.

A heathen poet, whose subject leads him to speak of a certain voyage, which, if it was ever really performed, was the first attempt of any European nation to cross the main seas in a large ship with masts and sails, describes, in elegant and animated strains, the consequences which

the success of so extraordinary an undertaking might be expected to produce upon the state of mankind, the free intercourse that was likely to be opened between distant nations, and the great discoveries to be expected from voyages in future times, when the arts of ship-building and navigation, to which this expedition, if a real one, gave rise, should be carried to perfection. This is his general argument, and verses to this effect make the conclusion of his song.

“————— Distant years
 Shall bring the fated season, when Ocean,
 Nature’s prime barrier, shall no more obstruct
 The daring search of enterprising man.
 The earth, so wide, shall all be open,—
 The mariner explore new worlds;
 Nor Shetland be the utmost shore.”*

“Now give me,” says the infidel, † “a prophecy from your Bible, which may be as clearly predictive of any event which you may choose to allege for the accomplishment, as these verses have by mere accident proved to be, of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. Give me such a prophecy from your Bible, as I have produced to you from a heathen poet, who yet was no prophet, nor claimed the character, and I will turn believer.” We cheerfully accept this arrogant defiance;—we are thankful to the adversary that he hath invited us to meet him on such advantageous ground, by comparing what may justly be deemed the most indefinite

* “————— Venient annis
 Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
 Vincula rerum laxat, et ingens
 Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
 Detegat orbis; nec sit terris
 Ultima Thule.”

Scucca, Medea, 374, &c.

† Anthony Collins.

of the Scripture prophecies, with the best specimen of the power of accident for the completion of prophecy which his extensive reading could produce.

These verses of his Latin poet are, indeed, a striking example of a prediction that might safely take its chance in the world, and, happen what might, could not fail at some time or other to meet with its accomplishment. Indeed, it predicts nothing but what was evidently within the ken of human foresight,—that men, being once furnished with the means of discovery, would make discoveries,—that, having ships, they would make voyages,—that, when improvements in the art of ship-building should have furnished larger and better ships, men would make longer and more frequent voyages, —and that, by longer and more frequent voyages, they would gain more knowledge of the surface of the globe which they inhabit. What peasant of Thessaly but might have uttered such prophecies as these, who saw the *Argo* bring her heroes home, and observed to what degree the avarice and curiosity of his countrymen were inflamed, by the wealth which the adventurers had amassed, and the stories which they spread? What restriction do we find of the generality of these prognostications, which may seem to put the exact completion out of the reach of accidental causes? None. Neither the parts of the world are specified from which expeditions of discovery should be fitted out, nor the quarters in which they should most succeed: or, if any particular intimation upon the latter article be couched in the mention of *Shetland* as an island that should cease to be extreme, it is erroneous, as it points precisely to that quarter of the globe where discovery hath ever been at a stand,—where the ocean, to this hour, opposes his eternal barrier of impervious unnavigable ice.

So much for our infidel's prophecy. Let us now compare the patriarch's. Of this, indeed, the topics are most general,—the increase of mankind—empire and servitude—varieties of religion—conquests—migration—foreign settlements. The increase of mankind was to be foreseen from physical causes ;—that, mankind being increased, some part would govern, might be probably conjectured ;—that one part governing, another part must serve, was of necessity to be concluded ;—that a part of mankind would fall from the worship of the one true God, was to be feared, from the example of the antediluvian world ;—that conquerors would plant colonies, and merchants make settlements in foreign countries, the same example might persuade. So far the comparison may wear a promising aspect on our adversary's side ; but let him not exult before his victory is complete. Let him tell me by what natural sagacity the patriarch might foresee—by what analogy of antediluvian history he might conjecture, that Japhet's line would have so greatly the advantage over Shem's, in the rate of increase by propagation, and in the extent of territory, that when he speaks of God's enlarging Japhet, he should esteem the enlargement of Shem in either instance unworthy to be mentioned. Did blind causes bring about the agreement, which all history proves, between the patriarch's conjecture and the event of things ? “Unquestionably,” the adversary will reply, “blind causes brought this about. Physical causes determine the rate of propagation, and with the rate of propagation the growth of empire is naturally connected.” It is granted. But was it within the natural powers of the patriarch's mind to ascertain in *which* line these physical causes should be the most efficacious, while the nations to arise from either of his sons lay yet unissued in the loins of their progenitors ?

If not, to what may the agreement be ascribed between the thoughts of the patriarch's mind, which did not command those physical causes, and the effects of causes which could not influence his thoughts, but the energy of that Supreme Mind which hath the thoughts of men and the motions of matter equally in its power?

Again, I ask, by what natural sagacity did the patriarch foresee that Shem's family, rather than any branch of the other two, should retain the knowledge and worship of Jehovah?—that the condition of slavery should be fixed upon a particular branch of Ham's descendants?—that the masters of those slaves should be of the stock of Shem or Japhet, rather than of the collateral branches of their own family? By what natural sagacity did the patriarch foresee the distinct genius and character of whole nations yet unborn?—that the spirit of migration should prevail in the line of Japhet, while the indolent progeny of Shem would ever be averse to foreign settlements, and indifferent to a distant commerce? Hath it been accident, I would ask, that the history of past ages, and the experience of the present time, confirm the patriarch's conjecture, and falsify the poet's?—for the poet, although the adversary would gladly have suppressed that circumstance, speaks of the intermixture which he thought likely to take place of different nations. But, unfortunately for the infidel's argument, the poet is wrong precisely in those particulars in which the patriarch is right; and this although the poet lived when the different genius of the sons of Shem and Japhet had shown itself, and lay open to a wise man's observation. “The cool Armenian streams (so the poet guessed) shall quench the parched Indian's thirst, and Persians drink the Rhine and

Elbe."* But is it so? Did ever a colony of Indians settle in the Upper Asia? Are Persians to be found upon the banks of the Elbe or the Rhine? What said the patriarch? Just the reverse; and that reverse proves true. Tartars from the north of Asia hold possession of Shem's Indian territory, and Japhet's Europe drinks the Ganges!

Was it accident—was it an effect of mechanical causes, that Japhet's sons, when they had been sunk for ages in the abominations of idolatry, were reclaimed at last by the emissaries of that divine teacher who arose among Shem's descendants, and thus settled, according to the patriarch's prediction, in Shem's tabernacles? Was it chance—was it nature—was it fate, that a prophecy like that before us, applicable to events of various sorts,—to propagation—conquest—trade—religion, hath received an accomplishment in every sense in which the words can be taken?—and this notwithstanding that each sense hath such limitations as no less require a certain determination of the course of the world, for the verification of the prediction, than if each sense had respected one individual fact? I would not indeed deny, that without any superintendance of the world by Providence, events might sometimes so fall out as to correspond with a random conjecture of the human mind, or with the forged predictions of an impostor. But if the impostor's words should carry two meanings, the probability that they should be verified in one meaning or the other would indeed be much greater; but that they should prove true in both, the probability would be much less, than that of

* "—————Indus gelidum
Potat Araxem : Albim Persæ
Rhenunque bibunt."

Seneca, Medea, 372, &c.

the accomplishment of a prediction of a single meaning. If the words, instead of two, should carry a variety of meanings, the improbability that they should prove true in all, would be heightened in a much greater proportion than any who are not versed in computation may easily be brought to apprehend. But the phenomenon which Noah's prophecy presents, if it be not a real prophecy brought by Providence to its completion, is that of a prediction of an immense extent and variety of meaning, which hath had the wonderful good fortune to be verified in every branch. If this cannot be supposed to have happened without Providence, in the single instance of this prophecy, how much less in all the instances of prophecies of this sort which occur in holy writ? And if this could be conceived of all those prophecies, so far as they concern secular events, yet, let me ask, do we not find in every one of them, or at least in the far greater part, that some event of the Messiah's reign, or something characteristic of his time or person, makes one, and for the most part the most obvious of the various meanings? And is this too casual,—that such a variety of predictions as we find of this sort in the Bible, delivered in different ages, upon very different occasions, should be so framed, as all to bear upon one great object, the last of a succession, or the chief of an assortment of events, to which the images of each prediction are adapted with such wonderful art, that every one of them hath passed in its turn for the accomplishment? Should you see the rays of the sun reflected from a system of polished planes, and transmitted through a variety of refractive surfaces, collect at last in a burning point, and there by their united action melt down the stubborn metal which resists the chemist's furnace, would you refer the wonderful effect to chance, rather than to an exquisite polish—

to an accurate conformation and a just arrangement of the mirrors and the glasses? Would you not suppose that the skill of many artists had concurred to execute the different parts of the machine, under the direction of some man of far superior knowledge, by whom the properties of light and the laws of its reflections and refractions were understood, and by whom the effect which you had seen produced was originally intended? And can you suppose that it hath happened without design and contrivance, that the rays of the prophetic light are concentrated in a single point to illuminate a single object?

You will now recollect and apply the observation with which we entered upon this discussion,—that accident being once excluded from any share in the accomplishment, the evidence of a providence which these multiform prophecies afford is of the highest kind.

DISCOURSE II.

2 PETER, i. 20, 21.

Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not at any time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

FROM the digression which closed my last discourse, I now return to my principal subject; and shall immediately proceed to the last general topic I proposed to treat,—namely, to show that this same text of the apostle, which is so sure a guide to the sense of the prophecies, will also furnish a satisfactory answer to the most specious objection which the adversaries of our most holy faith have ever been able to produce against that particular evidence of the truth of our Lord's pretensions, which arises from the supposed completion of the prophecies of the Old Testament in him and in his doctrines.

The objection, indeed, is nothing less than this,—that although the divine inspiration of the Jewish prophets be admitted, their prophecies will afford no support to our Lord's pretensions; for this reason, that in the application of these prophecies to him, and to the propagation of his doctrine, they are drawn by the writers of the New Testament to a sense in which they were never understood by the prophets themselves who delivered them: and since the true sense of any writing can be no other

than that which the author intended to convey, and which was understood by him to be contained in the expressions which he thought proper to employ, an application of a prophecy in a sense not intended by the prophet must be a misinterpretation.

The assertion upon which this objection is founded, "that the first preachers of Christianity understood prophecies in one sense which were uttered in another," cannot altogether be denied ; and, unless it could be denied in every instance, it is to little purpose to refute it, which might easily be done, in some : for if a single instance should remain, in which the apostles and evangelists should seem to have been guilty of a wilful misinterpretation of prophecy, or of an erroneous application of it, the credit of their doctrine would be greatly shaken, since a single instance of a fraud would fasten on them the imputation of dishonesty, and a single instance of mistake concerning the sense of the ancient Scriptures would invalidate their claim to inspiration. The truth, however, is, that though the fact upon which this objection is founded were as universally alleged,—which is not the case,—yet, were it so, we have in this text of the apostle a double answer to the adversary's argument, which is inconclusive, for two reasons : first, because the assumption is false, that the prophets were the authors of their prophecies, "for the prophecy came not at any time by the will of man ; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ;" and, secondly, were the assumption true, still the conclusion might not stand, "because no prophecy of holy writ is its own interpreter." I will endeavour to make you understand the propriety of both these answers, which at first perhaps may not strike you.

First, then, I say we deny the adversary's rash conclusion, though in part we grant his premises, because his assumption is false, that the prophets were the authors of their prophecies. The assumption is false, upon the principles upon which the adversary who urges this objection professes to dispute. He professes to dispute upon a concession of the divine inspiration of the Jewish prophets. But, if the prophets were inspired, they were not the authors of their prophecies;—the Holy Spirit of God was the author of every prophecy or of every saying of a prophet, so far at least as it is prophetic; and the views of that Omniscient Spirit who gave the prophecy—not the surmises of the men whose faculties or whose organs that spirit employed—are to be the standard of interpretation; and this upon that very principle which the adversary alleges,—that the meaning of every book, and of every sentence in the book, is its author's meaning.

To explain this more distinctly, I must observe, that all prophecy is speech, in which the prophet is made to express ideas of the Divine Mind, in uttering his own; and the prophecies of holy writ are divisible into two different kinds, distinguished by two different manners, in which this utterance of the mind of God by the mouth of the prophet was usually effected. The first kind consisted in a scene allegorically descriptive of futurity, which was displayed to the imagination of the prophet, who was left to paint the images excited in his phantasy in such language as his natural talents of poetical description might supply. Of this kind are the prophecies delivered by Jacob and by Moses, not long before their death—the prophecies of Balaam, and many that occur in the writings of those who were prophets by profession. The other kind consists merely in verbal allusions, when

the prophet, speaking perhaps of himself or of his own times, or of distant events set clearly in his view, was directed by the inspiring Spirit to the choice of expressions to which later events have been found to correspond with more exactness than those to which the prophet himself applied them. This kind of prophecy particularly abounds in the Psalms of David, who often speaks of the fortunes of his own life, the difficulties with which he had to struggle, and his providential deliverances, in terms which carry only a figurative meaning as applied to David himself, but are literally descriptive of the most remarkable occurrences in the holy life of Jesus. Nor is this kind of prophecy unfrequent in the writings of the other prophets, who were often made to allude to the general redemption, when they would speak in the most explicit terms of deliverances of the Jewish people ; and were seldom permitted to deplore present calamities, or to denounce impending judgments, but in expressions literally descriptive of the sufferings of Christ and the afflictions of his church.

In both kinds of prophecy the Spirit of God and the mind of man had each its proper part. In prophecies of the first kind, the *matter* was furnished by the Spirit of God, and the language only is the man's. In these prophecies we often find a double obscurity, of which one part is to be imputed to the man, and arises from the concise and broken manner in which he utters his conceptions. Carried away by the strength of the images presented to him, the prophet seems often to forget that his hearers were not apprized of what was passing in his own fancy : he addresses them upon the subject of what he sees, as joint spectators of the interesting scene, in brief allusions, and in animated remarks upon the most striking parts, rather than in a just and cool description.

of the whole. Now, this obscurity may indeed be best removed by inquiring the prophet's meaning—by collecting, from his abrupt hints and oblique intimations, what might be the entire picture exhibited to his mind. But, when this is sufficiently understood, another obscurity, arising from the matter of the prophecy, may yet remain. The mystic sense couched under the allegorical images may yet be hidden; and for clearing this difficulty, on which the real interpretation of the prophecy, as prophecy, depends, it may be to little purpose to inquire or to know what meaning the prophet might affix to the images he saw, unless it were certain that the prophet was so far in the secret of Heaven as to know of what particular events these images were designed to be the emblems. But this, it is certain, he could not know but by a second inspiration, of which there is no evidence,—by an operation of the Divine Spirit on the man's understanding, which might enable him to decypher the allegorical scenery which his imagination had been made to conceive: for, that the sight of the picture should be accompanied with any natural discernment of its mystic meaning, is no more necessary than that a waking man's recollection of his dream should be accompanied with a clear understanding of its signification; the reverse of which we know to have been the case in ancient times, when prophetic dreams were not unfrequent. The dreamer could describe every particular of his dream, but, for the meaning of it, 'twas necessary he should have recourse to other persons with whom the gift of interpretation was deposited; and had God been pleased to withhold this gift, a prophetic dream would have had no interpretation antecedent to its completion, and yet, by the completion, would have been understood to be prophetic. Now, what is a dream which is distinctly re-

membered; and not at all understood, but one instance of a prophetic vision, of which the sense is unknown to the prophet? In prophecies, therefore, of this first kind, there is no reason to suppose that the prophet's meaning was the whole meaning of the inspiring Spirit; but there is the greatest reason from analogy for the contrary conclusion.

In prophecies of the second kind, the whole matter is from the mind of the man, but the language is from the Divine Spirit; and, in this case, the immediate action of the Spirit seems to have been upon the memory of the prophet, which was directed to suggest words, phrases, and similitudes, which, at the same time that they were strongly expressive of the prophet's thoughts, were still more nicely adapted to the private meaning of the inspiring Spirit. Now, in this, as in the former instance, the first step towards the understanding of the prophecy is to settle what was the meaning of the prophet. But still this may be understood, and the meaning of the Divine Spirit remain a secret; for in this, as in the former case, 'twas impossible the prophet should be apprized of the Spirit's meaning, without a second operation on another faculty of his mind, by which it might be empowered to discern those future events within the view of the Omniscient Spirit, to which the expressions in which he clothed his own thoughts might be applicable. But of this second act of the Spirit, for the private information of the prophet, no evidence appears.

Upon the whole, prophecy of either kind was the joint production of two intellects, of very different and unequal powers. In this, therefore, as in every instance where more than single intellect is concerned, a design and meaning may reasonably be ascribed to the superior understanding, which contrives and directs, not imparted

to the inferior, which obeys and executes ; just as, in any book, the meaning of the author may be little understood by the corrector of the press, and not at all by the founder of the types. And yet the disparities of understanding between the wisest and most learned author, and the most ignorant of the mechanics whose manual art and industry must concur in the publication of his labours,—the disparity between the wisest man and the humblest of his instruments, is nothing in comparison of that which must be confessed to subsist between the two intellects which have concurred in the publication of the prophetic word.

Here, then, is one answer which the apostle furnishes to this specious objection, “that the prophecies of the Old Testament are misinterpreted by the writers of the New ; being taken in senses in which the authors of those prophecies, the prophets, never understood them.” The prophets, says the apostle, were not the authors of their prophecies, any more than a scribe is the author of the discourse which he takes down from the mouth of a speaker. “For the prophecy came not at any time by the will of man ; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.”

This first answer is, however, an answer to the objector rather than to the objection ; since it goes no farther than to prove that the adversary’s argument is inconclusive ; and as it hath happened to many to fail in the proof of true propositions, through want of skill or circumspection in the framing of their arguments, it may perhaps be supposed that this may have happened to our adversary in the present question. It may be said, in defence of the opinion he sustains, that though every author must be allowed to understand his own writings, it is not to be allowed that no writing is to be understood by

any but the author of it. Though the principle, therefore, may be false, upon which our adversary would conclude that the prophets had of all men the clearest understanding of their prophecies, the reverse is not immediately to be concluded—that any other men have had a clearer understanding of them. It is possible, it may be said, that the prophets might enjoy a clear foresight of the events to which their predictions were intended to allude, as some men have had the gift of interpreting their own dreams ; and that, if this was the fact, which may seem no unnatural supposition, the consequence still must be, that no meaning that may be affixed to any prophecy may be the true one, that was not within the comprehension of the prophet's mind. Now, we will allow the adversary to amend his assumption, and to reform his argument ;—we will allow him to assume, that the full meaning of every prophecy was clearly understood by the prophet who uttered it. We shall, in the course of our argument, find a proper place to show that this assumption is false, and all consequences built upon it at the best precarious. But, for the present, we grant this assumption, with every consequence that may fairly be deduced from it. We must therefore grant (what we hold, indeed, to be false ; but for the present we must grant it) that nothing may be a true completion of a prophecy which was not foreseen by the prophet. Still we feel ourselves at liberty to maintain that the adversary's argument, with all this emendation on his part, and with all this concession on our own, hath no connection with the particular conclusion against the first preachers of Christianity ; because he has not proved—because he could not prove, without retracting that very assumption on which his whole argument depends—because the thing is incapable of proof upon any principles which an infidel granting

the divine inspiration of the Jewish prophets can admit — their inspiration being granted, it is incapable of proof, otherwise than by the authority of the later Scriptures, that those very meanings which the writers of the New Testament affix to the ancient prophecies might not be in the minds of the prophets, though they are not obvious in their words. The proof of this assertion rests upon the apostle's maxim, that “no prophecy of Scripture is of self-interpretation; or, to state the same thing affirmatively, that the sense of prophecy is to be sought in the events of the world, and in the harmony of the prophetic writings, rather than in the bare terms of any single prediction.

The apostle asserts that all the Scripture prophecies are purposely so conceived as not to be of self-interpretation. He intimates that it was a part of the scheme of Providence, that prophecy should be so delivered as to have to fetch its interpretation from the consistence of the prophetic system, and from the events of the world. I do not insist upon the authority of the apostle;—I know that this is nothing with the adversary: but I persuade myself you will recollect, that in a former discourse, in which I opened the connection between the apostle's maxim and the facts on which he builds it, I proved, from the end to which prophecy, if it comes from God, must unquestionably be directed, and from the wisdom with which the means of Providence must ever be adapted to their ends,—I proved to you, not from any man's authority, but from these plain and general principles of natural religion, namely, that God is good and wise, that his ends ever are the best, and his means the most fitting and convenient,—I proved to you, from such plain principles as these, acknowledged by Deists no less than by Christians, that if prophecy be really of

divine original, that mysterious disguise by which the events of remote futurity (such at least as depend on the free actions of men) may be kept almost as much concealed as if prophecy had never been given, must be a part of the original contrivance. Hence it follows, that whatever private information the prophet might enjoy, the Spirit of God would never permit him to disclose the ultimate intent and particular meaning of the prophecy in the bare terms of the prediction. I ask, then, by what means we may discover that any particular meaning which may seem to suit with the prediction was not in the prophet's mind, when it is proved, that although it had been in the prophet's mind he would not have been permitted to declare it. By what means doth the adversary pretend to show that the applications of the ancient prophecies which are made by the evangelists were never intended or foreseen by the prophets, but by showing that no such intention appears in the terms of any prediction, considered in connection with the occasion upon which it was delivered, the circumstances in which the prophet might be who uttered it, and the persons to whom it was addressed? But where is the force of this conclusion,—“The apostle's sense of the prophecy is not to be found in the terms of the prediction; therefore it was not in the prophet's mind?” Where is the force of this conclusion, if the mind of the prophet, possessed of that sense, would nevertheless be irresistibly determined, by the impulse of the Almighty Spirit, to envelop the perceived sense in an enigma, which should remain inexplicable till the time for the accomplishment should draw near? And this must have been the case, if the prophet was privy to the intent of his prophecy, and the Holy Spirit of God was really his inspirer. Our adversary would prove that the ancient prophecies, though

allowed to be divine, give no countenance to the pretensions of our Lord ; and his boasted proof is this : “ Your first teachers,” he says to Christians, “ have taught you to misinterpret these prophecies, in applying them to your pretended Messiah ; for they adopt a mode of interpretation which you must confess to be inapplicable, unless the divine inspiration of the prophets be admitted.” The argument is no less incoherent and infirm than it is base and insidious, which is built, like this, on an occult retractation of what the disputant, in drawing his own state of the controversy, professes to concede.

Thus you see, that though the general principle should be admitted, that the true meaning of a prophecy cannot be unknown to the prophet, yet the particular conclusion, that the prophecies of the Old Testament have been misapplied by the writers of the New, hath no connection with these general premises. Although the general maxim could be proved to be true, the particular conclusion might nevertheless be false. And now we may safely advance a step farther, and say that this conclusion is proved to be actually false, by the evident agreement of the particulars of the gospel history with the prophecies which have been applied to them, and by the mutual harmony and consistence of the prophecies so interpreted ; since, whatever might be in the mind of the prophet or his contemporaries, a manifest correspondence and agreement between the particulars of an event and the images of a prophecy is in all cases a complete evidence that this prophecy was predictive of this event, provided the prophecy so applied be consistent with the general purport of the system. The authority of this evidence is so decisive, that the private opinion of the prophet, could it in any case be clearly ascertained, must give way to it. If the prophet, in any case, pretended to form a

conjecture concerning the ultimate intention of his prophecies, his judgment must still bow down to time, as a more informed expositor ;—and this is an immediate consequence of that disguise of prophecy which renders it inexplicable but by time, and which hath been shown to arise from the attributes of the Deity. Our adversary, therefore, has employed his learning and his logic to his own confusion ; he has brought himself into a disgraceful and unpleasant situation, for a man who asserts with confidence, and would affect solidity of argument. The senses of the ancient prophecies, which he rejects because he supposes them to have been unknown to the prophets, he cannot prove to have been unknown to them ; and, if he could prove this, still the conclusion, upon principles which in his assumed character of a Deist he cannot but admit,—the conclusion still must be for ignorance in the prophet, rather than error or fraud in the apostles. And this was indeed the case. The inspired prophets had not always a distinct foresight of the particular events in which their prophecies were to receive their ultimate accomplishment ;—not but that the prophets and the earliest patriarchs had indeed an expectation full of joy—a glorious hope of a deliverance of mankind from the ruin of the fall, and the later prophets understood that the deliverance was to be effected by a descendant of the royal stock of David ; but, of the particulars of our Saviour's life—of the particular doctrines he was to teach—of the particular sufferings he was to undergo—of the means by which the true religion was to be propagated,—of these things they had no distinct and particular foreknowledge. That they had it not, is implied in the text ; but it is more explicitly affirmed by St. Peter, in his first epistle. “Of which salvation”—*i. e.* of the salvation of the souls of men, purchased by our Lord Christ Jesus,—

“ of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you ; searching what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow.” Here, you see, is an explicit assertion that the particulars of the gospel dispensation, testified by the Spirit of Christ, the Omniscient Spirit of the Father and the Son, which was in the prophets, were matters of anxious search and diligent inquiry to the spirit of the prophet. But what is once known and clearly understood is no longer an object of inquiry and search to him who knows and understands it. By the prophets, therefore, who inquired and searched diligently after that salvation of which they prophesied, the true sense of their own prophecies was but imperfectly understood.

And this circumstance, the confessed ignorance of the prophets concerning the issue of their prophecies, is that which gives the testimony that prophecy affords of the wise and powerful providence of God its peculiar weight ; for the evidence of prophecy lies in these two particulars,—that events have been predicted which were not within human foresight ; and the accomplishments of predictions have been brought about, which much surpass human power and contrivance. The prediction, therefore, was not from man’s sagacity, nor the event from man’s will and design ; and then the goodness of the end, and the intricacy of the contrivance, complete the proof that the whole is of God. But, if it appeared that the events had been foreseen by the prophets, a very important branch of the argument, the exclusion of human fore-

sight, would be rendered very precarious. The infidel, in that case, would have said, "The plain fact is, that these events were foreseen by men. You tell us, indeed," he would say to the advocates of revelation, "that this foresight came from a preternatural illumination of their minds; but this is a mere hypothesis of your own, which you set up because it best serves your purpose. All that appears is, that these men did foresee these events. On what principle their power of foresight might depend, is matter of doubtful inquiry. Why should it rather be referred to some inexplicable intercourse of a superior mind with the human, than to a certain faculty originally inherent in the minds of those particular men, the use of which might be no less easy and natural to them than the use of a more limited faculty of foresight, and the ordinary talent of conjecture, is to you? Are not men very unequal in all their endowments? And this being once allowed, is it not reasonable to suppose of any faculty or power which a man is seen to exercise, that he possesses it as his own, in that degree in which he is seen to exercise it? The prophet's foresight, therefore, of the things he did foresee, was natural to him. And why," the infidel would add, "why should it be doubted but that man hath powers to effect what the human mind hath power to prognosticate?" To such objections, the evidence from prophecy would indeed have been obnoxious, had the prophets shown a clear foreknowledge of the full intent and meaning of their prophecies; but the case being the reverse,—since the events which best correspond with the prophecies, and put the system of prophecy most in harmony with itself, were neither foreseen by the prophets nor by any other men till they had ac-

ually taken place, or till such things had taken place as at the same time brought these accomplishments within the reach of human foresight and put it beyond the reach of human power to prevent them, there can be no ground for these extravagant claims in favour of man's sagacity to predict, or of his power to accomplish. Had the case been otherwise, the divine inspiration of the prophets might still, indeed, have been an object of probable opinion and rational faith; but it becomes as much more certain, when the ignorance of the prophet notoriously appears, as the consequence of a known fact or self-evident truth is more certain than any conclusion from the most plausible hypothesis.

I have now discussed the various points of doctrine that my text suggested. You have seen that it confutes those vain pretensions to an infallible authority of interpretation, which its meaning hath been perverted to support. You have seen that it furnishes rules by which the private Christian may be enabled to interpret the prophecies of Scripture for himself. You have seen that these rules are of extensive use, and ready application. You have seen, that, by virtue of that peculiar structure which brings them under these rules of interpretation, the most multiform of the Scripture prophecies do equally with the most simple afford a positive evidence of God's providential government of the world. And, lastly, you have seen, that, from this same text of the apostle, the most specious objection which infidels have ever been able to produce against the argument from prophecy in support of the Christian revelation, receives a double answer,—one from the fact upon which the apostle builds his maxim of interpretation, the other from the

maxim itself,—the first defeating the objector's argument, the other establishing the opposite of his conclusion. Nothing now remains, but briefly to obviate a question which many who have attended to these discourses may, perhaps with the best intentions, wish to put,—whether these rules of interpretation, which we have taken so much pains to explain and to establish, are sufficient to clear the prophetic writings, to popular apprehension, of all obscurity. Length of time, by the changes which it makes in the customs and manners of mankind, on which the figures of speech depend, and by various other means, brings an obscurity on the most perspicuous writings. Among all the books now extant, none hath suffered more from this cause, in its original perspicuity, than the Bible; nor hath any part of the Bible suffered equally with the prophetic books, in particular passages: but, notwithstanding the great and confessed obscurity of particular parts of the prophecies, those which immediately concern the Christian church are for the most part, so far at least as they are already accomplished, abundantly perspicuous, or incumbered with no other difficulty than the apostle's rules of exposition will remove; nor does the obscurity of other parts at all lessen the certainty of the evidence which these afford. The obscurity, therefore, of the prophecies, great as it is in certain parts, is not such, upon the whole, as should discourage the Christian laic from the study of them, nor such as will excuse him under the neglect of it. Let him remember, that it is not mine, but the apostle's admonition, who would not enjoin an useless or impracticable task, “to give heed to the prophetic word.”

Trabels

OF

PROFESSOR SCHOLZ.

1875

PROBATION BOARD

PROFESSOR SCHOLZ'S TRAVELS.

Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Paraetonium, die libysche Wüste, Siwa, Egypten, Palästina und Syrien, in den Jahren 1820 und 1821. Von Dr. Joh. Mart. Augustin Scholz, Professor der Theologie auf der Universität zu Bonn. Leipzig und Sorau, bey Friedrich Fleischer. 1822.

Travels in the Region between Alexandria and Paraetonium, the Lybian desert, Siwa, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, in the years 1820 and 1821. By Dr. John M. A. Scholz, Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn. 8vo. pp. 305.

THIS work has been presented to the public six years, and although its subject is one of general interest to the Christian world, we have as yet seen no English translation. Our intention is rather to give a brief outline of its contents, than to subject it to a critical review. The author, who is already known to the Theologian as the writer of several works, appears to have been eminently qualified for the labour of obtaining information in the East. As a distinguished member of the church of Rome, he had peculiar facilities for becoming acquainted with the ecclesiastical history and statistics of the Oriental Sects; and his familiarity with the Arabic language and literature afforded him an easy introduction to the interior of Asiatic and African life and manners.

Dr. Scholz sailed from Trieste in a vessel bound for Alexandria. His patrons were his Royal Highness Prince Henry, and the Lord Consul General Bertoldi. From Alexandria they pursued their journey westward through a region once celebrated in history, but now left to the sole possession of the wandering Arab. The company consisted of General the Baron von Minutoli; M. Liemann, Professor of Architecture; M. M. Ehrenberg and Hemprich, Naturalists and Physicians, and Dr. Scholz, together with three attendants of the General, one of the Naturalists', two Dragomans, and an Arab servant. In common with all other travellers, Dr. S. complains of the perverseness and dishonesty of their guard of Bedouins, and especially of the interpreters; and relates that, according to a Turkish proverb, the three curses of Constantinople are the Plague, the Fire, and the Dragomans. During this time the temperature was, at noon, between 85° and 88° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. Among other natural phenomena, they frequently observed the Aurora Borealis, and assured themselves of the fact so often stated, that there is scarcely any perceptible ebb or flood of the Mediterranean tides. On reaching the borders of the Tripolitan government, they found it necessary to return through the desert to Alexandria. They suffered much from forced marches under a burning sun, in a sandy waste, from want of water and provision, and afterwards from the prevalence of damp and chilling weather. In every instance they observed that vegetation improved as they approached the sea. M. Liemann of Berlin, died at Alexandria on the 11th of November, and was interred in the Greek Cloister.

Dr. S. visited Cairo and the Pyramids, and left that city upon the 5th of January, 1821. He was accompanied by the Bishop of Babylon, who is a Frenchman, as

are all who hold that office, agreeably to the condition imposed by the French lady, who, about a hundred and fifty years ago, left a foundation for the support of this establishment. The journey into Palestine was pleasant and instructive. They visited Gaza and the adjacent towns, the plains of Cesarea, Saron, Tantora and Atlid, together with Mount Carmel and all Galilee. Judea was also traversed, and its interesting relics sought out, but the alarming intelligence from European Turkey put an end to further investigation. The Turks became suddenly inflamed against the Christians, and disarmed all who were at Jerusalem. Travelling in the East is represented as being extremely unpleasant, even under the most favourable circumstances, and in the largest companies; and when alone, the traveller is exposed to extortion, robbery, and sometimes the loss of life. The roads are almost impassable at many seasons, and the accommodations upon the way, intolerable. Men and beasts are lodged together in the miserable Khans. On the coast from Lebanon southward, and in Galilee, travellers are usually unmolested, but in other parts of Syria, a journey is always dangerous. Three years before, a Caravan from Scham to Bagdad, with more than a hundred camels, was robbed and murdered.

Our traveller returns to give an account of the country between Alexandria and the Eastern border of the Tripolitan government. This he does in detail, and his remarks are highly valuable to the Geographer and the Antiquarian. He could discover no traces of the ancient ports, which, as history informs us, adorned this coast. Salt springs abound in the clay and lime formations of this region, together with many cisterns formed by the Saracens. These are deep, secured by solid stone work, and whitened upon the outside. The culture of barley is

common, but without any of our implements, or houses for preparation and storage. The native vegetation gives a rich and excellent pasture to the flocks and herds of the scattered inhabitants. Shrubs grow in the little vales, and sometimes on the borders of streams may be found spots of verdure, when all the adjacent country is burnt up. A few scattered specimens of the palm and fig were the only trees visible. The entomology of the country is equally simple; its only insects being ants, flies, grasshoppers, beetles, and the *scarabæus sacer*. On the shore however were observed great quantities of coral, muscles, sponges, and shells of every size, shape, and hue.

The vestiges and remains of the ancient inhabitants of this country are not numerous. This whole region was at one time as populous and as well cultivated as any in Africa. The traveller still finds fragments of buildings, columns, walls, and various marbles. The ruins of the city of Abusir were visited; and Dr. S. enumerates and describes other ruins along the coast. The Oases of the desert have been much celebrated; they are spots of fertile land surrounded by sandy wastes,—islands in the midst of the wilderness. That of Siwa is productive and rich, and contains many monuments of antiquity. The language spoken by the Bedouins is a corrupt Arabic, much more guttural than that of Egypt.

Alexandria lies upon a peninsula between the Mediterranean and the sea of Mareotis, in the midst of an uncultivated country. It has two harbours, the old towards the West, and the new towards the East. Marble and granite are much used in the edifices of the Mohammedans; and form also a large part of the ancient remains. Several of the Mosques were once Christian churches, with three naves. Before that of St. Anthony three co-

columns of fair granite are still remaining. The church of the Greeks is very old; it has been often destroyed and rebuilt, and its style is that of the Greek churches in other places, with three naves, and a few pitiful paintings. The Latins have the largest church, and a convent with two Franciscans from the Holy Land. Under the present Pacha their condition has been flourishing, and they number about 3000 in their communion. Catholics of the Greek and Armenian ritual, as well as Maronites, frequent this church, and have here two ecclesiastics, who are also school-masters. The Latins have no school, preferring to send their youth to Europe for instruction. The Franks in Alexandria, as in all Egypt, live at peace with the Mahommedans; but their morals are corrupt, and they seldom are seen at church. The population of Alexandria is between 12 and 15,000.

The present state of Egypt is flourishing, in consequence of the remarkable enterprize of Mahmed Ali Pacha, who has devoted himself to the improvement of its manufactures, commerce, and internal economy. He is nevertheless a despotic prince, the sole possessor of the soil, director of commerce, and monopolist of the whole trade. The population of Egypt is upon the decline, and the once fertile Delta seems destined to be a desert, from the increase of sand, which is also rapidly filling up the celebrated mouths of the Nile. Although the Pacha encourages immigration, yet the dysentery and the plague more than undo all his labours.

Cairo, which is next mentioned, reminds a stranger of a European town, upon the occasion of some great market, or fair. All is bustle and confusion. Its population is a medley of Arabs, Turks, Mamelukes, Berbers, Negroes, Jews, Copts, Greeks, Armenians, and Franks; and it is the temporary residence of the Bedouins.

There are here about 1500 Franks, mostly Italian merchants and artificers, whose trade suffers every thing but utter extinction under the tyranny of the Pacha. There are two Latin convents, each with a poorly built church. The larger, *Di terra santa*, under French protection, is like those of Alexandria and Rosetta, and some in Palestine and Cyprus, under a superior at Jerusalem. The smaller, *De propogandâ*, under Austrian protection, is more immediately connected with the Congregation *de propogandâ fide* at Rome ; as are also the monasteries of Achmim, Tachta, Dscherdscha, Fersut and Nakadeh, in Upper Egypt. The number of Greeks is at Cairo about 3000, at Alexandria 100, at Damietta and Rosetta 80. The Patriarch of Alexandria resides in a convent in the street of the Greeks. The largest and neatest church is that of St. Nicholas. That of St. Catharine, in the monastery of Monks of Mount Sina is small, but rich. The Copts, the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, have been, by the tyranny of various masters, and by the plague, reduced to 80,000 souls. The number of their churches is 100, of which 23 are in Cairo, with six monasteries. They are represented as lying in deep degradation, as to knowledge and virtue. Most of them can read their Coptic books only with the aid of an Arabic translation. The richest collection of their books and antiquities is in the possession of Signor Drouetti. The Jews are diminished in number, in a low condition, and little acquainted with their own language. Many inquiries were made with regard to Abyssinia, and the results are detailed.

Perhaps no traveller has given a more minute account of the ancient ruins of Palestine. Some of these are remains of early Christian edifices and churches. Some are of the age of the Crusaders, some of the era of Christ, and even earlier. As this is a species of infor-

mation which cannot well be condensed, we refer our readers to the work itself.

Jerusalem has been so many times destroyed and rebuilt, that it is almost impossible to identify the ruins of the different epochs. Dr. Scholz refers the sepulchres of the kings, northwest of the city, to the time of the Romans. Of the age of Constantine are the lower parts of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Sepulchre of St. Mary, and the gates of St. Stephen's tower. Of the age of Justinian and Heraclius are many Greek churches, which, however, have suffered great alterations. Of the times of the Crusades are the ruins of the Hospitium of the Knights of St. John. In this building the Christians defended themselves a long time from the assaults of Saladin. The well of Nehemiah, in the valley of Jehosaphat, is in the highest degree worthy of the attention of the Antiquarian. It is very deep, hewn in rock, and surrounded by a wall. Many remains of churches, monasteries, and more ancient edifices still remain. The traveller is shewn the prison of Jeremiah, and the place where he composed his Lamentations. Several pages are occupied with a mere catalogue of ruins. In the neighbourhood is seen what is left of a little Basilica, where, we are informed, the Apostles composed the Creed which bears their name.

No country of the Ottoman empire is so rich in Christian sects as Syria. The Catholics themselves are of the Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Syrian ritual, or Maronites, and constitute nearly a sixth part of the inhabitants of this province. The Latins enjoy as Franks some privileges, especially the protection of the king of France, and other European potentates, and form, in a political and ecclesiastical point of view, *statum in statu*. But since the French invasion and Revolution their privileges have

been much curtailed. Religious services are conducted by Franciscans, Capuchins, and Carmelites or Lazarites, who are all sent out from the convents of Europe. The first came to the Holy Land almost immediately upon the institution of their order, as appears by a Bull of Gregory IX. of date Jan. 29th 1230. These fathers number at Jerusalem 800, at St. John's 80, at Bethlehem 100, at Nazareth 800, at Rama 2, at Jaffa 300, at Akka 80, at Arizza 2, at Damascus 200, at Tripoli 18, at Ladakia 20, at Aleppo 800, at L'Arnaca 600, at Cairo 700, at Alexandria 2000. All spiritual affairs are under the direction of the Guardian of the monastery at Jerusalem. These poor fathers suffer constantly from the extortions of their Turkish governors, who demand large sums from them under the most frivolous pretexts. They are bound also to entertain for a month all the pilgrims who visit the holy city. For thirty years they have thus suffered, and sometimes have paid in one year 2,000,000 piastres. Yet there are those who say that they have been the authors of their own miseries, and have made themselves enemies by their pride, arrogance, and ostentation, their criminal divulging of secrets of the Confessional, and their harsh treatment of travellers and of their own poor. Nor are these charges deemed by Dr. S. altogether groundless. In the French invasion they were despoiled of all their goods, and are now reduced to poverty. In other parts of Syria they are less oppressed, being recognized as Franks.

With the exception of the Franciscans, who have the cure of souls, the religious orders in Palestine are rather missionaries than regular ecclesiastics, as the Capuchins at Damascus and Tripolis. In Beyroot, and, within a few years. at Saida, these fathers are curates of Latin

Christians, and enjoy the special protection of the king of France.

The Catholics of the Greek ritual are devout and stedfast in their religion, and on account of their sufferings are regarded as martyrs. They have at this time a Patriarch named Ignatius, who resides at Zug in Kesserwan, an Archbishop of Sur, Cyril Debas, who resides in his Diocess, and six Bishops : for Palestine, Theodotion Bishop of Acri ; for the Mountain of the Druses, Basilius Bishop of Saiba ; for Aleppo and its vicinity, Basilius Bishop of Aleppo ; for Damascus, Ignatius Bishop of Satcheleh ; and for Antilibanus, Clemens Bishop of Balbec. Most of these are afraid to live in their Dioceses, and their very lives are in danger from the schismatical Greeks. Dr. S. estimates the Greek Catholics of Sur at 3100, and those of Palestine at 5670 ; in Scham there are above 10 000, and in Aleppo, &c. 15,000. Armenian Catholics are not numerous in Palestine. In Syria their number is considerable, and in Aleppo there are as many as 10,000. Their Patriarch resides at Scharfi upon Mount Lebanon. These also have been sorely persecuted by the schismatics. At Aleppo many of them suffered death rather than unite with the schismatics as they were ordered to do by the Pacha. Syrian Catholics are found principally in Aleppo, and on Mount Lebanon. Their Patriarch lives in a monastery near Antura. They are numerous in Diarbekir. A few Chaldean Catholics are in Haleb, under a patriarch in Mohal.

The most numerous and powerful sect in Syria is that of the Maronites. They reside almost entirely in Kesserwan, and a part of the Mountain of the Druses. They have a patriarch in Kanovin, six acting Bishops, and six titular Bishops. They are estimated at 200,000. Such is the account which our author gives of the Catho-

lics of Syria, which is the more to be relied on as he is himself a Papist.

Next to the Catholics, the most numerous are the members of the Greek church, whom Dr. S. denominates the schismatical Greeks. They have two Patriarchs, one of Antioch, and one of Jerusalem. The Patriarch's Vicar at Jerusalem is Michael Bishop of Petra. Several other Bishops reside there, mostly titular. Their members amount to 16,700 in Judea. They have in Jerusalem nine convents of monks, and four of nuns, together with three in the vicinity. The religious of these monasteries, and all in Palestine, are from the Archipelago or other parts of Greece. Even the nuns come from a distance, and live upon alms, or by their own labours. In the largest monastery live the Bishops, Archimandrites, and many monks; in the others usually a single monk, and some lay-brethren. They perform the service in the Greek tongue. All the qualification required of a priest is the knowledge of reading, writing, and the ritual. Their churches are small, and built upon the same model. The hatred of the Greeks towards the Catholics is inveterate, and this can scarcely be attributed to diversity of doctrine: for all the religion of the Greeks seems to consist in their crossing themselves, and making the necessary genuflections. They deny the doctrine of Purgatory, and yet believe in the efficacy of intercession for the dead, and pay sometimes 200 piastres for a single Mass. They treat the Franks with more cruelty than the Mussulmans ever exercise.

The Armenians have a Patriarch in Jerusalem, an Archbishop, about a hundred monks, three monasteries, and two hundred lay-members; in Bethlehem, a monastery with two monks, and two families: in Rama, a monastery with one monk; and in Jaffa, a monastery with

three monks, and fifty Christians of their sect. They are extremely jealous of the Latins, from whom they withhold a part of the church at Bethlehem. Of late years the Christians have little protection against the insults and injustice of the Mussulmans. They do not associate together; even the children do not mingle in their sports; and the same separation exists between the Christians of different sects.

The Christians in the East are strict in the observance of the fasts of the Church, but preaching and catechising are among many unknown. In the Greek church all the congregation join in the chants, &c.; in other sects they merely respond. The Latins only have preaching on every Sunday and Festival. The Latins say Mass in Latin, reading one of the Gospels in Arabic; the Greek monks all in Greek; native ecclesiastics in Arabic. The Catholic Greeks perform the service in Arabic; the Copts in Coptic and Arabic, the Abyssinians in Ethiopic. A minute account is given by Dr. S. of the Easter Festival at Jerusalem. This has been so often described that it may be here omitted. There were present at this Festival in 1821, 1400 Armenians, 1200 Greeks, 30 Georgians, 300 Muscovites, 60 Copts, 15 Syrians, 1 Abyssinian, 20 Oriental Catholics of the Greek and Armenian ritual, 4 Maronites, and 15 Franks.

Upon the geography and the inhabitants of Syria Dr. S. is minute and satisfactory. The population of Keserwan is computed at 200,000; that of the Mountain of the Druses at 160,000. The population of all Syria may be reckoned at 3,000,000. Jerusalem contains about 18,000 inhabitants: 2100 Christians, 800 of the Latin, 1100 of the Greek, 200 of the Armenian, and 50 of the Coptic ritual; 5000 Mohammedans, and 10,000 Jews. The number of the last increases every year. It is said

that in some years more than 500 come from Europe, while not more than 50 go away. Upon the Arabic language Dr. S. appears to be well qualified to give information; and his remarks on the different dialects, and the changes of modern times are such as would be peculiarly interesting to the Oriental scholar. A catalogue of words as used by the inhabitants of Syria and of Egypt is given, so as to afford an opportunity of comparing the two idioms. We conclude these remarks by recommending this simple but comprehensive work to every lover of antiquity, and every student of the Scriptures.

W.

THE
Populousness of the Antidiluvian World
CONSIDERED.

BY
REV. LUTHER HALSEY,
PROFESSOR IN THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY.

Communicated for the Biblical Repertory.

*The Populousness of the Antediluvian World considered—
being the substance of a Paper read before the Lit. and
Phil. Soc. of N. J., in March 1827.*

From our fathers, the stream of truth descends to us, mingled with their *errors*. From a source so sacred, truth and error are imbibed with equal reverence and faith, till the inconvenience of error is perceived, and then we begin to scrutinize our draughts. This, I think, is necessary, in reference to the common opinion, “that the antediluvian world was *more populous* than the present.” While we invite your attention to the examination of this opinion, we would not pretend to demonstration; yet we trust our remarks will not be absolutely hypothetical, while they will be found to have an important bearing on certain difficulties in natural and moral science.

Of the currency of the opinion, which attributes to the antediluvian world a population so immense, one may judge, when it is referred to as a thing of course by such authors as *Whiston* (*Theory of the Earth*), *Cockburn* (*Treatise on the Deluge*), the writers of the “*Universal History*”—*Dr. George Benson* (*Paraphrase on 6 Epistles, Dissertat. 1, p. 165*)—*Editor of the New Cyclopædia—Saurin* (*Discours historiques, &c., tom. 1*), *Shuckford* (*Connexions of Sacred and Prof. History*), and *Bp. Clayton* (*Vindication Hist. of O. and N. Test., part 2*). The last not only adopts the opinion, but even founds on it an argument for the *necessity* of the Deluge, the earth that then was, being “overstocked,” (p. 75). The list of those who hold this notion might be greatly extended.

There have not indeed been wanting those who have supposed these notions too extravagant. Of these we might mention Bp. *Stillingfleet* (*Origines Sacræ*. lib. 3, cap. 4.) *Worthington* (*Scripture Theory of the Earth*, p. 213), and a few others. But they have been few.

Among those who hold the prodigious populousness of the antediluvian world, calculations have been made, differing a little from each other, but all arriving at an aggregate far greater than the number of the present inhabitants of the earth, and in some instances, more than the present world could well sustain. All the calculations are made on the supposition that mankind would then double themselves in about 40 or 50 years. After suitable allowances are made for casualties, &c., the resulting number of persons alive at the time of the deluge, is more than *thirteen billions* or millions of millions! — This air of mathematical certainty is given to the opinion, by taking for granted that the *succession of progeny* was at about the same rate as now, and that population *now doubling* itself in 360 or 370 years, as the lives of the antediluvians were 10 times longer than ours, they would double in a period ten times shorter.

It must be manifest that the opinion to which we demur, is entirely *hypothetical*, there being in the Mosaic record *not one* hint to justify the assumption. Besides, to help it through with its arithmetic, we must grant it, not only similarity of laws in reference to the periods of births, but also, at least similarity of extent as to the habitable surface of the former and present worlds. We shall not stop, at present, to be satisfied, whether nature was then as *tranquil* and as kind as now, and as seldom involved incorrigible miscreants in calamity? Whether there were then *no climacterics* in human life, before which a larger portion of the human

family were cut off, than even now? Whether the malignity and diffusiveness of their depravation did not, as now, have a proportionate influence on the number of their progeny? Whether the characteristic "violence" with which earth was filled, did not operate as a tremendous check to the advance of population?—We shall proceed to state our objections to the common opinion, by adducing some considerations furnished by the Mosaic record.

I. The *natural impression* made on the mind of the reader by the Scripture narrative, better accords with the notion of a small population than that of a crowded world. Not a solitary hint is given of swarming multitudes. It speaks apparently, of but two seats of population, and those rather patriarchal than imperial and continental. The one was the dwelling-place of Adam and the family of Seth—the other, the land of Nod, where was the City (or Hamlet, not Cities) of Cain. Though the families for a time, kept themselves scrupulously distinct, yet their places of residence appear not to have been far removed from each other,—the names of their children were interchanged (a), and at length intermarriages became common. Surely then there should be some good reason for departing from the simplicity and apparent restrictiveness of the Mosaic history.

But, II. The *families* of the antediluvians appear from the record, *not to have been as numerous*, or to have multiplied as fast, as the opinion from which we dissent supposes. This, being the fulcrum of Archimedes, to our hypothetical opponents, is worthy of attentive examination. Grant them, that the births succeeded each other as now, and by the help of the primeval longevity, the immense "populosity" (to borrow a word from Sir Walter Raleigh) is natural enough. But on this point, both the Mosaic record and analogies of nature are against them.

The antediluvians appear to have lived *long* before the birth of their first born sons. The periods of the births of Cain and Abel are not mentioned, but they had both attained *maturity* before the birth of Seth, the third son; and at the time of his birth, Adam had been in his maturity 130 years. It is true, that Adam "begat sons and daughters" besides these, (Gen. 5, 4,) but this is not mentioned till *after* the birth of Seth. And the aspect of the narrative gives no warrant for believing that there were any other sons but Cain and Abel, previous to the birth of Seth. Were there others, they might be expected to appear at the stated time of sacrifice, with Cain and Abel; and if their offerings were accepted as Abel's, to have shared with him the envy and hatred of the elder brother. Nothing like this is hinted. Allusion is made to only two family occupations, only the two offerings, and only two worshippers for all the contrast, preference, and personal feelings which arose out of their worship. That Seth was only the 3d son, at the time of his birth, the complexion of the narrative seems further to establish. We refer to the numerical manner in which his birth is recorded after the sole mention of Cain and Abel, and the death of the latter, "And Adam knew his wife again" (4, 25,)—the formal annunciation of his birth, at the head of the genealogical list, "And Adam lived 130 years, and begat a son in his own likeness and after his image," (5, 3,)—his name, (Seth) which, says one, may not improperly be interpreted "a prince," or one *exalted* above his brethren (as heir), as Cain had been if he had behaved well. And in the 7th verse, the very word *Seth* is thus expressly applied, (1 Lee's Dissertation, 209). This privilege to the eldest son, except in case of forfeiture, of pre-eminence and succession in the patriarchal sovereignty, being a matter *before* understood and proba-

bly one of the revealed elements of antediluvian government, (Gen. 4, 7). Or if the signification "appointed" be taken as referring to him as a substitute for Abel; had there been many intermediate sons, (especially descendants some thousands in number, as many have conjectured,) the infant substitute would hardly have been blessed and named and rejoiced in so specially as the peculiar gift of God to a bereaved and mourning and desolate mother, to comfort her "instead of Abel whom Cain slew." At least the force of the narrative wears no such aspect, to any not pre-occupied with a theory. And even the after progeny of Adam (Gen. 5, 4,) taking the number according to the ancient tradition mentioned by Cedrenus (Whiston's Josephus Ant. 1 ch. 2, § 3, note) compared with his life, bears no surprising disproportion to the size of families in modern times. But the probability that the face of the narrative presents the whole family of Adam exclusive of females, during the first 130 years (i. e. only three sons, Cain, Abel, and Seth,) is strongly confirmed by the family history of the patriarchs of that early age. Lamech is spoken of as the parent of only 4 sons, (Gen. 4. 19--22.) With this accords the age of the several parents mentioned in the 5th chapter of Genesis. (b)

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| 1. Seth, at the birth of Enos, | 205 years old. |
| 2. Enos, at the birth of Cainan, | 199. |
| 3. Cainan, at the birth of Mahalaleel, | 170. |
| 4. Mahalaleel, at the birth of Jared, | 165. |
| 5. Jared, at the birth of Enoch, | 162. |
| 6. Enoch, at the birth of Methuselah, | 165. |
| 7. Methuselah, at the birth of Lamech, | 187. |
| 8. Lamech, at the birth of Noah, | 182. |

That these were the first born sons (with the exception of Seth, who came to the rights of primogeniture

after the banishment of Cain and murder of Abel,) is rendered probable by the following considerations ; (1.) There was, among the ancient orientals, a peculiar interest and prerogative connected with the first-born son, and more especially so in a state of patriarchal society. It was indeed essential to the peace and efficiency of a patriarchal government, the only one which appears to have existed before the flood. It seems to have been recognized of God, as an established and well known maxim, which would not be departed from, notwithstanding the preference of the sacrifice of a younger brother. "His desire shall be to thee, and thou shalt rule over him," (Gen. 4, 7.) This dignity and estimation of the first-born, would naturally lead us to expect that they especially would receive genealogical honours in a list where the genealogy of Seth appears to have been the only object. The first-born, as the only legitimate "princes of the blood," would be most naturally remembered in traditional history ; and there is not a passing hint, that the honours of primogeniture were forfeited by any of the line of Seth, nor is it probable, since piety appears to have been retained among that line of patriarchal princes to the last. And it is no inconsiderable confirmation of the supposition that the table furnished above, is the list of the first born sons, that in the line of Cain, where we have no moral reason for setting aside the regard to primogeniture, the number of generations is similar.

(2.) The other children of the patriarchs are always spoken of as the offspring of later periods of their lives. See Gen. 5. And Seth lived after he begat Enos 807 years and begat sons and daughters (7). So of Enos (10), and of Cainan (13), Mahalaleel (16), Jared (19), Enoch (22), Methuselah (26), Lamech (30).—This inference is confirmed by the language of the record concerning

Shem, (11, 10 and 11,) whose "sons and daughters" there mentioned, succeeded Arphaxad, as we know from other parts of the Record.

(3.) There is a remarkable uniformity in the periods of the births of the different persons enumerated in the line, which bears the appearance of a result from established and regularly operating laws of nature relative to maturity, and of established usages of society founded on these, as to entrance on a married life. Add to this, there appears from the Sacred Record, as we descend, a gradual change of constitution, and consequent shortening of human life, which did not reach its minimum till centuries after the deluge; and the shortening period preceding the birth of those mentioned in the table, bears a remarkable relation to this fact. The very coincidence we should expect on the supposition that the table enumerated the first-born.

The progeny of the Antediluvians appears, from the Record, to have been less numerous than is supposed by our adversaries. We have mentioned that Adam had but three sons in one hundred and thirty years, Lamech, of the line of Cain, but four, as far as the Record supplies any hint of progeny. And that this was the sum of the male descendants of Lamech, is probable from this, that Naamah, his only daughter, is mentioned, without a circumstance to justify the introduction of her name, for any other reason than to complete the list of his family. Noah in six hundred years had but three sons to enter with him into the ark, (Gen. 7, 11 and 13,) and though he lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years, the number of his children was not enlarged, (Gen. 9, 19). Shem was one hundred years old at the birth of Arphaxad, his first-born son, (Gen. 11, 10); and though he lived after that five hundred years, and was one of the three

by whom the whole world was overspread, yet he is represented as the father of but five sons, (10, 22,) Japheth, his eldest brother, the father of but seven sons, (10, 1—2,) and Ham, his youngest brother, the father of but four sons, (10, 6.) Such families, where the parents lived through centuries, ill accords with the premises on which our opponents would build their theory of an infinite population. We have the table of the grandsons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and we find attached to them, families in number not uncommon in our age of comparatively brief existence, (Gen. 10 and 11); and if we descend to the age of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or Job, we do not find the number of their children bore any near proportion to the number of the years of the parents.

The "longevity" of the Antediluvians has misled those from whom we dissent. They have supposed that the design of this was that it might have a special reference to population. But this would have been an evil, under existing circumstances, and would have required a series of miracles to sustain the embarrassments which it would involve, as will be seen hereafter. The special design of this primitive longevity appears to have referred to the mental necessities of mankind, especially improvement in the arts, sustaining the patriarchal government, and giving certainty and clearness to original traditions.

If we consider their circumstances and the analogies of nature, we shall find the smallness of the Antediluvian families which the Sacred Record communicates, strongly confirmed. It appears to be the system of the moral Governor of the world, to afford to man only facilities immediately necessary to his present wants, and leave the rest to the diligent use of the capacities with which he is endowed. This furnishes his bodily and mental

powers with proper stimulus to action. Hence from earth, air, and water, man must seek his living. He must watch, labour, invent, to obtain from these their tribute to his comforts. This exercise of mind and body requires time to discover and bring to maturity their different objects of interest. Advancement at first is slow. Not from the Gods, as the ancients supposed, but from the ingenuity of men, as the Scriptures declare, the most important inventions and improvements arose, which have rendered life comfortable. It would seem, therefore, unsuitable, in the infancy of human nature, and before invention and correspondence had done much to render the elements capable of yielding their utmost to man, to crowd upon his infant mind the support of a swarming population.—Beside, when we look at mankind in the rude and helpless state of savagism, as for example, the Indian of our forests, we do not find them characterized by numerous families. Their circumstances are unfavourable to the rapid advance of population, and the period of suckling continues much longer than in improved society.

Let us look at physical analogies, and we shall come to a result similar to what the Mosaic record seemed to justify. The Antediluvians had a peculiarity of constitution, so that the vital principle did not become exhausted for centuries, which now occurs at “three-score and ten.” Here the universal traditions of heathenism coincide remarkably with the Mosaic record. But it is a general law of vitality, that the beings which soon acquire perfection soon decay ; while the more durable are slower in arriving at maturity. Hence we should expect that, as the oak of the forest is for ages in infancy, for ages in the vigour of its majesty, and for ages bearing the hoary honours of decline,—so the lives of the Antediluvians would

be bounded by two long imperfect and unproductive periods—periods which would bear a very considerable proportion to the whole of their existence,—some such proportion as these periods bear to the duration of their more evanescent descendants. Hence it would be long before the cares of a family would begin, and long before the close of life those cares would end. Accordingly we find, in the present condition of our race, the period of puberty considerably varying, and the age of bearing differing in different nations. If, therefore, the growth of the Antediluvians was slow, as analogy would suggest, till the growth of the animal frame was completed, or nearly so, the blood and sensorial power would be employed in providing for such growth; and not till this was finished would their excess be turned towards perfecting that system on which the existence of a future race depends. [4, Good's Study of Medicine, 31, Boston, 1823]. In proportion to their whole lives, the period of the birth of their first-born would occur about the age recorded in the Mosaic record, [Worthington, Scripture Theory of Earth, p. 213, note].

As to the period intervening between the several births, which is not sufficiently contemplated in the theory we oppose, it might have been, and there is reason to believe was, longer than ordinary. The slowly-maturing system of this long-lived race would seem to require it, or a helpless progeny in the infancy of society and the arts, would accumulate faster than was fit. The smallness of the patriarchal families mentioned in the Record, confirms it. The more protracted period of suckling among savage or half-civilized nations, strengthens the supposition. And there is no reason why, even in the fact of gestation, the period in an antediluvian constitution should synchronize with our own. No law of animal life requires it.

Without a diversity of organization to occasion it, we find a great difference in the duration of gestation. In the rabbit, one month; in the dog, two; in the sheep, five; in the cow, nine; in the horse, 11 months; while in the elephant twenty, followed by about two years' lactation, and fifteen or twenty years before the offspring may be considered adult, (Cooper's Medical Jurisprudence, 227, 1, Fleming's Philos. Zool. 411, 1, Griffith's Cuvier An. Kingdom, 346, Pachydermata. And notwithstanding this ordinary difference, we find these very animals varying with themselves, by overrunning their usual periods from four days to five or six months; and though the gravid period is at times prolonged, the size of the offspring is not necessarily affected. (Burn's Principles, &c., 108, Lond. 1809). As a general rule, however, the duration of the gravid period has a special reference to the perfection of the offspring; and "the longer the time of utero-gestation, the longer the animals were before they came to full growth; and on this depends their continuance in the mature state without any natural tendency to decay." (Denman, Introduction to Pract. Mid., 256, New York—Richerand, Physiol. 554). How long the period of gestation may be extended in the human race in its present temperament, is not easily settled. But it is well known, that it is often extended beyond the ordinary period, and physiologists have rated it from days to several months. (Male's Epit. ap. Cooper's Med. Juris. 213). From these considerations it is manifest that, considering the diversity of constitution among the Antediluvians, a constitution which resisted decay for centuries, similar laws to those belonging to our constitution, in reference to the duration of gestation, are not to be inferred. Analogy and fitness would alike lead us to expect, that the gravid period would be longer, and the

succession of births less frequent, than in the present day. Can our opponents assure us, that the very difference in the two worlds, contemplated as to enduring vigour of constitution, has not been produced physically, by shortening the period of gestation, so that the present inhabitants of the world are, in a sense, the debilitated beings of a premature birth? One remark at least we feel authorized to make, that the hints given in the record of the smallness of the early families contribute not a little to strengthen the physiological conclusions we have suggested. We leave our adversaries to settle another well known principle, that excessive fecundity exhausts the system, and brings on anticipated decay. Would not this furnish an analogical reason for some check to exhaustion, where extraordinary longevity was to be secured?

III. Another objection drawn from the Record, to the theory we oppose, is that the world appears to have been less productive before the deluge than now; at least, subsistence was obtained with difficulty by the first men. The golden age of paradise had passed, and the iron age of hardship was begun. Fruit once hung but to be gathered and enjoyed, and to dress a luxuriant garden was all of earthly care. Now, the dwelling-place of man was not a garden, but a wilderness, the "herb of the field" his allotted portion, and "in the sweat of his face he ate his bread." "Thorns and thistles" gained upon industry.

"Pater ipse, colendi haud facilem esse viam voluit."

This is the history furnished by the very volume which records the crime and sentence of man. But while Earth was a reluctant tributary to his wants, the heavens seemed to combine in aggravation of his woes. Light was precarious, cold and heat capricious, the seed, over which

he sweated, treacherous ; for, after the last tremendous expurgation, henceforth, said the Lord of all, " seed time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, shall not fail." [Gen. 8. 22.] It had been said in the day of transgression, " cursed is the ground for thy sake ;" and it must be remembered, that this hard fortune was entailed, and continued to bow the strength of man, until the flood. This curse was unrepealed in the days of Lamech—he felt the woe, and rejoiced in the distant hope of change. Hence when he gave the name Noah (rest, refreshment) to his first born, the prophetic father exclaimed, " this same shall comfort us, concerning our work, and the toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." [Gen. 6. 29. Patrick in loc.] Noah himself toiled under this burden, till after the flood he was assured " I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake." [Gen. 8. 21.] Then a greater degree of certainty and reward was perpetually guaranteed to the labourer's hopes—Was, then, the earth under a special curse during the whole Antediluvian period—accursed probably by the wild misrule of those natural agents with which the Almighty Governor generally fulfils his decrees—was such an earth in a fit state for the maintenance of a population of illimitable extent ? Add to these evils, the natural inroads of the beasts of the field and the vexatious pilage of the fowls of the air ; all embarrassing incidents of a new colonization with deficient resources, and we shall hesitate still less about the answer.

But, did not man evade the servility of harassing the ground for food, by deserting its culture and resorting for a living to the fold or the chase ? From all the probabilities of the Record, we answer, No—at least, not in the line of Noah. Adam toiled over the niggard earth for bread. Cain, naturally trained, as first born, to the occupation of

his father, and the main support of his family, was "a tiller of the ground." Lamech laboured with his "hands." Noah was reared "an husbandman." The herb alone had been assigned to man, flesh was only granted to him that had been instrumental in preserving the animal world. Abel, it is true, was "a keeper of sheep." But these were not therefore the food of that age; other uses are described. The only way, in the Record, they are connected with man is, as appointed victims for the altar and clothing for the worshipper. And it is expressly mentioned, that skill in the management of cattle belonged to another family and a later age. [Gen. 4. 21.] and [Magee on Atonement, Note III.] Of the subsistence of the family of Cain we have only to say, that to them the earth was loaded with a double curse. He had cultivated the earth under the burden of the first sentence. But now the bloody exile was again assured, "thou art cursed from the earth; when thou tillest the ground it shall not henceforth yield to thee her strength." [4. 11. and 12.] The place of his exile was a land of metals, generally less fruitful than others; and his family found themselves constrained to resort to other methods of livelihood than tillage, or improve upon its mode, to secure their bread. Thus circumstanced, and with defective implements for aiding their accustomed and necessary toils, is it to be expected that the human race would become luxuriant and innumerable? We might add the testimony of Tradition, in confirmation of our remarks. "The Flood," says Bryant [5 Analysis, 279,] "was looked upon as a great blessing—for thence proceeded the plenty with which the present world is blessed. There seems to have been a notion, which of old prevailed greatly, that the Antediluvian world was under a curse, and the earth was very barren."

IV. From the Mosaic Record we derive another ob-

jection to the theory of immense population, since we are furnished with reasons for believing, that the Antediluvians were ill fitted to make the most of an unthankful soil. Population, in their circumstances, must be proportionable to the condition of the arts. Without a knowledge of these, strength and time must be expended to little profit. And nothing is a better scale to estimate the comfort and plenty of a part of the human family, than their knowledge of the metals. But without these essential auxiliaries, man continued for centuries. The arts of metallurgy were not the offspring of miracle, but of ingenuity and necessity. The Record informs us, that these discoveries took place not till the seventh generation from Adam. "Tubal Cain was the first instructor of every artificer in brass (copper) and iron." [Gen. 22.] The seventh from Adam, in the line of Seth, was Enoch, who was probably contemporaneous with these discoveries. But as it would naturally be a considerable time before these arts would be much improved, and the world instructed from the workshops of Cain—the metals would not have come into common use, and their impression on society decisive, till the time of the grandfather or father of Noah. Besides, the mention of but two metals implies limited knowledge, and the necessity of the gradual improvement we have supposed. The history of the use of the metals, wherever they have been introduced in after ages and the prescriptive leanings of the human mind, evince, that improvements in the manufacture and use of metals are but successive and independent discoveries, keeping pace with the advance of related sciences, and the modifications of society. No invention springs, like Minerva, full grown into life.

About the same advanced period of Antediluvian history, the proper construction of moveable tents and the

proper management of cattle, were devised by the ingenuity of another brother, Jabal. These discoveries were so intimately connected with the growth and comfort of a simple people, that the history of mankind before must have been that of imbecility, inconvenience, uncertainty, and want. This late period was the birth-day of music, implying the beginnings of leisure and comfort. Naamah now, if we may credit Tradition, commenced the labours of weaving, substituting an artificial clothing for the "skins" of beasts which had warmed man before. Without the accommodations from such inventions, life could be sustained but with hardship. Destitute of the metals, or of beasts trained for draught, the Peruvians tilled the ground with a stick—the inhabitants of New France, with a wooden hoe or hook—of Gambia, with a wooden shovel—of the Canaries, with instruments pointed with the horns of Oxen. [I Goguet origin of Laws, &c. 89.] True, they might have filled their forests with fire, and cleaved them with axes of stone; but in an unkindly earth, and with such meagre furniture for obtaining the means of subsistence, are we to expect an illimitable population? Besides, the attention of these primeval men must have been directed to another point—the increase and encroachment of the beasts of the field. These, as their relics witness, must have been amazing in number and formidable in magnitude—proportionate only to the wondrous relics of their primitive forests, which ill attest an earth subdued and universally peopled. The influence of the beast on early society may be learned by the fact, that the pagan demigods were adored for their triumphs over brutes. The first monarch was a hunter; and the contaminating neighbourhood of the accursed and disinherited nations of Canaan was prolonged, "lest the beasts of the field should multiply against them." [Ex. 23. 29.]

This too, when the arts and skill of man were greatly advanced. What then must have been the impediment they offered to extension of the human family, when human ingenuity had to wage hostility with little or no aid from the mine? [Brande Geol. and McCulloch on format. and analog. of Rocks in Journal Royal Inst. for 1826.]

V. Another objection to the ordinary theory, is founded on the intimation given in the Record, when the population of the Antediluvian world became considerable. This, we find, was of late occurrence—towards the closing scene. It is identified with the time when the Deluge was announced to Noah, 120 years before that fearful close. “And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth,—the Lord said, my spirit shall not always strive with man; yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.” [Gen. 6. 1—3.] Then follows an enumeration of the curses of the deluge, “There were giants in those days,” or, as it may signify, men of violence and oppression,—a natural result of increasing population and the application of the metals to give a sterner potency to human enterprize. The ultimate cause is also mentioned; the imprudent marriage of the sons of Seth with the daughters of Cain—which accords with the idea of an augmented population, now extending and approximating the dissimilar families. This supposition is the more natural, as men are disinclined to migrate till some necessity impels them. To effect this after the flood, a miracle seemed necessary, that so man might cover an earth divinely intended to be more widely peopled. Had the Antediluvian population been extensive at an earlier date, the beauties of the family of Cain had earlier met the eyes, and captivated the hearts of the Children of Seth—this would have become a gradual and less noticeable

cause of defection from the family habits of seclusion and piety. But a characteristic separation of families, of different religious sentiments and habits, long kept distinct—then, as they multiplied, extending beyond the limits of the patriarchal home, watchfulness and control—at length breaking over patriarchal authority and usage, and bringing all the consequences of disapprobation, defection, strife, and violence—seem naturally to fill out the hints of the Mosaic record and tradition relative to the history and ruin of that primeval race. This will be strengthened by,

VI. Another circumstance intimated in the Record—the late and rapid advance of corruption. The spirit of prophecy appears to have constantly continued in the line of Seth. Their children were named with a prophetic designation of their future destiny. The prophecying of Enoch was as clear as it was solemn, [Jude 14,] and his memorable translation was an impressive testimony of God's fellowship with the man that walks with him. Lamech and his son were favoured with divine communications. Further, the church of God was distinct from the world in the days of Enos, the son of Seth, and the distinguishing appellation, "Sons of God," which then began, long continued. [Gen. 4. 26.] This organized and determinate separation of the pious, as "a peculiar people," avoiding even marriage with those who were not of the line of Seth, began in the third generation of men, was preserved by the influence of patriarchal piety and authority. Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, and even Methuselah, and Lamech, and Noah, were contemporary; and having witnessed its benefit and in the possession of piety themselves, would strive to maintain the separation. Traditions, the most venerable, coincide with this representation. "Adam, it is said, when

he died, piety triumphing over affection for an apostate son, called around him his race; and amid other sacred admonitions, charged them to live separate, and have no intercourse with the family of Cain." [1 Gleig's Stackhouse, 124.] Enos and Mahalaleel delivered the same charge from their dying beds. [Elmacin ap. 2 Haile's *Analys. Chron.* 34 and 5.] This System of distinctness and separation would naturally be sustained while patriarchal authority and piety were vigorous, and might be expected to continue long, Adam living 930 years, and only closing his eyes when Lamech, the father of Noah, was at least 30 years of age. Accordingly, the only thing which is represented to have broken through the Sacred policy was love,—and these forbidden marriages, probably, would not become common earlier than the days of Jared (descending), whose name is referred to the declining piety, actual or anticipated. Tradition affirms that the marriage of "believer and infidel," and consequent defection in Religion, began in the days of Mahalaleel, and grew more notorious and alarming in the days of Enoch. [Patrick Bedford's *Chronol.*—2 Haile's *Analys.*] Josephus delivers a similar account. [*Ant.* 1. ch. 3, § 1.] And even when these forbidden marriages were introduced, the fact, of the totality of the depravation they operated, would be more naturally supposable of a small population of two adjoining tribes, than the teeming millions of a wide-spread world.

VII. The ministry of Noah [1 Peter 3. 19—20] would more strikingly harmonize with the supposition of a moderate population. This ministry, or persuasion to repentance and piety, could not be performed by proxy. To him alone the divine communication, with its attendant evidence that a Deluge was approaching, were given. He alone believed. [Heb. 11, 7.] He alone was pious

before God. Those would not preach who disbelieved and derided the doctrine. The work therefore was personal, and he alone is accredited as the preacher. Yet the spirits of the Antediluvian sinners are said to have been visited, ("he went") and addressed. They are charged as individually "disobedient" to the preacher they enjoyed "while the Ark was building." While this structure was carried on, an attestation of his faith and sincerity, the whole population of the Antediluvian world might have been visited and addressed, if the inhabitants were not more numerous than we have found other reasons for believing. The supposition of direct, personal preaching and expostulation, is in best accordance with the mercy of that Being "who kindly warns before he strikes the blow."—The memorable delay of seven days before the dreadful burst of the destroying waters, would thus afford ample time for the remotest penitent to reach the only asylum from approaching vengeance. [Gen. 7. 10.]

We are aware, that all the considerations we have enumerated are not equally conclusive, nor of themselves individually sufficient to sustain an opinion respecting the population of the former world; but together they present an harmony and force which entitle us at least to charity in our dissent from the common opinion, if not to the claim of probability for that which we have advocated. But the settling of remote historic verities is not an idle expenditure of pains. The facts of history, like those of nature, which seemed at first of little worth, are often the thread of Ariadne to the wanderer of a Labyrinth. Let us then wait for the day of their application, rather than despise them. Some use for this view of the early history of our race will be found in the Subterranean Chambers of Geology.

I. It has long been a mystery, which Sceptics have ob-

jected to the Record of Moses, that his page did not accord with the page of Nature—that though the traces of the Deluge are every where manifest, in the fossils which are plentifully and widely distributed, yet among the multitudes of bones, not a single wreck of the human frame has been found. Indeed, this has passed into an axiom in “Oryctognosy,” (Cuvier, Jamieson, Knight’s New Theory of the Earth, &c.) and, indeed, if the world before the Deluge were crowded with millions of the human race, this would be a geologic difficulty not easy to master. The use to be made of such a fact is manifest—it is furnished in our standard geography. Malte Brun, in summing up the amount of geologic research, remarks, “that the total absence of human bones in the different collections of remains, proves that man did not exist anterior to the last revolution of the globe.” (1 lib. 12, p. 283.) (c) But does geology indeed warrant this conclusion and belie the Mosaic Record? The learned and ingenious Sumner, (Records of Creat. vol. I. app.) though he undertakes to disincumber the sacred narrative of geological difficulties, overleaps this. Others, who have knowledge enough to feel the embarrassment, have moved for a hearing at a future time, when more facts shall have been disclosed. Others, with more piety than science, have attempted a prompt solution of the difficulty—Some have asserted, that the bones of men decay sooner than those of beasts, since of man only it was said, “dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return.”—But this merits no consideration. Another has referred to a miracle of mercy succeeding that of justice, by which human skeletons have been annihilated to spare the feelings of the surviving race. But this looks like an Iscariot kiss. De Luc (Letters to Blumenbach) accounts for the fact, by supposing the entire submersion of the

continents formerly occupied by man, the present habitable world being raised from the islands and bottom of the primeval ocean, (Append. to Element. Treatise on Geol. p. 403. § 31. Lond. 1809). Penn, (Mineral and Mosaic Geol.), urges a similar theory. But still we ask, on the supposition that millions of men sojourned with beasts upon the same land, why should the relics of one be preserved and exposed after the cessation of the same common fatality, and yet not a bone of the other? According to our view of the bearing of the Mosaic narrative, the result of the Deluge would be exactly what geology discovers—a small population, and therefore their remains scarce. The two Antediluvian tribes are located in the midst of the Asiatic continent, but contiguous, intermarrying, and few. If, as St. Pierre inferred from the aspect of the earth, and the geographical hint of Moses relative to the floating of the ark seems to confirm, the surging of the diluvial waters was northward, the same flood which bore away the carcase of the Siberian mammoth, might bear away and bury, amid the debris of northern Asia, a portion of the human carcasses, whose number and diffusion were never great. The returning waters might float others to the bosom of the Southern Ocean. Others of the few might be thinly scattered over the broad surface of the intermediate continent. Or, if retiring from the approaching waters to the central summits, they there were at last overtaken by the billows that chafed at either side, and met and engulfed them, still, over Asia would they be scattered, or in the Indian Ocean buried. If then, few at best, and these widely scattered over an Eastern world in their ruin, is it strange that the chances of modern and accidental digging should not yet have disinterred them? Geology is yet scarce out of her “teens;” has she no more to

learn? Is she, with the half-learned lesson of one continent, in the matter of another of which she knows nothing, to be sustained in her pert contradictions of the hoary sage, whom every science has verified? Where have the great cemeteries of diluvial relics been opened? Chiefly in Europe.—In Europe, which (if a part of the dry land of the former world) was a “terra incognita” to the restricted tribes of Cain and Seth, whose only recorded migrations were “eastward” of their paternal abode. (Gen. 4, 16). In the “caves” of Europe—the very den and asylum of the affrighted beast, but which man would most avoid in the terrors of a flood. But of Asia, what can the geologist tell us? But yesterday her mountains were measured,—and can he even now tell us of what they are built? Geologic excavations we will not yet require, when even to travel safe through her regions is a “tale.”

We might also suggest, that the surface of dry land which peered above the waters before the Deluge, was less considerable than since that event. This condition, besides affording larger supplies for the “windows of heaven” which poured down their torrents, rendering more natural the fearful invasion of the waters, when the “fountains of the great deep were broken up,” and more readily accounting for the predominance of aquatic vegetables in the relics of the former world, would at the same time, admit and require a smaller stock of human inhabitants, and make in its succeeding state, a higher elevation of its mountains necessary to afford space for the subsiding waters, as well as throwing up new continents from the excavated bosom of the deep. With this supposition both tradition and physical indications accord. Asia too, by its higher and broader surface, and where the Scriptures intimate the diluvial changes were small,

may even now be naturally taken for the home of the Antediluvian world.

2. The moral difficulties connected with the deluge, are diminished. "If earth was then swarming with her myriads of the human race, it is harder to imagine that in no obscure or remote corner, the contagion had not reached—when one cause of depravation is mainly operative, the all-seeing eye might not find other Noahs who had not yielded to its influence—that so soon after creation, the Perfect Being who presides over all and anticipates all, should have made such infinite havoc of the human race." True, even such scruples are not unanswerable. With rational and voluntary beings to whom his laws have been communicated, God has a right to make as large and long an experiment of their loyalty as he pleases, and to punish disloyalty wide as the crime—and disloyalty may spread wide as his empire. But, foreseeing the speedy issue of his first sovereignty over our race, when the experiment of long life was tried on man, to silence all murmurings against subsequent brevity, it seems reasonable to expect that the experiment would not be tried on a larger scale than benevolence would require—there seems no reason for multiplying without number the future victims of his justice ;—an inconsiderable population would seem best to illustrate the attribute of mercy, while "his hand took hold on vengeance." And this "a priori" conclusion is exactly that, to which the testimony of Scripture and Nature has brought us. The habitations of man were not diffused over an extended surface—the population never great—the universality of depravation facile—and the punishment complete, but not countless in its victims. The ravage of a pestilence, or an inundation—the ruin of an earthquake, or the havoc of a battle or a massacre—the philosophic

butcheries of illuminated France, may equal the number of their slain. Of one thing we are sure, respecting Him whom we adore: "he is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working;"—"his laws are holy, and just, and good;"—"he is long suffering, abundant in goodness;"—"to punish is his "strange work." A community universally corrupt, is ever a fit subject for punishment. What purpose can it serve to prolong rebellion and profligacy, law and penalty, exhortation and motive, kindness and discipline notwithstanding? Is any good to be gained by suffering violence to vex and corruption to taint the last of the faithful? No reasonable objection can be entered against the triumph of divine holiness and supremacy over a lustful, bloody, and disorganized congregation—the determined, incorrigible, veteran transgressors of a former world. And the monuments of that triumph, which now and every where meet the eye of every son of Noah, are important teachers of the folly of violating the moral laws of God, "who changeth not."—"Just and right is He!"

NOTES.

(a. p. 565.) Since the preceding discourse was written, I find the same opinion here espoused, has been suggested or advocated by others. The geologist may think better of it, when he finds the lamented Conybeare thus expressing himself in a note: "there appears little reason to conclude from the sacred narrative, that the Antediluvian population had become numerous; and it appears to have been concentrated in countries which have not as yet received examination." (*Outlines of the Geology of Eng. and Wales, &c.*, part I, introd. p. 59). The theologian may think more favourably, when he finds the same opinion advocated by Dr. Russel, the learned and ingenious connector of Shuckford and Prideaux. The historian and political philosopher will be gratified in finding that this opinion has found an advocate, without any reference to geology, in the acute and elegant author of "*the Philosophy of modern History*," (Dr. George Miller of Dublin), a work, notwithstanding the leer of Dr. Lingard, (pref. *Hist. Eng.*) worth all his multiplying quartos.—For, after all, the reader of history should not be a mere "*anceps syllabarum*," a chronicler of dates and facts, but think and detect human tendencies towards the grand plan which is constantly developing; and the technical historian is a mere mechanic, grinding and setting a glass, so that others may see what he never dreamt of,—worlds beyond. A child can count, but it requires the mind of a mathematician to raise out of numbers and relations a beautiful and a useful science. While referring to this work, I feel constrained to subjoin from it a few remarks on the divine interposition which renewed the face of the earth. "The species then, anterior to the Deluge, was

improved in the arts of life, and yet become, almost universally, unworthy to continue in existence : every thing had been done for the general advancement of society, which the infancy of mankind admitted ; and at the same time, such a degree of depravity had become generally prevalent, that the social system was disqualified for a further advancement. It was therefore necessary that some extraordinary measure should be employed, for arresting the corruption and preserving the improvement—some expedient, by which future ages might receive the benefit of the advantages already attained, and yet be separated from the evils with which the acquisition had been accompanied. The principles of reform, possessed by the race, having proved ineffectual, the measure resorted to was the destruction of the whole species except a single family, and the means prescribed for the preservation of that family imposed a necessity of exercising the mechanic arts in as great perfection as they were then known." 1 Philos. Mod. History, note, p. 118—137.

(b. p. 567.) I have used in the list, the dates of Dr. Hailes, to whose Analysis of Chronology the reader is referred, for reasons which we think conclusive.

(c. p. 583.) Christians are not disposed to deny the statement, that well ascertained relics of the human skeleton are not found occurring among the organic remains of antediluvian existence. I am aware that Dr. Toulman has said, that in every quarter of the world we meet with the remains of man in a fossil state. But this pitiful advocate of atheism either got his science from a grave-digger, or "knew not whereof he affirmed." I am aware of the human skeleton brought from the beach at Guadaloupe, but the aspect of the rock in which it was found, and the presence of recent shells, indicate its modern formation, and make it no exception to the general

proposition. Some human remains have been lately announced by a German geologist, but their influence on the subject has not yet been settled. The haste which is manifested, on scanty premises, to rush to a conclusion unfavourable to the authority of the Divine Volume, forms a miserable comment on the head and heart of modern "philosophers." Truth we love. The Sacred Volume urges us to "search for it as for hid treasures." The Bible claims to be a communication from the God of truth, who is also the Author of nature. All his works harmonize. We are not debarred by the sacred Volume from searching the volume of nature. We go to it with eagerness, because "the earth is full of His glory." And we never had a scruple, that the Sacred Volume, rationally interpreted, would not accord with facts in the natural, and fitness in the moral world.

NOTICE
OF
DOCTOR CASTELL.

FROM

"Todd's Life of Bishop Walton."

NOTICE

OF

DOCTOR CASTELL.

DR. *Edmund Castle*, or *Castell*, was a younger son of Robert Castell, Esq. of East Hatley, in the County of Cambridge; where he was born in 1606. He became a pensioner of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1621: from which he removed, many years afterwards, to St. John's College, for the advantage, as some have said, of the library there. In the early part of his life, he had been Vicar of Hatfield-Peverell, in Essex; and afterwards Rector of Woodham-Walter, in the same county; both which he resigned at different periods. He was also Rector of Higham-Gobion, in Bedfordshire; which benefice he retained till his death. He was appointed professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge in 1666, and a prebendary of Canterbury in 1667. He was also chaplain in ordinary to king Charles the second. Possessed of these honours, he died in 1685.

The commencement of his labours upon the *Lexicon* appears to have been in the *same year, which presented

* Dr. Walton, in a preceding note, mentions the specimen of the *Lexicon* as then (1657) published; and speaks of more than one as employed in it. Nor has Castell omitted, in his Preface, to notice partners in his toil; yet some of them at length deterred by the immensity of the undertaking from further concurrence; some remaining long with him, as Murray, Beveridge, and Wansleb; but Lightfoot always, as

to the public Dr. Walton's proposals for his Bible. For this Lexicon, which was published in 1669, has been des-

without him, he has said, his work could never have been so entire as it is. See Strype's Life of Lightfoot, p. xxi. It appears also that Mr. Samuel Clarke was another of the viri docti, alluded to by Dr. Walton, in the following very interesting account, in 1661, both of Castell and his work. "Dr. Castell, whose labours about the Biblia Polyglotta were not inferior to any one's, and Mr. Clarke, an assistant also in the Great Bible, persevering in their endeavours to do yet more good, about three years since printed some Proposals for the printing of Grammars and Lexicons for the Languages in the Great Bible. In Cambridge they found good acceptance, and Dr. Castell professeth he received no where so much encouragement for the work as there; and when some number of subscribers had paid the first sum, they began to open the press. But Mr. Clarke is called to an office in Oxford. Dr. Castell yet resolves to go on cum bono Deo; and with the assistance of such persons as were fit for the work, and patient, he hath finished all the first tome; the other tome now in the press, and the Grammars, will be finished as soon as may be with convenience. That which hath retarded the work, has been the paucity of subscribers, besides the unfaithfulness of some that subscribed.—Dr. Castell is a modest and retired person. Indefatigably studious, (and for many years his studies were devoted to these Eastern languages,) he hath sacrificed himself to this service; and is resolved, for the glory of God and the good of men, to go on in this work, though he die in it, and the sooner for the great pains it requires: so great that Petrus and some others, that were engaged by him to assist, were forced to desist, as being unable to endure such Herculean labours. I never see Dr. Castell, nor think of him, but his condition affects me. He hath worn his body in the unexpressible labours, which the preparations of such a work for the press require. He hath been forced to sell some part of his no great temporal estate to procure money for the paying off the workmen at the press; the money subscribed falling short, and there being such a scarcity of persons so nobly affected as to contribute. God preserve him in health, that he may lay the head-stone; God raise up some, that may move others of ample fortune to ennoble themselves, by encouraging a work of so universal and diffusive a good; God reward him in the comforts—of this life also! Persons, deserving highly for their endeavours of the public good, would have found no less encouragement in the heathen world. Such an one at Athens would have had the favour of the Prytaneum. Would such places were erected in Christendom!" Letters of Dr. Worthington to Hartlib, Ep.

cribed as “* a work of seventeen years ; *a seventeen years’ drudgery*, as he himself styled it in one of his Letters ; in which, besides his own pains, he maintained in constant salary seven English and as many strangers for his assistants ; all which died some years before the work was finished ; and the whole burthen fell upon himself ; though by God’s grace he at last finished it, before it finished him.”

Yet, thus employed, he did not hesitate, though he worked † most laboriously for it, to render many important services to Dr. Walton ; in a ‡ manner too which illustrates the great modesty, as well as erudition, which Dr. Walton, in § acknowledging those services, has not overpassed. His labours upon the Samaritan, the Syriac, the Arabic, and the Ethiopic versions, with notes upon all of them : and his Latin translation of the Canticles in the last-named language ; are what the Preface to the Polyglot records. In the sixth volume of the Polyglot, his || further assistance of collation is gratefully noticed. Yet

xvi. Sep. 9. 1661. p. 280, et seq. Dr. Pocock was also an assistant to Castell. Castell petitioned Cromwell to have five thousand reams of royal paper, excise and custom free. See Dr. Twell’s *Life of Pocock*. §. 3.

* Strype, *Life of Lightfoot*, Prefixed to *Lightfoot’s Works*, p. xxi.

† Sixteen or eighteen hours a day between the Polyglot and the Lexicon ! He accounted it a kind of idle holiday, if at any time this space of study was shortened ! “ *Mihi verò in molendino hoc per tot annorum lustra indesinenter occupato, dies ille tanquam festus et otiosus visus est, in quo, tam Bibliis Polyglottis quàm Lexicis hisce promovendis, sexdecim aut octodecim horas dietim non insudavi.*” *Epist. Dedic. in Lexic.*

‡ Speaking of the Manuscripts which Dr. Walton spared neither cost, nor labour, to procure for the Polyglot, he adds : “ *Cujus etiam vigilantia, studiisque indefessis, debetur, quòd conatus nostri, qui in eadem arena desudavimus, aliquid hic in bonum publicum protulerint.*” See his *Præf. in Adimadvers. Samarit. in Genesin, Bib. Pol. vol. vi.*

§ *Præf. in Bib. Polyglot.*

|| *Vide Collat. Pentateuchi Hebraici cum Samaritico. Bib. Polyglot. vol. vi.*

these acknowledgments have not been considered equal to his services. For he is * said to have also translated several of the Books of the New Testament, and the Syriac version of Job, where differing from the Arabic. To the neglect also, which his generosity experienced, there is a pointed reference in the Preface to his own Lexicon. On him, as on other learned assistants, Dr. Walton mentioned that he had bestowed gratuities; but mentioned not, that Dr. *Castell* had spent upon the work, as he himself † tells us, both the gratuity for his assistance, and a thousand pounds besides, partly of his own private fortune, and partly solicited from the liberality of others.

That a scholar so learned, and so generous, should have been compelled to utter the pangs of disappointment, and grief, and sorrow, who will not deplore? His health was ‡ impaired; his sight almost lost; his fortune greatly injured. “§ See and pity his condition,” says the feeling biographer of Dr. Lightfoot; “see and pity his condition, as he sets it out in one of his Letters to Dr. Lightfoot, where he says, *He had spent twenty years in time to the public service, above 12,000l. of his own estate, and for a*

* Nichols, Supplement to the Origin of Printing, p. 291. Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv. p. 24.

† Præf. in Lex. p. 1. “*Honorarium illud, quod in Præfatione Waltoniana dicor accepisse, in illud ipsum opus non refundebam tantum omne, sed mille plus minus libras ad promovendum illud, partim ab aliis solicitando procurabam, partim ipse donabam ultrò.*”

‡ Epist. Dedic. in Lex. “*Mitto privata quæ corpori in curriculo hujus operis contigerunt mala, membrorum confractioes luxationes, contusiones; quodque præ omnibus hisce gravissimè dolet, oculorum lumen, perpetuis atque indefessis vigiliis, tantum non ademptum.*” Again, Præf. in Lex. “*Per plures annos, jam ætate proventus, et undè cum patrimonio satis competentem, exhaustis etiam animi viribus, oculis caligantibus, corporis variis in hoc opere confractis et dislocatis membris, relictus sum solus, sine amanuensi, aut vel correctore ullo!*”

§ Strype. ut supr.

*reward was left in the close of the work above 1800*l.* in * debt.* Thus he kept his resolution, though it was as fatal to him as useful to the world. For, in the beginning of the undertaking, he resolved to prosecute it, though it cost him all his estate, as he told Mr. † Clarke! This forced him to make his condition known unto his Majesty, wherein he petitioned, *that a jail might not be his reward for so much service and expence."*

Nor did his work escape illiberal and malicious remarks. Yet, in a Letter to Dr. Lightfoot, he suppressed his vexation with the consolatory reflection, that " ‡ one Dr. Lightfoot was more to him than ten thousand such censors. Besides some few others amongst ourselves, I have," he continues, " a Golius, a Buxtorf, a Hottinger, a Ludolfo, &c. in foreign parts, that both by their letters, and in print, have not only sufficiently, but too amply and abundantly for me to communicate, expressed their over-high esteem of that, which finds but a prophet's reward here in its close."

Still amidst all these adverse circumstances, he was upon the watch for whatever might advance the progress of oriental and biblical learning. The following Letter, written by him in 1664, is a curious proof of this. § " Though I perish, it comforts me not a little to see how Holy Writ flourishes. I lately received an Armenian Psalter given me by Professor Golius, come newly off the press; where they are printing, at Leyden, the whole Bible in that language. The Old Testament is there printing in the

* See also Castell's Epist. Ded. in Lex. " Opus, in quo millenas [libras] multò plures infaustus exhausi, præter plurima atque ingentia valdè quæ contraxi debita."

† Another of Dr. Walton's assistants, and Dr. Castell's especial friend. See Bib. Polygl. vol. vi. See also before note (on page 594).

‡ Strype, ut supr. p. xxvi.

§ Ibid. p. xxiii.

Turkish language, perfected by Levinus Warnerus. The New Testament in Turkish, done by Mr. * Seaman, is just now in the press at Oxford; of which I have some sheets by me; as I have also of the old Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels, now printed with a Glossary to them at Leyden. Mr. † Petrus hath printed some parts of the Old Testament in the Ethiopic, and hath many more prepared both in that and the Coptic language. The ‡ Lithuanian, of which I have a good part by me, and

* According to Dr. Worthington's account, where he is speaking of Dr. Castell's Lexicon, this Mr. Seaman was another assistant to Dr. Castell. "The care for the Persian Lexicon and Grammar doth chiefly lie upon Mr. Seaman, of whose skill in the Turkish language I wrote to you heretofore; the same that out of Turkish Manuscripts translated and published the Life of Sultan Orchan. He hath translated some of the New Testament into that language." Dr. Worthington's letters to Hartlib, Ep. xvi. Sept. 9, 1661, p. 282. In 1666, the New Testament in Turkish, by this Mr. Seaman, was published at Oxford.

† Dr. Worthington also says, at this time, "I am glad Petrus is publishing his translations of the Lesser Prophets. In what language are they? He is most for the Coptic language." Letter to Hartlib, October 26, 1661, page 296. The translations to which Dr. Worthington alludes must be those of Jonah, Joel, and Malachi, Ethiopic and Latin, published by Petrus in 1660 and 1661. Petrus published the first Psalm in *Coptic*, Arabic, and Latin, in 1663. The following may be added to Bishop Marsh's valuable account of *Translations of the Scriptures into the Languages of Africa*. "Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quæ in Museo Borgiano velitis asservantur, cum reliquis Versionibus Ægyptiis contulit, Latine vertit, necnon criticis et philologicis adnotationibus illustravit W. F. Englebreth, Eccl. Lyd. &c. Verbi Divini Minister, et Præpos. Honor. 4to. Havniæ, 1811. This is a very curious and important work.

‡ A Lithuanian translation of the Bible, made by Chylinsky, was printed in London in 1660. Chylinsky published at Oxford an account of this translation in 1659, which had then been finished; to which the approbation of many learned men of the University is added, dat. Nov. 15, 1659.

the* New England Bibles, I need not name. I have a specimen of a Turkish dictionary, printed at Rome, and of a Chaldee dictionary in folio in the Hebrew language, composed by † Leonard Cohen de Lara ; which our ὁ μακαρίτης Professor Buxtorf much desired he might live to see finished: 'tis said to be now near its period at the press.

One would have rejoiced to find the publication of the Heptaglot Lexicon bringing compensation to its noble-minded editor. Yet the ‡ slender sums which the recommendatory letters of the king to the bishops and noblemen, and of the archbishop and bishops to § others, produced in aid of Dr. Castell's work, only serve to shew

* Bishop Marsh says, that there are only two American languages, into which the whole Bible has been translated ; the Brazilian, and the Virginian. The former, however, has never been printed ; the latter was printed at Cambridge in New-England, the New Testament in 1661, the Old Testament in 1663. Transl. ut supr. p. 98. To these Dr. Castell must be considered as referring, the whole Bible not being reprinted in New-England before 1685.

† Dr. Castell must mean David (not Leonard) Cohen de Lara ; to whose rabbinical dictionary he refers in the Preface to his Lexicon. This person is the author of a remarkably curious philological work, entitled ערך דויד, sive, De Convenientia Vocabulorum Rabbinicorum cum Græcis et quibusdam aliis Linguis Europæis. 4to. Amst. 1648. He says, that this had been his study for twelve years: "Mihî quidè m labor annis stetit duodecim." Præf.

‡ Epist. Dedic. in Lex. "Enimverò universæ hæ literæ, plus minus, septingentas libras tantùm mihi porrexerunt ad promovendum opus!"

§ The king's letter in 1660, was followed by one from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the clergy in 1663, before which, application had been made to the Convocation in 1661. See Kennet's Register, p. 493. There were also other letters circulated in behalf of this great undertaking. But Dr. Castell has told us, in the preceding note, how little they all produced ; about seven hundred pounds ; not near a tenth of the sum, which he himself had advanced upon the work ! The king's letter, the archbishop's, and another signed by several bishops, are prefixed to the Lexicon.

the inauspicious period in which he sought assistance; and argue a want of means, we should hope, rather than of discernment or of feeling. How slow must have been the sale of it, when in 1673, he could * communicate to a friend, that he had at least a thousand copies left! At the time of his death, about five hundred copies are supposed to have been unsold. One hundred, with other books, he left to Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, as an acknowledgment of very high obligations to him. The unsold copies were † placed, by his niece and executrix, in a room in one of her tenants' houses, where they were exposed to the ravages of rats; by which they were so mangled, that, on her death, her executors could scarcely form one complete copy of them. The whole formed a load of waste paper, which was sold for seven pounds! Besides this loss of copies, three hundred more of them, as far as the work had then proceeded at press, ‡ perished in the fire of London; and with them part of his library and furniture. The first volume seems to have been published § in or before 1663; and of the second volume

* Original Letter from Dr. Castell to Mr. S. Clarke. Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv. p. 695.

† Dibdin, Introduction to the Greek and Latin Classics, 3d edition, vol. i. p. 25.

‡ Epist. Ded. in Lex. "Pars etiam bibliothecae meae, cum multa supellectile et tricenis Lexici Heptaglotti exemplaribus, in flammis periit Londinensibus."

§ It looks as if it had been finished at the press in 1661, by the following observation of Dr. Worthington. "I wish them good success at the press about *the other volume of the Lexicon*; and that Dr. Castell may have a better gale to carry him to the desired port." Ep. xix. November 14, 1661, p. 300. But that the first volume had appeared in 1663, I gather from the *Diatriba de Chaldaicis Paraphrastis, eorumque Versionibus, &c.* By T. Smith, of Oxford, published in that year; in which, at p. 99, he cites, with proper respect, Dr. Castell, to a radix in col. 1622 of the said volume of the Lexicon

great part must have been printed at the time of the fire ; which calamitous event, however, * greatly impeded its progress.

But Dr. Castell has not omitted to † enumerate many noble patrons of his work, and to acknowledge subscriptions towards repaying his expences. Nor is it probable that he died poor. In 1684 he is found ‡ completing the purchase of a small estate in Hertfordshire ; and the inventory of his goods, taken after his decease, § presents the remains of a respectable establishment, not without a coach also and a pair of horses. He appears not, like Dr. Walton, to have been deprived of his rectory in Essex, during the great rebellion. Yet he complains of the || civil war, as well as of the plague and of the fire of London, in the melancholy details of his impediments and losses. He ¶ bequeathed his Oriental Manuscripts to the Public Library of the University of Cambridge. His

* Epist. Ded. "Mitto alia magis publica, Bellum nationale, Pestem saevissimam, et miserandum urbis Incendium : quibus omnibus diutius multò ut protractum fuit hoc antea languens negotium, ita supra modum ingravescebant simul onera mea et impensae.

† Praef. in Lex. "Coronidis loco, agnoscenda hic atque publicanda meritò illustrissimorum virorum (in tanto tamque longo plurimorum annorum decursu, non multorum quidè) beneficentia, qui opus hoc neglectum, et casibus diris ac durissimis languescens nimis, donariis suis amplis atque munificentia perbenignè excitarunt ac promoverunt." Then follows the names of the King, the Earl of *Bridgewater*, Viscount *Grandison*, Sir *Edmund Fortescue*, Sir *Norton Knatchbull*, Sir *Thomas Rich*, Sir *Thomas Wendy*, *F. Theobald*, Esq. the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, *Norwich*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Salisbury*. Dr. Castell adds, "Est adhuc honoratissimus unus, vel alter alius, quos intra velum latere jubet prudentia, et rerum ratio."

‡ Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. 4. p. 695.

§ Ibid. p. 697—699.

|| See note (*) above.

¶ Nichols, ut supr. pp. 28, 29.

notes upon the Pentaglot Lexicon of Schindler, in an interleaved copy of the work, forming three volumes, are preserved among the Manuscripts of Sidney College in that University; to which society they were *presented by Mr. Theophilus Pickering, one of the fellows soon after the time of Dr. Castell, and a prebendary of Durham. To Emmanuel College Dr. Castell †left some printed books, and to St. John's a silver tankard. The rest of his Library, "*quam ingenti sumptu et summa diligentia ex ulterius Europæ partibus sibi procuravit,*" &c. was sold by auction at Cambridge in 1689.

It has been said that, "‡we know nothing further published by Dr. Castell, excepting a thin quarto pamphlet, in 1660, entitled §*Sol Angliæ Oriens Auspiciis Caroli II. Regum Gloriosissimi.*" He certainly published also a very curious and valuable ¶Oration upon the Arabic Language,

* Edm. Castelli Notæ in Lexicon Schindleri propriâ manu scriptæ. Biblioth. Coll. Sindney-Suss. h. l. dedit T. Pickering, S. T. B. ejusdem Coll. Soc. et Canonicus Dunelm. The three volumes abound with notes; and we may form a notion of their great value, when in the Preface to his own Lexicon we find Dr. Castell referring to "*Schindleri* [Lexicon] quod ferè integrum in hoc opus transfundimus."

† Nichols, ut supr.

‡ Ibid. p. 24.

§ Printed in 1660. The dedication is to the king, which closes thus: "*Carmina sua illis linguis, quæ in Lexico, quod sub prelo est, Polyglotto Orientali, exhibentur, humillimè offert, suo et sociorum nomine Edm. Castell, S. T. B.*"

¶ It is remarkable that this Oration should have hitherto been overlooked by those who have written concerning Dr. Castell, as he expressly refers to it in the Preface to his Lexicon. The whole title of it is, "*Oratio in Scolis Theologicis habita ab Edmundo Castello S. T. D. et Linguae Arabicae in Academia Cantabrigiensi Professor, cùm Prælectiones suas in secundum Canonis Avicennae librum auspicaretur, quibus via præstruitur ex Scriptoribus Orientalibus ad clarius ac dilucidius enarrandam Botanologicam S. S. Scripturæ partem, opus à nemine adhuc tentatum.*" 4to. Lond. 1667.

which indeed deserves to be well known. It recommends, among other eulogies, this language on account of its copiousness ; and speaks of its numerous words so comprehensive, as, singly, to express whole sentences. It informs us, that the Arabians and Syrians possessed some writings of Plato, Aristotle, Livy, Galen, Dioscorides, and even of the Christian Fathers, to which Europeans were utter strangers. It relates advantages which have been derived from it to the study of the civil and canon law, and also of medicine. It especially details several errors and obscurities, into which expositors of Avicenna have run. It moreover displays abundant sacred criticism, and investigates several Oriental Versions of Scripture.

In the preceding publication, the *Sol Angliæ*, &c. congratulating the king upon his return in Polyglot verses, the introductory poem notices the Polyglot Bible with admiration and gratitude. And now reverting to Dr. Castell's principal work, I adopt in conclusion the very judicious remark upon it of no ordinary pen, " *that it is a work which has long challenged the admiration, and † defied

* Dibdin, ut supr. pp. 26, 27.

† Some improvements have been made, and some proposed, upon Castell. The Persic Lexicon is a part of Dr. Castell's work, which has been undervalued, Dr. A. Clarke says, by such as either did not or could not consult it : but it is an excellent work ; and to it even *Meninski* and *Richardson* are indebted for a multitude of articles ; its chief fault is want of distinct arrangement : the words are sadly intermixed, and many Persian words are printed with Hebrew types, probably because they had but few Persian characters. Bibliograph. Dict. Vol. I. p. 269. I may add, that lately the following remark has been made in regard to the Syriac part. " *Vocabula Syriaca, in Jobo obvia, apud Castellum autem in Lexico desiderata, accuratè enotavi. Qui Castellianum Lexicon quotidianis manibus terunt, benè intelligunt, quæ quantaque in Lexicographia Syriaca adhuc præstanda supersint, neque parvam hanc messem in contemptu habebunt, sed potius his candidè mecum fruentur.*" Vid. *Curæ Hexaplares in Jobum è Codice Syriaco-Hexaplatari*

the competition, of foreigners ; and, *which, with the great Polyglot of Walton, its inseparable and invaluable companion, has raised an eternal monument of literary fame.*'

Ambrosiano-Mediolanensi. Scripsit *Henricus Middeldorps*, Phil. et Theol. D. Hujusque P. P. O. in Universitate Litterarum Vratislaviensi. 4to. Vratislaviæ, 1817. p. xi.

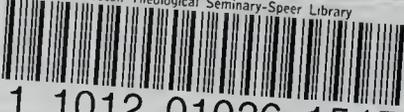
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