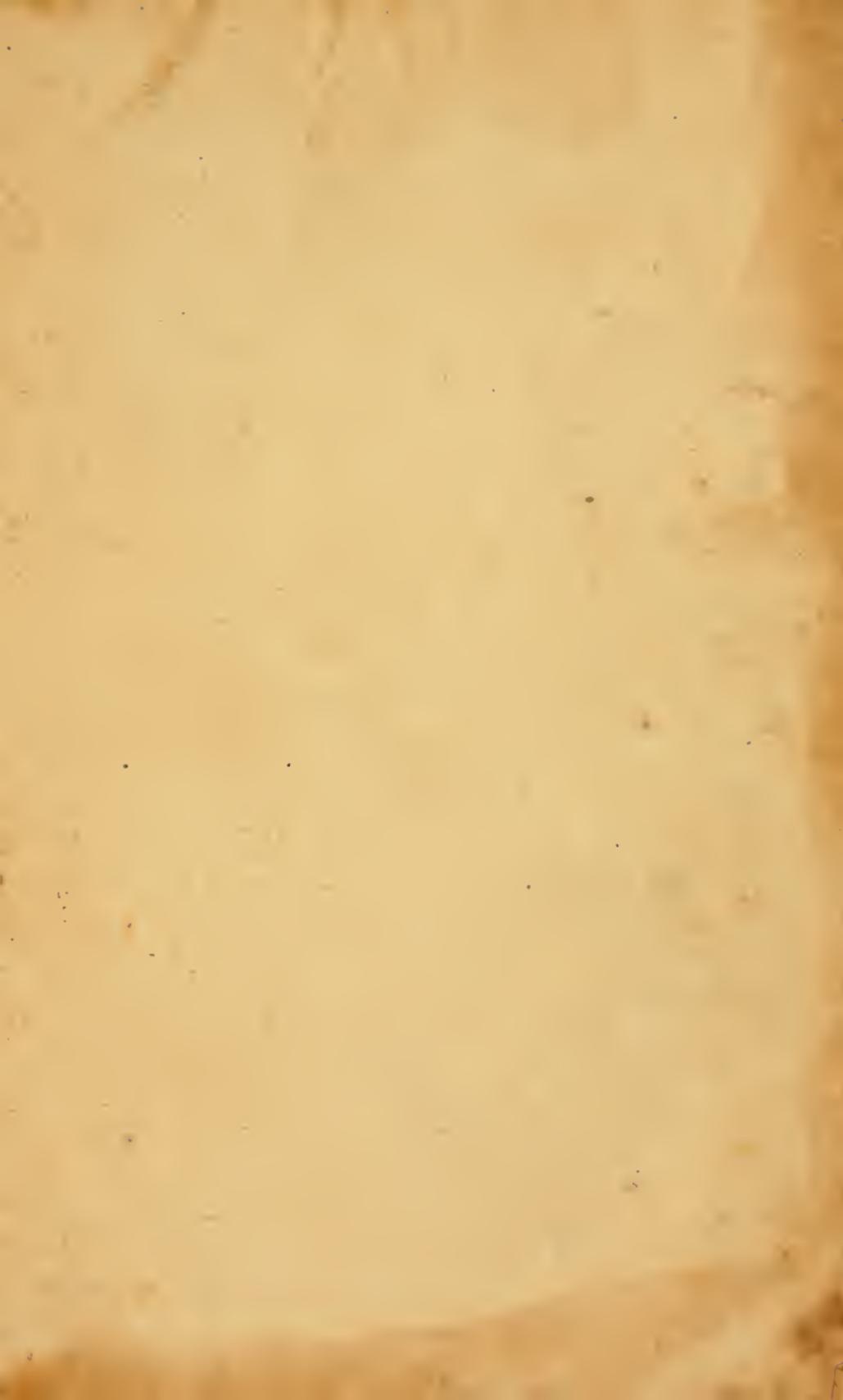
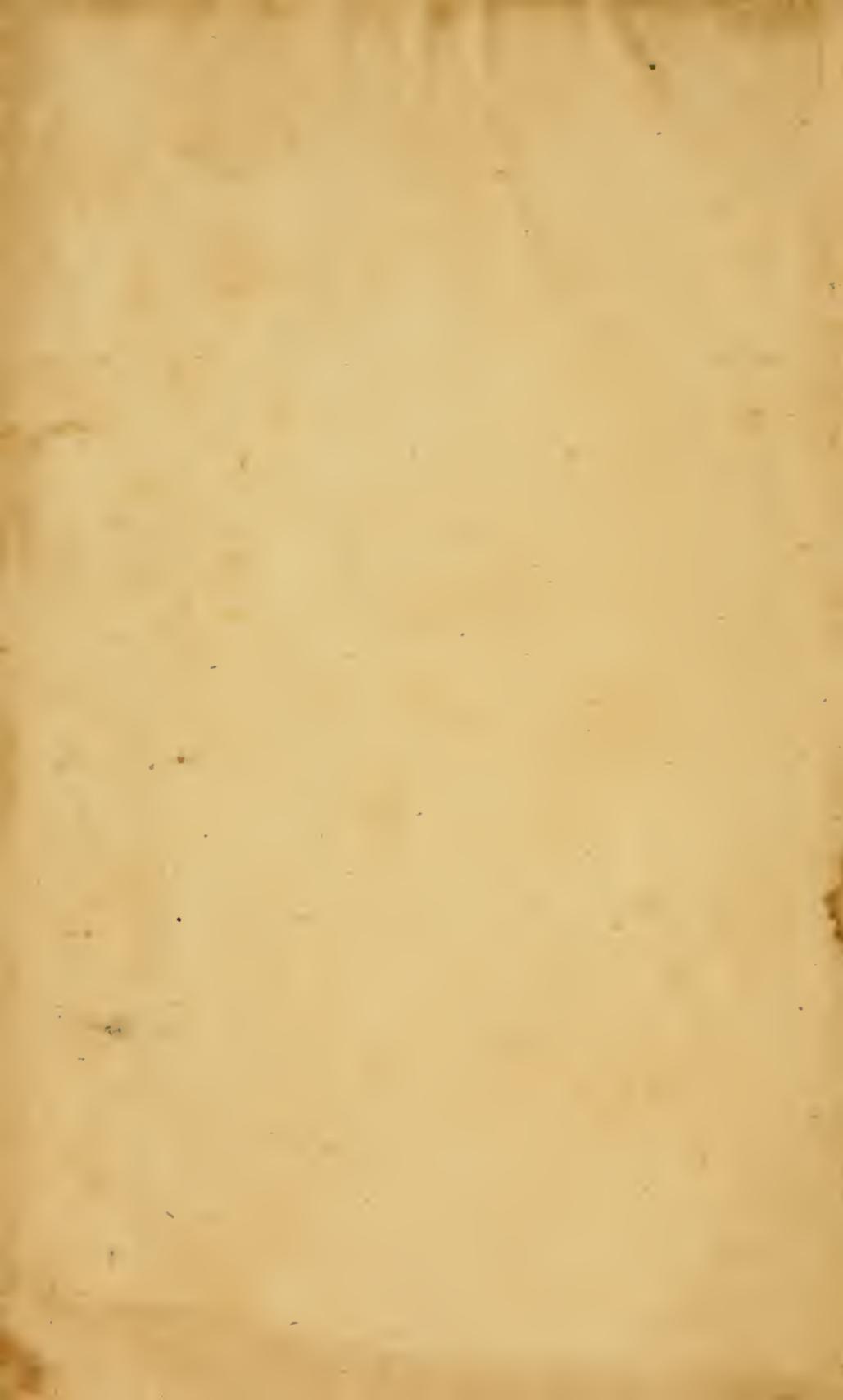




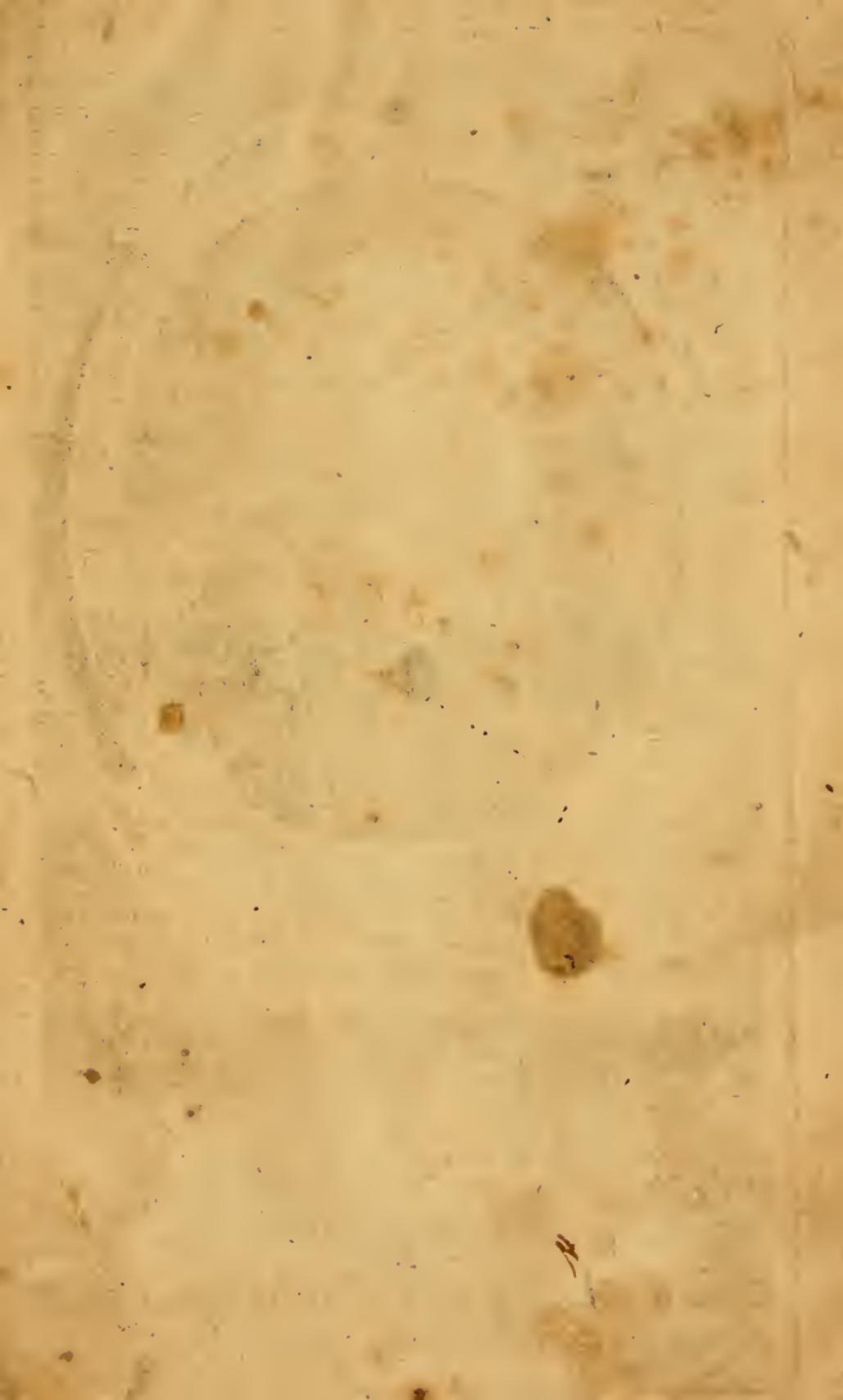
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John. 5. 29.
Search the
Scriptures
John. 1. 17.
The Law was
given by Moses
but Grace came
by Truth came by
Jesus Christ.
John. 3. 3.

...the
...of the
...the
...of the
...world
...to the
...of
...Christianity



The Rev^d M. THOMAS STACKHOUSE.
Abatis Sacer. G. B.

H. Gavin sculp. Edin.



NEW HISTORY

of the

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from the

Beginning of the World,

TO THE

Establishment of Christianity.

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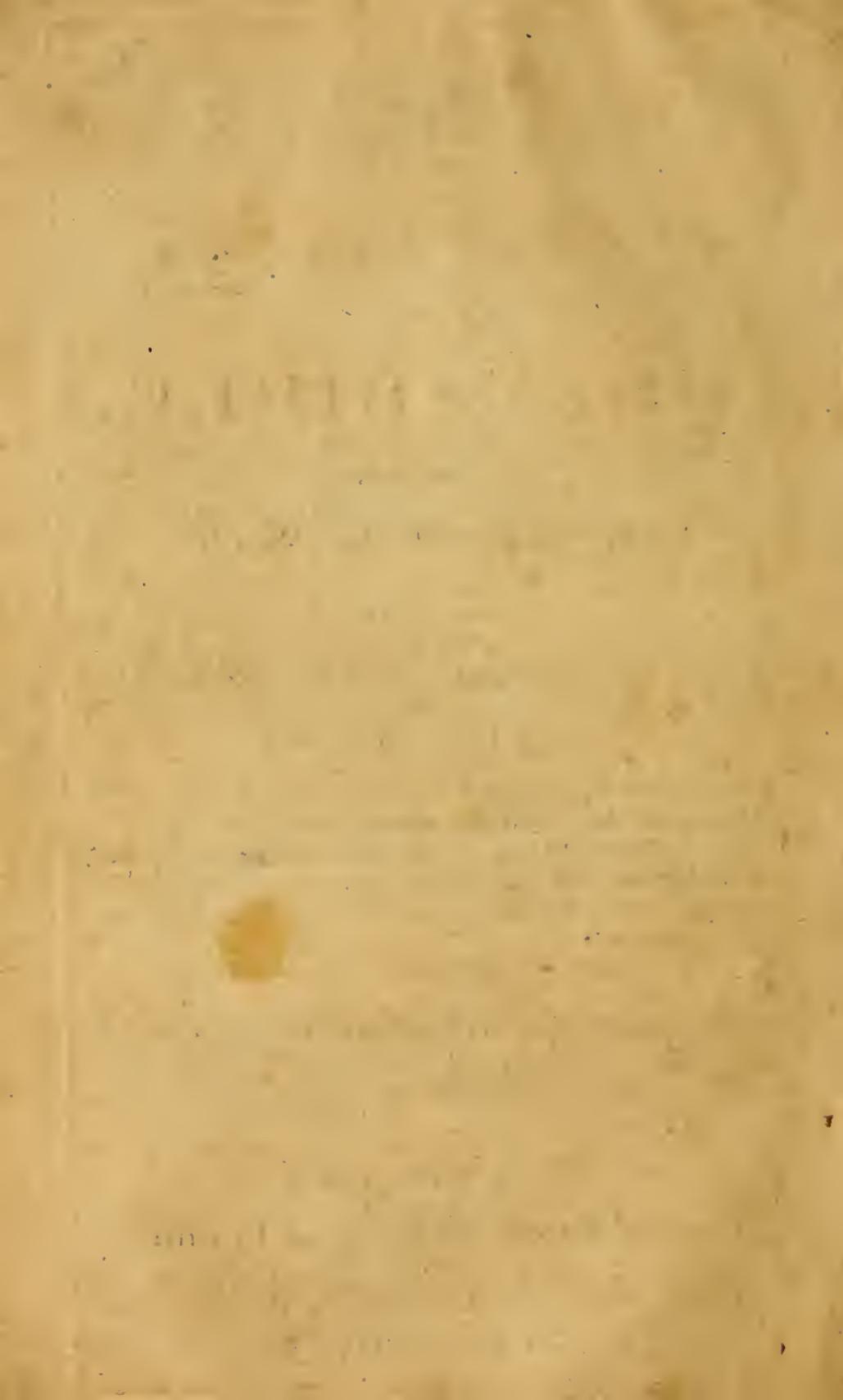
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MDCCLXIV.



TO

The Right Reverend Father in GOD,

E D M U N D,

Lord Bishop of LONDON,

A N D

One of his MAJESTY'S Most Honourable
PRIVY COUNCIL.

My LORD,

THAT a book of this size, by a person of my obscurity, should, in so short a space of time, after so large a number already printed off, come to its second impression, must be imputed very much to the influence of your Lordship's name in the front, which is of weight sufficient to stamp authority upon any thing, and to induce both clergy and laity to read what your Lordship has not disdain'd to approve.

THERE is something however, I hope, in the laudableness of my intention, which, in conjunction with your Lordship's influence, has been a means to conciliate the good opinion of the public, and to give the work a greater currency: for the design of what I now present to your Lordship, is, so to methodize, explain, and illustrate the Historical Part of the HOLY BIBLE, as to remove the difficulties in reading it, which some have asserted, and others complained of, with an intent, I fear, to prejudice the world against it. And were I under no previous obligations to your LORDSHIP, the very nature of my subject would remit me to one, who has always been a known encourager of works of this kind, and who has himself so gloriously maintained the truth and authority of those sacred records, and both the evidences and excellency of the Christian dispensation.

SINCE it is our fate, my LORD, to live in an age wherein divine revelation is rejected, the sense of ancient prophecies perverted, the miracles of our Blessed Saviour degraded, the mysteries of our holy religion ridiculed, its laws and constitutions slighted, and its guides and ministers treated with despite; we ought to account it the peculiar blessing of Heaven, that in this great metropolis, we have one presiding over us, who is so well qualified to withstand this inundation of impiety, who is both able and willing to vindicate the cause
of

of God and religion, and, by his example and encouragement, to animate us in defence of it.

To you, my LORD, we owe a full confutation of infidelity in your Lordship's most excellent PASTORAL LETTERS; to you we owe that wise system of directions for our private conduct, and the honourable discharge of our ministerial office, which, if duly observed, would make *us unto God a sweet savour of Christ*, and a glorious clergy indeed; to you we owe the knowledge of our ecclesiastical laws and constitutions, which your Lordship, with great care, and pains indefatigable, has digested and explained; to you we owe the defence of those immunities and privileges, and the preservation of those rights and possessions, with which those laws and constitutions have invested us; and, however other tongues may be silent, my gratitude, I hope, will always oblige me to declare, that to you I owe the present comfortable leisure I have for study, and the generous encouragement your Lordship has always been pleased to give to my weak, but well-intended labours.

WHATSOEVER then, my LORD, the perverseness of this present generation may be, future ages must be told, what an exquisite judge and master of all useful learning, what a firm friend to men of merit, what a true patriot to your country, what a zealous defender of the Christian cause, what a wise guide and governor of Christ's church, what

a kind protector of his ministers, and strenuous assertor of their rights and privileges, you have all along been; in how large a sphere your Lordship, these many years, has moved; and with what lustre you have always adorned it.

THAT the great *giver of every good and perfect gift* may long preserve your Lordship, a public blessing to this church and nation, is the daily fervent prayer of,

My LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Most humble,

Obliged, and

*Beenham in Berkshire,
April 7. 1744.*

Devoted servant,

THOMAS STACKHOUSE.

T H E
A P P A R A T U S
T O T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
O L D T E S T A M E N T.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of the (*a*) Holy Bible, it may not be improper to inquire a little into the truth and authority, the perfection and excellency, the antiquity, style, and other properties of that part of it which we call the *Old Testament*, (for what we have to say concerning the *New* must be reserved to another place), the number and nature of the books whereof it is composed, and the several translations, and other incidental changes, which, since the time of its publi-

(*a*) The books which we look upon as the foundation of our holy religion, go under different names. They are styled *sacred* and *divine books*, *holy writ*, and *holy scriptures*, because they were wrote by persons divinely inspired, and do contain the commandments of God himself. Our Saviour calls them *the scriptures*, by way of eminence; because no other book is comparable to them. Several of the ancients gave them the name of *Pandect*, and *Bibliotheca Sancta*, as containing all the tracts which were wrote upon the same divine subject. Of later ages the world *Bible*, (which comes from the Greek βιβλία, signifying books)

publication, it has undergone. And this we are the rather induced to do, because a bolder spirit of infidelity than usual, has, of late, gone out into the world; teaching some to look upon all religion as a mere trick, contrived by the arts of princes, and conserved by the interest of priests; others, to call in question the genuineness of some particular books of scripture, thereby to make way for the subversion of the whole; others, to disparage the whole, as a rude and inmethodical, a flat and insipid composition, unbecoming the Spirit of God to dictate, or men of letters to read; and others again, from the pretended sufficiency of natural religion, to deny the necessity of any divine revelation at all.

A divine
revelation
what.

What we are to understand by a *divine revelation* needs no great pains to discover. (b) In the most simple and obvious sense of the word, *revelation* is the making that known, which was a secret before; and so, when applied to a religious use, "it is God's making known himself, and his will to mankind, over and above what he has made known by the light of nature or reason." To this purpose we may observe, that the objects of our knowledge are of three kinds: Some are discernible by the light of nature without revelation; such is the knowledge of God from the effects of his power and wisdom, as (c) the apostle argues: Others knowable, not at all by the light of nature, but by revelation only; such is the salvation of

books) has universally prevailed. But how the word *testament* came to be applied to the holy scriptures, is not so easy a matter to define; only we may observe, that the Septuagint's using the word *διαθήκη*, (which signifies a *testament*), might probably induce the Latin interpreter to translate it by *testamentum*. But then we must remember, that this word must not be used in its ordinary sense, as it means a man's *last will*, that is to be executed after his death; but, in a more general signification, to denote, a *solemn declaration* of the *will* of God towards men, containing his laws, his precepts, his promises, and the covenant which he has contracted with them. And for this reason it is likewise called by the Latins *instrumentum*, i. e. an authentic deed, containing solemn ordinances, or treaties, and compacts. The books which comprehend what God revealed to the Jews, are called *the Old*, and those which contain what he declared by Jesus Christ, and his apostles, are styled *the New Testament*. Du Pin's hist. of the Canon, &c.

(b) Bishop Williams's sermons at Boyle's lectures. (c) Rom. i. 20.

mankind by the death of Jesus Christ, (*d*) which (as the apostle expresses it) *has, from the beginning, been hid in God*: And others, discoverable by the light of nature indeed, but very imperfectly, and therefore stand in need of a revelation to give them a farther proof and evidence; and of this kind is that (*e*) *life and immortality*, which (the same apostle tells us) our saviour *brought to light by the gospel*. But now, be the revelation of what degree soever, whether partial or entire, whether a total discovery of some unknown truths, or only a fuller and clearer manifestation of them, it must be supernatural, and proceed from God.

That God can make a revelation of his will, either immediately to our minds and inward faculties, or mediately to our understandings, by the intervention of our outward senses, can never be questioned by any one who considers him as the author of his being, and therefore intimately acquainted with all the springs and movements of his soul. (*f*) We find ourselves capable of communicating our thoughts to one another, either by means of a sound of words, which strikes the ear, or by writing, or other signatures of our intentions, which affect the eye; and why cannot God make use of the like means to impress what idea he thinks fit on our minds, or to give such motions to the brain, as may occasionally excite whatever thoughts he designs to produce in us? or rather indeed, why may not he, without any intermediate or occasional cause at all, enlighten the mind by a direct and naked view of such truths as he desires it should know? for (*g*) *he that planted the ear, and he that formed the eye, shall not he have access to them? or shall not he have power of communicating his thoughts, who teacheth man understanding?*

Since therefore it cannot be denied, but that it is possible for God to reveal his will to mankind, let us, in the next place, consider, which is most probable, which most agreeable to the notions we have of him, whether he should, or should not, make such a revelation. Now, if we may judge of this by the general sense of mankind, we shall hardly find any one, that believed the existence of a God, who did not believe likewise some kind of commerce and communication between God and men. (*h*) This was the foundation of all the religious rites and ceremonies, which every nation

(*d*) Eph. iii. 9. (*e*) 2 Tim. i. 10. (*f*) Fiddes's body of divinity, vol. I. (*g*) Psal. xciv. 9. (*h*) Dr Sherlock's sermons.

pretended to receive from their gods: And, what gave birth to all their superstitious arts of divination, was the persuasion that their gods had a perpetual intercourse with men, and, by fundry means, gave them intelligence of things to come.

And indeed it is hardly to be imagined, that God should make reasonable creatures on purpose to know him, and to be happy in the knowledge, and love, and admiration of him, and yet withdraw himself from them, without giving them any visible tokens of his presence, or communicating any farther knowledge of himself to them, than what they might perceive in the reflection of his works. A desire to be acquainted with the will of the Supreme Being seems to be so connatural to the soul of man, that, in the more civilized parts of the world, we scarcely know any people of note, who had not their Sibyls, such as they accounted the mouth of their gods; and, without all doubt, none were without an oracle, to which, upon all exigencies, they had recourse, and to whose injunctions they willingly submitted. And if such a desire be implanted in us, the consideration of God's goodness will not suffer us to doubt, but that he has made a proper provision to answer this, as well as our other natural appetites. Whereupon we cannot but conclude, that the same power and wisdom which made man a reasonable and inquisitive being, and allowed him a world of wonders to employ his intellectual faculties in the contemplation of, has likewise taken care to satisfy that noble desire of knowing what the will of his maker is, and what relates to his own eternal welfare: And that is *revelation*.

Without this, indeed, the case is with him, as with one that is born blind, (*i*) who, whatever other evidence he may have of the being of a God, wants one, the most convincing of all, *i. e.* the wonders of an almighty power, and

(*i*) Our excellent Milton, in that episode upon light, wherein he bewails his own want of sight, very feelingly, has expressed this thought with a great deal of tenderness and beauty:

————— Thus with the year
Seasons return, but not to me return
Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn,
Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine.
But cloud instead, and ever-during dark
Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men

and incomprehensible wisdom, conspicuous in the frame of nature, and the visible parts of the creation. And, in like manner, whatever sense such men as have only reason for their guide, may attain of the mercy and goodness of God; whatever they may observe, in the course of his providence, to confirm them in the belief of it; whatever hopes they may entertain of it from a general notion of the divine nature; whatever desire they may have for it from the sense of their own misery: yet they want that evidence of it, which alone can satisfy and compose their doubtful and distracted minds; and that is certainty, or, which is the same, *revelation*; by which, and nothing less, that certainty is to be attained.

The plain truth is, if there be no revelation, we are, The necessity of his doing it as it were, *without God in the world*; and, considering the nature of some events, cannot assuredly say, whether the divine providence interferes in the government of it, or fate and chance happen to all things (*k*). If there be no revelation, we are still in our sins, and have no sanctuary against the accusations of our enraged consciences, the fears of our guilty minds, or the justice of an incensed Deity. If there be no revelation, we have no hope, can have no comfort in our death, nor any assurance of immortality after it. In a word, if there be no revelation, we are in a perpetual maze, as if we were at sea, without star or compass, and knew not what course to take to gain our harbour. And therefore the same reason which we have to believe that God is good and gracious in all his other dispensations, we have to believe likewise, that, from the first creation of the world, he always vouchsafed mankind some revelation of his will, whereby to direct their conduct.

Adam, no doubt, was created, at first, in the full perfection of his reason; and yet, if we take a view of him to the first man, in that state, we shall soon perceive, that he could not attain a competent knowledge of many things, without the assistance of divine revelation. (*l*) He felt indeed himself

Cut off, and, for the book of knowledge fair,
Presented with an universal blank
Of nature's works, to me expung'd and raz'd,
And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out. *Book 3.*

(*) Bishop Williams's sermons at Boyle's lectures.

(*l*) Milton, whom I take to be a good commentator upon what happened to Adam in his state of innocence, introduces him thus expressing himself:

to be, but how he came to be, he knew not; for he saw nothing about him, that could either be supposed to have given him that being, or could inform him how he came by it. He saw he had a body, but what that body was originally made of, he could not possibly tell; for how could he suppose, that such warm, soft, and tender flesh, such firm and well-compacted joints, such bright and radiant eyes, &c. were ever formed of cold, shapeless, and unactive earth? He felt his body move obsequious to his will, but what that inward principle was, which moved it, he was wholly ignorant; nor could he possibly, of himself, conceive, that there was an immaterial spirit, of a distinct nature and subsistence, vitally united to it, and what gave the spring to all its motions. He cast his eyes up to the heavens, and there saw that glorious luminary, which gave light (as he perceived) to all about him; but whether it was an intelligent being or not, or, when it came to decline and set, whether it might not be inclosed in perpetual darkness, he could not understand. He found, towards the approach of night, an heavy stupidity begin to seize him, and that he was forced to submit to its power; but he did not know, but that it was to be the extinction of his being, and that he was to close his eyes and conclude his life together. This we may very well suppose to have been the case of Adam, at his first looking about him, immediately upon his creation. For though he had what we call reason, in a sovereign degree; yet even that reason must have been his torment for a while, when it made him inquisitive, but could give him no satisfaction: And there-

1 Myself I then perus'd, and limb by limb
 Survey'd, and sometimes went, and sometimes ran
 With subtle joints, as lively vigour led.
 But who I was, or where, or from what cause
 Knew not. To speak I try'd, and forthwith spake:
 My tongue obey'd, and readily could name
 What'er I saw: "Thou Sun, said I, fair light!
 " And thou, enlighten'd Earth, so fresh and gay!
 " Ye hills, and dales! ye rivers, woods, and plains!
 " And ye, that live, and move, fair creatures! tell,
 " Tell (if ye saw) how came I thus, how here——
 " Not of my self—by some great maker, then,
 " In goodness and in pow'r pre-eminent.
 " Tell me how I may know him, how adore,
 " From whom I have, that thus I move, and live,
 " And feel that I am happier than I know." *Book 8.*

fore it is proper to believe, (the wisdom and goodness of God constrain us to believe), that, in order to relieve him under this perplexity, God took care, either by the ministry of his holy angels, or by some immediate inspiration, and impresson, to inform him of every thing, that was necessary for him to know, in the state wherein he had placed him.

He had placed him now in a beautiful garden, and given him great variety of fruits for his nourishment and support. But might not some of these fruits be designed for other purposes than food? or might they not have some bad and pernicious qualities in them, how apparently fair soever, and inviting? (m) Without making the experiment, it was impossible for Adam to know what food was proper for his constitution, which experiment (for ought he knew) might have proved fatal to him; and therefore we find God giving him this direction: (n) *Of every tree in the garden thou mayst freely eat, but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil; thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die.*

He had placed him, naked and defenceless, in the midst of savage creatures, all able and inclined to destroy him, had they not been restrained by some invisible power; and, in this condition, he must have been miserable beyond all imagination; and under perpetual apprehensions, that the first lion or tyger he met would certainly devour him: but, to ease his mind in this particular, we find God giving him assurance to the contrary, and investing him with this authority: (o) *Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.*

He had formed a woman, to be a consort and companion to him; but how he should know any thing of a future state of marriage, and the ties of conjugal affection among his posterity, (p) (as his words plainly indicate); how he should have a perfect notion of *father* and *mother*, before there was any such thing as father and mother in the world; should have clear ideas of the affection and endearments arising from that relation, and yet, at the same time, should perceive, that the affection and endearments arising from marriage, would so far get the better of them, as to attach a man nearer to a stranger, taken into his bosom, than to those very parents whose

(m) Revelation examined. (n) Gen. ii. 16. 17. (o) Ibid. i. 26. (p) Ibid. ii. 24.

blood ran in his veins; is a problem which cannot be resolved without having recourse to divine revelation; and therefore we find our Saviour thus expounding it: (q) *Have ye not read, that he who made them in the beginning, made them male and female; and said, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh?* So that the words of Adam, upon this occasion, were the declaration of God himself, and only pronounced by Adam, in consequence of an express revelation from God. And if a revelation, in these and such like instances, was needful for the conduct of man in his state of integrity, much more was it necessary in a state of defection and general depravity.

and his posterity.

Whether we believe, then, or not believe, the account which Moses gives of the devil's deceiving our first parents in the form of a serpent; yet, unless we will deny the truth of all history, we must allow, that in process of time, (both before and after the flood), the corruption of mankind became universal; and that their grand adversary had so enlarged his empire, as even to outvie the *God of heaven* in the splendor of his temples, the number of his votaries, and the pomp and solemnity of his worship. (r) In this case, we do not indeed say, that man had any right to the divine assistance: that he had forfeited by his apostasy; and where the necessity is created by our own fault, there lies no obligation upon the creator to provide a remedy. But though God was under no obligation to do it, yet, considering the miserable circumstances mankind were in after the fall, more especially through want of a revelation, we may reasonably conclude, that the benignity of his nature would no less incline him to give them one, than if he had been obliged to it by a special promise or covenant.

For how can we believe, that a being of infinite perfection, when he saw mankind under the deception of sin, and the delusions of Satan, should take no care to rectify their mistakes, and reform their manners? (s) Can we suppose it consistent with infinite truth, to suffer all nations to be exposed to the wicked designs of seducing and apostate spirits, without ever offering them any means to undeceive them? Can we imagine, that a God of infinite majesty and power, who is a *jealous God*, and will not *give his honour to another*, should allow the world to be guilty of

(q) Matth. xix. 4. &c.

(r) Bishop Williams's sermons.

(s) Jenkins's reasonableness of the Christian religion, vol. 1.

idolatry; to make themselves gods of wood and stone; nay, to offer their sons and daughters unto devils, without concerning himself to vindicate his own honour, by putting a stop to such abominations? We have no true notion of God, if we do not believe him to be infinite in knowledge, holiness, mercy, and truth; and yet we may as well believe there is no God at all, as imagine, that a God of infinite knowledge should take no notice of what is done here below; that infinite holiness should behold the whole world overspread with wickedness, and find no way to redress it; and that superstition, and idolatry, and all the tyranny of, sin and Satan, for so long a time, should enslave and torment the bodies and souls of men, and there should be no compassion in infinite mercy, nor any care over a deluded world in a God of truth. We may therefore justly conclude, that since a revelation, in the state of man's defection, was so necessary in itself, and so agreeable to the known attributes of God, there is abundant reason to be persuaded, that God was always inclinable to impart one to mankind, whenever their occasions required it.

“ But what occasion could there be for any divine re-
 “ velation (t), when, by giving them the light of reason, An objec-
 tion.
 “ (that perfect and unerring guide), and implanting in them
 “ the law of nature, God had made an ample and stand-
 “ ing provision, both for the instruction of their minds,
 “ and the direction of their lives? when, by a due at-
 “ tention to these, they might, at any time, be enabled
 “ to perceive all that was necessary for them to know, and
 “ to practise all that was required of them to do, without a-
 “ ny supernatural intervention, which, in this case, seems
 “ highly needless and superfluous? ”

We readily grant, indeed, that the great principle of ac-
 tion in human nature is reason; insomuch that to judge Answered
 by shewing
 the imper-
 fection
 according to its directions, is not the privilege of the philo-
 sopher only, but a thing essential to our very beings, and as
 much inseparable from all persons, as is the sense of their
 own existence. But then we are to consider how small
 a portion of light any man's reason has, that he can
 properly call its own. For, (u) as we derive our nature
 from our parents, so that which we generally call *natural*
knowledge, or *the light of nature*, is a knowledge and

(t) Christianity as old as the creation, *passim*.

(u) Law's Case of reason; or, Natural religion fairly and fully
 stated,

light,

light, that is made natural to us by the same authority which makes a certain language, certain customs, and modes of behaviour, natural. Nothing, in this case, seems to be our own, but a bare capacity to be instructed, or a nature fitted for any impressions; as capable of vice as virtue; and as liable to be made an Hottentot, by being born among Hottentots, as to be made a Christian, by being born among Christians. So that our moral and religious knowledge is not to be imputed to the internal light of our own reason or nature, but to the happiness of having been born among reasonable beings, who have made a sense of religion and morality as natural to our minds, as articulate language is to our tongues.

We allow, again, that there is a moral distinction between good and evil, right and wrong, founded in the nature of things; but then we affirm, that this is not from a philosophical contemplation of the fitness of the one, and the unfitness of the other, that we prefer virtue to vice; but from the instruction of those who had the care of our education, and the formation of our judgments from our infancy. When we arrive at an age of more maturity, indeed, and happen to have a genius fitted for philosophical inquiries, we may then deduce proofs that will establish our notions of such a moral distinction; but these, we must allow, are an after-knowledge, not common to men, but accidental confirmations of that sense of religion and morality, which, more or less, was fixed in us by the institution and authority of those among whom we had the good fortune to live. Now, if this be the true state of reason, as it is originally in us; if this be all the light that we have from our own nature, *viz.* a bare capacity of receiving good or bad impressions, right or wrong opinions and sentiments, according to the particular country we chance to be born in; if we are nothing without the assistance of men; nay, if we are foolish and helpless animals, till education and experience have revealed unto us the wisdom and knowledge of other men; then are we but weakly qualified to assert and maintain the absolute perfection of human reason, in opposition to the necessity and advantage of a divine revelation. But this is not all.

and depravity of human reason.

It is not only the imperfection of our reason, but its frequent depravity likewise that ought to abate our confidence in it; since, upon farther examination, we shall find, that all the mutability of our tempers, the disorder of our passions, and corruption of our hearts; all the extravagancies

travagancies of the imagination, all the contradictions and absurdities which are to be found in human life and human actions, are strictly and properly the mutability, corruption, and absurdities of human reason. We, indeed, in the common forms of speech, talk of our reason as a distinct principle from our passions, affections, and humours; but this is only a distinction of language made at pleasure, and without any real distinction in the things themselves. (x) The same principle, which is the agent of all that is good in us, must be equally the agent of all that is evil; for the action and power of reason are as much required to make any thing vicious, as to make it virtuous: and if so, reason is certainly the worst as well as the best faculty we have; and not only the principle of virtue, but the certain cause likewise of all that is base and shameful in human life.

Brutes, we know, are incapable of imprudence and immorality, because none of their actions are actions of reason; and therefore, if our reason be the only faculty which distinguishes us from brutes, it must certainly follow, that all the irregularities, whether of humour, passion, or affection, which cannot be imputed to brutes, must solely be ascribed to the faculty whereby we are distinguished from them; and, consequently, every thing that is vain, shameful, false, or base, must be the sole product of our reason; since, if they proceeded from any other principle, they could have no more vanity, falseness, or baseness in them, than we have in our hunger or thirst. And if the matter stand thus with our reason; if all that is wise or absurd, holy or profane, glorious or shameful, in thought, word, or deed, is to be imputed to it; then is it as gross an absurdity to talk of the absolute perfection of human reason, as of the unspotted holiness of

(x) *Ibid.* St Paul, indeed, in his epistle to the Romans (Ch. vii.) seems to speak of two distinct things, when he tells us of the *law in his mind*, and the *law in his members*; but in this he might accommodate himself, in some measure, to the known forms of diction, and yet possibly mean no more than one and the same principle, considered in different views, or acting differently. Without the will or choice, there can be neither virtue nor vice in any act we do; and yet it is a received maxim, that *voluntas sequitur ultimum intellectus practici judicium*; and though that *judicium* does not always happen to be right, yet still it is the spring and cause of our actions, be it right or wrong.

human life, or the absolute infallibility of human conjectures; since, upon examination, it is found to be a principle of an ambiguous nature, productive of vice as well as virtue; and capable of leading us into error, as well as discovering truth.

The ignorance of the best philosophers,

It will be no disparagement, I hope, to the present age, to suppose that the ancient philosophers had as great strength of reason and judgment, as sincere a desire to find out truth, and as great diligence in inquiring after it, as any of our modern unbelievers; and yet, if we look into their writings, we shall find that they were utterly ignorant in many great and important points of religion, and strangely inconsistent with themselves in others.

They were ignorant of the true account of the creation of the world, and the original of mankind; and therefore (y) some of them held all things to be eternal, while others (z) imputed them to chance; and those who allowed them a beginning, knew nothing of the manner and gradations whereby they rose up into so beautiful an order.

They were ignorant of the origin of evil; whereupon they devised two contrary principles, in perpetual conflict with one another; and though they were sensible that human nature was strangely corrupted, yet they acknowledged that its corruption was a disease, whereof they knew not the cause, and could not find out the cure.

They were ignorant of any form of worship that might be acceptable to God, and of a proper way to appease his displeasure, when they were conscious of their offences against him; and therefore we find Cicero, the greatest and best philosopher that Rome, or perhaps any other nation, ever produced, (a) “allowing men to continue in the idolatry of their ancestors, and advising them to conform themselves to the superstitious religion of their country, in offering such sacrifices to different gods, as were by law established.”

They were ignorant, at least they taught nothing of the exceeding love of God towards us; of his desire of our happiness, and his readiness to conduct us in the ways

(y) Peripatetics. (z) Epicureans. (a) A patribus acceptos deos placet coli; *De leg. l. 2.* Item illud ex institutis pontificum et auspiciis non mutandum est, quibus hostiis immolandum cuique deo. *Ibid.*

of virtue; and therefore (*b*) some of them made their supreme Jupiter a solitary kind of being, wholly taken up in the contemplation of his own perfections, and leaving the government (of all sublunary things at least) either to some inferior agents, or the guidance of a blind, unthinking chance.

They were ignorant, at least (*c*) they taught nothing of divine grace and assistance towards our attainment of virtue, and perseverance in it; and therefore we find (*d*) others of them equalling themselves to the gods, and sometimes taking precedency; “because we have difficulties, “say they, to encounter, which make the conquest of vice, “and the improvements in virtue, more glorious in us, “than in the gods, who are good by the necessity of their “nature.”

And as these great philosophers were utterly ignorant of some, so were they far from being clear and consistent with themselves in other great articles of religion. They had but dark and confused notions of the nature of God; and therefore the renowned Socrates ingenuously confessed, that all he knew of God was, that he knew nothing; and, for this reason, endeavoured to draw men off from divine and heavenly contemplations, (as being what he found too high for human reason to understand), and to betake themselves to the study of civil life.

They had but dark and confused notions of the *summum bonum*, or *supreme felicity of man*; and therefore Cicero tells us, that there was such a dissention among them upon this head, that it was almost impossible to reckon up their different sentiments, even while himself is setting down the notions of above twenty of them, all equally extravagant and absurd.

They had weak and uncertain notions of the immortality of the soul; for, however they might perceive it to have a spiritual existence, yet they could from thence deduce no argument, but that God might destroy it, if he pleased: and

(*b*) Epicureans. (*c*) Non quis, quod bonus vir esset, gratias diis egit unquam: Jovem optimum maximum ob eas res appellant, non quod nos justos, temperatos, sapientes, efficiat, sed quod salvos, incolumes, opulentos, copiosos; *Cic. De nat. deorum*, l. 3.

(*d*) Stoics. Est aliquid, quo sapiens antecedit deum; ille, naturæ beneficio, non suo, sapiens est; *Sen. epist.* 53.

therefore (*e*) Cicero plainly declares that, “which of the two “opinions” (that the soul is mortal, or that it is immortal) “be true, God only knows:” Which, among other declarations of the like nature, might probably induce Seneca to say, (*f*) “That immortality (however desirable in itself) “was rather promised, than proved by these great men.”

They had weak and uncertain notions of a future state; for, though their poets had prettily fancied an elysium and an hell; yet all sober men looked upon these rather as well-contrived restraints for the vulgar, than any matters of their own belief: and therefore Socrates is introduced, as saying, (*g*) “I hope there is a place, where I, and good men “shall meet; yet I cannot affirm it:” And (*h*) “I wish,” says Cicero, “that you could prove to me that our souls “are immortal;” so that, after all, they wanted arguments to convince themselves, and ended all their disquisitions in a peradventure, and a wish. But, what is more,

They had no notion at all of the resurrection of the body; for, though their poets made frequent mention of the ghosts of departed men appearing in a visible form, and retaining in the shades below their former shapes; yet by this (if they mean any thing) they mean no more, than that the soul, after this life, passes into another state, and is there invested with a body, made up of light, aërial particles, quite different from what it had before: but that the gross matter, which they saw laid in the grave, and turn to corruption, or burnt into ashes, or blown away in the air, should ever be raised, or collected again, and revived; of this the most speculative among them had no conception.

and their
immorality
and vici-
ousness:

Thus ignorant, or thus doubtful at least, were some of the greatest names of antiquity of these prime and fundamental truths, which must be acknowledged the great barriers of virtue and religion: and therefore we need less wonder, that we find so many of them abetting practices apparently flagitious; (*i*) that we find several sects esteeming revenge, not only lawful, but commendable; and the desire of popular applause the greatest incentive to all kind of virtue: that we find some of the greatest of them full of the praise of self-murder, and setting themselves for the example of it to their followers: that we find Cato

(*e*) Tusc. Quæst. lib. I. (*f*) Epist. 100. (*g*) Plato in Phæd. (*h*) Tusc. Quæst. (*i*) Vid. Bishop of London's second pastoral letter.

commending fornication as a proper remedy against adultery; Plato, asserting the expediency of mens having their wives in common; and Chryfippus, teaching the worst of incest, that of fathers with their daughters, and pleading the lawfulness of unnatural lust: that we find, in short, whole fraternities degrading human nature into that of beasts; the Cynics, laying aside all the natural restraints of shame and modesty, committing their lusts openly; and the Stoics affirming, that no words or speech of any kind ought to be censured and avoided, as filthy and obscene: so true is the observation which Quintilian makes of the philosophers of his time, (k) “ That the most notorious
 “ vices were screened under that name; and that they did
 “ not labour to maintain the character of philosophers by
 “ virtue and study, but concealed very vicious lives under
 “ an austere look, and an habit different from the rest of
 “ the world.”

And if these men of speculation, and profound reasoners, were thus ignorant in their notions, and corrupt in their principles, what reason have any of our modern contempters of revelation to presume, that, if they had lived in those days, they would have acquitted themselves better? What grounds to imagine, that they would have been wiser than Socrates, and Plato, and Cicero? (l) Had their lot been among the vulgar, how are they sure, they should have been so happy, or so considerate, as not to be involved in that idolatry and superstition, that wickedness and immorality, which then over-spread the world? Had they joined themselves to the philosophers, what sect would they have followed, (for they were all erroneous), or what book would they have made the adequate rule of their lives and conversations? Or had they set up for themselves, how are they certain they should have been able to deduce the several branches of their duty, or to apply them to the several cases of life, by argumentation, and dint of reason? 'Tis one thing to find out a rule at first, and another to perceive its agreement with reason; and the difficulty is not much (witen once we know our duty) to begin and deduce its obligation from reason: but to begin and discover our duty in all points, with all its true motives, merely by the help of natural reason, is like groping for an unknown way in an obscure twilight. 'Tis

(k) Inst. l. i. præf. (l) Clarke's demonstration of natural and revealed religion.

The best of their knowledge from tradition. no improbable opinion then, that the discoveries, which the wisest of the heathen world made (even in points of morality) were not so much owing to the strength of their own reason, as to certain traditions which they might either receive from their ancestors, or gain by the conversation they might have with the Hebrews, to whom God had committed the oracles of his will by the hand of his servant Moses. For this is certain beyond all controversy, that the most eminent philosophers, such as Pythagoras, Plato, Democritus, and others, finding a dearth of knowledge at home, travelled for improvement into other parts; and, as Egypt was accounted the chief seat of learning, there were few men of note, who went not thither to compleat their studies; where, conversing with the Jews, (who were there in great numbers), and having the opportunity of consulting the law of Moses in the Ptolemean library, they might from thence collect many remarkable doctrines, though (when they came to publish them) they chose to disguise, and blend them with their own notions and inventions. However this be, it is manifest, that the philosophers, who have lived since the publication of the gospel, have, in their several systems, been much more clear and uniform, both as to the measures of human duty, and the motives requisite to the performance of it, than they were before; which clearness and uniformity are really owing to the help of revelation, that has given us a far more perfect and exact knowledge of the nature and attributes of God, from whence many of our duties immediately flow; a greater certainty of future rewards and punishments; and a clearer conviction of the necessity of sobriety, temperance, and other moral virtues, as preparatory to our happiness in the next life, by perfecting our nature in this.

This (as I take it) is the true state of human reason in its present ruinous and depraved condition: in its minority, equally capable of bad, as well as good impressions, and formed entirely by the examples we see, and by the institution of those who have the charge of our education: in our maturity, the source of our passions and desires, our humours and appetites, and the sole agent of all the evil, as well as all the good, we do: in the highest pitch of its perfection, unable to settle any certain rule of morality, and beholden to tradition or revelation for the chief and best discoveries which it makes: in the breast of the greatest philosopher, over-spread with error, ignorant in many,

many, and doubtful in all the great principles and motives of religion, and thereupon ensnared in divers hurtful lusts: and much more, in the breast of the vulgar, sunk into ignorance and stupidity, and thereby submitted to the wiles of the tempter, and (m) *taken captive by him at his will*. And is this the faculty of which we hear such loud boasts, and to which the absolute perfection of immutability and infallibility are ascribed? “Is this (n) the fundamental law of the universe, that can tell us more than books or masters, more than the two tables of Moses, or the twelve tables of the Greeks, and of which all other laws are but copies and transcripts?” Is this the only principle that is allowed us, to inform our minds in all religious truths, and direct our conduct in all our moral actions? This the only pilot, to steer our course through this tempestuous world, in the midst of so many dangers, avocations, and snares; with so many lusts within, and temptations without, to carry us wrong; so many Syrens to allure us, so many rocks to dash us, and so many waves to swallow us up quick? Whether God, in this method, would have made a sufficient provision for man’s salvation, we will not here dispute: but, to consider human reason (as it is in fact) modified by the various disabilities, passions, and prejudices, which will ever prevail among the greatest part of mankind; and then consider every man left, in this wild disconcerted state, without rule or guide, to search out truth and happiness by his own collections; the distractions and perplexities, which must needs ensue, would make every wise man wish for something better: and if so, what can we imagine more desirable, more apposite to the wants of human nature in such a case, than that God should interpose, and by an authoritative declaration of his will, (committed to persons ordained to that office) instruct the ignorant, and reduce those that were going astray.

“But suppose that God, in compliance to mens wants, An objection should vouchsafe to give them a declaration of his will; tion. yet still the question is, Who are the persons that are appointed to convey it? The pretence to revelation is so common, and the number of impostures so great; the difference between a divine impression and a diabolical illusion, natural enthusiasm and supernatural inspiration,

(m) 2 Tim. ii. 26. (n) *Vid.* Christianity as old as the creation, p. 60. 61. &c.

“ is so undistinguishable, and by us who live at such a distance of time, so impossible to be adjusted; that the safest way is to suspend our belief, until we have a sufficient conviction, that what is offered as a message from heaven, infallibly comes from God.”

Answered, by enumerating the different kinds of revelation.

The most usual ways wherein God of old was wont to communicate his mind to mankind, were by visions, by dreams, by voices, and by inspiration. The Jewish doctors, who treat of the subject, have many curious observations concerning the difference of these several kinds of revelation; but the most plain and obvious distinction seems to be this — That vision was the representation of some momentous thing to men, when they were awake, in opposition to dreams, which were representations made to them when their external senses were asleep; that voices were either God's calling to men from on high (*o*) (as he did to St. Paul) or his immediate conversing with them (as he did with Moses) (*p*) *face to face, even as one man speaketh to his friend*; and that inspiration was an inward excitement of the soul of man, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, without any bodily perception or sensation.

These are the several sorts and degrees of revelation which have commonly been ascribed to God: and, what do we see in any of them, that he cannot, when he pleases, make use of, and that effectually? Cannot he, by some visible appearance, convince men of his immediate presence, beyond the possibility of doubt? Cannot he, either with, or without such visible appearances, talk as familiarly to them, as one man converses with another? Cannot he, who formed our minds, and knows all the ways of access to them, draw such clear and bright scenes, and pictures of things on our fancy and imagination, whether sleeping or waking, as shall need no other proof of their divinity, but themselves; even as light is known by itself, and the first principles of reason by their own evidence? In short, why cannot he so clarify the understanding by a beam of light let in from above, as shall be as evident a proof of its divine original, as it is that the light proceeds from the sun, the fountain of it?

How the persons inspired might judge of their own inspirations.

Whatever it may seem to us, who have not the sensation or experience of such divine representations as the prophets had, and therefore can no more describe them,

(*o*) Acts ix. 4. (*p*) Exo. l. xxxiii. 11.

than

than the person who never had his eye-sight, can conceive what light and colours are; yet, as the blind man may be convinced, that there are such things as light, colour, figure, and sight, by what he hears and observes from those who are about him; so we may be assured, that there was, in the prophetic schemes, that powerful representation, on the part of the divine agent, and that clearness of perception on the part of the person inspired, as would abundantly make good those phrases of vision and speaking, by which it is described in scripture; insomuch that such a person, after such illumination, might as well question what he heard and saw by the natural organs of sense, as doubt of what was revealed to him by the impressions made upon him through the agency of the divine Spirit.

“ But do not we see enthusiastic persons as confident of their inspirations and visions, and (according to their persuasion) as much obliged to follow them as those that are truly inspired? How then shall we find out the difference, and by what criterion shall we judge?” It is owned, indeed, that confidence in imaginary inspirations may be sometimes very great, but then the perception, and consequently the assurance arising from thence, cannot be equal, or any ways comparable to what is produced by a real one. For, though God Almighty can so communicate himself, as that the person inspired shall know most certainly that it is from him, and from him only, (in which case there is no absolute necessity for any farther evidence), yet, that nothing might be wanting to the full conviction of him who had the revelation, God was frequently pleased to add some sign, or supernatural proofs, in order to satisfy the party of the truth of his divine mission. Thus Gideon, when required to go upon a difficult enterprize, was cured of his fear, and confirmed in his mind (q) *by the fire out of the rock, which consumed the flesh and the cakes*; as Moses, when sent to deliver the children of Israel from the Egyptian bondage, perceived that his commission was from God, upon seeing the *bush burn* without consuming, (r) *and the rod in his hand turned into a serpent*: a course this, highly necessary to give the messenger full satisfaction, especially when the case is such as Moses seems to put it, (s) *They will not believe me, nor hearken to my voice; for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee.*

“ But suppose a person never so well satisfied in what he calls a revelation, and that (in his own opinion) he

How we may judge when a person is inspired;

(q) Judges vi. 20. (r) Exod. iv. 3. (s) Ver. 1.

“ is as sure of it, as he is of his being and existence; yet
 “ what is all this to me, unless I am equally satisfied that
 “ he really had such a revelation; that his pretensions to a
 “ mission from heaven are true, and he far from being
 “ an impostor; but how shall I judge of this?” Why, the
 only way is, to consider with ourselves, what it is that we
 might expect from the person who pretends to be a mes-
 senger sent from God, and then observe whether he answers
 that character. Now, as a revelation is a divine com-
 munication, and a mark of divine favour, we may well
 expect, that the person who pretends to it should be a
 man of virtue, good sense, and known probity; cool and
 considerate enough, not to be imposed on himself, and too
 honest and upright ever to think of imposing upon others:
 one who has no trick, no crafty design, no secular ends
 to serve, no vanity or ambition to gratify; who disclaims
 all worldly greatness and emoluments, and intends nothing
 but the good of mankind, and the glory of God, who
 sent him: one, who by his whole behaviour discovers that
 he is in earnest, and really believes his own commission;
 is, consequently, deterred by no threats, discouraged by no
 opposition, but goes on with undaunted courage, still per-
 sisting in the same assertions, and ready to lay down his
 life in confirmation of what he says. So far then as the
 credibility of a person is the proof of a revelation, and so
 far as the wisdom, probity, and sincerity of a person is a
 proof of his credibility, we have an evidence to rest upon,
 and a character, whereby we may try the truth of his re-
 velation.

viz. from
 his person-
 al character;

from the
 subject-
 matter of
 his reve-
 lation;

As the revelation pretends to come from God, we may
 reasonably expect, that it should be consonant to the notions
 we have of the divine attributes, and conducive to the
 happiness and instruction of man; that therein we should
 find the most lively characters of the divine perfections,
 justice and power, set forth in all their authority, to ad-
 minister matter of terror to the wicked; but so tempered
 with mercy and kindness, as to raise the hopes, and attract
 the love, and establish the comfort of the righteous:
 therein to find the mysteries of the divine counsels un-
 folded, and the beauty and harmony of divine providence
 displayed, as far as God's government of the world, and
 the condition of mankind in it will permit: therein to
 find the best principles and precepts to inform and direct
 us in what we are to know and do, the best arguments and
 motives for our encouragement, and the best means and
 expedients

expedients for the purifying and perfecting of our natures : therein, lastly, to find the chief subjects of human inquiry, and what is best and most necessary for mankind to know, the creation of the world, the origin of evil, the supervention of grace, the condition and certainty of a future state, and by what method God may be appeas'd, forgiveness obtained, and the heavy load upon human nature, arising from the sense and consciousness of sin, removed. So far then as its sublimity and usefulness are an indication of its divine original, we have another evidence to rest upon, and a farther character whereby we may try the truth of a revelation.

Once more, we may expect, that a person coming with such high pretensions, should give us some proof of his delegation from heaven, either by predicting events of a very uncertain contingency, or performing works of a very supernatural kind, in confirmation of it : and, since miracles and prophecies require a divine power, and are always looked upon as an authentic evidence of a divine commission, the man who does these, and does them fairly, without fraud or collusion, must certainly be a prophet sent from God ; otherwise we must be reduced to the necessity of allowing, that God may sometimes employ his power for the confirmation of a falsehood, and set the broad seal of heaven, as it were, to a lie ; which is confounding the notions we have of him, and inverting all his attributes.

These then are the marks and tokens whereby we may judge of the truth of a revelation at any time : the credibility of the person who brings it ; the excellency of the doctrine he teaches ; and the divine attestation which he produces. Where these are concurring, and with one mouth, as it were, giving in their evidence, we cannot but say that it is the voice of God, and a revelation, which carries upon it the conspicuous stamp of his authority. And now, to try the pretensions of those in the Old Testament who claimed such commission from God by the foregoing marks and characters :

That there was really such a person as Moses is attested by many of the (t) heathen writers, who speak of him as an extraordinary man, and the founder of the Jewish laws and religion. That this Moses pretended to have this

Moses's
personal
character,
as to his
wisdom ;

(t) *Vid.* Grot. De veritate, lib. 1. where he enumerates several.

religion from God, and whatever he wrote or delivered to the people, to receive from him by immediate revelation, is plain to any one who looks into his writings. But that his pretensions in this respect were real; that he actually received what he delivered from the mouth or inspiration of God, and was neither capable of being deceived himself, nor desirous to impose on others; this will appear from the evidence we have of his wisdom and veracity; from the nature and tendency of his precepts and doctrines; and from the miraculous demonstrations he gave of his commission. In order to which it will be necessary for us to look a little into the sacred records: desiring, however, that no more credit may be given to them (as yet) than what is usually given to any other narrative of tolerable repute, concerning the actions of persons who lived in former ages.

Now, besides the account of his strange and miraculous preservation, the scriptures acquaint us, that he (*u*) was brought up in Pharaoh's court, educated in all princely qualities, and skilled in all the learning of the Egyptians. What the (*x*) learning of the Egyptians was, we need not here relate: if we will believe Macrobius, who, (*y*) in one place, makes Egypt the mother of all arts, and, (*z*) in another, the Egyptians the fathers of all philosophic sciences, there was not a nation under the sun that could compare with them. How can we then imagine, that a person bred up in all the polite literature of Egypt, and conversant amongst the wisest philosophers of Pharaoh's court, should not be able to pass a judgment between an imposture and a truth, between a familiar converse with God, and a deception of his senses? Can we think that he, who had such opportunities of raising himself to the highest pitch of honour, should willingly forsake all his present pleasure and future advantages, had he not been fully persuaded of the certain and undoubted truth of the matters which he recorded? Is it possible, that a man of common sense and prudence should ever venture himself upon an affair so hazardous, and unlikely to succeed, as that which he undertook, had it not been by the instigation of that God who appeared to him, and promised him the assistance of his power, to enable him to accomplish his design? And what

(*u*) Heb. xi. 25. Acts vii. 22. (*x*) *Vid.* Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. (*y*) Macrobius. Saturn. lib. 2. cap. 15. (*z*) Sen. Scip. lib. 1. cap. 19.

tolerable ground can we have to imagine, that a person, who really believed the truth of what God had revealed to him, should dare to write otherwise than it was revealed?

To extol himself, or aggrandize his nation, may be ^{and disinterestedness.} thought a probable inducement: but so far is he from magnifying himself, that he omits no opportunity of recording (a) his own failings and miscarriages; passes over in silence his own (b) qualities and (c) achievements; and opens the account of his ministry with the relation of a fact, (d) (the murder of the Egyptian), which nothing but the presumption of his being acted by a divine authority can justify or excuse. Now, had it been any part of his aim to have raised his reputation into a superstitious veneration among the Jews, or to have established his family in any high degree of honour and authority, how easily might he have done it? It was but concealing what might seem to depress the one, and using the power he had to advance the other: but instead of that, we find him very secure and careless in both respects; relating his own faults without disguise or extenuation; conferring (e) both the civil and ecclesiastical power upon other families, and leaving his own in the meanest sort of attendance upon the tabernacle. And so far was he from aggrandizing his nation, that he sets forth the less, as well as the greater enormities of their first progenitors; that he spares not the stock of his own family Levi, but records very punctually (f) his and Simeon's inhumanity to the Schechemites; and, through the whole course of his history, seems as if he were describing (g) the obstinacy, and unbelief, and unthankfulness, and disobedience of a people towards a gracious God, rather than any way enhancing their reputation in the world. Hitherto it appears, that Moses acted like an honest and sincere man; let us, in the next place, make some inspection into the revelation he makes, both as an historian and a law-giver.

(a) Exod. iv. 10. 13. Numb. ii. 10. 11. Chap. 20. 12.

(b) Heb. xi. 25. Acts vii. 22. (c) Josephus relates, that Moses, for some years, was general to Pharaoh, and that he obtained a very signal victory over the Ethiopians.

(d) Exod. ii. 12. (e) Vid. Grot. De verit. and Shuckford's connect. of the sacred and profane hist. lib. 12.

(f) Gen. xxxiv.

(g) Deut. ix. 7. &c.

The subjects he treats of, as an historian.

As an historian then, what could he deliver to the world more becoming the Majesty of God to impart, and the necessities of men to know, than the origin of the universe, and the first beginning of all things; than the formation of man, his state of innocence at first, his fall, and the consequential evils of it; his redemption, and the glorious hopes and expectances of the new covenant; than the propagation of mankind, their general defection, the universal deluge, the confusion of tongues, and thereupon the plantation of families, and origin of kingdoms; than the selection of one particular family (of which Christ was to come in the flesh) from the rest of mankind, and the many wonderful works which God did to redeem them from bondage, and conduct them through the wilderness, until he had settled them in the promised land, and given them laws and ordinances, whereby they were to live?

Wherein other historians agree with him;

These are some of the great subjects which Moses has treated of in the Pentateuch; and it is no small confirmation of their truth and reality, that we find the same things related much in the same manner by the most ancient and best authors. What Moses says of the origin of the world is (*b*) recorded in the old histories of the Phœnicians and Egyptians. The formation of man according to the image of God, and his dominion over other creatures, is described by Ovid, who had it from the Grecians. The history of Adam and Eve, the tree of knowledge, and the tempting serpent, were found formerly among the Indians, as Maimonides tells us, and is still among the Brachmans, and inhabitants of Siam, as later voyagers report. The history of the deluge, of the ark, and of those who were saved therein, is recorded by Berofus, by Plutarch, and Lucian; nay, Abydenus (as he is cited by Eusebius) makes mention of the very dove which was sent out to explore the waters. The building of the tower of Babel, and the giants attempting to reach the height of heaven, is the common tale of every poet. The burning of Sodom is related by Diodorus, Strabo, and Tacitus. The account of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, in the same manner as Moses relates it, was found in many ancient historians quoted by Eusebius, and is still extant in Justin, from Trogus Pompeius; and (to mention no more) the actions of Moses himself, how he led the people of Israel out of Egypt, received the two tables of the law from the hand of God, and instituted several rites and religious

(*b*) *Vid.* Grot. De veritate.

observances, are to be found in most of the same authors, but more especially in the verses which are ascribed to Orpheus, and in histories which treat of the affairs of Egypt. ^{as a law-giver.}

Thus consonant to the greatness and majesty of God, and the received opinions of the earliest ages of the world, are the historic facts which Moses relates. And (to consider him in his legislative capacity) what can be more agreeable to the notions we have of God, than the prohibition of idolatry and polytheism, and the institution of his true religion and worship; than the prohibition of perjury and vain swearing, of theft, of murder, of adultery, of covetousness of all kinds; and the injunction of the contrary virtues, of justice and mercy, of chastity and charity, together with all due reverence to parents, both in a natural and civil capacity? What can be more becoming the character of a divine legislator, than his often inculcating upon the people (as we find almost in every page Moses does) the many obligations they had to God, and the innumerable favours they had received from him; his frequent and pathetic exhortations to obedience, and living answerably to the singular mercies conferred upon them; his constant reminding them of their former miscarriages, their murmurings and rebellions against heaven, and his compassionate forewarning them of the judgment of God, and of the various plagues and punishments which would certainly be the consequence of their persisting in their sins? Nay, the very ceremonial precepts (which he enjoins to discriminate them from other nations) are a sufficient indication that he received them from God; since, had they been of his own invention, he would have consulted the people's ease, and his own popularity more; and (*) not imposed so many laborious and expensive ordinances, so many sacrifices, both stated and occasional, so painful an institution, as that of circumcision, and such annual and weekly cessations from labour, as were apparently against the interest of a nation, whose great subsistence was upon pasturage and agriculture. Nor can we conceive how any people would have submitted to such arbitrary injunctions, but that they were fully satisfied they came originally from God, and were only delivered to them by the hand of his servant Moses. And, for their farther conviction of this, they had all the evidence that could be required, the prediction of events, which none but God could foreknow, and the de-

(*) Shuckford's connection. *Ibid.*

monstration of miracles, which none but God could perform.

His miracles.

For not to insist at present (*i*) on the several prophecies (contained in the Pentateuch) which Moses himself foretold, and accordingly came to pass; what can we account the whole method of his conducting the people of Israel out of Egypt, both in its progress, and in its execution, but one continued miracle? Nothing but a series of wonders, surprizing in their nature, and dreadful in their effects, could have prevailed with Pharaoh to let the people go; and nothing but a divine power, which went out before the people, could have given them a free passage, and the Egyptians a total overthrow in the red sea. The wonderful support of so great a multitude in a waste and barren wilderness, when neither their raiment decayed, nor their bread and water failed, and the victories they afterwards gained in their way to the promised land, were both convictions of the Almighty's power, and a confirmation of the truth of the Mosaic revelation; since it would be impious to suppose, that Providence would, in the sight of the heathen, have favoured Israel with such wonderful successes, under the conduct of a leader who only pretended to act and make laws by an authority which he was not really invested with. So that the whole turns ultimately upon the veracity of God. The constant apprehensions which both reason and religion give us of him, forbid us to imagine, that he will employ his power to deceive his creatures; and yet, if he should permit the same evidences to be produced for errors as for truth, this would be a way to put a deception upon them, as well as to cancel his own credentials, and make miracles of no significance at all.

A recapitulation of the argument.

Upon a review then of what has been said in relation to Moses, *viz.* that he was a person of great wisdom and integrity, unlikely to be imposed on himself, and unwilling to impose upon others, and without any private designs of popularity, or self-exaltation in what he did; that, as an historian, he related facts necessary for man to know, and becoming the nature and majesty of God to reveal; as a legislator, gave laws and ordinances, which had a manifest stamp of divine authority; as a prophet, foretold such things, as none but God (who has all events under his intuition) could know; and, as a worker of miracles, did

(*i*) *Vid.* Exod. xxiv. Numb. xiv. Deut. xxviii. 53. compared with Josephus, De bell. Jud. lib. vii.

such

such things as had all imaginable evidence of an almighty power assisting him: it will necessarily follow, that, as sure as God is true, and cannot be an abettor of falsehood, what he did, was by the order and appointment; what he delivered, was expressly the will; and what he wrote (for the books that go under his name we shall hereafter prove to be his) was infallibly the word of God.

That there was to be a succession of prophets after Moses, is very plain, not only from the rules which God has (k) prescribed for the trial of them, but from that express promise likewise which Moses made to the people: *A prophet will the Lord thy God raise up to thee of thy brethren, like unto me, unto him shalt thou hearken.* For though the words, in their full and compleat sense, relate to Christ, who is the great prophet of the church; yet, whoever attends to the main scope of them, will easily perceive, that their immediate aspect is towards an order of prophets who should succeed Moses, to instruct the people in the spiritual sense and true obligation of the law; and to make such farther discoveries of the Almighty's will, as he, from time to time, should give them commission and authority to do. And to this purpose we may observe, that the first schools of these prophets among the Jews, were in the cities of the Levites, which, for the conveniency of instructing the people, were dispersed up and down in the several tribes; that (l) the first institution of these schools seems to be about Samuel's time; and that he very probably was ordained president over one or more of them, and had the care and tuition of such as were to be trained up to the prophetic office.

In what particular manner they were there trained up, in order to obtain a previous disposition to prophecy, the scripture is not express; but this we may suppose, that they were put upon such studies and spiritual exercises as had a tendency to improve their understandings and natural abilities, to regulate their passions and appetites, and to raise their affections to things sublime; that they were employed in searching out the hidden sense of the law, in contemplating the nature and attributes of God, in adoring him, and celebrating his praises. To which purpose, because there was a certain quality in it to allay the passions and elate the heart, they always made use of music, both vocal and instrumental; for so the first company of prophets (m) that

(k) Deut. xviii. 21. 22. (l) Vid. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. and Lewis's Orig. Hebr. lib. 2. c. 15. (m) Whately's School of the Prophets.

we read of are described, (*n*) *coming down from the high place, with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them.*

their integrity;

Out of these seminaries, or colleges of prophets, God usually made choice of persons to be sent upon messages; though he did not so strictly tie himself up to this method, but called sometimes one from the court, as he did Isaiah, and sometimes one from the herds, (as he did Amos), and *bad them go, and prophesy to the house of Israel.* And whenever he made choice of any one, he always gave him such a full conviction, both of the reality of his own inspiration, and the importance of the message he sent him upon, as made it impossible for him to resist the impulse; for so Ezekiel tells us of himself: (*o*) *The Spirit lifted me up, and took me away, and I went in bitterness, and in the heat of my spirit; for the hand of the Lord was strong upon me.* And indeed, considering that the prophets were men of sober sense, and most of them of very liberal education, we can hardly believe that they would have ventured upon so hazardous an employ, where persecution was sure to be their lot, had they not been urged to it by an immediate and irresistible call from Heaven. The apostle has given us a very dolorous description of the many calamities which their profession brought upon them: (*p*) *They had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments: they were stoned, were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword, &c.* Now, what men in their senses would have exposed themselves to all these persecutions and sufferings, in the execution of an office, had they not been persuaded of the truth of their vocation, and under an indispensable necessity to pursue it, whatever penalties might stand in their way?

Nothing then can be more evident, than that the prophets (if we allow them to be men of common sense) were men of integrity likewise, and far from pretending to a commission which they had not; since (in accession to what has been said) the doctrines they taught, the predictions they gave, and the miracles they did, loudly proclaimed them to be sent from God.

the excellence of their doctrine;

For what can be more suitable to the nature of God, than those exprobrations of superstition and idolatry, and those many exhortations to inward piety and real holiness,

(*n*) 1 Sam. x. 5. (*o*) Ezek. iii. 14. (*p*) Heb. xi. 36. 37.

so frequently, so kindly occurring in the prophets? (q) *Wherewithal shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the most high God? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?* No. God requires nothing of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly before him. What can be more agreeable to the divine mercy and goodness, than those earnest calls and invocations to repentance? (r) *Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel! For, as I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked.* What is more conducive to the honour and glory of God, than those rapturous songs of praise wherewith the Royal Psalmist tunes his harp, and those tender strains of grief wherewith the mournful prophet wets his bed? (s) *Oh! that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people.* What discovery can be of such importance, as that of the birth and high character of the Saviour of the world? (t) *Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and his name shall be called Wonderful Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace:* as that of his death and vicarious punishment? (u) *He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; he made his soul an offering for Sin, and for the transgression of my people was he stricken:* and lastly, as that of the happy effect which his religion would produce? when (x) *the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid, and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child should lead them;* as the evangelical prophet expresses it in that beautiful allegory.

That the prophets should be able to foretel things so their pro-
 many ages before they came to pass; that he who went Phencies;
 from Judah to denounce God's judgments against the altar
 of Bethel, and against (y) Jeroboam, for setting it up, should
 make mention of the very name of Josiah (who was to be
 God's instrument in executing them) three hundred and six-
 ty one years before the event happened: that (z) Elijah
 should denounce all the punishments which God would
 bring upon Ahab and his family for their great impiety,
 some years before the thing came to pass: that Isaiah

(q) Micah vi. 6. (r) Ezek. xxxiii. 11. (s) Jer. ix. 1.
 (t) Isa. ix. 6. (u) Ch. liii. (x) Ch. xi. 6. (y) 1 Kings xiii. 2.
 (z) Ch. xvii.

should prophecy of Cyrus by name, (a) two hundred and ten years before the accomplishment of his prophecy; (b) foretell his rebuilding of the temple, and describe his conquests, in such full and expressive terms, that the history of Cyrus by Xenophon has hardly done it better: and (to mention but one prophet more) that Daniel should speak of the profanation of the temple and sanctuary by Antiochus Epiphanes, declare the manner of his death, and delineate the very temper and countenance of the man, (c) four hundred and eighty years before the accomplishment: this, and much more that might be mentioned, can be ascribed to nothing else but the inspiration of God, which made the same strong impression upon the minds of the prophets, and guided their tongues to the same words and expressions, as if the things had been actually presented before their eyes.

their mi-
racles.

The prophets indeed did not work many miracles, because there was not that occasion for them. The law of Moses, which they were sent to enforce, not invalidate, had been sufficiently confirmed by miracles before; and, as they were a standing order of men, which the people were well accustomed to, the people were inclinable enough to believe them, without a divine attestation. However, when they were employed upon great and important messages to persons who either believed not the God of Israel, or had revolted from his service, God was never wanting to accompany them with a power of working miracles, to be the credentials of their commission. Thus, upon the defection of the ten tribes, and when calves were set up in Dan and Bethel, in opposition to the worship at Jerusalem, the prophet, who was sent to denounce God's anger against such procedure, was enabled, by a word's speaking, (d) to rend the altar, and both to wither, and restore again Jeroboam's hand. In the famous controversy between the priests of Baal and Elijah, the prophet was empowered (e) to call fire down from heaven, which consumed his sacrifices, and gained him the victory over his adversaries; and, to convince Naaman the Syrian of the true God's being in Israel, Elisha was directed (f) to cure him of his leprosy, by the simple prescription of dipping himself in the river Jordan. Upon these, and the like occasions, when the honour of God, or the truth of the prophet, seemed to be called in question, a power of working miracles was com-

(a) Vid. Joseph. Antiq. l. 2. cap. 1. (b) Isa. xlv. 26.
(c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11. (d) 1 Kings, xiii. 4. 5. 6.
(e) Ch. xviii. (f) 2 Kings, v.

municated to him, as an evident demonstration of God's abetting his cause, and attesting the truth of what he pretended to reveal.

Putting all this together then, *viz.* that the prophets were men of sobriety and good education, but void of all craft and dissimulation; that they exposed themselves to infinite hazards and difficulties in the execution of their office; that they taught doctrines consonant to the divine attributes, and made discoveries of the greatest importance; foretold events which none but God could know; and performed works which none but God could do; gave all imaginable evidence of the truth of their commission, and sealed it very often with the testimony of their own blood: it will certainly follow, that we have all the reason we can desire (all indeed that the nature of the thing will bear) to believe, that they were messengers sent from God to supply the intermediate space between Moses and Christ; and consequently, that the revelation of God's will in the Old Testament (so far as they are concerned in declaring it) is indubitably true.

“ But, be the character of Moses and the prophets (as messengers sent from God to impart his will to mankind) never so well established; yet what is that to us who live in times so distant and remote from them, and have only the tradition of men uninspired, and the testimony of a set of books, (said indeed to be dictated by the Holy Ghost, but how truly we cannot tell), for the foundation of our faith? Had we lived indeed in the days of Moses and the prophets, when revelation was attended by signs and mighty wonders, the testimony of many glorious miracles, and the completion of many remarkable prophecies, we should have then been inexcusable, had we remained incredulous amidst these instances of divine power: but since, in our present circumstances, we are reduced to the bare letter of the scriptures, which, for ought we know, may be spurious and corrupt; or, if genuine, seem to have small signatures of a divine spirit in their composition; which, almost in every passage, are loaded with absurdities and contradictions; with mysteries and riddles, and obscure passages; and, where they chance to be intelligible, are so trifling in their narrations, so illogical in their reasonings, so confused in their method, so insipid in their style, so tedious in their repetitions, so ambiguous in their various readings, and, in the whole, so barren of any real entertainment to an ingenious reader, that,

“ instead

A recapitulation of the argument.

An objection.

“ instead of poring in these musty and perplexed records, (and
 “ which perhaps too may not be so ancient as is pretended) we
 “ think it the easier and safer way to attend to the sentiments
 “ of our minds, and those plain and immutable laws which
 “ God has written upon the fleshly tables of our hearts.”

The state of
 the case be-
 tween the
 contemporaries with
 the prophets, and
 those of
 after-ages.

We allow indeed, that there is a great deal of difference between those who were contemporaries with Moses and the prophets, and us, who are at some thousand years distance. The completion of a prediction gave sanction to the prophet's pretensions, and miracles carried with them a clear and present conviction; they entered quick, and gained assent without any argumentation: whereas our faith now is founded on human testimony, and the evidences of our religion comprised in no very large volume. But then, we are to consider, that we give credit to the contents of other books upon no better grounds; that upon this very account we firmly believe, that Alexander, about two thousand years ago, conquered a great part of the world; and that there was such a person as Julius Cæsar, who, upwards of seventeen hundred years ago, conquered France, and came into England: and yet the authority of the sacred records has been more strictly examined into, and found to be better attested than that of any human composition. The contemporaries with inspired men were convinced by sense and ocular demonstration; but in this we have the advantage of them, that, having lived to see the whole scheme of revelation completed, and at once placed in our view, we can compare one part with the other, and thence observe how the mystery of man's redemption gradually advances; what harmony there is between the Old and the New Testament; and how the many prophecies in the one receive their accomplishment in the other; which cannot but give great comfort and satisfaction to an inquisitive mind.

It is not to be doubted then, but that *we*, of after-ages, upon whom the ends of the world are come, have sufficient grounds for our faith to rest upon, if we can but satisfy ourselves—that the persons by whom God made revelations of his will at sundry times, and in diverse manners, were directed by him to record them in certain books — That, in writing these books, they were assisted by the inspiration of his infallible spirit—That, according to the best computations, they were wrote by the very same persons to whom they are ascribed: —That, at a proper period of time, they were compiled into one body by such as were authorised and enabled so

fo to do :— That from them they have defcended to us true and genuine, without any confiderable lofs or alteration :— That the books now extant, and received by the Chriftian church, are the very fame which were thus written by infpiration, and compiled by authority :— And that they are not liable to the foregoing objections, but deferve a better character, and better uſage, than ſome in this age are pleaſed to give them.

(g) It is the opinion of ſome learned men, that writing was an art cœval with mankind, and the invention of Adam himſelf. Joſephus indeed informs us, that it was in uſe before the flood; and from thence ſome have conjectured, that the hiſtory of the creation, and the reſt of the book of Genesis, were (for the ſubſtance of them) delivered down to Moſes in verſe (which was the moſt ancient way of writing) and that, from them, he compiled his book. This however can hardly be a probable conjecture, becauſe it is ſcarce conceivable how men could have loſt the ſenſe of religion ſo totally as we find they did, had there been any ſtanding records of it at that time. The more probable opinion is, that it was the long-experienced inſufficiency of oral tradition (the only way of conveyance then in uſe) that gave occaſion to the general corruption; while ſome forgot, and others perverted, the doctrines delivered to them by their anceſtors, and, in compliance to their luſts, brought themſelves, by degrees, firſt to believe a lie, and then to propagate it, having no written rule of truth to confront the error.

It can hardly be doubted, but that God vouchſafed frequent revelations to the patriarchs before the law, and ſufficiently inſtructed them in his will; nor can we queſtion but that theſe holy men uſed their beſt endeavours to propagate the doctrine they received, and to reform the manners of thoſe at leaſt who depended on them: And (what was a great advantage to them in this reſpect) both their lives were ſo very long, and the principles of their religion ſo extremely few, that two perſons might have conveyed them down from Adam to Abraham. For Methuſalah lived above three hundred years, while Adam was yet alive: Sem was almoſt an hundred when Methuſalah died; and when Sem died, Abraham was above an hundred, according to the Hebrew computation. Here is a great period of time filled up by two or three perſons; and

(g) Jenkins's Reasonableneſs, and Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr.

yet,

yet, in this time, the tradition of those few things wherein religion was then comprehended, was so totally corrupted, that idolatry was generally practised, and God was obliged to make a new and immediate revelation to the patriarch Abraham.

(b) The promulgation of the law on mount Sinai, was one of the most amazing things that ever happened: and, as the circumstances of the whole solemnity were very surprizing, the commandments then delivered but few, the people all of one language, separate from the rest of mankind, and obliged to a constant commerce among themselves; so there seems to be in this case all imaginable advantages in favour of tradition: and yet, notwithstanding these, God would not trust his precepts to this uncertain way of conveyance, but (i) himself, *with his own finger*, twice wrote them upon *two tables of stone*. The historical transactions of the Jews, the many strange deliverances Heaven vouchsafed them, and particularly their signal victory over the Amalekites, God commanded Moses not to relate to posterity by word of mouth only, but *to write them for a memorial in a book* (k): nay, the very ceremonial part of the law, though not intended to be of perpetual obligation, was not referred to this traditionary method, but, according to divine appointment, committed to writing, and repositied with the priests: and therefore we have less reason to wonder, that, in things which were to come to pass in future ages, (such as the predictions of the prophets were), and whereon the fate of nations, as well as divine veracity, did depend, we always find God giving injunctions of this kind, (l) *to write their inspirations before the people in a table, and to note them in a book, that they might be for the time to come, for ever and ever.*

That these books were written by divine inspiration.

That the books which were successively wrote in this manner, were wrote by the order and assistance of God's blessed Spirit, no one can doubt, who either attends to the high sentiments which the Jews of old entertained of them, or to the testimony whereby both Christ and his apostles have given a full sanction to them. The law of Moses was to the Jews accounted the law of God himself, and the Pentateuch esteemed the foundation of their religion. The familiar converse he had with God, the won-

(b) Burnet on the Articles. (i) Exod. xxxi. 18. (k) Chap. xvii. 14. (l) Isa. xxx. 8.

ders and miracles that he wrought, and the divine wisdom and gift of prophecy which resided in him, put it beyond all dispute, that the books which he left behind him were penned by the inspiration of the Spirit of God, whereof he was full. The other canonical books which, in process of time, were collected into a body, the Jews always held in the like veneration; insomuch, that (as Josephus tells us) they were accustomed from their infancy to call them *the doctrines of God*, and were ready, at any time, to lay down their lives in vindication of them: nor is it any bad argument to us Christians, that we find our blessed Lord quoting these books under the title of *The Scriptures*, and acquainting us with the common distribution of them, in his days, into the law, the prophets, and the psalms; because the book of psalms was placed in the front of that collection, which was usually styled the *Hagiographa*. It is upon the evidence of these books that he proves himself to be the Messias; it is by them that he confutes the Jews; and to them that he appeals both in the proof of his own doctrine, and in all his disputations with them: and therefore we need not wonder that we find both the apostle of the Gentiles assuring us, that (m) *all scripture is given by the inspiration of God*, and the apostle of the Jews asserting the same thing, viz. that (n) *no prophecy of the scripture is of private interpretation; for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*. Upon the whole therefore we must conclude, (o) either that Moses and the other writers of the Old Testament were inspired, or that they were consummate cheats; and that not only Christ and his apostles by remitting us to them, and citing their writings as divine, did connive at the cheat, but that God himself likewise, by giving them the power of miracles and prophecy, did countenance the imposture; and by investing them with the characters of his authority, and all outward marks of his approbation, inevitably lead us into error; which is most impious to think, and most blasphemous to say.

Considering then that the divine intention in having the scriptures wrote, was to make them the standard of faith and rule of life in all future ages of the church, there was a strong reason why God should take care that

and for what reason.

(m) 2 Tim. iii. 16. (n) 2 Pet. i. 20. 21. (o) Vid, Calmer's Disser. vol. 1.

the books which he designed to be the sole guide of mankind in matters of religion, and which he foresaw all posterity would appeal to as the great touchstone of truth, should not be liable to any errors; but that his Holy Spirit should so guide the hand of his penmen, (as it were), and assist them in their compositions with such an infallible veracity, as might be of sufficient authority to silence all differences whenever they should arise. And accordingly we may observe, that, in all ages, both Jews and Christians have appealed to these books as to oracles, in order to decide all controversies in religion; that, in every general council, the Holy Bible was always placed on high as the directory and unerring compass whereby to steer in their debates; and that, at the opening of such assemblies, each member was wont to declare himself much in the same sense with (*p*) the article of our church; "That the Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation."

How far inspired.

It is needless, and almost impossible for us to define precisely how far the Spirit of God was engaged in the composition of the Holy Scriptures. It seems more consonant however to the manner of the divine operations, which do not usually put any force upon human nature, but leave it in a great measure to the exercise of its faculties, to suppose, that the authors of them were something more than mere amanuenses to the Holy Ghost. The great diversity of style and diction which may be observed in several books, and sometimes the expressing one and the same thing in different terms by different authors, is almost a sure indication, that they themselves had some share in the composition, and that the Holy Ghost was not the sole author of every word and expression: for if this had been the case, the style of each book had been alike and uniform; at least there had not been that apparent difference in it which we now see, and which (taking in the holy penmen for a share in the composition) may not unfitly be ascribed to natural causes. If the Holy Ghost had dictated every word, I say, why should Isaiah, who was bred in a court, be more florid and magnificent in his expression than Amos, who had his education among the herds? It is a more easy supposition therefore of the two,

(*p*) Article VI.

that

that God should suggest the matter of his revelation first to their minds, and then leave them to weigh it in their thoughts, (as they did other truths), and so put it into such a form of words, as their own minds, or the tenor of their education, naturally inclined to.

The writings of the holy penmen are of different kinds: some of them are historical, some preceptive, some argumentative, some doctrinal, some poetical, and some prophetic; in all which the measure of the divine assistance seemed to vary in proportion to the nature of the subject whereof they treated. If they wrote historically of matters of fact, which either they themselves knew, or had received from credible witnesses, there was no reason that the substance of their history should be revealed again: all that seems requisite is, that the Holy Ghost should so far inspect them, as to prevent any error in the relation. If they delivered any moral precepts, or argued from any revealed truths, he then allowed them to employ their reasoning faculties as far as their arguments were suitable and solid; and at the same time cleared their understanding, and hindered them from writing any thing impertinent. If their compositions were of the poetic kind, he left them to follow the established rules of that art, and to scan out the metre by themselves; and all that he did, in this case, was to quicken their invention, and refine their fancy: But if they were to indite things of an higher nature, and such as were above their faculties; if they were either to predict some remarkable event, or declare some divine truth that was never revealed before; it seems reasonable to believe, that the whole of these was immediately inspired into their minds by the Holy Ghost; because they could be the result neither of their understanding nor memory; and consequently could come into their minds no other way but by immediate inspiration.

From the whole, then, it is reasonable to think, that the measures of divine inspiration varied according to the nature of the subject, or the exigences of the penmen who recorded it: that, in the main, they pursued their own method and manner of expression; but on some important occasions had the words dictated to them: that in some subjects they had their memory refreshed; in others, their understanding enlightened; in others, their fancies elevated; in all, their wills directed to the discovery and declaration of the truth: and even in the least matter they wrote, were never so far left to their own discretion,

as not to have the Holy Spirit presiding over them, and keeping them from expressing any thing contrary to the divine mind, or the dignity of the sacred subject.

The number, order, and authority of the books.

Now the books of the Old Testament, which, by the divine will and inspiration, were in this manner written, were by the Jews of old usually divided into three several classes, whereof the first comprehended the five books of Moses; the second, all the prophets; and the third, those writings which they called *Chetubim*, the Greeks *Hagiographa*; or books that were written by holy men, but not with such fullness of spirit as to be ranked among the prophets. In this division they reckoned five books in the first class; eight in the second; and nine in the third; in all two and twenty; according to the number of the letters of their alphabet, and as fully comprehending all that was necessary to be known and believed, as the number of their letters did all that was requisite to be said or written; for in this method it is that they range them.

The books of Moses. V.	{	Genesis. Exodus. Leviticus. Numbers. Deuteronomy.
Four books of the former prophets. IV.	{	Joshua. Judges, and (g) Ruth. Samuel 1. and (r) 2. Kings 1. and (r) 2.
Four books of the later prophets. IV.	{	Isaiah. Jeremiah, and his (s) Lamentations. Ezekiel. (t) The books of the 12 lesser prophets.
And the rest of the holy writers. IX.	{	King David's Psalms. King Solomon's Proverbs. His Ecclesiastes. His Song of Songs. The book of Job. The book of Daniel. The book of Ezra, and (u) Nehemiah. The book of Esther. The book of (x) Chronicles 1. and 2.

(g) Which was put as an appendix to the Judges. (r) Counted them but one book. (s) Counted but one book. (t) Which were all put in one. (u) The Jews reckoned them both together for one. (x) And these two went with them for one book.

Which

Which two books of Chronicles, containing the sum of all their former histories, and reaching from the creation of the world to the Jews return from Babylon, are a perfect epitome of the Old Testament; and therefore not improperly placed, as if they concluded and closed up their whole Bible.

The book of *Genesis*, which is an introduction to the rest of the Pentateuch, (and contains the history of about 2369 years, from the beginning of the world to the death of the patriarch Joseph) is so called, because it treats of the creation of the world, the beginning and generation of man, and all other creatures (*y*). Genesis.

That of *Exodus*, which relates the tyranny of Pharaoh, and the bondage of the Israelites under him (and contains an history of near 145 years) is so called, because it comprehends the history of the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, under the conduct of Moses (*z*). Exodus.

That of *Leviticus*, (which contains about one month's time) has its name, because it gives an account of the Jewish service and worship, of the offices of the Levites, and the whole Levitical order (*a*). Leviticus.

That of *Numbers*, (which contains the history of some what more than 38 years), and relates several remarkable incidents in the Israelites passage through the wilderness, has its denomination from Moses's numbering the tribes of the people (*b*), according to God's order and appointment (*c*). Numbers.

That of *Deuteronomy*, which signifies a *second law*, (and takes up about the space of six weeks) is a summary

* repetition of the laws, both moral, civil, and ceremonial, Deuteronomy.

(*y*) The Hebrews call it *Beresith*, in *principio*, in the beginning, because in their language it begins with that word.

(*z*) The Hebrews call it *veele Schemoth*, because it begins with these words, *now these are the names*, &c. (*a*) The Jews term it *Vaicra*, because in Hebrew it begins with this word, which signifies, *and he called*. (*b*) For now that they were passing through the wilderness, wherein they were in danger of meeting with many enemies, it was highly convenient to take an account of their forces, and to put themselves in a posture of defence; Lewis, *Aniq Heb.* l. 8. (*c*) The Jews term it *Vacdabber*, and he spake, because in Hebrew it begins with those words.

* This seems to be of absolute use, because the Israelites, who had heard them before, died in the wilderness; and as there

monial, which Moses had given the Israelites in the former books; together with several kind admonitions and earnest exhortations to better obedience for the time to come, from the consideration of the many divine favours already received, and the promises that were in reverence (*d*).

This is the scope of the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses: and that he, and none but he, was the writer of them, we have all the assurance that innumerable passages, in the Holy Scriptures, the joint authority of Christ and his apostles, the universal consent of all ages, and (*e*) the concurring testimony of the most ancient Heathen authors, can give us. Only it must be observed, that some part of the last chapter of Deuteronomy, wherein mention is made of the death of Moses, must have been added by some other writer, either by Joshua, his immediate successor, or (as others would have it) by Ezra, the great restorer of the Jewish canon.

Joshua.

The book of *Joshua* (which contains the history of 17 years) is so called, not so much upon the account of its author, as of its subject-matter; since it contains the history of the wars, and other affairs which happened under the administration of that great captain: but since the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus gives him this character, (*f*) that he was the successor of Moses in prophecies, i. e. the next inspired writer of scripture after Moses, we have no reason to oppose the judgment of the Jewish church, which (*g*) generally ascribed it to him.

Judges.

The book of *Judges*, which relates the state of the Jewish people in the land of Canaan, in the time of the

was now another generation of men sprung up, it was highly requisite to have these laws promulged afresh, which Moses does in this book, and here and there intersperses both explications and additions; Lewis, *ibid.* (*d*) The Jews call it *Elle haddeburim, hæc sunt verba, these are the words*, because the Hebrew text begins in this manner. (*e*) *Vid.* Grot. de Verit. lib. 1. sect. 16. Du Pin's Canon, vol. 1. and Le Clerk's Prolegom. De scriptore Pentateuchi. (*f*) Eccles. xlv. 1.

(*g*) The Talmudists indeed make him the author of the book; but some of the ancients, and many modern writers, deny it: and accordingly we find Theodoret affirming, that this volume was collected a long time after Joshua's death; and that it was no more than an abstract of an ancient commentary, called *The book of just men*, whereof we find mention made in the tenth chapter of the said book of Joshua; Lewis's Antiq. Hebr. lib. 8.

judges,

judges, from Joshua's death until Eli, (i. e. about 300 years) is very ancient, as appears from a passage in a psalm of David, (*h*) *When thou wentest forth before the people, when thou marchedst through the wilderness, the earth shook, the heavens also dropped at the presence of God*; which words are an exact imitation of these in (*i*) Judges; *Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water*: and, that it was wrote by Samuel, as well as the book of Ruth, (which is an appendix to it), the doctors of the Talmud agree, though others attribute it to Hezekiah, and many to Ezra.

The two books of *Samuel*, which are public histories of the transactions under the two last judges, Samuel and Eli, and under the two first kings, Saul and David, (comprising the compass of 100 years), have likewise evident marks of their antiquity: and, though it be not absolutely certain who their author was, yet the generality of the Jews do, with great probability, assert, that the four and twenty first chapters were written by Samuel himself, and the rest by the prophets Nathan and Gad; which assertion they found on this passage in the Chronicles, (*k*) *Now the acts of David the King, first and last, behold they are written in the book of Samuel the seer, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the seer.*

The books of *Kings* (*l*), and the *Chronicles*, (for I take them in the order wherein they now stand in our Bibles), which, taking in some part of the foregoing books, contain the history of the Jewish monarchy down to the captivity of Babylon, (a space of above 500 years), were compiled out of ancient records, which records were wrote by men of a prophetic spirit; and all that Ezra (or whoever their compiler was) added of his own, was only some genealogical observations at the beginning of the Chronicles, and some other passages of small moment, relating to the times after the captivity.

(*h*) Psal lxxviii. 7. 8. (*i*) Judges v. 4. (*k*) 1 Chron. xxix. 29. (*l*) Though it be a matter of great uncertainty, whether the book of the Kings or of the Chronicles were first written, yet it is evident, that this of the Chronicles is more full and comprehensive than that of the Kings: and from thence these books are called *Paralipomena*, *Remains*, *Supplements*, and *Additions*, by the Greek interpreters; because they contain some passages or circumstances that were omitted in the other historical writers; Lewis, *ibid*.

Ezra. The book of *Ezra*, which is a continuation of the Chronicles, and comprises the history of the Jews from the time that Cyrus made the decree for their return, until the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, (which was about 100 years), was all composed by him, except the six first chapters, which contain an account of the first return of the Jews upon the decree of Cyrus; whereas Ezra did not return until the time of Artaxerxes. It is of his second return therefore that he writes the account, and, adding it to the other, (which he found ready composed to his hand), he made it a complete history of the Jewish restoration.

Nehemiah. *Nehemiah*, who was the son of Hilkiah, of the tribe of Levi, was advanced in Babylon to be cup-bearer or page to King Artaxerxes; and from him he obtained leave to return to Judea for 12 years, in order to rebuild the city of Jerusalem. He continues the history of Ezra from the 20th year of Artaxerxes to the reign of Darius Nothus, (about 40 years in all), and is, (*m*) by the writer of the book of Maccabees, attested to be the author of that work.

Ester. The history of *Ester*, a Jewish captive virgin, who, for her transcendent beauty, was advanced to the throne of Persia, and, by her interest with her royal husband (*n*) Ahasuerus, (who some will have to be the same with the above-mentioned Artaxerxes, and others with Darius Hystaspes), procured to her countrymen a wonderful deliverance from Haman's intended massacre, by some is supposed to have been written by Ezra, and by others by Mordecai. But the more probable opinion of the Talmudists is, that the great synagogue (to perpetuate the memory of that remarkable event, and to account for the original of the feast of Purim) ordered this book to be composed, and afterwards approved, and admitted into the sacred canon.

Job. Who the author of the book of *Job* was, is indeed uncertain: It is very probable however, that he was a person of great antiquity, and one who lived before the promulgation of the Jewish law; because there are no traces of that to be found in the whole compass of the book: and therefore the most general opinion is, that it was written by Moses, during his abode in Egypt, or in his flight into the land of Midian, with an intent to encourage the Jews

(*m*) 2 Mac. ii. 13. (*n*) Vid. *Prideaux's Connect.* part I. book 4.

under the severities of the Egyptian bondage. Though some will rather have it, that the materials of this book were drawn up first by Job himself, or some of his friends, the interlocutors; and afterwards coming into the hands of Moses, and thence into the possession of Solomon, were by him turned † into Hebrew verse, in the manner we now find them,

Some of the ancient fathers were of opinion, that the whole book of *Psalms* was written by David only; but in this they must be mistaken; because the titles of several psalms tell us, that they were composed by Moses. The Hebrew doctors do generally agree, that the 92d psalm was made by Adam. Solomon, no doubt, was the author of the 49th psalm, which is much of the same strain with his other nuptial song which is called *the Canticles*; and it is no improbable conjecture, that the 88th and 89th psalms were indited in the time of the Egyptian bondage; the former condoling the people's distress, and the latter prophesying their deliverance. However this be, it is certain, that David (who had an excellent gift of poetry and psalmody) was the composer of much the greater part of them; and therefore his name was thought proper to give title to the whole collection, which was undoubtedly made by Ezra. Psalms.

That the book of *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Canticles*, were written by King Solomon is the general opinion of the Jewish doctors, who pretend to tell us, that he wrote the *Canticles* in his youth, his *Proverbs* in his manhood, and his *Ecclesiastes* at the latter end of his life. There are, however, but 25 chapters in the beginning of the first, which are reputed the original collec- The Pro-
verbs.

† St Jerome, in his preface to the book of Job, informs us, that, for the most part, it is in heroic verse; that, from the beginning of the book to the third chapter, it is prose; but, from the words, *Let the day perish wherein I was born*, chap. iii. 3. to these, *Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes*, chap. xiii. 6. all is hexameter verse, consisting of dactyls and spondees, like the Greek verses of Homer, or the Latin of Virgil. And Marianus Victorius, in his note upon this passage of St Jerome, tells us, that he has examined this book of Job, and finds St Jerome's observations to be true; Shuckford's Connection, vol. 2. chap. 9.

tion of Solomon, the rest were compiled by other hands; only the last chapter (which bears the name of *Lemuel*) is supposed to have been written by him under a borrowed name, and seems to be made up of some wise instructions which his mother Bathsheba had taught him when he was a child.

Canticles.

The *Song of Songs*, (as it is called), though it may relate to Solomon's marriage with the daughter of the King of Egypt, and is so far historical; yet the pious, in all ages, have ever esteemed it an allegorical dialogue between Christ and his church. And, though some passages in *Ecclesiastes* seem to express an Epicurean notion of providence: yet it is to be remembered, that the author (in an academic way) disputes indeed on both sides, but, in the conclusion, determines for that which is right, *viz.* (o) *To fear God and keep his commandments, which is the whole duty of man; for God, says he, will bring every work to judgment, and every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.*

Ecclesiasties.

That the books both of the *greater and lesser Prophets* (for we have no need to consider them separately) have been always thought to belong to the persons whose names and inscriptions they bear, we have the universal consent of the Jewish church, several plain passages from Josephus, and a very remarkable testimony in the book of *Ecclesiasticus* to convince us, where, after many praises bestowed upon Ezekiel, and other prophets and worthies of Israel, there are these words: (p) *And, of the twelve prophets let the memorial be blessed; let their bones flourish again out of their place; for they comforted Jacob; and delivered them by a certain hope.*

The Prophets.

The canon of the Old Testament compiled by Ezra.

Thus it appears, that the books of the Old Testament were either the work of the men whose names they bear; or at least the compositions of persons assisted by the Holy Ghost: and how they came to be collected into a body; and, by persons who were duly qualified for the work, revised, and published in one volume, in the manner we now have them, is the next point of inquiry we are to pursue.

It must be acknowledged indeed that we cannot give an exact account of the settlement of the canon of the Old Testament, because we have no authors extant who professedly treat of this affair; but, if we may believe the concurring testimony of ancient writers, both Jewish and Christian, (who might probably have their opinions from some au-

(o) *Eccles.* xii 13. 14.(p) *Eccles.* iv. 10.

thorities that are now lost), we must allow, that Ezra, upon his return from the captivity of Babylon, undertook the work; and, after he had finished it, had it approved by the grand Sanhedrim, and published by authority. Only we must observe, (g) that the two books of Chronicles, and those of Nehemiah, Esther, and Malachi, were very probably afterwards added by Simon the Just; and that it was not till his time that the Jewish canon of the Holy Scriptures was fully completed.

That this canon began to be compiled soon after the return from the captivity, is pretty plain from the above-cited passage in Ecclesiasticus, which makes mention of the *twelve minor prophets*, and is an argument that they were then collected, and digested into one volume: and if we believe (r) that the LXX interpreters translated all the Old Testament, (which is an opinion that many learned men do maintain), then it is evident, that the canon must have been settled before the time that their version was made, which was done under Ptolomy Philadelphus, and not improbably at the beginning of his reign. The truth is, both the Jewish history ends, and the spirit of prophecy ceased, much about this time: Nehemiah was the last historian, and Malachi the last prophet, both contemporaries with Ezra, and both assisting to him in publishing this new edition of the scriptures; and therefore, it is reasonable to suppose, after the race of such writers were extinct, and *all vision and prophecy sealed up* among the Jews, that this was a proper period for collecting the several copies, and adjusting the catalogue of their sacred books.

But Ezra did more than this: (s) He not only collected all the books whereof the Holy Scriptures did consist, and disposed them in their proper order, but, by comparing the several copies together, he corrected all the errors which had crept into them through the negligence or mistakes of transcribers. He changed the old names of several places that were grown obsolete, and, instead of them, inserted such new ones as the people were better acquainted with. He filled up the chasms of history, and added, in several places, throughout the books of this edition, what appeared to him to be necessary for the illustration, connection, and completion of the whole. And, lastly, he wrote every

What he did to make his edition perfect:

(g) Vid. Prideaux's Connection, part 1. l. 5. (r) Vid. Walton's Prolog. 9. in Bib. Polyg. (s) Vid. Prideaux's Connection, part 1. lib. 5.

book in the Chaldee character, which since the time of the captivity, the people understood much better than the old Hebrew. But whether, upon this review, he added the vowel points, as they now are in our Hebrew Bibles, is a question a little too prolix and intricate for us to engage in at present. Those who have a mind to have their curiosity in this respect satisfied, may see the arguments on both sides fairly stated in the learned (*t*) Connection, we have had so frequent occasion to quote.

What we have to observe farther is, that, in the several corrections, additions, and alterations, which Ezra made, he did not proceed according to his own humour and caprice, but was directed by the same Spirit which at first assisted the writers of these sacred volumes. For besides that himself was a (*u*) prophet, or (as he is styled) (*x*) *a ready scribe in the law of Moses*, we can hardly suppose, but that in an affair of such consequence, he would not only use the best skill he had himself, but consult likewise with Haggai, Zechary, and Malachi, (the last of whom must needs have been alive in his time, and possibly the other two), and do nothing without their advice; because, in matters of much less moment (*viz.* where some who pretended to the priesthood could not prove their pedigree) we find him so very cautious, that he would determine nothing himself, but left the matter undecided, *until a priest should arise who* (*y*) *had Urim and Thummim*, whereby he might consult the divine will upon all occasions.

Thus was the canon of the Old Testament settled, in or about the times of Ezra: and, that it continued in the same manner or order until the publication of the gospel, (besides the authority of several Christian writers), we have this remarkable testimony from (*z*) Josephus. “We have only two and twenty books,” says he, “which comprehend the history of all ages, and merit our belief: five belong to Moses, which contain what relates to the origin of man, and the tradition of the

(*t*) Part 1. lib. 5. p. 497. (*u*) The Jews look upon Ezra as another Moses; they call him the second founder of the law, and hold his person in so great esteem and veneration, that it is a common saying among their writers, If the law had not been given by Moses, Ezra was worthy to have been the publisher of it; *Lewis. antiq. Heb. lib. 8.* (*x*) Ezra vii. 6. (*y*) Chap. ii. 62. 63. (*z*) Contra Apion,

“ several successions and generations, down to his death,
 “ —From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes,
 “ (who was king of Persia after Xerxes), the prophets
 “ who succeeded him have, in their books, written what
 “ happened in their time. The other books contain hymns
 “ to the praise of God, and precepts for the conduct of
 “ human life. What happened since the time of Arta-
 “ xerxes down to our days, has likewise been recorded by
 “ the writers thereof; but they have not met with the like
 “ credit, because there has not been any certain succession
 “ of prophets during that time. And from hence, says he,
 “ it is manifest, what respect and estimation has been paid
 “ to the books which complete our canon; since, in so long
 “ a tract of time, no man has ventured either to add any
 “ thing to them, or diminish or alter any thing in them;
 “ since the Jews from their infancy are accustomed to call
 “ them *divine institutions*, to believe them stedfastly, and,
 “ upon occasion, to lay down their lives in defence of
 “ them.”

That the same number of authentic books has been ^{Apocryphal} transmitted to us, we may plainly perceive, if we will but ^{books re-} turn to the several catalogues which the fathers, in their ^{jected.} writings, have left us of them, which the council of Laodicea enumerates, and sundry general councils afterwards confirm. And though, in process of time, several apocryphal books (as containing matters of Jewish history, and many moral precepts) were, by degrees, admitted into the service of the church, and publicly read for the instruction of the people; yet it would be no hard matter to shew, that some of the best and most learned writers of their times always denied their canonical authority. “ The church
 “ indeed allowed them to be read, (as St Jerome tells us); but
 “ she did not receive them into the canon of scripture:”
 and in like manner our church declares concerning them,
 that she “ doth read them for example of life, and instruc-
 “ tion of manners; but does not apply them to establish any
 “ doctrine.” So that, though some of these be confessedly
 spurious, and accordingly have been rejected by the wisdom
 of the church; yet this can be made no argument against
 such as have been universally received, and handed down
 by unanimous, constant tradition.

“ But though we have been careful to receive no ^{An objec-}
 “ more books than what are strictly canonical, yet how ^{tion.}
 “ shall we satisfy ourselves that we have received them all?
 “ In several parts of scripture we find books referred to,
 “ such

“ such as *the book of the covenant, the book of the wars of the Lord, the book of Asber, the book of the acts of Solomon,* &c. none of which are now extant; and therefore, as we suppose them lost, we cannot but infer that our present canon of scripture is very lame and imperfect.”

Answered,
by shewing
that none
of the ca-
nonical
books are
lost.

What has given credit to this objection is the common notion that the books here supposed to be lost were volumes of some size, and all indited by the Spirit of God; whereas we may observe, 1st, That the word *Sepher*, which we render *book*, signifies properly a bare *rehearsal* of any thing, or any kind of writing, be it ever so small; and that the custom of the Jews was to call every little *memorandum* by that name: for what we translate *a bill of divorcement*, is, (a) in the original, a *book of divorcement*; and the short account of our Saviour's genealogy is (b) *the book of the generation of Jesus Christ*. 2dly, That several of these tracts, which are not now extant, were written, not by persons pretending to any supernatural assistance, but by such (c) as were styled *recorders, or writers of chronicles*, (as it is in the margin), an office of great honour and trust, but of a different kind from that of prophets. 3dly, That supposing they were indited by such as were properly prophets, yet they were not written by divine inspiration; “ for prophets (as (d) St. Austin observes) did not at times write under the guidance and direction of the Holy Ghost. In the fundamentals of religion, indeed, they were divinely assisted; but in other matters they only wrote as faithful historians.” And, 4thly, That most of these pieces (e) are still remaining in the scriptures, though they go under other appellations; and that such as are not to be found there, were never designed for religious instruction, nor are they essential to man's salvation. And now to apply these observations to the books we imagine to be lost.

The *book of the covenant*, which is mentioned in Exod. xxiv. 7. and thought to be missing, is not any distinct book from the body of the Jewish laws. For whoever impartially examines that passage in Exodus, will find, that the book referred to is nothing else but a collection of such injunctions and exhortations as are expressly laid down in the four preceding chapters.

(a) Deut. xxiv. 1. (b) Mat. i 1. (c) 2 Sam. viii. 16. 2 Kings. xviii. 18. 2 Chron. xxix. 8. (d) De civit. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 38. (e) Vid. Edward's Perfection of the Holy Scripture; and Jenkins's Reasonableness of the Christian Religion, vol. 2.

The *book of the wars of the Lord*, cited in Numb. xx. 14. and supposed to be wanting, is (in the opinion (*f*) of a very able judge) that very record, which, upon the defeat of the Amalekites, God commanded Moses to make, as a memorial of it, and *to rehearse it in the ears of Joshua*. So that it seems to be no more than a short account of that victory, together with some proper directions for Joshua's private use and conduct in the management of the subsequent war, but not at all dictated by divine inspiration; and consequently no (*g*) canonical scripture.

The *book of Jasher*, mentioned in Josh. x. 13. is supposed by some to be the same with the book of Judges, because we find mention therein of the *sun's standing still*: but the conjecture of the Jewish historian (*h*) seems to be better founded, *viz.* that it was composed of certain records, (kept in a safe place at that time, and afterwards removed into the temple), which gave an account of what happened to the Jews from year to year, and particularly of the *sun's standing still*; and (as it is in 2 Sam. i. 18.) directions for the *use of the bow*, i. e. for setting up of archery, and maintaining military exercises. So that this was not the work of an inspired person, but of some common historiographer, who wrote the annals of his own time, and might therefore deserve the name of *Jasher*, *The Upright*; because what he wrote was generally deemed a true and authentic account of all the events and occurrences which then happened.

Once more, the several *books of Solomon*, mentioned in 1 Kings, iv. 32. 33. were no part of canonical scripture. His *three thousand proverbs* were perhaps only spoken, not written down. His *songs*, which were *a thousand and five*, and whercof we have but one, were very likely his juvenile compositions; and his *universal history*

(*f*) Dr Lightfoot's Chronology of the times of the Old Testament.

(*g*) Others are of opinion, that the book here under consideration is no other than the book of Judges, which may properly enough be called *the book of the wars of the Lord*; because it recounts the warlike enterprizes which those brave men, who were stirred by God in an extraordinary manner, were so famous for, (or to express the remarkableness of the thing), *The wars of the Lord* may signify as much as the great, wonderful, and renowned wars fought by the valiant Hebrews; Lewis's Antiq. Heb. lib. 8.

(*h*) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 5.

of vegetables, and that of animals of all kinds, as properly belonged to philosophy. It was not necessary for every one to be acquainted with them: and though the loss of them (considering the matchless measure of wisdom wherewith God had endowed their author) is certainly very great; yet it is a loss which none but the busy searchers into nature have cause to bewail: nor have they so much cause either, if the conjectures of some learned men should prove true, viz. that these books of plants and animals were extant in the days of Alexander the Great; or that being perused and understood by Aristotle and Theophrastus, by the help of an interpreter, they were translated into their writings in the manner we now find them, and, in process of time, gained them great honour and renown. Upon the whole therefore we may conclude, that, if any books seem to be wanting in our present catalogue, they are either such as lie secret and unobserved under other denominations, or such as had never the title of being canonical; as contained no points essential to man's salvation; and such, consequently, as we may live safely ignorant of here, and shall never be responsible for hereafter.

An objection.

“ But suppose we have the whole number of our books, yet we are still at a loss for the true sense of them; because, since the time of their first recording, they have been so chopped and changed by the management of those who had the custody of them; so foisted with errors, and loaded with various readings, that they render the text purely precarious, and make every wise man doubtful and suspicious, whether any thing of certainty can be gathered from a book where the sense and phraseology is so very uncertain.”

Answered, by shewing the occasion and benefit of various readings.

We readily grant indeed, that there is a great variety of different readings occurring in the books of the Old Testament; but, as in a multitude of copies this is a thing unavoidable, so is it one of the most effectual means, at this distance of time from all originals, to help us to the true sense and meaning of the text. For, put the case, that we had but one copy of the Bible by us, yet methinks, it would be a desirable thing to have another; for (i) another, to join with the first, would give us more authority, as well as security. Now chuse that second where you will, there shall be numberless variations from the first, and yet half or more of the faults still remain in them both. A third therefore, and a fourth, and so on, are desirable, that, by a joint and mutual help, all the faults may be mended: and yet the more copies you call

(i) Phileſcu. Lips. Answer to a Discourse of Free-thinking.

to your assistance, the more do the various readings multiply upon you ; because every copy has its particular slips, though in a principal passage or two it may do singular service. Were the originals indeed still in being, they would supersede the use of all other copies ; but since that is impossible from the nature of things, since time and calamities must consume all, the subsidiary help must be from the various transcripts conveyed down to us, when compared and examined together : and no one can be ignorant, how much a collation of this kind tends both to illustrate the sense of any particular passage, and to strengthen the authority of the whole.

Considering then, that before the use of printing, more manuscripts were made of the Holy Bible than of any Heathen author whatever ; and that these manuscripts have been examined with more care, and collated with more exactness, and the various readings set down even to the most minute difference ; we are not to wonder if, with all this scrupulous search and inquiry, the variations are so many. The editors of profane authors do not use to trouble their readers with an useless list of every little slip committed by a lazy or ignorant scribe. What is thought commendable in an edition of the scriptures, and has the name of fairness and fidelity, would be deemed trifling and impertinent in them : but if the like scrupulousness were observed in registering the smallest changes in profane, as is allowed, nay required in sacred authors, the number of their variations would rise at least to a full equality.

We ought to account it therefore a singular instance of God's good providence, considering the great antiquity of many books of the scriptures, beyond that of any other books in the world ; the multitude of copies that have been taken in all ages and nations ; the difficulty to avoid mistakes in transcribing books in a language which has so many of its letters, and of its words too, so like one another ; the defect of the Hebrew vowels, and the late invention (as most are now agreed) of the points ; the change of the Samaritan, or ancient Hebrew for the present Hebrew, or Chaldee character ; the captivity of the whole nation of the Jews for seventy years ; and the mixtures and changes which, during that time, were brought into their language : considering, I say, that all the accidents which have ever happened to create errors and mistakes in any book, have concurred to occasion them in the Old Testament,

ment, we ought to esteem it a particular instance of God's providence, that the different readings are fewer, and make much less alteration in the sense, than those of any book of the same bigness, and of any note, or antiquity, if all the copies should be as carefully examined, and every little variation as punctually set down, as those of the Holy Scriptures have been. And much more are we to bless the divine providence, that whatever differences are to be found in the several copies of the Bible, they do not in the least prejudice the fundamental points of religion, nor weaken the authority of these sacred records. For this is the judgment of one (k) who had studied the subject much, and was sufficiently versed in scripture criticism, viz. "That the things relating either to faith or practice, are plainly contained in all copies whatever. Difference there is indeed in lesser things, as in matters of chronology, which depend upon the alteration, or omission, or addition of a letter; or in the names of men, or of cities, or countries; but the principal doctrines of religion are so dispersed throughout the scriptures, that they can receive no damage or alteration, unless the whole should be changed, or very grossly corrupted."

And that the text was never altered, or corrupted.

For besides this providential care, (which we may well suppose to go along with the writings of so divine a character), we find God making all proper and prudent provision for their preservation, by inserting a particular and strict prohibition in the law itself, (l) *That no one should presume to add unto, or diminish ought from it*; by enjoining the people to make it their constant study, (m) *to bind it, as it were, for a sign upon their hands, and as frontlets between their eyes, and to write it upon the gates and posts of their houses*; and by requiring them to read it diligently, both in private to their families, and after a more solemn manner in their public congregations. All which could not but make them competent judges of the law of Moses, and enable them to descry any change or material corruption which should at any time attempt to insinuate itself.

To secure the other inspired writings, a continued succession of prophets was of great service: and it seems next to impossible for any dangerous alteration to have been made, without detection and censure, so long as that order of men, whose office and zeal led them to correct any error

(k) Lud. Cappel. Crit. Sac. lib. 6. cap. 2. (l.) Deut. iv. 2. (m) Chap. vi. 8. 9.

in faith, as well as corruption in practice, was in being. Nor can we suppose it probable, that any person would attempt such alterations, where the copies were in so many hands, and so openly read and consulted, that there was scarce any private person who might not have known (if any such thing had happened) when and wherein they had been corrupted.

Nay, so far were the Jews from suffering corruptions to creep into the Holy Scriptures, that (n) if but *one word* happened to be altered in any copy, it was to be laid aside as utterly useless; unless it was sometimes given to a very poor man to read to his family, upon condition, that he brought it not with him to the synagogue, nor made any other use of it. The religious factions among the Jews were many times very violent; but we no where find any party accusing the other of corrupting, or falsifying scripture; nor does our Saviour himself, who so frequently reproves the Scribes and Pharisees for their traditions, and false glosses, ever once charge them with adulterating the text itself; which he certainly would not have failed to do, had they been culpable in that respect. On the contrary, both he and the apostles appeal to it as true and authentic, and borrow their proofs from it, in confirmation of the Christian faith and doctrine. To conclude this argument then,

That from the time of Ezra, to the coming of our Saviour Christ, the Jews did not corrupt the text of the sacred writings, is plain from his not charging them with any such practice; which doubtless he would have done, (as well as reprove their false comments upon them), had they been equally guilty of both: and that, since the beginning of Christianity, neither they, nor any other sect whatever, could possibly make any falsifications, and either add or diminish any thing material, without an immediate detection, is manifest from the multitude of true and authentic copies, which were every where dispersed as far as Christianity prevailed, and from that jealous and vigilant eye, which each party had upon the other: so that we may reasonably suppose, that all the little errors which may be remarked in them, proceeded not from any ill design, but merely from the ignorance or inattention of their transcribers. And indeed, (o) considering the many ages thro' which the books have passed, we have much more reason to

(n) Vid. Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. 2. (o) Bishop Burnet on the Articles.

wonder, that they are brought down to us so entire, and so manifestly genuine, in all their main and fundamental points, than that we should see some instances of human frailty in those who copied and preserved them.

An objection.

“ But be the books ever so genuine, and their tradition ever so certain, yet we cannot suppose them wrote by persons divinely inspired, so long as we see in them certain characters inconsistent with such a supposition. Surely the purest language, the most perfect style, the greatest clearness, the most exact method, the soundest reasoning, the most apparent consistency, and, in a word, all the excellencies of good writing, might be expected in a piece composed or dictated by the Spirit of God; but books wherein we find the reverse of all this, it is idle, if not impious, to ascribe to the Deity.”

Answered, by shewing that translations are defective.

I. One great mistake which the generality of readers run into, is, to judge of the composition of the scripture, not from its original, but from its translations: for, (*p.* besides that in ancient writings, (such as the Bible is) there are allusions to many rites and customs that are now laid aside; and, for this reason, must needs seem flat or impertinent; which, when they were in use, had a great deal of spirit and propriety in them; and besides that the Hebrew, in particular, is a language of a peculiar cast, both in the contexture of its words, and the cadence of its periods, and contains certain expressions, whose emphasis can no more be translated into another language, than the water of a diamond can be painted, without detracting from the original: besides all this, I say, the translators themselves, sometimes by running into mistakes, and at all times by adhering too religiously to the letter of the text, have contributed not a little to make the style of the sacred writings appear less advantageous. For, whereas other translators have taken a liberty to accommodate the beauties of the language whereinto they translate, to the idiotisms of that wherein their author wrote; these have thought themselves restrained from using such freedom in a divine composition; and have therefore left several Hebraic, and other foreign phrases in their version, which seem a little uncouth, and give the reader (who can look no farther) a very odd notion of the original: though it is certainly manifest, that the most elegant piece of oratory that ever was framed, if we render it literally, and not give it the true genius of the

(*p.*) Vid. Boyle of the style of the Scripture; and Nicholl's Conference, vol. 1.

language whereunto we are admitting it, will lose all its beauty, and appear with the same disadvantage.

II. Another mistake that we run into is, when we confine eloquence to any nation, and account that the only proof of it, which is accommodated to the present taste. We indeed, in these European countries, whose languages, in a great measure, are derived from Greek and Latin, make them the patterns for our imitation, and account them the standard of perfection: but there is no reason why the eastern nations, whose languages have no affinity with them, should do the same; much less is it reasonable to expect it in writers who lived long before these Greek or Latin authors (we so much admire) were born. It is sufficient for them that they wrote according to the fashionable, and esteemed eloquence of their own times: but that the Holy Ghost should inspire them with certain schemes of speech, adapted to the modern taste, and such as were utterly unknown in the countries where they lived, is a thing that can never enter into any sober man's consideration. The truth is, since Moses was bred up in all the refined learning and wisdom of the Egyptians; since Solomon was excellent in all kind of knowledge, and in a manner idolized by the Eastern world; and since Daniel's promising youth was improved by the learning of the Chaldean sages; we have all the reason imaginable to believe, that they wrote according to the perfection of style, which was then in use; that though their eloquence differs from ours, yet it is excellent in its kind; and that, if we have other notions of it, it is only because we are unacquainted with those bold allegories, and figurative ways of discourse; those dark sentences, surprising brevities, and inconnected transitions, wherein the nature of their true sublime did consist.

III. Another mistake we run into is, when we suppose that the critical rules of eloquence are any ways necessary in divine compositions. The design of God, in recording his laws, was to inform our understandings, to cure our passions, and rectify our wills; and if this end be but attained, it is no great matter in what form of diction the prescription be given. We never expect that a physician's receipt should be wrote in a Ciceronian style: and if a lawyer has made us a firm conveyance of an estate, we never inquire what elegancies there are in the writing. —When therefore, — God intends to do for us far greater things than these; when he is delivering the terms of our salvation,

That eloquence is not peculiar to any country;

nor necessary in a divine composition.

salvation, and prescribing the rules of our duty; why should we expect that he should insist on the niceties of style and expression, and not rather account it a diminution of his authority, to be elaborate in trifles, when he has the momentous issues of another life to command our attention, and affect our passions? In some of the greatest works of nature, God has not confined himself to any such order and exactness. (*q*) The stars, we see, are not cast into regular figures; lakes and rivers are not bounded by straight lines; nor are hills and mountains exact cones or pyramids. When a mighty prince declares his will by laws and edicts to his subjects, is he (do we think) careful at all about a pure style, or elegant composition? Is not the phrase thought proper enough, if it conveys as much as was intended? And would not the fine strains of some modern critics be thought pedantic and affected on such occasions? Why then should we expect in the oracles of God an exactness, that would be (*r*) unbecoming, and beneath the dignity of an earthly monarch, and which bears no proportion or resemblance to the magnificent works of the creation? A strict observation of the rules of grammar and rhetoric, in elegant expressions, harmonious periods, and technical definitions and partitions, may gratify indeed some readers; but then it must be granted, that these things have the air of human contrivance in them; whereas in the simple, unaffected, artless, unequal, bold, figurative style of the Holy Scriptures, there is a character singularly great and majestic, and what looks more like divine inspiration, than any other form of composition.

The style
of scripture
instructive,
and affect-
ing.

These observations being premised, if we should now consider the nature of eloquence in general, as it is defined by (*s*) Aristotle, to be a *faculty of persuasion*, which Cicero makes to consist in three things, *instructing*, *delighting*, and *moving* our readers or hearers mind, we shall find, that the Holy Scriptures have a fair claim to these several properties.

For where can we meet with such a plain representation of things, in point of history, and such cogent arguments, in point of precept, as this one volume furnishes

(*q*) Vid. The Minute Philosopher, dialogue 4.

(*r*) Cujuscunque orationem videris sollicitam et politam, scito animum quoque non minus esse pusillis occupatum: magnus remissius loquitur, et securius; quæcunque dicit plus habent fiduciæ quam curæ; Sen. epist. 115.

(*s*) Rhét. l. 1. c. 2.

us with? Where is there an history written more simply and naturally, and at the same time more nobly and loftily, than that of the creation of the world? Where are the great lessons of morality taught with such force and perspicuity (except in the sermons of Christ, and the writings of the apostles) as in the book of Deuteronomy? Where is the whole compass of devotion, in the several forms of confession, petition, supplication, thanksgiving, vows, and praises, so punctually taught us, as in the book of Psalms? Where are the rules of wisdom and prudence so convincingly laid down, as in the Proverbs of Solomon, and the choice sentences of his Ecclesiastes? Where is vice and impiety of all kinds more justly displayed, and more fully confuted, than in the threats and admonitions of the prophets? And what do the little warmths, which may be raised in the fancy by an artificial composure and vehemence of style, signify, in comparison of those strong impulses and movements which the Holy Scriptures make upon good mens souls, when they represent the frightful justice of an angry God to stubborn offenders, and the bowels of his compassion, and unspeakable kindness, to all true penitents and faithful servants?

The Holy Scripture indeed has none of those flashy ornaments of speech, wherewith human compositions so plentifully abound; but then it has a sufficient stock of real and peculiar beauties to recommend it. To give one instance for all out of the history of Joseph and his family: the whole relation indeed is extremely natural; but the manner of his discovering himself to his brethren is inimitable. (t) *And Joseph could no longer refrain himself — but, lifting up his voice with tears, said — I am Joseph — Doth my father yet live? — And his brethren could not answer him; for they were troubled at his presence. And Joseph said to his brethren, Come near me, I pray you: and they came near, and he said, I am Joseph — your brother — whom ye sold into Egypt.* Nothing certainly can be a more lively description of Joseph's tender respect for his father, and love for his brethren: And, in like manner, when his brethren returned, and told their father in what splendor and glory his son Joseph lived, it is said, that (u) *Jacob's heart fainted, for he believed them not; but when he saw the waggons which Joseph had sent for him, the spirit of Jacob, their father, revived: and Israel said, It is enough — Joseph my son is yet alive — I will go — and see him,*

(t) Gen. xlv. 1. &c.

(u) Ver. 26. &c.

before I die. Here is such a contrast of different passions, of utter despondency, dawning hope, confirmed faith, triumphant joy, and paternal affection, as no orator in the world could express more movingly, in a more easy manner, or shorter compass of words.

Figurative
and lofty
sometimes.

Nay more, had I leisure to gratify the curious, I might easily shew, that those very figures and schemes of speech, which are so much admired in profane authors, as their great beauties and ornaments, are no where more conspicuous than in the sacred.

One figure, for instance, esteemed very florid among the masters of art, is, when all the members of a period begin with the same word. The figure is called *anaphora*; and yet (if I mistake not) the 15th psalm affords us a very beautiful passage of this kind. *Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly; he that backbiteth not with his tongue; he that maketh much of them that fear the Lord; he that sweareth to his hurt, and changeth not; he that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that does these things shall never be moved.*

The ancient orators took a great deal of pride in ranging finely their *antitheta*. Cicero is full of this, and uses it many times to a degree of affectation; and yet I cannot find any place wherein he has surpassed that passage of the prophet. (x) *He that killeth an ox, is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swines blood.* But above all other figures, that, whereon poets and orators love chiefly to dwell, is the *hypotyposis*, or *lively description*; and yet we shall hardly find, in the best classic authors, any thing comparable, in this regard, to the Egyptians destruction in the Red Sea, related (y) in the song of Moses and Miriam; to the description of the Leviathan (z) in Job; to the descent of God, and a storm at sea (a) in the Psalmist; to the intrigues of an adulterous woman (b) in the Proverbs; to the pride of the Jewish ladies (c) in Isaiah; and to the plague of locusts (d) in Joel; which is represented like the ravaging of a country, and storming a city by an army: *A fire devoureth before them, and behind them a desolate*

(x) Isa. lxvi. 3. (y) Exod. xv. (z) Ch. xli. (a) Psal. xviii.
17. (b) Ch. vii. (c) Ch. iv. (d) Ch. i.

wildernefs, and nothing fhall efcape them.— Before their face people fhall be pained; all faces fhall gather blacknefs. They fhall run like mighty men; they fhall climb the wall like men of war; they fhall march every one in his way, and they fhall not break their ranks.— They fhall run to and fro in the city; they fhall run upon the wall; they fhall climb up upon the houfes; they fhall enter into the windows as a thief.— The defcription is more remarkable, becaufe the analogy is carried quite throughout without ftraining, and the whole proceffes of a conquering army in the manner of their march, their deftroying the provifion, and burning the country, in their scaling the walls, breaking into houfes, and running about the vanquifhed city, are fully delineated and fet before our eyes.

From thefe few examples (for it would be endless to at all times proceed in instances of this kind) it appears, that the Holy proper. Bible is far from being defective in point of eloquence; and (what is a peculiar commendation of it) its ftyle is full of a grateful variety; fometimes majestic, as becomes *that high and holy one who inhabiteth eternity*; fometimes fo low, as to answer the other part of his character, *who dwelleth with him that is of an humble fpirit*; and, at all times fo proper, and adapted fo well to the feveral fubjects it treats of, that (e) whoever confiders it attentively will perceive, in the narrative parts of it, a ftain fo fimple and unaffected; in the prophetic and devotional, fomething fo animated and fublime; and in the doctrinal and preceptive, fuch an air of dignity and authority, as feems to fpeak its original divine.

We allow indeed, that method is an excellent art, Method, a highly conducive to the clearnefs and perfpicuity of dif- modern in- courfe; but then we affirm, that it is an art of modern invention; men wrote, and incompatible with the manner of writing which was then in vogue. We indeed in Europe, who, in this matter, have taken our examples from Greece, can hardly read any thing with pleafure that is not digefted into order, and forted under proper heads; but the eaftern nations, who were ufed to a free way of difcourfe, and never cramped their notions by methodical limitations, would have defpifed a compofition of this kind as much as we do a fchool-boy's theme, with all the formalities of its *exordiums, ratices, and confirmatios*. And, if this

(e) The Minute Philofopher, dial. 4.

was no precedent for other nations, much less can we think, that God Almighty's methods ought to be confined to human laws, which, being designed for the narrowness of our conceptions, might be improper and injurious to his, whose *thoughts are as far above ours, as the heavens are higher than the earth.*

and not so
proper in
divine
composi-
tions,

The truth is, (*f*) inspiration is, in some measure, the language of another world, and carries in it the reasoning of spirits, which, without controversy, is vastly different from ours. We indeed, to make things lie plain before our understandings, are forced to sort them out into distinct partitions, and consider them by little and little, that so at last, by gradual advances, we may come to a tolerable conception of them; but this is no argument for us to think that pure spirits do reason after this manner. Their understandings are quick and intuitive: they see the whole compass of rational inferences at once; and have no need of those little methodical distinctions which oftentimes help the imperfection of our intellects. Now, though we do not assert, that the language of the Holy Scriptures is an exact copy of the reasoning of the spiritual world; yet, since *they came by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, it is but reasonable to expect that they should preserve some small relish of it; as books translated into another tongue always retain some marks of their originals. And hence it comes to pass, that though the Holy Ghost does vouchsafe to speak in the language of men, yet, in his divine compositions, there are some traces to be found of that bold and unlimited ratiocination which is peculiar to the heavenly inhabitants, whose noble and flaming thoughts are never clogged with the cold and jejune laws of human method. To which purpose we may observe, that, even among the Heathens, whenever their authors represent a person inspired, a Sibyl, a Cassandra, or a Tiresias, they never introduce him making a set formal speech, but always saying something noble and sublime, which disdains all ordinary artificial fetters. And, if the greatest masters of polite writing thought it proper to neglect all rules and restraints in compositions of pretended inspiration, why should that be accounted culpable in the Holy Scriptures which is held so exquisite in Sophocles, or any other lofty tragedian?

(*f*) Nicholl's conference with a Theist, vol. 1.

But

But after all, the Holy Scriptures (as far as can be expected) are not destitute of method. They are not indeed wrote upon the plan of some Greek and Latin compositions; but they are delivered in such a manner as is easy to be understood, not unpleasent to read, and, to those who are accustomed to oriental compositions, exceedingly beautiful. For, where can we find a more methodical history than that of Moses, beginning at the first creation of all things, and the formation of human kind; proceeding in the account of their increase, depravation, and almost total destruction by an universal deluge; after their second increase, relating their relapse into idolatry, and thereupon God's electing a peculiar people to serve him according to his own appointment; and so recording the first original and various adventures of their progenitors; the afflictions and wanderings of that chosen nation, and the polity which they should observe when once they were settled in the promised land? Nothing can be more clear and regular than this. And as for the other historians who wrote the transactions of the Jewish nation from the conquest of Canaan to the Babylonish captivity, they are so exact in observing the order and series of time, and in setting down the length of each prince's reign, that they afford a better foundation for historical truth, as well as chronological certainty, than is to be found in the best Heathen writers of this kind.

It cannot be expected indeed, that psalms and hymns wrote upon fundry occasions, or such proverbs and wise axioms as took their rise from different observations, and were noted down the instant they were conceived, should have any connection or mutual dependence. Prophecies too were to be loose, and unconfined to rule, as being the language of a spirit, which will admit of no restraint; but, as for the doctrinal and argumentative parts of the scripture, they are digested in such a manner as to make them plain and intelligible: and though the partitions and transitions of them are not so formally distinct as in some other books; yet are they perceivable enough to an attentive reader, and will receive great illustration from the analytical works of some expositors.

It must not be dissembled however, that the Hebrew tongue (wherein a great part of the Bible was written) has many words, consisting of the same syllables, and yet of very different significations; and that it is defective in several moods and tenses which our modern languages have:

And why
sometimes
not.

so that, if the translator has mistaken the signification of the word, he spoils the connection; or, if he has not given the verb the right mood and tense, (which, in a great measure, he is obliged to guess at), there will be a plain incoherence in the sense. Nor must it be forgot, that the present division of the scripture into chapters and verses (though of excellent use to the memory) has sometimes separated things which should have been united, and sometimes united matters that should have been separated; and this disturbs the sense, and makes it look wild and incoherent to such as are not qualified to observe its propriety and connection in the original.

The causes
of some
obscurity
in the
scriptures;

These are some of the causes of the seeming irregularity, and the like may be said of the great obscurity which some have complained of in the Holy Scriptures; viz. that, where it is not occasioned by the subject-matter, which sometimes contains mysteries above all human comprehension, and sometimes alludes to customs and transactions which length of time has concealed from our knowledge, it usually happens, when the signification of words is ambiguous and uncertain in the original; when there occur some particular idioms of the Hebrew tongue not so familiar to us; when the construction is intricate, and the words make different senses, according as they are differently joined together; when the style itself is obscure by reason of metaphors and allegories, which are usual in the poetical books; when the writer passes from one subject to another somewhat abruptly, which frequently happens in the prophetic; or when he makes transpositions in the order of narration, as is sometimes perceivable in the historical. But, these cases excepted, (which, with a little study and application of our own, as well as attention to those who undertake the exposition of these difficulties, may easily be remedied), that the Holy Scriptures are, in all points necessary to salvation, and, to all persons of competent understanding, sufficiently plain and intelligible, the very design of God's having them wrote, is a sufficient demonstration. For, as the design of all writing is to convey our thoughts intelligibly to others, so would it be a great reflection upon the divine wisdom, if a book written by God's direction, and for the instruction of mankind, should fall short of that end, which even human compositions seldom fail of.

particular-
ly in the
prophets:

We cannot deny indeed but that there is a great obscurity generally spread over the writings of the prophets; but

but then we affirm, that such obscurity is necessary for wise purposes and providential reasons. For, as the creator of the world governs it with wisdom, and (where the free will of man is concerned) with great condescension; had the Holy Spirit revealed to the prophets future events so distinctly, as that they might have expressed the most minute circumstance of time, place, persons, &c. in proper terms; had the predictions, I say, been so plain and apparent, that every body, at first sight, might see the whole contrivance, and look through all the scenes of action, they could never have been accomplished, without offering violence (by some miraculous interposition) to mens voluntary determinations. Had God, for instance, foretold our Saviour's crucifixion, with all its particular circumstances, the manner how, the time when, the place where, and the persons by whom, it was to be effected; it is hardly supposable, that the chief priests, and so many principal men among the Jews, would have had an hand in it, without being perfectly carried on to it by an over-ruling power, against their own inclinations; which (besides its contrariety to the principles of human nature) must needs make God *the author of sin*. But since the prophecies concerning the Messias and his sufferings were delivered with such a mixture of obscurity, as never fully to be understood till after their accomplishment, they gave room for the Jews malice to concur with God's providence in bringing this matter to pass: and so (as St. Paul tells us) *(g) because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets, they fulfilled them in condemning him*. So necessary it was, that all prophecies of future events should be couched under dark and enigmatical phrases, lest, by being too plainly foretold, they might possibly chance to destroy themselves, and defeat their own intention.

We acknowledge still farther, that, besides the predictions of the prophets, there are several points contained in scripture quite remote from the common apprehension of mankind, and, in many respects, hard to be understood. But then we must observe withal, that, as these obscure passages are very few in comparison of the plain texts, and no more hinder us from understanding the plain, than the spots in the sun debar us from the light of it; so are they far from reflecting dishonour upon the dispensation itself. If we consider seriously with ourselves, we

And the expediency of some mysteries.

cannot but say, that it is more reasonable to suppose (*b*), that a revelation from God should contain something different in kind, and more excellent in degree, than what lay open to the common sense of men, or could be discovered even by the most sagacious philosophers. The councils of princes, we know, lie often beyond the ken of their subjects, who can only perceive so much as is revealed by those who sit at the helm, and are often unqualified to judge of the usefulness and tendency even of that, till in due time the scheme unfolds, and is accounted for by succeeding events. This makes the councils of princes revered, and preserves the dignity of the cabinet. And in like manner, why may not we suppose, that, (*i*) as easiness of access is many times known to lay a man open to contempt; so, to protect his revelation from rude encroachments, by impressing an awe and reverential fear upon our minds, God has thought proper to surround it (as it were) with a sacred and majestic obscurity, and, in some parts of it, to exhibit such exalted truths as transcend the reach of human wisdom; thereby to humble the pride and haughtiness of our reason; and thereby to engage us in a closer and more diligent search into such subjects as will every moment furnish us with new matter to entertain the busiest contemplation, to the utmost period of human life.

Reasons for
seeming
contradictions in
scripture,

These are some reasons for the obscurity, and the like may be said for the seeming contradictions (especially in matters of chronology) which are said to occur in the sacred writings. For if we consider the different customs and ways of speaking which were in use in former days, but now are obsolete; and yet we might happily reconcile some repugnant expressions, if we were but acquainted with those usages, to which in all probability they allude: if we consider the narrow compass of the Hebrew tongue, wherein one word has sometimes a great many significations; and yet we might make several contradictory passages agree, if we knew but how to give the same word one signification in the first passage, and another in the second: and more especially, if we consider that chronology is a part of learning of all others the most difficult to be adjusted; that the least alteration of a word or letter may make an exceeding great difference; that the Jewish years do not exactly quadrate with those of other nations, either

(*b*) *Vid.* Minute Philosopher, dialogue 6. (*i*) South's sermons.

as to their length, or their beginning; and that the super-numerary months of kings reigns do often puzzle the general computation; we cannot much wonder, that in the midst of so many difficulties, there should be found some seeming repugnancies in the sense of some texts, as well as in the accounts of time. But when we consider farther, that by shewing the different acceptation of the words and expressions in these seemingly interfering places; by settling the chronological accounts, and comparing them with other parts of scripture which have an analogy with them; and by using, in short, those several rules of interpretation and criticism which are wont to be employed in the explication of all other authors, all these incongruities are sufficiently cleared up by learned men; we shall be induced to think, that they are so far from invalidating the authority of the Holy Scriptures, that they do, in a great measure, confirm it. For if the scriptures had been written by a cabal of men designing to impose upon the world, undoubtedly these men would have used all circumspection and caution, that no sign of contradiction should have appeared in their writings, because nothing is so exact as a studied cheat; whereas it is no small argument of the veracity of these writers, that they agree with one another in all material points, and only neglect an exactness in some little punctilios, wherein nothing but a confederacy could have made them uniform.

But after all, we talk of contradictions, and other absurdities; of digressions, repetitions, false reasonings, impertinent, and sometimes ridiculous relations in scripture, which, upon better examination, will be found reconcilable to good sense, and in some respect prove its very perfection and ornament. We may think it a little strange, for instance, that Cain, upon the murder of his brother, should be introduced, as saying, *(k) every one that findeth me shall slay me*; and presently after, as *(l) going into the land of Nod, and there building him a city*; whereas, according to the common notion, there were but (besides himself) three persons, his father, mother, and his wife, upon the face of the whole earth: but now, if the word *Kol*, which we render *every one*, may as well be translated *every thing, every creature (m)*, every wild beast of the

(k) Gen. iv. 14. *(l)* Ver. 17. *(m)* He was afraid (says Josephus) lest, while he wandered up and down in the earth (which was part of his punishment) he should fall among some beasts, and be slain by them; *Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

field,

field, (the man's conscience foreboding that God might possibly let loose the brute-creation upon him), and if, upon a moderate computation, the other descendents of Adam (for Moses takes notice only of the two lines of Cain and Seth) might be numerous enough to stock whole countries with inhabitants, (as some have calculated even to a demonstration) where will the absurdity be then?

Digressions in scripture. It may look perhaps like a careless ramble of thought, to see a prophet, (for it is only in the prophetic works that this happens), after he has begun a plain and methodical discourse upon an incidental word or expression, break out all at once into a long digression, which seems not so suitable to his main purpose; but if we attend to the matter of that digression, we shall generally find it a prediction of the glad tidings of the Gospel, the most important subject that inspired authors can employ their thoughts upon, and what the Holy Ghost took every occasion to suggest to their minds. Nor can we be ignorant, that in the best Heathen writers who pretended to inspiration (as most of their poets did) these very digressions (which were styled episodes) were thought their greatest beauties; and that in some of their loftiest compositions, (such as those of Pindar and of Horace, (*n*) where he imitates Pindar), these wild excursions were held essential to the poem, the only indications of the divine enthusiasm, and some of the daring flights of a bold aspiring muse, which despised all rules, and disdained to be controlled.

Repetitions in scripture whence occasioned. The repetitions in scripture we perhaps may take offence at, and think them more frequent in the Bible than in any other book. But when it is considered that the several tracts of the Bible were written by different persons, and at different times, it can be no more fault or blemish in it, that its different writers should sometimes happen to say the same things, than that the same history should be written by Appian and Curtius, or the same arguments made use of by Aristotle and Cicero.

This is a case, without a combination, unavoidable. But * when we consider withal, that the things which are said to be so often repeated, are generally such as relate to moral duties, which can never be sufficiently enforced, and that in inculcating these the sacred writers have used all the variety that can be expected; in some places exhorting men to goodness, from the reward; in others,

(*n*) *Vid.* Carm. 1. 2. ode 3. where the digression begins, line 18. * Boyle of the style of the scriptures.

from the beauty of virtue; in some exhibiting the danger, in some the turpitude, and in others the folly of sin; here commending sobriety from its temporal, and there from its eternal recompence; here representing pride as contemptible to men, and there as hateful to God; and every where diversifying their arguments, to make them work upon the love, the hope, or the fear of their readers, from the consideration of the goodness, the promises, or the justice of God: when we observe the prophets denouncing judgments, sometimes against the people, sometimes against the priests, and at other times against the kings; some reprehending them for their pride, some for their idolatry, and others for their profanation of the Sabbath; one bringing them the joyful news of a restoration from their captivity, and another of their redemption by the Messiah; one weeping over the Old Jerusalem, and another ravished with the thoughts of the New: when we consider, I say, this wonderful variety of fresh matter in the sacred writers, both moral and prophetic, we cannot but adore the goodness of God, in giving us *line upon line, and precept upon precept*; in condescending so graciously to our infirmities, that in almost every page of his Holy Word he has supplied us with fresh motives and exhortations to those great and momentous duties we are so apt to transgress; and must needs be very grossly prejudiced, if we can suppose, that the writings either of Seneca, (who usually feeds his reader with nothing but whipt cream, or a very little sense frothed out into a multitude of words), or even of the divine Plato himself, (who, stripped of his unintelligible rant, makes but a poor figure in point of solid sense), any way comparable to the Holy Bible, wherein God seems to have provided for our entertainment, as well as our edification; and to have overspread it with a pleasing diversity of subjects and arguments, in the same manner that he has adorned the creation with a curious variety of plants and animals.

It must not be dissembled indeed, that, what with mis-^{and its meth-}rendering the connective particles, which have many dif-^{od of ica-}ferent significations, and now and then (o) misplacing a^{soning vin-} parenthesis in the Hebrew tongue, the thread of the dis-^{dicated;}course comes often to be interrupted; and those who overlook the figurative, and sometimes abrupt way of arguing usual among the eastern nations, (where the reader is often left to make the deduction for himself), will meet with some perplexities: but where either this is not the case,

(o) Parentheses were not originally in the Hebrew tongue.

or where these difficulties are surmounted, a man of a competent understanding may see the force and tendency of any scripture-argument, as clearly as if it were drawn up in mood and figure. The art of logic is a novel invention, compared with the date of the authors we are now speaking of: and therefore they are not blameable for not being perfect in all the niceties of the Greek schools; especially considering, that if even they had been masters of this art, since they were to address themselves to popular auditories, prudence would have directed them to make use of popular arguments, (as we find they did), which, in such a case, the greatest Heathen orators have always employed, and thence found, that they carried their point with better success than in the most irrefragable syllogisms.

(*p*) The Heathen moralists, we find, urge virtue from the rational topics of conveniency and inconveniency, by displaying the amiableness and advantages of good, and deformity and mischiefs of evil: and are not the arguments which Moses uses to engage the Jews to a compliance with the laws which God enjoined them, drawn from the obligation they owed him for his creating them; from his delivering them from bondage, and making them his chosen people; from the prosperity which their obedience would procure, and the certain calamities which their disobedience would bring upon them; are not the arguments which the prophets use, when they denounce such terrible judgments against them, and tax them with such vile ingratitude, such stupid idolatry, and such other awakening motives to repentance; are not these arguments, I say, as powerful to persuade a nation to abandon their sins, and adhere to the service of God, as the most pompous harrangues concerning the wretchedness of vice, and the beatitudes of philosophic virtue? (*q*) especially, considering, that what these scriptural writers have left us comes backed with the authority of Almighty God, which is instead of a thousand arguments and reasonings.

and its relations; neither impertinent,

I mention but one objection more; and that is, the impertinence of some relations occurring in the historical, and the ridiculousness of some actions mentioned in the prophetic books of Scripture: but before we pass that censure, we should do well to consider, whether the sacred writers might not possibly have some farther prospect in recording these matters, than we, at this distance of time,

(*p*) Young's Sermons. (*q*) Edwards on the Excellency of the Scripture.

are aware of. The book of Ruth, the history of Isaac and Rebecca, of Joseph and his brethren, &c. (which some are pleased to call little *simple family-stories*) deserve a better name, even though they were no more than short memoirs of the Jewish history, giving us an account of the lives of some considerable personages of that nation : but when we consider the whole scheme of God's providential dispensation, in sending the Messias into the world, and the method which he was pleased to take in preparing the way for it, by separating one man's family (from whose loins the designed Saviour of the world was to descend) from his idolatrous relations and countrymen, and making his offspring the standard of true religious worship for many ages ; it is but reasonable to suppose, that some particular account should be given of the origin of this extraordinary family, by which all the world has received such a wonderful benefit, and *all the kingdoms of the earth have been blessed* in the birth of Jesus Christ. And when we consider farther, that many things relating to Abraham and Sarah, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the captivity and exaltation of Joseph, &c. are so particularly related, because God designed that these occurrences should be types and shadows of some things remarkable under the gospel, *viz.* of the incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord and Saviour ; we cannot but perceive that, if the historian had omitted the relation of these ancient facts, Christianity had wanted some considerable evidences of its truth, and the wise scheme of God's providence, in the salvation of the world, had not been so amply displayed.

There is more difficulty indeed, in accounting for some passages in the behaviour of the prophets, in whom any indiscretion may be held more inexcusable ; because they are all along supposed to be guided by the Holy Ghost ; and in those very actions which are thought liable to censure, had the immediate orders and injunctions of God : and yet, when we read of Isaiah's (r) *walking naked, and barefoot three years* ; of Jeremiah's taking a long journey, only (s) *to carry a linen girdle, and hide it in the hole of the rock of the river Euphrates* ; of Ezekiel's (t) *taking his household-stuff, and digging a hole through the wall of the city, to carry it out* ; and of Hosea's (u) *going, and taking unto him a wife of whoredoms, and children of whoredoms, &c.* when

(r) Isa. xx. 3. (s) Jer. xiii. 4. (t) Ezek. xii. 7. (u) Hos. i. 2.

we read these extravagant actions, I say, if we were to understand them in a literal sense, we should be apt to account the doers of them distracted, rather than inspired; and under some temptation to think, that, by putting them upon such unaccountable offices, God was minded to make his servants ridiculous. The Scripture, however, has taken care to inform us, that (x) *the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets*, i. e. (y) they are not hurried on by a mad enthusiasm, but are always left in a composure of mind, fit to comport themselves, and to speak to the people, as the ministers of a rational and all-wise God.

Now there are three ways whereby learned men have undertaken to account for these seemingly strange and whimsical actions of the prophets. (z) Some suppose, that what, in these and several other places is told, was really and literally performed: others, that it was transacted in vision; and others again, that it is all no more than a parable, dictated by God to the prophet, and by the prophet recited to the people. However, to make these and such like actions of the several prophets, all of a piece and uniform, we are to observe, that whereas some of them are only parabolical, and others impossible to be transacted in reality, (for though Jeremiah, for instance, might take too long journeys to Euphrates, about the affair of a girdle, without demurring to the authority of him who sent him; yet we can hardly think that he really sent *bonds and yokes* to the several princes that are mentioned, ch. xxvii. ver. 2. 3. much less that he took the wine cup *from the hand of God*, and made *the kings of all nations*, as is related, ch. xxv. ver. 15. &c. *drink thereof*); whereas, I say, the nature of the thing would not permit these and the like actions to be performed in reality, we have abundant reason to suppose, that they were performed in an imaginary sense only, i. e. that these actions of the prophets were, by a divine impulse, represented to them (a) in a dream or trance, which left in their minds a lively idea, and occasioned their publishing to the people, not only the representations themselves, but

(x) Vid. Lowth on Inspiration. (y) 1 Cor. xiv. 32. (z) Waterland's Scripture vindication, part 2.

(a) That these actions of the prophets were not real, but merely imaginary, and such as were represented upon the stage of their fancies, when in a dream or a trance, must be plain to every one who considers the circumstances of them. Smith's select discourses.

what they were likewise designed to typify, with more force and energy. And accordingly we may observe, that even in the Christian church, when the spirit of prophecy came to revive, these kind of emblematical representations were likewise introduced, as is evident, not only from Agabus's taking *St Paul's girdle*, (b) and binding his own hands and feet, to signify what should befall the owner thereof, as soon as he came to Jerusalem, but more particularly from St Peter's vision (c) of the sheet let down from heaven, wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air: Which vision we find him, in his vindication (d) soon after, recounting to the Jews with all boldness, and explaining likewise the symbolical intent of it, viz. his commission, and delegation to preach to these Gentiles, in order to their conversion.

Thus we have taken a survey of the scriptures of the Old Testament; found out their authors, and the nature and degree of their inspiration; inquired into the number and order of their books, and by whose care and tendency they were all digested into one code; traced down their descent, even to our own times, without any loss or considerable alteration; and (what we chiefly intended) endeavoured to satisfy the most popular objections that are usually made against them. And indeed the objections against them would be far from being so many, if we had a little more skill and knowledge in them; but the misfortune is, we live at a great distance from the apostolic age, and much more from the latest times of the inspired writers of the Old Testament, and so must needs be under some difficulties, from our unacquaintance with the style and way of writing, as well as the manners and customs of those ages. There will, of necessity, therefore, be some spots and dark places in them, as there are in the sun, not for want of light and elegance originally in them, (any more than for want of light in the sun), but by reason of some deficiency in ourselves, who are at a distance, and under such circumstances as intercept our sight, and hinder us from making true and exact observations. But if we could stand (as we are to judge of pictures) in the same light in which they were drawn, and had lived in the same ages in which these books were written, we should be able to make a much truer judgment, and penetrate much farther into the meaning of them, than we now can do. And even in

but, taken all together, very beautiful and excellent.

(b) Acts xxi. 11. (c) Acts x. 11. (d) Ch. xi. 5.

our present situation, if we would make any tolerable judgment of them, we must not consider them separately, but as they all together make up a compleat system of religion: and therefore, (to conclude this argument in the words of a pious vindicator of the style of the Holy Scriptures), (e) “ I conceive, says he, that, as in a lovely face, though the eye, the nose, the lips, and the other parts, singly looked on, may beget delight, and deserve praise; yet the whole face must necessarily lose much, by not being all seen together: so, though the several portions of Scripture do, irrelatively, and in themselves, sufficiently evidence their heavenly extraction, yet he who shall attentively survey that whole book of canonical writings, which we now call the *Bible*, and shall judiciously, in their system, compare and confer them together, may discern, upon the whole matter, so admirable a contexture and disposition, as may manifest that book to be the work of the same wisdom, which so accurately composed the book of nature, and so divinely contrived this vast fabric of the world.” And therefore to proceed to other considerations.

One commendation of that part of the Bible which is called the *Old Testament*, is, that it is the best, as well as most ancient history in the world. The Egyptians of old, we read, contended with the Babylonians and Chaldeans, for the glory of antiquity; and as the Babylonians divide the state of mankind into three governments, *viz.* the first under gods, which (according to them) contains ten generations, the second under demi-gods, or heroes, and the third under kings or men; and during the course of these three states, they reckon up above 30,000 years; so Manetho, the Egyptian historian, to display the antiquity of his nation, and throw the balance on their side, divides, in like manner, his chronological account into the same forms of government of gods, demi-gods, and kings; and from the pretended pillars of Hermes, (whence he compiled his history), makes the whole amount to upwards of 56,525 years. There is good reason, however, why we should despise such monstrous accounts as have only bare words for their foundation, and are plainly contrary to all observations on the progress of mankind, the improvement of husbandry, and the advancement of arts and sciences.

We acknowledge indeed, that the most ancient way of preserving any monuments of learning, in those elder times;

(e) Mr. Boyle, p. 74.

and especially among the Egyptians, was by inscriptions on pillars; but besides the difficulties of conceiving how pillars of any kind should be able to withstand the violence of the deluge, without being defaced, besides, that no other historian, who has wrote of the affairs of Egypt, has once made mention of these pillars, and that Diodorus (who lived since the time of Manetho) never once quotes him as an author of any credit; there is, in truth, very little in his dynasties, besides names and numbers, except it be now and then a story of the Nile's overflowing with honey, of the moon's growing bigger, of a speaking lamb, and seven kings who successively reigned as many days, one king only a day; and such other strange and romantic accounts, as are enough to invalidate the authority of any writer.

The Chinese at present are very ambitious to be thought an ancient people, and would make us believe, that they can reckon up successions of kings and their reigns, for several thousand years before the beginning of the world assigned by Moses; but besides that, (*f*) the character which writers (who have lived among them) do generally give that nation, *viz.* That they are men of a trifling and credulous curiosity, addicted to search after the philosopher's stone, and a medicine to make them immortal; and whatever advantage their situation and political maxims have given them, are far from being so learned, or so accurate in point of any science, as the Europeans: It is plain, from all accounts, that their antiquities reach no higher than the times of Fohi; for Fohi was their first king, and his age coincides with that of Noah: So that upon the whole, we have good reason to question the authenticity of those annals which relate such fabulous things, as the sun's not setting for ten days, and the clouds raining gold for three days together. But of what antiquity soever their first writers might be, it is certain, that since the time of Hoan-ti, their XIth emperor, who, about 200 years before Christ, ordered (upon pain of death) all the monuments of antiquity, whether historical or philosophical, to be destroyed; there is little or no credit to be given to the books which they produce: and though they make mighty boasts of the date and perfection of such volumes as they pretend escaped the common wreck; yet if we may credit the testimony of persons who made it their particular business

Of the Chinese.

(*f*) Vid. Le Compté's memoirs, and Bianchini's hist. univers. (when

(when among them) to inquire, they have not any one copy, in an intelligible character, above 2000 years old.

And Grecians refuted.

The Grecians of old were so very great pretenders to antiquity, that they scorned to have any father or founder of their nation assigned them; and therefore they affected to be called *Aborigines, et Genuini Terræ*, the eldest sons of the earth, if not coeval with it: and yet if we look into the date of their historians, we shall find, that none of them exceeded the times of Cyrus and Cambyfes (g), about 550 ears before Christ; that several of their ancient writers have left nothing behind them, but barely their names; and that even from those whose works have descended to us, we have no account of any historical facts, older than the Persian war. Herodotus (who wrote a little more than 400 years before Christ) is called by Cicero the *Father of history*, as being the eldest Greek historian that we have extant; and yet when he pretends to relate the origin of any nation, or transactions of any considerable distance, he is forced to intersperse many fabulous reports which himself seems not to believe; and for this reason, some imagine it a point of modesty and ingenuity in him, that he calls the books of his history by the names of the *Muses*, on purpose to let his readers know, that they were not to look for mere history in them, but a mixture of such relations, as (though not strictly true) would nevertheless please and entertain them. However this be, it is certain, that Thucydides, in the very entrance of his history, not only confesses, but largely asserts the impossibility of giving any competent account of the times which preceded the Peloponnesian war; and therefore we find Plutarch, who ventured no farther back than the times of (b) Theseus, (a little before the ministry of Samuel), justly observing, that, “as historians, in their geographical descriptions of countries, crowd into the farthest parts of their maps, those places which they know nothing of, with some such remarks as these on the margin; all beyond is nothing but dry deserts, impassable mountains, frozen seas, and the like: So I may well say of the facts of history, that are farther off than the times of Theseus; all beyond is nothing but monstrous, and tragical fictions. There the poets, and there the inventors of fables dwell: nor is there any thing to be expected

(g) Vid. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. chap. 4. (b) Vid. the life of Theseus,

“worthy of credit, or what carries the least appearance of
“certainty.”

But now, whoever reads the Bible with care and impartiality, in the historical part of it, will find nothing fabulous or romantic; no computations of an immoderate size; no excursions into ages infinite and innumerable; no successions of monarchs, heroes, and demi-gods, for thousands of thousand generations. On the contrary, he will perceive, (i) that Moses, who was above a thousand years older than any historian we know of, (and upon that account deserves the greater credit), has fixed the beginning of time at a proper period, about 2433 years before his own birth; has given us a fair and authentic history of the origin and formation of the world, of the creation and introduction of the parents of all mankind, of the peopling the earth with inhabitants, and of the first institution of civil government; that he has given us the earliest account, not only of all useful callings and employments, such as gardening, husbandry, pasturage of cattle, &c. but of all the politer arts and sciences, such as poetry and music, history, geography, physic, anatomy, and philosophy of all kinds. In a word, he will perceive, that the sacred Bible is not only a record of all the most ancient learning, but a magazine of all learning whatever; and consequently, that he who desires to appear in the capacity of a scholar, either as a critic, a chronologer, an historian, an orator, a disputant, a lawyer, a statesman, a pleader, or a preacher, must not be unacquainted with this inexhaustible fund.

Another commendation of this most excellent book, is, that the language in which a great part of it is written, was the first and original language in the world; but then the question is, Which is the original? The writers who have handled this subject, have produced the several claims of the Hebrew, the Chaldean, the Syrian, and the Arabian: but as the arguments for the Syrian and Arabian are but few and trifling, the chief competition seems to lie between the Hebrew and Chaldean.

The Bible wrote in the first and original language.

Now it is natural to suppose, that a primitive language should be plain and easy; should consist of simple and uncompounded sounds; of as few parts of speech, and as few terminations in those parts as possible. (k) Moods and

(i) Edwards on the perfection of the Scriptures. (k) Shuckford's connection of sacred and profane history, vol. 1. lib. 2.

tenses, numbers, and persons in verbs, and the different cases in nouns, we may well imagine were the improvements of art and study, and not any first essay or original production; and in this respect we cannot but conceive, that the Hebrew tongue (I mean as it stands in our Bible, and not as the Rabbins have enlarged it) bids fair for the precedency. Its radical words (which are (*l*) not many) consist generally of three letters, or two syllables at the most. Its nouns are not declined by different cases, nor are its numbers distinguished by different terminations (as the Latin or Greek are), but by (*m*) the addition of a short syllable in the dual and plural, which at the same time denominates the gender. The gender is likewise included in the verb, which prevents the necessity of having many pronouns; and by varying its conjugations, (which are seldom irregular), it has the less use for auxiliary verbs. Add to this, that the Hebrews use seldom any vowels in writing; have no compound nouns or verbs; few prepositions, few adjectives, no comparatives or superlatives; no great number of conjugations; but two moods, two tenses; no gerunds, no supines; and of particles of all kinds far from many; and then we can hardly conceive a language more simple and easy, more short and expressive than theirs.

The pre-
tences of
the Chinese
and Chal-
dee.

Upon this account some of late have imagined, that the Chinese might possibly be the first original language of mankind: for besides that Noah very probably settled in these parts, its words are, even now, very few, not above twelve hundred; its nouns are but three hundred and twenty-six, and all its words confessedly monosyllables; so that whatever the original of this tongue was, it seems very likely to have been the first that was planted in the country: for though it is natural to think, that mankind might begin to form single sounds at first, and afterwards come to enlarge their speech by doubling and redoubling them; yet it is not to be imagined, that if men had first known the copiousness of expression arising from words of more syllables than one, they would ever have reduced their language to its primitive monosyllables. But since we have not a sufficient knowledge of this language to make a competent judgment of it, we must waive its pretensions for the present.

The Chaldee, it must be owned, has a great many marks of this original simplicity in it: but then, what give the

(*l*) About five hundred. (*m*) *Im* is added to the plural in nouns masculine; and *oth* in such as are feminine.

Hebrew a farther claim to priority, are certain proper names of persons mentioned before the flood, such as (*n*) Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, Seth, &c.; of ancient countries, such as (*o*) Lydia, Assyria, &c.; of ancient Heathen Gods, such as (*p*) Saturn, Jupiter, Belus, Vulcan, &c.; of several kinds of animals, and musical instruments; and in short of mountains, rivers, cities, and places, which derive their etymology, or right signification, from this tongue only; as Bochart, with an immense deal of oriental learning, has abundantly proved.

There are other learned men however, who being will-The He-
brew and
Chaldee
perhaps or-
iginally
the same.ing to compromise the matter between the two languages, (the Hebrew and Chaldee) are apt to fancy, (*q*) that if any one would be at the pains to examine them strictly, and to take from each what may reasonably be supposed to be improvements made since their original, he will find the Chaldee and Hebrew tongues to have been at first the same. However that be, it is certain, that those who maintain the perpetuity of the same tongue from Adam to Moses, do assert, that before the confusion of Babel, there was but one universal language among all the nations upon the earth; that this very language (even after the confusion) was continued in its purity, in the family of Seth and Heber, from whom it had its name, and from whom Abraham, the *father of the faithful*, descended; that Abraham, notwithstanding his intercourse with other nations, still preserved this primitive tongue; and his descendents, notwithstanding their sojourning in the land of Egypt, were under no temptation to corrupt it, because they lived separately and by themselves in the land of Goshen, until the ministry of Moses. And if this be a true descent of the tongue, then we are sure, that the Pentateuch, and other books of the Old Testament, were all wrote (except some portions after the Babylonish captivity) in the same sacred primæval language, which God himself spake, which he taught our first parents, and wherein all the patriarchs, and worthies of old among his chosen people, were known to converse.

(*n*) Thus the word *Adam* comes from the Hebrew *Adamah*, which signifies *earth*; *Eve*, or *Cheva*, from *Chiah*, *life*; *Cain* from *Canah*, to *possess*; *Abel* signifies *vanity*; and *Seth* from *Skath*, to *substitute*. (*c*) Thus *Lydia* from *Lud*; *Assyria* from *Assur*. (*p*) Thus *Saturn* from *Satar*, to *hid one's self*; *Jupiter* from *Jehova*; *Belus* from *Baal*; and *Vulcan* from *Tubal-Cain*. (*q*) Vid. Shuckford's connection, vol. 1. lib. 2.

In a word, (*r*) the conciseness, simplicity, energy, and fertility of the Hebrew tongue; the relation it has to the most ancient oriental languages, which seem to derive their origin from it; the etymology of the names whereby the first of mankind were called, and the names of animals, which are all significant in the Hebrew tongue, and describe the nature and property of these very animals; characters not to be found in any other language, and yet all meeting together in this, do raise a prejudice very much in favour of its primacy; and this certainly is no small commendation of the Bible, that it comprises the compass of a language which is the most ancient, and (as some think) the most excellent in the world, and no where else to be found. If any critics or grammarians could say the like concerning the Greek or Latin tongue, *viz.* that there is a certain book wherein either of these, in its first purity, is wholly contained, they would be very lavish in their encomiums of it, and the prelation of it to all other volumes whatever would not want a proper display.

The great respect shewn to the Bible,

And indeed, whatever the merry scoffers of this age, or the graver lovers of sin and singularity may think, it is certain, that in former days men of all orders and degrees, of the highest station in life, as well as capacity in knowledge, of polite parts, as well as solid judgments, and conversant in all human, as well as divine literature, have all along held the Scriptures in singular veneration; have employed their wit and eloquence in setting forth their praise; and not only thought their pens, but poetry itself, ennobled by the dignity of such a subject.

by persons of the highest rank,

David, in his time, was a considerable prince, a mighty warrior, and subduer of the nations that were round him; and yet his living in a military way made him no despiser of the Scriptures: for observe what a beautiful panegyric he has given us barely of that part which we call the Pentateuch: (*s*) *The law of the Lord is an undefiled law, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple; the statutes of the Lord are right, and rejoice the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth light unto the eyes; the judgments of the Lord are true, and righteous altogether: more to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold; sweeter also than the honey and the honey comb. Moreo-*

(*r*) Calmet's dictionary. (*s*) Psal. xix. 7. &c.

ver, by them is thy servant taught, and in keeping of them there is great reward.

Ptolomy Philadelphus was one of the greatest monarchs in his age: he had large armies, fine fleets, vast magazines of warlike stores, and (what was peculiar in his character) he was a person of extensive learning himself, and the generous encourager of all liberal sciences, and so great a collector of books, that in one library at Alexandria he had four hundred thousand volumes; and yet, as if he could not be at ease, nor think his collection compleat, without the Bible (*t*), he sent for an authentic copy from Jerusalem, and for a number of learned men to make a translation of it in the Greek tongue, for which he plentifully rewarded them: which puts me in mind of Mr Selden, one of the greatest scholars and antiquaries of his age, and who, in like manner, made vast amassments of books and manuscripts from all parts of the world, (a library perhaps not to be equalled, on all accounts, in the universe), as he was holding a serious conference with Archbishop Usher, a little before he died, he professed to him, that (*u*) *notwithstanding he had possessed himself of such a vast treasure of books and manuscripts on all ancient subjects, yet he could rest his soul on none but the Scriptures.*

St. Paul was doubtless a good scholar, as well as a good Christian, and his knowledge in polite literature is distinguishable by the several citations which he makes of the ancient Heathen poets: and yet he is not ashamed to give us this character of the Bible: (*x*) *All scripture is given by the inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.* Which calls to my remembrance what (*y*) another great man of our nation, in a letter to one of his sons, declares; “I have been acquainted somewhat (says he) with men and books: I have had long experience in learning, and in the world: there is no book like the Bible for excellent learning, wisdom, and use; and it is want of understanding in them who think or speak otherwise.”

Longinus, the world must own, was a competent judge of all kind of eloquence. His little book on the subject, though impaired by the injury of time, has given us

(*t*) *Vid.* Prideaux's connection, part 2. l. 2. p. 110. (*u*) In his life. (*x*) 2 Tim. iii. 16. (*y*) *Judge Halec.*

specimen enough of his exquisite taste that way; and yet, though he was an Heathen, he *gives honour where honour is due*, and seems to praise and admire the true sublime of Moses more than that of any other author he quotes.

Tertullian (if we will think no worse of him for being one of the fathers of the church) was an excellent orator, a great philologist, and an acute reasoner; and yet we find him (z) *adoring the plenitude of the Scripture*. The noble Picus Mirandula was the best linguist and scholar of his age; and yet, after he had run through innumerable volumes, “he rested in the Bible, (as he tells us), as the only “book wherein he had found out the true eloquence and “wisdom.” And therefore is was no wild rant, but a sentence proceeding from mature judgment, that of Robert, king of Sicily, to Fran. Petrarca: “I tell thee, my Petrarca, “those holy letters are dearer to me than my kingdom; “and, were I under necessity of quitting one, it should “be my diadem.”

We need less wonder then, that we find our profound logician, Mr Locke, declaring, that (a) “the little satisfaction and consistency he found in most of the systems “of divinity, made him betake himself to the sole reading “of the Scripture, which he thought worthy of a diligent “and unbiassed search:” That we find our religious philosopher, Mr. Boyle, (as well as the learned Grotius) asserting the propriety and elegance of the sacred style; and our incomparable Newton (b) giving the preference to Scripture chronology, above that of the Egyptians, Greeks, Chaldeans, or any other nation whatever: That we find, I say, some persons of the most sparkling wit and fancy discanting either on the sacred history of the Bible, or on some divine matters contained in it; a Milton taking the whole plan, and a great part of the very diction of his lofty poem thence; a Cowley, embellishing the story of King David; a Buchanan, rendering his psalms in Latin verse, and in English; a Prior, paraphrasing on the Ecclesiastes of his son. Which manifestly shews, that some of the greatest personages in the world, the most noble and refined wits, the most knowing and judicious heads, have bore the greatest esteem for the Holy Scriptures, and not thought their learning or ingenuity misemployed in their service. And this will give us occasion to inquire a little into some of the principal versions and expositions that have been made of them.

(z) Lib. adver. Hermogenem.
his Reasonableness of Christianity.
& ancient kingdoms amended, *passim*.

(a) Jenkins's Preface to
(b) *Vid.* his Chronology

Now the (c) first and principal version we have of the Holy Scriptures, is that which we call the *Septuagint*, from the 70, or 72 interpreters, which Ptolemy Philadelphus (as we said before) employed in the work. For about the year of the world 3727, he being very intent on making a great library at Alexandria, committed the care of that matter to Demetrius Phalerius, a nobleman of Athens, and who at that time was his librarian. Demetrius, pursuant to the King's order, made diligent search every where; and being informed, that among the Jews there was a book of great note, called *The Law of Moses*, he acquainted the King with it; hereupon the King sent to Eleazar, the high priest, requesting him to send an authentic copy thereof, and (because he was ignorant of the Hebrew tongue) to send withal some men of sufficient capacity to translate it into Greek. The messengers who went upon this errand, and carried with them many rich presents for the temple, when they came to Jerusalem, were received with great honour and respect, both by the high-priest and all the people; and having received a copy of *The Law of Moses*, and six elders out of each tribe (*i. e.* seventy-two in all) to translate it, returned to Alexandria. Upon their arrival, the elders, by the King's appointment, betook themselves to the work, and first translated the Pentateuch, and (not long after) the rest of the Old Testament, into Greek. This is the substance of Aristeas's history; but herein he has intermixed so many strange and incredible things, that (d) many learned men have been inclined to think the whole

The Septuagint version.

of

(c) The other Greek translations by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodocian, are now lost, except only some fragments of them which still remain.

(d) *Vid.* Du Pin's history of the canon, &c. F. Simon's critical history of the Old Testament; Dr Hoddy *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus*; Dr Prideaux's connection of the Old and New Testament, &c.: and the reasons they give for their supposing the whole to be a fiction, are such as these. 1. That Aristeas, who pretends to be an Heathen Greek, speaks all along as a Jew, and (what is more) makes all the parties concerned speak in the same manner. 2. That by the seventy-two elders sent for from Alexandria to Jerusalem, it looks like a Jewish invention, framed with respect to their Sanhedrim, which consisted of that number. 3. That the dislike of the Hebrew tongue, and the little acquaintance the Jews had with the Greek, make it incredible that there should be found six men in each

tribe

of it a mere fiction, contrived by the Hellenistical Jews of Alexandria, on purpose to give the more sanction and authority to this translation, whose true original they relate to be thus. — Upon the building of Alexandria, and encouragement given to other nations (as well as Greeks and Macedonians) to come and inhabit it, great multitudes of Jews resorted thither. In process of time, they made a considerable part of the city; and by degrees so accustomed themselves to speak the Greek language, that they forgot their own; and were thereupon obliged to have the Scriptures translated into Greek, both for their private use and public service. It was the custom at that time to read the Pentateuch only in the synagogues; and therefore this was the first part of the Scriptures which they translated. In the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, the prophets were introduced, and then they were under a necessity of translating them likewise; (e) and in a short time after, some private men might turn the rest of the books (which they call the *Hagiographa*) into the Greek language; and thus the whole version, which, from the fable of Aristeas, goes under the name of *the Septuagint*, came to be completed. However this be, it is certain that this translation, as soon as it was finished, was held in esteem and veneration, almost equal

tribe capable of this performance. 4. That the questions which Ptolemy put to the interpreters, and the answers which they returned him, carry with them an air of fiction. 5. That the letters of gold, in which the law was written, the island Pharos, and the cells appointed for the interpreters, their marvelous agreement in every point, and their wonderful dispatch in finishing the whole in seventy-two days, are much of the same cast. And 6. That the prodigious sum which Ptolemy is said to advance, in order to procure this version, in money, in plate, in precious stones, and presents, &c. to the amount of about two millions Sterling, together with many more absurdities and contradictions occurring in the history, is enough to prove it an idle story and romance, without any other foundation, except, that in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, such a version of the law of Moses into the Greek language was made by the Jews of Alexandria; Prideaux's connection, part 2. l. 1.

(e) That this translation was made at different times, and by different persons, the various styles in which the several books are found written, the many ways in which the same Hebrew words, and the same Hebrew things are translated, in different places, and the greater accuracy to be observed in the translation of some books than of others, are a full demonstration; Prideaux, *ib.*

to the original, and was not only used by the Jews in their dispersion through the Grecian cities, but approved by the Grand Sanhedrim at Jerufalem, and always quoted and referred to by our Saviour and his apostles, whenever they made an appeal to the Holy Scriptures.

It is true indeed, (and what every common reader may observe), that there is frequently a manifest difference between this version and the Hebrew text: but the difference may well enough be accounted for, if we will but allow, that the vowels or points in the Hebrew tongue might possibly then not be in use; that the same words in Hebrew are known to have different significations, which may give the translation a sense different from the original; that the translators themselves sometimes take a greater latitude, and render a passage not literally, but paraphrastically; that at other times they insert a word or two by way of explanation, which are not directly in the text, and perhaps now and then omit a word in the original, which they thought was sufficiently supplied by the emphasis of their Greek expression. These considerations, together with the known ignorance and negligence of transcribers, will account for the difference, if not for the errors and mistakes which occur in the translation. For that the translators themselves did wilfully misinterpret the Hebrew text, is a notion that cannot, with any justice, be admitted, considering that they had no manner of temptation so to do. I should rather think, that if there should be any dangerous corruptions in the Greek copies, (*f*) they were made after the coming of our Saviour, and when the Jews had utterly rejected him as an impostor; that the Jewish doctors having got together a sufficient number of these copies, might make in them (what they could not so well do in the Hebrew text) such alterations as they thought proper, in order to justify their infidelity; and that in all probability they did then curtail some prophecies (*g*)

The reasons of its differing from the Hebrew text;

(*f*) Mr Whiston, in his *Literal accomplishment of Scripture prophecy, and Collection of authentic records belonging to the Old and New Testament*, has abundantly shewn, that several texts have been altered, and prophecies dislocated by the Jews in the Old Testament. (*g*) Thus Dr Lightfoot observes, that in Isa. ix. 6. instead of these five names of Christ, *Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace*, there is only inserted, *the Angel of the great Counsel; in Proem. super Quæst in Gen.*

(as we find they are curtailed in the Greek version) relating to the divinity of the Messias; and having changed the chronology of the LXX, by adding 1400 years to the account, cunningly dispersed them among the long lives of the antediluvian patriarchs, in order to make it believed, that Jesus of Nazareth, whom they crucified, was not the true Messias, but that the time of his appearance was passed and gone (as some of them still assert) a long tract of years before the Christian æra.

and how
we ought to
receive it.

The result then of all this is — that we ought to have that respect and esteem for the LXX's version which it deserves; not wholly reject it, because most of its errors and faults proceed from the mere mistaking of vowels; from the ambiguity of words; from the liberty which the translators took of paraphrasing; and from the neglect of transcribers: but on the other hand, not wholly embrace it, but rather read it with candour and caution; with caution, because it has fallen into ill hands, and has met with some designing men, who have done their utmost to corrupt it: and with candour, because it is the oldest Greek translation of the Bible; has been made use of by the sacred penmen of the New Testament; is conducive to our better understanding the sense of the Hebrew; and as to its disagreement therewith, may, in a great measure, admit of a reconciliation.

The Chal-
dee para-
phrases,
and why
made.

Of all the translations which are in the oriental languages, (*b*) the Chaldee is of the greatest esteem and reputation among the learned. It is called, by way of eminence, the *Targum*: for as the word *targum* in Chaldee signifies in general *an interpretation*, or version of one language into another; so by the Jews it is appropriated to those paraphrases which go under the names of *Onkelos*, *Jonathan*, *Joseph*, &c. The use of these targums was to instruct the vulgar Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity: for (*i*) though many of the better sort retained the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue during that captivity, and taught it their children; and the Holy Scriptures, which were delivered after that time (excepting only some parts of Daniel and Ezra, and one verse in Jere-

(*b*) Besides this, there are other oriental versions, *viz* the Syriac, which is looked upon as genuine and faithful; the Arabic, which is neither of any great antiquity or authority; and several others. (*i*) *Vid.* Prideaux's Connection, and Edwards on the Excellence of Scripture.

miah) were all written therein; yet the common people, by having so long conversed with the Babylonians, learned their language, and forgot their own: and therefore, that they might have the Bible in a language which they understood, there were several targums, at several times, made by different persons, and on different parts of Scripture.

The *targum* of *Onkelos*, because it comes up nearest to the standard of the Chaldee, (which is only perfect in the books of Daniel and Ezra), is thought by some the most ancient; but others give the preference, in point of antiquity, to that of Jonathan, whom they place about thirty years before Christ, under the reign of Herod the Great. Its author is reputed to have lived much about our Saviour's time; and as he undertook to translate the Pentateuch only, so has he rendered it word for word, and, for the most part, very accurately and exactly.

That of *Jonathan*, son of *Uzziel*, which takes in the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the minor prophets, has the like purity of style; but then it is quite different in the manner of its composition: for, instead of being a strict version, it is in many places very lax and paraphrastical, and, especially in the prophets, full of such comments, glosses, and allegories, as do not at all commend the work.

That which goes under the name of *Joseph*, furnamed *The Blind*, comprehends the other parts of Scripture called the *Hagiographa*; such as the book of Psalms, of Job, Esther, Proverbs, &c.; but this, and the rest of the targums, are so barbarous in their style, so full of mistakes, and so loaded with fables, that (k) they seem to be the compositions of some later Talmudists, rather than of any ancient paraphrast. To mention but one more, that of *Jerusalem* is only upon the Pentateuch, and (l) yet it is far from being perfect: for in it whole verses are frequently wanting; some are transposed, and others mutilated, which has made many of opinion, that it is no more than a fragment of some ancient paraphrase which is now lost.

The truth is, the only writings of this kind which the Jews have reason to value themselves upon, are those of Onkelos and Jonathan, and with these they are so situated, that they hold them to be of the same authority with the sacred text; and, for the support of this opinion, pre-

(k) *Vid.* Prideaux's *Connect.* part 2. lib. 8. p. 771.

(l) *Vid.* Calmet's *Dictionary* on the word *Targum*.

tend to derive them from the same fountain. For they say, “ That when God delivered the written law to Moses upon Mount Sinai, he delivered with it, at the same time, the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos; and that, when by his Holy Spirit he dictated to the prophets the Scriptures of the prophetic books, he delivered severally to them the targum of Jonathan upon each book at the same time; and that both these targums were delivered down by tradition through such faithful hands as God, by his providence, had appointed; the first from Moses, and the other from the prophets themselves; till at last, through this chain of traditional descent, they came down to the hands of Onkelos and Jonathan, who did nothing more to them than only put them into writing.”

How romantic soever this account may be, yet we are not to run into a contrary extreme, and think that these paraphrases are of no significance to us; since it is obvious, that they cannot fail of explaining many words and phrases in the Hebrew original, which will conduce to our better understanding of those scriptures on which they are wrote; and to hand down to us many of the customs and usages of the Jews in vogue in our Saviour’s days, and thereby help us to illustrate many obscure passages which occur in the New Testament, as well as the Old.

Of the ancient Latin and vulgar translations;

The Latin translations of the Bible, (*m*) even in St. Austin’s time, were almost innumerable; but these were all made from the Septuagint, and not from the Hebrew, until St. Jerom (who was well versed in that language) observing the errors of the many Latin translations, and their frequent disagreement with the original, undertook a new one; and with great care and exactness translated from the Hebrew all the Old Testament, except the Psalms, which being sung in the church in the old Latin or Italian version, could not be changed without giving the people some offence. St. Jerom’s translation, however, was not so universally received, but that some bishops (who were not so well acquainted with the Hebrew) absolutely rejected it; whilst others, who were better judges, and saw its conformity to the original, readily embraced it. During the time of this division, both translations were read in public, *i. e.* some books in St. Jerom’s version, and some

(*m*) Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam vertent, numerari possunt; Latini autem interpretes nullo modo; Aug. *De doct. Christi, lib. 2. cap. 11.*

in the Italian, till at length another, which was composed of both, and is called by the Romanists, *Vetus et vulgata*, was thought more correct than either, and accordingly gained the ascendant.

The Romanists would make us believe, that this translation, which they so highly extol, is the very same with St Jerom's; and that whatever variations may be perceived in it, they were occasioned by the force of time, and the negligence of transcribers. However this be, it cannot be denied, but that it has several considerable faults; that it leaves the original very often, and sometimes runs contrary to it; that it frequently follows the Septuagint, or the Chaldee paraphrase; that it abounds with barbarous words; with many places where its sense is corrupted, and in some quite lost: and yet (*n*) the Council of Trent thought fit to ordain and declare, "That the same ancient
" and vulgar version, which has been approved of, and
" used in the church for many ages past, shall be considered as the authentic version in all public lectures,
" disputes, sermons, and expositions, which no body
" shall presume to reject, under what pretence soever." A decree, which (*o*) the authors of that communion are forced to apologize for, by saying, that the Council did not intend thereby to restrain interpreters from consulting the Hebrew, and upon all occasions from rectifying that very translation by the original text; did not intend to compare that translation with the originals, either Hebrew or Greek, but only with the other translations that were then extant; did not intend to pronounce it absolutely perfect, and free from all errors, but only preferable to any other, and proper enough to be declared authentic, if it was but morally consonant to its original.

But whatever the merit or authority of this translation formerly was, not long after the year 1500, there arose several learned men, well skilled in languages, who seeing the corruptions that were in this, as well as other Latin versions, and comparing them with the originals, endeavoured to correct them from these fountains. In the Roman communion, those of the best note, were Ximenius, archbishop of Toledo, who gave us the first polyglot Bible; Sanct. Pagninus, a Dominican monk, who, in his translation, is a rigid observer of the original text, but some-

(*n*) Sess. 4. (*o*) Du Pin on the canon, and Father Simon's Critical history.

what obscure; Malvenda, another Dominican, who is grammatical enough, but both obscure and barbarous; Cardinal Cajetan, who is literal, without obscurity; the renowned Erasmus, whose version of the New Testament, in all respects, is justly commended; and of the Reformed religion, the most remarkable, are Sebastian Munster, a German, who renders the Hebrew text very closely and exactly; Leo Juda, a Zuinglian, who indulges a kind of paraphrase, to make the sense more obvious; Castalio, who wrote in a neat and elegant, but, as some think, too florid and affected a style; Theodore Beza, who has translated the New Testament with good success; and Junius and Tremellius, who, with a true and natural simplicity, did both of them jointly translate the Old Testament out of the Hebrew, and Tremellius alone, the New Testament out of the Syriac.

and their
use.

These are most of the later versions of the Bible which, more or less, have amended the faults of the vulgar Latin, and brought us nearer to the original. Upon the whole, therefore, we may conclude, that these several learned translators are all of them, in their kinds, very useful; some, by keeping close to the original, and others, by using a latitude. In the main, they have presented us (tho' in a different style and manner) with the true and genuine meaning of the text: "But wheresoever the Latin translators disagree," (says a great man (*p*) of the Roman communion, and himself an able translator), "or a reading is thought to be corrupted, we must repair to the original, in which the Scriptures were wrote: so that the truth and sincerity of the translators of the Old Testament must be examined by the Hebrew copies; and of the New, by the Greek ones."

The Eng-
lish transla-
tions.

As soon as the reformation began to appear in England, several editions of the Old and New Testament were published in our tongue. In the year 1527, Tindal translated the Pentateuch and the New Testament, and afterwards, both he and Coverdale joined in the work, and finished the translation of the whole Bible; which being revised by Matthews, about ten years after, was reprinted. But it had not long been reprinted, before Henry VIII. forbade the sale of that, and every other English translation; and at the same time, ordered Tunstal, bishop of Durham, and Heath, bishop of Rochester, to make a new one, which was published in the year 1541: when, being displea-

(*p*) Cardinal Ximenius in his preface to Pope Leo.

fed with that likewise, he forbad all English translations whatever; so that, during his reign, no one was permitted to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, without a proper license. In the reign of Edward VI. the editions of Tindal and Tunstal were revived: but as the life of that prince was but short, upon Queen Mary's succession to the throne, a violent persecution arose, and all English translations (as being done by Protestants, and thought injurious to the Roman cause) were utterly suppressed. During this reign, some Calvinists, who had fled for shelter to Geneva, made a new English translation of the Bible, according to the Geneva form, which was published in that city as soon as finished, but not in London until the year 1598. Many passages in this version were made to favour the Presbyterian cause; and therefore those of the Episcopal party, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, endeavoured to get it suppressed: but not being able to accomplish their design, Archbishop Parker, in conjunction with several other bishops, made another translation in opposition to it. This is usually called the *Bishops Bible*, or *translation*. It was made according to the Hebrew of the Old, and the Greek of the New Testament; but because, in many places, it receded from the Hebrew original, to come nearer to the Septuagint, it was not so well approved by King James I.; and therefore he ordered a new one to be made, which might be more conformable to the Hebrew text.

This is the translation which we read in our churches at this day; only the old version of the Psalms (as it is called) which was made by Bishop Tunstal, is still retained in our public liturgy: and though it cannot be denied, that this translation, especially taking along with it the marginal notes, (which are oftentimes of great service to explain difficult passages), is one of the most perfect in its kind; yet I hope it will be no detraction to its merit, nor any diminution of the authority of the Holy Scriptures, to wish, that such as are invested with a proper authority, would appoint a regular revival of it, that where it is faulty, it may be amended; where difficult, rendered more plain; where obscure, cleared up; and, in all points, made as obvious as possible to the apprehension of the meanest reader.

The learned indeed may better dispense with a less perfect version. They know that there are faults in some copies, which must be rectified; sometimes a transposition

The translation in present use.

Rules for interpreting scripture.

of

of terms, which must be replaced in their proper order; and many times various readings, some of which, for several reasons, are to be preferred before others. They know that there is a literal sense and a figurative, which must not be confounded; some propositions, which seem negative, and yet are to be taken interrogatively or affirmatively; and some parentheses, which darken the sense, unless they are more distinctly marked, than they commonly are in most translations. They know, that the different pointing of the same Hebrew words gives them quite different senses; that the signification of the Hebrew verb changes according to its conjugation; that there are certain allusions to such customs and usages as explain many difficulties; and several ways of speaking among the Jews, and other eastern nations, which must be adjusted to our ideas. They know, that there are general expressions, which must be restrained to the particular subject in hand, and that the different circumstances of the subject, the connection with what goes before and after, and design of the author, must often determine the meaning.

The defects of our present translation.

These, and many more rules of interpretation, are not unknown to the learned: but the common people, who are no less concerned to know the will of God, are entirely ignorant in this respect; and therefore, if a version be defective in several of these particulars, (as those who have examined ours with observation, are forced to acknowledge that it is), if, when the original is figurative, our translators, in several places, have expressed it in a way not accommodated to our present notions of things, when they might have done it with the same propriety: if, when there is an ambiguity in any word or phrase, they have frequently taken it in a wrong sense; and for want of attending to the transposition or context, have run into some errors, and many times unintelligible diction: if they have committed palpable mistakes in the names of cities and countries, of weights and measures, of fruits and trees, and several of the animals which the Scripture mentions: and, lastly, if, by misapprehending the nature of a proposition, whether it be negative or affirmative, or the tense of a verb, whether past or future, they have fallen upon a sense, in a manner, quite opposite to the original; and, by not attending to some oriental customs, or forms of speech, have represented matters in a dress quite foreign to the English dialect: if in these, and such like instances, I say, our translators have made such mistakes, the people, who

who know not how to rectify them, must be misled; and therefore, to prevent the danger of this, we will instance a little in one or two of the most obvious of them.

Few or none, I hope, are so grossly ignorant, as to think that God has a body like unto ours, though the Scripture attributes *eyes, hands, mouth, bowels, &c.* to him; but yet, since people are ready to receive wrong notions by these, and such like figurative expressions, and since our language has words in abundance whereby to express them in a proper sense, it seems more reasonable, that when the original speaks of God's *hand*, it should be translated God's *power*; his *eyes*, his *care* and *providence*; his *mouth*, his *order* and *commandments*; his *bowels*, his most *tender compassions*, &c.

The Scriptures, we may observe, frequently call cities, kingdoms, and their inhabitants, by the same names with their kings or founders: but certainly a version (if it is designed to be understood) should distinguish them exactly. Thus, the name of *Asser*, when it signifies the son of *Shem*, should be kept in the translation; but when it signifies his *country*, it should be rendered *Assyria*; and when the *inhabitants* of the country, it should be translated *Assyrians*: but this rule of distinction our interpreters, to the great confusion of the reader, have not observed.

Prodigals divert themselves much with that quaint advice of Solomon, (as they call it), (q) *Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days*: but would they only observe, that the Hebrew word *Lechem* not only signifies *bread*, but likewise *wheat*, whereof it is made; and that the word *majim* not only denotes *waters*, but also *ground that is moist*, or lies near the waters; they might easily perceive, that the sense of the text is,—*Throw thy grain into moist ground, and, in process of time, thou shalt find it again.*

The profane do likewise abuse another wholesome precept of Solomon, (r) *Be not righteous over much, neither make thyself over wise*, as if a man can be too righteous, or too wise: whereas, would they but consider, that Solomon is here speaking of that justice which a man is to exercise towards others, (as the context plainly shews), they could not but perceive the propriety of this interpretation; —*Do not exercise justice too rigorously, neither set up for a man of too great wisdom.*

(q) Ecclef. xi. 1.

(r) Chap. vii. 16.

Some parents are so very severe and cruel to their children, as to observe no bounds in their correcting them; and they may possibly ground their severity upon this text, (s) *Chasten thy son while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare for his crying*; but had they any tolerable skill in the Hebrew tongue, they would soon see, that the latter part of the verse should be thus rendered; — *But suffer not thyself to be transported so, as to cause him to die.*

It is a strange kind of blessing that which God gives to the tribe of *Asser*, as our translators have ordered it; (t) *Thy shoes shall be iron and brass, and as thy days, so shall thy strength be*; but had they considered, that the Hebrew word *mineal* never signifies a *shoe* in Scripture, but only a *bolt* or *bar*; and that the word which they render *strength*, equally denotes *peace* or *rest*; they would have made better sense of the blessing thus: — *Thy bolts shall be of iron and brass, and thou shalt have peace in thy days.*

It is a text of much obscurity, and hardly consistent with decency, to say, (u) *Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast out my shoe, Philistia be thou glad of me*: but now, (x) considering that the word which is rendered *wash-pot*, is employed to express the lowest degree of servitude; and what is rendered a *shoe*, signifies often a *chain*, and so implies a state of *slavery* and *bondage*; there is a spirit and dignity in the words thus rendered, — *I will reduce the Moabites to the vilest servitude, I will also triumph over the Edomites, and make them my slaves, and the Philistines shall add to my triumph.*

To name but one more, it would seem, at this day, not very decent, to see a man go naked; and especially if he pretended to a divine mission, most sober people would conclude him lunatic: and therefore when *Isaiah* is said to have (y) *walked three years naked and barefoot, for a sign and a wonder upon Egypt, and upon Ethiopia*, we must either suppose that this was (z) only acted in vision, (as several other things recorded of the prophets were), or that all the while he went only without his upper garment, (enough to denominate him *naked*), but wore his other cloaths as usual; “For far be it from God (says (a) *Maimonides*) to make his prophets ridiculous, or to prescribe

(s) Prov. xix. 18. (t) Deut. xxxiii. 25. (u) Psal. lx. 8.
 (x) Essay for a new translation. (y) Isa. xx. 3. (z) Vid.
 Smith's select discourses. (a) More Nev. part 2. chap. 46.

“ them such actions, as must of course denote them fools
 “ and madmen.”

These are some of the places wherein our translators How to make a new or better translation. have been manifestly faulty; and I mention it again, that I have produced these, not with any sinister design, but purely to clear the sacred oracles from a censure which the negligence of their interpreters may have possibly brought upon them; and to shew the world, that the call for a new, at least a more perfect translation, is neither groundless nor unreasonable: but then, the question is, how must this project be put in execution? or, who is the person sufficient for such a work? My reply to those who make this inquiry, must be in the sense of such, (b) as have made it the subject of their most mature deliberation, and have thereupon thought, that a new English version might be composed out of our last edition, if improved with such alterations and amendments, as might make the style and sense, in many places, more accurate, and accommodate the whole to the taste of the most curious reader: but then they assert, that the person who is to attempt this, or another translation perfectly new, must have a competent knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, and be daily conversant in reading the Scriptures, in order to make their phrase and style, and manner of arguing, familiar to him: must be sufficiently acquainted with the Jewish, and other oriental rites and customs, their manners and schemes of diction, to which passages, almost in every page, do allude: must be sufficiently skilled in history, chronology, geography, &c.; in the proportion of weights and measures; in the names of plants and animals; and indeed of all arts and sciences, either expressed or referred to in the Scriptures: must be well versed in critical learning, in the best commentators, both ancient and modern; and especially in such writers as have given us rules and directions preparatory to their right interpretation: that, being thus qualified, he must take abundant care to have the text of the Bible (from whence he translates) duly established, by an exact collation of it with divers ancient copies, and ancient translations made from the original language: that he must be a perfect master of the

(b) Vid. Father Simon's critical history, l. 3.; Du Pin's history of the canon, l. 1. c. 10.; Dissert. De S. Script. interpret. per D. Whitby; An essay for a new translation of the Bible; and Edward's excellency of the Holy Scripture.

purity and elegance, the strength and whole compass of the language, whereinto he translates, (because, in the course of the work, he will have frequent occasion to try it all): that, in the main, he must keep close to the original text; but when the terms of the two languages are found incompatible, must consider the sense rather than the words of the original, if he would either do that or his own translation justice: that he must decline making use of Hebrew, or other exotic words, which, in a translation designed for common use, must needs be improper, as well as barbarous and unintelligible: must modernize a little (to make them more familiar) those words and forms of speech, which allude to ancient nations and customs; and (as some would have it) reduce the old geography, as well as weights and measures, and computations of all kinds, to the names and standards that are now in use: that when any equivocal word or phrase occurs, he must examine every sense, wherein it may be taken, and make choice of that which is most consonant to the author's design, and agrees best with the preceding and following discourse: that when any dark passage presents itself, he must consult those of the like import that are plainer; or (if none such there be) advise with the best commentators, and so determine; laying down this for a certain rule, that whenever a Scripture seems to express any thing contrary to right reason, it must admit of another meaning: and therefore, lastly, he must attend diligently to the different senses of Scripture, figurative and literal; watch narrowly when transpositions of words or phrases occur; when parentheses are wanting or redundant; and in what manner each chapter and verse is divided; because, upon a wrong disposition of these, much obscurity is known oftentimes to arise.

The division of the Scriptures into sections, chapters, and verses.

The division of the Pentateuch into sections was of so early a date, that the ancient Jews accounted it one of those constitutions which Moses received from God on Mount Sinai. The whole was divided into 54 sections, according to the number of their Sabbaths in a year; and on each Sabbath day, a different section was read, until the whole number was concluded. After the Babylonish captivity, (c) the common people had almost forgot their mother-tongue, and were therefore forced to have the Scriptures, when read to them on the Sabbath day, interpreted in Chaldee: and that the reader and interpreter might keep their

(c) Vid. Prideaux's connect. part. 1. l. 5.

proper periods, every pause was marked with two great points, which the Jews called *soph pasuck*, i. e. *the end of the verse*. In this manner the Jews divided their Scriptures into sections and verses; but the division of them into chapters, and numerical verses (as we have them now) is of a much later date.

Hugo de Sancto Caro, (commonly called *Hugo Cardinalis*), about the year 1240, being minded to write a commentary upon the Old Testament, found it necessary for his design, to invent a concordance; and to make the concordance more useful, he divided the books into shorter sections, than were in the Hebrew Bible; and these sections into subdivisions, the better to make his references. These sections are the chapters into which the Bible has ever since been divided; but the subdivisions were not marked by figures, (as are the verses with us), but by the capital letters, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, placed on the margin, in equal distances from each other. In this state the Scriptures continued, till about the year 1438, Rabbi Nathan, being in like manner to make a concordance in Hebrew, imitated Hugo in the division of the scriptural books into chapters; but instead of his capital letters, he took the old way of periods or verses, and distinguished them by numbers; a method which Vatablus first followed in his edition of the Latin Bible, and Robert Stevens in his of the Greek New Testament; which has ever since been of common use in every edition of the Holy Scriptures, whether in the learned or vulgar languages.

Thus we have taken a sufficient view both of the internal and external parts of the Holy Scriptures, of those of the Old Testament more especially; and the proper result of all our inquiry is, the putting in practice that wholesome advice, which our blessed Saviour gives the Jews; (*d*) *Search the scriptures, for in them you think* (and think with very great justice) *that you have eternal life*: and to facilitate that search, the design of the following sheets is,—by the help of analytic writers, to give the reader a plain and easy narrative of the historical parts of the Bible; by the assistance of the best critics and commentators, to explain difficult passages, and reconcile seeming contradictions; by the strength of reason and argument, to silence the cavils and objections which have given umbrage to profaneness and infidelity; and by these several means (if pos-

The design of the following work.

(d) John v. 39.

ſible) to retrieve the credit of the ſacred writings; to reclaim the heart of the unbeliever, and ſtop the mouth of the noiſy ſcoffer; to inſtruct the ignorant, confirm the weak and wavering, ſatisfy the curious and inquiſitive, and, in ſhort, convince every ſober and impartial inquirer of the truth and juſtice of the Pfalmiſt's prayer and ſentiment, (e) *Teach us, O Lord, the way of thy ſtatutes, and we ſhall keep it unto the end. Give us underſtanding, and we ſhall keep thy law; yea, we ſhall keep it with our whole heart; for great is the peace which they have, who love thy law, and are not offended at it. Amen.*

(e) Pſal. cxix. 33. 34. 165.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

AFTER so long an Apparatus, there will be less occasion to say much in the preface; and yet I thought it not improper to give the reader a little notice, from what motives it was that I have undertaken this work, and in what method I intend, with the blessing of God, to pursue it.

The Holy Bible itself, I readily grant, is, in a great measure, historical, and an history of an history may seem a solecism to those who do not sufficiently attend to the nature of these sacred writings, whose scope and method, and form of diction, are vastly different from any modern composition: wherein the idiom of the tongue in which it was penned, and the oriental customs to which it alludes, occasion much obscurity; the difference of time wherein it was wrote, and variety of authors concerned therein, a diversity of style, and frequent repetitions; the intermixture of other matters with what is properly historical, a seeming perplexity; the malice of foes, and negligence of scribes, frequent dislocations; and the defect of public records, (in the times of persecution), a long interruption of about four hundred years; to say nothing that this history relates to one nation only, and concerns itself no farther with the rest of mankind, than as they had some dealings and intercourse with them. Whoever, I say, will give himself the liberty to consider a little, the form and composition of the Holy Bible, and the weighty concerns which it contains, must needs be of opinion, that this, of all other books, requires to be explained where it is obscure; methodized where it seems confused; abridged where it seems prolix; supplied where it is defective; and analyzed where its historical matters lie blended and involved with other quite different subjects. This I call writing *an history of the Bible*: and hereupon I thought with myself, that if I could but give the reader a plain and succinct narrative of what is purely historical in this sacred book, without the interposition of any other matter; if I could but
settle

settle the chronology, and restore the order of things, by reducing every passage and fact to its proper place and period of time; if I could but (by way of notes and without breaking in upon the series of the narrative part) explain difficult texts, rectify mis-translations, and reconcile seeming contradictions, as they occurred in my way; if I could but supply the defect of the Jewish story, by continuing the account of their affairs under the rule and conduct of the Maccabees; if I could but introduce profane history as I went along, and, at proper distances of time, sum up to my reader what was transacting in other parts of the then known world, while he was perusing the records of the Hebrew worthies; and, at the same time, if I could but answer such questions and objections as infidelity, in all ages, has been too ready to suggest against the truth and authority of the Scriptures; and with all, discuss such passages, and illustrate such facts and events as make the most considerable figure in Holy Writ: If I could but do this, I say, I thought I had undertaken a work which might possibly be of public use and benefit; seasonable at all times, but more especially in the age wherein we live, and (if I may be permitted to apply to myself the apostle's words) such as might make me *(a)* unto God a sweet savour in Christ in them that are saved, and in them that perish; to the one the savour of death unto death, and to the other the savour of life unto life.

I am very well aware, that several have gone before me in works of the like denomination; but I may boldly venture to say, that none of them have taken in half that compass of view which I here propose to myself. Blome has given us a very pompous book; but besides that it is no more than a bare translation of *Sieur de Royamont's History of the Old and New Testament*, it omits many material facts, observes no exact series in its narration, but is frequently interrupted by insertions of the sentiments of the fathers, which prove not always so very pertinent; and, in short, is remarkable for little or nothing else but the number of its sculptures, which are badly designed, and worse executed. Elwood, in some respects, has acquitted himself much better: he has made a pretty just collection of the Scripture-account of things; but then, when any difficulty occurs, he usually gives us the sacred text itself, without any explanatory note or comment upon it; and so not only leaves his reader's understanding as ignorant as he found it, but his mind in some danger of being tainted by

(a) 2 Cor. ii. 15. 16.

the unlawful parallels he makes between the acts of former and later times, and by a certain levity which he discovers (*b*) upon several occasions, not so becoming the sacredness of his subject. Howel has certainly excelled all that went before him, both in his design and execution of it. He has given us a continued relation of Scripture-transaction; has filled up the chasm between Malachi and Christ; has annexed some notes, which help to explain the difficulties that are chiefly occasioned by the mistakes of our translators: but in my opinion, he has been a little too sparing in his notes, and (as some will have it) too pompous in his diction. He has omitted many things that might justly deserve his notice, and taken notice of others that seem not so considerable. Some very remarkable events he has thought fit to pass by without any comment; nor has he attempted to vindicate such passages as the lovers of infidelity are apt to lay hold on, in order to entrench themselves the safer.

Whatever other mens sentiments might be, these things I thought in some measure essential, and at this time (more especially) extremely necessary in an history of the Bible; and to encourage my pursuit of this method, I have several helps and assistances which those who went before me were not perhaps so well accommodated with.

The foundation of a lecture by the Honourable Mr Boyle has given occasion for the principles of natural and revealed religion to be fairly stated, and the objections and cavils of infidelity of all kinds to be fully answered. The institution of another by the Lady Moyer has furnished us with several tracts, wherein the great articles of our Christian faith are strenuously vindicated, and, as far as the nature of mysteries will allow, accurately explained.

The uncommon licence which of late years has been taken to decry all prophecies and miracles, and to expose several portions of Scripture as absurd and ridiculous, has raised up some learned men (God grant that the number of them may every day increase!) to contend earnestly for the faith, and, by the help of critical knowledge in ancient customs and sacred languages, to rescue from their hands such texts and passages as the wicked and unstable were endeavouring to wrest, to the perversion of other mens faith, as well as their own destruction. The commentaries and annotations we have upon the Scriptures, both

(*b*) *Vid.* his account of the plague of lice of Pharaoh and his people; the story of Sampson's foxes, and that of Esther.

from our own countrymen, and from foreigners, have, of late years, been very solid and elaborate; the dissertations, or particular treatises on the most remarkable facts and events, extremely learned and judicious; the harmonists, or writers, who endeavour to reconcile seeming contradictions, very accurate and inquisitive; such as have wrote in an analytical way, clear and perspicuous enough; and (to pass by several others) sacred geography has been fully handled by the great Bochart; sacred chronology sufficiently ascertained by our renowned Usher; and the chasm in the sacred story abundantly supplied by our learned Prideaux; so that there are no materials wanting to furnish out a new and compleat history of the Bible, even according to the compass and extent of my scheme. That therefore the reader may be apprised of the method, I propose to myself, and what he may reasonably expect from me, I must desire him to observe, that, according to the several periods of time, from the creation of the world to the full establishment of Christianity, my design is, to divide the whole work into eight books. Whereof

The I. Will extend from the creation to the deluge.

The II. From the deluge to the call of Abraham.

The III. From the call of Abraham to the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt.

The IV. From the departure of the Israelites to their entrance into the land of Canaan.

The V. From their entrance into Canaan to the building of Solomon's temple.

The VI. From the building of the temple to the Babylonish captivity.

The VII. From the captivity to the birth of Christ. And

The VIII. From the birth of Christ to the completion of the canon of the New Testament.

Each of these books I purpose to divide into several chapters, and each chapter into three parts. The number of chapters will vary, according as the matter in each period arises, but the parts in each chapter will be constantly the same, viz.

1st, *A Narrative Part*, which, in plain and easy diction, will contain the substance of the Scripture-history for such a determinate time.

2^{dly}, *An Argumentative Part*, which will contain an answer to such objections as may possibly be made against any passage in the history comprised in that time. And,

3^{dly},

3dly, *A Philological Part*, which will contain the sentiments of the learned, both ancient and modern, concerning such remarkable events or transactions as shall happen in that time; or perhaps a summary account of what is most considerable in profane history, towards the conclusion of each period.

That the reader may perceive how I gradually advance in the Sacred History, and, by turning to his Bible, may compare the narrative with the text, and find a proper solution to any difficulty that shall occur in the course of his reading, I shall, at the top of the page in each section, set down the book and chapter, or chapters, I have then under consideration, and the date of the year, both from the creation, and before and after the coming of Christ, wherein each remarkable event happened. And, that all things may be made as easy as possible to the reader, I shall take care not to trouble him with any exotic words in the text; but where there is occasion to insert any Hebrew expressions, for his sake, I shall chuse to do it in English characters, and to reduce every thing that I conceive may be above his capacity, to the notes and quotations at the bottom of the page.

The notes (besides the common references) will be only of four kinds.

1st, *Additional*; when a passage is borrowed from any other author, whether foreign or domestic, to confirm or illustrate the matter we are then upon; marked thus [*].

2dly, *Explanatory*; when, by producing the right signification of the original, or inquiring into some ancient custom, and the like, we make the passage under consideration more intelligible; marked thus [†].

3dly, *Reconciliatory*; when, by the help of a parallel place, or some logical distinction, we shew the consistency of two or more passages in Scripture, which, at first view, seem to be contradictory; marked [‖].

4thly, What we may call *Emendatory*; when, by considering the various senses of the original word, and selecting what is most proper, or, by having a due attention to the design of our author and the context, the mistakes in our translations are set right; marked [‡].

So that when the reader sees any of these characteristics, he may be assured what manner of note he is to expect. The chronological and other tables must be reserved to the conclusion of the work.

An account of the Years, Months, and Kalendar of the Jews; together with a reduction of the Money, Weights, and Measures, to the present standard, and manner of computation, to which the reader, in the course of the history, will have frequent occasion to refer.

THE JEWISH YEARS.

THE Hebrews did originally (even as the Syrians and Phœnicians) begin their year from the autumnal equinox; but, upon their coming up out of the land of Egypt, (which happened in the month Nisan), they, in commemoration of that deliverance, made their year commence at the beginning of that month, which usually happened about the time of the vernal equinox. (c) This form they ever after made use of in the calculation of the times of their feasts, festivals, and all other ecclesiastical concerns; but in all civil matters, as contracts, obligations, and all other affairs that were of a secular nature, they still made use of the old form, and began their year as formerly, from the first of Tisri, which happened about the time of the autumnal equinox: so that the Jews had two ways of beginning their year; their sacred year (as they called it) with the month Nisan, and the civil year, with the month Tisri.

The form of the year which they anciently made use of, was wholly inartificial: for it was not settled by any astronomical rules or calculations, but was made of lunar months set out by the *phasis* or appearance of the moon. When they saw the new moon, they began their months, which sometimes consisted of 29, and sometimes of 30 days, according as the new moon did sooner or later appear. The reason of this was, because the synodical course of the moon (*i. e.* from new moon to new moon) being 29 days and a half, the half day, (which a month of 29 days fell short of) was made up, by adding it to the next month, which made it consist of 30 days: so that their months were made up of 29 days, or 30 days, successively and alternately; with this certain rule, that the first or initial month (whether of their sacred or civil year) always consisted of 30 days, and the first day of each month was

(c) Prideaux's Connection, in the preface.

called the new moon. Of twelve of these months did their common year consist: but as twelve lunar months fell eleven days short of a solar year, so every one of these common years began eleven days sooner, which, in thirty years time, would carry back the beginning of the year through all the four seasons, to the same point again, and get a whole year from the solar reckoning. To remedy therefore the confusion that might from hence arise, their custom was, sometimes in the third year, and sometimes in the second, to cast in another month, (which they called *Veader*, or the second *Adar*), and make their year then consist of thirteen months; so that by the help of this intercalation, they reduced their lunar year in some measure to that of the sun, and never suffered the one, for any more than a month at any time, to vary from the other.

This intercalation of a month, however, every second or third year, makes it impracticable to fix the beginnings of the Jewish months to any certain day in the Julian kalendar; but as they therein always fell within the compass of 30 days, sooner or later, I have given the reader the best view I could of their co-incidence and correspondency, in the following scheme, wherein the first column gives the several names and order of the Jewish months, and the second of the Julian within the compass of which the said Jewish months have always, sooner or later, their beginning and ending.

JEWISH MONTHS.

1	<i>Nisan</i>	{	March and April		7	<i>Tisri</i>	{	September and October
2	<i>Jyar</i>	{	April and May		8	<i>Marchesvan</i>	{	October and November
3	<i>Sivan</i>	{	May and June		9	<i>Cisleu</i>	{	November and December
4	<i>Tamuz</i>	{	June and July		10	<i>Tebeth</i>	{	December and January
5	<i>Ab</i>	{	July and August		11	<i>Shebat</i>	{	January and February
6	<i>Elul</i>	{	August and September		12	<i>Adar</i>	{	February and March

The thirteenth month (*Veader*) is then only intercalated, or cast in, when the beginning of *Nisan* would otherwise be carried back into the end of February.

The Jews of old had very exact kalendars, wherein were set down their several fasts and festivals, and all those days wherein they celebrated the memory of any great event that had happened to their nation; but these are no longer extant. All they have that favours of any antiquity, is their *Megillah Thaanith*, or *Volume of affliction*, which contains the days of fasting and feasting that were heretofore in use among them, but are now laid aside; and therefore no longer to be found in their common kalendars. Out of this volume, however, as well as some of their other kalendars, I thought it not improper to set down some of their historical events, in order to let the reader see on what particular day of each month their memorial (whether by fasting or feasting) was observed.

THE JEWISH KALENDAR.

Months.	Days.
1. NISAN OR ABIB.	I. New moon. Beginning of the sacred or ecclesiastical year, a fast for the death of the children of Aaron, Lev. x. 1. 2. X. A fast for the death of Miriam, the sister of Moses, Numb. xx. 1. XIV. The Paschal Lamb slain on the evening of this day. XV. The great and solemn feast of the Passover. XVI. The oblation of the first fruits of the harvest. XXI. The conclusion of the Passover, or end of unleavened bread. XXIV. A fast for the death of Joshua.
2. JYAR OR JIAR.	VII. The dedication of the temple, when the Asmoneans consecrated it again after the persecutions of the Greeks. X. A fast for the death of the high-priest Eli, and for the taking of the ark by the Philistines. XXIII. A feast for the taking of the city of Gaza by Simon Maccabeus, 1 Mac. xiii. 43. 44. XXVIII. A fast for the death of the prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xxv. 1.

- | Months. | Days. |
|----------------------|---|
| 3. SIVAN. | <p>VI. <i>Pentecost</i>, or the fiftieth day after the passover, called likewise the <i>feast of weeks</i>, because it happened seven weeks after the passover.</p> <p>XV. A feast for the victory of the Maccabees over the people of Bethsam, 1 Mac. v. 52.</p> <p>XVII. A feast for the taking of Cæsarea by the Asmoneans.</p> <p>XXVII. A fast in remembrance of Jero-boam's forbidding his subjects to carry their first fruits to Jerusalem, 1 Kings xii. 27.</p> <p>XXX. A feast in memory of the solemn judgment given by Alexander the Great, in favour of the Jews, against the Ishmaelites and Egyptians.</p> |
| 4. TAMUZ OR THAMMUZ. | <p>IX. A fast for the taking of Jerusalem on that day, but whether by Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus Epiphanes, or the Romans, it is not said.</p> <p>XVII. A fast in memory of the tables of the law that were broken by Moses, Exod. xxxii. 15.</p> |
| 5. AB. | <p>IX. A fast in memory of God's declaring to Moses (as on this day) that none of the murmuring Israelites should enter into the land of Canaan, Numb. xiv. 29. 31.</p> <p>X. A fast, because, on this same day, the city and temple were taken and burnt, first by the Chaldeans, and afterwards by the Romans.</p> <p>XVIII. A fast, because that, in the time of Ahab, the evening lamp went out.</p> |
| 6. ELUL. | <p>VII. A feast in memory of the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah, Ezra, vi. 16.</p> <p>XVII. A fast for the death of the spies, who brought an ill report of the land of promise, Numb. xiv. 36. 37.</p> |

- | Months. | Days. |
|---------------------|---|
| 7. TISRI. | <p>I. The feast of trumpets, Lev. xxiii. 34. Numb. xxix. 1. 2.</p> <p>III. A fast for the death of Gedaliah, whereupon the expulsion of the people, and the utter destruction of the land ensued, Jer. xli. 2.</p> <p>VII. A fast for the Israelites worshipping the golden calf, and the sentence which God pronounced against them in consequence of that crime, Exod. xxxii. 6. &c.</p> <p>X. The fast of expiation, as some think, in memory of man's fall, and expulsion out of paradise, Lev. xxiii. 19.</p> <p>XV. The feast of tabernacles, in memory of their dwelling in tents, in their passage through the wilderness, Lev. xxiii. 34.</p> <p>XXIII. The rejoicing for the law; or a feast instituted in memory of the law, which God gave them by the hand of Moses.</p> |
| 8. MARCHES-
VAN. | <p>VI. A fast upon the occasion of Nebuchadnezzar's putting out Zedekiah's eyes, after that he had slain his children in his sight, 2 Kings xxv. 7. Jer. lii. 11.</p> |
| 9. CISLEU. | <p>VI. A fast in memory of the book of Jeremiah torn and burnt by King Jehoiachim, Jer. xxxvi. 23.</p> <p>VII. A feast in memory of the death of Herod the Great, a bitter enemy to the sages.</p> <p>XXI. The feast of Mount Gerizim, upon their obtaining leave of Alexander the Great to destroy the temple of Samaria, which was situate there.</p> <p>XXV. The feast of dedication, viz. of the temple, profaned by the order of Antiochus Epiphanes, and repaired and beautified by the care of Judas Maccabeus. This festival Christ honoured with his presence at Jerusalem. It is likewise called <i>the feast of lights</i>, because, during the time</p> |

Months.

Days.

time of its celebration, the people were used to illuminate their houses, by setting up candles at every one's door. *Vid.* 1 Macc. iv. 52.; 2 Macc. ii. 16.; John x. 22.

10. **TEBETH.** X. A fast in memory of the siege of Jerusalem, by Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Kings xxv. 1.

XXVIII. A feast for the exclusion of the Sadducees out of the Sanhedrim, where they had once all the power.

11. **SHEBETH.** IV. A fast in memory of the death of the elders who succeeded Joshua, Judg. ii. 10.

XV. *The beginning of the years of trees*, when they were first allowed to eat the fruit thereof, after they were four years planted, Lev. xix. 23. &c.

XXIII. A fast for the war of the ten tribes against that of Benjamin, for the outrage committed upon the body of the Levite's wife, Judg. xx.

XXIX. A memorial of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, a cruel enemy to the Jews, 1 Mac. vi.

12. **ADAR.** VII. A fast in remembrance of the death of Moses, Deut. xxxiv. 5.

XIII. Esther's fast, probably in memory of that which is mentioned in Esther iv. 16.

XV. A feast in memory of the death of Nicanor, a bitter enemy to the Jews, 1 Mac. xv. 30.

The feast of *Purim* or *Lots*; because, when Haman purposed to destroy all the Jews that were in Persia, according to the superstition of the country, he first drew lots, to know on what day of the year it would be best to put his design in execution, from whence the feast, in com-

Months.

Days.

memoration of their escape, took its name.

XIII. The dedication of the temple of Zerubbabel, Ezra vi. 16.

XXVIII. A feast in commemoration of the repeal of the decree whereby the kings of Greece had forbidden the Jews to circumcise their children, to observe the Sabbath, and to reject foreign worship.

When the year consists of thirteenth months, here is the place where the second month of *Adar*, or *Veadar*, by way of intercalation, comes in.

JEWISH MONEY.

The custom of making money, of such a form, such an alloy, and such a determinate value, is not so ancient as some may imagine. (d) The original way of commerce was certainly by way of barter, or exchanging one kind of merchandise for another, as it is the custom, in some places, even to this day. In process of time, such metals as were generally esteemed to be most valuable, were received into traffic, but then the custom was to weigh them out to one another; till, finding the delays and other inconveniencies of this method, they agreed to give each metal a certain mark, a certain weight, and a certain degree of alloy, in order to fix its value; but it was a long while before men came into this agreement. The coinage of money among the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, was but of late date: among the Persians, no older than the times of Darius, son of Hytaspes; and among the Grecians, (from whom the Romans very probably took it), of the same date with Alexander. We have no traces of this practice among the ancient Egyptians, before the time of the Ptolemies; nor had the Hebrews this custom among them, (e) until the government of Simon

(d) Calmet's dissertation, vol. 1. (e) And yet the Jews have a tradition, that not only Joshua, David, and Mordecai, but even Abraham himself had found out the way of coining. It is said of Abraham indeed, that *he was very rich in silver and gold*, Gen. xiii. 2. But we nowhere read that this money

mon. Saccabees, to whom Antiochus, King of Syria, granted the privilege of coinage his own money in Judea. Before that time, they made all their payments by weight; and therefore the reader need less wonder, that one and the same word should denote both a certain weight of any commodity, and such a (g) determinate sum of money, which the last remark is this - (g) that among the ancients, the proportion of gold to silver was most commonly as ten to one; sometimes it raised to be as eleven to one, sometimes as twelve, & sometimes as thirteen: that though, in the time of King Edward I. it was here in England at so low an estimate as ten to one; yet it is now advanced to the value of sixteen to one, and in all the reductions of this kind that we make is to be so computed.

The Shekel,	-----	£	s	d	grs
The Hebrew Drachm,	-----	000	00	01	3
Two Drachms make a Shekel,	-----	000	01	00	
Four Shekels make a Shekel,	-----	000	03	00	
Eight Shekels make a Mina,	-----	009	00	00	
Fifty minas make a Talent,	-----	450	00	00	
A Talent of gold, sixteen to one,	-----	7200	00	00	

Jewish Weights.

One Shekel,	-----	℥	ss	grs	dec
Two Shekels,	-----	000	00	10	95
Four Shekels,	-----	000	00	50	75
Eight Shekels,	-----	000	00	109	2
Sixteen Shekels,	-----	000	00	219	
Thirty-two Shekels,	-----	050	00	00	
Sixty-four Shekels,	-----	1000	00	00	

money was stamped with any impression; and yet the Jewish tradition runs thus, viz. "That on Abraham's money were stamped on one side an old man & an old woman, on the other, a young man & a young maid; on Joshua's money, on one side an ox, on the other a monoceros; on David's money, on one side a staff & a scrip, on the other a tower; and on Mordecai's money, on one side such a cloth & a shew, on the other a crown." But this seems to have the air

Measures of Length.

The Hebrew Cubit, somewhat more than	0-21
The Fourth, or span, a little more than	0-10
The Span of a Cubit, a little above	0-7
The Palm, or hand's breadth, somewhat above	0-3
The Fauchon, which makes 4 Cubits, above	7-0
Eschiel's reed, which was 6 Cubits, above	10-0
The ancient measuring line, or Chain, which was 80 Cubits, above	145-0
A Sabbath day's journey, 2000 Cubits	3645-9
An Eastern mile 4000 Cubits	1-10-2
A day's journey generally computed much about	33-0-0

Measures of Capacity.

The Cab contains a quart, or a bushel	Dry Measures.	Diquid Measures.
The Omer, or Quomer in the Hebrew, was the eighth part of an Ephah.	The Log came from our word.	12 Logs made an Hin, which answered our gallon.
The Epha is computed to be about our bushel: and		6 Hins made a Bath, which was about six gallons: and
The Homer is supposed to be 10		10 Baths made an Homer, which was 60

The reader will be pleased to observe, that, in the valuation of money, I have chiefly followed Dean Prideaux, in his preface to the first part of his Connection of sacred & profane history, and in the rectification of weights and measures, our learned Cumberland: but, whoever desires a fuller account of these matters, may consult the said Mr. Cumberland, of the Jewish weights, measures and monies; M. Moreux's, De ponderibus et pretiis veterum nummorum; F. Nicomax, De mensuris et ponderibus antiquis; and others that have written on this argument, which is not a little difficult and perplexing.

of Rabbinical fiction; Jewish Antiq. Heb. Liber 6.
 For so the word shekel comes from shekal, to weigh; and may properly be interpreted the weight; Jewish, ibid.
 Prideaux's connection in the preface.

The History of the Bible.

Book I.

Containing an account of things from the Creation
to the Flood, in all, 1656 years.

Chapter I.

Of the Creation of the World.

The Introduction

The chief design of the author of this Pentateuch is to give
a short account of the formation of the earth, and the origin of
mankind; of the most remarkable events that attended them in
the infancy of the world; and of the transactions of our an-
tecedent nation more especially, from whence the Jews are
said to descend: and therefore it cannot well be expressed,
that his history extendeth his history, or the creation of the
seven firmaments, an heaven, which God might make
of space of his own residence, and the mansions of those ce-
lestial beings, whom he condescends to the minister of his
court, & a standard on his throne, an immense space of time.

* It is no novel notion of our own, but what has been confirmed
by many great authorities, as the learned & ingenious J. Woodward's Account
of the Earth, speaking of some, who supposed that the whole universe
was created at one and the same time, and the highest heaven

Am. 1
Ant. ch
book
Gen. ch
and par
of Job 2
The crea-
tion of the
firmament
heaven
natural
led in
the world

2 The History of the Bible.

Am. ^{and Gen} ^{book} ^{Gen.} ^{Gen.} ^{and} ^{had} ^{of} ^{the} ^{air} ^{that} ^{we} ^{frequently} ^{read} ^{of} ^(a) ^{the} ^{firmament} ^{of} ^{heaven} ^{and} ^(b) ^{the} ^{hoary} ^{fruits} ^{of} ^{heaven} ^{&c.} ^{none} ^{of} ^{which} ^{extend} ^{beyond} ^{our} ^{at} ^{most} ^{where} ^{we} ^{have} ^{no} ^{grounds} ^{to} ^{conclude} ^{that} ^{at} ^{one} ^{and} ^{the} ^{same} ^{time} ^{Gd.} ^{created} ^{every} ^{thing} ^{that} ^{is} ^{con-} ^{tains} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{vast} ^{extra-mundane} ^{space} ^{of} ^{the} ^{universe} ^{On} ^{the} ^{contrary} ^{when} ^{we} ^{find} ^{him} ^{recommending} ^{to} ^{Job} ^{that} ^{at} ^{the} ^{time} ^(c) ^{when} ^{he} ^{laid} ^{the} ^{foundations} ^{of} ^{the} ^{earth} ^{the} ^{morning} ^{stars} ^{sang} ^{together} ^{and} ^{Angels} ^{included} ⁱⁿ ^{the} ^{first} ^{day} ^{work}

66 Hieronymi verba, "libet tibi opponere. Sex mille nce dum
66 nostri plus implentur anni, et quantas prius eternales,
66 quanta tempora, quantas seculorum origines fuisse arbitrandum
66 est; in quibus angelis, thronis, dominionibus, caeterisque virtutibus
66 deservierit, &c. in libro de Trinitate, sive de divinis, sive
66 de telluribus, sive in tam mundis angelicis, quam super-firmam.
66 entarius conditus dicitur, ante mundum Moisaicum, his verbis,
66 quam etiam Angelos superioribus, i. e. super ipsum quoque
66 diadamentum partibus, angelos prius instituit, & per
66 spirituales virtutes digesserit, thronos, potestates que precesserit.
66 et alia multa coloribus immensa spatia condiderit &c.
66 ut hic mundus novissimum, magis sui operis esse apparet
66 quam solum et unicum. Denique Cuth. dicorem comminere
66 hanc fuisse sententiam, notat Capitanus suo tempore, nempe
66 seculo quinto in eunte: ante illud Genesios temporale princip
66 cum, omnes illas potestates caelestes, &c. creatas, non
66 dubium est." Murph. Arch. log. Philos. p. c. 8.

7 By heaven - some understand in this place, the highest super-firmamentary heaven, and by the earth, that preexistent matter whereof the earth was originally made. and so the sense of the words will be - "that God at first created the matter whereof the whole universe was composed, all at once, in an instant, and by a word's speaking; but it was the supreme heaven only which he then generated, and formed into a most excellent order, for the place of his own residence, and the habitation of his holy angels; the earth was left rude and indigested, in the manner that Moses has described it, until there should be a fit occasion for its being revised, and set into order likewise."

(a) Gen. 1. 20. (b) Gen. 7. 11. (c) Job. 38. 37. (d) Ibidem Verse. 29. (e) Ibidem Verse. 4. 7.

and all the sons of God shouted for joy, we cannot but infer, that these stars, and these sons of God, were pre-existent; and consequently no part of the Mosaic creation.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſt.
4004.
Gen. ch. 1.
and part of
ch. 2.

By the *heaven* therefore we are to understand no more, than that part of the world which we behold above us; but then I imagine we have very good reason to extend our conceptions of this world above us so far, as to include in it the whole planetary system. † The truth is, the several planets that are contained within the *magnus orbis*,

† The better to understand this, and some other matters, in our explication of the formation of celestial bodies, it is proper to observe, that there are three more remarkable systems of the world, the Ptolemaic, Copernican, and what is called the New System, which astronomers have devised.

1st, In the Ptolemaic, the earth and waters are supposed to be in the centre of the universe, next to which is the element of air, and next above that the element of fire; then the orb of Mercury, then that of Venus, and then that of the Sun; above the sun's orb those of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn; and above them all, the orbs of the fixed stars, then the chrySTALLINE orbs, and lastly, the *cælum empyreum*, or *heaven of heavens*. All these massy orbs, and vast bodies borne by them, are in this system supposed to move round the terraqueous globe once in twenty-four hours; and besides that, to perform other revolutions in certain periodical times, according to their distance from the supposed centre, and the different circumference they take.

2^{dly}, In the Copernican system, the sun is supposed to be in the centre, and the heavens and earth to revolve round about it, according to their several periods; first Mercury, then Venus, then the Earth with its satellite the Moon; then Mars, then Jupiter with its four moons; lastly, Saturn with its five, or more moons revolving round it; and beyond, or above all these, is the firmament, or region of fixed stars, which are all supposed to be at equal distances from their centre the sun.

3^{dly}, In the New System, the sun and planets have the same site and position as in the Copernican; but then, whereas the Copernican supposes the firmament of the fixed stars to be the bounds of the universe, and placed at equal distance from its centre the sun; this new hypothesis supposes, that there are many more systems of suns and planets, besides that in which we have our habitation; that every fixed star, in short, is a sun, encompassed with its complement of planets, both primary and secondary, as well as ours; and that these stars, with their planets, are placed at regular distances from each other, and, according to their distances from us, seem to vary in their respective magnitudes; *Derham's Astra-theology*, in the preliminary discourse.

A. M. 1. (as it is called), or the circle which Saturn describes about
 Ant. Chriſt. the ſun, have ſo near a ſimilitude and relation: the ſame
 4004. form, the ſame centre, and the ſame common luminary
 Gen. ch. 1. and part of with one another, that it can hardly be imagined but that
 ch. 2. they were the production of one and the ſame creation.

And therefore, though the hiſtorian ſeems chiefly to regard the earth in his whole narration; yet there is reaſon to preſume, that the other parts of the planetary world went all along on in the ſame degrees of formation with it.

That this world was formed out of a pre-exiſting chaos.

2dly, It is to be obſerved farther, that this planetary world, or ſyſtem of things, was not immediately created out of nothing, (as very probably the ſupreme heavens were), but out of ſome ſuch pre-exiſtent matter as the ancient Heathens were wont to call *chaos*. And accordingly we may obſerve, that in the hiſtory which Moſes gives us of the creation, he does not ſay, that God at once made all things in their full perfection, but that * *in the beginning he created the earth, i. e.* the matter whereof the chaos was compoſed, which *was without form*, without any ſhape or order, *and void*, without any thing living or growing in it; *and darkneſs was upon the face of the waters*, nothing was ſeen for want of light, which lay buried in the vaſt abyſs.

Accord-

* What our translators render [*in the beginning*] ſome learned men have made [*in wiſdom*] *God created the heaven and the earth*; not only becauſe the Jeruſalem targum has it ſo, but becauſe the Pſalmiſt, paraphraſing upon the works of the creation, breaks forth into this admiration, *O Lord! how wonderful are thy works, in wiſdom haſt thou made them all*, Pſal. civ. 24. And again, exhorting us to give thanks unto the Lord for his manifold mercies, he adds, *who by wiſdom made the heavens*, *ibid.* cxxxvi. 5. where, by *wiſdom*, as ſome imagine, he means the *ſon of God*, by whom (ſays the Evangelift, John i. 2.) *all things were made*, or *all things created* (ſays the apoſtle, Col. i. 16.) *that are in heaven, and that are in the earth*; and therefore the meaning of the phraſe muſt be, that God, in creating the world, made uſe of the agency of his ſon. *Fuit hæc apud antiquos* [ſays Petavius, *De officio ſex dierum*, l. I. c. I.] *pervagata, multumque communis opinio, principii nomine verbum ſignificari, ſeu filium*. And to this interpretation the word *Elohim* in the plural number, joined with *bara* a verb ſingular, ſeems to give ſome countenance; though others are of opinion, that a noun plural, governing a verb ſingular, is no more than the common idiom of the Hebrew tongue; and for this idiom a very conſiderable commentator

According to tradition then, and the representation which this inspired author seems to give us, * this chaos was a fluid mass, wherein were the materials and ingredients of all bodies, but mingled in confusion with one another, so that heavy and light, dense and rare, fluid and solid particles, were jumbled together, and the atoms or small constituent parts of fire, air, water, and earth, (which have since obtained the name of *elements*), were every one in every place, and all in a wild confusion and disorder. This seems to be a part of God's original creation; but why he suffered it to continue so long, before he transformed it into an habitable world, is a question only resolvable into the divine pleasure: since, according to the ideas we have of his moral perfections, there is nothing to fix the creation of any thing sooner or later, than his own arbitrary will determined. Only we may imagine, that, after the revolt of so many angels, God intending to make a new race of creatures, in order to supply their place, and fill up (as it were) the vacancy in heaven; and withal, resolving to make trial of their obedience before he admitted them into his beatific presence, singled out one (as perhaps * there might be many chaotic bodies in the universe) placed at a proper distance from his own empyrean seat, to be the habitation

A. M. 1.
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Gen. ch. 1.
and part of
ch. 2.

mentator assigns this reason:—That the Hebrew language was originally that of the Canaanites, a people strangely addicted to idolatry and polytheism; and who therefore made more use of the plural *Elohim*, than of the singular *Eloah*; which usage the Jews continued, though they were zealous asserters of the unity of the Godhead, and thereupon most commonly joined a verb of the singular number with it, pursuant to their notions of the divine unity; *Le Clerc's dissert. De ling. Hebraicâ.*

* To mention one author out of the many which Grotius has cited, Ovid, in the beginning of his *Metamorphoses*, has given us this description of it:

Ante mare, et terras, et quod tegit omnia, cœlum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,
Quem dixerè *chaos*: rudis, indigestaque moles,
Nec quicquam, nisi pondus iners, congestaque eodem
Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum, &c.

* Si materia chaos extitit ante mundi Mosaici principium, quid fuit, quem in finem extitit, aut ubinam loci ante illud tempus? Respondeo, hæc non esse nimis sollicitè quærenda, cum magnâ ex parte notitiam nostram fugiant. Sed vidimus quandoque novas stellas in cœlo oriri, quæ nunquam antea apparuerant; quas ta-

A. M. 1. bitation of the creatures he was about to form, and might
 Ant. Chris. delay the fitting it up for them until the time which his in-
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 1. finite wisdom had determined for their creation was fully
 and part of come.

ch. 2.

The wis-
 dom of
 Moses's ac-
 count of
 things.

3dly, It is to be observed farther, that though Moses might have in his view the whole planetary system, and know very well, that every day each planet advanced in the same proportion, as the earth did in its formation: yet what he principally chose to insist on (as a specimen of all the rest) was this sublunary creation. He who was versed in all *the learning of the Egyptians*, could not be unacquainted with the vulgar, or what is usually called the *Ptolemaic hypothesis*, which came originally from Egypt into Greece; and yet, instead of expressing his notions according to this, or any other system, we find him giving us a plain narrative, how matters were transacted, without asserting or denying any philosophic truth. Had he indeed talked a great deal of globular and angular particles, of central motion, planetary vortices, atmospheres of comets, the earth's rotation, and the sun's rest, he might possibly have pleased the taste of some theorists better; but theories we know are things of uncertain mode. They depend in a great measure upon the humour and caprice of an age, which is sometimes in love with one, and sometimes with another. But this account of Moses was to last for ever, as being the ground-work which God designed for all his future revelations; and therefore it was requisite to have it framed in such a manner, as that it might condescend to the meanest capacity, and yet not contradict any received notions of philosophy.

The Jews, it must be owned, were a nation of no great genius for learning; and therefore, if Moses had given them a false system of the creation, such as a simple people might be apt to fancy, he had both made himself an impostor, and exposed his writings to the contempt and derision of every man of understanding: and yet, to have given them a particular explication of the true one, must

men præextitisse, sub aliquâ formâ, et alicubi locorum, æquum est credamus. Præterea, cometas sæpe in cœlo advertimus, quarum origo, et primæ sedes nos latent. Denique, neutiquam fingendum est, cœlos incorruptibiles: corpora cœlestia, proinde ac terrestria, suas habent vicissitudines et transmutationes; atque ipsæ fixæ in planetas, mediante chao, converti possunt, et vicissim planetæ, excussis sordibus, in fixas reviviscere, &c.; *Bur-
 net's Archeol. Philosoph. cap. 9.*

have

have made the illiterate look upon him as a wild romancer. By God's direction, therefore, he took the middle and wisest way, which was to speak exact truth, but cautiously, and in such general terms as might neither confound the minds of the ignorant Jews, nor expose him to the censure of philosophizing Christians: and we may well account it an evident token of a particular providence of God over-ruling this inspired penman, that he has drawn up the cosmogony in such a manner, as makes it of perpetual use and application; forasmuch as it contains no peculiar notions of his own, no principles borrowed from the ancient exploded philosophy, nor any repugnant to the various discoveries of the new.

A. M. 41.
Ant. Chriſt.
4004.
Gen. ch. 1.
and part of
ch. 2.

4thly, It is to be observed farther, in relation to this account of Moses, that when God is said to give the word, and every thing thereupon proceeded to its formation, he did not leave matter and motion to do their best, whilst he stood by (according to Dr Cudworth's expression) as an idle spectator of this *lufus atomerum*, and the various results of it; but himself interposed, and, conducting the whole process, gave not only life and being, but form and figure to every part of the creation.

The crea-
tion not left
to matter
and motion.

The warmest abettors of mechanical principles do not deny, but that (a) a divine energy at least must be admitted in this case, where a world was to be formed, and a wild chaos reduced to a fair, regular, and permanent system. The immediate hand of God (they cannot but acknowledge) is apparent in a miracle, which is an infraction upon the standing laws of nature; but certainly, of all miracles, the creation of the world is the greatest, not only as it signifies the production of matter and motion out of nothing, but as it was likewise the ranging and putting things into such order, as might make them capable of the laws of motion which were to be ordained for them. (b) For whatever notions we may have of the stated œconomy of things now, it is certain that the laws of motion (with which philosophers make such noise) could not take place before every part of the creation was ranged and settled in its proper order.

It may be allowed however, since, even in the Mosaic account, there are some passages, (such as, *Let the earth bring forth grass, let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, and it was so*), that whatever

(a) *Vid.* Whiston's Theory.

(b) *Vid.* Hale's Origin of mankind.

A. M. 1. comes under the compass of mechanical causes, might possibly be effected by matter and motion, only set on work
 Ant. Chris. 4004. by infinite wisdom, and sustained in their being and operation by infinite power; but whatever is above the power of
 Gen. ch. 1. and part of second causes, such as the production of matter out of nothing, the formation of the seeds of all animals and vegetables, the creation of our first parents, and inspiring them with immortal souls, &c. these we affirm, and these we ought to believe, were the pure result of God's omnipotent power, and are ascribed to him alone.

To this purpose we may observe, that before our author begins to acquaint us with what particular creatures were each day successively brought into being, he takes care to inform us, (as a thing essential and preparatory to the work), † *that the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.* For, whether by *the Spirit of God*, we are to understand (a) his holy and essential Spirit, which is the third person in the ever-blessed Trinity, whether (b) that *plastic nature*, which (according to some) was made subservient to him upon this occasion, or any other emanation of the divine power and energy, it is reasonable to suppose, that its moving, or incubation upon the chaotic mass, derived into it a certain fermentation, impregnated it with several kinds of motive influence, and so separated and digested its confused parts, as to make it capable of the disposition and order it was going to receive.

The

† The word in the Hebrew, according to the opinion of some both ancient and modern interpreters, signifies literally *a brooding* upon the waters, even as a hen does upon her eggs; but, as there are only two places wherein the word occurs, [Deut. xxxii 11. and Jer. xxxiii. 9.], Mr Le Clerc contends, that in neither of these it will properly admit of this sense; and therefore he rather thinks it (as our Ainsworth seems to do) to be a metaphor taken from the hovering and fluttering of an eagle, or any other bird, over its young, but not its sitting over, or brooding upon them. A distinction of no great moment in my opinion.

(a) Cudworth's Intellectual System.

(b) Gen. i. 2. It is observed by some later Jewish, as well as Christian interpreters, that the several names of God are often given as epithets to those things which are the greatest, the strongest, and the best of their kind; and thereupon they think; that since the word *Ruach* signifies *the wind*, as well as *the Spirit*, *Ruach Elchim* should be translated *a most vehement wind*, instead of

THE HISTORY.

IN this condition we may suppose the chaos to have been, when the † *fiat* for light was given; whereupon all the confused, stagnating particles of matter began to range into form and order. The dull, heavy, and terrene parts, which over-clouded the *expansum*, had their summons to retire to their respective centres. They presently obeyed the Almighty's orders, and part of them subsided to the centre of the earth, some to Jupiter, some to Saturn, some to Venus, &c. till the globes of these several planets were compleated. And as the grosser parts subsided, the lighter, and more tenuous mounted up; and the lucid and fiery particles (being lighter than the rest) ascending higher, and, by the divine order, meeting together in a body, were put in a circular motion, and, in the space of a natural day, made to visit the whole *expansum* of the chaos, which occasioned a separation of the light from darkness, and thereby a distribution of day and night †: and this was the work of the first day.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chris.
4004.
Gen. ch. 1.
and part of
ch. 2.
The work
of the first
day.

The next thing which God Almighty commanded, was, that the waters, which as yet were universally dispersed over the face of the chaos, should retire to their re-

The second

of the Spirit of God; and that this signification agrees very well with Moses's account, which represents the earth so mixed with the waters, that it could not appear, and therefore stood in need of a wind to dry it. But besides that this sense seems to be a sad debasing of the text, it is certain, that the wind (which is nothing but the moving of the air) could not be spoken of now, because it was not created until the second day.

† The words are, *Let there be light*, which, as Longinus takes notice, is a truly lofty expression; and herein appears the wisdom of Moses that he represents God like himself, commanding things into being by his word, *i. e.* his will: for where-ever we read the words [*he said*] in the history of the creation, the meaning must be, that he willed so and so; *Patrick's comment.*

† If we rather approve the Copernican hypothesis, we must say, that the earth, having now received its diurnal and annual motion, and having turned round about its axis, for about the space of 12 hours, made this luminous body, now fixed in a proper place, appear in the east, which, in the space of 12 hours more, seemed to set in the west; and that this revolution made a distinction between day and night; *Bedford's chronology.*

spective

A. M. 1. ^{4004.} spective planets, and be restrained within their proper li-
 Ant. Chris. mits by several atmospheres. Hereupon all the aqueous parts
 Gen. ch. 1. immediately subsided towards the centres of the several pla-
 and part of nets, and were circumfused about their globes; by which
 ch. 2. means the great *expansum* was again cleared off, and the
 region of the air became more lucid and serene. And
 this is the operation which Moses calls *dividing the wa-
 ters under † the firmament from the waters which are above
 † the firmament*; for the waters under the firmament are
 the waters of the earth, the waters above the firmament
 are those of the moon, and other planets, which, in the
 second day's work, were dismissed to their several orbs, but
 were confusedly mixed, and overspread the whole face of
 the *expansum* before.

The third.

Thus, on the second day, the delightful element of
 air was disintangled and extracted from the chaos: and
 one part of the business of the third, was to separate the
 other remaining elements, *water and earth*. For the wa-
 try particles, as we said, clearing the *expansum*, and fall-
 ing upon the planetary orbs, must be supposed to cover the
 face of the earth, as well as other planets, when the great
 Creator gave the command for *the waters to be gathered
 into one plate, and the dry land to appear*. Whereupon
 the mighty mountains instantly reared up their heads, and
 the waters, falling every way from their sides, ran into
 those large extended vallies, which this swelling of the earth
 in some places had made for their reception in others. The
 earth, being thus separated from the waters, and designed
 for the habitation of man and beast, (which were afterwards

† Gen. i. 6. The LXX interpreters, in translating the word
 [*Rakiagh*] *the firm* or *solid*, seem to have followed the philoso-
 phy of the first ages: for the ancients fancied, that the hea-
 vens were a solid body, and that the stars were fastened therein,
 which might likewise be the notion of Elihu, [Job xxxvii. 18.]
 since he represents the heaven to be strong or solid, *like a molten
 looking-glass*; whereas, the proper sense of the word is some-
 thing *spread* or *stretched out*. And to this both the Psalmist and
 prophet allude, when they tell us, that *God spreadeth out the
 heaven like a curtain*, Psal. civ. 2. and *stretched them out by his
 discretion*, Jer. x. 12.

† Several commentators suppose *the waters above the fir-
 mament* to be those which hang in the clouds; but the notion
 of their being planetary waters seems more reasonable, because
 at this time, there were no clouds, neither had it as yet rained
 on the earth; *vid.* Gen. ii. 6.

to be created), was first to be furnished with such things as were proper for their support; grass for cattle, and herbs and fruit-trees for the nourishment of man. Immediately therefore, upon the divine command, it was covered with a beautiful carpet of flowers and grass, trees and plants of all kinds, which were produced in their full proportion, laden with fruit, and not subjected to the ordinary course of maturation. For how great soever the fecundity of the primogenial earth might be, yet it is scarce to be imagined; how † trees and plants could be ripened, into their full growth and burthen of fruit, in the short period of a day, any other way than by virtue of a supernatural power of God, which first collected the parts of matter fit to produce them; then formed every one of them, and determined their kinds; and at last provided for their continuance, by a curious inclosure of their seed, in order to propagate their species, even unto the end of the world: And this was the work of the third day.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chris.
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Gen. ch. 1.
and part of
ch. 2.

When God had finished the lower world, and furnished it with all manner of store, that mass of fiery light, (which we suppose to have been extracted on the first day, and to have moved about the *expansum* for two days after), was certainly of great use in the production of the æther, the separation of the waters, and the rarefaction of the land, which might possibly require a more violent operation at first, than was necessary in those lesser alterations, which were afterwards to be effected; and therefore, on the fourth day, God took and condensed it, and casting it into a proper orb, placed it at a convenient distance from the earth and other planets; insomuch, that it became a sun, and immediately shone out in the same glorious manner, in which it has done ever since.

The fourth

After this, God took another part of the chaos, an opaque substance, which we call the *moon*; and having cast it into a proper figure, placed it in another orb, at a

† There are two things wherein the production of plants, in the beginning, differed from their production ever since. 1st, That they have sprung ever since out of their seed, either sown by us, or falling from the plants themselves; but in the beginning, were brought out of the earth, with their seed in them, to propagate them ever after. 2dly, That they need now (as they have ever since the first creation) the influence of the sun, to make them sprout; but then they came forth by the power of God, before there was any sun, which was not formed till the next day; *Patrick's comment. in loc.*

nearey

A. M. 1. nearer distance from the earth, that it might perpetually be
 Ant. Chris. moving round it, and that the sun, by darting its rays upon
 4004. its solid surface, might reflect light to the terrestrial globe,
 Gen. ch. 1. for the benefit of its inhabitants: and, at the same time,
 2nd part of ch. 2. that God thus made the moon, he made, in like manner,
 † the other five planets of the solar system, and their satellites. Nor was it only for the dispensation of light to this earth of ours, that God appointed the two great luminaries of the sun and moon to attend it, but for the measure and computation of time likewise: that a speedy and swift motion of the sun, (according to the Ptolemaic system), in twenty-four hours round the earth, or of the earth (according to the Copernican) upon its own axis, might make a day; that the time from one change of the moon to another, or thereabouts, might make a month; and the apparent revolution of the sun, to the same point of the ecliptic line, might not only make a year, but occasion likewise a grateful variety of seasons in the several parts of the earth, which are thus gradually and successively visited by the reviving heat of the sun-beams: And this was the work of the fourth day.

The fifth. After the inanimate creation, God, on the fifth day, proceeded to form the animate; and because fish and fowl are not so perfect in their kind, neither so curious in their bodily texture, nor so sagacious in their instinct, as terrestrial creatures are known to be, he therefore began with them, and || out of the waters; *i. e.* out of such matter
 as

† I am very sensible that the words in the text are, *He made the stars also*, ver. 16.; but the whole sentence comes in so very abruptly, that one would be apt to imagine, that after Moses's time, it was clapped in by some body who had a mind to be mending his hypothesis, or else was added, by way of marginal note, at first; and at length crept into the text itself, (as F. Simon has evidenced in several other instances). For the fixed stars do not seem to be comprehended in the *six day's work*, which relates only to this planetary world, that has the sun for its centre; Patrick's comment. and Nicholls's conference, vol. 1. *Vid.* answer to the subsequent objection.

|| From the words in Gen. [ch. i. ver. 20.] *Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl, that may fly above the earth, &c.* some have started an opinion, that fowl derive their origin from the water; and others, from the words, *Out of the ground God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, raise another, viz.*
 that

as was mixed and concocted with the water, he formed several of different shapes and sizes; some vastly big, † to shew the wonders of his creating power; and some extremely small, to shew the goodness of his indulgent providence. And (what is peculiar to this day's work) here we have the first mention made of God's blessing his creatures, and † *bidding them be fruitful and multiply, i. e.* giving them, at their first creation, a prolific virtue, and a natural instinct for generation, whereby they might not only preserve their species, but multiply their individuals: and this was the work of the fifth day.

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and part of
ch. 2.

Thus every thing being put in order; the earth covered with plants; the waters stored with fish; the air replenished with fowl; and the sun placed at a proper distance, to give a convenient warmth and nourishment to

The sixth.

that fowl took their beginning from the earth: but these two texts are easily reconciled, because neither denies what the other says, though they speak differently; as when Moses says, *Let the waters bring forth fowl*, he does not by that say, that the earth did not bring forth fowl. It is most reasonable therefore to think, that they had their original partly from the waters, and partly from the earth; and this might render the flesh of fowl less gross than that of beasts, and more firm than that of fishes. Hence Philo calls fowl *the kindred of fish*; and that they are so, the great congruity there is in their natures (they being both oviparous, which makes them more fruitful than other animals, and both steering and directing their course by their tails) is a sufficient indication.

† Moses instances in the whale, because it is supposed to be the principal and largest of all fishes; but the original word denotes several kinds of great fish, as Bochart [in his Hierozon. p. 1. l. 1. c. 7.] observes at large; and shews withal the prodigious bigness of some of them; but he should have added, that the word signifies a *crocodile* likewise, as well as a *whale*; *Patrick, and Le Clerc in loc.*

† That fish and fowl should here have a blessing pronounced upon them, rather than the beasts, which were made the sixth day, some have supposed this to be the reason;—that the production of their young requires the particular care of divine providence, because they do not bring them forth perfectly formed as the beasts do, but only lay their eggs, in which the young are hatched and formed, even when they are separate from their bodies: and “what a wonderful thing is this,” says one, “that when the womb (as we may call it) is separated from the genitor, a living creature like itself should be produced?” *Patrick's Comment.*

A. M. 1. all; in order to make this sublunary world a still more
 Ant. Chris. comfortable place of abode, in the beginning of the sixth,
 4004. and last day, || God made the terrestrial animals, which
 Gen. ch. 1. and part of the sacred historian distributes into three kinds: *1st, Beasts,*
 ch. 2. by which we understand all wild and savage creatures,
 such as lions, bears, wolves, &c. *2dly, Cattle,* all tame
 and domestic creatures, designed for the benefit and use of
 men, such as oxen, sheep, horses, &c. And, *3dly,*
Creeping things, such as serpents, worms, and other kinds
 of insects.

Thus, when all things which could be subservient to man's felicity were perfected; when the light had, for some time, been penetrating into, and clarifying the dark and thick atmosphere; when the air was freed from its noisome vapours, and become pure and clear, and fit for his respiration; when the waters were so disposed, as to 'minister' to his necessities by mists and dews from hea-

|| In the 24th verse of this chapter, it is said, that God commanded the earth to produce such and such animals; *Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind;* and yet, in the very next verse, it follows, that *God made the beast of the earth, and every thing that moveth, after his kind:* but this seeming contradiction is easily reconciled, by putting together the proper meaning of both these passages, which must certainly be this—that God himself effectually formed these terrestrial animals, and made use of the earth only as to the matter whereof he constituted their parts. Some indeed have made it a question, whether these several creatures were at first produced in their full state and perfection, or God only created the seeds of all animals, (*i. e.* the animals themselves in miniature), and dispersed them over the face of the earth, giving power to that element, assisted by the genial heat of the sun, to hatch and bring them forth; but for this there is no manner of occasion, since it is much more rational to suppose, that God did not commit the formation of things to any intermediate causes, but himself created the first set of animals in the full proportion and perfection of their specific natures, and gave to each species a power afterwards, by generation, to propagate their kind; for that even now, and in the present situation of things, any perfect species cannot, either naturally or accidentally, be produced by any preparation of matter, or by any influence of the heavens, without the interposition of an almighty power, physical experiments do demonstrate; *Patrick's Commentary; and Bentley's Sermons at Boyle's Lectures.*

ven, and by springs and rivers from the earth; when the surface of the earth was become dry and solid for his support, and covered over with grass and flowers, with plants and herbs, and trees of all kinds, for his pleasure and sustenance; when the glorious firmament of heaven, and the beautiful system of the sun, moon, and stars, were laid open for his contemplation, and, by their powerful influences, appointed to distinguish the seasons, and make the world a fruitful and delicious habitation for him; when, lastly, all sorts of animals in the sea, in the air, and on the earth, were so ordered and disposed, as to contribute, in their several capacities, to his benefit and delight: when all these things, I say, were, by the care and providence of God, prepared for the entertainment of this principal guest, it was then that man was created, and introduced into the world in a manner and solemnity not unbecoming the lord and governor of it. To this purpose we may observe, that God makes a manifest distinction between him and other creatures, and seems to undertake the creation, even of his body, with a kind of mature deliberation, if not consultation with the other persons of the ever-blessed Trinity; † *Let us make man.*

A. M. 1.
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ch. 2.

However

† Gen. i. 26. The Jewish doctors are of opinion, that the consultation was real, and held with such angelical beings as God might employ in the work of man's creation; and they tell a story upon this occasion which seems a little fictitious, viz. that as Moses was writing his book by God's appointment, and these words came to be dictated, he refused to set them down, crying out, *O Lord! wouldst thou then plunge men in error, and make them doubt of the doctrine of the unity?* Whereupon it was answered by God, *I command thee to write, and if any will err, let them err.* Several modern expositors account it only a majestic form of speech, as nothing is more common than for kings and sovereign princes to speak in the plural number, especially when they are giving out any important order or command. It has been observed however, that as there were no men, and consequently no great men, when this was spoken; so there was no such manner of speech in use among men of that rank for many ages after Moses. Their common custom was, in all their public instruments and letters (the better to enhance the notion of sovereignty) to speak in the first person, as it was in our nation not long ago, and is in the kingdom of Spain to this very day; and therefore, upon the authority of almost all the fathers of the church: "Nam hæc verba Deum Patrem ad Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, aut saltem ad Filium dixisse,

A. M. 1. However this be, it is certain that the force and energy of the expression denotes thus much — that the production of mankind at first was so immediately the work of Almighty God, that the power of no subordinate intelligence could be capable of it: that the curious structure of man's body, the accommodation of it to faculties, and the furnishing it with faculties that are accommodated to it, (even as to its animal life), imports a wisdom and efficacy far above the power of any created nature to effect. And this may possibly suggest the reason, why, in the formation of his body, God made choice of *the dust of the ground*, viz. that from the incongruity of the matter we might judge of the difficulty, and learn to attribute the glory of the performance to him alone. And if the creation of the body of our great progenitor was a work of so much divine wisdom and power, we cannot but expect, that the spiritual and immaterial nature, the immortal condition, active powers, and free and rational operations, which, in resemblance of the Divine Being, the soul of man was to participate, should require some peculiar and extraordinary conduct in its production at first, and union with matter afterward: all which is expressed by God's *breathing into the man's † nostrils the breath of life*, i. e. doing something analogous to breathing, (for God has no body to breathe with), whereby he infused a rational and immortal spirit (for we must not suppose that God gave any part of his own essence) into the man's head, as the principal seat thereof; and || *man became a living soul*.

As soon as Adam found himself alive, and begun to cast his eyes about him, he could not but perceive that he was

“ omnes fere patres, ab ipsis apostolorum temporibus, fidenter pronunciant;” *Whitby structura patrum*. Others have thought, that this language of Moses represents God speaking, as he is, i. e. in a plurality of persons.

† The original word, which our translators render *nostrils*, signifies more properly *the face or head*.

|| It is not to be doubted, but that *Eve, the mother of all living*, was created by Almighty God, and inspired with a rational and immortal soul, the same day with her husband; for so it is said, that in the sixth day, *male and female created he them*, ver. 27.; and therefore the historian only reassumes the argument in the second chapter, to give us a more full and particular account of the woman's origin, which was but briefly delivered, or rather indeed but hinted at in the first.

in no small danger, as being surrounded with a multitude of savage creatures, all gazing on him, and (for any thing he knew) ready and disposed to fall upon and devour him. And therefore, to satisfy his mind in this particular, God took care to inform him, that all the creatures upon earth were submitted to his authority; that on them he had impressed an awe and dread of him; had invested him with an absolute power and dominion over them; and, to convince him of the full possession of that power, he immediately appointed every creature to appear before him, which they accordingly did, and, * by their lowly carriage, and gestures of respect suitable to their several species, evidenced their submission; and, as they passed along, such knowledge had Adam then of their several properties and destinations, that he assigned them their names, which a small skill in the Hebrew tongue will convince us, were very proper, and significant of their natures.

This survey of the several creatures might possibly occasion some uneasy reflections in Adam, to see every one provided with its mate, but himself left destitute of any companion of a similar nature; and therefore, to answer his desires in this particular likewise, (c) *God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him*, which was intended, not only as an expedient for the performance of the wonderful operation upon him without sense of pain, * but as a trance, or extasy

* Milton has expressed himself upon this occasion in the following manner :

As thus he spake, each bird, and beast, behold
Approaching, two and two; these cowering low
With blandishment; each bird stoop'd on his wing.
I nam'd them, as they pass'd, and understood
Their nature; with such knowledge God endu'd
My sudden apprehension. Book 8.

(c) Gen. ii. 21.

* In like manner, he makes this sleep which fell upon Adam to have been a kind of trance or extasy, (for so the LXX translate it), and thus he relates the occasion and nature of it.

He ended, and I heard no more; for now
My earthly by his heavenly over-power'd,
Which it had long stood under, strain'd to th' height
In that celestial colloquy sublime,
(As with an object that excels the sense,
Dazzled and spent), sunk down, and sought relief
Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, call'd
By nature as in aid, and clos'd my eyes.
Mine eyes he clos'd, but open left the cell

A. M. 1. extasy likewise, wherein was represented to his imagination,
 Ant. Chris. both what was done to him, and what was the mystical
 4004. meaning of it, and whereby he was prepared for the re-
 Gen. ch. 1. ception of that divine oracle (*d*) concerning the sacred in-
 and part of stitution of marriage, which presently, upon his awaking,
 ch. 2. he uttered.

While Adam continued in this sleep, God, who, with the same facility wherewith he made him, could have formed the woman out of the *dust of the earth*, (being willing to signify that equality and partnership, that love and union, and tenderness of endearment, which ought to interfere between husband and wife), took part of the substance of the man's body, † near his side, and closing up the orifice again, out of that substance he † formed the body of Eve, and then *breathing into her the breath of life*, made her, in like manner, *become a living soul*.

This was the * conclusive act of the whole creation : and upon a general survey of such harmony risen from principles

Of fancy, my internal sight ; by which
 (Abstract as in a trance) methought I saw,
 Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the shape
 Still glorious, before whom awake I stood—
 Under his forming hands a creature grew
 Man-like, but different sex ; so lovely fair,
 That what seem'd fair in all the world, seem'd now
 Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her contain'd,
 And in her looks, which from that time infus'd
 Sweetness into my heart, unfelt before ;
 And into all things from her air inspir'd
 The spirit of love, and amorous delight. Book 8.

(*d*) Gen. ii. 23.

† As the original word does not strictly signify *a rib*, and is all along rendered by the LXX *πλευρα*, so I thought it not improper to give it that construction, thereby to cut off from infidels an occasion for raillery, and to spare them all their wit about the redundant or defective rib of Adam.

† The original word signifies *building* or *framing* any thing with a singular care, contrivance, and proportion; and hence our bodies are in Scripture frequently called *houses*, Job iv. 19.; 2 Cor. v. 1.; and sometimes *temples*, John ii. 15.; 1 Cor. iii. 16.

* It is not very necessary to determine at what season of the year the world was made; yet it seems most probable, that it was about the autumnal equinox, and that not only because the trees were laden then with fruit, as the history tells us our first parents did eat of them; but because the Jews did then begin their civil

principles so jarring and repugnant, and so beautiful a variety and composition of things from a mere mass of confusion and disorder, God was pleased with the work of his hands; and having pronounced it good, or properly adapted to the uses for which it was intended, *he rested from all his work*, i. e. he ceased to produce any more creatures, as having accomplished his design, and answered his original idea; and thereupon he * sanctified, and set apart the next ensuing

A. M. 1.
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and part of
ch. 2.

civil year (*viz.* in the month *Tisri*, which answers to part of September and October) from whence their sabbatical and jubilee years did likewise commence, Exod. xxiii. 16. xxxiv. 22.; Lev. xxv. 9. The month *Abib* (which answers to part of our March and April) had indeed the honour afterwards to be reckoned among the Jews the beginning of their year in ecclesiastical matters, because the children of Israel, on that month, came out of the land of Egypt; but from the very creation, the month *Tisri* was always counted the first of their civil year, because it was the general opinion of the ancients, that the world was created at the time of the autumnal equinox; and for this reason, the Jews do still, in the æra of the creation, as well as in that of contracts, and other instruments, compute the beginning of their year from the first day of *Tisri*. Herein, however, the Jews differ from us; that whereas they make the world only 3760, most of the Christian chronologers will have it to be much about 4000 years older than Christ; so that by them 5732 years, or thereabouts, are thought a moderate computation of the world's antiquity. *Vid.* Usher's annals; Bedford's chronology; and Shuckfoord's connection.

* Whether the institution of the Sabbath was from the beginning of the world, and one day in seven always observed by the patriarchs, before the promulgation of the law; or whether the sanctification of the seventh day is related only by way of anticipation, as an ordinance not to take place until the introduction of the Jewish œconomy, is a matter of some debate among the learned; but I think with little or no reason; for when we consider, that as soon as the sacred penman had said, *God ended his work, and rested*, he adds immediately, in the words of the same tense, *he blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it*; when we compare this passage in Genesis with the twentieth chapter of Exodus, wherein Moses speaks of God's *blessing and sanctifying the Sabbath*, not as an act then first done, but as what he had formerly done upon the creation of the world; when we remember, that all the patriarchs from Adam to Moses had set times for their solemn assemblies, and that these times were weekly, and of divine institution; that upon the return of these week-

Sabbaths,

A. M. 1. Ant. Chriſt. 4004. Gen. ch. 1. and part of ch. 2. enſuing day, (which was the ſeventh from the beginning of the creation, and the firſt of Adam's life), as a time of ſolemn reſt and rejoicing for ever after, to be obſerved and expended in acts of praiſe and religious worſhip, and in commemoration of the infinite wiſdom, power, and goodneſs of God, in the world's creation.

THE OBJECTION

againſt Moſes's account of the creation;

BUT how great ſoever the diſplay of the divine attributes may ſeem in the glorious works of the creation, yet Moſes, one would think, is far from endeavouring to give us the moſt advantageous representation of them. To ſpeak the world into being at once, and in an inſtant, had been more agreeable to the notions we have of an almighty power, than the ſpinning it out into ſo many days labour. But allowing this ſucceſſion of time to have been real, what a ſad blunder does the hiſtorian make, even at his firſt ſetting out, when he talks of *light*, before there was any ſuch thing as the ſun, and of the moon's being a *great light*, when every body knows it to be an opaque body; when he diſtributes the whole work into ſuch unequal proportions, and accounts for ſome parts of it, in a manner inconſiſtent with the wiſdom of its maker. For on the firſt day, to have no more to do than what might be diſpatched in the twinkling of an eye, but on the third, to have all the waters of the abyſs drained off, and broad channels dug for the reception of the ſea; to have the ſun, moon, and other planets, together with the ſtars, (a vaſt number of immense bodies!), all made on the fourth; and when one piece of clay would have done for both, to have two diſtinct creations for our firſt parents; and (what is worſt of all) in the hurry of the

Sabbaths, very probably it was, that Cain and Abel offered their reſpective ſacrifices to God; and that Noah, the only righteous perſon among the Antediluvians, Abraham, the moſt faithful ſervant of God after the flood, and Job, that *perfect and upright man, who feared God, and eſchewed evil*, are all ſuppoſed to have obſerved it; we cannot but think, that the day whereon the work of the creation was concluded, from the very beginning of time, was every week (until men had corrupted their ways) *kept holy*, as being the *birth day of the world*, (as Philo *De mundi opificio* ſtyles it), and the *universal festival of mankind*; Bedford's Scripture-chronology, and Patrick's commentary.

“ work

“ work (for the sixth day, being the winding up of all, A. M. 1.
 “ was a day of great hurry), to forget the creation of the Ant. Chrif.
 “ poor woman’s foul, to fay nothing of the strange ^{4004.} *sub-*
 “ *stratum* of her body: These, and several other particu- Gen. ch. 1.
 “ lars, are enough to make us suspect the physical truth and part of
 “ of our author’s cosmogony, and to pronounce it not ch. 2.
 “ much better than what we meet with in the theology, or
 “ histories of other ancient nations.”

(e) *Where wast thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare if thou hast understanding. Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened, and who laid the corner stone thereof?* is a question very proper to be put to those who demand a reason for the actions of God: for if they cannot comprehend the works themselves, they are certainly very culpable in inquiring too busily into the time and manner of his doing them. But (to gratify the inquisitive for once) though we do not deny, that all things are equally easy to almighty power, yet it pleased the divine architect to employ the space of six days in the gradual formation of the world, because he foresaw, that such procedure would be a means conducive to the better instruction both of men and angels. Angels (as we hinted before) were very probably created, when the supreme heavens were made, at least some considerable time before the production of this visible world. Now, though they be great and glorious beings, yet still they are of a finite nature, and unable to comprehend the wonderful works of God. There are some things (as (f) the apostle tells us) that these celestial creatures *desire to look into*; and the more they are let into the knowledge and wisdom of God, the more they are incited to praise him. (g) That therefore they might not want sufficient matter for this heavenly exercise, the whole scene of the creation, according to the several degrees and nature of things, seems to have been laid open in order before them, that thereby they might have a more full and comprehensive view of the divine attributes therein exhibited, than they could have had, in case the world had started forth in an instant, or jumped (as it were) into this beautiful frame and order all at once; just as he who sees the whole texture and contrivance of any curious piece of art, values and admires the artist more, than he who beholds it in the gross only.

answered,
 by shewing
 that a gra-
 dual and
 successive
 creation
 comported
 best with
 the glory of
 God.

(e) Job. xxxviii. 4 6. (f) 1 Pet. i. 12. (g) Jen-
 kins’s reasonableness of the Christian religion.

A. M. 1.

Ant. Chri.
4004.
Gen. ch. 1.
and part of
ch. 2.

God was therefore pleased to display his glory before the angels, and by several steps and degrees, excite their praise, and love, and admiration, which moved them to songs and shouts of joy. By this means, his glory, and their happiness were advanced, far beyond what it would have been, had all things been created, and ranged in their proper order in a moment. By this means they had time to look into their first principles and seeds of all creatures, both animate and inanimate, and every day presented them with a glorious spectacle of new wonders; so that the more they saw, the more they knew, and the more they know of the works of God, the more they for ever love and adore him. But this is not all.

By this successive and gradual creation of things, in the space of six days, the glory of God is likewise more manifest to man, than it would have been, had they been made by a sudden and instantaneous production. The heavens, and *all the host of them*, we may suppose, were made in an instant, because there were then perhaps no other creatures to whom God might display the glory of his works; but as they were made in an instant, we have little or no perception of the manner wherein they were made: but now, in this leisurely procedure of the earth's formation, we see, as it were, every thing arising out of the primordial mass, first the simple elements, and then the compounded and more curious creatures, and are led, step by step, full of wonder and admiration, until we see the whole compleated. So that, in condescension to our capacity, it was, that God divided the creation into stated periods, and prolonged the succession of what he could have done in six moments, to the term of six days, that we might have clearer notions of his eternal power and godhead, and every particular day of the week, new and particular works, for which we are to praise him. And this, by the by, suggests another argument, founded on the institution of the Sabbath-day: For if, *in six days, the Lord made heaven and earth, and, resting on the seventh day, did bless and sanctify it*, this seems to imply, that God obliged himself to continue the work of the creation for six days, that shewing himself (if I may so say) a divine example of weekly labour, and sabbatical rest, he might more effectually signify to mankind, what tribute of duty he would require of them, viz. that one day in seven, abstaining from business and worldly labour, they should

should devote and consecrate it to his honour, and religious worship. A. M. 1. Ant. Christ.

There is therefore no necessity of departing from the literal sense of the Scripture in this particular. The reiterated acts, and the different operations mentioned by Moses, ought indeed to be explained in such a manner, as is consistent with the infinite power, and perfect simplicity of the acts of God, and in such a manner, as may exclude all notions of weakness, weariness, or imperfection in him; but all this may be done without receding from a successive creation, which redounds so much to the glory of God, and affords the whole intelligent creation so fair a field for contemplation. 4004- Gen. ch. 1. and part of ch. 2.

Some of the Jewish doctors are of opinion, that in the first day, when God created light, at the same time, he formed and compacted it into a sun; and that the sun is mentioned again on the fourth day, merely by way of repetition; while others maintain, that this light was a certain luminous body (not unlike that which conducted the children of Israel in the wilderness) that moved round the world, until the day wherein the sun is created. But there is no occasion for such conjectures as these: every one knows, that *darkness* has, in all ages, been the chief idea which men have had of a *chaos*. (b) Both poets and philosophers have made *Nox*, and *Erebus*, and *Tartarus*, the principal parts and ingredients of its description; and therefore it seems very agreeable to the reason of mankind, that the first remove from the chaos should be a tendency to light. But then by light (as it was produced the first day), we must not understand the darting of rays from a luminous body, such as do now proceed from the sun, (i) but those particles of matter only, which we call *fire*, (whose properties we know are *light* and *heat*), which the Almighty produced, as a proper instrument for the preparation, and digestion of all other matter. For fire, being naturally a strong and restless element, when once it was disentangled and set free, would not cease to move, and agitate, from top to bottom, the whole heavy and confused mass, until the purer and more shining parts of it being separated from the grosser, and so uniting together, (as things of the same species naturally do), did constitute that light, which, on the fourth day, was more compressed and consolidated, and so became the body of the sun.

Why light before the sun.

(b) Patrick's comment. in locum. (i) Nicholls's conference, vol. 1.

A. M. 1. The author of the Book of Wisdom tells us indeed, that
 Ant. Chris. (k) *God ordered all things in measure, and number, and*
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 1. *weight*; but we cannot from hence infer, that in the
 and part of *hexameron*, he was so nice and curious, as to weigh out
 ch. 2. to himself in gold scales (as it were) his daily work by
 grains and scruples. We indeed, who are finite crea-
 No dispro- tures, may talk of the *heat and burthen of the day*, and,
 portion in a weekly task, are forced to proportion the labour of
 the work of each day to the present condition of our strength; but
 each day. this is the case of human infirmity, and no way compa-
 tible to God. To omnipotence nothing can be laborious,
 nor can there be more or less of pains, where all things
 are equally easy. But, in the mean time, how does it ap-
 pear, that even, in human conception, the work of the
 third day, which consisted in draining the earth, and stock-
 ing it with plants; or even of the fourth day, wherein the
 sun and moon, and other planets were made, was more
 difficult, than that of the first, which is accounted the sim-
 ple production of light?

The compass of the chaos (as we supposed) took up the
 whole solar system, or that space, which Saturn circum-
 scribes in his circulation round the sun: and if so, what a
 prodigious thing was it, to give motion to this vast un-
 weildly mass, and to direct that motion in some sort of
 regularity; in the general struggle and combustion, to
 unite things that were no ways akin, and to sort the
 promiscuous elements into their proper species; to give the
 properties of rest and gravitation to one kind, and of a-
 scension and elasticity to another; to make some parts sub-
 side and settle themselves, not in one continued solid, but
 in several different centres, at proper distances from each
 other, and so lay the foundation for the planets; to make
 others aspire and mount on high, and having obtained their
 liberty by hard conflict, join together, as it were, by com-
 pact, and make up one body, which, by the tenuity of its
 parts, and rapidity of its motion, might produce light
 and heat, and so lay the foundation for the sun; to place
 this luminous body in a situation proper to influence the
 upper parts of the chaos, and to be the instrument of ra-
 refraction, separation, and all the rest of the operations to
 ensue; to cause it, when thus placed, either to circulate
 round the whole planetary system, or to make the planetary
 globes to turn round it, in order to produce the vicissitudes
 of day and night. to do all this, and more than this, I

(k) *Wisd. xi. 20.*

say, as it is included in the single article of creating light, is enough to make the first day, wherein nature was utterly impotent, (as having motion then first impressed upon her), a day of more labour and curious contrivance than any subsequent one could be, when nature was become more awake and active, and some assistance might possibly be expected from the instrumentality of second causes.

To excavate some parts of the earth, and raise others, in order to make the waters subside into proper channels, is thought a work not so comporting with the dignity and majesty of God; and therefore * some have thought that it possibly might have been effected by the same causes that occasion earthquakes, *i. e.* by subterraneous fires and flatules. What incredible effects the accension of gunpowder has, we may see every day; how it rends rocks, and blows up the most ponderous and solid walls, towers, and edifices, so that its force is almost irresistible. And why then might not such a proportionable quantity of the like materials, set on fire together, raise up the mountains, (how great and weighty soever), and the whole superficies of the earth above the waters, and so make receptacles for them to run into. (*l*) Thus we have a channel for the sea, even by the intervention of second causes: nor are we destitute of good authority to patronize this notion; for, after that the Psalmist had said, *the waters stand above the mountains*, immediately he subjoins, *at thy rebuke they fled, at the voice of thy thunder* (an earthquake, we know, is but a subterraneous thunder) *they hasted away, and went down to the valley beneath, even unto the place which thou hadst appointed to them.*

However this be, it is probable, and (if our hypothesis (*m*) be right) it is certain, that on the fourth day, the sun, moon, and planets, were pretty well advanced in their formation. The luminous matter extracted from the chaos on the first day, being a little more condensed, and put into a proper orb, became the sun, and the planets had all along been working off, in the same degrees of progression with

* This we may conceive to have been effected by some particles of fire still left in the bowels of the earth, whereby such nitro-sulphureous vapours were kindled, as made an earthquake, which both lifted up the earth, and also made receptacles for the waters to run into; *Patrick's Comment.*

(*l*) Psal. civ. 6. 7. 8. (*m*) Ray's Wisdom of God in the creation.

A. M. 1. the earth; so that the labour of this day could not be so
 Ant. Chriſt. diſproportionably great as is imagined. It is true indeed,
 4004. Gen. ch. 1. the Scripture tells us, that God on this day, *not only made*
 and part of *the ſun and the moon, but that he made the ſtars alſo;*
 ch. 2.

and, conſidering the almoſt infinite number of theſe heavenly bodies, (which we may diſcern with our eyes, and much more with glaſſes), we cannot but ſay, that a computation of this kind would ſwell the work of the fourth day to a prodigious diſproportion: but then we are to obſerve, that our Engliſh tranſlation has interpolated the words [*he made*], which are not in the original; for the ſimple verſion of the Hebrew is this — and (n) *God made two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the leſſer light to rule the night and the ſtars:* which laſt words [*and the ſtars*] are not to be referred to the word [*made*] in the beginning of the verſe, but to the word [*rule*], which immediately goes before them: and ſo this ſentence, *the leſſer light to rule the night, and the ſtars:* will only denote the peculiar uſefulneſs and pre-
 Why the moon may be called a great light. dominancy of the moon above all other ſtars or planets, in reſpect of this earth of ours; in which ſenſe it may not improperly be ſtyled (as * ſome of the moſt polite authors are known to call it) the *ruler of the night, and a queen, or goddeſs, as it were, among the ſtars.* With regard to us therefore, who are the inhabitants of the earth, the moon, though certainly an opaque body, may not be improperly called a *great light*; ſince, by reaſon of its proximity, it communicates more light, (not of its own indeed, but what it borrows from the ſun), and is of more uſe and benefit to us than all the other planets put together. Nor muſt we forget (what indeed deſerves a peculiar obſervation) that the moon (o), by its conſtant deviations towards the poles, affords a ſtronger and more laſting light to the inhabitants of thoſe forlorn regions, whoſe long and tedious nights are of ſome days, nay, of ſome months continuance, than if its motion were truly circular, and the rays it reflects conſequently more oblique. A mighty comfort and reſreſhment this to them, and a ſingular in-

(n) Gen. i. 16.

* *Lucidum cœli decus—ſyderum regina bicornis; Hor.*

Aſtorum decus; Virg. Æn. — Obſcuro dea clara mundi; Seneca' Hip. Arcanæ moderatrix Cynthia noctis; Statius Theb.

— *Phœben imitantem lumina fratris*

Semper, et in proprio regnantem tempore noctis; Manil.

(o) Derham's *Aſtro-theology*, ch. 4.

stance of the great Creator's wisdom in contriving, and mercy in preserving all his works !

St. Paul, in his epistle to the Romans, makes all mankind (as certainly our first parent literally was) clay in the hands of the potter, and thereupon he asks this question ; (p) *Nay but, O man, who art thou, that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou formed me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?* It but badly becomes

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſt
4004.
Gen. ch. 1.
and part of
ch. 2.
Why the
woman was
made of a
rib.

us therefore to inquire into the reason that might induce God to make the man and the woman at different times, and of different materials ; and it is an impertinent, as well as impious banter, to pretend to be so frugal of his pains. What if God, willing to shew a pleasing variety in his works, condescended to have the matter, whereof the woman was formed, pass twice through his hands, in order to * soften the temper, and meliorate the composition? Some peculiar qualities, remarkable in the female sex, might perhaps justify this supposition: but the true reason, as I take it, is couched in these words of Adam (q), *This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall*

(p) Rom. ix. 20. 21.

* Milton has given us a very curious description of Eve's qualifications, both in body and mind.

Though well I understand, in the prime end
Of nature, her th' inferior in the mind,
And inward faculties, which most excel ;
In outward also her resembling less
His image, who made both, and less expressing
The character of that dominion giv'n
O'er other creatures ; yet when I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems,
So in herself compleat, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do, or say,
Seems wisest, virtuourest, discreetest, best.
All higher knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded, wisdom in discourse with her
Loses discountenanc'd, and like folly shews.
Authority and reason on her wait,
As one intended first, but after made
Occasionally ; and, to consummate all,
Greatness of mind, and nobleness their feat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard angelic plac'd. Book 8.

(q) Gen. ii. 23. 24.

A. M. 1. *be called † woman, because she was taken out of man; there-*
 Ant. Chris. *fore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave to*
 4004. *his wife, and they shall be one flesh.*

Gen. ch. 1. *his wife, and they shall be one flesh.*
 and part of ch. 2. Since God was determined then to form the woman out of some part of the man's body, and might probably have a mystical meaning in so doing; to have taken her (like the poets Minerva) out of the head, might have intitled her to a superiority which he never intended for her; to have made her of any inferior, or more dishonourable part, would not have agreed with that equality to which she was appointed; and therefore he took her out of the man's side, to denote the obligations to the strictest friendship and society; to beget the strongest love and sympathy between him and her, as parts of the same whole; and to recommend marriage to all mankind, as founded in nature, and as the re-union of man and woman.

Why the woman's soul is not mentioned in the works of creation. It is an easy matter to be sceptical; but small reason, I think, there is to wonder, why no mention is made in this place of the inspiration of the woman's soul. What the historian means here, is only to represent a peculiar circumstance in the woman's composition, *viz.* her assumption from the man's side: and therefore what relates to the creation of her soul must be presumed to go before, and is indeed signified in the preface God makes before he begins the work; (*r*) *It is not good that man should be alone. I will make him an help-meet for him, i. e.* of the same (*s*) essential qualities with himself. For we cannot conceive of what great comfort this woman would have been to Adam, had she not been endowed with a rational part, capable of conversing with him; had she not had, I say, the same understanding, will, and affections, though perhaps in a lower degree, and with some accommodation to the weakness of her sex, in order to recommend her beauty, and to endear that softness wherein (as I hinted before) she had certainly the pre-eminence.

The ridiculous accounts which other nations give us of the creation. Such is the history which Moses gives us of the origin of the world, and the production of mankind: and if we should now compare it with what we meet with in other nations recorded of these great events, we shall soon perceive, that it is the only rational and philosophical account extant; which, considering the low ebb that learning was

† Arius Montanus renders the Hebrew word *virago*, in the margin *virissa*, i. e. *she-man*.

(*r*) Gen. ii. 18. (*s*) So the original word means, and so the vulgar Latin has translated it.

at in the Jewish nation, is no small argument of its divine revelation. What a wretched account was that of the Egyptians, (from whence the Epicureans borrowed their hypothesis), that the world was made by chance, and mankind grew out of the earth like pumpkins? What strange stories does the Grecian theology tell us of ^{A. M. 1. Ant. Chris. 4004.} *Ὀυρανός* and *Ἔρως*, ^{Gen. ch. 1. and. part of ch. 2.} *Jupiter* and *Saturn*; and what sad work do their ancient writers make, when they come to form men and women out of projected stones? How unaccountably does the Phœnician historian (*t*) make a dark and windy air the principle of the universe; all intelligent creatures to be formed alike in the shape of an egg, and both male and female awakened into life by a great thunder-clap? The Chinese are accounted a wise people, and yet the articles of their creed are such as these—That one Tain, who lived in heaven, and was famous for his wisdom, disposed the parts of the world into the order we find them; that he created out of nothing the first man Panfon, and his wife Panfone; that this Panfon, by a power from Tain, created another man called *Tanhom*, who was a great naturalist, and thirteen men more, by whom the world was peopled, till, after a while, the sky fell upon the earth, and destroyed them all; but that the wise Tain afterwards created another man, called *Lotziram*, who had two horns, and an odoriferous body, and from whom proceeded several men and women, who stocked the world with the present inhabitants. But, of all others, the Mahometan account is the most ridiculous; for it tells us, that the first things which were created, were *the Throne of God*, * *Adam*, *Paradise*, and a *great pen*, wherewith God wrote his decrees: that this throne was

(*t*) *Vid.* Cumberland's *Sanchoniatho*.

* As to the formation of Adam's body, the Mahometans tell us many strange circumstances, *viz.* That after God, by long continued rains, had prepared the slime of the earth, out of which he was to form it, he sent the angel Gabriel, and commanded him, of seven days of earth, to take out of each an handful: that upon Gabriel's coming to the Earth, he told her, that God had determined to extract that out of her bowels, whereof he proposed to make man, who was to be sovereign over all, and his vicegerent: that, surpris'd at this news, the Earth desired Gabriel to represent her fears to God, that this creature, whom he was going to make in this manner, would one day rebel against him, and draw down his curse upon her: that Gabriel returned, and made a report to God of the Earth's remonstrances; but God resolving to execute his design, dispatched Michael,

A. M. 1. was carried about upon angels necks, whose heads were so
 Ant. Chriſt. big, that birds could not fly in a thousand years from one
 4004. ear to another; that the heavens were propped up by the
 Gen. ch. 1. mountain Koff; that the stars were firebrands, thrown a-
 and part of ch. 2. gainſt the devils when they invaded heaven, and that the
 earth ſtands upon the top of a great cow's horn; that this
 cow ſtands upon a white ſtone, this ſtone upon a mountain,
 and this mountain upon God knows what; with many more
 abſurdities of the like nature.

And the
 juſtneſs of
 that of
 Moſes.

Theſe are ſome accounts of the world's creation, which nations of great ſagacity in other reſpects have at leaſt pretended to believe. But alas! how ſordid and trifling are they, in compariſon of what we read in the book of Genetiſis, where every thing is eaſy and natural, comporting with God's majeſty, and not repugnant to the principles of philoſophy? Nay, where every thing agrees with the poſitions of the greateſt men in the Heathen world, * the ſentiments of their wiſeſt philoſophers, and the deſcriptions of their

and afterwards Aſraphel, with the ſame commiſſion: that theſe two angels returned in like manner to report the Earth's excuſes, and abſolute reſuſal to contribute to this work; whereupon he deputed Azrael, who, without ſaying any thing to the Earth, took an handful out of each of the ſeven different lays or beds, and carried it to a place in Arabia, between Mecca and Taief: that after the angels had mixed and kneaded the earth which Azrael brought, God, with his own hand, formed out of it an human ſtatue, and having left it in the ſame place for ſome time to dry, not long after communicating his ſpirit, or enlivening breath, inſuſed life and underſtanding into it; and cloathing it in a wonderful dreſs, ſuitable to its dignity, commanded the angels to fall proſtrate before it, which Eblis (by whom they mean Lucifer) reſuſing to do, was immediately driven out of paradife. *N. B.* The difference of the earth employed in the formation of Adam, is of great ſervice to the Mahometans in explaining the different colours and qualities of mankind who are derived from it, ſome of whom are white, others black, others tawny, yellow, olive-coloured, and red; ſome of one humour, inclination, and complexion, and others of a quite different; *Calmet's Dictionary* on the word *Adam*.

* *Thales*, quem primum Græci putant rerum naturalium cauſas eſſe rimatum, mundum opus eſſe Dei, Deumque antiquiſſimum eſſe rerum omnium, utpote ortus expertem, aſſerit. *Pythagoras*, cùm mundi hujus fabricam et ornatum contempleret, videri ſibi, aiebat, audire vocem illam Dei, quæ exiſtere juſſus eſt. *Plato*
 non

their most renowned poets. So that were we to judge of A. M. 1. Ant. Chriſ. 4004. Gen. ch. 1. and part of ch. 2. Moſes at the bar of reaſon, merely as an hiſtorian; had we none of thoſe ſupernatural proofs of the divinity of his writings, which ſet them above the ſphere of all human compoſition; had his works none of that manifeſt advantage of antiquity above all others we ever yet ſaw; and were we not allowed to preſume, that his living near the time which he makes the æra of the world's creation, gave him great aſſiſtances in point of tradition; were we, I ſay, to wave all this that might be alledged in his behalf; yet the very manner of his treating the ſubject gives him a preference above all others. Nor can we, without admiration, ſee a perſon who had none of the ſyſtems before him which we now ſo much value, giving us a clearer idea of things, in the way of an eaſy narrative, than any philoſopher, with all his hard words and new-invented terms, has yet been able to do; and, in the compaſs of two ſhort chapters, comprising all that has been advanced with reaſon, even from his own time to this very day.

DISSERTATION I.

The wiſdom of God in the works of the creation.

THOUGH the author of the Pentateuch (*a*) never once attempts to prove the being of a God, as taking it all along for a thing undeniable; yet it may not be improper for us, in this place, to take a curſory view of the works of the creation, (as far at leaſt as they come under the Moſaic account), in order to ſhew the exiſtence, the wiſdom, the greatneſs, and the goodneſs of their almighty Maker.

Let us then caſt our eyes up to the firmament, where the rich handy-work of God preſents itſelf to our ſight, and

The being and wiſdom of God proved from the make and motion of heavenly bodies.

non ex æterna materia, ſuique cœquali, Deum mundum compegiſſe ratus eſt, ſed eduxiſſe ex nihilo, ſolâque ſuâ voluntate ad id eguiſſe, neque ſolum à Deo, ſed ad Dei ſimilitudinem factum eſſe hominem, et animos noſtros Deo eſſe cognatos et ſimiles, eidem Platonii notum fuit. Vocandi quoque ad partes poetæ: inter Latinos *Virgilius*, cùm canentem inducit *Silenum*, ut coactis rerum ſeminibus mundi tener orbis concreverit; præcipuè *Ovidius*, cùm cœli terræque narrat ortum, hominiſque ad Dei effigiem conſecti; et, inter Græcos, imprimis *Heſiodus*, qui rerum omnium machinationem, ſuaviſſimis carminibus, Moſaicæ doctrinæ conſonis, in Theogoniâ, celebravit; *Huetii Alnetanæ Quaſtiones*.

(*a*) *Vid. Stilliſfleet's Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 1.*

A. M. 1. ask ourselves some such questions as these. What power
 Ant. Chriſt. built, over our heads, this vaſt and magnificent arch, and
 Gen. ch. 1. ⁴⁰⁰⁺ *ſpread out the heavens like a curtain?* Who garniſhed theſe
 and part of heavens with ſuch a variety of ſhining objects, a thouſand,
 ch. 2. and ten thouſand times ten thouſand different ſtars, new
 ſuns, new moons, new worlds, in compariſon of which
 this earth of ours is but a point, all regular in their mo-
 tions, and ſwimming in their liquid æther? Who painted
 the clouds with ſuch a variety of colours, and in ſuch di-
 verſity of ſhades and figures, as is not in the power of the
 fineſt pencil to emulate? Who formed the fun of ſuch a de-
 terminate ſize, and placed it at ſuch a convenient diſtance,
 as not to annoy, but only reſreſh us, and nourish the ground
 with its kindly warmth? If it were larger, it would ſet the
 earth on fire; if leſs, it would leave it frozen: if it were
 nearer us, we ſhould be ſcorched to death; if farther from
 us, we ſhould not be able to live for want of heat: who
 then hath made it ſo commodious (*b*) *a tabernacle* (I ſpeak
 with the Scriptures, and according to the common notion)
*out of which it cometh forth, every morning, like a bride-
 groom out of his chamber, and rejoiceth, as a giant, to run his
 courſe?* For ſo many ages paſt, it never failed riſing at its
 appointed time, nor once miſſed ſending out the dawn to
 proclaim its approach: but at whoſe voice does it ariſe,
 and by whoſe hand is it directed in its diurnal and annual
 courſe, to give us the bleſſed viciffitudes of the day and
 night, and the regular ſucceſſion of different ſeaſons? That
 it ſhould always proceed in the ſame ſtrait path, and never
 once be known to ſtep aſide; that it ſhould turn at a certain
 determinate point, and not go forward in a ſpace where
 there is nothing to obſtruct it; that it ſhould traverse the
 ſame path back again in the ſame conſtant and regular pace,
 to bring on the ſeaſons by gradual advances; that the moon
 ſhould ſupply the office of the ſun, and appear at ſet times,
 to illuminate the air, and give a vicarious light, when its
 brother is gone to carry the day to the other hemisphere;
 (*c*) that it ſhould procure, or at leaſt regulate the fluxes
 and refluxes of the ſea, whereby the water is kept in con-
 ſtant motion, and ſo preſerved from putrefaction, and ac-
 commodated to man's manifold conveniencies, beſides the
 buſineſs of fiſhing, and the uſe of navigation: in a word,
 that the reſt of the planets, and all the innumerable hoſt of

(*b*) Pſal. xix. 4. 5.
 creation.

(*c*) Ray's Wiſdom of God in the

heavenly bodies should perform their courses and revolutions, with so much certainty and exactness, as never once to fail, but, for almost this 6000 years, come constantly about in the same period, to the hundredth part of a minute; this is such a clear and incontestable proof of a divine architect, and of that counsel and wisdom wherewith he rules and directs the universe, as made the Roman philosopher, with good reason, conclude, "That (d) whoever
 " imagines, that the wonderful order, and incredible
 " constancy of the heavenly bodies, and their motions
 " (whereupon the preservation and welfare of all things
 " do depend) is not governed by an intelligent being, himself is destitute of understanding. For shall we, when
 " we see an artificial engine, a sphere, a dial, for instance, acknowledge, at first sight, that it is the work
 " of art and understanding; and yet, when we behold the
 " heavens, moved and whirled about with an incredible
 " velocity, most constantly finishing their anniversary vicissitudes, make any doubt, that these are the performances, not only of reason, but of a certain excellent and
 " divine reason?"

And if Tully, from the very imperfect knowledge of astronomy, which his time afforded, could be so confident, that the heavenly bodies were framed, and moved by a wise and understanding mind, as to declare, that, in his opinion, whoever asserted the contrary, was himself destitute of understanding; (e) what would he have said, had he been acquainted with the modern discoveries of astronomy; the immense greatness of the world, that part of it (I mean) which falls under our observation; the exquisite regularity of the motions of all the planets, without any deviation or confusion; the inexpressible nicety of adjustment in the primary velocity of the earth's annual motion: the wonderful proportion of its diurnal motion about its own centre, for the distinction of light and darkness; the exact accommodation of the densities of the planets to their distances from the sun: the admirable order, number, and usefulness of the several satellites, which move about their respective planets; the motion of the comets, which are now found to be as regular and periodical, as that of other planetary bodies; and, lastly, the preservation of the several systems, and of the several planets and comets in the same

(d) Tully De nat. deorum.
 a God.

(e) Clarke's Demonstration of

A. M. 1. system, from falling upon each other : what, I say, would
 Ant. Chris. Tully, that great master of reason, have thought and said,
 4004. if these, and other newly discovered instances of the inex-
 Gen. ch. 1. pressible accuracy and wisdom of the works of God, had
 and part of ch. 2. been observed and considered in his days? Certainly A-
 cheism, which even then was unable to withstand the argu-
 ments drawn from this topic, must now, upon the addi-
 tional strength of these later observations, be utterly ashamed
 to show its head, and forced to acknowledge, that it was an
 eternal and almighty being, God alone, who gave these
 celestial bodies their proper mensuration and temperature
 of heat, their dueness of distance, and regularity of mo-
 tion, or, in the phrase of the prophet, (*f*) *who established*
the world by his wisdom, and stretched out the heavens by his
understanding.

The air and its meteors. If, from the firmament, we descend to the orb whereon
 we live, what a glorious proof of the divine wisdom do we
 meet with in this intermediate expansion of the air, which
 is so wonderfully contrived, as, at one and the same time,
 to support clouds for rain, and to afford winds for health
 and traffic ; to be proper for the breath of animals by its
 spring, for causing sounds by its motion, and for convey-
 ing light by its transparency ? But whose power was it, that
 made so thin and fluid an element, the safe repository of
 thunder and lightning, of winds and tempests ? By
 whose command, and out of whose treasuries, are these
 meteors sent forth to purify the air, which would otherwise
 stagnate, and consume the vapours, which would otherwise
 annoy us ? And by what skilful hand is the (*g*) water,
 which is drawn from the sea, by a natural distillation made
 fresh, and bottled up, as it were, in the clouds, to be sent
 upon the *wings of the wind* into different countries, and,
 in a manner, equally dispersed, and distributed over the
 face of the earth, in gentle showers ?

From the earth, and its animals. Whose power and wisdom was it, that *hanged the earth*
upon nothing, and gave it a spherical figure, the most
 commodious that could be devised, both for the con-
 sistency of its parts, and the velocity of its motion ? that
weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a ba-
lance, and disposed of them in their most proper places
 for fruitfulness and health ? That diversified the climates of
 the earth into such an agreeable variety, that, at the far-
 thest distance, each one has its proper seasons, day and

(*f*) Jer. li. 15. (*g*) Ray's Wisdom of God in the creation.

night,

night, winter and summer? that cloathed the face of it with plants and flowers, so exquisitely adorned with various and inimitable beauties, that even *Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed like one of them?* That placed the plant in the seed (as the young is in the womb of animals) in such elegant complications, as afford at once both a pleasing and astonishing spectacle? that painted and perfumed the flowers, gave them the sweet odours which they diffuse in the air for our delight, and, with one and the same water, dyed them into different colours, the scarlet, the purple, the carnation, surpassing the imitation, as well as comprehension of mankind? that has replenished it with such an infinite variety of living creatures, (*b*) so like, and at the same time so unlike to each other, that of the innumerable particulars wherein each creature differs from all others, every one is known to have its peculiar beauty, and singular use? Some walk, some creep, some fly, some swim; but every one has members and organs (*i*) fitted to its peculiar motions. In a word, the pride of the horse, and the feathers of the peacock, the largeness of the camel, and the smallness of the insect, are equal demonstrations of an infinite wisdom and power: Nay, * the smaller

A. M. 1.
Ant. Christ.
4004.
Gen. ch. 1.
and part of
ch. 2.

(*b*) Dr Sam. Clarke's serm. vol. 1. (*i*) Ray's Wisdom of God in the creation.

* *Where has nature disposed so many senses, as in a gnat?* (says Pliny in his Natural history, when considering the body of that insect), "Ubi visum præterdit? ubi gustatum applicavit? ubi odoratum inseruit? ubi vero truculentam illam, et portione maximam vocem, ingeneravit? qua subtilitate pennas adnexuit? prælongavit pedum crura, disposuit jejunam cavcam, uti alvum, avidam sanguinis, et potissimum humani, accendit? telum vero, perfodiendi tergori, quo spiculavit ingenio? atque, ut in capaci, cum cerni non possit exilitas, ita reciproca geminavit arte, ut fodiendo acuminatum, pariter sorbendoque fistulosum esset?" And if Pliny made so many queries concerning the body of a gnat, (which, by his own confession, is none of the least of insects), what would he, in all likelihood, have done, had he seen the bodies of these animalcula, which are discernible by glasses, to the number of 10, 20, or 30 thousand, in a drop of pepper-water, not larger than a grain of millet? And if these creatures be so very small, what must we think of their muscles, and other parts? Certain it is, that the mechanism, by which nature performs the muscular motion, is exceedingly minute and curious, and to the performance of every muscular motion, in
greater

A. M. 1. smaller the creature is, the more amazing is the workman-
 Ant. Chriſ. ſhip; and when in a little mite, we do (by the help of
 4004. glaſſes) ſee limbs perfectly well organized, an head, a body,
 Gen. ch. 1. and part of legs, and feet, all diſtinct, and as well proportioned for
 ch. 2. their ſize, as thoſe of the vaſteſt elephants; and conſider
 withal, that, in every part of this living atom, there are
 muſcles, nerves, veins, arteries, and blood; and in that
 blood ramous particles and humours; and in thoſe hu-
 mours, ſome drops that are compoſed of other minute
 particles: when we conſider all this, I ſay, can we help
 being loſt in wonder and aſtoniſhment, or refrain crying
 out, with the bleſſed apoſtle, (k) *O the depth of the riches
 both of the wiſdom, and knowledge of God! how unſearch-
 able are his works, and his ways of creation and providence
 paſt finding out!*

But there is another thing in animals, both terreſtrial
 and aqueous, no leſs wonderful than their frame; and that
 is, their natural inſtinct. In compliance with the common
 forms of ſpeech I call it ſo; but in reality, it is the pro-
 vidential direction of them, by an all-wiſe, and all-powerful
 mind. For what elſe has inſufed into birds the art of build-
 ing their neſts, either hard or ſoft, according to the conſti-
 tution of their young? What elſe makes them keep ſo con-
 ſtantly in their neſts, while they are hatching their young,
 as if they knew the philoſophy of their own warmth, and
 its aptneſs for animation? what elſe moves the ſwallow,
 upon the approach of winter, to fly to a more temperate
 climate, as if it underſtood the celeftial ſigns, the influ-
 ence of the ſtars, and the change of ſeaſons? What elſe (l)
 cauſes the ſalmon, every year, to aſcend from the ſea up a
 river, ſome four or five hundred miles perhaps, only to
 caſt its ſpawn, and ſecure it in banks of ſand, until the
 young be hatched, or excluded, and then return to the ſea
 again? How theſe creatures, when they have been wan-
 dering, a long time, in the wide ocean, ſhould again find
 out, and repair to the mouth of the ſame rivers, ſeems to
 me very ſtrange, and hardly accountable, without having
 recourſe either to ſome impreſſion given at their firſt crea-
 tion, or the immediate and continual direction of a ſuperior

greater animals at leaſt, there are not fewer diſtinct parts con-
 cerned, than many millions of millions, and theſe viſible through
 a microſcope; *Ray's Wiſdom of God in the creation.*

(k) Rom. xi. 33. (l) *Ray's Wiſdom of God.*

cause. In a word, (*m*) can we behold the spider's net, A. M. 1. the silk worm's webs, the bee's cells, or the ant's grana- Ant. Chris. rics, without being lost in the contemplation, and forced to 4004. acknowledge that infinite wisdom of their creator, who ei- Gen. ch. 1. ther directs their unerring steps himself, or has given them and part of ch. 2. a genius (if I may so call it) fit to be an emblem, and to shew mankind the pattern of art, industry, and frugality?

If from the earth, and the creatures which live upon it, From the water, and its animals. we cast our eye upon the water, we soon perceive, that it is a liquid and transparent body, and that, had it been more or less rarified, it had not been so proper for the use of man: but who gave it that just configuration of parts, and exact degree of motion, as to make it both so fluent, and at the same time so strong, as to carry and waft away the most unweildy burthens? Who hath taught the rivers to run, in winding streams, through vast tracts of land, in order to water them more plentifully; then throw themselves into the ocean, to make it the common centre of commerce; and so, by secret and imperceptible channels, return to their fountain-head, in one perpetual circulation? Who stored and replenished these rivers with fish of all kinds, which glide, and sport themselves in the limpid streams, and run heedlessly into the fisher's net, or come greedily to the angler's hook, in order to be caught (as it were) for the use and entertainment of man? *The great and wide sea* is a very awful and stupendous work of God, and the flux and reflux of its waters are not the easiest phenomena in nature. (*n*) †, †† that we know of certainty is this, that the tide carries and brings us back to certain places, at precise hours: but whose hand is it that makes it stop, and then return with such regularity? A little more or less motion in this fluid mass would disorder all nature, and a small incitement upon a tide ruin whole kingdoms: who then was so wise, as to take such exact measures in immense bodies, and who so strong, as to rule the rage of that proud element at discretion? Even he, (*o*) *who hath placed the sand for the bound thereof, by a perpetual decree, that it cannot pass; and placed the Leviathan (among other animals of all kinds) therein to take his pastime, out of whose nostrils goeth a smoke, and whose breath kindleth coals; so that he maketh the deep to boil like a pot, and maketh the sea like a pot of cintment,*

(*m*) Charnock's existence of a God.
fratration of a God.

(*n*) Fenelon's demon-

(*o*) Jer. v. 22.

A. M. 1. as the author of the book of (*p*) Job elegantly describes
 Ant. Chris. that most portentous creature.

^{4004.}
 Gen. ch. 1. If now, from the world itself, we turn our eyes more
 and part of particularly upon man, the principal inhabitant that God
 ch. 2. has placed therein, no understanding certainly can be so
 low and mean, no heart so stupid and insensible, as not
 And from the make of plainly to see, that nothing but infinite wisdom could,
 man's body in so wonderful a manner, have fashioned his body, and
 and soul. inspired into it a being of superior faculties, whereby he
 (*q*) *teacheth us more than the beasts of the field, and maketh us
 wiser than the fowls of heaven.*

Should any of us see a lump of clay rise immediately from the ground into the compleat figure of a man, full of beauty and symmetry, and endowed with all the parts and faculties we perceive in ourselves, and possibly far more exquisite and beautiful: should we presently, after his formation, observe him perform all the operations of life, sense, and reason; move as gracefully, talk as eloquently, reason as justly, and do every thing as dexterously, as the most accomplished man breathing; the same was the case, and the same the moment of time, in God's formation of our first parent. But (to give the thing a stronger impression upon the mind) we will suppose, (*r*) that this figure rises by degrees, and is finished part by part, in some succession of time; and that, when the whole is completed, the veins and arteries bored, the sinews and tendons laid, the joints fitted, and the liquor (transmutable into blood and juices) lodged in the ventricles of the heart, God infuses into it a vital principle; whereupon the liquor in the heart begins to descend, and thrill along the veins, and an heavenly blush arises in the countenance, such as scorns the help of art, and is above the power of imitation. The image moves, it walks, it speaks; it moves with such a majesty, as proclaims it the lord of the creation, and talks with such an accent, and sublimity of sentiment, as makes every ear attentive, and even its great Creator enter into converse with it: were we to see all this transacted before our eyes, I say, we could not but stand astonished at the thing; and yet this is an exact emblem of every man's formation, and a contemplation it is, that made holy David break out into this rapturous acknowledgment: (*s*) *Lord! I will give thee thanks, for I am fearfully and wonderfully*

(*p*) Job xli. 31. (*q*) Job xxxv. 11. (*r*) Hale's origination of mankind. (*s*) Psal. cxxxix. 14. 16.

made; marvellous are thy works, and that my soul knoweth right well: thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect, and in thy book were all my members written.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chril.
4004.
Gen. ch. 1.
and part of
ch. 2.

Nay, so curious is the texture of the human body, and in every part so full of wonder, that even Galen himself, (who was otherwise backward enough to believe a God), after he had carefully surveyed the frame of it, and viewed the fitness and usefulness of every part, the many * several intentions of every little vein, bone, and muscle, and the beautiful composition of the whole, fell into a pang of devotion, and wrote an hymn to his Creator's praise. (t) And, if in the make of the body, how much more does the divine wisdom appear in the creation of the soul of man, a substance immaterial, but united to the body by a copula imperceptible, and yet so strong, as to make them mutually operate, and sympathize with each other, in all their pleasures and their pains; a substance endued with those wonderful faculties of thinking, understanding, judging, reasoning, chusing, acting, and (which is the end and excellency of all) the power of knowing, obeying, imitating, and praising its Creator; though certainly neither it, nor any superior rank of beings, angels, and archangels, or the *whole host of heaven* can worthily and sufficiently do it; (u) *for who can express the mighty acts of the Lord, or shew forth all his praise?*

Thus, which way soever we turn our eyes, whether we look upwards or downwards, without us, or within us, upon the animate or inanimate parts of the creation; we shall find abundant reason to take up the words of the Psalmist, and say, (x) *O Lord, how wonderful are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all; the earth is full of thy riches.* (y) *O, that men would therefore praise the Lord for his*

* Galen, in his book *De formatione fetus*, takes notice, that there are, in a human body, above 600 muscles, in each of which there are, at least, ten several intentions, or due qualifications, to be observed; so that, about the muscles alone, no less than 6000 several ends and aims are to be attended to. The bones are reckoned to be 284, and the distinct scopes, or intentions of each of these, are above 40; in all, about 12,000; and thus it is in some proportion with all the other parts, the skin, ligaments, vessels, and humours; but more especially with the several vessels of the body, which do, in regard of the great variety and multitude of those several intentions required to them, very much exceed the *homogeneous* parts; *Wilkins's nat. rel.*

(t) Clarke's serm. vol. 1. (u) Psal. cvii. 2. (x) Ibid.

sey. 24. (y) Ibid. cvii. 21. 22.

A. M. 1. *goodness, and declare the wonders that he doth for the children*
 Ant. Chris. *of men! that they would offer him the sacrifice of thanksgiving,*
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 1. *and tell out all his works with gladness!*
 and part of
 ch. 2.

C H A P. II.

Of the state of man's innocence.

The HISTORY.

Gen. ch. 2. **A**S soon as the seventh day from the creation (the first
 from ver. 8. day, as we said, of Adam's life, and consequently
 the first day of the week) was begun, Adam, awaking out
 God's con- of his sleep, and musing, very probably, on his vision the
 cluding Eve preceding night, beheld the fair figure of a woman ap-
 to Adam, proaching him †, conducted by the hand of her almighty
 marrying, and blef- Maker; and as she advanced, the several innocent beau-
 ing them. ties that adorned her person, the comeliness of her shape,
 and gracefulness of her gesture, the lustre of her eye, and
 sweetness of her looks, discovered themselves in every step
 more and more.

It is not to be expressed, nor now conceived *, what a full tide of joy entered in at the soul of our first parent, when

† It is the general opinion of interpreters, both Jewish and Christian, that God himself, or, more particularly, the second person in the ever-blessed Trinity, God the Son (who is therefore styled in Scripture [Isa lxiii. 6.] *the Angel of God's presence*) appeared to Adam, on this and sundry other occasions, in a visible glorious majesty, such as the Jews call the *Schechinah*, which seems to have been *a very shining flame, or amazing splendor of light*, breaking out of a thick cloud, of which we afterward read very frequently, under the name of *the glory of the Lord*, and to which we cannot suppose our first parents to have been strangers. We therefore look upon it as highly probable, that this divine Majesty first conducted Eve to the place where Adam was, and not long after their marriage, conveyed them both, from the place where they were formed, into the garden of Eden; *Patrick's Commentary.*

* Milton has expressed the joy and transport of Adam, upon his first sight of Eve, in the following manner :

When out of hope, behold her! not far off;
 Such as I saw her in my dream, adorn'd
 With what all earth, or heaven could bestow,
 To make her amiable. On she came,

when he survey'd this lovely creature, who was destined to be the partner and companion of his life; when, by a secret sympathy, he felt that she was of his own likeness, and complexion, *bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh*, his very self, diversified only into another sex; and could easily foresee, that the love and union which was now to commence between them was to be perpetual, and for ever inseparable. (a) For the same divine hand which conducted the woman to the place where Adam was, presented her to him in the capacity of a matrimonial father; and, * having joined them together in the nuptial state,

A. M. 1.
Ant. Christ.
4004.
Gen. ch. 2.
from ver. 8.

Led by her heav'nly Maker (though unseen)
And guided by his voice; not uninform'd
Of nuptial sanctity, and marriage rites.
Grace was in all her steps, heav'n in her eye,
In ev'ry gesture dignity and love.
I overjoy'd, could not forbear aloud.
" This turn hath made amends, thou hast fulfill'd
" Thy words, Creator bounteous, and benign!
" Giver of all things fair! but fairest this
" Of all thy gifts." Book 8.

(a) Vid. Patrick's Commentary.

* The words of Milton upon this occasion are extremely fine.

————— all heav'n
And happy constellations, on that hour
Shed their selectest influence: the earth
Gave sign of gratulation, and each hill:
Joyous the birds; fresh gales, and gentle airs
Whisper'd it to the woods, and from their wings
Flung rose, flung odors, from the spicy shrub,
Disporting. Book 8.

Nor can we pass by his episode upon marriage, which, for its grave and majestic beauty, is inimitable.

Hail wedded love! mysterious law! true source
Of human offspring! sole propriety
In paradise, of all things common else!
By thee adult'rous lust was driv'n from men,
Among the bestial herds to range; by thee
(Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure)
Relations dear, and all the charities
Of father, son, and brother, first were known.
Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets!
Whose bed is undefil'd, and chaste pronounc'd—
Here love his golden shafts employs; here lights
His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings;
Reigns here and revels ——— Book 4.

A. M. 1. pronounced his benediction over them, to the intent that
 Ant. Chris. (b) they might enjoy unmolested the dominion he had gi-
 4004. ven them over the other parts of the creation, and, being
 Gen. ch. 2. themselves † fruitful in the procreation of children, might
 from ver. 8. live to see the earth replenished with a numerous progeny,
 descended from their loins.

The situ-
 ation of
 Paradise.

In the mean time God had taken care to provide our
 first parents * with a pleasant and delightful habitation in
 the

(b) *Vid.* Gen. i. 28. 29. 30.

† The words of the text are, *Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth*: whereupon some have made it a question, whether this is not a command, obliging all men to marriage and procreation, as most of the Jewish doctors are of opinion? But to this it may be replied, 1st, That it is indeed a command obliging all men so far, as not to suffer the extinction of mankind, in which sense it did absolutely bind Adam and Eve, as also Noah, and his sons, and their wives, after the flood: but, 2^{dly}, that it does not oblige every particular man to marry, appears from the example of our Lord Jesus, who lived and died in an unmarried state; from his commendation of those who made themselves *eunuchs for the kingdom of God*, Matth. xix. 12. and from St. Paul's frequent approbation of virginity, 1 Cor. vii. 1. &c. And therefore, 3^{dly}, it is here rather a permission than a command, though it be expressed in the form of a command, as other permissions frequently are. *Vid.* Gen. ii. 16. Deut. xiv. 4; *Pool's Annotations.*

* The description which Milton gives us of the garden of paradise, is very agreeable in several places, but in one more especially, where he represents the pleasing variety of it.

— Thus was this place

A happy rural seat of various view.
 Groves, whose rich trees wept od'rous gums, and balm;
 Others, whose fruit, burnish'd with golden rind,
 Hung amiable; (Hesperian fables true,
 If true, here only) and of delicious taste.
 Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks,
 Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd;
 Or palmy hillock, or the flow'ry lap
 Of some irriguous valley spread her store.
 Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose.
 Another side umbrageous grots, and caves
 Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine
 Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
 Luxuriant. Mean while murm'ring waters fall
 Down the slop hills, dispers'd, or in a lake

the country of Eden (c), which was watered by four rivers; by the *Tigris*, in Scripture called *Hiddekel*, on one side, and by *Euphrates* on the other, which, joining their streams together in a place where (not long after the flood) the famous city of *Babylon* was situate, pass through a large country, and then dividing again, form the two rivers, which the sacred historian calls *Pison*, and *Gihon*, and so water part of the garden of paradise, wherein were all kinds of trees, herbs, and flowers, which could any way delight the sight, the taste, or the smell.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſt.
4004.
Gen. ch. 2.
from ver. 8.

Among other trees however, there were two of very remarkable names and properties planted in the midst, or most eminent part of the garden, to be always within the view and observation of our first parents, *the tree of life*, so called, (d) because it had a virtue in it, not only to repair the animal spirits, as other nourishment does, but likewise to preserve and * maintain them in the same equal temper and state wherein they were created, without pain, diseases, or decay; and *the tree of knowledge of good and evil*, so called, (e) not because it had a virtue to confer any such knowledge, but * because the devil, in his

The tree of life, and that of knowledge, why so called.

(That to the fringed bank, with myrtle crown'd,
Her chrystal mirror holds) unite their streams.
The birds their choir apply. Airs, vernal airs,
Breathing the smell of fields, and groves, attune
The trembling leaves, while universal PAN
Knit with the GRACES, and the HOURS, in dance
Lead on the eternal spring.—Book 4.

(c) *Histoire de la Bible*, par M. Martin. (d) Patrick's
Comment.; *et vid.* ch. 3. ver. 20.

* Others think, that the *tree of life* was so called, in a symbolical sense, as it was a sign and token of that life which man had received from God, and of his continual enjoyment of it, without diminution, had he persisted in his obedience; and as this garden, say they, was confessedly a type of heaven, so God might intend by this tree to represent that immortal life which he meant to bestow upon mankind with himself, Revel. xxii. 2.; according to which is that famous saying of St. Austin, *Frat ei in cæteris lignis alimentum, in istis vero sacramentum*; Patrick's Commentary.

(e) Nicholl's Conference, vol. 1.

* Others think the *tree of knowledge* was so called, either in respect to God, who was minded by this tree to prove our first parents, whether they would be good or bad, which was to be

A. M. 1. his temptation of the woman, pretended that it had; pre-
 Ant. Chris. tended, that (*f*) as God knew all things, and was himself
 4004. subject to no one's controul, so the eating of this tree would
 Gen. ch. 2. confer on them the same degree of knowledge, and put
 from ver. 8. them in the same state of independency: and from this un-
 fortunate deception (whereof God might speak by way of
 anticipation) it did not improperly derive its name.

The prohi- Into this † paradise of much pleasure, but some dan-
 bition given ger, wherein was one tree of a pernicious quality, though
 our first pa- all the rest were good in their kind, and extremely salutary,
 rents. the Lord God conducted our first parents, who, at this
 time, were naked, and yet not ashamed, because their in-
 nocence was their protection. They had no sinful inclinations
 in their bodies, no evil concupiscence in their minds, to make
 them blush; and withal, the temperature of the climate
 was such, as needed no cloathing to defend them from the
 weather, God having given them (as we may imagine) a fur-
 vey of their new habitation, shewn them the various beau-

be known by their abstaining from the fruit, or eating it; or in
 respect to them, who, in the event, found by sad experience, the
 difference between good and evil, which they knew not before;
 but they found the difference to be this, that good is that which
 gives the mind pleasure and assurance; but evil that which is al-
 ways attended with sorrow and regret; *Pool's annotations, and*
Young's Sermons, vol. 1.

(*f*) Estius in *difficiliora loca.*

† The word *paradise*, which the Septuagint make use of
 (whether it be of Hebrew, Chaldee, or Persian original) signifies
 a place enclosed for pleasure and delight: either a park where
 beasts do range, or a spot of ground stocked with choice plants,
 which is properly a garden; or curiously set with trees, yield-
 ing all manner of fruit, which is an orchard. There are three
 places in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, wherein this
 word is found, 1. in Nehemiah, ii. 8. where that prophet re-
 quests of Artaxerxes letters to *Asaph, the keeper of the king's fo-
 rest, or paradise*; 2dly, in the Song of Solomon, [iv. 13] where
 he says, that the plants of the spouse are *an orchard of pomegra-
 nates*; and 3dly, in Ecclesiastes [ii. 5.] where he says, *he made*
himself gardens, or paradises. In all which senses the word may
 very fitly be applied to the place where our first parents were to
 live; since it was not only a pleasant garden and fruitful orchard,
 but a spacious park and forest likewise, whereinto the several
 beasts of the field were permitted to come; *Edward's Survey of*
religion, vol. 1.; and *Calmet's Dictionary on the word Para-*
dise.

ARABIA
PETREA

SABEANS

Calathua

HAYILAH

ARABIA FELIX

THE PERSIAN

Ichara, now Carak GULF

Baharen
formerly Tilos

now Catif

Reqma

ARABIA

FELIX

To the Right Hon. ble
 & Hon. the Nobility, Clergy,
 & Gentry, Subscribers to this
 Edition of M^r. Stackhouse's His-
 tory this Plate & the following are
 most humbly inscribed by their
 most Obedient humble Servant
 James Meuros

THE ARABIAN GULF

ties of the place, the work wherein they were to employ themselves by day, and * the bower wherein they were to repose themselves by night, granted them to eat of the fruit of every tree in the garden, except that one, *the tree of knowledge of good and evil*, which (how lovely soever it might appear to the eye) he strictly charged them not so much as to touch, upon the penalty of incurring his displeasure, forfeiting their right and title to eternal life, and entailing upon themselves, and their posterity, || mortality, diseases, and death.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chris.
4004.
Gen. ch. 2.
from ver 8.

With

* The description which Milton gives us of this blissful bower, is extremely fine.

—It was a place,

Chos'n by the sov'reign Planter, when he fram'd
All things to man's delightful use: the roof
Of thickest covert, was inwoven shade,
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant leaf. On either side
Acanthus, and each od'rous bushy shrub;
Fenc'd up the verdant wall. Each beauteous flow'r,
Iris, all hues, roses, and jessamin,
Rear'd high their flourish'd heads between, and wrought
Mosaic: underfoot the violet,
Crocus, and hyacinth, with rich inlay,
Broider'd the ground, more colour'd than with stone
Of costliest emblem. Other creatures here,
Beast, bird, insect, or worm, durst enter none;
Such was their awe of man! Book 4.

|| The words in our version are, *In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die*; which seem to imply, that on the day that Adam should eat of the tree of knowledge, he should die; which eventually proved not so, because he lived many years after; and therefore (as some observe very well) it should be rendered, *Thou shalt deserve to die without remission*; for the Scripture frequently expresses by the future, not only what will come to pass, but also what ought to come to pass; to which purpose there is a very apposite text in 1 Kings, ii. 37. where Solomon says to Shimei, — *Go not forth thence (viz. from Jerusalem) any whither; for in the day thou goest out, and passest over the brook Kidron, thou shalt surely die, i. e. thou shalt deserve death without remission*. For Solomon reserved to himself the power of punishing him when he should think fit; and, in effect, he did not put him to death the same day that he disobeyed, any more than God did put Adam to death the same day that he trans-

A. M. 1.

Ant. Christ.

4004.

Gen. ch. 2

from ver. 3

Their employment
in paradise.

With this small restraint which the divine wisdom thought proper to lay upon Adam, as a token of his subjection, and a test of his obedience, God left him to the enjoyment of this paradise, where every thing was pleasant to the sight, and accommodated to his liking. Not thinking it convenient however for him, even in his state of innocence, to be idle or unemployed, here he appointed him to dress and keep the new plantation, which, by reason of its luxuriancy, would in time, he knew, require his care. Here he was to employ his mind, as well as exercise his body; to contemplate and study the works of God; to submit himself wholly to the divine conduct; to conform all his actions to the divine will; and to live in a constant dependence upon the divine goodness. Here he was to spend his days in the continual exercises of prayer and thanksgiving; and, it may be, the natural dictates of gratitude would prompt him to offer some of the fruits of the ground, and some living creatures, by way of sacrifice to God. Here were thousands of objects to exercise his intellectual faculties, to call forth his reason, and employ it; but that wherein the ultimate perfection of his life was doubtless to consist, was the union of his soul with the supreme good, that infinite and eternal Being, which alone can constitute the happiness of man.

Their happiness,

(g) O! Adam, beyond all imagination happy; with uninterrupted health, and untainted innocence, to delight thee; no perverseness of will, or perturbation of appetite, to discompose thee; a heart upright, a conscience clear, and an head unclouded, to entertain thee; a delightful earth for thee to enjoy; a glorious universe for thee to contemplate; an everlasting heaven, a crown of never-fading glory for thee to look for and expect; and, in the mean time, the author of that universe, the King of that heaven, and giver of that glory, thy God, thy Creator, thy benefactor, to see, to converse with, to bless, to glorify, to adore, to obey!

gressed in eating the forbidden fruit. This seems to be a good solution; though some interpreters understand the prohibition, as if God intended thereby to intimate to Adam the deadly quality of the forbidden fruit, whose poison was so very exquisite, that, on the very day he eat thereof, it would certainly have destroyed him, had not God's goodness interposed, and restrained its violence; *Vid. Essay for a new Translation; and Le Clerc's Comment.*

(g) Revelation examined, part 1.

This

This was the designed felicity of our first parents. Neither they nor their posterity were to be liable to sorrow or misery of any kind, but to be possessed of a constant and never-failing happiness; and, after innumerable ages and successions, were, in their courses, to be taken up into an heavenly paradise. For (b) that the terrestrial paradise was to Adam a type of heaven, and that the never-ending life of happiness promised to our first parents (if they had continued obedient, and grown up to perfection under that œconomy wherein they were placed) should not have been continued in this earthly, but only have commenced here, and been perpetuated in an higher state, *i. e.* after such a trial of their obedience as the divine wisdom should think convenient, they should have been translated from earth to heaven, is the joint opinion * of the best ancient, both Jewish and Christian writers.

Nei-A. M. 1. Ant. Chris. 4004. Gen. ch. 2. from ver. 8. and designed translation;

The OBJECTION

“ BUT how delightful soever the garden of Eden might be, a type of heaven, and an entrance into the regions against the reality of a terrestrial paradise.

(b) Bull's State of man before the fall.

* This same learned writer, (*viz.* Bishop Bull) has compiled a great many authorities from the fathers of the first centuries, all full and significant to the purpose, and to which I refer the reader, only mentioning one or two of more remarkable force and antiquity, for his present satisfaction. Justin Martyr, speaking of the creation of the world, delivers not his own private opinion only, but the common sense of Christians in his days; “ We have been taught,” says he, “ that God, being good, did, “ in the beginning, make all things out of an uninformed matter “ for the sake of men, who, if by their works they had rendered “ themselves worthy of his acceptance, we presume, should have “ been favoured with his friendship, and reigned together with “ him, being made incorruptible, and impassible;” *Apol. 2.* Athanasius, among other things worthy our observation, concerning the primordial state of our first parents, has these remarkable words: “ He brought them therefore into paradise, and gave them “ a law, that if they should preserve the grace then given, and “ continue obedient, they might enjoy in paradise a life without “ grief, sorrow, or care; besides that they had a promise also of “ an immortality in the heavens;” *De incarnatione verbi.* And therefore we need less wonder, that we find it in an article inserted in the common offices of the primitive church; and that in the most ancient liturgy now extant [that of Clemens] we read these words concerning Adam: “ When thou brought-

A. M. 1. “ regions of eternal bliss; yet all this seems to be but
 Ant. Chris^{4004.} “ (i) an imaginary and romantic description of what ne-
 Gen. ch. 2. “ ver had any existence in nature. In the whole habitable
 from ver. 8. “ world we can meet with no such place, as had the four
 “ great rivers of Euphrates, Tigris, Ganges, and the Nile,
 “ (which two latter, according to some men’s opinions,
 “ are the Pison and Gihon of Moses) all concurring to
 “ water it: and therefore the oddness of this geography has
 “ led several learned men to place this paradise in the third
 “ heaven, in the orb of the moon, in the moon itself, in
 “ the middle region of the air, &c. and of those who al-
 “ low it a situation in this sublunary world, some have
 “ carried it into a far distant country, quite concealed from
 “ the knowledge of men; whilst others had rather have it
 “ lie in Tartary, in China, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, in
 “ Syria, in Persia, in Babylonia, in Arabia, in Palestine,
 “ in Ethiopia, &c. In short, there is scarce any corner of
 “ the known world, wherein this wonderful garden has
 “ not been seated; and therefore others have more wisely
 “ concluded, that there was never any such determinate
 “ place; that (k) the whole earth, before its devastation,
 “ was entirely paradisiacal; that Moses, in his account,
 “ only puts a part for the whole, the better to accommo-
 “ date it to his reader’s conception; or that, if ever there
 “ was a local paradise, the violent concussions which hap-
 “ pened at the flood did unsettle the bounds of countries,
 “ and courses of rivers, and so totally change the face of
 “ nature, that it is next to impossible now to find it out.”

Difference
 of opinion
 no argu-
 ment
 against it.

That learned men should differ in their opinion about
 a question, which, it must be confessed, has its difficulties
 attending it, is no wonderful thing at all; but that Moses,
 who wrote about 850 years after the flood, should give us
 so particular a description of this garden, and that other sa-
 cred writers, long after him, should make such frequent
 mention of it, if there was never any such place, nay, if
 there were not then remaining some marks and characters
 of its situation, is pretty strange and unaccountable. The

“ est him into the paradise of pleasure, thou gavest him free leave
 “ to eat of all other trees, and forbadeest him to taste of one only,
 “ for the hope of better things: that if he kept the command-
 “ ment, he might receive immortality as the reward of his obe-
 “ dience;” *Apost. Const. lib. 8. cap. 12.*

(i) Burnet’s Theory. (k) Burnet’s Theory; and Ar-
 chæol. philosoph.

very nature of his description shews, that Moses had no imaginary paradise in his view, but a portion of this habitable earth, bounded with such countries and rivers as were very well known by the names he gave them in his time, and (as it appears from other passages in Scripture) for many ages after. (1) Eden is as evidently a real country, as Arrarat, where the ark rested, or Shinaar, where the sons of Noah removed after the flood. We find it mentioned as such in Scripture, as often as the other two; and there is the more reason to believe it, because, in the Mosaic account, the scene of these three memorable events is all laid in the neighbourhood of one another.

Moses, we must allow, is far from being pompous or romantic in his manner of writing; and yet it cannot be denied, but that he gives a manifest preference to this spot of ground above all others; which why he should do, we cannot imagine, unless there was really such a place as he describes: nor can we conceive, (m) what other foundation, both the ancient poets and philosophers could have had, for their fortunate islands, their elysian fields, their garden of Adonis, their garden of the Hesperides, their Ortygia and Toprobane, (as described by Diodorus Siculus), which are but borrowed sketches from what our inspired penman tells us of the first terrestrial paradise.

It is not to be questioned then, but that, in the antediluvian world, there really was such a place as this garden of Eden, a place of distinguished beauty, and more remarkably pleasant in its situation; otherwise we cannot perceive, * why the expulsion of our first parents from that abode should

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſt.
4004.
Gen. ch. 2.
from ver. 8.

Moses really intended a description of it.

(1) Univerſ. hiſt. book 1. chap. 1.
Aletan.

(m) Huet. Quæſt.

* Eve's lamentation upon the order which Michael brought for their departure out of paradise, is very beautiful and affecting in Milton.

O unexpected ſhock, worſe far than death!
Muſt I thus leave thee, Paradife, thus leave
Thee, native ſoil? Thoſe happy walks and ſhades,
Fit haunt of gods! where I had hope to ſpend
Quiet, though ſad, the reſpite of that day
Which muſt be mortal to us both! O flow'rs,
That never will in other climate grow,
My early viſitation, and my laſt
At ev'n, which I had bred with tender hand

From

A. M. 1. should be thought any part of their punishment; nor can
 Ant. Chris. we see, what occasion there was for placing a *flaming sword*
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 2. about the *tree of life*; or for appointing an host of che-
 from ver. 8. rubims to guard the entrance against their return. The
 face of nature, and the course of rivers, might possibly be
 altered by the violence of the flood; but this is no valid ex-
 ception to the case in hand: (n) because Moses does not
 describe the situation of paradise in antediluvian names.
 The names of the rivers, and the countries adjacent, *Cush*,
Havilah, &c. are names of later date than the flood; nor
 can we suppose, but that Moses (according to the known
 geography of the world, when he wrote) intended to give
 us some hints of the place, near which Eden, in the former
 world, and the garden of paradise, were seated.

And how to
 find it out.

Now the description which Moses gives us of it, is de-
 livered in these words.— (o) *And the Lord God planted a
 garden eastward in Eden, and a river went out of Eden
 to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and be-
 came into four heads. The name of the first is Pison, that
 is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where
 there is gold, and the gold of that land is good; there is
 the Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. And the name of the
 second river is Gihon; the same is it that compasseth the
 whole land of Cush. And the name of the third river is
 Hiddekel; that is it which goes before Assyria: and the fourth
 is Euphrates.* So that to discover the place of paradise, we
 must find out the true situation of the land of Eden, where-
 of it was probably a part, and then trace the courses of the
 rivers, and inquire into the nature of the countries which
 Moses here specified.

The differ-
 ent coun-
 tries called
Eden, and
 their sever-
 al situa-
 tions.

The word *Eden*, which in the Hebrew tongue (ac-
 cording to its primary acceptation) signifies, *pleasure* and
delight; in a secondary sense, is frequently made the proper
 name of several places, which are either more remarkably
 fruitful in their soil, or pleasant in their situation. Now,

From the first op'ning bud, and gave ye names!
 Who now will rear you to the sun, and rank
 Your tribes, or water from the ambrosial fount?
 Thee, lastly, nuptial bow'r, by me adorn'd,
 With what to sight, or smell, was sweet! from thee
 How shall I part, and whither wander down
 Into a lower world?————

Book XI.

(n) Shuckford's Connect. 1. 1.

(o) Gen. ii. 8. &c.

of all the places which go under this denomination, the learned have generally looked upon these three, as the A. M. r. Ant. Chris. 4004. Gen. ch. 2. from ver. 8. perest countries wherein to inquire for the terrestrial paradife.

1. The first is that province which the prophet (*p*) Amos seems to take notice of, when he divides Syria into three parts, *viz.* Damascus, the plain of Aven, and the house of Eden, called *Cælo-Syria*, or *the hollow Syria*, because the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus inclose it on both sides, and make it look like a valley. But (*q*) (how great soever the names be that seem to patronize it) this, by no means, can be the Eden which Moses means; not only because it lies not to the east, but to the north of the place where he is supposed to have wrote his book, but more especially, because it is destitute of all the marks in the Mosaical description, which ought always to be the principal test in this inquiry.

2. The second place, wherein (*r*) several learned men have sought for the country of Eden, in Armenia, between the sources of the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Araxis, and the Phasis, which they suppose to be the four rivers specified by Moses. But this supposition is far from being well founded, because, according to modern discoveries, the Phasis does not rise in the mountains of Armenia, (as the ancient geographers have misinformed us), but at a great distance from them, in mount Caucasus: nor does it run from south to north, but directly contrary, from north to south, as some (*s*) late travellers have discovered. So that, according to this scheme, we want a whole river, and can no ways account for that which (according to Moses's description of it) *went out of the country of Eden, to water the garden of paradife.*

3. The third place, and that wherein the country of Eden, as mentioned by Moses, seems most likely to be seated, is Chaldea, not far from the banks of the river Euphrates. To this purpose, when we find Rabshekah vaunting out his master's actions, (*t*) *Have the gods of the na-*

(*p*) Ch. i. 5. (*q*) Its chief abettors are Heidegger in his *Historia Patriarch.*; *Le Clerc in Gen. ii. 8*; P. Abram in his *Pharus Vet. Test.*; and P. Hardouin in his edition of *Pliny.*

(*r*) The chief patrons of this scheme are Santon in his *Atlas*; Reland in his *Dissertat. de situ paradisi*; and Calmet, both in his *Dictionary and Commentary on Gen. ii. 8.* (*s*) *Vid.* Thavenot, and Sir John Chardin's travels.

(*t*) 2 Kings xix. 12. and Isa. xxxvii. 12.

A. M. 1. tions delivered them which my fathers have destroyed, as
 Ant. Chris. Gazan, and Haran, and Rezepb, and the children of Eden,
 Gen. ch. 2. ^{4004.} which were in Telassar? As Telassar, in general, signifies
 from ver. 8. any garrison or fortification; so here, more particularly,

it denotes (*u*) that strong fort which the children of Eden held in an island of the Euphrates, towards the west of Babylon, as a barrier against the incursions of the Assyrians on that side. And therefore, in all probability, (*x*) the country of Eden lay on the west side, or rather on both sides of the river Euphrates, after its conjunction with the Tigris, a little below the place where, in process of time, the famous city of Babylon came to be built.

Thus we have found out a country called *Eden*, which, for its pleasure and fruitfulness *, (as all authors agree), answers the character which Moses gives of it; and are now to consider his description of the four rivers, in order to ascertain the place where the garden (we are in quest of) was very probably situate.

The river
Pison.

The first river is Pison, or Phison, (as the son of Sirach calls it), that which compasseth the land of Havilah. Now, for the better understanding of this, we must observe, that (*y*) when Moses wrote his history, he was, in all probability, in Arabia Petræa, on the east of which lies Arabia Deserta; but the sterility of the country will not admit of the situation of the garden of Eden in that place; and therefore we must go on eastward (as our author directs us) until we come to some place, through which Euphrates and Tigris are known to shape their course. Now Euphrates and Tigris, though they both rise out of the mountains of Armenia, take almost quite contrary courses. Euphrates runs to the west, and passing through Mesopotamia, waters the country where Babylon once stood; where-

(*u*) *Vid.* Bedford's Scripture-chronology. (*x*) Calvin [on Gen. ii. 8.] was the first starter of this opinion, and is, with some little variation, followed by Marinus, Bochart, Huetius, Bishop of Auranches, and divers others.

* Herodotus, who was an eye-witness of it, tells us, that where Euphrates runs out into Tigris, not far from the place where Ninus is seated, that region is, of all that he ever saw, the most excellent; so fruitful in bringing forth corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold; and so plenteous in grass, that the people are forced to drive their cattle from pasture, lest they should surfeit themselves by too much plenty; *Vid. Herod. Clio. lib. ; and Quint. Curt. l. 5.*

(*y*) *Vid.* Wells's Geography; and Patrick's Commentary.

as Tigris takes towards the east, and passing along Assyria, waters the country where the once famed city of Nineveh stood. After a long progress, they meet a little below Babylon, and, running a considerable way together in one large stream, with Babylonia and Chaldea on the west, and the country of Sufiana on the east side, they separate again not far from Bassora, and so fall, in two channels, into the Persian gulf, inclosing the island Teredon, now called *Balsara*.

Now, taking this along with us, we may observe farther, that there are two places in Scripture which make mention of the land of Havilah. In the one we are told, that (z) *the Israelites dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt*; and in the other, that (a) *Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah, until thou goest to Shur, that is before Egypt*; where, by the expression, *from Havilah unto Shur*, is probably meant the whole extent of that part of Arabia which lies between Egypt to the west, and a certain stream or river which empties itself into the Persian gulf, on the east. That Havilah is the same with this part of Arabia, is farther evinced from its abounding with very good gold. For all authors, both sacred and profane, highly commend the gold of Arabia; tell us, that it is there dug in great plenty; is of so lively a colour, as to come near to the brightness of fire; and of so fine a kind, so pure and unmixed, as to need no refinement. *Bdellium* (which by some interpreters is taken for *pearl*, and by others for an *aromatic gum*) is, in both these senses, applicable to this country: for the * *bdellium*, or gum of Arabia, was always held in great esteem; nor is there any place in the world which produces finer * pearls, or in greater quantities, than the sea about Ba-

(z) Gen. xxv. 18.

(a) 1 Sam. xv. 7.

* Galen, comparing the gum of Arabia with that of Syria, gives some advantage to the former, which he denies to the other; *De simp medic. lib. 6*. And Pliny prefers the *bdellium* of Arabia before that of any other nation, except that of *Bactriana*; *Plin. lib. 12. cap. 9*

* Nearchus, one of Alexander's captains, who conducted his fleet from the Indies, as far as the Persian gulf, speaks of an island there abounding in pearls of great value; *Strabo, lib. 16*. And Pliny, having commended the pearls of the Indian seas, adds, that such as are fished towards Arabia, in the Persian gulf, deserve the greatest praise; *lib. 6. cap. 28*.

A. M. 1. haren, an island situated in the Persian gulf; and as for *
 Ant. Chris. the onyx-stone in particular, (if we will believe what Pliny
 4004 tells us), the ancients were of opinion, that it was no where
 Gen. ch. 2. to be found but in the mountains of Arabia. It seems rea-
 from ver. 8. sonable therefore to conclude, (according to all the charac-
 ters which Moses has given us of it), that that tract of A-
 rabia which lies upon the Persian gulf, was, in his days,
 called *the land of Havilah*, and that the channel which, af-
 ter Euphrates and Tigris part, runs westward into the said
 gulf, was originally called *Pison*; and this the rather, be-
 cause † some remains of its ancient name continued a long
 while after this account of it.

The river
 Gihon.

*The second river is Gihon, that which compasseth, or
 runneth along, the whole land of † Cush.* Where we may
 observe,

* Strabo tells us, that the riches of Arabia, which consisted in
 precious stones and excellent perfumes, (the trade of which
 brought them a great deal of gold and silver, besides the gold of
 the country itself), made Augustus send Aelius Gallus thither, ei-
 ther to make these nations his friends, and so draw to himself
 their riches, or else to subdue them; *lib. 16.* Diodorus Siculus
 describes at large the advantages of Arabia, and especially its pre-
 cious stones, which are very valuable, both for their variety and
 brightness of colour; *lib. 2.* And (to name no more) Pliny,
 who is very curious in remarking the countries of precious stones,
 assures us, that those of the greatest value came out of Arabia;
lib. ult.

† It is a great while since both this river and the river Gihon
 have lost their names. The Greek and Roman writers call them
 still, after their parting, by the names they had before they met,
Euphrates and *Tigris*; but there was some remainder of the name
 of *Pison* preserved in the river *Pisotigris*, which is *Pison* mixed
 with *Tigris* (as Mr Carver observes). By Xenophon it is called
 simply *Phison*, in which the name of *Phison* is plainly enough re-
 tained, and went under that name, until the time of Alexander
 the Great. For Q. Curtius commonly calls *Tigris* itself by the
 name of *Phisis*, and says it was so called by the inhabitants there-
 about, which, in all probability, was the name of this other river
Phison, but, in process of time, lost by the many alterations
 which were made in its course, as Pliny tells us; *Patrick's
 Commentary*

‡ The LXX translation renders the Hebrew word *Cush* by
 the name of *Ethiopia*, and in this mistake is all along followed
 by our English version, (whereas by the land of Cush is always
 meant some part of Arabia), which has led Josephus, and several
 others, into a notion, that the river Gihon was the Nile in Egypt;
 and

observe, that Moses has not affixed so many marks on the Gihon, as he does on the Pison, and that probably for this reason; (b) because, having once found out the Pison, we might easily discover the situation of the Gihon. For Pison being known to be the first river, in respect to the place where Moses was then writing, it is but natural to suppose, that Gihon (as the second) should be the river next to it; and, consequently, that other stream, which, after the Euphrates and Tigris are parted, hold its course eastward, and empties itself in the Persian gulf. For all travellers agree, that the country lying upon the eastern stream, which other nations call *Susiana*, is by the inhabitants to this day * called *Chuzestan*, which carries in it plain footsteps of the original word *Cush*, or (as some write it) *Chuz*.

Though therefore no remains of this river Gihon are to be met with in the country itself; yet, since it lies exactly the second in order, according to the method that Moses has taken in mentioning the four rivers; and, since the province it runs along and washes was formerly called *the land of Cush*, and has at this time a name not a little analogous to it; there is no doubt to be made, but that the said easterly channel, coming from the united stream of the Euphrates and Tigris, is the very Gihon described by Moses.

The third river is Hiddekel, that which goeth towards the east of, or (as it is better translated) that which goeth along the side of Assyria. It is allowed by all interpreters, as well as the LXX, that this river is the same with Tigris, which (as Pliny says) was called *Diglito*, in those parts where its course was slow, but where it began to be rapid, it took the other name. And, though it may be difficult to shew any just analogy between the names of *Hid-*

The river
Hiddekel.

and supposing withal, that the country of Havilah was some part of the East-Indies, they have run into another error, and taken Pison for the Ganges, whereby they make the garden of Eden contain the greatest part of Asia, and some part of Africa likewise, which is a supposition quite incredible; *Patrick, ibid.*; *Bedford's Scripture-chronology*; and *Shuckford's Connection*.

(b) Wells's Historical geography, vol. 1.

* Benjamin of Navarre tells us, that the province of *Flam*, whereof Sufa is the metropolis, and which extends itself as far as the Persian gulf, at the east of the mouth of the river Euphrates, or Tigris, (as you please to term it), is called by that name; *Wells, ibid.*

A. M. 1. *dekel* and *Tigris*; yet, if we either observe Moses's method
 Ant. Chris. of reckoning up the four rivers, or consider the true geo-
 4004. graphy of the country, we shall easily perceive, that the ri-
 Gen. ch. 2. ver. 8. ver. Hiddekel could properly be no other. (c) For as, in
 respect to the place where Moses wrote, Pison lay nearest
 to him, and so, in a natural order, was named first, and the
 Gihon, lying near to that, was accordingly reckoned se-
 cond; so, having passed over that stream, and turning to
 the left, in order to come back again to Arabia Petræa,
 (where Moses was), we meet, in our passage, with Tigris in
 the third place; and so, proceeding westward through the
 lower part of Mesopotamia, come to Pherath, or Euphra-
 tes, at last. For Tigris (we must remember) parts Assy-
 ria from Mesopotamia, and meeting with Euphrates a little
 below Babylon, runs along with it in one common channel,
 until they separate again, and make the two streams of Pi-
 son and Gihon, which, as we said before, empty them-
 selves into the Persian gulf.

Euphrates, and the four heads of the rivers. *The fourth river was † Euphrates*; but this lay so
 near the country of Judea, and was so well known to the
 inhabitants thereof, that there was no occasion for Moses
 particularly to describe it. From the course of these four
 rivers however, which he manifestly makes the bounds
 and limits of it, we may perceive, that the land of Eden
 must necessarily lie upon the great channel which the Ti-
 gris and Euphrates make, while they run together, and
 where they part again, must there terminate: for so the
 sacred text informs us, *viz.* that *a river went out of Eden
 to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and
 became into four heads*; which words manifestly imply,
 that in Eden the river was but one, *i. e.* one single chan-
 nel; but *from thence, i. e.* when it was gone out of Eden,

(c) Wells's Geography.

† *Euphrates* is of the same signification with the Hebrew *Phe-
 rath*, and is probably so called, by reason of the pleasantness, at
 least the great fruitfulness, of the adjacent country. It must not be
 dissembled however, that it is one of those corrupt names which
 our translations have borrowed from the Septuagint version, and
 which probably the Greeks, as Reland [*De situ paradisi*] judici-
 ously observed took from the Persians, who often set the word *ab*
 or *au*, which signifies *water*, before the names of rivers, of which
 word, and *Frat*, (as it is still called by the neighbouring people),
 the name *Euphrates* is apparently compounded; *Univ. Hist.*
book I. chap. I.

it was parted, and became four streams or openings, (for A. M. 1. Ant. Chrif. 4004. Gen. ch. 2. from ver. 8. the Hebrew word may be translated), two upwards, and two below. For, fupposing this channel to be our common centre, we may, if we look one way, *i. e.* up towards Babylon, fee the Tigris and Euphrates coming into it; and, if we look another way, *i. e.* down towards the Perfian gulf, fee the Pifon and the Gihon running out of it.

It feems reasonable then to fuppose, that this country of Eden lay on each fide of this great channel, partly in Chaldea, and partly in Sufiana: and, what may confirm us in this opinion, is, the extraordinary goodnefs and fertility of the foil. For, as it is incongruous to fuppose, that God would make choice of a barren land wherein to plant the garden of paradife; fo all ancient hiftorians and geographers inform us, that not only Mefopotamia, Chaldea, a good part of Syria, and other neighbouring countries, were the moft pleafant and fruitful places in the world; but modern travellers likewise particularly affure us, that in all the dominions which the Grand Seigneur has, there is not a finer country (though, for want of hands, it lies in fome places uncultivated) than that which lies between Bagdat and Baffora, the very tract of ground, which, according to our computation, was formerly called *the land of Eden*.

In what precise part of the land of Eden the garden of paradife was planted, the sacred hiftorian feems to intimate, by informing us, that it (*d*) lay eastward in Eden: for he does not mean, that it lay eastward from the place where he was then writing, (that every body might easily know), but his design was to point out, as near as possible, the very spot of ground where it was anciently feated. If then the garden of paradife lay in the easterly part of the country of Eden, and (*e*) the river which watered it, ran through that province (as the Scripture tells us it did) before it entered into the garden, then must it necessarily follow, that paradife was fituated on the east fide of one of the turnings of that river, which the conjunction of the Tigris and Euphrates makes, (now called *the river of the Arabs*), and very probably at the lowest great turning, which Ptolemy takes notice of, and not far from the place where *Aracca* (in Scripture called *Erec*) at present is known to stand.

(*d*) Gen. ii. 8.(*e*) Chap. 2. 10.

A. M. 1. Thus we have followed the path which * the learned
 Ant. Chrif. and judicious Huetius, bishop of Auranches, has pointed
 4004. out to us, and have happily found a place wherein to fix
 Gen. ch. 2. this garden of pleasure. And, though it must be owned,
 from ver. 8. that there is no draught of the country which makes the
 The altera-rivers exactly answer the description that Moses has given
 tions in the us of them; yet, it is reasonable to suppose, (f) that he
 present country ac-wrote according to the then known geography of the coun-
 counted for. try; that if the site, or number of rivers about Babylon,
 have been greatly altered since, this, in all probability, has
 been occasioned by the cuts and canals which the mo-
 narchs of that great empire were remarkable for making;
 and that all modern observators find greater variations in
 the situation of places, and make greater corrections in all
 their charts and maps, than need to be made in the de-
 scription of Moses, to bring it to an agreement even with
 our latest accounts of the present country, and rivers near
 Chaldea. But I espouse this opinion, without any formal
 opposition to the sentiments of other learned men, who

* Upon this occasion, it may not be improper to set down
 a brief exposition of his opinion in his own words. “ Je dis
 “ donc, que la paradis terrestre estoit situé sur le canal que for-
 “ ment le Tigre et l’Euphrate joints ensemble, entre le lieu de
 “ leur jonction, et celui de la separation, qu’ils font de leurs
 “ eaux, avant que de tomber dans le golphe Perlique. Et comme
 “ ce canal faisoit quelques detours, et quelques courbures,
 “ je dis, (pour entrer dans une plus grande précision), que le
 “ paradis estoit situé sur une de ces courbures, et apparemment
 “ sur le bras meridional de la plus grande, (qui a été marqué
 “ par Agathodæmon dans les Tables géographiques de Ptolemée),
 “ lorsque ce fleuve revient vers l’orient, après avoir fait un long
 “ retour vers l’occident, environ à trente deux degrez trente-
 “ neuf minutes de latitude septentrionale, et à quatre vingt de-
 “ grez dix minutes de longitude, (selon le delineation de Aga-
 “ thodæmon), à peu près là ou il place l’Aracca, qui est l’Erec
 “ de l’Ecriture. L’ajoute encore, que les quatre testes de ce
 “ fleuve sont le Tigre, et l’Euphrate avant leur jonction, et les
 “ deux canaux, par où il tombe dans la mer, après sa divi-
 “ sion; que le plus occidental de ces deux canaux est le Phison;
 “ que le pais de Chavilah, qu’il traverse, est une partie de
 “ l’Arabie Heureuse, et une partie de l’Arabie Deserté; que le
 “ Gehon est le canal oriental des deux, dont j’ay parlé; et que
 “ le pais de Chus est la Susiana.” Vid. *Traité de la situation
 du paradis*, p. 16.

(f) Shuckford’s Connection, book 1.

doubtless, in this case, are left to their own choice; since the situation of paradise, (as the learned Bishop concludes), whether it be in one part of the world, or in another, can never be esteemed as an article of our Christian faith.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſt.
4004.
Gen. ch. 2.
from ver. 8.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the image of God in man.

WHOEVER looks into the history of the creation, as it is recorded by Moses, will soon perceive, that there was something so peculiar in the formation of man, as to deserve a divine consultation, and that this peculiarity chiefly consists in that † divine image and similitude wherein it pleased God to make him. This pre-eminence the holy penman has taken care, (g) in two several places, to remind us of, in order to imprint upon us a deeper sense of the dignity of human nature: and therefore it may be no improper subject for our meditation in this place, to consider a little, wherein this divine image or likeness did consist; how far it is now impaired in us; and in what measure it may be recovered again.

What the image of God impressed upon man in the state of his integrity was, it is as difficult a matter for us, who date our ignorance from our first being, and were all along bred up with the same infirmities about us wherein we were born, to form any adequate perception of, (b) as it is for a peasant bred up in the obscurities of a cottage, to fancy in his mind the unseen splendors of a court; and therefore we have the less reason to wonder, that we find such a variety of opinions concerning it.

(i) Some of the Jewish doctors were fond enough to imagine, that Adam at first had his head surrounded with

A difficulty to conceive what the image of God was.

Different opinions concerning it.

† The words in the text are, *in our image, after our likeness*, which seem to be much of the same import; only a learned Jewish interpreter has observed, that the last words, *after our likeness*, give us to understand, that man was not created properly and perfectly in *the image of God*, but only in a kind of resemblance of him; for he does not say, *in our likeness*, as he does, *in our image*; but, *after our likeness*; where the *caph* of similitude (as they call it) abates something of the sense of what follows, and makes it signify only an approach to the divine likeness, in understanding, freedom of choice, spirituality, immortality, &c; *Patrick's Commentary.*

(g) Gen. i. 26. 27. (b) South's sermons, vol. I. (i) Calmet's Dictionary on the word *Adam.*

A. M. 1. a visible radiant glory which accompanied him where-ever he
 Ant. Chriſt. went, and ſtruck awe and reverence into the other parts of
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 2. the animal creation; and that his perſon was ſo completely
 from ver. 8. perfect and handsome, that even God, before he formed
 him, assumed a human body of the most perfect beauty,
 and ſo, in a literal ſenſe, made him after his own image
 and reſemblance. But there needs no pains to refute this
 groundleſs fancy.

(k) Philo is of opinion, that this *image of God* was only
 the idea of human nature in the divine underſtanding, by
 looking on which he formed man, juſt as an architect a-
 bout to build an houſe, firſt delineates the ſcheme in his
 mind, and then proceeds to erect the fabric. But this o-
 pinion, how true ſoever, does not come up to the point in
 hand; becauſe it makes no diſtinction between man and o-
 ther creatures, (for they were likewiſe made according to
 the ideal image in the divine intellect) though it may be ma-
 niſteſtly the intent of the Scripture-account to give him a
 particular preference.

(l) Origen, among ancient Chriſtian authors, will have
 it to be the *Son of God*, who is called (m) *the expreſs image of
 the Father*: but there is no ſuch reſtriction in the words of
 Moſes. They are delivered (n) in the plural number; and
 therefore cannot, without violence, be applied to one
 ſingle perſon in the Godhead; and, among the moderns,
 ſome have placed it in holineſs alone; whiſt others have
 thought it more properly ſeated in dominion. But theſe
 are only ſingle lines, and far from coming to the whole
 portraiture.

Its diſtinction
 and expli-
 cation.

The divine ſimilitude, in ſhort, is a complex thing, and
 made up of many ingredients; and therefore (to give our
 thoughts a track in ſo ſpacious a field) we may diſtinguiſh
 it into *natural* and *ſupernatural*; and accordingly, ſhall,
 firſt, conſider the ſupernatural gifts and ornaments; and
 then, 2dly, thoſe natural perfections and accompliſhments
 wherein this image of God, impreſſed on our firſt parents,
 may be ſaid to conſiſt.

(o) An eloquent father of the church has ſet this whole
 matter before us in a very apt ſimilitude, comparing this a-
 nimal and living effigies of the *King of Kings* with the image

(k) De mundi opificio.

ligion, vol. 1.
 Let us make man.

cap. 4.

(l) Vid. Edward's Survey of re-
 (m) Heb. i. 3.

(n) Gen. i. 26.

(o) Greg. Nyſſen. De hominis opificio,

of an emperor, so expressed by the hand of an artificer, either in sculpture or painting, as to represent the very dress and ensigns of royal majesty, such as the purple robe, the sceptre, and the diadem, &c. But as the emperor's image does represent, not only his countenance and the figure of his body, but even his dress likewise, his ornaments and royal ensigns; so man does then properly represent in himself the image and similitude of God, when to the accomplishments of nature (which cannot totally be extinguished) the ornaments of grace and virtue are likewise added; when "man's nature (as he expresses it) is not clothed in purple, nor vaunts its dignity by a sceptre or diadem, (for the archetype consists not in such things as these), but instead of purple, is clothed with virtue, which, of all others, is the most royal vestment; instead of a sceptre, is supported by a blessed immortality; and, instead of a diadem, is adorned with a crown of righteousness."

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſt.
4004.
Gen. ch. 2.
from ver. 8.

That our first parents, besides the seeds of natural virtue and religion sown in their minds, and besides the natural innocence and rectitude wherein they were created, were endued with certain gifts and powers supernatural, infused into them by the Spirit of God, is manifest, not only from the authority of (p) Christian writers, but from the testimony of Philo the Jew likewise, who is very full of sublime notions concerning the divine image, and, in one place more especially, expresses himself to this purpose. (q) "The Creator made our soul," says he, "while inclosed in a body able of itself to see and know its maker; but, considering how vastly advantageous such knowledge would be to man, (for this is the utmost bound of its felicity), he inspired into him from above something of his own divinity, which, being invisible, impressed upon the invisible soul its own character; that so even this earthly region might not be without some creature made after the image of God:" and this * he asserts to be the recondite sense of Moses's words in the history of man's creation.

The supernatural part of it as to the soul.

And

(p) *Vid.* Bull's State of man before the fall. . (q) Lib. Quod det potiori insid. soleat, p. 171.

* "The great Moses," says he, "makes not the species of the rational soul to be like to any of the creatures, but pronounceth it to be the image of the invisible God, as judging it then to become the true and genuine coin of God, when it is formed and impressed by the divine seal, the character whereof is the eternal

n. M. 1. And indeed we need go no farther than this history of
 Ant. Chriſt. Moſes, to prove the very point we are now upon. For,
 4004. whereas it acquaints us, that the firſt man, in his ſtate of
 Gen. ch. 2. integrity, was able to ſuſtain the approaches of the divine
 from ver. 8. preſence, and converſe with his maker in the ſame language,
 Instances thereof. it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that it was a particular vouch-
 ſafement to him, to confirm his mind, and enlighten his
 underſtanding in this manner; becauſe no creature is fit to
 converſe with God without divine illumination, nor is any
 creature able to bear his majeſtic appearance, that is not for-
 tified and prepared for it by a divine power.

Whereas it tells us, that (r) *God brought every living creature unto Adam, to ſee what he would call them, and whatever he called them, that was the name thereof*; it can hardly be ſuppoſed (conſidering the circumſtances of the thing) but that this was the effect of ſomething more than human ſagacity. That in an infinite variety of creatures, never before ſeen by Adam, he ſhould be able on a ſudden; without labour or premeditation, to give names to each of them, ſo adapt and fitted to their reſpective natures, as that God himſelf ſhould approve the nomenclature, is a thing ſo aſtoniſhing, that we may venture to ſay, * no ſingle man, among all the philoſophers ſince the fall, no Plato, no Ariſtotle, among the ancients, no Des Cartes, no Gaſſendus,

“ word. For God,” ſaith he, “ breathed into his face the breath
 “ of life; ſo that he who receives the inſpiration muſt of neceſſity
 “ repreſent the image of him that gives it, and for this reaſon it
 “ is ſaid that man was made after the image of God;” *lib. De
 plantatione Noe.*

(r) Gen. ii. 19.

* The knowledge of Adam is highly extolled by the Jewiſh doctors. Some of them have maintained, that he compoſed two books, one concerning the creation, and another about the nature of God. They generally believe, that he compoſed the xci. pſalm; but ſome of them go farther, and tell us, that Adam's knowledge was not only equal to that of Solomon and Moſes, but exceeded even that of angels; and, for the proof of this, they produce this ſtory—— That the angels having ſpoke contemptuouſly of man, God made this anſwer,—— That the creature whom they deſpiſed was their ſuperior in knowledge; and, to convince them of this, that he brought all the animals to them, and bid them name them, which they being not able to do, he propoſed the thing to Adam, and he did it immediately: with many more fancies of the ſame ridiculous nature; *Saurin's Diſſertations.*

no Newton, among the moderns; nay, no academy or royal society whatever durst have once attempted it.

Whereas it informs us, that Adam no sooner saw his wife brought unto him, but (s) he told exactly her original, and gave her a name accordingly, though he lay in the profoundest sleep and insensibility all the while that God was performing the wonderful operation of taking her out of his side; this can be imputed to nothing, but either an immediate inspiration, or some prophetic vision (as we said before) that was sent unto him while he slept. (t) From the conformity of parts which he beheld in that goodly creature, and her near similitude to himself, he might have conjectured indeed, that God had now provided him with a meet help, which before he wanted; but it is scarce imaginable, how he could so punctually describe her rise and manner of formation, and so surely prophesy, that the general event to his posterity would be, for the sake of her sex, *to leave father and mother, and cleave to their wives*, otherwise than by divine illumination; “ which enabled him (u) (as one excellently expresses it) “ to view essences in themselves, and read forms without the comment of their “ respective properties; which enabled him to see consequences yet dormant in their principles, and effects yet “ unborn, and in the womb of their causes; which enabled him, in short, to pierce almost into future contingencies, and improved his conjectures and sentiments even to a prophecy, and the certainties of a prediction.”

These seem to be some of the supernatural gifts, and what we may call the chief lines, wherein the image of God was so conspicuous upon Adam's soul; and there was this supernatural in his body likewise, that (x) whereas it was made *of the dust of the earth*, and in its composition consequently corruptible, either by a power continually proceeding from God, whereof (y) *the tree of life* was the divine sign and sacrament, or by the inherent virtue of the tree itself, perpetually repairing the decays of nature, it was to enjoy the privilege of immortality. (z) Not such an immortality as the glorified bodies of saints shall hereafter possess (for they shall be made wholly impassible, and set free from the reach of any outward impressions and ele-

A. M. 1.
Ant. Christ.
4004.
Gen. ch. 2.
from ver. 8

As to the body.

(s) Gen. ii. 23. (t) Bull's Sermons and discourses.
(u) South's sermons, vol. 1. (x) Hopkins's Doctrine of the two covenants.
(y) Gen. ii. 9. (z) Edwards's Survey of religion, vol. 1.

A. M. r. mental disorders, which may impair their vigour, or en-
 Ant. Chris. danger their dissolution), but an immortality by donation,
 4004. and the privilege of an especial providence, which engaged
 Gen. ch. 2. itself to sway and over-rule the natural tendency which was
 from ver. 8. in man's body to corruption; and, notwithstanding the
 contrarieties and dissensions of a terrestrial constitution, to
 continue him in life as long as he should continue himself
 in his obedience.

The natu-
 ral part as
 to the soul.

2. Another chief part of the divine image and simili-
 tude in our first parents, was an universal rectitude in all
 the faculties belonging to the soul. Now the two great
 faculties, or rather essential acts of the soul, are the *un-*
derstanding and *will*; which, though (for the clearer con-
 ception of them) we may separate, are in their operation
 so blended and united together, that we cannot properly
 think them distinct faculties. It is the same individual mind
 which sees and perceives, as well as chuses or rejects the fe-
 veral objects that are presented to it. When it does the
 former, we call it the *understanding*, and when the latter,
 the *will*; so that they are both radically and inseparably the
 same, and differ only in the manner of our conceiving them.
 Nay, the clearest and only distinct apprehension we are
 able to form of them, (even when we come to consider them
 separately), is only this, that the understanding is chiefly
 conversant about intelligible, the will about eligible objects;
 so that the one has truth, and the other goodness in its view
 and pursuit. There are besides these, belonging to the soul
 of man, certain passions and affections, which (according
 to the common notion and manner of speaking) have chief-
 ly their residence in the sensitive appetite; and however,
 in this lapsed condition of our nature, they may many times
 mutiny and rebel, yet, when kept in due temper and subor-
 dination, are excellent hand-maids to the (a) soul. Though
 the Stoics look upon them all as sinful defects, and devia-
 tions from right reason; yet it is sufficient for us, that our
 blessed Saviour (who took upon him all our natural, but
 none of our sinful infirmities) was known to have them,
 and that our first progenitor, in the state of his greatest
 perfection, was not devoid of them. Let us then see how
 far we may suppose that the image of God might be im-
 pressed upon each of these.

(b) His soul itself was a rational substance, immaterial,
 and immortal; and therefore a proper representation of

(a) South's Sermons, vol. I.

(b) Edward's Survey.

that supreme Spirit, whose wisdom is infinite, and essence eternal.

(c) His understanding was, as it were, the upper region of his soul, lofty and serene; seated above all sordid affections, and free from the vapours and disturbances of inferior passions. Its perceptions were quick and lively; its reasonings true, and its determinations just. A deluded fancy was not then capable of imposing upon it, nor a fawning appetite of deluding it to pronounce a false and dishonest sentence. In its direction of the inferior faculties, it conveyed its suggestions with clearness, and enjoined them with power; and though its command over them was but suasive, yet it had the same force and efficacy as if it had been despotical.

His will was then very ductile and pliant to the motions of right reason. It pursued the directions that were given it, and attended upon the understanding, as a favourite does upon his prince, where the service is both privilege and preferment: and, while it obeyed the understanding, it commanded the other faculties that were beneath it; gave laws to the affections, and restrained the passions from licentious sallies.

His passions were then indeed all subordinatè to his will and intellect, and acted within the compass of their proper objects. His love was centred upon God, and flamed up to heaven in direct fervours of devotion. His hatred (if hatred may be supposed in a state of innocence) was fixed only upon that which his posterity only love, *sin*. His joy was then the result of a real good suitably applied, and filled his soul (as God does the universe) silently and without noise. His sorrow (if any supposed disaster could have occasioned sorrow) must have moved according to the severe allowances of prudence; been as silent as thought, and all confined within the closet of the breast. His hope was fed with the expectation of a better paradise, and a nearer admission to the divine presence; and (to name no more) his fear, which was then a guard, and not a torment to the mind, was fixed upon him, who is only to be feared, God, but in such a filial manner, as to become an awe without amazement, and a dread without distraction.

It must be acknowledged indeed, that the Scriptures do not expressly attribute all these perfections to Adam in his first estate; but, since the opposite weaknesses now infest

A. M. 1. the nature of man fallen, we must conclude (if we will be true to the rule of contraries) that these, and such like excellencies, were the endowments of man innocent. And
 Ant. Chris. 4004.
 Gen. ch. 2.
 from ver. 8. if so, then is there another perfection arising from this harmony, and due composition of the faculties, which we may call *the crown and consummation of all*, and that is a good conscience. For, as in the body, when the vital and principal parts do their office, and all the smaller vessels act orderly, there arises a sweet enjoyment upon the whole, which we call *health*; so in the soul, when the supreme faculties of the understanding and will move regularly, and the inferior passions and affections listen to their dictates, and follow their injunctions, there arises a serenity and complacency upon the whole soul, infinitely beyond all the pleasures of sensuality, and which, like a spicy field, refreshes it upon every reflection, and fills it with a joyful confidence towards God.

As to the body, and its dominion over other creatures.

These are some of the natural lines (as we may distinguish them) which the finger of God portrayed upon the soul of man: and (so far as a spiritual being may be resembled by a corporeal) (*d*) the contrivance of man's bodily parts was with such proportion and exactness, as most conduced to its comeliness and service. His stature was erect and raised, becoming him who was to be the lord of this globe, and the observer of the heavens. A divine beauty and majesty was shed upon it, such as could neither be eclipsed by sickness, nor extinguished by death; (*e*) for Adam knew no disease, so long as he refrained from the forbidden tree. Nature was his physician, and innocence and abstinence would have kept him healthful to immortality. And from this perfection of man's body, especially that port and majesty which appeared in his looks and aspect, there arose, in some measure, another lineament of the divine image, *viz.* (*f*) that dominion and sovereignty wherewith God invested him over all other creatures. For there is even still remaining in man a certain terrific character, (as (*g*) one calls it), which, assisted by that instinct of dread that he hath equally implanted in their natures, commands their homage and obeisance; insomuch, that it must be hunger or compulsion, or some violent exasperation or o-

(*d*) Bate's Harmony of the divine attributes. (*e*) South's sermons, vol. 1. (*f*) Gen. i. 26. (*g*) Cornelius Agrippa, De occult. philof.

ther, that makes them at any time rebel against their maker's vicegerent here below.

This is the best copy of the divine image that we can draw : only it may not be amiss to add, (*b*) that the holiness of man was a resemblance of the divine purity, and his happiness a representation of the divine felicity. And now, to look over it again, and recount the several lines of it. What was supernatural in it, was a mind fortified to bear the divine presence, qualified for the divine converse, fully illuminated by the divine Spirit ; and a body that (contrary to the natural principles of its composition) was indulged the privilege of immortality. What was natural to it, was an universal harmony in all its faculties ; an understanding fraught with all manner of knowledge ; a will submitted to the divine pleasure ; affections placed upon their proper objects ; passions calm and easy ; a conscience quiet and serene : resplendent holiness, perfect felicity, and a body adorned with such comeliness and majesty, as might justly challenge the rule and jurisdiction of this inferior world.

If it be demanded, how much of this image is defaced, lost, or impaired ; the answer is, that (*i*) whatever was supernatural and adventitious to man by the benignity of Almighty God, (as it depended upon the condition of his obedience to the divine command), upon the breach of that command, was entirely lost : What was perfective of his nature, such as the excellency of his knowledge, the subordination of his faculties, the tranquillity of his mind, and full dominion over other creatures, was sadly impaired : but what was essential to his nature, the immortality of his soul, the faculties of intellect and will, and the natural beauty and usefulness of his body, does still remain, notwithstanding the concussions they sustained in the fall.

If it be asked, what we must do in order to repair this defaced image of God in us ? the only answer we can have in this case, is, from the sacred oracles of Scripture. We must (*k*) be renewed in the spirit of our mind, and put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness : We must (*l*) be followers of God as dear children ; grow in grace, (*m*) be renewed in knowledge, and (*n*) conformed to the image of his son : We must (*o*)

(*b*) Bate's Harmony. (*i*) Hales's Origination of mankind.
 (*k*) Eph. iv. 23. 24. (*l*) Eph. v. 1. (*m*) Col. iii. 10. (*n*)
 Rom. viii. 29. (*o*) 2 Pet. i. 5. &c.

A. M. 1. give all diligence to add to our faith virtue; and to virtue,
 Ant. Chris. knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance,
 4004. patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, bro-
 Gen. ch. 2. therly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity; that we
 from ver. 8. may (p) be complete in him, who is the head of all principality
 and power: and that (q) as we have borne the image of the
 earthly, we may also bear the image of the heavenly Adam.

(p) Col. ii. 10. (q) 1 Cor. xv. 49.

C H A P. III.

Of the fall of man.

THE HISTORY.

THE sacred historian indeed gives us no account of Satan, the chief of the fallen angels, and grand adversary of God and man; but, from several other places in Scripture, we may learn, that he at first was made like other celestial spirits, perfect in his kind, and happy in his condition, but that, through pride or ambition, as we may suppose, falling into a crime, (whose circumstances to us are unknown), he thence fell into misery, and, together * with his accomplices, was banished from the regions of bliss; that, * in his state of exile, having lost all hopes, and despairing

* That profane, as well as sacred writers, had the same notion of the fall of wicked angels, is manifest from a tradition they had (though mixed with fable) of the Titans and giants invading heaven, fighting against Jupiter, and attempting to depose him from his throne, for which reason he threw them down headlong into hell, where they are tormented with incessant fire; and therefore Empedocles, in the verses recited by Plutarch, makes mention of the fate of some dæmons, who, for their rebellion, were, from the summit of heaven, plunged into the bottom of the great deep, there to be punished as they deserved. To which the story of Ate, who once inhabited the air, but being always hurtful to man, and therefore hateful to God, was cast down from thence, with a solemn oath and decree, that she should never return again, seems not a little to allude; *Huetius, in Ainetan. Quæst. lib. 2.*

* Our excellent Milton represents Satan within prospect of Eden, and near the place where he was to attempt his desperate enterprize

spairing of a reconciliation with the Almighty, he abandoned himself to all kind of wickedness, and, upon the creation of man, out of pure envy to the happiness which God had designed for him, resolved upon a project to draw him into disobedience, and thence into ruin and perdition; but how to put his scheme in execution was the question. The woman he perceived (as by nature more ductile and tender) was the properer subject for his temptations; but some form he was to assume, to enable him to enter into conference with her. (r) The figure of a man was the fittest upon this occasion; but then it would have discovered the imposture, because Eve knew very well, that her husband was the only one of that species upon the face of the earth. And therefore considering, that the serpent, which before the fall was a bright and glorious creature, and (next to man) † endued with the greatest talents of sagacity and understanding,

A. M. r.
Ant. Christ.
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Gen. ch.

enterprise against God and man, falling into doubts, and sundry passions, and then, at last, confirming himself in his wicked design.

But say I could repent, and could obtain,
By act of grace, my former state; how soon
Wou'd height recal high thoughts! how soon unsay
What feign'd submission swore! Ease wou'd recant
Vows made in pain, as violent and void—
All hope excluded thus, behold, instead
Of us, outcast, exil'd, his new delight,
Mankind, created; and for him this world,
So farewell Hope! and, with Hope, farewell fear!
Farewel Remorse! all good to me is lost;
Evil be thou my good! by thee at least
Divided empire with heaven's King I hold;
By thee, and more than half perhaps, will reign:
As man e'er long, and this new world shall know.

Book 4.

(r) L'histoire du Vieux et Nouveau Testament, par M. Martin

† Milton, who is an excellent commentator upon the whole history of the fall, brings in the devil, after a long search to find out a beast proper for his purpose, concluding at last to make use of the serpent.

Him, after long debate (irresolute
Of thought revolv'd) his final sentence chose
Fit vessel, fittest imp of fraud in whom
To enter, and his dark suggestions hide
From sharpest sight: for in the wily snake
Whatever sleights, none wou'd suspicious mark,

A. M. 1. understanding, would be no improper instrument for his
 Ant. Chriſt. purpose, he usurped the organs of one of these, and through
 4004. them he addressed himself to the woman, the first oppor-
 Gen. ch. 3. tunity when he found her alone.

After * some previous compliments (as we may imagine) and congratulations of her happy state, the tempter put on an air of great concern, and seemed to interest himself not a little in her behalf, by wondering why God, who had lately been so very bountiful to them, should deny them

As from his wit, and native subtilty
 Proceeding; which in other beast observ'd,
 Doubt might beget of diabolic pow'r
 Active within, beyond the sense of brute. Book 9.

The wisdom and subtilty of the serpent are frequently mentioned in Scripture, as qualities which distinguish it from other animals; and several are the instances, wherein it is said to discover its cunning. 1st, When it is old, by squeezing itself between two rocks, it can strip off its old skin, and so grows young again. 2dly, As it grows blind, it has a secret to recover its sight by the juice of fennel. 3dly, When it is assaulted, its chief care is to secure its head, because its heart lies under its throat, and very near its head. And, 4thly, When it goes to drink at a fountain, it first vomits up all its poison, for fear of poisoning itself as it is drinking; with some other qualities of the like nature; *Calmet's Dictionary*.

But a modern author of our own has given us this further reason for the devil's making use of the serpent in this affair, viz. — That as no infinite being can actuate any creature, beyond what the fitness and capacity of its-organs will admit; so, the natural subtilty of the serpent, and perhaps the pliability, and forkiness of its tongue (which we know enables other creatures to pronounce articulate sounds), added to the advantages of its form, made it the fittest instrument of delusion that can be imagined; *Revelation examined*.

* Milton has very curiously described the artful and insinuating carriage of the serpent, upon his first approach to speak to Eve.

He bolder now, uncall'd, before her stood,
 But as in great admiring: oft he bow'd
 His turret crest, and sleek enamell'd neck,
 Fawning; and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.
 His gentle dum expressions turn'd at length
 The eye of Eve, to mark his play: he, glad
 Of her attention gain'd, with serpent tongue
 Organic, or impulse of vocal air,
 His fraudulent temptation thus began. Book 9.

the use of a tree *, whose fruit was so tempting to the eye, so grateful to the palate, and of such sovereign quality to make them wise: and when Eve replied, that such was the divine prohibition, even under the penalty of death itself *, he immediately subjoins, that such a penalty was an empty threat, and what would never be executed upon them; that God would never destroy the *work of his own hands*, creatures so accomplished as they were, for so slight a transgression; and that the sole intent of this prohibition was, to continue them in their present state of dependence and ignorance, and not admit them to that extent of knowledge, and plenitude of happiness, which their eating of this fruit would confer upon them: for God him-

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* The first words in his address are, *Yea, hath God said, ye shall not eat, &c.* which do not look so much like the beginning, as the conclusion of a discourse, as the Jews themselves have observed: and therefore it is not improbable, that the tempter, before he spake these words, represented himself as one of the heavenly court, who was come, or rather sent, to congratulate the happiness which God had bestowed on them in paradise; an happiness so great, that he could not easily believe he had denied them any of the fruit of the garden; *Patrick's Commentary.*

* Burnet, in his *Archæologia philosophicæ*, has given us the whole dialogue (as he has framed it at least) between the serpent and Eve; which, though a little too light and ludicrous for so solemn an occasion, yet, because the book is not in every one's hands, I have thought fit to set down in his own words. “*Serp.* Salve pulcherrima, quid rerum agis sub hac umbra? *Eve.* Ego hujus arboris pulchritudinem contemplor. *Serp.* Jucundum quidem spectaculum, sed multo jucundiores fructus: gustastin’, mea domina? *Eve.* Minime vero: Deus nobis interdixit esu hujus arboris. *Serp.* Quid audio! Quis iste Deus, qui suis invidet innocuas naturæ delicias? nihil suavius, nihil salubrius hoc fructu. Quam obrem interdiceret, nisi per legem ludicram? *Eve.* Quinimo sub pœna mortis interdixit. *Serp.* Rem male capis procul dubio: nihil habet mortiferi hæc arbor, sed potius divini aliquid, et supra vires communis naturæ. *Eve.* Ego non habeo quid tibi respondeam, sed adibo virum. *Serp.* Quid virum interpellas de re tantilla? *Eve.* Utarne? Quid pulchrius hoc pomò? Quam suave redolet? Sed forsitan male sapit. *Serp.* Est esca, crede mihi, angelis non indigna. Fac periculum, et, si male sapit, rejicito, et me insuper habeto pro mendacissimo. *Eve.* Experiar; est quidem gratissimi saporis: non me fefellisti. Porrigè hæc alterum, ut viro afferam. *Serp.* Commodum meministi. En tibi alterum: adi virum. Vale, beatula.—Ego interea elabar, illa curet cætera;” *lib. 2. cap. 7.*

A. M. 1. self knew, that † that the proper use of this tree was, to il-
 Ant. Chris. luminate the understanding, and advance all the other fa-
 4004. culties of the soul to such a sublimity, that the brightest
 Gen. ch. 3. angels in heavens should not surpass them; nay, that they
 should approximate the Deity itself, in the extent of their
 intellect, and independence of their being. In short, he
 acquainted Eve, that the jealousy of the creator was the
 sole motive of his prohibition; that the fruit had a virtue
 to impart † an universal knowledge to the person, who ta-
 sted it; and that therefore God, who would admit of no
 competitor, had reserved this privilege to himself. Above
 all, he engaged her to fix her eyes upon the forbidden fruit;
 he remarked to her its pleasantness to the sight, and left her
 to guess at its deliciousness. Eve, in the very midst of the
 temptation, had a freedom of choice; but the fond con-
 ceit of *knowing good and evil*, of becoming like God, and
 of changing her felicity (great indeed, but subordinate) for
 an independent state of happiness, and especially the deceit-
 ful bait of present sensual pleasure, blinded her reason by
 degrees; and as she stood gazing on the tree, filled all her

† It is very well worth our observation, how ambiguous and
 deceitful the promise, which the tempter makes our first parents,
 was: for, by *opening the eyes*, she understood a further degree of
 wisdom, as the same phrase imports, Acts xxvi. 18.; and Eph. i.
 18.; but he meant their perceiving their own misery, and
 confusion of conscience, as fell out immediately: by *being like
 gods*, she understood the happiness of God the Father, Son, and
 Holy Ghost, as appears by the words of God himself, ver. 22.;
 but he meant it of angels, (frequently styled *Elohim*, i. e. *gods*),
 and of such fallen angels as himself, who are called *principalities
 and powers*, Col. ii. 15. And by *knowing good and evil*, she un-
 derstood a kind of divine omniscience, or knowing all manner of
 things, (as the phrase frequently signifies); but he meant it, that
 thereby she should experience the difference between *good and
 evil*, between happiness and misery, which she did to her cost.
 A method this of cunning and reserve, which he has practised
 in his oracular responses ever since; *Ainsworth's annotations*.

† The words *good and evil*, when applied to knowledge,
 comprehend every thing that is possible for man to know; for
 so the woman of Tekoa, in her address to King David, tells him
 [2 Sam. xiv. 17.] *as an angel of God is my Lord the King, to dis-
 cern good and bad*; and that by the terms *good and bad*, we
 are to understand *all things*, the 20th verse of that chapter will
 inform us, where she continues her compliment, and says, *My
 Lord is wise, according to the wisdom of an angel, to know all
 things that are on the earth*; Le Clerc's Commentary.

thoughts,

thoughts, and the whole capacity of her soul. The sight ^{A. M. 1.} of the fruit provoked her desire; the suggestions of the ^{Ant. Chriſt.} tempter urged it on; her natural curiosity raised her ^{4004.} longing; and the very prohibition itself did something to ^{Gen. ch. 3.} inflame it: so that, at all adventures, she put forth her hand, and plucked, and eat.

Earth felt the wound, and nature from her seat
Sighing, through all her works, gave signs of woe,
That all was lost (j).

She however had no such sense of her condition; but, fancying herself already in the possession of that chimerical happiness, wherewith the devil had deluded her, she invited her husband (who not unlikely came upon her while she was eating) to partake with her. (t) The most absurd arguments appear reasonable, and the most unjust desires equitable, when the person, who proposes them, is beloved: the devil therefore knew very well what he did, when he made his first application to the woman. Her charms and endearments, which gave her the ascendancy over her husband's affection, would be of more efficacy (he knew) than all the subtle motives which he could suggest; and therefore he made use of her to engage him in the like defection: and after some small reluctance, (as we may suppose), he, (u) like an uxorious man, was by her entreaties prevailed on, (contrary to the sense of his duty, and convictions of his own breast), to violate the command, merely because she had done it, and to share whatever fate God's indignation for that transgression should bring upon her. Thus the solicitations of the woman ruined the man, as the enchantments of the tempter ruined the woman. She held forth the fair enticing fruit to him; and he, rather than see her perish alone, chose to be involved in the same common guilt (x).

Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
In pangs, and nature gave a second groan;
Sky lowr'd, and, murmuring thunder, some sad drops
Wept, at completing of the mortal sin (y.)

(j) Milton, Book 9.
(u) Mede's Discourses.
(j) Milton, Book 9.

(t) Saurin's Dissertations.
(x) Edward's Survey of religion.

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For as ſoon as they had eaten of the forbidden fruit, † *their eyes were opened*, but in a ſenſe quite different from what the tempter had promiſed them, *viz.* to ſee their own folly, and impendent miſeries, and make ſad reflections upon what they had done. They had acquired knowledge, indeed, but it was a knowledge ariſing from ſorrowful experience, that the ſerpent had beguiled them both, and drawn them from the good of happineſs and innocence, which they knew before, into the evil of ſin and miſery, which (until that fatal moment) they had no conception of. (z) They ſaw a living God provoked; his grace and favour forfeited; his likeneſs and image defaced; and their dominion over other creatures withdrawn from them. They ſaw, very probably, the heavens grow angry and ſtormy; the angel of the Lord ſtanding with his ſword, threatening them with vengeance; and the devil himſelf, who before had ſeduced them, throwing off the diſguiſe, and now openly inſulting over them. They ſaw that † *they were*

† Le Clerc obſerves, that it is reputed an elegancy in the ſacred writing to make uſe of the figure, which rhetoricians call *antanacliſis*, whereby they continue the ſame word or phraſe that went before, though in a quite different ſenſe; as the learned Grotius upon John i. 16. and Hammond on Math. viii. 22. have abundantly ſhewn; and for this reaſon he ſuppoſes, that Moſes repeats *their eyes were opened*, which the devil had uſed before, though he means it in a ſenſe quite different from the former.

(z) Miller's History of the church.

† Thoſe who take the word *naked* in a literal ſenſe, ſuppoſe, that upon the fall, the air, and other elements, immediately became intemperate, and diſorderly; ſo that our firſt parents ſoon knew, or felt, that they were naked, becauſe the ſun ſcorched them, the rain wet them, and the cold pierced them. *Vid.* Patrick's Commentary; and King upon the origin of evil. But others take the expreſſion rather in a figurative ſenſe, *viz.* to denote the commiſſion of ſuch ſins as man in his ſenſes may well be aſhamed of; and to this purpoſe they have obſerved, that when Moſes returned from the mount, and found that the people had made and conſecrated a golden image, the expreſſion in Scripture is, *That the people were naked*, i. e. were become vile and reprobate ſinners, (for ſo the word *γυμνός* ſignifies in the New Teſtament, Rev. xvi. 15.); *for Aaron had made them naked, unto their ſhame, among their enemies*, Exod. xxxii. 25.; *Vid.* Le Clerc's Commentary. Now thoſe who take it in this ſenſe, have obſerved farther, that by the word *nakedneſs* (according to the

were naked; were stripped of all their intellectual and moral ornaments; were subjected to irregular appetites and inordinate lusts; and blushed to see their external glory so much debased, that † they took and platted together fig-leaves, (which in eastern countries are very large), in order to make themselves † such coverings as might both protect

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the usual modesty of the Hebrew tongue) are meant all the irregular appetites to venereal pleasures, which Adam and Eve were strangers to in their state of innocence, but began now first to experience, and which the intoxicating juice of the forbidden tree might very probably excite; *Nicholls's Conference, vol. I.*

As with new wine intoxicated both,
They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them, breeding wings,
Wherewith to scorn the earth: but that false fruit
Far other operation first display'd,
Carnal desire inflaming: he on Eve
Began to cast lascivious eyes, the him
As wantonly repay'd, in lust they burn. *Milton, book 9.*

† Our translation indeed tells us, that our first parents *sewed fig-leaves together*, which gives occasion to the usual sneer, *What they could do for needles and thread?* But the original word *tapar* signifies no more than to *put together, apply, or fit*, as is plain from Job xvi. 15. and Ezek. xiii. 28.; and the word *guelah*, which we render *leaves*, signifies also *branches of trees*, such as were to make booths or bowers, Neh. xviii. 15. So that, to *adapt or fit branches* (which is translated *sewing leaves together*) is only to twist and plat the flexible branches of the fig-tree round about their waists, in the manner of a Roman crown, for which purpose the fig-tree, of all others, was the most serviceable, because, as Pliny tells us, [l. 16. c. 24.] it had *folium maximum et umbrosissimum*; *Patrick's Commentary.*

† The word in the translation is *aprons*: but since in the original it may signify any thing that covers or surrounds us, it may every whit as properly here be rendered a *bower, or arbor*, covered with the branches of the fig-tree wherein the fallen pair thought to have hid themselves from the sight of God; to which interpretation the subsequent verse seems to give some countenance; *Le Clerc's Commentary.* Nor is Milton's description of the fig-tree uninclinable to this sense:

—Such as at this day spreads her arms,
Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow

About

A. M. 1. protect them from the injuries of the weather, and conceal
 Ant. Christ. their shame. Nor was their guilt attended with shame on-
 ly, but with fear likewise, and many dismal apprehensions.
 Gen. ch. 3. ^{4004.} † Before they sinned, they no sooner heard *the voice of the*
Lord coming towards them, but they ran out to meet him,
 and, with an humble joy, welcomed his gracious visits ;
 but now * God was become a terror to them, and they a
 terror to themselves. Their consciences set their sin before
 them in its blackest aspect ; and, as they had then no hopes
 of a future mediator, so there *remained nothing for them but*
a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indigna-
tion, ready to devour them. And accordingly, no sooner
 did they hear the sound of God's majestic presence drawing
 nearer and nearer to the place where they were, (which
 happened towards the cool of the evening), but they im-
 mediately betook themselves to the thickest and closest pla-
 ces they could find in the garden, in order to hide them-
 selves from his inspection ; for so far were they fallen in
 their understanding, as never to reflect, that *all places and*
things are naked and open to the eyes of him, with whom they
had to do.

About the mother-tree ; a pillar'd shade
 High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between.
 There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
 Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
 In loop-holes, cut thro' thickest shade. Book 9.

† The word *voice* may be equally rendered *noise* : and since
 God's usual way of notifying his presence afterwards was either by
 a *small still voice* or *noise*, 1 Kings, xix 12. or by a noise like
 that of *great waters*, Ezek. i. 24. or like *the rustling of wind in*
the trees, 2 Sam. v. 24. we may reasonably suppose, that it was
 either a soft gentle noise like a breeze of wind among the trees of
 paradise, or a louder one, like the murmuring of some large river,
 which gave Adam notice of God's approaching ; *Le Clerc's Com-*
mentary.

* Milton makes Adam, upon this occasion, express himself in this
 manner :

———— How shall I behold the face
 Henceforth of God or angel, erst with joy
 And raptures oft beheld ? — O ! might I here
 In solitude live savage, in some glade
 Obscur'd, where highest woods (impenetrable
 To star or sun-light) spread their umbrage broad,
 And brown as evening ! Cover me, ye pines,
 Ye cedars, with innumerable boughs
 Hide me, where I may never see them more. Book 9.

Out of their dark retreat, however, God calls the two criminals, who, after a short examination, acknowledge their guilt indeed, but lay the blame of it, the man upon the woman, and the woman upon the serpent: whereupon God proceeds to pronounce sentence upon them, but first of all, upon the devil, as being the prime offender. The devil had made the serpent the instrument of his deception; and therefore † God first degrades it from the noble creature it was before this fact to a foul creeping animal, which, instead of going erect, or flying in the air, was sentenced to creep upon its belly, and thereupon become incapable of eating any food but what was mingled with dust. And to the devil, who lay hid under the covert of the serpent, (and therefore is not expressly named), he declares, that how much soever he might glory in his present conquest, a time should come, when a child, descended from the seed of that very sex he had now defeated, *i. e.* the MESSIAS, should ruin all his new-erected empire of sin and death; and, (a) *having spoiled principalities and powers, should make a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in his cross.* This could not fail of being matter of great comfort and consolation to Adam and Eve, to hear of the conquest of their malicious enemy, before their own sentences were pronounced; * which, to
the

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† Josephus, in the beginning of his Antiquities, pretends, that all creatures using the same language, and consequently being endued with reason and understanding, the serpent, excited by envy, tempted Eve to sin, and, among other things, received this signal punishment, *viz.* that it should be deprived of its feet, and ever after crawl upon the ground, which Aben Ezra, and several other Rabbins, confirm: but what is certain in the serpent's punishment, is this — that it actually eats the dry and dusty earth, (as Bochart and Pliny tell us), otherwise we can hardly conceive how it could subsist in dry and sandy deserts, to which God, in a good measure, has condemned it; *Revel. examined.*

(a) Col. ii. 15.

* It is remarkable, that a woman is the only creature we know of, who has any sorrow in conception. This Aristotle expressly affirms, and only excepts the instance of a mare conceiving by an ass, and, in general, where there is any thing monstrous in the foetus. Other creatures, we find, are in more perfect health, and strength, and vigour, at that time, than before; but Aristotle reckons up ten different maladies, to which the

A. M. 1. the woman, was sorrow in conception, pain in child-
 Ant. Chris. birth, and constant subjection to her husband's will; to
 4004. the man, * a life of perpetual toil and slavery; and to
 Gen. ch. 3. them both, as well as all their posterity, a temporal death,
 at the time appointed.

Nor was it mankind only which felt the sad effects of the induction of sin, but * even the inanimate part of the creation

woman is then naturally subject. And, as she is subject to sickness in the time of her conception, so it is farther remarkable, that she brings forth her offspring with more pain and agony than any other creature upon earth, even though she has some advantages in her make above other creatures, that might promise her, in this case, an alleviation: and therefore we may suppose, that, upon God's saying to the woman, *In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children*, a real effect did immediately accompany the word spoken, and cause such a change in the woman's body, as, in the course of nature, must have occasioned the extraordinary pain here spoken of; for so we find, that in the sentence pronounced against the serpent, against the earth, and against man, the word of God was not only declarative, but executive likewise, as producing a real change by a new modification of matter, or conformation of parts; *Revelation examined; and Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. 1.*

* The words in the text are, *In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread*, ver. 19. From whence some conclude, that the earth, before the fall, brought forth spontaneously, (as several of the ancient poets have described the golden age), and without any pains to cultivate it; as indeed there needed none, since all things at first were, by the divine power, created in their full perfection. What labour would have been necessary in time, if man had continued innocent, we do not know; only we may observe from the words, that less pains would then have been required, than men are now forced to take for their sustenance. The wisdom, goodness, and justice of God, however, is very conspicuous, in decreeing, that toil and drudgery should be the consequence of departing from an easy and rational obedience; in making the earth less desirable to man, when his guilt had reduced him to the necessity of leaving it; and in keeping in order those passions and appetites which had now broke loose from the restraint of reason, by subduing their impetuosity with hard labour; *Patrick's Commentary; and Revelation examined.*

* Milton brings in God, soon after the fall, appointing his holy angels to make an alteration in the course of the celestial bodies, and to possess them with noxious qualities, in order to destroy

creation suffered by it. The fertility of the earth, and serenity of the air, were changed; the elements began to jar; the seasons were intemperate, and the weather grew uncertain: so that to defend themselves against the moderate heat, or cold, or wind, or rain, which now began to infect the earth, our first parents were instructed by God * how to make themselves vestments of the skins of those beasts, which, very probably, they were appointed to sacrifice,

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stroy the fertility of the earth, and thereby punish man for his transgression.

—————The sun

Had its first precept so to move, so shine,
As might affect the earth with cold and heat
Scarce tolerable; and from the north to call
Decrepid winter; from the south to bring
Solstitial summer's heat. To the blank moon
Her office they prescrib'd, to th' *other five*.
Their planetary motions and aspects
Of noxious efficacy, and when to join
In synod unbenign; and taught the *fix'd*
Their influence malignant when to shower:
Which of them, rising with the sun, or falling,
Should prove tempestuous. To the winds they set
Their corners, when with bluster to confound
Sea, air, and shore: the thunder then to roll
With terror through the dark aerial hall——
These changes in the heavens, though slow, produce
Like change on sea, and land; fiderial blast,
Vapour, and mist, and exhalation hot,
Corrupt, and pestilent. Book 10.

* It cannot be denied, but that the skins of beasts were a very ancient sort of cloathing. Diodorus Siculus [lib. 1.] where he introduces Hercules in a lion's skin, tells us no less; and the author to the Hebrews makes mention of this kind of habit: but the Jewish doctors have carried the matter so far, as to maintain, that as Adam was a priest, this coat of his was his priestly garment which he left to his posterity: so that Abel, Noah, Abraham, and the rest of the patriarchs, sacrificed in it, until the time that Aaron was made high-priest, and had peculiar vestments appointed him by God. But all this fine fiction of theirs falls to the ground, if we can but suppose with some, that by the word which we render *coats*, we may not improperly understand *tents*, or *arbors*, to defend our first parents from the violence of the heats, and such hasty showers as were common in the coun-

A. M. 1. fice, either in confirmation of the covenant of grace, Ant. Christ. couched in the sentence pronounced against the serpent, or as a representation of that great expiatory sacrifice, which, in the fulness of time, God might inform them, was to be offered as a propitiation for the sins of all mankind: and, upon this account, it very likely was, that Adam changed his wife's name (who, as some think, was called *Iffcha* before) into that of *Eve*, as believing that God would make her the mother of all mankind, and of the promised seed in particular, by whom he hoped for a restoration both to himself and his posterity, and to be raised from death to a state of happiness and immortal life.

Considering then † what a sad catastrophe this transgression of theirs had brought upon human nature, and that

tries adjacent to paradise, and where the winter was not so cold as to require coats made of skins, which would certainly be too warm. That they could not be the skins of slain animals is very manifest, because as yet there were no more than two of each species, male and female, nor had they propagated. And therefore others have imagined, that if the original word must mean coats, they were more probably made of the bark of trees, which are called *δέρματα*, the skins of them, as well as the hides of animals. Vid. *Le Clerc, and Patrick's Commentary; and Bibliotheca Bib. vol. 1.*

† The words in the text are these, *Behold the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and taste of the tree of life, and live for ever*, Gen. iii. 22. The former of these sentences is held by most interpreters to be an irony, spoken in allusion to the devil's manner of tempting Eve, ver. 5.; but, from the latter part of the words, this question seems to arise, "Whether Adam and Eve, if they had tasted of the tree of life after their transgression, should have lived for ever?" Now it is very manifest, that by the violation of God's command, they had justly incurred the penalty, *In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die*, i. e. shalt surely become mortal: from whence it follows, that whether they had, or had not eaten, of the tree of life, they were, the moment they fell, subject to the necessity of dying, nor could the virtue of the tree, be it what it would, preserve them from the execution of the sentence; and therefore these latter words, *And now, lest he put forth his hand, and taste of the tree of life, and live for ever*, are, in like manner, spoken sarcastically, and as if God had said, "Lest the man should vainly fancy in himself, that by eating of the tree of life, he shall be enabled to live for ever, let us remove this conceit from him, by removing

that such a scene of complicated misery might not be perpetuated by means of the tree of life, God, in his great mercy, found it convenient to remove them from the garden of paradise into that part of the country lying towards the east, where at first he created them; and that he might prevent their meditating a return, he secured every passage leading to it with a guard of angels, (some of which flying to and fro in the air, in bright resplendent bodies, seemed to flash out fire on every side, or to resemble the † vibrations of a flaming sword) that thereby he might deter them from

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſt.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.

“ving him from this place, and for ever debarring him from any hopes of coming at that tree again;” *Eſtius in diff. loca.*

Examples of God’s speaking by way of sarcasm, or upbraiding, are not uncommon in Scripture: but considering that, in *the midst of judgment, he here thinketh upon mercy*; that before the sentence against our first parents, he promises them a restoration, and after sentence past, does nevertheless provide them with cloathing; some have thought, that the words, by taking the original verb (*vid. Gell’s essay*) to signify *the time past*, (as it may well enough do), are rather an expression of pity and compassion, and of the same import as if God had said, “The man was once, like one of us, to know good, and to pursue it; to know evil, and to avoid it; (for that is the perfection of moral knowledge); but behold how he is now degenerated! And therefore, lest this degeneracy should continue upon him, and he become obdurate, the best way will be to seclude him from the tree of life, by expelling him from paradise.” But this opinion seems to ascribe too much to the power of the tree, and is not supported with authority equal to the former.

† What is meant by the flaming sword represented to be in the hands of the cherubims, at the entrance of the garden of paradise, is variously conjectured by learned men: but, of all essays of this kind, that of Tertulian, who thought it was the Torrid Zone, is the most unhappy; *Tertul. Apol. cap 47.* The words of Lactantius are [Justit. Divin. l. 2. c. 12.] *Ipsam paradysum igne circumvallavit, He encompassed paradise with a wall of fire:* from whence a learned man of our nation, pretending that the original word signifies *a dividing flame*, as well as a flaming sword, supposes, that this flame was an accension of some combustible matter round about the garden, which excluded all comers to it, till such time as the beauty of the place was defaced; *Nicholls’s Conference, vol. 1.* Some Rabbins are of opinion, that this flaming sword was an angel, founding their sentiments on that passage in the Psalms, where it is said, that

A. M. 1. from any thoughts of ever attempting a re-entrance, until
 Ant. Chris. he should think fit to destroy, and utterly lay waste the
 4004. beauty of the place. Thus fell our first parents, and, from
 Gen. ch. 3. the happiest condition that can be imagined, plunged them-
 selves and their posterity into a state of wretchedness and
 corruption: for, as from one common root, (b) *sin entered into the world, and death by sin; so death passed upon all men, forasmuch as all have sinned*, and been defiled by this original pollution.

THE OBJECTION.

The objec-
 tion against
 Moses's ac-
 count of the
 fall.

“ **B**UT, upon supposition that the state of perfection
 “ wherein our first parents were created, was really as
 “ compleat as is pretended; we cannot well conceive how
 “ it was possible for them to fall from it at all, or at least
 “ in so short a space as the Scripture-account represents it,
 “ after their creation. Some great and enormous offence,
 “ one would suppose, they had committed; but who could
 “ dream, that the bare eating of a little forbidden fruit could
 “ be so provoking, as to bring upon them that wretched
 “ depravity of nature, which ever since we have been
 “ complaining of? The *counsels of God are a great deep*;
 “ but what reason can be given, why he should put their
 “ virtue upon the trial, when he could not but foresee,
 “ that they certainly would be foiled by the wiles of the
 “ tempter? Or, if a probation was thought necessary, why
 “ was their abstinence from the fruit of a certain tree made
 “ the test of their obedience, when so many more mo-
 “ mentous precepts might have besitted their condition as
 “ well? We may account the serpent as subtle as we please,
 “ but how he could over-reach mankind in the perfection
 “ of their knowledge; or, if the devil lay concealed in the
 “ serpent's body, what inducement he could have to as-
 “ sume the form of so detestable a creature; and what
 “ should hinder Eve from not being frightened when she

that *God maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire*, Psal. civ. 4. And hereupon another learned man of our nation has imagined, that this flaming sword (which was accounted by the Jews a second angel) was of a different kind from the cherubim, *viz.* a seraph, or flaming angel, in the form of a flying fiery serpent, whose body vibrated in the air with lustre, and may fitly be described by the image of such a sword; *Tennison of Idolatry*.

(b) Rom. v. 12.

“ heard

“ heard him begin to speak, and instead of staying to talk A. M. 1.
 “ with him, flee immediately to her husband, we cannot Ant. Chriſ.
 “ conceive. If the devil, in this disguise, was like to be 4004.
 “ an over-match for her, why did God admit of such an Gen. ch. 3.
 “ unequal conflict? Or, if the conflict was to be, why did
 “ not he send her succours from above? When so great a
 “ price, as the lives of all mankind, was set upon her
 “ head, why did not he enable her to overcome the wiles
 “ of the tempter? Why did not he order a guard of an-
 “ gels, or some more powerful influxes of his holy Spirit,
 “ to assist and secure her standing? But if the thing was
 “ so, that God decreed her fall, it is hard measure, one
 “ would think, to condemn her and her posterity for it;
 “ and looks as if he was angry beyond bounds, when he
 “ curses the earth, and the serpent, which were both in-
 “ capable of sin, and consequently no ways culpable; when
 “ he drives the unhappy pair out of paradise with such pre-
 “ cipitancy, and leaves them to shift for themselves in a na-
 “ ked barren land; and (what is worst of all) when he en-
 “ tails their sin, and consequent depravation, upon their
 “ innocent posterity, until the end of the world; and all
 “ this for no greater crime than eating an apple or two,
 “ when robbing an orchard, now-a-days, is accounted a
 “ crime not worth a whipping: to say nothing of the
 “ oddness of that part of the sentence, wherein serpents
 “ were appointed to bite men by the heel, and men to
 “ bruise them on the head. This certainly can never be
 “ right in the letter; and therefore our safest way will be,
 “ to take this whole account of Moses in a figurative and
 “ allegorical sense; and to suppose, (with several, both
 “ Jewish and Christian writers), that the history of the fall
 “ exhibits the defection of the soul; the serpent represents
 “ concupiscence; the man, to whom he durst not apply
 “ himself, is the picture of reason; and the woman, whom
 “ he so easily seduced and overcame, the emblem of sense,
 “ and so on.”

How long our first parents continued in their state of How long
 innocence, and in the possession of the garden of Eden, is the state of
 not so well agreed. The account of their fall, in the se- man's in-
 ries of history, follows immediately their introduction into innocence
 their blissful abode; whereupon (c) most of the Jewish lasted.
 doctors, and some of the Christian fathers, were of opi-
 nion, that they preserved their integrity but a very short

(c) Edward's Survey, vol. I.

A. M. 1. while; that in the close of the same day wherein they
 Ant. Chris. were made, they transgressed the covenant, and were the
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 3. very same day cast out of paradise. But we are to consider,
 that many circumstances are omitted in the Scriptures concerning the state of our first parents, and the manner of their transgression; that Moses makes mention of nothing but what is conducive to his main design, which is to give a brief account of the most remarkable transactions that had happened from the beginning of the world to his time; and that there are sundry good reasons which may induce us to believe, that the state of man's innocence was of a longer duration than those who are for precipitating matters are pleased to think it.

Longer
 than is usually
 imagined.

God indeed can do what he pleases in an instant; but man necessarily requires a succession of time to transact his affairs in; and therefore when we read of Adam, in the same day that he was created, (and that was not until God had made every beast of the field), (*d*) inquiring into the nature of every living creature, and imposing on them proper names; falling into a deep sleep, and, with some formality, (without doubt), receiving his wife from the hand of God; removing into the garden of paradise, and (as we may well suppose) walking about, and taking some survey of it; receiving from God both a promise and prohibition, and thereupon (as we may suppose again) (*e*) ratifying the first great covenant with him: when we read of all these things, I say, we cannot but think, that some time must be required for the doing of them; and therefore to suppose, after this, (*f*) that in the close of the same day, the woman wandered from her husband, met with the serpent, entered into a parley with him, was overcome by his insinuations, did eat of the forbidden fruit, did prevail with her husband to do the same, and thereupon perceiving themselves naked, did instantly fall to work, and make themselves aprons: to suppose, that in the same evening God comes down, summons the criminals before him, hears their excuses, decrees their punishments, drives them out of paradise, and places two cherubims to guard all avenues against their return: this is crowding too long a series of business into too short a compass of time, and thereby giving an handle to infidelity, when there is no manner of occasion for it.

(*d*) Burnet's Archæolog'æ philosophicæ. (*e*) Bull's State of man before the fall. (*f*) Nicholls's Conference, vol. 1.

We, who are not ignorant of Satan's devices, and how ready he is to wait for a favourable occasion to address his temptations to every man's humour and complexion, can hardly suppose, (g) that he would have set upon the woman immediately after the prohibition was given; and not rather have waited, until it was in some measure forgot, and the happy opportunity of finding her alone should chance to present itself: but such an opportunity could not well instantly have happened, because the love and endearments between this couple, at first, we may well imagine, was so tender and affecting, as not to admit of the least absence or separation: nor must we forget (what the history itself tells us) that they were so much accustomed to (h) *the voice of God walking in the garden in the cool of the day*, as not to account it any new thing; and so well acquainted with the nature and plantation of the garden, as to run directly to the darkest thickets and umbrages, in order to hide themselves from his sight; which must have been the result of more than an hour or two's experience. And therefore (if we may be allowed to follow others in their conjectures) (i) it was either on the tenth day of the world's age that our first parents fell, and were expelled paradise, in memory of which calamity, (k) *the great day of expiation*, (which was the tenth day of the year), wherein *all were required to afflict their souls*, was, in after ages, instituted; or (as others would rather have it) on the eighth day from their creation: (l) that as the first week in the world ended with the formation of man and woman, the second was probably concluded with their fatal seduction.

When man is said to have been made according to the likeness and image of God, it cannot be supposed, but that he was created in the full perfection of his nature; and yet (m) it must be remembered, that * no created being can,

How he came to fall

in

(g) Patrick's Commentary. (h) Gen. iii. 10. (i) Usher's Annals. (k) Lev. xvi. 29. (l) Edward's Survey, vol. 1. (m) Clarke's Inquiry into the original of moral evil.

* God, though he be omnipotent, cannot make any created being *absolutely perfect*; for whatever is absolutely perfect, must necessarily be self-existent: but it is included in the very notion of a creature, as such, not to exist of itself, but of God. An absolutely perfect creature therefore implies a contradiction; for it would be of itself, and not of itself, at the same time. Absolute perfection therefore is peculiar to God; and should he communicate his own peculiar perfection to another, that other

A. M. 1. in its own nature, be incapable of sin and default. Its
 Ant. Chrif. 4004. perfection, be they what they will, are finite, and what-
 Gen. ch. 3. ever has bounds fet to its perfection, is, in this respect,
 imperfect, *i. e.* it wants thofe perfection which a being of
 infinite perfection only can have; and whatever wants any
 perfection, is certainly capable of mifcarrying. And as
 every finite creature is capable of default, fo every rational
 being muft neceffarily have a liberty of choice, *i. e.* it muft
 have a will to chufe, as well as an understanding to reason;
 becaufe a faculty of understanding, without a will to deter-
 mine it, if left to itfelf, muft always think of the
 fame fubject, or proceed in a feries and connection of
 thoughts, without any end or defign, which will be a
 perpetual labour in vain, or a thoughtfulness to no pur-
 pofe. And as every rational being has a liberty of choice,
 fo, to direct that choice, it muft of neceffity have a pre-
 fcribed rule of its actions.

God indeed, who is infinite in perfection, is a rule to
 himfelf, and acts according to his own effence, from whence
 it is impoffible for him to vary; but the moft perfect crea-
 tures muft act by a rule, which is not effential to them,
 but prefcribed them by God, and is not fo intrinsic in their
 natures, but that they may decline from it; for a free
 agent may follow, or not follow, the rule prefcribed him,
 or elfe he would not be free.

Now, in order to know how it comes to pafs, that we fo
 frequently abufe our natural freedom, and tranfgrefs the
 rules which God hath fet us, we muft remember, that
 (n) the foul of man is feated in the midft, as it were, be-
 tween thofe more excellent beings, which live perpetually a-
 bove, and with whom it partakes in the fublimity of its na-
 ture and understanding, and thofe inferior terreftrial beings,

would be God. Imperfection muft therefore be tolerated in crea-
 tures, notwithstanding the divine omnipotence and goodnefs;
 for contradictions are no objects of power. God indeed might
 have refrained from acting, and continued alone felf-fufficient, and
 perfect to all eternity; but infinite goodnefs would by no means
 allow of this; and therefore fince it obliged him to produce exter-
 nal things, which things could not poffibly be perfect, it pre-
 ferred thefe imperfect things to none at all; from whence it fol-
 lows, that imperfection arofe from the infinity of divine good-
 nefs; *King's Effay on the origin of evil.*

(n) Stillingfleet's Orig. facr.

with

with which it communicates, through the vital union it has, with the body; and that, by reason of its natural freedom, it is sometimes assimilated to the one, and sometimes to the other of these extremes. We must observe further, that, (o) in this compound nature of ours, there are several powers and faculties, several inclinations and dispositions, several passions and affections, differing in their nature and tendency, according as they result from the soul or body; that each of these has its proper object, in a due application of which it is easy and satisfied; that they are none of them sinful in themselves, but may be instruments of much good, when rightly applied, as well as occasion great mischief by a misapplication; and therefore a considerable part of virtue will consist in regulating them, and in keeping our sensitive part subject to the rational: This is the original constitution of our nature: and since our first parents were endued with the same powers and faculties of mind, and had the same dispositions and inclinations of body, it cannot be, but that they must have been liable to the same sort of temptations; and consequently liable to comply with the dictates of sense and appetite, contrary to the direction of reason, or the precepts of Almighty God. And to this cause the Scripture seems to ascribe the commission of the first sin, when it tells us, that *the woman saw the tree, that it was good for food, and pleasant to the eye, and desirable to make one wise*, i. e. it had several qualities which were adapted to her natural appetites; was beautiful to the sight, and delightful to the taste, and improving to the understanding; which both answered the desire of knowledge implanted in her spiritual, and the love of sensual pleasure resulting from her animal part; and these, heightened by the suggestions of the temper, abated the horror of God's prohibition, and induced her to act contrary to his express command.

God indeed all along foreknew that she would fall in this inglorious manner; but his foreknowledge did not necessitate her falling, neither did his wisdom ever conceive, that a fallen creature was worse than none at all (p). The divine nature, as it is in itself, is incomprehensible by human understanding: and not only his nature, but likewise his powers and faculties, and the ways and methods in which he exercises them, are so far beyond our reach, that we are utterly incapable of framing just and adequate no-

(o) Clarke of the original of moral evil. (p) Bishop King's Sermon of predestination.

A. M. 1. tions of them. We attribute to him the faculties of wisdom, understanding, and foreknowledge; but at the same time, we cannot but be sensible, that they are of a nature quite different from ours, and that we have no direct and proper conceptions of them. When we indeed foresee or determine any thing, wherein there is no possible matter of obstruction, we suppose the event certain and infallible; and, were the foreknowledge and predetermination of God of the same nature with ours, we might be allowed to make the same conclusion: but why may not it be of such a perfection in God, as is consistent both with the freedom of man's will, and contingency of events? *As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are his ways far above our ways*: and therefore, though it be certain that he who made Eve, and consequently knew all the springs and weights, wherewith she was moved; could not but foresee, how every possible object, that presented itself, would determine her choice; yet this he might do, without himself giving any bias or determination to it at all (q): just as the man, who sees the setting of the chimes, can tell, several hours before, what tune they will play, without any positive influence, either upon their setting, or their playing. So that Eve, when she was tempted, could not say, *I was tempted by God*, for God tempteth none; neither had the divine prescience any influence over her choice, but (r) *by her own lust was she drawn away, and enticed; and when lust had conceived, it brought forth sin, and sin, when it was finished, brought forth death.*

The reason
ableness of
God's gi-
ving man a
law. That some command was proper to be laid upon man in his state of innocence, is hardly to be denied (s.) Dependence is included in the very notion of a creature: and as it is man's greatest happiness to depend on God, whose infinite wisdom can contrive, and infinite power can effect whatever he knows to be most expedient for him; so was it Adam's advantage to have a constant sense of that dependence kept upon his mind, and (for that reason) a sure and permanent memorial of it, placed before his eyes, in such a manner, as might make it impossible for him to forget it.

And as this dependence on God was Adam's greatest happiness, so it seems necessary on God's part, and highly comporting with his character of a creator, that he should

(q) Young's Serm. vol. I. (r) James i. 14. &c. (s) Revelation examined.

require of his creatures, in some acts of homage and obedience, (which homage and obedience must necessarily imply some kind of restraint upon their natural liberty) an acknowledgment and declaration of it. And if some restraint of natural liberty was necessary in Adam's case, what restraint could be more easy, than the coercion of his appetite from the use of one tree, amidst an infinite variety of others, no less delicious; and at the same time, what restraint more worthy the wisdom and goodness of God, than the prohibition of a fruit, which he knew would be pernicious to his creature?

The prohibition of some enormous sin, or the injunction of some great rule of moral virtue, we perhaps may account a properer test of man's obedience: but if we consider the nature of things, as they then stood, we may find reason perhaps to alter our sentiments (*t*). The Mosaic tables are acknowledged by all to be a tolerable good system, and to comprize all the general heads of moral virtue; and yet, if we run over them, we shall find, that they contain nothing suitable to man in the condition wherein we are now considering him.

Had God, for instance, forbidden the worship of false gods, or the worship of graven images; can we suppose, that Adam and Eve, just come out of the hand of their maker, and visited every day with the light of his glorious presence, could have even been guilty of these? Besides that, the worship of false gods and images was a thing which came into the world several hundreds of years afterwards, either to flatter living princes, or supply the place of dead ones, who the silly people fancied were become gods. Had he prohibited perjury and vain swearing; what possible place could these have had in the infant and innocent state of mankind? Perjury was never heard of, till the world was better peopled, when commerce and trade came in use, when courts of judicature were settled, and men began to cheat one another, and then deny it, and so forswear it: and oaths and imprecations could never have a being in a state of innocence: they borrow their original manifestly from the sinfulness of human nature.

The like may be said of all the rest. How could Adam and Eve have *honoured their father and their mother*, when

(*t*) Nicholls's Conference, vol. 1. and Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. 2.

A. M. 1. they never had any? What possible temptation could they
 Ant. Chris. have to be guilty of murder, when they must have act-
 4004. ed it upon their own flesh? How could they commit adul-
 Gen. ch. 3. tery, when they were the only two upon the face of the
 earth? How be guilty of theft, when they were the sole
 proprietors of all? How bear false witness against their
 neighbour, or covet his goods, when there was never a
 neighbour in the world for them to be so unjust to? And
 so (if we proceed to Christian precepts) how could they love
 enemies, how could they forgive trespasses, when they had
 no one in the world to offend against them? And the du-
 ties of mortification and self-denial, &c. how could they
 possibly exercise these, when they had no lust to conquer,
 no passion to overcome, but were all serene and calm within?

Since therefore all the moral precepts, that we are ac-
 quainted with, were improper for the trial of man's obe-
 dience in his state of innocence; it remains, that his pro-
 bation was most properly to be effected, by his doing or
 forbearing some indifferent action, neither good or evil
 in itself, but only so far good or evil, as it was command-
 ed or forbidden. And if such a command was to be cho-
 sen, what can we imagine so natural and agreeable to the
 state of our first parents, (considering they were to live
 all their lives in a garden) as the forbidding them to eat of
 the fruit of a certain tree in that garden, a tree hard at
 hand, and might every moment be eat of, and would there-
 fore every moment give them an opportunity of testifying
 their obedience to God by their forbearing it? A wise ap-
 pointment this, had not the great enemy of mankind come
 in, and defeated it.

Who the
 serpent was

Who this great enemy of mankind was, and by what
 method of insinuation he drew our first parents into their
 defection, Moses, who contents himself with relating facts
 as they happened outwardly, without any comment, or ex-
 position of them, or who, by a metonymy in the Hebrew
 tongue, uses the instrumental for the efficient cause, tells
 us expressly, that it was the serpent; and for this reason,
 some of the ancient Jews ran into a fond conceit, that (*u*)
 this whole passage is to be understood of a real serpent;
 which creature (*x*) they suppose, before the fall, to have
 had the faculty of speech and reason both. But this is
 too gross a conception to have many abettors; and there-

(*u*) Le Clerc's Commentary and essays.
 several others.

(*x*) Josephus, and

fore the common, and indeed the only probable opinion is, that it was the devil; some wicked and malicious spirit (probably one of the chief of that order) who envied the good of mankind, the favours God had bestowed on them, and the future happiness he had ordained for them, and was thereupon resolved to tempt them to disobedience, thereby to bring them to the same forlorn condition with himself, and his other apostate brethren; and that, to effect his purpose, he made use of a serpent's body, wherein to transact his fraud and imposture.

Why the devil chose to assume the form of a serpent, rather than that of any other creature, we may, in some measure, learn from the character which the Scripture gives us of it, *viz.* that it was more subtle than any beast of the field, that the Lord God had made: where the word *subtle* may not so much denote the craft and insidiousness, as the gentle, familiar, and insinuating nature of this creature. (y) That the serpent, before the fall, was mild and gentle, and more familiar with man, than any other animal; that * it did not creep on the ground, but went with its head and breast reared up, and advanced; that by frequently approaching our first parents, and playing and sporting before them, it had gained their good liking and esteem, is not only the sentiment both (z) of Jews and (a) Christians, but what seems likewise to have some foundation in Scripture: for when God says, *That he will put enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed*, the implication must be, that there was some sort of kindness and intimacy between them before.

(y) Mede's Discourses.

* The beauty of the serpent, which the devil made choice of, is thus described by Milton:

So spake the enemy of mankind, intlos'd
In serpent, innate bad! and toward Eve
Address'd his way: not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,
Circular base of rising folds, that tower'd,
Fold above fold, a surging maze! his head
Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
With burnish'd neck of verdant gold, erect
Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass
Floated redundant: pleasing was his shape,
And lovely. — Book 9.

(z) Josephus's Antiq. l. 1.

(a) Basil. Hom. De paradiso.

There

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chris.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.

There is no absurdity then in supposing, that this creature was beloved both by Adam and Eve. She especially might be highly delighted, and used to play and divert herself with it (*b*) She laid it perhaps in her bosom, adorned her neck with its windings, and made it a bracelet for her arms. So that its being thus intimate with the woman, made it the properer instrument for the devil's purpose, who sliding himself into it, might wantonly play before her, until he insensibly brought her to the forbidden tree: and then, twisting about its branches, might take of the fruit and eat, to shew her, by experience, that there was no deadly quality in it, before he began his address; and his speech might be the less frightful or surprising to her, who, in the state of her innocence, not knowing what fear was, might probably think (as he might positively affirm) * that this new-acquired faculty proceeded from the virtue of the tree.

But there is another conjecture still more probable, if we will but allow, that the serpent was not of a common ordinary species, but one very probably something like that flying fiery sort, which, we are told, are bred in Arabia and Egypt. (*c*) They are of a shining yellowish colour like brass, and by the motion of their wings, and vibration of their tails,

(*b*) Mede's Discourses.

* Eve, upon hearing the serpent speak, inquires by what means it was, that it came by that faculty; and is told, that it was by eating of a certain tree in the garden.

I was at first, as other beasts, that graze
The trodden herb, of abject thoughts and low——
Till on a day, roving the field, I chanced
A goodly tree far distant to behold,
Laden with fruit of various colours, mixt
Ruddy and gold——
To satisfy the sharp desire I had
Of tasting these fair apples, I resolv'd
Not to defer——
Sated at length, e'er long, I might perceive
Strange alteration in me, to degree
Of reason in my inward powers; and speech
Wanted not long, though to this shape retain'd.
Thenceforth to speculation high or deep
I turn'd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
Consider'd all things visible in heaven,
Or earth, or middle. Book 9.

(*c*) Tension of Idolatry; Patrick's Commentary; and Nicholls's Conference, vol. 1.

reverberating

reverberating the sun-beams, make a glorious appearance. A. M. 1. Now, if the serpent, whose body the devil abused, was of this kind, (though perhaps of a species far more glorious), it was a very proper creature for him to make use of. For these serpents we find called in Scripture *seraphs*, or *seraphim*, which gave the name to those bright lofty angels who were frequently employed by God to deliver his will to mankind, and, coming upon that errand, were wont to put on certain splendid forms, some the form of *cherubim*, i. e. *beautiful flying oxen*, and others the shape of *seraphim*, i. e. *winged and shining serpents*. Upon this hypothesis we may imagine farther, that the devil, observing that good angels attended the divine presence, and sometimes ministered to Adam and Eve in this bright appearance, usurped the organs of one of these shining serpents, which, by his art and skill in natural causes, he might improve into such a wonderful brightness, as to represent to Eve the usual *shechinah*, or angelical appearance, she was accustomed to; and, under this disguise, she might see him approach her without fear, and hear him talk to her without surprise, and comply with his seduction with less reluctance; as supposing him to be an angel of God's retinue, and now dispatched from heaven to instruct her in some momentous point, as she had often perhaps experienced before during her stay in paradise.

A (d) learned Jew has expounded this transaction in a new and uncommon way. He supposes that the serpent did not speak at all, nor did Eve say any thing to it; but that, being a very nimble and active creature, it got upon the tree of knowledge, took of the fruit, and eat it; and that Eve, having seen it several times do so, and not die, concluded with herself, that the tree was not of such a destructive quality as was pretended; that as it gave speech and reason to the serpent, it would much more improve and advance her nature; and was thereupon emboldened to eat.

This opinion is very plausible, and, in some degree, founded on Scripture: for though the woman might perceive by her senses, that the fruit was pleasant to the eye, yet it was impossible she could know, either that it was good for food, or desirable to make one wise, any other way than by the example and experiment of the serpent, which, merely by eating of that fruit, (as she thought), was

(d) Isaac Aberbenel.

A. M. 1. changed from a brute into a rational and vocal creature.
 Ant. Chris. This, I say, is a pretty plausible solution; and yet it cannot
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 3 be denied, but that the text seems to express something
 more, and that there was a real dialogue between the woman and the serpent, wherein the serpent had the advantage. And therefore (to persist in our former exposition) it is not improbable, that the tempter, before ever he accosted Eve, transformed himself into the likeness of an angel of light, and prefacing his speech with some short congratulations of her happiness, might proceed to ensnare her with some such cunning harangue as this.

A paraphrase upon the tempter's speech:

“ And can it possibly be, that so good a God, who has
 “ so lately been so bountiful to you, as to give you such
 “ an excellent being, and invest you with power and dominion over all the rest of his creatures, should now
 “ envy you any of the innocent pleasures of nature? Has
 “ he indeed denied you the use of the tree of knowledge?
 “ But why did he plant it at all? Why did he adorn it
 “ with such beautiful fruit? Why did he place it on an
 “ eminence in the garden, for you to behold daily, unless
 “ he is minded to mock and tantalize you? The true design, both of the prohibition and penalty which you relate, is to keep you in ignorance, and thereby oblige
 “ you to live in perpetual dependence on him. He knows
 “ full well, that the virtue of this tree is to illuminate
 “ the understanding, and thereby to enable you to judge
 “ for yourselves, without having recourse to him upon every
 “ occasion. (e) To judge for himself is the very privilege that makes him God; and for that reason he keeps
 “ it to himself: but eat but of this tree, and ye shall be
 “ like him; your beings shall be in your own hands, and
 “ your happiness vast and inconceivable, and independent
 “ on any other. What effect it has had on me, you cannot but see and hear, since it has enabled me to reason
 “ and discourse in this wise; and, instead of death, has
 “ given a new kind of life to my whole frame. And,
 “ if it has done this to a brute animal, what may not
 “ creatures of your refined make and excellent perfections
 “ expect from it? Why should you shrink back, or be
 “ afraid to do it then? You have here an opportunity of
 “ making yourselves for ever; and the trespass is nothing.
 “ What harm in eating an apple? Why this tree of

(e) Bishop King's Discourse on the fall, at the end of his Origin of evil.

“ knowledge more sacred than all the rest? Can so great
 “ a punishment as death be proportionate to so small a
 “ fault? I come to assure you, that it is not; that God
 “ has reversed his decree, and eat you what you will, ye
 “ surely shall not die.”

A. M. 1.
 Ant. Chris.
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 3.

(f) Thus the serpent suggested to Eve, that God had imposed upon her, and she was willing to discover whether he had or no. Curiosity, and a desire of independency, to know more, and to be entire master of herself, were the affections which the tempter promised to gratify; and an argument like this has seldom failed ever since to corrupt the generality of mankind: insomuch that few, very few, have been able to resist the force of this temptation, especially when it comes (as it did to Eve) clothed with all the outward advantage of allurements. For whoever knows the humour of youth, and how he himself was affected at that time, cannot but be sensible, that as the fairness of the fruit, its seeming fitness for food, the desire of being independent, and under her own management and government, were inducements that prevailed with our first parents to throw off the conduct of God; so this curiosity of trying the pleasures of sense, this itch of being our own masters, and chusing for ourselves, together with the charming face of sin, and our ignorance and inexperience of the consequences of it, are generally the first means of our being corrupted against the good maxims and principles we received from our parents and teachers.

And the probability of its success.

It is in the essential constitution of man, (as we said before), that he should be a free agent; and, if we consider him now as in a state of probation, we shall soon perceive, that God could not lay any restraint upon him, nor communicate any assistance to him, but what was consistent with the nature he had given him, and the state he had placed him in. God created man a free agent, (g) that he might make the system of the universe perfect, and supply that vast *hiatus* which must otherwise have happened between heaven and earth, had he not interposed some other creature (endued with rationality, master of his own elections, and consequently capable of serving him voluntarily and freely) between angels and brutes. In the very act of creating him, therefore, God intended that he should be rational, and

That man's liberty of choice was natural, and not to be restrained.

(f) Bishop King's Sermon on the fall. (g) Bishop King's Essay on the origin of evil.

A. M. 1. determined, as it were by a law, that he should be free ;
 Ant. Chris. and, having ingrafted this in his make, it would have been
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 3. a violation of his own laws, and infraction on his own
 work, to have interposed, and hindered the use of that
 faculty, which, by the law of nature, he had established.
 We do not expect, that the situation of the earth, or the
 course of the sun should be altered on our account, be-
 cause these seem to be things of great importance ; and we
 apprehend it unreasonable, that, for our private advantage,
 the order and harmony of things should be changed, to
 the detriment of so many other beings. But, to alter the
 will, to stop the election, is no less a violation of the laws
 of nature, than to interrupt the course of the sun, because
 a free agent is a more noble being than the sun. The
 laws of its nature are to be esteemed more sacred, and
 cannot be changed without a great miracle : there would
 then be a kind of shock and violence done to nature, if
 God should interfere, and hinder the actions of free-will ;
 and perhaps it would prove no less pernicious to the intel-
 lectual system, than the sun's standing still would be to the
 natural.

To apply these reflections to the matter now before us.
 Had God, to prevent man's sin, taken away the liberty of
 his will, he had thereby destroyed the foundation of all vir-
 tue, and the very nature of man himself. For virtue would
 not have been such, had there been no possibility of acting
 contrary, and man's nature would have been divine, had it
 been made impeccable. Had God given our first parents
 then such powerful influences of his holy Spirit, as to have
 made it impossible for them to sin, or had he sent a guard
 of angels, to watch and attend them so as to hinder the
 devil from proposing any temptation, or them from heark-
 ening to any ; had he, I say, supernaturally over-ruled the
 organs of their bodies, or the inward inclinations of their
 minds, upon the least tendency to evil ; in this case he had
 governed them, not as free, but as necessary agents, and
 put it out of his own power to have made any trial of them
 at all. All therefore that he could do, and all that in rea-
 son might be expected from him to do, was to give them
 such a sufficient measure of power and assistance, as might
 enable them to be a match for the strongest temptation ;
 and this, there is no question to be made, but that he
 did do.

(b) We indeed, in this degenerate state of ours, find a great deal of difficulty to encounter with temptations. We find a great blindness in our understandings, and a crookedness in our wills. We have passions, on some occasions, strong and ungovernable; and oftentimes experience an inclination to do evil, even before the temptation comes: but our first parents, in their primitive rectitude, stood possessed of every thing as advantageous the other way. They had an understanding large and capacious, and fully illuminated by the divine Spirit. Their will was naturally inclined to the supreme good, and could not, without violence to its nature, make choice of any other. Their passions were sedate, and subordinate to their reason; and, when any difficulties did arise, they had God at all times to have recourse to: by which means it came to pass, that it was as hard for them to sin, as it is difficult for us to abstain from sinning; as easy for them to elude temptations then, as it is natural for us to be led away by temptations now. And therefore, if, notwithstanding all these mighty advantages towards a state of impeccancy, they made it their option to transgress, their perverseness only is to be blamed, and not any want of sufficient assistance from their bounteous Creator.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Christ.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.
That God
gave him
sufficient
abilities to
stand:

Great indeed is the disorder which their transgression has brought upon human nature; but there will be no reason to impeach the goodness of God for it, if we take but in this one consideration, That what he thought not fit to prevent by his almighty power, he has, nevertheless, thought fit to repair by the covenant of mercy in his son Jesus Christ. By him he has propounded the same reward, everlasting life after death, which we should have had, without death, before; and has given us a better establishment for our virtue now, than we could have had, had we not been sufferers by this first transgression.

And that,
upon his
fall, he has
provided
him with
an ade-
quate re-
medy.

For let us suppose, (i) that, notwithstanding our first parents had sinned, yet God had been willing that original righteousness should have equally descended upon their posterity; yet we must allow, that any one of their posterity might have been foiled by the wiles of the tempter, and fallen, as well as they did. Now had they so fallen, (the covenant of grace being not yet founded), how could they ever have recovered themselves to any degree of acceptance with God? Their case must have been the same,

(b) Nicholls's Conference, vol. 1. (i) Young's Sermons.

A. M. 1. as desperate, as forlorn, as that of fallen angels was before:
 Ant. Chris. 4004. whereas, in the present state of things, our condition is
 Gen. ch. 3. much safer. Sin indeed, by reason of our present infir-
 mity, may more easily make its breaches upon us, either
 through ignorance or surprize; but it cannot get domi-
 nion over us, without our own deliberate option, because
 it is an express gospel-promise against the power of sin,
 that (k) it *shall not have dominion over us*; against the
 power of the devil, that (l) *greater is he that is in you,*
than he that is in the world; against the power of temp-
 tations, that (m) *God is faithful, who will not suffer us to*
be tempted above what we are able; against discouragement
 from the pretence of our infirmities, that (n) *we may do all*
through Christ that strengthens us; and, in case of failing,
 that (o) *we have an Advocate with the Father, and a pro-*
pitiation for our sins. Thus plentifully did God provide
 for man's stability in that state of integrity, thus graci-
 ously for his restoration, in this state of infirmity. In both
 cases his goodness has been conspicuous, and has never
 failed!

Why God
 cursed the
 serpent.

In like manner, (to absolve the divine nature from any
 imputation of passion or peevishness, of injustice or hard
 usage, in cursing the serpent and the earth; in driving our
 lapsed parents out of paradise, and in entailing their guilt
 and punishment upon the latest posterity), we should do
 well to remember, that the serpent, against which the first
 sentence is denounced, is to be considered here in a double
 capacity; both as an animal, whose organs the devil em-
 ployed in the seduction of the woman; and as the devil
 himself, lying hid and concealed under the figure of the
 serpent: for the sentence, we may observe, is plainly di-
 rected to an intelligent being and free agent, who had com-
 mitted a crime which a brute could not be capable of.

Now if we consider what a glorious creature the ser-
 pent was before the fall, we cannot but suppose that God
 intended this debasement of it, (p) not so much to express
 his indignation against it, (for it had no bad intention,
 neither was it conscious of what the devil did with its bo-
 dy), as to make it a monument of man's apostacy, a testi-
 mony of his displeasure against sin, and an instructive em-
 blem to deter all future ages from the commission of that

(k) Rom. vi. 14. (l) 1 John, iv. 4. (m) 1 Cor. x. 13. (n) Phil. iv. 13. (o) 1 John, ii. 1. (p) Patrick's Com-
 mentary; and Mede's Discourses.

which brought such vengeance along with it. In the Levitical law we find, that if a man committed any abomination with a beast, (7) the beast was to be slain as well as the man; and, by parity of reason, the serpent is here punished, if not to humble the pride, and allay the triumph of the devil, by seeing the instrument of his success so shamefully degraded, at least to remind the delinquents themselves of the foulness of their crime, and the necessity of their repentance, whenever they chanced to behold so noble a creature as the serpent was reduced to so vile and abject a condition, merely for being the means of their transgression.

But God might have a farther design in this degradation of the serpent: he foresaw, that, in future ages, Satan would take pride in abusing this very creature to the like pernicious purposes, and, under the semblance of serpents of all kinds, would endeavour to establish the vilest idolatry, even the idolatry of his own hellish worship. That therefore the beauty of the creature might be no provocation to such idolatry, it was a kind and beneficent act in God to deface the excellence of the serpent's shape, and, at the same time, inspire mankind with the strongest horror and aversion to it. Nor can it be denied, but that, (r) if we suppose the devil possessed the serpent, and was, as it were, incarnate in it, the power of God could unite them as closely as our souls and bodies are united, and thereby cause the punishment inflicted on the literal serpent to affect Satan as sensibly as the injuries done our bodies do reach our souls; at least, while that very serpent was in being.

To consider Satan then under the form of a serpent, we shall see the propriety of the other part of the sentence denounced against him, and what comfort and consolation our criminal parents might reasonably collect from thence. That this part of the sentence, *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel*; is not to be understood in a literal sense, (because such sense is absurd and ridiculous), every reader of competent understanding must own: and therefore its meaning must be such as will best agree with the circumstances of the transaction. Now the transaction was thus. — Adam, tempted by his wife, and she by the serpent, had fallen

A. M. 1.
Ant. Christ.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3:

The latter part of the sentence against the serpent explained.

(7) Lev. xx. 15.

(r) Bishop King's Sermon on the fall from

A. M. 1. from their obedience, and were now in the presence of
 Ant. Christ. God expecting judgment. (s) They knew full well, at
 4004. that juncture, that their fall was the victory of the ser-
 Gen. ch. 3. pent, whom, by experience, they found to be an enemy
 to God and man: to man, whom he had ruined by seducing him to sin; and to God, the noble work of whose creation he had defaced. It could not therefore but be some comfort to them, to hear the serpent first condemned, and to see that, however he had prevailed against them, he had gained no victory over their maker, who was able to assert his own honour, and to punish this great author of iniquity. Nor was it less a consolation to them to hear from the mouth of God likewise, that the serpent's victory was not a complete victory over even themselves; that they and their posterity should be able to contest his empire; and though they were to suffer much in the struggle, yet finally they should prevail, bruise the serpent's head, and deliver themselves from his power and dominion over them.

This certainly is the lowest sense wherein our first parents could have understood this part of the sentence denounced against the serpent; and yet this very sense was enough to revive in them comfortable hopes of a speedy restoration. For when Adam heard that the seed of the woman was to destroy the evil spirit, he undoubtedly understood Eve to be that woman, and some issue of his by her to be that seed; and accordingly we may observe, that when Eve was delivered of Cain, the form of her exultation is, (t) *I have gotten a man from the Lord*, i. e. I have gotten a man through the signal favour and mercy of God. (u) Now this extraordinary exultation cannot be supposed to arise from the bare privilege of bearing issue, for that privilege (as she could not but know before this time) she had in common with the meanest brutes; and therefore her transport must arise from the prospect of some extraordinary advantage from this issue, and that could be no other than the destruction of her enemy.

Cain indeed proved a wicked man; but when she had conceived better expectations from Abel, and Cain had slain him, she, nevertheless, recovered her hopes upon the birth of Seth; because (x) God, saith she, *hath appointed me another seed*, or one who will destroy the power of Satan,

(s) Bishop Sherlock's Use and intent of prophecy. (t) Gen. iv. 1. (u) Revelation examined, vol. I. (x) Gen. iv. 25. instead

instead of Abel, whom Cain slew. Thus we see, that the obscurity in which it pleased God to foretel the destruction of the evil spirit, gave rise to a succession of happy hopes in the breast of Adam and Eve; who (if they had known that this happiness was to be postponed for four thousand years) would, in all probability, have inevitably fallen into an extremity of despair.

But how necessary soever God might think it, to give our first parents some general hopes and expectations of a restoration; yet, being now fallen into a state of sin and corruption, which must of course infect their latest posterity, he found it expedient to deprive them of that privilege of immortality, wherewith he had invested them, and (as an act of justice and mercy both) to turn them out of paradise, and debar them from the tree of life: of justice, in that they had forfeited their right to immortality, by transgressing a command, which nothing but a vain, criminal curiosity could make them disobey; and of mercy, in that, when sin had entailed all kinds of calamity upon human nature, in such circumstances, to have perpetuated life, would have been to perpetuate misery.

This, I think, can hardly be accounted the effect of passion or peevishness: and in like manner, God's cursing the ground, or (what is all one) his depriving it of its original fruitfulness, by a different turn given to the air, elements, and seasons, was not the effect of anger, or any hasty passion, (which God is not capable of), but of calm and equitable justice; since it was man (who had done enough to incur the divine pleasure) that was to suffer by the curse, and not the ground itself: for the ground felt no harm by *bringing forth thorns and thistles*, but Adam, who for some time had experienced the spontaneous fertility of paradise, was a sufficient sufferer by the change, when he found himself reduced to hard labour, and forced *to eat his bread by the sweat of his brows*.

It must be acknowledged therefore, (y) that there was good reason, why the penalty of the first transgression should be greater than any subsequent one; because it was designed to deter posterity, and to let them see, by this example, that whatever commination God denounces against guilt, will most infallibly be executed. We mistake, however, the nature of God's laws, and do in effect renounce

(y) Revelation examined.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chris.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.

Why God
turned our
first parents
out of para-
dise,

and cursed
the ground.

The nature
of the di-
vine prohibi-
tion.

A. M. 1. his authority, when we suppose, that good and evil are in
 Ant. Chris. the nature of things only, and not in the commandments
 4004. and prohibitions of God. (z) Whatever God is pleased to
 Gen. ch. 3. command or forbid, how indifferent soever it be in itself, is
 for that very reason, so far as it is commanded or forbidden
 by him, as truly good or evil, as if it were absolutely and
 morally so, being enacted by the same divine authority,
 which makes all moral precepts obligatory. God, in short,
 is our law-giver, and whatever he commands, whether it
 be a moral precept or positive injunction, so far as he e-
 nacts it, is of the same necessary and indispensible obligation.
 Upon this it follows, that all sin is a transgression of the
 law, and a contempt of God's authority: but then the
 aggravations of a sin do arise from the measure of its guilt,
 and the parties advantages to have avoided it; under which
 consideration, nothing can be more heinous than the sin
 of our first parents. It was not only a bare disobedience
 to God's command, by a perfect infidelity to his promises
 and threats; it was a sort of idolatry in believing the de-
 vil, and putting a greater trust in him, than in God. It
 was an horrible pride in them to desire to be like God, and
 such a diabolical pride, as made the evil angels fall from
 heaven. Covetousness, and a greedy theft it was, to de-
 sire, and purloin, what was none of his own; and one of
 the most cruel and unparalleled murders, that ever was
 committed, to kill and destroy so many thousands of their
 offspring. (a) Add to this, that it was a disobedience a-
 gainst God, an infinite being, and of infinite dignity; a
 God, who had given them existence, and that so very late-
 ly, that the impresses of it could not be worn out of their
 memory; that had bestowed so much happiness upon them,
 more than on all the creation besides; that had made them
 lords over all, and restrained nothing from them, but only
 the fruit of this one tree. Add again, that they commit-
 ted this sin, against the clearest conviction of conscience,
 with minds fully illuminated by the divine Spirit, with all
 possible assistance of grace to keep them from it, and no
 untoward bent of nature, or unruly passion to provoke
 them to it: and, putting all this together, it will appear,
 that this was a sin of the deepest dye, and that no man,
 now-a-days, can possibly commit a crime of such a com-
 plicated nature, and attended with such horrid aggrava-
 tions.

The heinousness of transgressing it:

(z) Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. 2.
 Conference, vol. 1.

(a) Nicholls's

It is the opinion of some, (*b*) that the fruit of the forbidden tree might be impregnated with some fermenting juice, which put the blood and spirits into a great disorder, and thereby divested the soul of that power and dominion it had before over the body; which, by its operation, clouded the intellect, and depraved the will, and reduced every faculty of the mind to a miserable depravity, which, along with human nature, has been propagated down to posterity: (*c*) as some poisons (we know) will strangely affect the nerves and spirits, without causing immediate death; and (*d*) as the Indians (we are told) are acquainted with a juice which will immediately turn the person who drinks it into an idiot, and yet leave him, at the same time, the enjoyment of his health, and all the powers and faculties of his body. But whatever the effect of the fruit might be, and whether the corruption of our nature and death, (with all the train of evils, which have descended to us), lay in the tree, or in the will of God, there is no question to be made, but that our wise Creator might very justly decree, that human nature in general should be affected with it, and our happiness or unhappiness depend upon the obedience or disobedience of our first parents. We daily see, that children very often inherit the diseases of their parents, and that a vicious and extravagant father leaves commonly his son heir to nothing else but the name and shadow of a great family, with an infirm and sickly constitution. And if men generally now partake of the bad habits and dispositions of their immediate parents, why might not the corruption of human nature, in the first, have equally descended upon all the rest of mankind? (*e*) The rebellion of a parent, in all civil governments, reduces his children to poverty and disgrace, who had a title before to riches and honours: and for the same reason, why might not Adam forfeit for himself, and all his descendants, the gift of immortality, and the promise of eternal life? God might certainly bestow his own favours upon his own terms: and therefore, since the condition was obedience, he might justly inflict death, *i. e.* withhold immortality from us; and he might justly deny us heaven (for the promise of heaven was an act of his free bounty) upon the transgression and disobedience of our

A. M. 1.
Ant. Christ.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.
And the justice of imputing it to Adam's posterity.

(*b*) Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. 2. (*c*) Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. 2.
 (*d*) Revelation examined, vol. 1.
 (*e*) Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. 2.

A. M. 1. first parents. We were in their loins, and from thence
 Ant. Chris. our infection came: they were our representatives, and in
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 3. them we fell: but then, amidst all this scene of calamity,
 we have one comfortable, one saving prospect to revive us,
 viz. that (*f*) *Adam was the figure of him that was to
 come; and therefore, as by the offence of one, judgment
 came upon all mankind to condemnation, even so by the righte-
 ousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification
 of life.*

This is the account we have of the fall: and though we pretend not to deny, that in some places there are figurative expressions in it, as best comporting with the nature of ancient prophecy, and the oriental manner of writing; yet this can be no argument, why we should immediately run to an allegorical interpretation of the whole.

Moses no
 allegorical
 writer.

That not only the poets, but some of the greatest philosophers likewise, had a strange affectation for such figurative documents, in order to conceal their true notions from the vulgar, and to keep their learning within the bounds of their own schools, we pretend not to deny: and yet, since it is apparent, that Moses could have no such design; (*g*) since he had no reason to fear any other philosophers setting up against him, or running away with his notions; since he affects no other character, but that of a plain historian, and pretends to relate matters just as they happened, without any disguise or embellishment of art; since he orders his books (which he endeavours to suit to the vulgar capacity) to be *read in the ears of all the people*, and commands *parents to teach them to their children*; it cannot be supposed, but that the history of the fall, as well as the rest of the book of Genesis, is to be taken in a literal sense. All the rest of the book is allowed to be literal, and why should this part of it only be a piece of Egyptian hieroglyphic? Fable and allegory, we know, are directly opposite to history: the one pretends to deliver truth undisguised; the other to deliver truth indeed, but under the veil and cover of fiction: so that, if this book of Moses be allowed to be historical, we may as well say, that what Thucydides relates of the plague of Athens, or Livy of the battle of Cannæ, is to be understood allegorically, as that what Moses tells us of the prohibition of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, or of Adam and Eve's expulsion

(*f*) Rom. v. 14. 18.
 vol. 1.

(*g*) Nicholls's Conference,

from the garden of paradise for breaking it, is to be interpreted in a mystical sense.

Nay, we will put the case, that it were consistent with the character of Moses to have amused the people with fables and allegories; (b) yet we can hardly believe, but that the people retained some tradition among them concerning the formation of our first parents, and the manner of their defection. This they might easily have had from their illustrious ancestor Abraham, who might have deduced it from Noah, and thence, in a few successions, from Adam himself: and if there was any such tradition preserved among them, Moses must necessarily have lost all his credit and authority, had he pretended to foist in a tale of his own invention, instead of a true narration. For the short question is, — (i) Did the children of Israel know the historical truth of the fall, or did they not? If they did know it, why should Moses disguise it under an allegory, rather than any of the rest of the book of Genesis? If they did not know it, how came it to be forgotten in so few generations of men, supposing it had ever been known to Adam's posterity? If Adam's posterity never rightly knew it, but had the relation thereof always conveyed down in metaphor and allegory, then must Adam, in the first place, impose upon his sons, and they upon succeeding generations; but for what reason we cannot conceive, unless that the most remarkable event that ever befel mankind (except the redemption of the world by Christ) so came to pass, that it was impossible to tell it to posterity any other way than in allegory.

It can scarce be imagined, but that some of the ancient writers of the Jewish church, as well as the inspired writers of the New Testament, had as true a knowledge of these distant traditions, as any modern espouser of allegories can pretend to; and therefore, (k) when we read in the book of Wisdom, that (l) *God created man to be immortal, and made him to be the image of his own eternity; but that, through the envy of the devil, death came into the world: when the son of Sirach tells us, that (m) God, at the first, filled man with the knowledge of understanding, and shewed him good and evil, but (n) that error and darkness had their*

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chris.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.

The history
of the fall
proved to
be literal
from the
Scripture,

(b) Moses Vindicatus.
vol. 2.

(i) Jenkins's Reasonableness,
(k) Vid. Bishop Sherlock's Dissert. 2. annexed to
his Use and intent of prophecy.

(l) Wisd. ii. 23. 24.

(m) Eccclus. xvii. 7.

(n) Ibid. xi. 16.

A. M. 1. *beginning together with sinners; that (o) death is the sen-
Ant. Chris. tence of the Lord over all flesh; (p) that the covenant, from
4004. the beginning, was, Thou shalt die the death; and that (q)
Gen. ch. 3. of woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we
all die: when we read, and compare all these passages to-
gether, I say, can there be any reasonable foundation to
doubt in what sense the ancient Jewish church understood
the history of the fall?*

Nay more: When not only we find the wicked, and the enemies of God represented under the image (r) of a serpent, of a dragon, of a leviathan, the crooked serpent, &c.; and the prophet telling us expressly, that (s) *duft shall be the serpent's meat*; but our blessed Saviour likewise declaring, that (t) *the devil was a murderer from the beginning, a liar, and a father of lies*; St Paul asserting, that (u) *the woman being deceived, was first in the transgression*, and that (x) *the serpent beguiled her through his subtilty*; and St John, in his Revelation, (y) calling that wicked and malicious spirit, the *devil*, or the *dragon*, *Satan*, or the *old serpent*, indifferently; we cannot but perceive, that these passages are not only plain references to the first deception of mankind under the form of that creature, but that they virtually comprize the sum and substance of the Mosaic account. (z) So that, if we have any regard either to the tradition of the Jewish church, or the testimony of Christ and his apostles, we cannot but believe, that the history of man's fall, and the consequences thereupon, were really such as Moses has represented them.

confirmed
by foreign
testimonies

And to confirm us in this belief, we may observe farther, that the tradition of almost every nation is conformable to his relation of things: (a) That not only the state of man's innocence, in all probability, gave rise to the poet's fiction of the golden age; but that the story of Adam and Eve, of the tree, and of the serpent, was extant among the Indians long ago, and (as travellers tell us) is still preserved among the Brachmans, and the inhabitants of Peru: (b) That in the old Greek mysteries, the people used to carry about a serpent, and were instructed to cry 'Eὐξ, whereby the devil seemed to exult, as it were, over

- (o) Ecclus. xli. 3. (p) Ibid. xiv. 17. (q) Ibid. xxv. 24.
(r) Isa. xiv. 29. xxvii. 1. Micah vii. 17. (s) Isa. lxxv. 25.
(t) John viii. 44. (u) 1 Tim ii. 14. (x) 2 Cor. xi. 3.
(y) Rev. xii. 9. xx. 2. (z) Moses Vindicatus. (a) Grö-
tiu. De veritate. (b) Nicholls's Conference, vol. 1.

the unhappy fall of our first mother; and that (c) in his worship in idolatrous nations, even now, * there are frequent instances of his displaying this his conquest under the figure of a serpent: strong evidences of the truth of the Mosaic account! to say nothing of the *rationale* which it gives us of our innate *pudor circa res venereas*, of the pains of child-birth, of the present sterility of the earth, of the slowness of children's education, of their imbecility above all other other creatures, of the woman's subjection to her husband, of our natural antipathy to viperous animals, and (what has puzzled the wisest of the Heathen sages to discover) of the depravation of our wills, and our strong propensity to what is evil.

This origin of evil is a question which none of them could resolve. They saw the effect, but were ignorant of the cause; and therefore their conjectures were absurd. (d) Some of them laid the whole blame on matter, as if its union with the mind gave it a pernicious tincture. Others imagined a pre-existent state, and that the bad inclinations which exerted themselves in this world were first of all contracted in another. (e) Several established two principles, the one the author of all the good, and the other the author of all the evil (whether natural or moral) that is found in human nature: and, in prejudice to this absurdity, many betook themselves to Atheism, and denied any first principle at all; accounting it better to have no God in the world, than such an unaccountable mixture of good and evil. But now, had but these wise men had the advantage of reading the Mosaic account, they would never have taken up with such wild hypotheses, but immediately concluded with our Saviour's argument, that (f) *a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit*; because the explication of the rise of sin, by an original

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſt.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.

And is the
moſt ſatis-
factory of
any.

(c) *Vid.* Heideggeri *Historia patriarcharum*, vol. 1.

* Philip Melancthon tells us a story to this purpose, of some priests (somewhere in Asia) who carry about a serpent in a brazen vessel, and, as they attend it with a great deal of music and charms in verse, the serpent lifts up itself, opens its mouth, and thrusts out the head of a beautiful virgin; the devil, in this manner, glorying in this miscarriage of Eve among these poor idolaters. And an account much of the like nature is given us in books of travels into the West-Indies; *Nicholls's Conference*, vol. 1.

(d) *Nicholls's Conference*, vol. 1. (e) Bishop King on the origin of evil. (f) *Matth.* vii. 18.

lapse,

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chris.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.

lapſe, is not only freed from theſe abſurdities wherewith other explications abound, but, according to the ſenſe which the author of the Book of Wiſdom has of it, ſets the goodneſs of God in the creation of the world in its proper light; viz, (g) that *God made not death, neither hath he pleaſure in the deſtruction of the living. He created all things, that they might have their being, and the generations of the world were healthful. There was no poiſon of deſtruction in them, nor the kingdom of death upon the earth, until that ungodly men called it to them; (h) and ſo error and darkneſs had their beginning together with ſinners.*

DISSERTATION III.

Of original ſin.

ORIGINAL ſin indeed is a phraſe which does not occur in the whole compaſs of the Bible; but the nature of the thing itſelf, and in what manner it came to be committed, are ſufficiently related: ſo that thoſe who admit of the authority of the Scriptures, make no queſtion of the fact. The great matter in diſpute is, what the effect of this tranſgreſſion was; what guilt it contained; what puniſhment it merited; and in what degree its guilt and puniſhment both may be ſaid to affect us.

Different
opinions
concerning
it.

Some have not ſtuck to affirm, (i) that in the beginning of the world, there was no ſuch thing as any expreſs covenant between God and man; that the prohibition of the tree of knowledge was given to our firſt parents only, and they alone conſequently were culpable by its tranſgreſſion; that Adam, in ſhort, was mortal, like one of us; he no repreſentative for his poſterity; his ſin purely perſonal; and that the imputation of guilt, down to this time, for an offence ſo many thouſand years ago committed, is a ſad reflection upon the goodneſs and juſtice of God.

In oppoſition to this, others think proper to affirm, that at the firſt creation of things, there was a covenant made with all mankind in Adam, their common head, and proxy, who ſtipulated for them all; that by a tranſgreſſion of this covenant, our firſt parents fell from their ori-

(g) Wiſd. i. 13. &c. (h) Eccluſ. xi. 16. (i) Burnet on the articles; and Taylor's polemical diſcourſes.

ginal righteouſneſs, and thence became dead in ſin, and actually deſiled in all their faculties of ſoul and body; and that this corruption is not only the parent of all actual tranſgreſſions, but (even in its own nature) brings guilt upon every one that is born into the world, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God, and the curſe of the law, and ſo made ſubject to death, with all the miſeries that attend it, ſpiritual, temporal, and eternal.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſt.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.

There is another opinion which concerns itſelf not with the imputation of the guilt, but only with the puniſhment of this tranſgreſſion, and thereupon ſuppoſes, that though Adam, as to the compoſition of his body, was naturally mortal, yet, by the ſupernatural gift of God, (whereof the tree of life was a ſymbol or ſacrament), he was to be preſerved immortal: from whence it is inferred, (*k*) that the denunciation of the ſentence, *In the day thou eateſt thereof, thou ſhalt ſurely die*, is to be underſtood literally indeed, but then extended no farther than natural death; which, conſidering the fears, and terrors, and fundry kinds of miſery which it occaſions, may be reputed puniſhment ſevere enough, though fairly conſiſtent with our notions of God's goodneſs and juſtice, becauſe it is—but a temporal puniſhment, and abundantly recompenced by that eternal redemption which all mankind ſhall have in Chriſt Jeſus.

Others again do ſo far approve of this, as to think it in part the puniſhment of original ſin; but then they ſuppoſe, that beſides this natural mortality, there is a certain weakneſs and corruption ſpread through the whole race of mankind, which diſcovers itſelf in their inclination to evil, and inſufficiency to what is good. This, ſay they, † the

(*k*) Locke's Reasonableneſs of Chriſtianity; and *Tractatus De imputatione divina peccati Adami, per Dan. Whitby.*

† St. Auſtin, in his fourth book againſt Julian, brings in Cice-ro [De repub. l. 3.] complaining, “Non a matre, ſed a noverca
“ natura editum eſſe hominem in vitam; corpore nudo, fragili, et
“ infirmo; animo anxio ad moleſtias, humili ad timores, motii
“ ad labores; in quo tamen velut obrutus ineſt ignis quidam divi-
“ nus mentis.” Whereupon the holy father makes this remark,
“ Rem vidit author iſte, cauſam nescivit: latebat enim eum, cur
“ eſſet grave jugum ſuper filios Adam; quia, ſacris literis non e-
“ ruditus, ignorabat originale peccatum.”

A. M. 1. very Heathens complain of; this † the Scriptures every
 Ant. Chris. where testify; and therefore they conclude, that since man
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 3. was not originally made in this condition, (for God created
 him after his own image), he must have contracted all this
 from his fall; and that therefore the threatening of death
 had an higher signification than the dissolution of the soul
 and body, viz. the loss of the divine favour, of all su-
 pernatural gifts and graces, and a total defection of the
 mind from God, which immediately ensued upon the trans-
 gression.

A proper
 state of the
 question:

These are some of the principal opinions, (for the lit-
 tle singularities are innumerable), and, in the midst of so
 many intricacies, to find out a proper path for us to pursue,
 we may resolve the whole controversy into this one ques-
 tion: — “Whether human nature be so far corrupted,
 “and the guilt of our first parents transgression so far
 “imputed to their posterity, that every person, from the
 “mother’s womb, must necessarily go astray, and must
 “certainly fall into everlasting perdition, without the
 “means appointed in the new covenant for his preserva-
 “tion?” And in searching into this, the sentiments of the
 fathers, much more the altercations of the schoolmen, will
 help us very little. † The former are so divided in their
 opinions,

† The Scriptures state the corruption of human nature in such
 terms as these, viz. that *by one man sin entered into the world,*
by whose disobedience many were made sinners, Rom. x. 19.
that by nature therefore we are the children of wrath, Eph. ii. 3.
and unable to receive the things of the Spirit, or to know them, be-
cause they are spiritually discerned, 1 Cor. ii. 14.; *for what is*
born of flesh, is flesh, John iii. 6.; *and who can bring a clean thing*
out of an unclean? Job xiv. 4. The royal Psalmist therefore
 makes, in his own person, this confession of our natural depravity;
Behold I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin did my mother con-
ceive me, Psal. li. 5.; and St. Paul this public declaration of our
 inability to do good; *I know that in me (i. e. in my flesh) dwell-*
eth no good thing; for to will is present with me, but to perform
that which is good, I find not; for though I delight in the law of
God after the inward man, yet I see another law in my members,
warring against the law in my mind, and bringing me into capti-
vity to the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man
that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?
 Rom. vii. 18. &c.

† Vossius, in his history of Pelagianism, assures us, that the
 whole Catholic church as always of opinion, that the guilt of
 Adam’s

opinions, and the latter so abstruse in their arguments upon this subject, that an honest inquirer will find himself bewildered, rather than instructed; and therefore our safest recourse will be to the declarations of God's will, explained in a manner comporting with his attributes.

That God, who is the fountain of our being, is infinitely pure and holy, and can therefore be neither the author or promoter of any sin in us, is obvious to our first conceptions of him; and therefore, if the corruption of our nature be supposed to be such as necessarily and unavoidably determines us to wickedness, without the least tendency to good, to give it a counterpoise, those who maintain the negative of the question, are in the right so far as they stand in defence of God's immaculate purity, and are known to be asserters of the freedom of human choice, without which the common distinctions of virtue and vice, and the certain prospects of rewards and punishments, are entirely lost. But when they carry the point so far as to deny any alteration in human nature now, from what it was at its first creation; as to deny, that Adam, in his state of uprightness, had any gifts and graces supernatural, any clearness in his understanding, any strength in his will, any regularity in his affections, more than every man of maturity and competent faculties has at this day; when they adventure to affirm, that there is no necessity of grace in our present condition, to assist our hereditary weakness, to enlighten our minds, and incline our wills, and conduct our affections to the purposes of holiness, but that every man may do what is good

A. M. 1.
Ant. Chriſt.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.

And the
moſt pro-
bable ex-
plication of
it.

Adam's sin was imputed to his posterity to their condemnation; so that children dying therein were consigned to everlasting punishment, at least to an everlasting separation from God: and, to confirm this assertion, he quotes a multitude of passages out of almost all the doctors of the Greek church. Taylor and Whitby, and some other writers upon this argument, produce the testimony of the same fathers to evince the very contrary position; so that there is no depending upon any thing where authors are so inconsistent with themselves, and so repugnant to one another. The truth is, before Pelagius appeared in the world, most of the ancient writers of the church were very inaccurate, both in what they thought and wrote concerning original sin and free-will; and it seems as if the providence of God permitted that Heretic to arise, that thereby he might engage the maintainers of orthodoxy to study those points more maturely; *Whitaker De peccato orig. l. 2.*

A. M. 1. and acceptable to God by the power of his own natural
 Ant. Chriſt. abilities; they then run counter to the common experi-
 4004. ence of human infirmity; they overlook the declarations
 Gen. ch. 3. of God's word concerning his gracious aſſiſtance; and
 ſeem to deſpiſe the kind overture of that bleſſed agent,
 whereby we are *renewed and ſanctified in the ſpirit of our
 minds.*

In like manner, when the maintainers of abſolute depravation contend, that man, in his preſent condition, is far departed from original righteouſneſs, and, of his own accord, very much inclined to evil; that the order of his faculties is deſtroyed, and thoſe graces which conſtituted the image of God, departed from him; that in this ſtate he is now unable to raiſe himſelf from the level of common impotence, but requires the intervention of ſome ſuperior principle to aid and aſſiſt him in his progreſs towards heaven; they ſay no more than what experience teaches us, and what the ſacred records, which acquaint us with the diſpenſation of grace, are known to authoriſe. But when they carry their poſitions to a greater extent than they will juſtly bear; when they affirm, that ever ſince the firſt deſection, the mind of man is not only much impaired, but grievouſly vitiated in all its faculties, having a ſtrong averſion to every thing that is good, and an invincible propenſity to what is evil; not one thought, word, or wiſh, that tends towards God, but the ſeeds and principles of every vice that bears the image and lineaments of the devil, inherent in it: when they advance ſuch doctrines as theſe, I ſay, they debaſe human nature too low, and ſeem to impute ſuch iniquity to its maker as can hardly be wiped off, if every human ſoul be naturally inclined to all kind of wickedneſs when it comes from the hand of his creating power.

There is certainly therefore another way of accounting for theſe difficulties, without any prejudice to the divine attributes, and that is this:—Not by aſcribing any poſitive malignity to human nature, but only the loſs of the image of God; becauſe a mere privation of rectitude, in an active ſubject, will ſufficiently answer all the purpoſes for which a poſitive corruption is pleaded. (1) The ſoul of man, we know, is a buſy creature: by the force of its own nature it muſt be in action; but then, without grace, and the image of God aſſiſting and adorning it, it cannot

(1) Hopkins on the two covenants.

act regularly and well. So that the difference between Adam and us, is not that we have violent inclinations to all manner of wickedness implanted in our nature, any more than he, in his innocence, had in his; but that we, in our present condition, want sundry advantages which he, in the height of his perfection, was not without. He had the free power of obedience; he had the perfect image of his maker in all the divine qualities of knowledge and holiness, which we have not; and therefore, when we say, that he communicated to his posterity a corrupted nature, it must not be understood, as if that nature, which we receive, was infected with any vicious inclinations or habits, to sway and determine our will to what is evil; but the meaning is, that he communicated to us a nature, which has indeed a power to incline, and act variously, but that he did not, withal, communicate to us the image of God, nor that fullness of knowledge and power of obedience, which were requisite to make all its actions and inclinations holy and regular; and our nature is therefore said to be corrupted, because it is comparatively bad; because it is reduced to its mere natural state, which at the best is a state of imperfection, and deprived of that grace which should have restrained it from sin, and of those other high endowments wherewith at first it was invested.

A. M. 1.
Ant. Christ.
4004-
Gen. ch. 3.

This is a fair account of our original corruption: it stands clear of the difficulties that attend the other opinions, and is not inconsistent with the notions we have of the divine attributes. For barely to withdraw those extraordinary gifts, which were not essential to man's nature, but such as God additionally had bestowed upon him; and he, by his transgression, unworthily forfeited, is what agrees very well with the wisdom and justice, and holiness of God to do; though to infuse a positive malignity, or such a strong inclination to wickedness in us, as induces a necessity of sinning, most certainly does not.

That *the judge of all the world cannot but do right*, and he, *who keepeth mercy from generation to generation*, can have no hand in any cruel action, is a certain truth, and what our first reflections on the divine nature teach us. Those therefore who maintain, that Adam's sin is not imputed to us to our damnation, or, that children unbaptised, are not the objects of divine vengeance, nor shall be condemned to hell, or an eternal expulsion from God's presence, for what was done many thousand years before they were born, are so far in the right, as they oppose

A. M. 1. pose an opinion which clouds the amiable attributes of
 Ant. Christ. God, and represents him in a dress of horror, and engaged
 4004. in acts of extreme severity at least, if not unrelenting cruelty.
 Gen. ch. 3. } Hell certainly is not so easy a pain, nor are the souls
 of children of so cheap and so contemptible a price, as that
 God should snatch them from their mother's womb, and
 throw them into perdition without any manner of concern;
 and therefore, when men argue against such positions as these,
 they are certainly to be commended, because therein they vindicate
 the sacred attributes of God: but when they carry their opposition
 to a greater length than it will justly go, so as to affirm—that there
 was no such thing as a covenant between God and Adam, or if there
 was, that Adam contracted for himself only; that his guilt consequently
 was personal, and cannot, in justice, be imputed to us; that since
 we had no share in the transgression, there is no reason why we
 should bear any part in the punishment; that we are all born, in
 short, in the same state of innocence, and are under the same
 favour and acceptance with Almighty God, that Adam, before
 the first transgression was: when they advance such positions
 as these, in maintenance of their opposition, they sadly forget,
 that while they would seem advocates for the mercy and
 goodness of God, they are taking away the foundation of the
 second covenant; destroying the necessity of a divine mediator;
 and overlooking those declarations in Scripture, which affirm,
 that (m) *all the world is become guilty before God*; that
all men, both Jews and Gentiles, are under sin; *have come short
 of the glory of God*, (n) *and are by nature the children of wrath*.

To make an agreement then between the word of God, and his
 attributes in this particular, we may fairly allow, that there really
 was a covenant between God and Adam at the first creation; that
 in making that covenant, Adam, as their head and common
 representative, stipulated for all mankind, as well as for himself;
 and that, in his transgression of it, the guilt and the punishment
 due thereupon, was imputed to all his posterity. This we may
 allow was the state and condition wherein Adam left us; but
 then we must remember, that (o) the whole scheme of man's
 salvation was laid in the divine counsel and decree from all
 eternity; that God, foreseeing man would fall,

(m) Rom. iii. 9. 19. 23.
 kins's Reasonableness, vol. 2.

(n) Eph. ii. 3.

(o) Jen-

determined to send his Son to redeem him, and determined to do this long before the transgression happened : so that the wisdom and goodness of God had effectually provided before-hand against all the ill consequences of the fall, and made it impossible, that Adam's posterity should become eternally miserable, and be condemned to the flames and pains of hell, any other way than through their own personal guilt and transgressions. The redemption of the world was decreed, I say, from eternity, and was actually promised before any child of Adam was born, even before the sentence was pronounced upon our first parents ; and as soon as it was pronounced, its benefits, without all controversy, did commence. So that, upon this hypothesis, every infant that comes into the world, as it brings along with it the guilt of Adam's sin, brings along with it likewise the benefits of Christ's meritorious death, *which God hath set forth, as a standing propitiation for the sins of the whole world.* Nor can the want of baptism be any obstruction to this remedy, since the remedy was exhibited long before the rite was instituted ; and since that rite, when instituted, (according to the sense of some learned fathers), was more a pledge of good things to come *, a type of our future resurrection, a form of adoption into the heavenly family, and of admission to those *rich promises of God, which are hid in Jesus Christ*, than any ordinance appointed for the *mystical washing away of sin.*

A. M. 1.
Ant. Christ.
4004.
Gen. ch. 3.

In short, as long as St Paul's epistles are read, the original compact between God and man, the depravation of human nature, and the imputation of Adam's guilt, must be received as standing doctrines of the church of Christ : but then we are to take great care in our manner of explaining them, to preserve the divine attributes sacred and inviolate : and this may happily be effected, if we will but suppose, that our hereditary corruption is occasioned, not by the infusion of any positive malignity into us, but by the subduction of supernatural gifts from us ; that the covenant of grace commenced immediately after the covenant of works was broken, and has included all man-

The whole summed up

* *Baptizantur infantes (juxta Chrysostomum et Theodoretum) ut baptismus ipsis sit arca futurorum bonorum, typus futuræ resurrectionis, Dominicæ passionis communicatio, atque ut superne regenerati, sanctificati, in adoptionis jus adducti, et unigeniti cohæredes, per sacrorum mysteriorum participationem, sint ; Whitby De imputatione peccati Adami.*

A. M. 1. kind ever since ; that the blood of Christ shields his chil-
 Ant. Chrif. dren from the wrath of God ; and that the imputation of
 4004.
 Gen. ch. 3. Adam's guilt, and obnoxiousness to punishment, is effectual-
 ly taken away, by the meritorious oblation of that *Lamb*
of God, which was slain from the foundation of the world.

C H A P. IV.

Of the murder of Abel, and the banishment of Cain.

THE HISTORY.

A. M. 128.
 Ant. Chrif. 3876.
 Gen. ch. 4.
 to ver. 25.
 Cain and
 Abel's birth

OUR first parents, we may suppose *, after a course
 of penance and humiliation for their transgression,
 obtained the pardon and forgiveness of God ; and yet the
 corruption, which their sin introduced, remained upon hu-
 man nature, and began to discover itself in that impious
 fact which Cain committed upon his brother Abel. Cain
 was the first child that was ever born into the world ;
 and his mother Eve was so fully persuaded, that the pro-

* The oriental writers are very full of Adam's sorrows and lamentations upon this occasion. They have recorded the several forms of prayer wherein he addressed God for pardon and forgiveness ; and some of the Jewish doctors are of opinion, that the thirty-second psalm, wherein we meet with these expressions, *I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid ; I said I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin,* was of his composing.

Our excellent Milton, to the same purpose, introduces Adam, after a melancholy soliloquy with himself, and some hasty alterca-
 tions with Eve, proposing at length this wholesome advice to her :

What better can we do, than to the place
 Repairing, where he judg'd us, prostrate fall
 Before him reverent ; and there confess
 Humbly our faults, and pardon beg ; with tears
 Wat'ring the ground, and with our sighs the air
 Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
 Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek ?
 Undoubtedly he will relent, and turn
 From his displeasure : in whose looks serene,
 When angry most he seem'd, and most severe,
 What else but favour, grace, and mercy shone ?

mised seed would immediately descend from her, that she A. M. 128.
 supposed him to be the person who was to subdue the Ant. Chris.
 power of the great enemy of mankind; and therefore, 3876.
 upon her delivery, she cried out in a transport of joy, Gen. ch. 4.
 † *I have gotten a man from the Lord*, and accordingly to ver. 25.

gave him the name of *Cain*, which signifies *possession* or *ac-*
quisition; never suspecting, that as soon as he grew up,
 he would occasion her no small sorrow and disconsolation.
 The next son that she bore, (which was the year
 following), was called † *Abel*, denoting *sorrow* and *mourn-*
ing; but very probably he might not receive that name,
 until his tragical end, which caused great grief to his pa-
 rents, verifying the meaning of it. Other children, we
 may presume, were all along born to our first parents;
 but these are the two who, for some time, made the
 principal figure; and as they had the whole world be-
 fore them, there was small reason (one would think) for
 those feuds and contentions, which, in after ages, em-
 broiled mankind. But the misfortune was, they were per-
 sons of quite different tempers; and accordingly, when
 they grew up, betook themselves to different employments;
 Cain, who was of a surly, sordid, and avaritious temper,
 to the tilling of the ground; and Abel, who was more
 gentle and ingenuous in his disposition, to the keeping of
 sheep.

† *Ish eth Jehovah*, which our translation makes *a man*
from the Lord, should rather be rendered *the man, the Lord*. Hel-
 vicus has shewn, in so many instances in Scripture, that *eth* is
 an article of the accusative case, that it seems indeed to be the
 Hebrew idiom; besides, that it is a demonstrative, or emphatic
 particle, which points at some thing or person, in a particular
 manner; and therefore several, both Jewish and Christian doc-
 tors, have taken the words in this sense:—That our grand-
 mother Eve, when delivered of Cain, thought she had brought
 forth the Messiah, the God-man, who was to *bruise the serpent's*
head, or destroy Satan's power and dominion, according to the
 promise, which God had made her; *Edward's Survey of religion*,
 vol. 1.

† Others derive the name from a word which signifies *va-*
nity, and are of opinion, that Eve intended thereby, either to
 declare the little esteem she had of him, in comparison of her
 first born; or to shew the vanity of her hopes, in taking Cain
 for the Messiah; or to denote, that all things in the world, into
 which he was now come, were mere *vanity and vexation of spi-*
rit; *Patrick's Commentary*, and *Saurin's Dissertation*.

A. M. 128. It was a customary thing, even in the infancy of the world, to make acknowledgments to God, by way of oblation, for the bountiful supply of all his creatures; and accordingly || these two brothers were wont to bring offerings, suitable to their respective callings: Cain, as an husbandman, the fruits of the ground; and Abel, as a shepherd, the firstlings, or (as some will have it) the † milk of

Ant. Chris.
3876.
Gen. ch. 4
to ver. 25.
Their obla-
tions.

|| In the last verse of this chapter we read, that it was in the days of Enos, when *men first began to call on the name of the Lord*; and yet, in the third and fourth verses thereof, we find that Cain and Abel brought their respective offerings to the place (as we may suppose) of divine worship. Now, if the beginning of divine worship was in the days of Enos, what worship was this in the days of Cain and Abel? To have two beginnings for the same worship, is a thing incongruous, unless we can suppose, that the two brothers, when they came with their oblations, did not worship at all; neither opening their lips in the divine benefactor's praise, nor invoking a blessing upon what his bounty had sent them, which is highly inconsistent with the character of worshippers. But in answer to this, we must observe, that the worship of God is of two kinds, public and private; that the worship wherein these brothers were concerned, was of the latter sort; for Cain is mentioned by himself, and Abel by himself. They came to the place of worship severally; their sacrifices were not the same: neither were the offerers of the same mind. But the worship which was instituted in the time of Enos, was of a public nature, when several families, under their respective heads, met together in the same place, and joined in one common service, whether of prayers, praises, or sacrifices. Though the phrase of *men's beginning to call upon the name of the Lord*, may possibly bear another construction, as we shall shew when we come to examine the place itself; *Street's Dividing of the hoof*.

† It is a pretty common opinion, that the eating of flesh was not permitted before the flood; and it is the position of Grotius; that no carnal sacrifices were, at that time, offered; because nothing, but what was of use to man, was to be consecrated to God. The scarcity of cattle might very well excuse their being slain in the worship of God; and therefore since the same word in Hebrew, [*Hhalab*, or *Hheleb*], according to its different punctuation, signifies both *fat* and *milk*, and accordingly is rendered both ways by the LXX, many learned men seem rather to favour the latter, as finding it a custom among the ancient Egyptians, to sacrifice milk to their deities, as a token and acknowledgment of the fecundity of their cattle; *Le Clerc's Commentary*,

of his flock. Upon some set and solemn occasion then, A. M. 129. Ant. Christ. 3876. Gen. ch. 4. to ver. 25. (p) (and not improbably at the end of harvest), as they were presenting their respective offerings, God, who estimates the sincerity of the heart more than the value of the oblation, † gave a visible token of his acceptance of Abel's sacrifice, preferable to that of Cain, which so enraged, and transported him with envy against his brother, that he could not help shewing it in his countenance.

God however, in great kindness, condescended to expostulate the matter with him, telling him, “ (q) That his respect to true goodness was impartial, where-ever he found it, and that ‡ therefore it was purely his own fault, that his offering was not equally accepted; that God's expostulation with Cain;

Commentary, and Saurin's Dissertation. But the learned Heidegger is of an opinion quite the contrary; *Vid. Exercit. 15. De cibo antediluviano.*

(p) Heidegger's *Historia patriarcharum.*

† The Jews are generally of opinion, that this visible token of God's accepting Abel's sacrifice, was a fire, or lightning, which came from heaven, and consumed it. The footsteps of this we meet with in a short time after, Gen. xv. 17. and the examples of it were many in future ages, viz. when Moses offered the first burnt-offering according to the law, Lev. ix. 24.; when Gideon offered upon the rock, Jud. vi. 21.; when David stayed the plague, 1 Chron. xxi. 26.; when Solomon consecrated the temple, 2 Chron. vii. 1.; and when Elijah contended with the Baalites, 1 Kings xviii. 38. &c. And accordingly, we find the Israelites, (when they wish all prosperity to their king), praying, that God would be pleased to accept (in the Hebrew, *turn into ashes*) his burnt sacrifice, Psal. xx. 3.; *Patrick and Le Clerc's Commentary.*

(q) Patrick's *Commentary.*

‡ The words in our translation are, *If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?* ver. 7. which some render, *shalt thou not receive,* viz. a reward? others, *shalt thou not be pardoned?* and others again, *thou shalt be elevated to dignity.* But if we consider, what God says to Cain in the two foregoing verses, *that his countenance was fallen,* we cannot but perceive, that in this he promises him, that if he did well, he should have his face *lifted up,* and that he should have no more reason to be sad; for so the Scripture frequently expresses a fearless and cheerful state: *If iniquity be in thine hand,* says one of Job's friends, *put it away from thee, and let not wickedness dwell in thy tabernacles; for then thou shalt lift up thy face without spot,* Job. xi. 15.; *Essay for a new translation.*

A. M. 128. “ piety was the proper disposition for a sacrificer; and
 Ant. Chris. “ that, if herein he would emulate his brother, the same
 3876. “ tokens of divine approbation should attend his obla-
 Gen. ch. 4. “ tions; (r) that it was folly and madness in him to har-
 to ver. 25. “ bour any revengeful thoughts against his brother; be-
 “ cause, if he proceeded to put them in execution, † a
 “ dreadful punishment would immediately overtake him;
 “ and that least of all had he reason to be angry with him
 “ whose preference was only a token of his superior vir-
 “ tue, and not intended to supplant him of his birthright,
 “ (s) which should always be inviolate, and his brother
 “ be obliged to † pay him the respect and homage that
 “ was

(r) Poole's Annotations.

† The words in our translation are, *Sin lieth at thy door*: where, by *sin*, the generality of interpreters mean, the punishment of sin, which is hard at hand, and ready to overtake the wicked. But our learned Lightfoot observes, that God does not here present himself to Cain, in order to threaten, but to encourage him, as the first words of his speech to him do import; and that therefore the bare description of *lying at the door*, does plainly enough insinuate, that the text does not speak either of errors or punishment, but of a *sacrifice for sin*, which the Scripture often calls by the Hebrew word here, and which was commonly placed before the door of the sanctuary, as may be seen in several passages in Scripture. So that, according to this sense, God is here comforting Cain, even though he did amiss in maligning his brother, and referring him to the propitiation of Christ, which, even then, was of standing force for the remission of sin; *Essay for a new translation*. But this sense of the word seems a little too far-fetched.

(s) Le Clerc's Commentary.

† The words in the text are, *unto thee shall be his desire*, Gen. iii. 16. which (however some expositors have clouded them) will appear to be plain and easy enough, if we do but consider, that there are two expressions, in the Hebrew tongue, to signify the readiness of one person to serve and respect another. The one is [*aine el yad*] or *our eyes are to his hand*; the other [*teshukah el*] or *our desire is to him*. The former expresses our outward attendance, and the latter the inward temper and readiness of our mind to pay respect. Of the former we have an instance in Psal. cxxxiii. *The eyes of servants are to the hand of their masters, and the eyes of a maiden are to the hand of her mistress*, i. e. they stand ready with a vigilant observance to execute their orders. We meet the other expression in the place before us, and it imports an inward temper and

“ was due to his primogeniture ; which, if he was minded
 “ to preserve, his wisest way would be to be quiet, and
 “ not proceed one step farther in any wicked design.”

A. M. 1282
 Ant. Chris.
 3876.
 Gen. ch. 4.
 to ver. 25.

This was a kind admonition from God : but so little effect had it upon Cain, that instead of being sensible of his fault, and endeavouring to amend, he grew more and more incensed against his brother ; infomuch, that at last he took a resolution to kill him ; but dissembled his design, until he should find a proper opportunity.

And, to this purpose, coming to his brother one day, and pretending great kindness to him, he asked him very friendly to take a walk with him in the fields, where, having got him alone *, upon some pretence or other, he picked a quarrel with him, and so fell upon him, and slew

and disposition of mind to pay respect and honour. *His desire will be unto thee, i. e. he will be heartily devoted (as we say in English) to honour and respect you. And thou shalt [or mayest] rule over him, i. e. you may have any service from him you can desire; Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1.*

* According to the English translation, Moses tells us, ver. 8. that *Cain talked with Abel his brother.* The words strictly signify, *Cain said unto Abel his brother;* after which there is a blank space left in the Hebrew copies, as if something was wanting. The Samaritan Pentateuch, and the LXX version supply this, by adding the words, — *Let us go into the fields;* but the Jerusalem Targum, and that of Jonathan, have supplied us with their whole conversation — As they went along, “ I know, “ says Cain, that the world was created by the mercy of God, “ but it is not governed according to the fruit of our good “ works, and there is respect of persons in judgment. Why “ was thy oblation favourably accepted, when mine was reject- “ ed? Abel answered and said unto Cain, The world was cre- “ ated in mercy, and is governed according to the fruits of “ our good works. There is no respect of persons in judg- “ ment; for my oblation was more favourably received, be- “ cause the fruit of my works was better, and more precious, “ than thine. Hereupon Cain in a fury breaks out, There is no “ judgment, nor judge, nor any other world; neither shall “ good men receive any reward, nor wicked men be punished. “ To which Abel replied, There is a judgment, and a judge, “ and another world, in which good men shall receive a re- “ ward, and wicked men be punished.” Upon which their en- “ sued a quarrel, which ended in Abel's death. So that, according to this account, Abel suffered for the vindication of the truth, and was, in reality, the first martyr; *Eschius in difficiliora loca.*

A. M. 128. him, and afterwards (†) buried him in the ground; to prevent all discovery: but it was not long before he was called to an account for this horrid fact. God appeared to him, and having questioned him about his brother, and received some fullen and evasive answers from him, directly charged him with his murder; and then representing it in its proper aggravations, as a crime unpardonable, and what cried aloud to heaven for vengeance, he proceeded immediately to pass sentence upon him.

and sentence against him.

Cain's chief (u) design and ambition was, to make himself great and powerful, in favour with God, and in credit with men, without any one to stand in competition with him; but in every thing he intended, he found himself disappointed, for attempting to accomplish his ends in so wicked a manner. Instead of growing great and opulent, the ground was sentenced *not to yield him her strength*, i. e. he was to be unprosperous in his husbandry and tillage: instead of enjoying God's favour without a rival, he was banished from his presence, and for ever excluded from that happy converse with the Deity which, in these first ages of the world, it was customary for good men to enjoy: and instead of being a man of renown among his family, he became a *fugitive and vagabond*; was banished from his native country, and compelled to withdraw into some distant and desolate part of the earth, as an abominable person, not worthy to live, nor fit to be endured in any civil community.

The same principle, which leads wicked men to the commission of crimes, in hopes of impunity, throws them into despair, upon the denunciation of punishment. This sentence of Cain, though infinitely short of the heinousness of his guilt, made him believe, † that he was to undergo much

(†) Josephus's antiq. l. 1. c. 3.
duction, vol. 1.

(u) Shuckford's Intro-

† The words in our translation are, *My punishment is greater than I can bear*; but as the Hebrew word [*Aven*] signifies *iniquity*, rather than punishment, and the verb [*Nasha*] signifies *to be forgiven*, as well as to *bear*, it seems to agree better with the context, if the verse be rendered either positively, *My iniquity is too great to be forgiven*, or (as the Hebrew expositors take it) by way of interrogation, *Is my iniquity too great to be forgiven?* which seems to be the better of the two; *Shuckford's Connection*, vol. 1. A learned annotator has observed, that as there are seven abominations in the heart of him that loveth not his

much greater evils than it really imported ; and that not only the miseries of banishment, but the danger likewise of being slain by every one that came near him, was ensuant upon it. But, to satisfy him in this respect, God was pleased to declare, that his providence should protect him from all outward violence ; and, to remove the uneasy apprehension from his mind, vouchsafed to give him a sign (very (x) probably by some sensible miracle) that no creature whatever should be permitted to take away his life ; but, that whoever attempted it should incur a very severe punishment ; because God (y) was minded to prolong his days in this wretched estate, as a monument of his vengeance, to deter future ages from committing the like murder.

A. M. 128.
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Gen. ch. 4.
to ver. 25.

Thus, by the force of the divine sentence, Cain left his parents and relations, and went into a strange country. He was banished from that sacred place where God vouchsafed † frequent manifestations of his glorious presence ; and though by the divine decree no person was permitted to hurt

Cain's banishment.

his brother, Prov. xxvi. 25. there were the like number of transgressions in Cain's whole conduct ; for, 1st, he sacrificed without faith ; 2dly, was displeas'd that God respect'd him not ; 3dly, hearkened not to God's admonition ; 4thly, spake dissemblingly to his brother ; 5thly, killed him in the field ; 6thly, denied that he knew where he was ; and, 7thly, neither ask'd, nor hop'd for mercy from God, but despair'd, and so fell into the condemnation of the devil ; *Ainsworth's Annotations.*

(x) Universal History, numb. 2. (y) Patrick's Commentary.

† Both Lightfoot, Heidegger, and Le Clerk, seem to be of opinion, that what we render the *presence of the Lord*, was the proper name of that particular place where Adam, after his expulsion from paradise, dwelt ; and accordingly we find that part of the country which lies contiguous to the supposed situation of paradise, called by Strabo [lib. 16.] *πρωτων Θεων*. However this be, it is agreed by all interpreters, that there was a *divine glory*, called by the Jews SCHECHINAN, which appeared from the beginning, (as we said before, page 40. in the notes) and from which Cain being now banished, never enjoyed the sight of it again. If, after this, Cain turned a downright idolater, (as many think), it is very probable that he introduced the worship of the sun (which was the most ancient idolatry) as the best resemblance he could find of the glory of the Lord which was wont to appear in a flaming light ; *Patrick's Commentary.*

him,

A. M. 128. him, yet, being conscious of his own guilt, he was fearful
 Ant. Chris. of every thing he saw or heard: till having wandered a-
 3876. bout a long while in many different countries, he settled
 Gen. ch. 4. at length with his wife and family in the land of Nod;
 to ver. 25. where, in some tract of time, and after his descendants
 were sufficiently multiplied, he built a city, that they might
 live together, and be united, the better to defend them-
 selves against incursions, and * to secure their unjust pos-
 sessions; and this place he called after the name of his son
Enoch, which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies a dedica-
 tion.

His descen- This Enoch begat Jarad; Jarad begat Mehujael; Me-
 dants. hujael begat Methusael; and Methusael begat Lamech,
 who was † the first introducer of polygamy. For he married
 two wives, Adah and Zillah, by the former of which he had
 two

* The words of Josephus are these. “ So far was Cain from
 “ mending his life after his afflictions, that he rather grew
 “ worse and worse, abandoning himself to his lusts, and all
 “ manner of outrage, without any regard to common justice.
 “ He enriched himself by rapine and violence, and made choice
 “ of the most profligate of monsters for his companions, in-
 “ structing them in the very mystery of their own profession.
 “ He corrupted the simplicity and plain dealing of former times,
 “ with a novel invention of weights and measures, and ex-
 “ changed the innocency of that primitive generosity and
 “ candour for the new tricks of policy and craft. He was
 “ the first who invaded the common rights of mankind by
 “ bounds and inclosures, and the first who built a city, for-
 “ tified, and peopled it;” *Antiq. l. 1. c. 3.*; and *Le Clerc’s*
Commentary.

† Le Clerc, supposing that the increase of females at the be-
 ginning of the world was much greater than that of males, is
 of opinion, that there might possibly want a man to espouse one
 of the women which Lamech married; nor can he think that
 Moses intended to blame him for what was the constant practice
 of some of the most eminent of the post-diluvian patriarchs.
 Bishop Patrick likewise makes this apology for him. “ His ear-
 “ nest desire of seeing that blessed seed,” says he, “ which was
 “ promised to Eve, might perhaps induce him to take more
 “ wives than one, hoping, that by multiplying his posterity, some
 “ or other of them might prove so happy as to produce that
 “ seed. And this he might possibly persuade himself to be more-
 “ likely, because the right which was in Cain, the first-born;
 “ he might now conclude, was revived in himself; and that the
 “ curse laid upon Cain was by this time expired, and his
 “ posterity restored to the right of fulfilling the promise.” Both

two children; Jabal, † who made great improvements in the management of cattle, and found out the use of tents, (z) or moveable houses, to be carried about to places of fresh pasturage; and Jubal, who was the first inventor of all musical instruments, and himself a great master and performer. By the latter, he had Tubal-Cain, the first who discovered (a) the art of forging and polishing metals, and thereupon devised the making all sorts of armour, both defensive and offensive; and whose sister Naamah (a name denoting *fair* and *beautiful*) is supposed to have first found out the art of spinning and weaving.

(b) This is the register of Cain's posterity for seven generations: and Moses, perhaps, might the rather enumerate them, to shew who were the real authors and inventors of certain arts and handicrafts, (c) which the Egyptians too vainly assumed to themselves: but then he barely enumerates them, without ever remarking how long any of them lived, (a practice contrary to what he observes in the genealogy of the Sethites), as if he esteemed them a generation so reprobate as (d) not to deserve a place in the book of the living.

The murder of Abel had for a long time occasioned a great animosity between the family of Seth and the descendants of Cain, who, though at some distance, lived in perpetual apprehensions that the other family might come

Lamech's discourse to his wives.

Selden and Grotius plead for the lawfulness of polygamy before the Levitical dispensation; but the learned Heidegger (who has a whole dissertation upon the subject) has sufficiently answered them, and proved at large, that this custom of multiplying wives is contrary both to the law of God and the law of nature; *Historia patriar. exercit. 7.*

† The words in the text are, ——— *He was the father of such as dwell in tents*; for the Hebrews call him the father of any thing who was the first inventor of it, or a most excellent master of that art: and from the affinity of their names, as well as the similitude of their inventions, learned men have supposed, that Jabal was the Pales; Jubal the Apollo; *Tubal-Cain* (which in the Arabic tongue, still signifies a *plate of iron or brass*) the Vulcan; and his sister Naamah the Venus, or (as some will have it) the Minerva of the Gentiles; *Heidegger's Hist. patriar.*; and *Stillingfleet's Origines, l. 3. c. 5.*

(z) Le Clerc's Commentary. (a) Heidegger's *Historia patriar.* (b) Howell's *History of the Bible.* (c) Le Clerc's Commentary. (d) Patrick's Commentary.

A. M. 128. upon them unawares, and revenge Abel's untimely death :
 Ant. Christ. but Lamech, when he came to be head of a people, endeavoured to reason them out of this fear. For, (e) calling
 3876.
 Gen. ch. 4. his family together, † he argued with them to this purpose.
 to ver. 25. “ Why should we make our lives uneasy with these
 “ groundless suspicions? What have we done, that we
 “ should

(e) Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1.

† This speech of Lamech, as it stands unconnected with any thing before it, is supposed by many to be a fragment of some old record which Moses was willing to preserve; and, because it seems to fall into a kind of metre, some have thought it a short sketch of Lamech's poetry, which he was desirous to add to his son's invention of music, and other arts. Many suppose, that Lamech, being plagued with the daily contentions of his two wives, here blusters and boasts of what he had done and what he would do, if they gave him any farther molestation. Others imagine, that as the use of weapons was found out by one of his sons, and now become common, his wives were fearful, lest some body or other might make use of them to slay him; but that, in this regard, he desires them to be easy, because, as he was not guilty of slaying any body himself, there was no reason to fear that any body would hurt him. The Targum of Onkelos, which reads the words interrogatively, favours this interpretation much; *Have I slain a man to my wounding, or a young man to my hurt?* i. e. I have done no violence or offence to any one, either great or small, and have therefore no cause to be apprehensive of any to myself. But the Rabbins tell us a traditional story, which, if true, would explain the passage at once. The tradition is,—“ That Lamech, when he was
 “ blind, took his son Tubal-Cain to hunt with him in the woods,
 “ where they happened on Cain, who being afraid of the society
 “ and converse of men, was wont to lie lurking up and down in
 “ the woods; that the lad mistook him for some beast stirring in
 “ the bushes, and directed his father, how, with a dart, or an
 “ arrow, he might kill him; and this (they say) was the man
 “ whom he killed by his wounding him; and that afterwards,
 “ when he came to perceive what he had done, he beat Tubal-
 “ Cain to death for misinforming him; and this was the young
 “ man whom he killed by hurting or beating him.” But besides the incongruity of a blind man's going a-hunting, this story is directly contrary to the promise of God, which assured Cain, that no person should kill him, and seems indeed to be devised for no other purpose, but merely to solve the difficulty of the passage. Among the many interpretations which have been made of it, that which I have offered seems to be the most natural and ea-

“ should be afraid? We have not killed any man, nor offered any violence to our brethren of the other family; and surely reason must teach them, that they can have no right to hurt or invade us. Cain indeed, our ancestor, killed Abel; but God was pleased so far to forgive his sin, as to threaten to take the severest vengeance on any one that should kill him: and if so, surely they must expect a much greater punishment, who shall presume to kill any of us. For if Cain shall be avenged seven-fold, surely Lamech, or any of his innocent family, seventy-seven fold.” And it is not improbable, that by frequent discourses of this kind, as well as by his own example, he overcame the fears and shyness of the people, and (as we shall find it hereafter) encouraged them to commence an acquaintance with their brethren, the children of Seth. This is the sum of what the Scripture teaches us of the deeds of Cain, and his wicked offspring, who were all swept away in the general deluge.

A. M. 128.
Ant. 'hrif.
3876.
Gen. ch. 4.
to ver. 25.

The OBJECTION.

“ BUT how little soever the Scripture teaches us of Cain and his adventures, yet it certainly teaches us too much, ever to believe that Adam and Eve were the primogenial parents of mankind. (f) According to the Mosaic account, Cain and Abel were at this time the only two persons (excepting their parents) upon the face of the earth; and yet, when we read that Abel was a keeper of sheep, we cannot but suppose, that he kept them for this reason,—that none of his neighbours might come and steal them away; and that Cain was a tiller of the ground, we cannot but infer, that there were at that time all such artificers as were requisite to carry on such an occupation, smiths and carpenters, millers and bakers, &c.

That there were other men before Adam.

fy, and is not a little countenanced by the authority of Josephus. “ As for Lamech,” says he, “ who saw as far as any man into the course and methods of divine justice, he could not but find himself concerned in the prospect of that dreadful judgment which threatened his whole family, for the murder of Abel, and, under this apprehension, he breaks the matter to his two wives;” *Antiq. lib. I. c. 3.*

(f) *Vid* La Peirere’s *Systeme theolog.* p. I. l. 3.; and Blunt’s *Oracles of reason.*

A. M. 1:8.
 Ant. C. cil.
 3375.
 Gen. ch. 4.
 to ver. 25.

“ When Cain intended to murder his brother, he en-
 “ ticed him to go with him into the field : now the field,
 “ we know, is usually opposed to a town, and therefore he
 “ decoyed him thither, that he might avoid the eyes of his
 “ fellow-citizens, who would otherwise have seen him, and
 “ immediately dragged him away to punishment. With
 “ some weapon or other Cain must have killed his brother,
 “ because we read of (g) a large effusion of blood; and
 “ yet, who was the cutler that made him the sword? Or,
 “ from what band of robbers was it that he had it?

“ After sentence was denounced against him, *Every one*
 “ *that findeth me shall slay me*, says he: but if his father
 “ and mother were the only persons besides himself, what
 “ reason had he for such an apprehension? Or for what
 “ purpose should God set a mark upon this murderer, for
 “ fear that any one should slay him, if there were not mul-
 “ titudes of men in the world that either designedly or ac-
 “ cidentally might do it?

“ But allowing that Adam and Eve had some few chil-
 “ dren besides in the province of Eden; yet how came
 “ Cain, when banished from his native country, to find
 “ the land of Nod (a land which, by the bye, no one can
 “ tell where it lies) so well peopled in those early days, as
 “ there to meet with women enough, out of whom to chuse
 “ a wife, and men in abundance to build him a city;
 “ which, to distinguish it from other cities, (as then there
 “ might be many), he called by the name of his son E-
 “ noch? These things are inconsistent, and can never be
 “ reconciled, unless we suppose, that there was really a
 “ race of mankind before Adam, and that Moses never in-
 “ tended to write of the primitive parents of all the world,
 “ (since, within the compass of a few lines, he lets fall so
 “ many expressions denoting the contrary), but only to
 “ give us an account of the origin of the Jewish nation,
 “ which we fondly imagine to be the history of the uni-
 “ versal creation.”

Answered,
 by showing
 that Moses
 intended to
 treat of the
 first man.

Now, though it cannot be denied but that Moses might
 principally design to give us a history of the Jewish nation;
 yet, in the beginning of his account, and till they came to
 be distinguished from other nations in the patriarch Abra-
 ham, he could not have that under his peculiar considera-
 tion. He acquaints us, we find, with the origination of
 the first of other animals, whence they arose, and in what

(g) Ver 10. 11.

manner

manner they were perfected; and when he came to treat of the formation of human creatures, it is but reasonable to imagine, that he intended likewise to be understood of the first of their kind. Now, that Adam and Eve were the first of their kind, the words of our Saviour, *(h) from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female,* are a full confirmation; because he produces the very same precept that was applied to Adam and Eve at their creation, *therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave to his wife:* and that there could be none before them, the reason why *(i) Adam called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all living,* i. e. the person who was to be the root and source of all mankind that were to be upon the earth, is a plain demonstration: for if she was the mother of all living, there certainly was no race of men or women before her.

St. Paul, while he was at Athens, endeavoured to convince the people of the vanity of that idolatry into which he perceived them fallen, by this argument, among others, — that *(k) God had made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth.* *(l)* Some Greek copies read it *ἕξ ἑνός, of one man,* leaving out *ἄμαλος,* wherein they are followed by the vulgar Latin: but allowing the common reading to be just, yet still the word *ἄμα,* or *blood,* must be taken in the † sense wherein it occurs in the best Greek authors, namely, for the stock or root out of which mankind came; and so the Apostle's reasoning will be——“ That however men are now dispersed in their habitations, and differ so much in language and customs from each other, yet they all were originally of the same stock, and derived their succession from the first man that God created.” Neither can it be conceived, on what account *(m) Adam* is called in Scripture *the first man,* and that *he was made a living soul of the earth,*

(h) Mark x. 6. *(i)* Gen. iii. 20. *(k)* Acts xvii. 26. *(l)* Stillingfleet's Orig. sacr. l. 3. c. 4.

† Homer employs it in this acceptation:

Ἐὶ ἱεὺν γ' ἑμὸς ἴσσι, ἃ ἄμαλος ἡμετέρου.

Thence those that are near relations are called by Sophocles, *ἑπὶς ἄμαλος*: and accordingly Virgil uses *sanguis* in the same sense:

Trojano a sanguine duci; Stillingfleet's Orig. sacr. l. 3. c. 4. *(m)* I Cor. xv. 45.

A. M. 128. *earthly*, unless it were to denote, that he was absolutely
 Ant. Chriſt. the firſt of his kind, and ſo was to be the ſtandard and
 3876. meaſure of all that followed.

Gen. ch. 4. The deſign of Moſes is not to give us a particular ac-
 to ver. 25. count of the whole race of mankind deſcended from Adam,
 How Cain (n) but only of thoſe perſons who were moſt remarkable,
 might till and whoſe ſtory was neceſſary to be known, for the un-
 his ground, derſtanding of the ſucceſſion down to his time. Beſides
 and why A- thoſe that are particularly mentioned in Scripture, we are
 bel might told in general, that *Adam* (o) *begat ſons and daughters*;
 keep his and if we will give credit to an ancient eaſtern tradition,
 cattle. he had in all thirty-three ſons, and twenty-seven daugh-
 ters, which, conſidering the primitive fecundity, would in
 a ſhort time be ſufficient to ſtock that part of the world
 at leaſt where Adam dwelt, and produce a race of me-
 chanics able enough to ſupply others with ſuch inſtruments
 of huſbandry as might then be requiſite for the cultivation
 of the ground. (p) For in the infancy of the world, the
 art of tillage was not come to ſuch a perfection, but that
 Cain might make uſe of wooden ploughs and ſpades, and
 inſtead of knives and hatchets, form his tools with ſharp
 flints or ſhells, which were certainly the firſt inſtruments of
 cutting. And though in thoſe early days there was no
 great danger of Abel's loſing his cattle by theft; yet, to
 provide them with cool ſhades in hot climates, to remove
 them from place to place as their paſture decayed, to take
 care of their young, and guard them from the incurſions
 of beaſts of prey, (with many more incidental offices), was
 then the ſhepherd's province, as well as now.

That there might be vaſt numbers of people then in the world. According to the computation of moſt chronologers,
 it was in the hundred and twenty-ninth year of Adam's
 age, that Abel was ſlain; for the Scripture ſays expreſsly,
 that *Seth* (q) (who was given in the lieu of Abel) was *born*
in the hundred and thirtieth year, (very likely the year after
 the murder was committed), to be a comfort to his diſcon-
 ſolate parents. So that Cain muſt be an hundred and twenty-
 nine years old when he abdicated his own country; at
 which time there might be a ſufficient quantity of man-
 kind upon the face of the earth, to the number, it may
 be, of an hundred thouſand ſouls. For if the children of
 Iſrael, from ſeventy perſons, in the ſpace of a hundred and
 ten years, became ſix hundred thouſand fighting men,

(n) Patrick's Commentary.
 choſh's Conference, vol. 1.

(o) Gen. v. 4.
 (q) Gen. v. 3.

(p) Ni-
 (though

(though great numbers of them were dead during this increase), we may very well suppose, that the children of Adam, whose lives were so very long, might amount at least to a hundred thousand in a hundred and thirty years, which are almost five generations.

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Upon this supposition, it will be no hard matter to find Cain a wife in another country; † though it is much more probable that he was married before his banishment, because we may well think that all the world would abhor the thoughts of marriage with such an impious vagabond and murderer. Upon this supposition we may likewise find him men enough to build and inhabit a city; especially (r) considering that the word [*Hir*] which we render *city*, may denote no more than a certain number of cottages, with some little hedge or ditch about them; and this cluster of cottages (as was afterwards customary) he might call by his son's name rather than his own, which he was conscious was now become odious every where. Upon this supposition, lastly, we may account for Cain's fear, lest every one that lighted on him would kill him; for by this time mankind was greatly multiplied, and, (s) though no mention is made of Abel's marriage, (as, in so short a compendium, many things must necessarily be omitted), yet he perhaps might have sons who were ready to pursue the fugitive, in order to revenge their father's death; or some of his own sisters, enraged against him for the loss of their brother, might possibly come upon him

What the wife; the city;

† There is an oriental tradition, that Eve, at her two first births, brought twins, a son and a daughter; Cain, with his sister Azron, and Abel, with his sister Awin; that when they came to years of maturity, Adam proposed to Eve, that Cain should marry Abel's twin-sister, and Abel Cain's, because that was some small remove from the nearest degree of consanguinity, which, even in those days, was not esteemed entirely lawful; that Cain refused to agree to this, insisting to have his own sister, who was the handsomer of the two; whereupon Adam ordered them both to make their offerings, before they took their wives, and so referred the dispute to the determination of God; that while they went up to the mountain for that purpose, the devil put it into Cain's head to murder his brother, for which wicked intent his sacrifice was not accepted: and that they were no sooner come down from the mountain, than he fell upon Abel, and killed him with a stone; *Patrick's Commentary; and Universal History*, N^o. 2.

(r) Le Clerc's Commentary.

(s) Patrick's Commentary.

unawares,

A. M. 128. unawares, or when they found him asleep, and so dispatch him.

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Ant. Chris. Gen. ch. 4. to ver. 25.

and mark
set upon
Cain.

Various are the conjectures of learned men † concerning the mark which God set upon Cain, to prevent his being killed. Some think that God stigmatized him on his forehead with a letter of his own name, or rather set such a brand upon him, as signified him to be accursed. Others fancy that God made him a peculiar garment, to distinguish him from the rest of mankind, who were cloathed with skins. Some imagine, that his head continually shaked; others, that his face was blasted with lightning; others, that his body trembled all over; and others again, that the ground shook under him, and made every one fly from him: whereas the plain sense of the words is nothing more, than, that God gave Cain a sign, or wrought a miracle before his face, thereby to convince him, that though he was banished into a strange land, yet no one should be permitted to hurt him; and to find out the land into which he was banished, is not so hard a matter as some may imagine.

The land
of Nod,
where, or
what it was.

The description which Moses gives us of it is this.—
(t) *And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden; and there he built a city, and called the name of it after the name of his son Enoch.* Hereupon (u) the learned Huetius ob-

† Almost all the versions have committed a mistake in translating ver. 15. that *God had put a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him.* The original says no such thing, and the LXX have very well rendered it thus—*God set a sign before Cain, to persuade him, that whoever should find him should not kill him.* This is almost the same with what is said in Exod. x. 1. that *God did signs before the Egyptians;* and Isa. lxvi. 19. that *he would set a sign before the heathen;* where it is evident, that God did not mean any particular mark which should be set on their bodies, but only those signs and wonders which he wrought in Egypt, to oblige Pharaoh to let his people go; and the miraculous manner wherein he delivered them from the Babylonish captivity. This exposition is natural, and agreeable to the methods of divine providence, which is wont to convince the incredulous by signs and wonders; nor could any thing else assure Cain, in the fear he was under, that the first who met him should not kill him, after what God had said to him in exprobation of his crime; *Patrick's Commentary; and Saurin's Dissertation.*

(t) Gen. iv. 16. 17. (u) De la situ. du paradis.

serves, that Ptolemy, in his description of Susiana, places there a city called *Anuchtha*; and that the syllable *tha*, which ends the word, is, in the Chaldee language, a termination pretty common to nouns feminine, and consequently no part of the name itself: from whence he infers, that this *Anuchtha*, mentioned by Ptolemy, is the same with the city *Enoch* mentioned by Moses; especially since Ptolemy places it on the east side of Eden, which agrees very well with what Moses says of the land of Nod. (x) But though it be allowed, that *Anuchtha* and *Enoch* be the same name, yet it will not therefore follow, that there was no other city so called but that which was built by Cain. It is certain, that there was another *Enoch*, the son of Jared, and father of *Methuselah*, a person of remarkable piety, in the antediluvian age; and why might not the city, mentioned by Ptolemy, be called after him, in respect to his illustrious character, and miraculous exemption from death? or rather, why might it not take its name from some other *Enoch*, different from both the former, and living some generations after the flood? For it is scarce imaginable, how the city of *Enoch*, built before the flood, should either stand or retain its ancient name, after so violent a concussion, and total alteration of the face of nature.

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Nor should it be forgot, that the province of *Susiana*, where *Huetius* places the land of *Nod*, is one of the most fruitful and pleasant countries in the world: whereas, considering that *Cain's* banishment was intended by God to be part of his punishment, it seems more reasonable to think, that he should, upon this account, be sent into some barren and desolate country, remote from the place of his nativity, and separated by mountains, and other natural obstructions, from the commerce of his relations. For which reason, the learned *Grotius* is clearly of opinion, that the country into which *Cain* was sentenced to withdraw, was *Arabia deserta*: to the barrenness of which, the curse that God pronounces against him, seems not improperly to belong. (y) *And now thou art cursed from the earth, and when thou tillest the ground, it shall not, henceforth, yield unto thee her strength.* But after all, their opinion is not to be found fault with, who suppose, that the word *Nod*, which signifies an *exile*, or *fugitive*, is not a proper, but only an appellative name; and that there-

(x) Well's Geography. (y) Gen. iv. 11.

A. M. 128. fore, where-ever the country was where Cain took up his
 Ant. Chris. abode, that, in after ages, was called *the land of Nod*,
 3876.
 Gen. ch. 4. or the land of *the banished man*.

Thus the account, which Moses gives us of the murder of Abel, stands clear of the imputation of all absurdity or contradiction, wherewith the lovers of infidelity would gladly charge it. The time when his brother murdered him, was in the 129th year of the world's creation, when, † according to a moderate computation, their and their parents descendants could not but be very numerous. The manner in which he murdered him might not be with a sword or spear (which perhaps then were not in use), * since a club, or stone, or any rural instrument, in the hand of rage and revenge, was sufficient to

A recapitulation of the answer.

† Though we should suppose, that Adam and Eve had no other children than Cain and Abbel in the year of the world 128, which (as the best chronologers agree) was the time of Abel's murder; yet, as it must be allowed, that they had daughters married with these two sons, we require no more, than the descendants of these two children, to make a considerable number of men upon the earth in the said year 128. For, supposing them to have been married in the 19th year of the world, they might easily have had each of them eight children, some males, some females, in the 25th year. In the 50th year there might proceed from them, in a direct line, 64 persons; in the 74th year, there would be 572; in the 98th, 4096; and in the 122d year, they would amount to 32,768. If to these we add the other children, descended from Cain and Abel, their children, and the children of their children, we shall have in the aforesaid 122d year, 421,164 men, capable of generation, without ever reckoning the women, both old and young, or such children, as are under the age of 17 years; *Vid Dissert. chronol. geogr. critique sur la Bible, dissert. 1.* in the Journal of Paris, Jan. 1712, vol. LI. p. 6.

* There is an oriental tradition, that when Cain was confirmed in the design of destroying his brother, and knew not how to go about it, the devil appeared to him in the shape of a man, holding a bird in his hand; and that, placing the bird upon a rock, he took up a stone, and with it squeezed its head in pieces. Cain, instructed by this example, resolved to serve his brother in the same way; and therefore, waiting till Abel was asleep, he lifted up a large stone, and let it fall, with all its weight, upon his head, and so killed him; whereupon God caused him to hear a voice from heaven, to this purpose, *The rest of thy days shalt thou pass in perpetual fear*; Calmet's Dictionary on the word *Abel*.

do the work. The place where he murdered him, is said to be in the field, (z) not in contradistinction to any large and populous city then in being, but rather to the tents, or cottages, where their parents and offspring might then live. The cause of his murdering him, was (a) a spirit of emulation, which, not duly managed, and made a spur to virtue, took an unhappy turn, and degenerated into malice: and the true reason of all (as the Apostle has stated it) was, that (b) *Cain was of that wicked one, and slew his brother, because his own works were wicked, and his brother's righteous.*

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DISSERTATION IV.

Of the institution of sacrifices.

THE first plain account that we meet with of sacrifices, is here in the examples of Cain and Abel. Mention is made indeed of the skins of some beasts, where-with God directed our first parents to be cloathed; but expositors are not agreed, whether what we render skins might not denote some other sort of covering, or shelter from the weather; or, if they were the real skins of beasts, whether these beasts were offered unto God in sacrifice or no; whereas, in the Scripture before us, we have oblations of both kinds, *bloody and unbloody sacrifices*, (as they are commonly distinguished); the fruits of the field, offered by Cain; and the firstlings of the flock, by Abel. So that from hence we may very properly take an occasion, to inquire a little into the original of sacrifices; for what ends and purposes they were at first appointed; and by what means they became an acceptable service unto God.

Sacrifices,
when they
first began.

The Scriptures indeed make no mention of the first institution of sacrifices; and from their silence in this respect, some have imagined, that they proceeded originally from a dictate of nature, or a grateful inclination to return unto God some of his own blessings. But in so short an account of so large a compass of time, (as we have said before), it may well be expected, that several things should be omitted. To this purpose therefore others have observed, that Moses says nothing (c) of Enoch's prophecy; nothing (d) of Noah's preaching; nothing (e) of the peopling

Of divine
institution
at first.

(z) Le Clerc's Commentary. (a) Shuckford's Connection.
(b) 1 John iii. 12. (c) Jude 14. (d) 2 Pet. ii. 5. (e) *Vid.* Gen. iv.

A. M. 128. of the world; though these be referred to in other parts of
 Ant. Christ Scripture: (*f*) nor does he here introduce the sacrifices of
 3876. Cain and Abel, with an intent to inform us of the origin of
 Gen. ch. 4. that rite, but merely to let us know what was the unhappy
 to ver. 25. occasion of the first murder that was ever committed in
 the world.

The (*g*) Jews indeed, to whom he primarily wrote, knew very well, that their own sacrifices were of divine institution, and that God had manifested his acceptance of them, at the very first solemn oblation after that institution, by a miraculous fire from the divine presence; nor had they any reason to doubt, but that they were so instituted, and so accepted from the beginning: and therefore there was less reason for Moses to expatiate upon a matter, which had doubtless descended to them in a clear and uninterrupted tradition.

A grateful sense of God's blessings will, at any time, engage us to offer him the *calves of our lips*, (as the Scripture terms them), or the warmest expressions of our praise and thanksgiving; but what dictate of nature, or deduction of reason, could ever have taught us, that, to destroy the best of our fruits, or the best of our cattle, would have been a service acceptable to God? Goodness, and mercy, and lenity, and compassion, are the ideas we have of that infinite being; and who would then have thought, that putting an innocent and inoffensive creature to torture, spilling its blood upon the earth, and burning its flesh upon an altar, would have been either a grateful sight, or an offering of a sweet-smelling savour to the Most High?

No (*b*) being, we know, can have a right to the lives of other creatures, but their creator only, and those on whom he shall think proper to confer it: but it is evident, that God, at this time, had not given man a right to the creatures, even for necessary food, much less for unnecessary cruelty; and therefore to have taken away their lives, without God's positive injunction, would have been an abominable act, and enough to dissecrate all their oblations. When therefore we read, that his acceptance of sacrifices of old was usually testified by way of inflammation, or setting them on fire, by a ray of light which issued from his glorious presence, we must allow, that this was a proof

(*f*) Outram De sacrificiis.

(*g*) Revelation examined.

(*b*) Revelation examined.

of his previous institution of them; otherwise we cannot possibly think, why he should so far concern himself about them, as even to be at the expence of a miracle, to denote his approbation of them. (i) *Who hath known the mind of the Lord,* (is the Apostle's way of arguing), or *who hath been his counsellor?* And, in like manner, without a divine revelation, it would have been the height of vanity and presumption, to have pretended to determine the way of reconciliation with him, and (without his order and appointment) to have entered upon a form of worship, entirely new and strange, by killing of beasts, and burning their fat. (k) *No man* (says another Apostle) *taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron;* nor can any one lay hold on the promise of forgiveness of sins (which is the great design of all sacrificing) any other way than by symbols of God's own institution.

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In (l) most nations indeed, the custom of sacrificing did prevail: but that it did not arise from any principle of nature or reason, is manifest from hence --- (m) that the gravest and wisest of the Heathen philosophers always * condemned bloody sacrifices as impious, and unacceptable to their Gods; but this they would not have done, had they looked upon them as any branch of natural religion, which none were more warm in extolling than they. It is no improbable conjecture, therefore, that other nations might

(i) Rom. xi. 34. (k) Heb. v. 4. (l) Heidegger's Histor. patriar. exercit. 1. (m) Edward's Survey of religion, vol. 1.

* It is the opinion of Tertullian, [Apol. ch. 46.], that none of the ancient philosophers ever compelled the people to sacrifice living creatures. Theophrastus is quoted by Porphyry in Eusebius, [Prep. Evang. l. 1. c. 9.], as asserting, that the first men offered handfuls of grass; that, in time, they came to sacrifice the fruits of the trees; and, in after ages, to kill and offer cattle upon altars. Many other authors are cited for this opinion. Pausanias [De Cerere Phrygiensi] seems to intimate, that the ancient sacrifice was only fruits of trees (of the vine especially), and of honey-combs and wool. Empedocles [De antiquissimis temporibus] affirms, that the first altars were not stained with the blood of creatures; and Plato [De legibus, l. 6.] was of opinion, that living creatures were not anciently offered in sacrifice, but cakes of bread, and fruits, and honey, poured upon them; for

Non bove mactato cœlestia numina gaudent,

was an old position of more writers than Ovid. Vide Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1. l. 2.

A. M. 128. take the rite of sacrificing from the Jews, to (n) which the devil, in Heathen countries, might instigate his votaries, purely to ape God, and imitate his ordinances: or, if this commencement of sacrificing among them is thought to be too late, why may not we suppose, that they received it by tradition from their fore-fathers, who had it originally from Adam, as he had it from God by a particular revelation? Now, that there was some warrant and precept of God for it, seems to be intimated by the author to the Hebrews, when he tells us, that (o) *by faith Abel offered unto God a more acceptable sacrifice, than Cain: for (p) if faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, faith is founded on some word, and relieth on divine command or promise; and therefore, when Abel offered the best of his flock in sacrifice, he did what was enjoined him by God, and his practice was founded upon a divine command, which was given to Adam, and his sons, though Moses, in his short account of things, makes no mention of it,*

In fine, if it appears from history, that sacrifices have been used all over the world, have spread as far, as universally among men, as the very notions of a Deity; if we find them almost as early in the world as mankind upon the earth, and, at the same time, cannot perceive that mankind ever could, by the light of reason, invent such notions of a Deity, as might induce them to think, that this way of worship would be an acceptable service to him; if mankind indeed could have no right to the lives of the brute-creation, without the concession of God; and yet it is evident, that they exercised such right, and God approved of their proceeding, by visible indications of his accepting the sacrifices; then must we necessarily suppose, that sacrifices were of his own institution at first; and that they were instituted for purposes well becoming his infinite wisdom and goodness.

The ends and designs of God's instituting them.

For we must remember, that Adam and Eve were, at this time, become sinners, and though received into mercy, in constant danger of relapsing; that by their transgression, they had forfeited their lives, but as yet could have no adequate sense, either of the nature of the punishment, or the heinousness of the sin which procured it; and that now they were to beget children, who were sure to inhe-

(n) Heidegger's Histor. patriar. exercit. 8.
(p) Rom. x. 17.

(o) Heb. xi. 4.

rit their parents corruption and infirmity. Since man, A. M. 128. therefore, had forfeited his life by his transgressions, and Ant. Chriſt. God, notwithstanding, decreed to receive him into mercy, 3876. nothing certainly could better become the divine wisdom Gen. ch. 4. and goodness, than the establishment of some institution, to ver. 25. which might at once be a monition both of the mercy of God, and the punishment due to sin. And because God foresaw that man would often sin, and should often receive mercy, it was necessary, that the institution should be such as might frequently be repeated; and in such repetition, frequently remind man of his own endless demerit, and of God's infinite goodness to him; to which purpose the institution of sacrifices for sin was of excellent use and service.

Both from the commandment which at first was given to Adam, and the sentence which was afterwards denounced against him, we learn, that death was the penalty of his disobedience; and since it was so, certainly it was highly proper, that he should know what he was to suffer; and consequently, that he should see death in all its horror and deformity, in order to judge rightly of the evil of disobedience. And what could exhibit this evil more strongly, than the groans and struggles of innocent creatures, bleeding to death for his guilt, before his eyes, and by his own hands? Sights of this kind are shocking to human nature even yet, though custom hath long made them familiar: with what horror then, may we imagine that they pierced the hearts of our first parents, and how was that horror aggravated, when they considered themselves as the guilty authors of so much cruelty to the creatures which were about them? Nay, when the groans of these dying animals were over, what a sad, a ghastly spectacle must their cold carcases yield? and even after their oblation, how dismal a meditation must it be, to consider the beauty and excellency of these animate beings reduced to an handful of dust; especially, when they could not see them in that condition, but under sad conviction, that they themselves must follow the same odious steps to destruction?

We can hardly conceive, how God could strike the human soul with a deeper sense of misery from guilt, or with more abhorrence of the sad cause of that misery, than by this method of appointing sacrifices: nor can we imagine how our first parents could have ever sustained themselves under such afflicting thoughts, had not God, in his infinite goodness,

A. M. 128. goodnefs, caufed fome ray of hope to fhine through this
 Ant. Chriſt. ſcene of mortality and miſery, and made ſacrifices (at the
 3876. ſame time that they were ſuch lively emblems of the horror
 Gen. ch. 4. of guilt) the means of its expiation, and the ſeals of his
 to ver. 25. covenant of grace.

(q) That God entered into a covenant of mercy with man, immediately after the fall, is evident from the ſentence paſſed upon the ſerpent, wherein that covenant is comprifed: and therefore, as we find that, in after-ages, his uſual way of ratifying covenants of this kind was by ſacrifices; ſo we cannot imagine that he failed to do ſo at this time, when ſuch mercy was more wanted than ever it was ſince the foundation of the world. Sacrifices indeed have no natural aptitude to expiate guilt, in which ſenſe, the apoſtle affirms it (r) *to be impoſſible for the blood of bulls, and of goats, to take away ſins.* The death of a beaſt is far from being equivalent to the death of a man, but infinitely ſhort of that eternal death to which the man's ſinfulneſs does conſign him: but ſtill, as ſacrifices are federal rites, and one of thoſe external means which God had inſtituted, under the antediluvian diſpenſation, for man's recovery from ſin, we cannot but ſuppoſe, but that, when piously and devoutly offered, they were accepted by him, for the expiation of tranſgreſſions; though it muſt be owned, that they did not, of themſelves, or by their own worthineſs, atone for any thing, but only in virtue of the expiatory ſacrifice of the Meſſias to come, whereof they were no more than types and ſhadows. To ſpeak ſtrictly and properly, therefore, theſe ſacrifices did not really and formally, but typically and myſtically expiate, *i. e.* they did not pacify God's anger, and ſatiſfy his juſtice, and take away ſin, by their own force and efficacy, but as they were figures and representations of that univerſal ſacrifice, which (in the divine intention) *was ſlain from the foundation of the world,* and, *in the fulneſs of time,* was to come down from heaven, in order to fulfil the great undertaking of *making atonement for the ſins of all mankind.*

The means
 of making
 them ac-
 ceptable to
 God.

Thus to repreſent the horrid nature of ſin, and to ſeal the eternal covenant of mercy; to be types of the great expiatory ſacrifice of Chriſt's death, and a ſtanding means of obtaining pardon and reconciliation with God, ſeems to be ſome of the principal ends of God's inſtituting ſacrifices at firſt: and what was of uſe to gain them a favourable acceptance in his ſight, we may, in ſome meaſure, learn from

(q) Revelation examined.

(r) Heb. x. 4.

the

the reasons, that are usually alledged, for his rejection of Cain's, and approbation of Abel's sacrifice.

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Gen. ch. 4.
to ver. 25.

Most of the Jewish interpreters have placed the different events of these two sacrifices in the external quantity or quality of them. They tell us, that *Cain brought of the fruits of the ground* indeed; but not of the *first fruits* (as he should have done), nor the fullest ears of corn, (which he kept for himself), but the lankeſt and lateſt; and, even what he brought, 'twas with a niggardly hand and grudging mind; so that he raised God's aversion (*s*) *by offering to him of that which cost him nothing*: Whereas Abel found a kind acceptance, because (*t*) *he honoured the Lord with his substance*: He brought of the *firstlings of his flock*, and the very best and fatteſt of them, as thinking nothing too good to be offered in devotion and gratitude to him from whom he received all.

(*u*) Allowing the maxim of the Jewish church, *viz. that without blood there is no remission*, to have been good, from the first institution of sacrifice, a very learned writer supposes, that Abel came, as a petitioner for grace and pardon, and brought the atonement appointed for sin; but Cain appeared before God as a just person, wanting no repentance, and brought an offering in acknowledgment of God's goodness and bounty, but no atonement in acknowledgment of his own wretchedness; and that upon this account his oblation was rejected, as God's expostulation with him seems to imply: *If thou doſt well, shalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doſt not well, sin lieth at thy door*, i. e. if thou art righteous, thy righteousness shall save thee; but if thou art not, by what expiation is thy sin purged? it lieth still at thy door.

The author to the (*x*) Hebrews has given us, I think, a key to this difficulty, when he tells us, that *by faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain* (*y*). The *faith* (of which the Apostle gives us several instances in this chapter) is the belief of something declared, and, in consequence of such belief, the performance of some action enjoined by God: *By faith Noah, being warned by God, prepared an ark, i. e. he believed the warning which God gave him, and obediently made the ark which he had appointed him to make*: *By faith Abraham, when called to go into a strange*

(*s*) 2 Sam. xxiv. 24. (*t*) Prov. iii. 9. (*u*) Bishop Sherlock's Use of prophecy, diſ. 3. (*x*) Chap. xi. ver. 4. (*y*) Shuckford's Connect. vol. 1. l. 2.

A. M. 128. land, which God promised to give him for an inheritance,
 Ant. Chris. obeyed, i. e. he believed that God would give him what he
 3876. had promised, and, in consequence of such belief, did what
 Gen. ch. 4. God commanded him: And thus it was, that *Abel*, by
 to ver. 25. *faith*, offered a better sacrifice than *Cain*, because he
 believed what God had promised, that *the seed of the wo-*
man should bruise the serpent's head, and, in consequence
 of such belief, offered such a sacrifice for his sins, as God
 had appointed to be offered, until the seed should come.

(z) In order to offer a sacrifice by faith then, there are three things requisite. 1st, That the person who offers should do it upon the previous appointment and direction of God. 2dly, That he should consider it as a sign and token of the promise of God made in Christ, and of remission of sins through his blood; and 3dly, That, while he is offering, he should be mindful withal (in the phrase of St Paul) *to present himself a living sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God*. In the first of these qualifications Cain was right enough, because he had learned from his father, that, as God had appointed sacrifices, it was his duty to offer them: But herein was his great defect, that while he was offering, he gave no attention to what he was about; nor once reflected on the promise of God, made in paradise, nor placed any confidence in the merits of a Saviour, to recommend his services; but, vainly imagining that his bare oblation was all that was required to his justification, he took no care to preserve his soul pure and unpolluted, or to constitute his members as *instruments of righteousness unto God*. In short, his oblation was the service of an hypocrite, lying unto God, and using the external symbols of grace for a cloak of maliciousness; whereas Abel's sacrifice was attended with awful meditations on that *seed of the woman* which was to become the world's redeemer, with warm applications to him for mercy and forgiveness, and with holy resolutions of better obedience, of abandoning all sin, *and always abounding in the work of the Lord*; and therefore there is no wonder, that their services met with so different a reception. For, however sacrificing was an external rite, yet the *opus operatum* would by no means do. Unless the attention of the mind, and the integrity of the heart went along with it, (a) *he that killed an ox was as if he slew a man; and he that sacrificed a lamb, as if he cut off a dog's neck*; so detestable in the sight of

(z) Heidegger's Hist. patriar. exercit. 5. (a) Isa. lxxvi. 3.

God was * the richest oblation, when the sacrificer was not a good man; nay, so ready was he to pass by all observances of this kind, if the worshipper came but, in other respects, qualified: (b) *For he that keepeth the law bringeth offerings enough; he that taketh heed to the law offereth a peace-offering; he that requiteth a good turn offereth fine flour; and he that giveth alms sacrificeth praise. To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord; and to forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation.*

A. M. 128.
Ant. Chris.
3876.
Gen. ch. 4.
to ver. 25.

* That it is not the quality of the sacrifice, but the mind and disposition of the sacrificer, which God regards, was the general sentiment of the wisest Heathens, as appears by that excellent passage in Persius:

Compositum jus, fasque animo, sanctosque recessus
Mentis, et incoctum generoso pectus honesto,
Hæc cedo, ut admoveam templis, et farre litabo.

SAT. 2.

And that other in Seneca:

Non in victimis, licet optimæ sint, auroque præfulgent, decorum est honos, sed pia et recta voluntate venerandum; *De senect.*
l. i. c. 6.

(b) *Ecclus. xxxv. i. &c.*

C H A P. V.

Of the general Corruption of Mankind.

THE HISTORY.

GREAT * was the grief, no doubt, which our first parents felt upon the loss of the righteous Abel, and the expulsion of their wicked son Cain; but, to alleviate, in some measure, this heavy load of sorrow, God was pleased to promise them another son, whose fate should

A. M. 130.
Ant. Chris.
3874.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

* The Jewish, and some Christian doctors, say, that Adam and Eve mourned for Abel one hundred years, during which time they lived separate, Adam particularly, in a valley near Hebron, thence named *the valley of tears*. And the inhabitants of Ceylon pretend, that the Salt lake, on the mountain of Columbo, was formed by the tears which Eve shed on this occasion. All fiction; *Calmet's Dictionary*.

The birth
of Seth.

- A. M. 130. be different, and himself a lasting comfort and consolation
 Ant. Chris. to them: And therefore, as soon as Eve was delivered of the
 3874. child, she called his name *Seth*, which signifies *substitute*,
 Gen. ch. 5. because God had been so good as to send him in the room
 and 6. to of his brother Abel, whom Cain slew. Adam, when he had
 ver. 13. of his brother Abel, whom Cain slew. Adam, when he had
 A catalogue Seth, was 130 years old: He lived after that 800 years.
 of Adam's and begat several other children (though Moses makes no
 posterity in mention of them), So that the || whole of his life was
 the line of 930 years,
 Seth.
 A. M. 235. Seth, when he was 105 years old, had a son named
 Enos: After which time he lived 807 years; so that the
 whole of his life was 912.
- A. M. 325. Enos, when 90, had a son named *Cainan*: After which
 he lived 815 years; in the whole 905.
- A. M. 395. Cainan, when 70, had a son named *Mahalaleel*: After
 which he lived 840 years; in all 910.
- A. M. 460. Mahalaleel, when 65, had a son named *Jared*: After
 which he lived 830 years; in all 895.
- A. M. 622. Jared, when 162, had a son named *Enoch*: After which
 he lived 800 years; in all 962.
- A. M. 687. Enoch, when 65, had a son named *Methuselah*: After
 which he lived 300; in all 365.

|| If it be asked, how it came to pass, that Adam, who was immediately created by God, and, consequently, more perfect than any of his kind, did not out-live Methuselah, who was the eighth from him? the answer which some have given, *viz.* That his grief and affliction of mind for the loss of paradise, and the misery which, by his transgression, he had entailed upon his offspring, might affect his constitution, and, by degrees, impair his strength, is not much amiss: But there is another reason which seems to me better founded, *viz.* That, whereas Adam was created in the full perfection of his nature, and all his descendants, being born infants, did gradually proceed to maturity; subducting the time from their infancy to their manhood, we shall find, that Adam out-lived them all: For we must not compute, as we do now, (when the extent of man's life is usually no more than 70) that his complete manhood was at 30, or thereabouts. In the very catalogue now before us, we read of none (except Enoch, and two others) who begat children before they were 90 or upwards; and therefore, subtracting those years (which we may suppose interfered between his birth and his manhood) from the age of Methuselah, we may perceive, that Adam surpassed him to the number of almost sixty; *Estius in dis-*

fic. 1029.

Methuselah,

Methufelah, when 187, had a fon named *Lamech*: A. M. 139. Ant. Chriſt. 3874.
 After which he lived 782; in all 969.

Lamech, when 182, had a fon named *Noah*: After Gen. ch. 5. and 6. to ver. 13.
 which he lived 595; in all 777: And

Noah, when he was 500 years old, had three fons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, † from whom the world, after the deluge, was replenished. A. M. 874. A. M. 1056. A. M. 1556.

† This is the genealogy which *Mofes* gives us of the poſterity of *Adam*, in the line of *Seth*, until the time of the But far from being all.

† Of theſe three fons, the eldeſt was *Japhet*, as appears from *Gen. x. 21.*; the ſecond was *Shem*, from *Gen. x. 21.* and the youngeſt *Ham*, from *Gen. ix. 24.* Nevertheless, both here, and a little lower, *Shem* is named firſt; whether it was, that the rights of primogeniture were transferred to him (though the ſacred hiſtorian ſays nothing of it); or God was minded, thus early, to ſhew, that he would not be confined to the order of nature, in the diſpoſal of his favours, which he frequently beſtowed upon the younger children; or (what I think the moſt likely) becauſe the nation of the Jews were to deſcend from him, and he, and his poſterity, were to be the principal ſubject of this whole hiſtory; *Patrick and Le Clerc's Commentary*; and *Pool's Annotations*.

† From this catalogue we may further obſerve, that the cuſtom in thoſe times was, to give children their names according to the occurrences in life, or expectations of their parents. Thus *Seth*, being a good man, was grieved to ſee the great degeneracy in other parts, though he endeavoured to preſerve his own family from the contagion; and therefore called his ſon *Enos*, which ſignifies *sorrowful*. *Enos*, perceiving the poſterity of *Cain* to grow every day worſe and worſe, was concerned for their iniquity, and began to dread the conſequences of it; and therefore called his ſon *Cainan*, which denotes *lamentation*. Though *Cainan* had his name from the wickedneſs of *Cain's* family, yet he himſelf was reſolved to maintain the true worſhip of God in his own; and therefore called his ſon *Mahalaleel*, i. e. *a praiſer and worſhipper of God*. In the days of *Mahalaleel* (as the tradition tells us) a defection happened among the fons of *Seth*, who went down from the mountains where they inhabited, and adjoined themſelves to the daughters of *Cain*; and therefore he called his ſon's name *Jared*, which ſignifies *deſcending*. *Jared*, to guard againſt the general corruption, devoted himſelf and his deſcendants, more zealouſly to the ſervice of God; and, accordingly, called his ſon *Enoch*, which means *a dedication*. *Enoch*, by the ſpirit of prophecy, foreſeeing the deſtruction which would come upon the earth, immediately after the death of his ſon, called his name *Methuſelah*, which imports as much; for

A. M. 130. the deluge; but we must observe, that these are far from
 Ant. Chris. being all his progeny. In the case of our great progenitor
 3874. Gen. ch. 5. Adam, he informs us, that after the birth of Seth, (a) he
 and 6. to had several sons and daughters, though he does not so much
 ver. 13. as record their names; and the like we may suppose of the
 rest of the antediluvian patriarchs. For it is incongruous
 to think, that Lamech was 181, and Methuselah 187, be-
 fore they ever had a child, when it so plainly appears, that
 his father Enoch had one at 65. The true reason then of
 this omission is ——— that the historian never intended to
 give us a catalogue of the collateral branches (which doubt-
 less were many) but only of the principal persons by whom,
 in a right line, the succession was continued down to
 Noah, and thence to Abraham, the founder of the Jewish
 nation.

The divi- Not long after the departure of Cain, the whole world
 sion of the was divided into two families, or opposite nations: The
 world into family of Seth, which adhered to the service of God, † be-
 the families of Cain and came
 of Cain and Seth.

for the first part of the word [*Methu*] signifies *he dies*, and [*Selah*]
 the *sending forth of water*. Methuselah, perceiving the wicked-
 ness of the world, in the family of Seth, as well as that of Cain,
 to grow every day worse and worse, called his son *Lamech*,
 which intimates *a poor man, humbled, and afflicted with grief*,
 for the present corruption, and fear of future punishment: And
 Lamech conceiving better hopes of his son (as some imagine)
 that he should be the promised seed, the restorer of mankind af-
 ter the deluge, or a notable improver of the art of agriculture,
 called his name *Noah*, which denotes *a comforter*; *Bedford's*
Scripture chronology. We may observe from this catalogue,
 however, that the patriarchs, in those days, were not so supersti-
 tious, as to think any thing ominous in names; and therefore we
 find, that Jared feared not to call his son *Enoch*, by the very
 name of Cain's eldest son, Gen. iv. 17. even as Methuselah called
 his son *Lamech*, by the name of one of Cain's grand-children,
 ch. iv. ver. 18.; *Patrick's Commentary*.

(a) Gen. v. 4.

† The words in our translation are, — *then, i. e. in the days*
of Enos, began men to call upon the name of the Lord, ch. iv. 26.;
 but, it being very probable, that public assemblies for religious
 offices, were held long before this time, and that even when
 Cain and Abel offered their sacrifices, their families joined with
 them in the worship of God; some men of great note, such as,
 Bertram, Hackspan, and Heidegger, take them in the same sense
 with our marginal translation; *then began men, (i. e. the chil-*
dren

came more frequent in religious offices ; and, as their number increased, met in larger assemblies, and in communion, to perform the divine worship by way of public liturgy ; and, (b) for this their piety and zeal, were stiled the *sons* or servants, of God, in distinction to the family of Cain, which now became profligate and profane, renouncing the service of God, and addicting themselves to all man-

A. M. 130.
Ant. Chris.
3874.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

dren of Seth) *to call themselves by the name of the Lord*, i. e. the servants and worshippers of the Lord, in contradistinction to the Cainites, and such profane persons as had forsaken him. It must not be dissimbled however, that the word *Hochal*, which we translate *began*, in several places of Scripture signifies *to profane* ; and upon this presumption many of the Jewish writers, and some of no obscure fame among us, have taken the words so, as if Moses intended to intimate to us, that men began now to apostatize from the worship of God, to fall into idolatry, and to apply the most holy name, which alone belongs to the great Creator of heaven and earth, to created beings, and especially to the sun. But, considering that Moses is here speaking of the pious family of Seth, and not of that of Cain ; that when the Hebrew word signifies *to profane*, it has always a noun following it ; but when an affirmative mood follows, (as in the passage before us), it always signifies *to begin* ; and withal, that the eastern writers represent this Enos as an excellent governor, who, while he lived, preserved his family in good order, and, when he died, called them all together, and gave them a charge to keep all God's commandments, and not to associate themselves with the children of Cain : considering all this, I say, we can hardly suppose that Moses is here pointing out the origin of idolatry, but rather the invention of some religious rites and ceremonies in the external worship of God at this time, or the distinction which good men began to put between themselves and such as were openly wicked and profane. For that the true meaning of the expression *Karabeshem*, according to our marginal translation, is *to call or nominate by*, or *after* the name of any one, is manifest from several instances in Scripture. Thus, Gen. iv. 17. *Jikra*, he called the name of the city *Beshem*, by, or after the name of his son. Numb. xxxii. 42. *Jikra*, he called it *Nobabeshem*, by, or after his own name ; and in Psal. xlix. 11. *Kareau*, they call their lands *Bishmothan*, by, or after their own names : and the name here intimated is afterwards expressly given them by Moses himself, Gen. vi. when he tells us, that *the sons of God saw the daughters of men* ; Patrick's Commentary ; and Calmer's Dictionary on the word *Enos* ; and Shuckford's Connection, vol. I. l. I.

(b) Heidegger's Histor. patriarch.

A. M. 130. ner of impiety and lasciviousness; from whence they had
 Ant. Chris. the name of the *sons and daughters of men*.

3874.
 Gen. ch. 5. In this period of time, Enoch, one of the family of
 and 6. to Seth, and the seventh in a direct line from Adam, a per-
 ver. 13. son of singular piety and sanctity of life, not only took
 Enoch's care of his own conduct, * as considering himself always
 translation. under the eye and observation of a righteous God, but,
 by his good advices and admonitions, endeavoured like-
 wise to put a stop to the torrent of impiety, and reform the
 vices of the age; for which reason God was pleased to
 shew a signal token of his kindness to him; for he exempt-
 ed him from the common fate of mankind, and, without
 suffering death to pass upon him, translated him into the
 regions of bliss.

Adam's
 death.

In this period of time, Adam, who (according to the
 sentence denounced against him at the fall) was to return
 to his native dust, * departed this life, and (as the tra-
 dition

* This seems to be the natural sense of the expression of *walk-
 ing with God*; and excellent to this purpose is this passage of Se-
 neca, if we take what he tells us of the presence of God in a
 Christian sense: " Sic certe vivendum, *says he*, tanquam in con-
 " spectu vivamus; sic cogitandum, tanquam aliquis in pectus inti-
 " mum inspicere possit, et potest. Quid enim prodest ab homine
 " aliquid esse secretum? nihil Deo clausum est. Inest animis
 " nostris, et cogitationibus mediis intervenit;" lib. I. ep. 83.;
Le Clerc's Commentary. But, considering how useful a thing it was
 in these early ages of the world, for angels to be conversant with
 good men, it may not improperly be said of Enoch, and of Noah
 both, that they walked with God in this sense, *viz.* that they had
 oftentimes familiar converse with these messengers, who might be
 sent with instructions from him how they were to behave upon se-
 veral occasions: for this answers the traditions of the Heathens,
viz. that in the golden age, their gods had frequent intercourse
 with men:

Ille Deum vitam accipiet, divisque videbit
 Permissos heroas, et ipse videbitur illis. *Virg. ecl. 4.*

And to the same purpose,

Sæpius et sese inortali ostendere cœtu
 Coelicolæ; nondum spreta pietate, solebant. *Catul. in Nup.
 Thet. et Pelei.*

* Where Adam was buried cannot be collected from Scripture.
 St. Jerom [in Matth. xxvii.] seems to approve of the opinion of
 those who imagine that he was buried at Hebron, in the cave of
 Machpelah, or the double cave, which Abraham, many ages af-
 ter,

dition is) having called his son Seth, and the other branches of his numerous family about him, he gave them strict charge, that they should always live separate, and have no manner of intercourse with the impious family of the murderer Cain.

In this period of time, Noah, the great-grandson of Enoch, and a person of equal virtue and piety, was born: and as it was discovered to Enoch at the birth of Methuselah, that soon after that child's death, the whole race of mankind should be destroyed for their wickedness; so was it revealed to Lamech, at the birth of his son, (c) that he and his family should be preserved from the common destruction, and so become the father of the new world; and for this reason † he called him *Noah*, which signifies a *comforter*:

ter, bought for a burying-place for himself and family, Gen. xxiii. 3. &c. The oriental Christians say, that when Adam saw death approaching, he called his son Seth, and the rest of his family to him, and ordered them to embalm his body with myrrh, frankincense, and cassia, and deposit it in a certain cave, on the top of a mountain, which he had chosen for the repository of his remains, and was thence called *the cave of All-Konuz*, a word derived from the Arabian *Kanaza*, which signifies *to lay up privately*. And this precaution (as the Jews will have it) was ordered by Adam to be taken, lest his posterity should make his relicts the object of idolatry. Several of the primitive fathers believe, that he died in the place where Jerusalem was afterwards built, and that he was interred on mount Calvary, in the very spot where Christ was crucified; but others are of opinion, that (though he did not die at Jerusalem) yet Noah, at the time of the deluge, put his body into the ark, and took care to have it buried there by Melchisedec, the son of Shem, his grandson. The Mahometans will have his sepulchre to have been on a mountain near Mecca, and the ancient Persians, in Serendil, or Ceylon: so ambitious is every nation to have the father of all mankind reposed with them. When Eve, the mother of all living, died, is no where expressed in Scripture; but there are some who venture to tell us, that she outlived her husband ten years; *vide the Universal History; and Calmet's Dictionary on the word Adam.*

(c) Bedford's Scripture-chronology.

† The substance of Lamech's prophecy, according to our translation, is this;— *He called his son Noah, saying, This same shall comfort us, concerning the work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed; and the sense of learned men upon it hath been very different. Some*

A. M. 130⁰ *forter*: though others imagine, that the name was there-
 Ant. Christ. fore given him, because his father, by the spirit of prophe-
 3874. cy, foreknew, that God, in his days, would remove the
 Gen. ch. 5. curse of barrenness from off the face of the earth, and, after
 and 6. to the time of the deluge, restore it to its original fertility.
 ver. 13.

After

are of opinion, that there is nothing prophetic in this declaration of Lamech's, and that the only cause of his rejoicing was, to see a son born, who might in time be assisting to him in the toil of cultivating the ground. But in this there is nothing particular: in this sense Lamech's words may be applied by every father at the birth of every son; nor can we conceive why a peculiar name should be given Noah, if there was no particular reason for it. The Jewish interpreters generally expound it thus, *He shall make our labour in tilling the ground more easy to us*, in that he shall be the inventor of several proper tools and instruments of husbandry, to abate the toil and labour of tillage: and some will tell us, that he therefore received his name, because he first invented the art of making wine, a liquor that cheers the heart, and makes man forget sorrow and trouble. But the invention of the fit tools for tillage, after that Tubal-Cain had become so great an artificer in brass and silver, seems to belong to one of his descendants, rather than Noah; and as Noah was not the first husbandman in the world, so neither can it be concluded, from his having planted a vineyard, that he was the first vine-dresser. Another opinion, not altogether unlike this, is,—that Lamech, being probably informed by God, that his son Noah should obtain a grant of the creatures for food, Gen. ix. 3. and knowing the labour and inconveniencies they were then under, rejoiced in foreseeing what ease and comfort they should have, when they had obtained a large supply of food from the creatures, besides what they could produce from the ground by tillage. The restoration of mankind by Noah, and his son's surviving the flood, is thought by many to answer the comfort which Lamech promised himself and his posterity: but the learned Heidegger, after an examination of all these, and some other opinions, supposes that Lamech, having in mind the promise of God, expected that his son should prove the blessed seed, the saviour of the world, who was to bruise the serpent's head, and, by his atonement, expiate our sins, which are the works of our own hands, and remove the curse which lay upon sinners. But this, in my opinion, is too forced an exposition. Lamech, it is certain, in virtue of God's promise, expected a deliverance from the curse of the earth, and foresaw that that deliverance would come through his son: but how came it through his son, unless it came in his son's days? And in what instance

After the death of Adam, the family of Seth (to fulfil their father's will) removed from the plain where they had lived to the mountains over against paradise, where Adam is said to have been buried; and for some time lived there in the fear of God, and in the strictest rules of piety and virtue. But as the family of Cain daily increased, they came at length to spread themselves over all the plain which Seth had left, even to the confines of the hill-country, where he had fixed his abode, and there they * lived in all kind of riot, luxury, and licentiousness.

The noise of their revellings might possibly reach the holy mountain where the Sethites dwelt; whereupon some of them might be tempted to go down, merely to gratify

instance could it appear, unless it were in something subsequent to the flood? And what could that possibly be, unless the removal of the sterility of the earth, and restoring it to its original fruitfulness? For which reason we find God, after the flood, declaring, that he *will not again curse the earth for man's sake*; and solemnly promising, that *while the earth remaineth, seed time and harvest shall not cease*, Gen. viii. 22. *Vid.* Heidegger's Hist. patriar.; Patrick and Le Clerc's Commentary; Pool's Annotations; Shuckford's Connection; and Bithop Sherlock's Use and intent of prophecy, dissertation 4.

* Some of the oriental writers have given us a large account of their manner of living. "As to the posterity of Cain," say they, "the men did violently burn in lust towards the women, and, in like manner, the women, without any shame, committed fornication with the men; so that they were guilty of all manner of filthy crimes with one another, and, meeting together in public places for this purpose, two or three men were concerned with the same woman, the ancient women, if possible, being more lustful and brutish than the young. Nay, fathers lived promiscuously with their daughters, and the young men with their mothers; so that neither the children could distinguish their own parents, nor the parents know their own children. So detestable were the deeds of the Cainites, who spent their days in lust and wantonness, in singing and dancing, and all kinds of music, until some of the sons of Seth, hearing the noise of their music and riotous mirth, agreed to go down to them from the holy mountain, and, upon their arrival, were so captivated with the beauty of their women, (who were naked), that they immediately defiled themselves with them, and so were undone. For when they offered to return again to their former abodes, the stones of the mountain became like fire, and permitted them to pass no farther;" *Eutych. Annals*, p. 27.

A. M. 930.
Ant. Chris.
3074.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

The wickedness of the Cainites.

A. M. 1042.
Ant. Chris.
2962.

The defection of the Sethites.

A. M 1042.
Ant. Chriſt.
2962.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

their curioſity perhaps at firſt, but being taken with their deluding pleaſures, and * intoxicated with the charms of their women, (who were extremely beautiful), they forgot the charge which their forefathers had given them, and ſo took to themſelves wives of the daughters of Cain; from which criminal mixture were born men of a vaſt gigantic ſtature, who for ſome time infeſted the earth: and, in a few generations after, the whole family of Seth (very probably after the death of their pious anceſtor) followed the like example, and, forgetting their obligations to the contrary, entered into ſociety with the Cainites, and made intermariages with them; from whence aroſe another race of men, no leſs remarkable for their daring wickedneſs than for their bold undertakings and adventurous actions.

The general corrup-
tion of the
world.

Evil communications naturally corrupt good manners: and ſo the example of the wicked family prevailed, and, by degrees, eat out all remains of religion in the poſterity of Seth. Noah indeed, who was a good and pious man, endeavoured what he could, (*e*) both by his counſel and authority, to bring them to a reformation of their manners, and to reſtore the true religion among them; * but all he could do was to no purpoſe. The bent of their thoughts had taken another turn; and all their ſtudy and contrivance was, how to gratify their luſts and inordinate

* Our excellent Milton deſcribes the manner of their being captivated with the daughters of Cain in theſe words:

————— They on the plain
Long had not walk'd, when from the tents, behold,
A bevy of fair women, richly gay,
In gems, and wanton dreſs: to th' harp they ſung
Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on.
The men, though grave, ey'd them; and let their eyes
Roſe without rein; 'till in the amorous net
Firſt caught, they lik'd, and each his liking choſe. Book II.

(*e*) Joſephus's Antiq. l. I. c. 4.

* Joſephus tells us, that Noah, for a long while, oppoſed the growing impiety of the age; but that at laſt, finding himſelf and family in manifeſt danger of ſome mortal violence for his good-will, he departed out of the land himſelf, and all his people; *Antiq. l. I. c. 4.*; and (as the tradition is) he ſettled in a country called *Cypariſſon*, which had its name from the great quantity of cypreſs-trees which grew there, and whereof (as we ſhall obſerve hereafter) in all probability he built the ark.

paſſions.

passions. In one word, the whole race of mankind was become so very wicked, that one really would have thought they had all been confederated together against heaven, to violate God's laws, to profane his worship, and spurn at his authority : so that his patience and long suffering came at length to be wearied out : and though he is not a man, that he should repent, or the son of man, that he should grieve at any thing, yet his concern for the general corruption is represented under that notion, the better to accommodate it to our capacity, and to express his fixed resolution of destroying all mankind for their iniquity, and with them all other creatures made for their use, || as if he had repented that ever he made them.

A. M. 1042.
Ant. Chris.
2962.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

Before

|| As languages were at first invented by such persons as were neither philosophers nor divines, we cannot at all wonder, that we meet with many improprieties in speech, and such actions imputed to God. as no ways comport with the dignity of his nature. Thus, when the Holy Scriptures speak of God, they ascribe hands, and eyes, and feet to him ; not that he has any of these members, according to the literal signification ; but the meaning is, that he has a power to execute all those acts, to the effecting of which, these parts in us are instrumental, *i. e.* he can converse with men, as well as if he had a tongue or mouth ; can discern all that we do or say, as perfectly as if he had eyes and ears ; and can reach us, as well as if he had hands or feet, &c. In like manner, the Scripture frequently represents him, as affected with such passions as we perceive in ourselves, *viz* as angry and pleased, loving and hating, repenting and grieving, &c ; and yet, upon reflection, we cannot suppose, that any of these passions can literally affect the divine nature ; and therefore the meaning is, that he will as certainly punish the wicked, as if he were inflamed with the passion of anger against them ; as infallibly reward the good, as we will those for whom we have a particular affection ; and that when he finds any alteration in his creatures, either for the better or the worse, he will as surely change his dispensations towards them, as if he really repented, or changed his mind. It is by way of analogy and comparison, therefore, that the nature and passions of men are ascribed to God : so that when he is said to repent or grieve, the meaning must be, not that he perceived any thing that he was ignorant of before, to give him any uneasiness, (for *known unto him are all his ways from the beginning*), but only that he altered his conduct with regard to men, as they varied in their behaviour towards him, just as we are wont to do when we are moved by any of these passions
and

A. M. 1536.

Ant. Christ.

2468.

Gen. ch. 5.

and 6. to

ver. 13.

And God's
resolution
to destroy
it.

Before he resolved upon their destruction, however, we find him in great struggle and conflict with himself; his justice calling for vengeance, and his mercy pleading for forbearance; till at length his justice prevailed, and denounced the sentence of condemnation upon the wicked world: but still with this reserve—That if, || within the space of 120 years, (which was the term limited for their re-
prival), they should forsake their evil ways, repent, and reform, his mercy should be at liberty to interpose, and reverse their doom. All which he communicated to his servant Noah, who, for his justice and singular piety in that corrupt and degenerate age, had found favour in his sight; and for whose sake his family, which consisted of eight persons in all, was to be exempted from the general destruction.

THE OBJECTION.

The objec-
tion.

“ **B**UT how great soever the wickedness of the ante-
diluvian world might be, yet it comports but badly
“ with the goodness, and wisdom, and foreknowledge of
“ God, to have created the race of mankind, and provi-
“ ded such a delightful place for their habitation, and then,

and changes of affections, we, *who dwell in houses of clay, and whose foundations are in the dust*: for the very Heathens can tell us, that *majestatis diminutio est, et confessio erroris, mutanda facere; necesse est enim ei eadem placere, cui. nisi optima placere non possunt*; Seneca in Præf. nat. quæst. Vid. Le Clerc's Commentary; Bishop King on Predestination; and Ainsworth's Annotations.

|| This was the term allowed mankind for their repentance, and prevention of their ruin and yet, if we compare ch. v. 32. with ch. vii. 11. we shall find, that between this time and the flood, there were but 100 years. How then did God perform his promise? Now, in answer to this, it may be said, that the increasing wickedness of mankind might justly hasten their ruin, and forfeit the benefit of this indulgence; but what I take to be the true solution is this: — This promise (though mentioned after what we read in ch. v. 32) seems nevertheless to have been made 20 years before it; for that verse is added there out of its proper place, only to complete the genealogy; and therefore, after this narrative of the wickedness of the world, it is repeated here in its due order, in the 10th verse: nor are such transpositions uncommon in Scripture, without any diminution to its authority; *Pool's Annotations.*

“ in so short a compass of time, to cancel the work of A. M. 1536.
 “ his own hands, by destroying the beauty of the one, and Ant. Chriſ.
 “ the lives of the other. For seven generations together 2468.
 “ (if (f) Josephus tells truth) men lived in the exercise of Gen. ch. 5.
 “ virtue, and in the love and tear of God. The family and 6. to
 “ of Seth were very famous for their holiness, justice, and ver. 13.
 “ purity; and (as † eastern writers say) were continually
 “ employing themselves in the worship and praises of God.
 “ One of them, in particular, was so remarkable for his
 “ virtue and piety, that he had a privilege granted him,
 “ which the Son of God himself (when on earth) could
 “ not obtain, viz. a translation into immortality, without
 “ undergoing the pains of death; and yet, in a genera-
 “ tion or two following, we read, that (g) *All flesh had*
 “ *corrupted his way upon the earth, and that every imagi-*
 “ *nation of his heart was evil continually, insomuch that*
 “ *it repented and grieved the Lord that he had made man.*
 “ Now if God foresaw that man would so soon become
 “ so very wicked, why did he make him at all? Or, if
 “ foreseeing this, he nevertheless thought proper to make
 “ him, why was he so concerned at finding him to be just
 “ what he foresaw he would prove? To destroy the wic-
 “ ked race of Cain indeed, in some particular branch of it,
 “ for a testimony of his displeasure against the rest, this
 “ might have been consistent with his wisdom and justice,
 “ and other sacred attributes: but to lay waste the whole

(f) Antiq. l. i. c. 4.

† Immediately after the death of Adam, (say several of these
 writers), Seth being wearied with the wickedness of the family
 of Cain, his neighbours, and fearing that now they would become
 more profligate, retired from the plain where he lived before,
 and taking with him his eldest son Enos, and Cainan the son of
 Enos, and Mahalaleel the son of Cainan, and their wives, brought
 them up unto the top of that mountain where Adam was buried;
 that these inhabitants of the mountains became very famous for
 their holiness, justice, and purity; that they continually employ-
 ed themselves in the praises of God, and in cultivating their minds
 in sublime speculations; and that when they were removed to a
 greater distance from the earth, they were so very near the ce-
 lestial paradise, that they heard the voices of angels celebrating the
 praises of God, and joined with them in their sacred hymns and
 heavenly benedictions; *Bedford's Scripture-chronology.*

(g) Gen. vi. 12.

A. M. 1536. " earth all at once, and even the brute-creation, which
 Ant. Chrif. " was not capable of offending; to pull down what he had
 2468. " for the space of 1656 years been establishing, and to
 Gen. ch. 5. " put himself to the trouble of beginning again, and re-
 and 6. to " peopling the shattered and defaced earth from the loins
 ver. 13. " of four progenitors only, argues too much levity and
 " caprice, ever to be imputed to a wise and unchangeable
 " God.

" The whole history of this period of time indeed
 " (according to the account of Moses) is so glaringly ro-
 " mantic, and so repugnant to other parts of Scripture,
 " that a man who ventures to think for himself, will
 " hardly be induced to credit it. The Apostle to the Co-
 " rinthians tells us, that *(h) flesh and blood cannot inherit*
 " *the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit in-*
 " *corruption*; and yet *(i)* here we have a man, who (ac-
 " cording to the Christian interpretation) was immediately
 " taken up into heaven (but in what vehicle? there is the
 " question) without any change or alteration, that we
 " read of. Christ, in his gospel, has told us expressly, that
 " *(k) the angels of God neither marry, nor are given in*
 " *marriage*, and the * simplicity of their nature must
 " induce us to think, that they are not capable of genera-
 " tion; and yet *(l)* here again we are told, that the *sons*
 " *of God took themselves wives of the daughters of men.*
 " But, allowing the *sons of God* to signify the descendants
 " of Seth, yet where was the great damage in their mar-
 " rying the daughters of Cain? We read of no law to
 " prohibit such marriages, *and where no law is, there can*
 " *be no transgression*; and yet the destruction of the world
 " is represented as proceeding from this one cause. The
 " poets indeed do frequently entertain us with many plea-
 " sant stories of their gods turning gallants to ladies, of
 " their assuming human shape, living in obscurity for some
 " time, and submitting to employments far beneath their qua-
 " lity, and all for the love of the fair sex; but, in a

(h) 1 Cor. xv. 50. *(i)* Gen. v. 24. *(k)* Matth. xxii. 30.

* The learned Heidegger, in his Dissertation *De Nephilim, seu gigantibus antediluvianis*, has abundantly shewn from Scripture, from reason, and from the nature of angels, that neither simply by themselves, nor incorporate in any human body, are they capable of begetting children; nor could it have been consistent with the attributes of God, for him to have permitted any such abomination.

(l) Gen. vi. 2.

“ book of divine extract and sacred truth, we little expect-
 “ ed to be told of amorous intrigues. The giants of old,
 “ of what monstrous size and strength they were, how
 “ they fought against the gods, and piled † mountain up-
 “ on mountain, in order to scale heaven, and dethrone
 “ them, is a popular subject among the sons of Parnassus ;
 “ but who ever thought to have met (*m*) with the foun-
 “ dation of all these fictions in so grave an author as Mo-
 “ ses? In short, his whole account of the transkation of
 “ Enoch, and the deluge of Noah; of the sons of God,
 “ and the daughters of men; of giants and *incubuses*,
 “ and other such monstrous absurdities, favour very strong
 “ of the fabulous age, and seem to be calculated for no
 “ other purpose than merely to banter the easy faith of the
 “ vulgar, and to gratify such as delight in fiction.”

A. M. 1536.
 Ant. Chriſt.
 2468.
 Gen. ch. 5.
 and 6. to
 ver. 13.

That God of his infinite wisdom might, for very good reasons, think proper to create man at first, and in all the full perfection of his nature, notwithstanding he could not

Answered,
 by ſhewing
 how the
 antediluvi-
 an world
 came to be
 ſo wicked.

† The poets have described the attempt of the ancient giants in such strains as these :

Neve foret terris securior arduus æther,
 Affectâſſe ferunt regnum cœleſte gigantes,
 Altaque congeſtos ſtruxiſſe ad ſydera montes. *Ovid. Met. l. 1.*

————Immania vidi
 Corpora, qui manibus magnum reſcindere cœlum
 Agreſſi, ſuperiſque Jovem detrudere regnis.
 Ter ſunt conati imponere Pelio Oſſam
 Scilicet ; atque Oſſæ frondosum involvere Olympum ;
 Ter pater extractos diſjecit fulmine montes. *Virg. Æn. 6.
 et Geor. 1.*

Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Jovi
 Fidens juvenus horrida brachiis,
 Fratresque tendentes opaco
 Pelion impoſuiſſe Olympo.
 Sed quid Typhiceus, quid validus Mimas,
 Aut quid minaci Porphyriion ſtan,
 Quid Rhœceus, evulſiſque truncis
 Enceladus jaculator audax,
 Contra ſonantem Palladis Ægida
 Poſſent ruentes? *Hor. Car. l. 3. ode 4.*

(*m*) Gen. vi. 4.

A. M. 1556. but foresee, that he would sadly degenerate, and turn rebel
 Ant. Chris. to his will, is a question we have already endeavoured to
 2468. resolve, (n) when we treated of the fall of Adam; and by
 Gen. ch. 5. what means his posterity, in the succession of so few ge-
 and 6. to nerations, as passed from the creation to the flood, be-
 ver. 13. came so very corrupt, as to lay God under a necessity to
 destroy them; may in a great measure be imputed to the
 length of their lives, and the strength and vigour of their
 constitutions. For, supposing all mankind, since the ori-
 ginal defection, to be born in a state of depraved nature,
 with their understandings impaired, their wills perverted,
 and their passions inflamed (o); we can scarce imagine any
 restraint, consistent with human freedom, sufficient to
 check their unruly appetites in that height of vigour, and
 confidence of long life. For if we, who rarely, and with
 no small difficulty, stretch out to the span of seventy years,
 are hardly with-held from violence and villainy by all the
 dictates of reason and terrors of religion, what can we
 conceive sufficient to have kept them back, in their strength
 and security in sin from a continued series of 8 or 9 hun-
 dred years? No interposition of providence can be sup-
 posed available to the reformation of mankind under these
 circumstances, unless it were such as would either change
 their nature, or destroy their freedom; and therefore we
 have reason to believe, that in the space of about 1800
 years from the creation, God found them degenerated to
 such a degree, as if they had lost all sense of their huma-
 nity; for this some have made the import of the text, *my
 spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is
 flesh*, i. e. it is in vain to use any farther methods of mer-
 cy, or monitions of providence with man, who is now en-
 tirely given up to fleshly appetites, and by that means sunk
 down into the lowest condition of brutality.

By what gradations man arrived at his height of cor-
 ruption, is not so evident from Scripture; but there are
 two passages, (p) *the earth was corrupt before God, and the
 earth was filled with violence*; which seem to point out
 some particular vices: for by *violence* is plainly meant
 cruelty, and outrage, and injustice of every kind; and by
corruption, the Jews always understand, either idolatry,
 or unlawful mixtures and pollutions; the latter of which
 seems to be denoted here, because of the subsequent expli-

(n) Vid. pag. 87. 88.

(o) Revelation examined, vol. I.

(p) Gen. vi. 11.

cation of the words, *for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.* A. M. 1536. Ant. Christ. 2468.

Now, if we look into the history, we shall find, that the first act of violence was committed by Cain upon his brother Abel; the first act of incontinence by Lamech, in the matter of his polygamy; and that as one of his sons invented the instruments of luxury, so the other invented the instruments of violence and war. As luxury therefore naturally begets a disposition to injure others in their property, and such a disposition, armed with offensive weapons, in the hands of men of a gigantic stature and strength, (as many of the antediluvians very probably were), tends to beget all manner of insolence and outrage to our fellow-creatures; so these two cardinal vices might naturally enough introduce that train of corruption which drew God's judgments upon the inhabitants of the earth.

Had God indeed given them no intimations of this his design, no calls to repentance, no means and opportunities of becoming better, before he determined their destruction, something might then be said in opposition to the righteousness of this procedure; but (q) since, from the very beginning, he was pleased, in the sentence he passed upon the serpent, to give them a remarkable promise, that the seed of the woman should destroy the power of that evil spirit which brought sin into the world, and consequently, (r) that all parents were obliged to train up their children in the ways of virtue and religion, without which it was impossible for any of them to be the promised seed; which was to restore mankind to their original perfections; since he himself instituted sacrifices, as a means admirably well fitted to inspire mankind with an horror of guilt, and be at the same time a perpetual memorial of the divine mercy from generation to generation; since, in his expulsion of Cain from his presence, and exaltation of Enoch into heaven, he made an open declaration to all future ages, that his vengeance should at all times pursue sin, but his bounty had always in store an ample reward for the righteous; since at this time he exhibited himself to mankind in a more sensible manner than he does now, causing them to hear voices, and to dream dreams, and, by sundry extraordinary means, convincing them of

(q) Shuckford's Connect. vol. I. l. 1. 1. (r) Revelation examined, vol. I.

A. M. 1536. their duty, and giving them directions for the conduct of
 Ant. Chris. their lives; since, at this time, they had the principles of
 2468. religion (which were but very few) conveyed to them by
 Gen. ch. 5. an easy tradition, which, by Methuselah's living 248 years
 and 6. to with Adam, and dying but a little before the flood, in the
 ver. 13. compass of 1600 years and more, had but two hands to
 pass through: and, lastly, since God appointed Noah in
 particular to be a *preacher of righteousness* (s), as the
 Apostle styles him, to exhort that wicked race to forsake
 their sins, and return unto him; to warn them of their im-
 pending doom, if they persisted in their provocations; to
 give them notice, that 120 years was the stated time of
 their reprieve, and that, at the end of that period, his
 fixed determination was to destroy them utterly, unless
 their amendment averted the judgment: Since these and
 many more methods of mercy were all along employed by
 God (and especially in the days that his long-suffering
 waited, while the ark was preparing) for the recovery of
 mankind, before the deluge came upon them, they are suf-
 ficient to vindicate the ways of God with man, and to
 justify his severity in bringing in the flood upon the world
 of the ungodly, which neither his restraints nor rewards,
 nor all the monitions and exhortations of his prophets, add-
 ed to his own declarations, institutions, inflictions, and de-
 nunciations of vengeance, could reclaim, in the course of
 so many centuries.

and other living creatures. Other living creatures, it is true, were not culpable in
 this manner: They all answered the ends of their produc-
 tion, and man was the only rebel against his maker. (t)
 But as, in an universal deluge, it was impossible to pre-
 serve them alive without a miracle; so, having, in some
 measure, been made instrumental to man's wickedness, in-
 nocent though they were, they were all to be destroyed, in
 order to evince the malignity of sin, and God's abhorrence
 of it. For the great end of his providence in sending the
 deluge was not so much to ease himself of his adversaries,
 as to leave a perpetual monument of his unrelenting seve-
 rity, that thereby he might deter future ages from the like
 provocations. And this is the inference which the Apostle
 draws from all his judgments of old: (u) *If God spared not
 the angels, says he, that sinned, but cast them down to
 Hell; if he spared not the old world, but brought in a flood*

(s) 2 Pet. ii. 5. (t) Le Clerc's Commentary. (u) 2 Pet.
 ii. 4. &c.

upon the ungodly; if he turned the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, and condemned them with an overthrow; these are an ensample unto those, that after shall live ungodly; for (however they may escape in this life) he hath reserved the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished.

The Scripture indeed seems to impute all this iniquity to the marriages between the sons of God and the daughters of men; but the misfortune is, that several interpreters, being led away by the authority of the LXX. who (according to Philo) did anciently render what we style the *sons of God*, by ἀγγελοι τῷ Θεῷ, have supposed, that wicked and apostate angels assumed, at this time, human bodies, and, having had carnal communication with women, begat of them a race of giants; and from this original, the notion of *incubi*, or devils conversing with women in the like manner, has ever since been derived. St Austin, † among many others, is very positive in this opinion. (x) “Several people have had the trial,” says he, “and several have heard it from those who knew it to be true, that the *silvani* and *fauni*, commonly called *incubi*, have been often fatal to women, and have defiled their bed. It is likewise affirmed with so much confidence, that certain demons (called *durii* among the Gauls) have not only attempted, but likewise perpetrated these kinds of impure actions, that it would be foolish to make any question of it.” But besides the incompatibleness of the notion of a spirit, and the nature of an *incubus*, the *sons of God* are here represented under circumstances quite different to what we may suppose of any demons assuming human shape.

(y) An *incubus* (if any such there be) can desire commerce with a woman, for no other reason, but only to

† Dr Whitby, in his *Scripturæ patrum*, p. 5. has instanced in almost all the fathers of the four first centuries, who were of this opinion; such as Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, St Cyprian, Lactantius, Eusebius, &c. and supposes that this notion took its rise from the vain traditions of the Jews; because we find not only Philo reading the word ἀγγελοι in the Septuagint version, but Josephus likewise asserting, “that the angels of God mixing with women, begat an insolent race (not much unlike that of the giants in the Greek fables) overbearing right with power;” *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 4.

(x) *De civitate Dei*, l. 15. c. 23. (y) Heidegger's *Hist. patriar.*

A.M. 1536. draw her into the gulf of perdition. Any carnal gratifi-
 Ant. Chris. cation of his own cannot be his motive, because pleasure,
 2468. in an assumed body, if it is pretended to, must be fictitious:
 Gen. ch. 5. and 6. to But here *the sons of God* are said to be enamoured with the
 ver. 13. daughters of men, and (to satisfy their lusts) *to take to
 themselves wives of all that they chose*, which denoting a
 settled marriage and cohabitation with them, can hardly be
 imagined in the case before us. From those marriages we
 may farther observe, that a generation of living men, called
 by the Scripture *men of renown*, did ensue; but it is im-
 pious to think, that God would ever concur with the dev-
 il, violating the laws of generation which he had estab-
 lished, and prostituting the dignity of human nature, by
 stamping his own image upon, or infusing an human soul
 into whatever matter a fiend should think fit to engene-
 rate.

In prejudice taken to this opinion, therefore, several in-
 terpreters have made choice of another, which, though
 somewhat more reasonable, is nevertheless subject to ex-
 ceptions. It supposes, that, by the *sons of God* in this
 place, are meant the princes, great men, and magistrates
 in those times, who, instead of using their authority to
 punish and discountenance vice, were themselves the great-
 est examples and promoters of lewdness and debauchery;
 taking *the daughters of men*, or of the inferior and mean-
 er sort of the people, and debauching them by force. But
 (z) besides the harshness of the construction, which (con-
 trary to Scripture-phrafe) makes all great and powerful per-
 sons to be called *the sons of God*, and all mean and plebeian
 women *the daughters of men*, there is this error in the
 supposition, that the great men we are now speaking of,
 did not offer any force or violence to these inferior wo-
 men; *they saw that they were fair, and made choice of
 them for wives*. They did not take them merely to lie
 with them, and so dismiss them; but voluntarily entered in-
 to a state of matrimony and cohabitation with them. And
 this being all the matter wherein is the heinousness of the
 offence, if men of a superior rank marry with their in-
 ferior, especially when an excess of beauty apologizes for
 their choice? Or, why should a few unequal matches be
 reckoned among some of the chief causes which brought
 upon the world an universal destruction?

But the de- The most common, therefore, and indeed the only pro-
 scendants bable opinion is, that the *sons of God* were the descend-
 of Seth, dants

dants of Seth, who, for the great piety wherein they continued for some time, were so called, and that *the daughters of men* were the progeny of wicked Cain: And why the intermarriages of these two families (even though there was no express prohibition from God) came to be so provoking to him, and in the end so destructive to themselves, is the next point of our inquiry.

It has been a question among the learned, whether or no, in the ages before the flood, idolatry was practised? but there seems to be no great foundation for our doubting it, though some have endeavoured to establish it upon incompetent texts. The only expression in Scripture that bears a proper aspect this way is in Gen. vi. 5. where we are told, *That God saw, that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.* The words seem parallel to that passage of the Apostle, *(a) they became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; — whereupon it follows, that they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image, made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.* Since therefore Moses makes use of *(b)* the like expression concerning the age soon after the flood; and, since it is certain that, soon after the flood, men fell into idolatry, until the true worship of God was again established in Abraham's family, it seems very probable that he intended us an intimation hereof in the manner of his expressing himself: Nor can we imagine but that, when St Peter compares the false teachers of his age with the people of the antediluvian world, in the nature of their punishment, he means to inform us, that they resembled them likewise in the nature of their crime, in their *(c) bringing in damnable heresies, and abetting such doctrines, as even denied the Lord that bought them; or that, when St Jude (d) expresses his indignation against certain ungodly men in his days, who denied the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, in such words as these, Woe unto them, for they are gone into the way of Cain; he leaves us to infer, that Cain and his posterity were the first that threw off the sense of a God, and, instead of the creator, began to worship the creature.*

Now if the Cainites were, at this time, not only profligate in their manners, but abettors of infidelity, and

(a) Rom. i. 21. 23. *(b)* Gen. viii. 21. *(c)* 2 Pet. ii.

1. 5. *(d)* Ver. 4. 11.

promoters

A.M. 1536.
Ant. Chris.
2468.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

The idolatry of the Cainites.

A. M. 1536.
Ant. Chriſt.
2468.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

promoters of idolatry; for the family of Seth, who professed the true worship of God, to enter into communion, or any matrimonial compacts with them, could not but prove of fatal consequence. 'Tis a solemn injunction which God gives the Israelites, against all idolatrous nations, (e) *Thou shalt not make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son*: And, that this is no special but a general prohibition, extensive to all nations that profess the true worship of God, is evident from the reason that is annexed to it; *for they will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods*. This was what Balaam knew full well, and therefore, perceiving that he could injure the children of Israel no other way, he advised the Moabites to commence a familiarity with them; whereupon it soon came to pass, that (f) *The people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab, and they called the people unto the sacrifices of their gods, and the people did eat, and bowed down to their gods*.

'Twas this danger of seduction into a state of idolatry that made Abraham, before the law, so very anxious and uneasy, lest his son Isaac should marry a Canaanitish woman; and though we, under the gospel, (g) *know very well, that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one*, yet we are admonished by the same Apostle, who teaches us this, *Not to be unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what fellowship, says he, has righteousness with unrighteousness, what communion hath light with darkness, or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel (h) ?* From all which it seems to follow, that the sin was very heinous in the family of Seth, to mix with the wicked seed of Cain, when they could not but foresee, that the consequence would be their seduction from the true worship of God; and that the heinousness of their sin seems still to be enhanced, if, what some oriental writers tell us be true, viz. that God gave them this prohibition by the mouth of their great forefather Adam, and that their custom was, at certain times, to swear by *the blood of Abel* (which was their solemn oath) that they would never leave the mountainous country where they inhabited, nor have any communion with the descendants of Cain.

(e) Deut. vii. 3. 4. (f) Num. xxv. 1. 2. (g) 1 Cor. viii. 4. (h) 2 Cor. vi. 14. &c.

How the connixture of two such different families came to produce a set of giants is not so easy a matter to determine. Those who pretend to reduce it to natural causes, or the eager lust and *impetus* of their parents, are vastly mistaken, (i) because giants there were among the Canites, before this conjunction; and we read of several in other nations many ages after the flood. The more probable opinion therefore is, (k) that God permitted it in vengeance to their parents crimes, and that the children begotten by such unlawful mixtures might, (some of them at least), be accounted monstrous in their kind, (for thus the word *Nephilim* certainly signifies), and so become the abhorrence of all future generations.

A. M. 1536.
Ant. Curs.
2468.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
to ver 13.
The giants
whence
they
sprung.

It must be acknowledged, indeed, that translators have not agreed in their notions of this word. Aquila, instead of *gigantes*, renders it (l) *men who attack*, or fall with impetuosity upon their enemies; and Symmachus will have it mean (m) *violent and cruel men*, the only rule of whose actions is their strength and force of arms: And from hence some have imagined, that the giants spoken of in Scripture were famous for the crimes and violences they committed rather than for the height or largeness of their stature. But to hinder this from passing for a truth, we have the histories of all ages, both sacred and profane, and several other remains and monuments, to evince † the being of such prodigious creatures in almost every country.

(n). That there were multitudes of giants in the land of promise, before the Israelites took possession of it, such as Og King of Basan, and the Anakims, whom (o) the Moabites called *Enims*, i. e. *terrible men*, and (p) the Ammonites, *Zamzumims*, i. e. *the inventors of all wickedness*, whose posterity were in being in the days of David, and whose bones were to be seen at Hebron, the chief place

The real
existence of
them.

(i) Gen vi. 4. (k) Vid. Heidegger's Vit. patriar. and Patrick's Commentary. (l) Ἐπιπλοῦτες (m) Βιάτοι.

† Mr Whiston, in his Original records, has a supplement concerning the old giants, whercin, according to the Apocryphal book of Enoch, he divides the giants into three kinds, and in this division thinks himself countenanced by the words of Moses, Gen. vi. 2. &c.; the first and lowest kind of which are called *Eliudim*, and are of stature from 4 cubits to 15; the second are *Nephilim*, from 15 to 40 cubits; and the third, or great giants, 40 cubits at least, and many times above.

(n) Huetii Aletan. Quest. (o) Deut. ii. 11. (p) Ver. 21.

A. M. 1536. of their abode, is manifest from the sacred records. (q) *All*
 Ant. Chris. *the people* (say the spies who were sent to take a survey of
 2468. the land) *are men of stature; and there we saw the giants,*
 Gen. ch. 5. *the sons of Anak, which came of the giants, so unmeasura-*
 and 6. to *bly large, that we were but like grasshoppers in comparifon*
 to ver. 13. *of them.* And therefore we need less wonder, that we
 find (r) Josephus, upon the same occasion, telling us,
 " That the race of giants was not then extinct, who, on
 " account of their largeness and shapes (not at all to be
 " likened to those of other men) were amazing to see, and
 " terrible to hear of." Homer (s) speaks of the giants O-
 tus and Ephialtes, who, at the age of nine years, were nine
 cubits about, and six and thirty in height; he likewise de-
 scribes (t) the bigness of the Cyclops Polyphemus, who was
 of such prodigious strength, that he could, with the great-
 est facility, take up a stone which two and twenty four-
 wheeled chariots would scarce be able to move. This we
 allow to be, in some measure, romantic, but still it confirms
 the tradition, that several persons of old were of a gigan-
 tic stature.

" That the Cyclopes and Læstrigones," (u) says Bochart,
 " were once in Sicily, we have the account, not only in
 " the poets, Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides, Virgil, Ovid,
 " and Silius, but in the historians and geographers (I
 " mean Thucydides and Strabo) who were Grecians, and in
 " Trogus, Mela, Pliny, and others, who were Romans:
 " And that there was something of truth in the fables con-
 " cerning them, we are assured by those bones of giants,
 " which were dug out of the earth in the memory of our
 " fathers." (x)

But

(q) Numb. xiii. 23. (r) Antiq. l. 5. c. 2. (s) Odyss. l. 11.
 (t) Ibid. l. 9. (u) Cannan i. 30.

(x) Fazellus relates, and out of him Cluverius, that, A. D.
 1547, near Panormum in Sicily, the body of a giant was dug up,
 about 18 cubits or 27 feet tall. The same authors relate,
 that, A. D. 1516, was dug up, near Mazarene in Sicily, the
 body of a giant, 20 cubits or 30 feet tall. The same au-
 thors relate, that, A. D. 1548, near Syracuse, was dug up ano-
 ther body of the same dimension. They inform us, that A. D.
 1550, near Entella in Sicily, was dug up a body of about 22
 cubits or 33 feet high, whose skull was about 10 feet in cir-
 cumference; and they describe the corps of a giant of porten-
 tuous magnitude, found standing in a vast cave, near Drepanum
 in Sicily, A. D. 1342, whose staff was like the mast of a ship,
 and

But I forbear more instances of this kind, and, * refer- A.M. 1536.
 ring the reader, for his further conviction, to such au- Ant. Chriſt.
 thors as have profeſſedly handled this ſubject, ſhall only 2468.
 crave leave to make this remark — (y) that, in all pro- Gen. ch. 5.
 bability, no ſmall part of the eldeſt cities, towers, temples, and 6. to
 obeliſks, pyramids, and pillars, ſome of which are ſtill re- ver. 13.
 maining, and deſervedly eſteemed the wonders of the world,
 † were the ſtructure of theſe ancient giants; and, as they
 ſurpaſs the abilities of all later ages, ſo they ſeem to me to
 be the viſible and undeniable remains, monuments, and
 demonſtrations, not only of their exiſtence, but of their
 prodigious ſtature and ſtrength likewiſe; ſince in an age,
 ignorant of mechanical powers and engines, ſuch vaſt piles
 of building could no otherwiſe have been erected.

Without concerning ourſelves then with the fictions
 and fables of the poets, or (z) whether the giants of old
 rebelling againſt heaven, were able to heap mountains upon

and the forepart of whoſe ſkull would contain ſome Sicilian
 buſhels, which are about a third part of our Engliſh buſhel. *Vide*
 Whiſton's Supplement concerning the old giants, in his Authentic
 Records, part 2.

* They that deſire to ſee more inſtances of this kind may
 find them cited by Huettius, in his Queſt. Aletan. l. 2.; Aug. De]
 civit. Dei, l. 15.; Joſeph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 3. 18; Pliny, l. 1.;
 Heidegger's Hiſt. patr. exercit. 11.; Grotius De veritate, l. 1.;
 Hackwell's Apolog. l. 3.; Whiſton's Original Records, part 2.;
 and our Philoſophical Tranſactions, N 234. 272. 274. 346.
 and 370.

(y) Whiſton's Supplement, part 2.

† The works of this kind which our author reckons up, are,
 1. The *Giants Dance*, upon Salisbury Plain in England, now call-
 ed *Stone-henge*. 2. The *Giants Cauſeway* in the north of Ireland.
 3. The *Circular Gigantic Stone* at Ravenna 4. The *Tower of*
Babel. 5. The two *Obeliſks* mentioned by Herodotus. 6. The
Temple of Diana in Egypt. 7. The *Labyrinth* in Egypt. 8. The
Lake Mæris, 480 miles long, and dug by human labour, all
 by the ſame Herodotus. 9. The *Sphinx* of Egypt. 10. The *moſt*
ancient Temple in Egypt. 11. The *Agrigentine Temple*. 12. The
Pyramidal Obeliſk, all mentioned by Diodorus Siculus. 13. The
Temple of Solomon. 14. The *Palace of Solomon* at Jeruſalem. 15.
 That at Balbeck. 16. That at Taſmor. 17. The *Palace and*
Buildings at Perſepolis. 18. The *Temple of Belus* at Babylon.
 19. The *Temple* at Chillembum. And, 20. The *fiſt Temple*
of Diana at Ephesus; Whiſton's Suppl.

(z) Calmet's Diſſertation ſur les geans, vol. 2.

A. M. 1536. mountains, in order to scale it, or to hurl rocks, and
 Ant. Chris. islands, and huge flaming trees against it, in order to shake,
 2463. or set it on fire; all that we pretend to say is, that in an-
 Gen. ch. 5. cient days, there were giants in great numbers, who (ex-
 a. d. 6. to cepting the largeness of their stature) were formed and
 ver. 13. - fashioned like other men, and waged no other war with
 heaven, than what all wicked persons are known to do,
 when they provoke the Divine Majesty by their crimes and
 enormous impieties. This is the whole of what the Scrip-
 tures assert, and I know no occasion we have to defend the
 wild hyperboles of the poets.

The reality of Enoch's translation, and what it means. Amidst the antediluvian corruption, and even while these abominable and gigantic men were in being, Moses makes particular mention of one person of eminent sanctity, and who found a favour extraordinary, for having preserved his innocence, and persisted in his duty, notwithstanding the wickedness of the age wherein he lived. Enoch was certainly, in other respects, an extraordinary person. (a) St Jude distinguishes him as a prophet: (b) the Arabians represent him as a great scholar; the Babylonians look upon him as the author of their astrology; the Greeks call him their *Atlas*, and affirm, that he was the first who taught men the knowledge of the stars: but it was not for these rare qualities, so much as for his singular piety and virtue, that God exempted him from the common fate of mankind.

The Jewish doctors indeed will have the words of Moses concerning him to import no more, than his sudden and untimely death, because he lived not near so long as the other patriarchs. But the paraphrase which St Paul gives us of them, (c) *By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death, and was not found, because God had translated him; for before his translation, he had this testimony, that he pleased God*; this paraphrase, I say, will not suffer us to doubt of the truth of the Christian interpretation. And indeed, (d) unless the Christian interpretation be true, the whole emphasis of Moses's words is lost, and they become a crude tautology. For if we say, that *Enoch was not*, i. e. was no longer living, because *God took him*, i. e. God caused him to die; it is the same, as if we should say, *God caused him to die, because he took him away by death*, which is flat and insipid, a proof of the same thing by the

(a) Ver. 14. &c. (b) Calmet's Dictionary on the word *Enoch*.
 (c) Heb. xi. 5. (d) Heidegger's Hist. patriar. exercit. 9.

same thing, and hardly consistent with common sense: A. M. 1536. whereas, if we interpret the words in this manner ~~_____~~ Ant. Christ
Enoch was not, i. e. was no where to be found, was ^{2468.} Gen. ch. 5.
 seen neither among the living nor the dead here on earth, and 6. to
for God. took him, i. e. because God translated him to ano- ver. 13.
 ther place, soul and body together, without undergoing the
 pains of death; here is a grace and energy in the expres-
 sion, not unbecoming the style of an inspired penman.

The reason which Moses assigns for God's taking him in this wise, is, that *he walked with God*: But if God's taking him means no more than his hasty death, it was far from being a divine attestation of his piety, (because length of days are the promised reward of that); and therefore we may be allowed to infer, that his walking with God was not the cause of his ablation by death, but of his assumption into glory. The truth is, (e) about 57 years before this event, Adam, the father of all living, had submitted to the sentence denounced against him, and resigned his breath; and whatever notions his posterity might have of a life immortal in reversion, yet it seemed expedient to the divine wisdom, at this time, in the person of Enoch, to give them, as it were, an anticipation of it, and to support and comfort them under the sense of their mortality, with the prospect, and assured hope, that after the dark entry of death was passed, they were to be admitted into the mansions of bliss.

Our Saviour, indeed, when he came upon earth, (tho' ^{Why Christ} declared from heaven to be the Son of God), was not exempt- ^{was not ex-}
 ed from the common condition of our mortality. (f) ^{empted} ^{from death.} *Forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same, that through death, he might destroy him who had the power of death*, i. e. the devil. His errand was to propitiate for our sins; but since, (g) *without shedding of blood there is no remission*, the decree was, that he should die, which when he had satisfied, he rose again; and after forty days converse with his disciples, even (h) *while they beheld him*, we are told, *he was taken up into heaven, and a cloud received him out of their sight*. And, in like manner, if the end of Enoch's assumption was for the conviction of mankind in that great article of faith, the reality of another world, it seems reasonable to believe, that the thing was done publicly and visibly; that either some bright and radiant cloud,

(e) Patrick's Commentary. (f) Heb. ii. 14. (g) Ch. ix. 22.

(h) Acts xix. and Luke xxiv. 51.

A. M. 1536. guided by the ministry of angels, gently raised him from
 Ant. Chriſt. the earth, and mounted with him upon high, (which ſeems
 2468. to be our Saviour's caſe), or that a *(i) ſtrong ghuſt of wind,*
 Gen. ch. 5. governed by the ſame angelic powers, in ſome vehicle or
 and 6. to other, reſembling a bright *chariot and horſes,* tranſported
 ver. 13. him into heaven, (which ſeems to be the caſe of Elijah), and
 that, in his paſſage thither, his body was transformed, his
 corruptible into incorruption, his mortal into immortality,
in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye (k), as we are told
 it will happen to thoſe who are alive, when the *laſt trump-*
et ſhall ſound.

The place
 to which E-
 noch was
 tranſlated;

It is an idle conceit therefore of ſome of the Jewiſh,
 as well as Chriſtian doctors, that Enoch was not tranſlated
 into the celeftial, but only into the old terreſtrial paradise,
 wherein Adam, before his tranſgreſſion, lived. Whether
 the beauty of that place went to ruin, or no, as ſoon as
 our firſt parents were ejected, and no hand left to dreſs it,
 it is certain, it could never withſtand the violence of the
 flood; and conſequently Enoch muſt have periſhed in it,
 unleſs we can ſuppoſe *, that he was preſerved by ſome ſuch
 miracle as the Iſraelites were, when they paſſed through
 the Red-ſea, and that the waves, towering up on all ſides,
 ſurrounded it like a wall, and kept that particular ſpot dry;
 which is by much too bold a ſuppoſition, eſpecially when it
 contradicts that authority, which tells us, that *(l) the wa-*
ters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and that all the
high hills, which were under the whole heavens, were covered.

and ſome
 Heathen e-
 vidences
 hereof:

Whatever therefore ſome may fancy to themſelves,
 we acknowledge now no other paradise, than what is re-
 preſented in the Scriptures, as a place in which God gives
 the brighteſt evidences of his preſence, and communicates
 his glory with the utmoſt majeſty; a place which St Paul
 calls *(m) the third heaven,* whereunto Elijah was tranſ-

(i) 2 Kings ii. 11.

(k) 1 Cor. xv. 52.

* Bonferius ait, Veriſimile eſſe paradifum ab imbris ſerva-
 tum immunem, undique ad latera ſeſe atollentibus aquis, et quaſi
 in murum ſolidatis, quemadmodum ſolidatæ aquæ Maris Rubri,
 Iſraelitis in medio aquarum tranſeuntibus. Verum non hic quid
 veriſimile ſit quaeritur, ſed quid pro certo affirmari poſſit. Ubi
 miraculi nullum veſtigium apparet, non licet propria opinione
 veriſimilitudinis illud aſtruere; *Heidegger, Vit. patriar. De raptu*
Enochi, exercit. 9.

(l) Gen. vi. 19.

(m) 2 Cor. xii. 2.

lated, and wherein our blessed Saviour is now (*n*) preparing mansions for us, that where he is, we may be also. Into this happy place we suppose Enoch to have been conveyed, and it is no mean confirmation of the truth of the Mosaic account, that we find, among the Heathen world, notions of the like translation: that we find Bacchus assuring Cadmus, that, by the help of Mars, he should live for ever in the *isles of the blessed*: that we find Aganympha made immortal by the favour of Jupiter; and, after the death of her husband Hercules, Alcmena, translated by Mercury, and married to Rhadamantus; with many more allusions of the like nature (*o*).

A. M. 1536.
Ant. Chriſt.
2468.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

And in like manner, it is far from being a bad argument for the truth and reality of the flood (*p*), that we find, almost every where in the Latin and Greek historians, horrid descriptions of the lives of the giants, which occasioned that heavy judgment: that we find Berofus the Chaldean, (as he is quoted by (*q*) Josephus), relating the same things which Moses does, concerning the great deluge, the destruction of mankind by it, and the ark, in which Noachus (the same with Noah) was preserved, and which rested on the tops of the Armenian mountains: that we find Abydenus, the Assyrian (as he is cited (*r*) by Eusebius) taking notice of the wood of the vessel, wherein Xifuthrus († for so he calls Noah) was saved, and telling us, that the people of Armenia made use of it for amulets to drive away diseases: that we find Alexander Polyhistor, in a passage produced (*s*) by Cyril, informing us of an Egyptian priest who related to Solon, out of the sacred books of the Egyptians, (as he supposes), that, before the particular deluges known and celebrated by the Grecians, there was of old an exceeding great inundation of waters, and devastation of the earth: and (to mention no more) that we find (*t*) Lucian giving us a long account of an ancient tradition,

As likewise
of the flood.

(*n*) John xiv. 2. 3. (*o*) Huetii Quæst. Aletanæ, l. 2. c. 10.
(*p*) Grotius De verit. l. 1. §. 16. (*q*) Cont. App. l. 1. (*r*) Prepar. Evang. l. 9.

† M. Le Clerc, in his notes upon Grot. De verit. [l. 1. §. 16.] seems to intimate, that *Xifuthrus*, *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*, are all names signifying the same thing in other languages, as *Noah* does in Hebrew, wherein Moses wrote; and that the deluges which are said to have happened in their times, and are thought to be different, were in reality one and the same.

(*s*) Contra Julianum.
(*t*) De Dea Syria.

A. M. 1536. which the people of Hierapolis had of the deluge, * vary-
 Ant. Chriſt. ing very little from what our ſacred hiſtorian relates: when
 2468. we find all this, I ſay, we cannot but acknowledge, that
 Gen. ch. 5. theſe, and the many more hiſtorians who are uſually pro-
 and 6. to duced upon this head, are a ſtrong teſtimony of the truth
 ver. 13. and authority of Moſes; and therefore, to conclude this
 reply, or vindication of him, with the reflection of the
 learned (u) Scaliger upon the agreement he perceived be-
 tween Moſes and Abydenus, in the account they both give
 of the dove and the raven which Noah is ſaid to have
 ſent out: “ Though the Greek hiſtorians (ſays he) do not
 “ always agree in particulars with the ſacred one, yet they

* The account, though ſomewhat long, is not unpleaſant, and
 deſerves our obſervation. This race of men (ſays he) which now
 is, was not the firſt: theſe are of a ſecond generation, and from
 their firſt progenitor Deucalion, who increaſed to ſo great a mul-
 titude as we now ſee. Now of theſe former men they tell us this
 ſtory, — They were contentious, and did many unrighteous
 things; they neither kept their oaths, nor were hospitable to ſtran-
 gers; for which reaſon this great miſfortune came upon them:
 All on a ſudden the earth diſembowelled itſelf of a great quantity
 of water, great ſhowers fell, the rivers overflowed, and the ſea
 ſwelled to a prodigious height; ſo that all things became water,
 and all men periſhed. Only Deucalion was left unto the ſecond
 generation, upon the account of his prudence and piety; and the
 manner wherein he was ſaved is this — He had a great ark
 or cheſt, into which he came with his children and the women
 of his houſe, and then entered hogs, and horſes, and lions, and
 ſerpents, and all other animals which live upon the earth, to-
 gether with their mates. He received them all, and they did him
 no harm; for by the aſſiſtance of heaven there was a great unity
 between them, ſo that all failed in one cheſt as long as the water
 did predominate. This is the account which all the Greek hiſto-
 rians give of Deucalion. But what happened afterwards (as it is
 told by the people of Hierapolis) is worthy our obſervation, *viz.*
 That in their country there was a chafm, into which all this wa-
 ter ſunk, whereupon Deucalion built an altar, and erected a tem-
 ple over it, which he conſecrated to Juno: and to verify this ſtory,
 not only the prieſts, but the other inhabitants likewiſe of Syria
 and Arabia, twice every year, bring abundance of water, which
 they pour into the temple, and though the chafm be but ſmall,
 yet it receives a prodigious quantity of it; and when they do this,
 they relate how Deucalion firſt inſtituted this cuſtom, in memory
 of that calamity, and his deliverance from it.

(u) Not. in Fragm in append. ad emend. temp.

“ are rather to be pitied for not having had the advantage A. M. 1536.
 “ of true and authentic antiquities and records to set them Ant. Chris.
 “ right, than to forfeit their value and authority, from 2468.
 “ such slips and deviations from the truth of the story as Gen. ch. 5.
 “ render their testimony and confirmation of the truth of and 6. to
 “ the sacred history much stronger, because much less to ver. 13.
 “ be suspected than if they agreed with it in every circum-
 “ stance.”

DISSERTATION V.

Of the Heathen history, the chronology, religion, learning, longevity, &c. of the antediluvians.

WE are now arrived at a period, where it may be con- The Hea-
 venient to take some notice of such Heathen wri- then histo-
 ters as have given us an account of the times before the rians from
 flood, through which we have hitherto been tracing Moses; the creation
 and those that are esteemed of the best credit and repute, to the flood.
 are only three; Berofus, who wrote the history of the Chal-
 deans; Sanchoniatho, who compiled that of the Phœnici-
 ans; and Manetho, who collected the antiquities of Egypt.

The Chaldeans were certainly a nation of great and The history
 undoubted antiquity. (x) In all probability they were the of Berofus,
 first formed into a national government after the flood, and
 therefore were more capable of having such arts and scien-
 ces flourish among them as might preserve the memory of
 eldest times, to the latest posterity: and yet, even among
 these people, who enjoyed all the advantages of ease,
 quiet, and a flourishing empire, we find no credible and
 undoubted records preserved. Berofus, their historian, was,
 (as (y) Josephus assures us) a priest of Belus, and a Baby-
 lonian born, but afterwards flourished in the isle of Cos,
 and was the first who brought the Chaldean astrology into
 request among the Greeks; in honour of whose name and
 memory, the Athenians (who were great encouragers of
 novelties) erected a statue for him with a golden tongue,
 a good emblem of his history, (z) says one, which made
 a fair and specious shew, but was not within what it pre-
 tended to be, especially when it attempts to treat of ancient
 times. It cannot be denied, however, but that some

(x) Stillingfleet's Orig. sacr. l. i. c. 3: (y) Cont. App. l. i.
 (z) Vid. Univers. hist. ; and Shuckford's Conect. l. i.

A. M. 1536. fragments of it which have been preserved from ruin by
 Ant. Christ. the care and industry of Josephus, Tatianus, Eusebius, and
 2168. others, have been very useful, not only for proving the
 Gen. ch. 5. truth of Scripture-history to the Heathens, but for con-
 and 6. to firming likewise some passages relating to the Babylonish
 ver. 13. empire.

After a description of Babylonia, and a strange story concerning a certain creature, which, in the first year of the world, came out of the Red sea, and, conversing familiarly with men, taught them the knowledge of letters, and several arts and sciences, he proceeds to give us a short account of ten kings which reigned in Chaldea before the flood, and these, corresponding with the number which Moses mentions, Alorus, the first, is supposed to be Adam; and Xisuthrus, the last, Noah; and of this Xisuthrus he pursues the story in this manner.

(a) Cronus, or Saturn, appearing to him in a dream, gave him warning, that on the 15th day of the month Dæsius, mankind should be destroyed by a flood, and therefore commanded him to build a ship; and, having first furnished it with provisions, and taken into it fowls and four-footed beasts, to go into it himself, with his friends and nearest relations. Xisuthrus did as he was ordered, built a vessel, whose length was five furlongs, and breadth two furlongs; and having put on board all that he was directed, went into it, with his wife, children, and friends. When the flood was come, and began to abate, he let out some birds, which finding no food, nor place to rest on, returned to the ship again. After some days, he let out the birds again, but they came back with their feet daubed with mud; and when, after some days more, he let them go the third time, they never came back again, whereby he understood that the earth appeared again above the water, and so, taking down some of the planks of the ship, he saw it rested upon a mountain. This is the substance of what we have in Berofus, who varies very little from our sacred historian during this period.

of Sanchoniatho,

Sanchoniatho is highly commended both by Porphyry, the great adversary of Christianity, and by his translator into Greek, Philo Biblius. Theodoret is of opinion, that his name, in the Phœnician tongue, signifies *φιλανθρῶς*, a lover of truth; which name, as Bochart imagines, was given him when he first set himself to write

(a) *Ibid.* (b) Stillingfleet's Orig. sacr. l. 1. c. 2.
 history:

history : but how faithful he has been in transcribing his account of things from his records, we cannot determine, unless we had the books of Taautus, and the sacred inscriptions and records of cities, from whence he pretends to have extracted his history, to compare them together. If we may judge by what remains of his writings, which is only his first book concerning the Phœnician theology extant in Eusebius, we shall hardly think him deserving so large a commendation : but be that as it will, the method wherein he proceeds is this. — After having delivered his cosmogony, or generation of the other parts of the world, he tells us, that the first pair of human creatures were Protogonus and Æon, (as Philo, his translator, calls them), the latter of whom found out the food which is gathered from trees : that their issue were called *Genus* and *Genea*, who were the first that practised idolatry ; for, upon the occasion of great droughts, they made their adorations to the sun, calling him *Beelsamen*, which, in Phœnician, is *the Lord of heaven* : that the children of these were *Phos*, *Pur*, and *Phlox*, i. e. light, fire, and flame, who first found out the way of generating fire, by rubbing pieces of wood against one another : that these begat sons of vast bulk and stature, whose names were given to mount Cassius, Libanus, Antilibanus, and Brathys, whereon they seized : that of these were begotten Memrumus, and Hypsuranius, the latter of whom was the inventor of huts made of reeds and rushes, and had a brother called *Ufous*, the first worshipper of fire and wind, in whose time women became very abandoned and debauched : that many years after this generation, came Agreus and Halieus, the inventors of the arts of hunting and fishing : that of these were begotten two brothers, the first forgers and workers in iron ; the name of one is lost, but Chrysor (who is the same with Vulcan) found out all fishing-tackle, and, in a small boat, was the first that ventured to sea, for which he was afterwards deified : that from this generation came two brothers, Technites and Autochthon, who invented the art of making tiles ; from these Agrus, and Agrotos, who first made courts about houses, fences, and cellars ; and from these Amynus, and Magus, who shewed men how to constitute villages, and regulate their flocks. This is the substance of what Sanchoniatho relates during this period ; and how far it agrees with the account of Moses, especially in the idolatrous line of Cain, our learned bishop Cumberland has all along made his observations.

A.M. 1536.
Ant. Chri.
2468.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

A. M. 1536
 Ant. Christ.
 2468.
 Gen. ch. 5.
 and 6. to
 ver. 13.

and of Manetho.

Manetho Sebennita was high-priest of Heliopolis in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by whose order he wrote his history; but that which destroys the credit of it, (though it gave him an opportunity of invention), is, that (c) he professes to transcribe his Dynasties from inscriptions on the pillars of Hermes (whom the Egyptians, out of veneration, call *Trismegistus*) in the land of Seriad, which land no one knows any thing of, and which pillars being engraven before the flood, can hardly be supposed to escape undefaced.

The plain truth is, the LXX translation was, not long before this time, finished; and when the Jewish antiquities came to appear in the world, the Egyptians (who are mighty pretenders this way) grew jealous of the honour of their nation, and were willing to shew, that they could trace up their memoirs much higher than Moses had carried those of the Israelites. (d) This was the chief design of Manetho's making his collections. He was resolved to make the Egyptian antiquities reach as far backwards as he could; and therefore, as many several names as he found in their records, so many successive monarchs he determined them to have had; never considering that Egypt was at first divided into three, and afterwards into four sovereignties for some time, so that three or four of his kings were many times reigning together: which, if duly considered, will be a means to reduce the Egyptian account to a more reasonable compass.

* The substance of the account however (as it stands unexplained in Manetho) it this:—That there were in Egypt thirty dynasties of gods, consisting of 113 generations,

(c) *Vid* Stillingfleet's Orig. sacr. l. i. c. 2. N^o. II. (d) Shuckford's Connct. part i. l. i.

* The accounts of Manetho seem at first sight so extravagant, that many great writers look upon them as mere fictions, and omit attempting to say any thing concerning them; though other learned men (and more especially our countryman Sir John Marshall, in his Can. chron. p. i.) not well satisfied with this proceeding, have undertaken an examination of them, and with some success. The misfortune is, we have none of the original works from whence they were collected, nor any one author that properly gives us any light or knowledge of them. The historians Diodorus Siculus, and Herodotus, did not examine these matters to the bottom; and we have no remains of the old Egyptian Chronicon, or of the works of Manetho, except some quotations in the works of other writers. The Chronographia
 of

tions, and which took up the space of 36,525 years; that when this period was out, then there reigned eight demi-gods in the space of 217 years; that after them succeeded a race of heroes, to the number of 15, and their reign took up 443 years; that all this was before the flood, and then began the reign of their kings, the first of whom was Menes.

A. M. 1536.
Ant. Christ.
2468.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

Now, in order to explain what is meant by this prodigious number of years, we must observe, (*e*) that it was a very usual and customary thing for ancient writers to begin their histories with some account of the origin of things, and the creation of the world. Moses did so in his book of Genesis; Sanchoniatho did so in his Phœnician history; and it appears from Diodorus, that the Egyptian antiquities did so too. Their accounts began about the origin of things, and the nature of the gods; then follows an account of their demi-gods and terrestrial deities; after them came their heroes, or first rank of men; and last of all, their kings. Now, if their kings began from the flood; if their heroes and demi-gods reached up to the beginning of the world; then the account which they give of the reigns of their gods, before these, can be only their theological speculations put into such order as they thought most philosophical.

To make this more plain, we must observe farther, that the first and most ancient gods of the Egyptians, and of all other nations, (after they had departed from the worship of the true God), were the luminaries of heaven; and it is very probable, that what they took to be the period of time in which any of these deities finished their course, that they might call *the time of his reign*. Thus a perfect and compleat revolution of any star which they wor-

of Syncellus, wrote by one George, an abbot of the monastery of St. Simeon, and called *St. Syncellus*, as being suffragan of Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, is the only work we can have recourse to. From these antiquities Syncellus collected the quotations of the old Chronicons of Manetho, and of Eratosthenes, as he found them in the works of Africanus and Eusebius; and the works of Africanus and Eusebius being now lost, (for it is known that the work which goes under the name of *Eusebius's Chronicon* is a composition of Scaliger's), we have nothing to be depended upon but what we find in Syncellus above mentioned; *Shuckford's Connect.*

(*e*) *Shuckford's Connect.* l. 1.

A. M. 1536. shipped, was the reign of that star; and as a period of
 Aat. Chriſt. 2468. 36,525 years is what they call an entire mundane revolu-
 Gen. ch. 5. tion, *i. e.* when the ſeveral heavenly bodies come round to
 and 6. to the ſame point, from which all their courſes began; ſo is
 ver. 13. it very remarkable, that they made the ſum total of the
 reigns of all their ſeveral Gods, to amount to the ſelf-ſame
 ſpace of time. This I take to be a true ſtate of the Egyp-
 tian dynaſties: and if ſo, it makes their hiſtory not near
 ſo extravagant as has been imagined, and ſinks their ac-
 count of time ſome hundred years ſhort of the Jewiſh
 computation.

The differ-
 ence be-
 tween the
 Hebrew
 and Sama-
 ritan com-
 putations:

The Jewiſh computation indeed is not a little ambi-
 guous, by reaſon of the different methods, which men find
 themſelves inclined to purſue. The three common ways of
 computing the time from the creation to the flood, are,
 that which ariſes from the Hebrew text, from the Samari-
 tan copies, and from the LXX interpretation.

The computation of Moſes.

I. According to the Hebrew text.	Began his life in the year of the world	Had his ſon in the year of his life	Lived after his ſon's birth, years	Lived in all, years	Died in the year of the world
Adam - - -	1	130	800	930	930
Seth - - -	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos - - -	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan - -	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel -	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared - - -	460	162	800	962	1422
Enoch - - -	622	65	300	365	987
Methuſelah -	687	187	782	969	1656
Lamech - -	874	182	595	777	1651
Noah - - -	1056	500			

2. According to the Samaritan.	Began his life in the year of the world	Had his son in the year of his life	Lived after his son's birth, years	Lived in all, years	Died in the year of the world
Adam - - -	1	130	800	930	930
Seth - - -	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos - - -	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan - -	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel -	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared - - -	460	62	785	847	1307
Enoch - - -	522	65	300	365	887
Methufelah -	587	67	653	720	1307
Lamech - - -	654	53	600	653	1307
Noah - - -	707	500			

A. M. 1536.
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2468.
Gen. ch. 5.
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ver. 13.



3. According to the Septuagint.	Began his life in the year of the world	Had his son in the year of his life	Lived after his son's birth, years	Lived in all, years	Died in the year of the world
Adam - - -	1	230	700	930	930
Seth - - -	230	205	707	912	1042
Enos - - -	435	190	715	905	1340
Cainan - - -	625	170	740	910	1535
Mahalaleel -	795	165	730	895	1690
Jared - - -	960	162	800	962	1922
Enoch - - -	1122	165	200	365	1487
Methufelah -	1287	187	782	969	2256
Lamech - - -	1474	188	565	753	2227
Noah - - -	1662	500			

The difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan computation is easily perceived, by comparing the two former tables together; nor will it be any hard matter to reconcile them, if we consider what (f) St Jerom informs us

(f) In quest. in Genes.

A. M. 1536. of, viz. that there were Samaritan copies which made
 Ant. Chris. Methufelah 187 years old at the birth of Lamech; and La-
 2468. mech 182 at the birth of Noah. Now, if this be true, it
 Gen. ch. 5. is easy to suppose 62 (the age of Jared at the birth of E-
 and 6. to noch) to be a mistake of the transcriber, who might drop
 ver. 13. a letter, and write 62 instead of 162; and thus all the dif-
 ference between the Hebrew and Samaritan copies will en-
 tirely vanish.

And be-
 tween the
 Hebrew
 and Septu-
 agint.

But it is not so between the Hebrew and the Septuagint. The Hebrew, according to the highest calculation, makes no more than 1656 years before the flood, but the Septuagint raise it to no less than 2262: so that in this one period (without saying any thing of the wide difference between them in subsequent times) there is an addition of above 600 years, which can † hardly be accounted for by any mistake of transcribers, because all the ancient and authentic copies, both of the Hebrew and Septuagint, agree exactly in their computation. And therefore the generality of learned men, despairing of a reconciliation, have fairly entered the lists, and taken the side which they thought most tenible.

Arguments
 for the Sep-
 tuagint.

Those who espouse the cause of the Greek version, draw up their arguments in this rank and order. They

† Lud. Capellus [in his *Chron. sacr. in apparatu Walton. ad Bibl. Polyglot.*] attempts to reconcile this difference, by telling us from St. Austin [De Civitate Dei, cap. 13.] that this edition was not made by the LXX. themselves, but by some early transcriber from them, and probably for one or other of these two reasons; 1st, Perhaps, thinking the years of the antediluvians to be but lunar, and computing, that at this rate the six fathers (whose lives are thus altered) must have had their children at 5, 6, 7, or 8 years old (which could not but look incredible); the transcriber, I say, finding this, might be induced to add 100 years to each, in order to make them of a more probable age of manhood at the birth of their respective children: or, 2dly, If he thought the years of their lives to be solar, yet still he might imagine, that infancy and childhood were proportionably longer in men who were to live 7, 8, or 9 hundred years, than they are in us; and that it was too early in their lives for them to be fathers at 60, 70, or 90 years of age; and for this reason, might add an 100 years to make their advance to manhood (which is commonly not till one fourth part of life is over) proportionable to what was to be the term of their duration; *Shuckford's Connection, l. 1.*

tell us, that the alteration in the Septuagint computation must have been purposely made; because, where letters must necessarily have been added, and where sometimes both parts of a verse, and sometimes two verses together are altered, and so altered, as still to keep them consistent with one another; this, whenever done, must be done designedly, and for no other reason that they can imagine, but merely a detection of errors in the Hebrew copies.

They tell us, that, though they have no positive proof of such errors in the present Hebrew copies, yet they have good grounds to suspect there are such, because that, before the time of Antiochus, the Jews, while in peace, were so very careless about their sacred writings, that they suffered several variations to creep into their copies; that when Antiochus fell upon them, he seized and burnt all the copies he could come at, so that none, but such as were in private hands, escaped his fury; that, as soon as that calamity was over, those copies which were left in private hands, the Jews got together, in order to transcribe others from them; and that, from these transcriptions, came all the copies now in use. Now suppose, say they, that these private copies which escaped the fury of Antiochus, but were made in an age confessedly inaccurate, had any of them dropt some numerical letters, this might occasion the present Hebrew text's falling short in its computations: And, to confirm this,

They tell us, that Josephus, (*g*) who expressly declares, that he wrote his history from the sacred pages, (*b*) in his account of the lives of the antediluvian patriarchs, agrees with the Septuagint; and that the Greek historians before Josephus, such as Demetrius Phalerius, Philo the elder, Eupolemus, &c. very accurate writers, and highly commended by Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius, in their calculation differ very much from the common Hebrew: So that not only Josephus, but these elder historians likewise must have either seen, or been informed of certain Hebrew copies which agreed with the Septuagint, and differed from what have descended to us. In short,

They tell us, (*i*) that the whole Christian church, Eastern and Western, and all the celebrated writers of the church, are on their side; that all the ancient manuscripts have exactly the same computations with the common Sep-

(*g*) Contra App. l. 1. (*b*) Antiq. l. 1. c. 3. (*i*) Shuckford's Connection; and Heidegger's Hist. patriar.

A. M. 1536.
Ant. Chriſt.
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A M 1536. tuagint, except here and there a variation or two, not
 Ant. Chris. worth regarding; and therefore they conclude, that, as
 2468. there is a manifest disagreement between the Greek and He-
 Gen. ch. 5. brew copies in this respect, the mistake should rather be
 and 6. to charged upon the Hebrew, than the Septuagint; because,
 ver. 13. as the Hebrew is thought by some to fall short, and the
 Septuagint to exceed, in its account of the lives of the
 patriarchs, 'tis obvious to conceive, that a fault of this
 kind may be incurred by way of omission rather than ad-
 dition.

For the He-
 brew com-
 putation.

Those who maintain the authority of the Hebrew text, as the standard and rule of reckoning the years of the patriarchs, oppose their adversaries in this manner.

They tell us (*k*) that the Hebrew text is the original, in which the Spirit of God indited the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and being, consequently, authentic, is better to be trusted than any translation made by men liable to error, as the LXX interpreters were; and that the Jews, to whom (*l*) were committed these oracles of God, used the greatest diligence to preserve them pure and entire, insomuch, that in the course of so many years (as (*m*) Josephus testifies in his time) no person durst add, take away, or misplace any thing therein.

They tell us, that no reason can be assigned, why the Hebrew text should be corrupted, but many very probable ones, why the Septuagint might; since, either to exalt the antiquity of their own nation, or to conform to the dynasties of the Egyptians, the Jewish interpreters at Alexandria might falsify their chronology; since, in this very point, there are so many different readings in the Septuagint, and so many errors and mis-translations in it, that (*n*) the learned Dr Lightfoot (to whom, as yet, no sufficient reply has been made) has proved it a very corrupt and imperfect version.

They tell us, that the Hebrew computations are supported by a perfect concurrence and agreement of all Hebrew copies now in being; that there have been no various readings in these places, since the Talmuds were composed; that, even in our Saviour's time, this was the current way of calculation, since the paraphrase of *Onkelos*

(*k*) Millar's Church history. (*l*) Rom. iii. 2. (*m*) Contra App. l. i. (*n*) *Vid.* Ejus opera, tom. 2. p. 932. ex edit. Ultraject. 1699.

(which

(which is on all hands agreed to be about that age) is the same exactly with the Hebrew in this matter; that St Jerom and St Austin (who were the best skilled in the Hebrew tongue of any fathers in their age) followed it in their writings, and the Vulgar Latin, which has been in use in the church above 1000 years, entirely agrees with it.

A. M. 1536.
Ant. Chriſt.
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They tell us, that Demetrius, the real historian, (for † Phalerius was none), lived not before the reign of Ptolemy Philopater, the grandson of Philadelphus, near seventy years after the LXX translation was made: that Philo was contemporary with our Saviour, wrote almost 300 years after the said translation, and, living constantly at Alexandria, might very well be supposed to copy from it; that Josephus, though a Jew, and perfectly skilled in the Hebrew language, in many instances, (which learned (o) men have pointed out), adheres to the Greek in opposition to the Hebrew; and that the fathers of the first ages of the church, though they were very good men, had no great extent of learning; understood the Greek tongue better than the Hebrew; and for that reason gave the preference to the Septuagint computation.

In this manner do the advocates for the Hebrew text defend its authority: And, since it is confessed, there has been a transmutation somewhere, if that transmutation was designedly and on purpose done, (as the adverse party agrees), 'tis indifferent (p) whether it was done by way of addition or subtraction: Only as it is evident, that the

† Demetrius Phalerius was the first president of the college of Alexandria, to which the library belonged, where the original manuscripts of the Septuagint were repositied. He was a great scholar as well as an able statesman and politician; but I doubt Bishop Walton is mistaken, when (in his 9th Prolegom. ad Bib. Polyglot.) he quotes him as one of those Greek historians whose works might prove the Septuagint computation to be more probable than the Hebrew. The Phalerian Demetrius lived a busy, active life, was a great officer of state, both at home and abroad, and I do not find that he ever wrote any history. 'Twas Demetrius the historian therefore, that the Bishop should have quoted; but he, living in the time that I mentioned, does not make much to his purpose; *Shuckford's Connect. l. 1.*

(o) *Vid. Cave's Hist. ; Litt. p. 2. in Joseph. ; and Well's Dissertation upon the Chronicles of Josephus, p. 19.—21.*

(p) Heidegger's Hist. patriar.

A.M. 1536. Greeks did compute by numerical letters, whereas it is
 Ant. Chris. much questioned, that the Hebrews ever did, the mistake
 2468. or falsification rather seems to lie on the side of the Greek
 Gen. ch. 5. translators, the very form of whose letters was more sus-
 and 6. to ceptible of it.
 ver. 13.

This is a true state of the controversy, wherein the arguments for the Hebrew computation do certainly preponderate; though the names, the venerable † names, on the contrary side, have hitherto been more numerous.

The religion.

It might be some entertainment to the reader, could we but give him any tolerable view of the religion, polity, and learning, of the antediluvian people: But the Sacred history, in this respect, is so very short, and the hints suggested therein, so very few, and so very obscure withal, that, during this period, we are left, in a great measure, in the dark. However, we cannot but observe, that it is a mistaken notion of some authors, who affirm, that at the beginning of the world, for almost 2000 years together, mankind lived without any law; without any precepts, without any promises from God; and that the religion from Adam to Abraham was purely natural, and such as had nothing but right reason to be its rule and measure. The antediluvian dispensation indeed was, in the main, founded upon the law of nature; but still it must be acknowledged, that there was (as we shewed before) a divine precept concerning sacrifices; that there was a divine promise concerning the blessed seed; and that there were several other precepts and injunctions given the patriarchs, besides those that were built upon mere reason.

The law of sacrifices (which confessedly at this time obtained) was partly natural, and partly divine. As sacrifices were tokens of thankfulness and acknowledgments, that the fruits of the earth, and all other creatures, for

† The names for the Septuagint computation, which the learned Heidegger, in his *Hist. patriar.* (as he takes them from Baronius), has reckoned up, are such as these: Theophilus Bishop of Antioch, St Cyprian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolytus, Origen, Lactantius, Epiphanius, Philastrius, Orosius, Cyril, the two Anastasii, Nicephorus, and Suada; to whom he might add several more, as Heidegger suggests; while those among the ancients, who contended for the Hebrew calculation, were only St Austin and St Jerom, but men of great skill and proficiency in the Hebrew language; *De atate patriarcharum, exer. 10.*

the use and benefit of man were derived from God; they were a service dictated by natural reason, and so were natural acts of worship: But, as they carried with them the notion of expiation and atonement for the souls of mankind, especially as they referred to the Messias, and signified the future sacrifice of Christ, they were certainly instituted by God, and the practice of them was founded upon a divine command.

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It is not to be doubted, (g) but that Adam instructed his children to worship and adore God, to commemorate his goodness, and deprecate his displeasure; nor can we suppose, but that they, in their respective families, put his instructions in execution: And yet we find, that in the days of Enos, (besides all private devotion) a public form of worship was set up; that the people had the rites of their religion, which God had appointed, fixed, and established; and that, very probably, as Cain built cities for his descendants to live in, so Enos might build temples, and places of divine worship, for his to resort to.

The distinction of clean and unclean animals was another divine injunction under this dispensation. God refers Noah to it, as a thing well known, when he commands him (r) to put into the ark seven pair of clean, and two of unclean creatures: And (s) though, in respect of man's food, this distinction was not before the law of Moses, yet some beasts were accounted fit, and others unfit for sacrifices from the beginning. The former were esteemed clean, and the latter unclean: And it seems safer to make a positive law of God the foundation of this distinction, than to imagine that men, in such matters as these, were left to their own discretion.

The prohibition of marrying with infidels or idolaters, was another article of this dispensation, as appears from God's angry resentment when the children of Seth entered into wedlock with the wicked posterity of Cain. And, to mention no more, under this period were given those six *great precepts of Adam* (as they are generally called) whereof the Jewish doctors make such boast; * and of these the

1st

(g) Edwards's Survey of religion, l. 1. (r) Gen. vii. 2.

(s) Patrick's Commentary.

* The commandments given to the sons of Noah are the same with these. They are an abridgment of the whole law of nature; but have one positive precept annexed to them; and are generally

A. M. 1536. 1st was of strange worship, or idolatry; the 2d of cursing
 Ant. Chris. the most holy name, or blasphemy; the 3d of uncovering
 2458. the nakedness, or unlawful copulation; the 4th of blood-
 Gen. ch. 5. shed, or homicide; the 5th of theft and rapine; and the
 and 6. to 6th of judgment, or the administration of justice in the
 ver. 13. public courts of judicature. So that from the very first,
God did not leave himself without a witness (as the Apostle
 terms it) but, in one degree or other, made frequent mani-
 festations of his will to mankind.

Polity.

That government, of one kind or other, is essential to the well-being of mankind, seems to be a position * founded in the nature of things, the relation wherein men, at first, stood towards one another, and the several qualifications in them, which, in a short time, could not but appear. The first form of government, without all controversy, was patriarchal: But this form was soon laid aside, when men of superior parts came once to distinguish themselves; when the head of any family either out-powered or out-witted his neighbour, and so brought him to give up his dominion, either by compulsion or resignation. Government, however, at this time, seems to have been placed in fewer hands, than it is now: Not that the number of people was less, but their communities were larger, and their kingdoms more extensive, than since the

generally placed in this order. “ 1. Thou shalt serve no other gods, “ but the maker only of heaven and earth. 2. Thou shalt remember “ to serve the true God, the Lord of the world, by sanctifying his “ name in the midst of thee. 3. Thou shalt not shed the blood of man “ created after the image of God. 4. Thou shalt not defile thy body, “ that thou mayest be fruitful and multiply, and, with a blessing, re- “ plenish the earth. 5. Thou shalt be content with that which thine is, “ and what thou wouldst not have done to thyself, that thou shalt not do “ to another. 6. Thou shalt do right judgment to every one, without “ respect to persons. 7. Thou shalt not eat the flesh in the blood, “ nor any thing that hath life, with the life thereof.” This is the heptalogue of Noah, or the *seven words*, which, as the Jews tell us, were delivered to him and his sons, and were constantly observed by all the uncircumcised worshippers of the true God; *Bibliotheca Bib. occas. annot. 15. vol. 1.*

* To this purpose Cicero [De legibus, l. 3. c. 1] tells us, that “ Sine imperio, nec domus ulla, nec gens, nec hominum universum “ genus stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest.” Seneca asserts, that “ Istud [imperium] est vinculum, per quod res- “ publica coheret: Ille spiritus vitalis, quem hæc tot millia trahunt; “ nihil ipsa per se futura, nisi onus et præda, si mens illa imperii “ subtrahatur.”

flood;

flood; (t) infomuch, that it may well be questioned, whether, after the union of the two great families of Seth and Cain, there was any distinction of civil societies, or diversity of regal governments at all. It seems more likely, that all mankind then made but one great nation, living in a kind of anarchy, and divided into several disorderly associations; which, as it was almost the natural consequence of their having, in all probability, but one language; so it was a circumstance which greatly contributed to that general corruption which otherwise perhaps could not so universally have prevailed. And for this reason we may suppose, that no sooner was the posterity of Noah sufficiently increased, but a plurality of tongues was miraculously introduced, in order to divide them into distinct societies, and thereby prevent any such total depravation for the future.

A. M. 1536.
Ant. Chris.
2468.
Gen. ch. 5,
and 6. to
ver. 13.

The enterprising genius of man began to exert itself very early in music, brass-work, iron-work, and every science, useful and entertaining, and the undertakers were not limited by a short life. They had time enough before them to carry things to perfection; but whatever their skill, learning, or industry performed, all remains and monuments of it have long since perished.

and the
learning of
the antedi-
luvians.

(u) Josephus indeed gives us this account of Seth's great knowledge in astronomy, and how industrious he was to have it conveyed to the new world. "Seth, and his descendants," says he, "were persons of happy tempers, and lived in peace, employing themselves in the study of astronomy, and in other searches after useful knowledge; but, being informed by Adam, that the world should be twice destroyed, first by water, and afterwards by fire, they made two pillars, the one of stone, and the other of brick, and inscribed their knowledge upon them, supposing that the one or other of them might remain for the use of posterity." (x) But how strangely improbable is it, that they, who foreknew that the destruction of the world should be by a flood, should busy themselves to write astronomical observations on pillars, for the benefit of those who should live after it? Could they think, that their pillars would have some peculiar exemption, above other structures, from the violence and outrage of the waters? If they believed that the flood would prove universal, for whose instruction did they write their observations? If they did not, to what end did they write them at all, since the

Seth's pil-
lars.

(t) Univers. hist. l. 1. n. 2. (u) Antiq. l. 1. c. 2. (x) Stillingfleet's Orig. sac. l. 1. c. 2.

A. M. 1536. persons who survived, might communicate their inventions to whom they pleased? The plain truth is, (y) Josephus, Ant. Chriſt. 2468. who frequently quotes Heathen authors, and Manetho in Gen. ch. 5. particular, took this ſtory of Seth's pillars from the pillars and 6. to of Hermes mentioned in that historian: for as the Jews Ver. 13. had an ancient tradition concerning Seth's pillars, Josephus, in reading Manetho, might poſſibly think his account miſ-applied, and thereupon imagine, that he ſhould probably hit on the truth, if he put the account of the one and the tradition of the other together; and this very likely might occasion his miſtake.

and E-
noch's pro-
phcy.

(z) The Eastern people have preſerved ſeveral tradi- tions of very little certainty concerning Enoch. They be- lieve, that he received from God the gift of wiſdom and knowledge to an eminent degree, and that God ſent him thirty volumes from heaven, filled with all the ſecrets of the moſt myſterious ſcience. St Jude, it is certain, ſeems to cite a paſſage from a prophecy of his; nor can it be denied, but that in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity, † there was a book, well known to the Jews, that went under his name: but

(y) Shuckford's Connection, l 1. (z) Calmet's Dictionary on the word *Enoch*.

† Joseph Scaliger, in his annotations upon Eusebius's Chronicon, has given us ſome conſiderable fragments of it, which Heidegger, in his hiſt. Patriarch. has tranſlated into Latin, which the curious, if they think proper, may conſult: but the whole ſeems to be nothing but a fabulous collection of ſome Jew or other, moſt unworthy the holy patriarch. Tertullian, however, has defended it with great warmth, and laments much, that all the world is not as zealous as himſelf, in the maintenance of its authenticalneſs. He pretends, that it had been ſaved by Noah in the ark, from thence tranſmitted down to the church, and that the Jews, in his days, rejected it, only becauſe they thought it was favourable to Chriſtianity; *Miller's hiſtory of the church, and Saurin's Diſſertations*. The great objections againſt this book are, that neither Philo, nor Josephus, (thoſe diligent ſearchers into antiquity), make any mention of it; and that it contains ſuch fabulous ſtories as are monſtrous and abſurd. But to this ſome have answered, that ſuch a book there certainly was, notwithstanding the ſilence of theſe Jewish antiquaries; and that, after the apoſtles time, it might be corrupted, and many things added to it by ſucceeding heretics, who might take occaſion from the antiquity thereof, and from the paſſage of Michael's contending with the devil about the body of Moſes, to interpolate many fables and inventions of their own; *Raleigh's Hiſtory of the world*.

besides

besides that this piece is now generally given up for spurious, there is no need for us to suppose, that St Jude ever quoted any passage out of this, or any other book of Enoch.

A. M. 1536
Ant. Christ.
2468.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

(a) Enoch was a prophet, we are told; and as such, was invested with authority, *to cry aloud, and spare not*, to reprove the wicked, and denounce God's judgments against them; and as he was a good man, it was easy for St Jude to imagine, that he would not sit still, and see the impieties of the people grow so very exorbitant, without endeavouring to repress them, by setting before them *the terrors of the Lord*. He could not discharge the office of a good man, and a prophet, without forewarning them of the (b) *Lord's coming, with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that were ungodly among them*; and because this was his office and duty, the Apostle infers, (as by the Spirit of God he might certainly know), that he did so, though he might not make that inference from any passage in his prophecy; because it is a known observation, that † many things are alluded to it in the New Testament, which were never perhaps in any book at all.

Of all the strange matters that occur in this period of time, there is nothing which looks so like a prodigy as the longevity of those men who at first inhabited the earth; nor is any event so apt to affect us with wonder, as the disproportion between their lives and ours. We think it a great thing, if we chance to arrive at fourscore, or an hundred years; whereas they lived to the term of 7, 8, 9 hundred, and upwards, as appears * by the joint testimony

The longevity of the antediluvians;

(a) Heidegger's Hist. patriar. (b) Jude ver. 14. 15.

† There are many instances in the New Testament of facts alluded to, which we do not find in any ancient books. Thus the contest between Michael and the devil is mentioned, as if the Jews had, some where or other, a full account of it. The names of the Egyptians, Jannes, and Jambres, are set down, though they are no where found in Moses's history. St Paul tells us, that Moses exceedingly quaked and feared on mount Sinai; but we do not find it so recorded any where in the Old Testament. In all these cases, the apostles and holy writers hinted at things, commonly received as true by tradition among the Jews, without transferring them from any real book; *Shuckford's Connection, l. 1.*

* Manetho, who wrote the story of the Egyptians; Berosus, who wrote the Chaldean history; those authors, who give us an account of the Phœnician antiquities; and among the Greeks,

A. M. 1536. ny both of sacred and profane history. The only suspicion
 Ant. Christ. that can arise in our minds upon this occasion, is, that the
 2468. computation might possibly be made, not according to solar,
 Gen. ch. 5. but lunar years; but this, instead of solving the difficulty,
 and 6. to runs us into several gross absurdities.
 ver. 13.

The space of time, between the creation and the flood, is usually computed to be 1656 years, which, if we suppose to be lunar, and converted into common years, will amount to little more than 127; too short an interval, by much, to stock the world with a sufficient number of inhabitants. From one couple we can scarce imagine, that there could arise 500 persons in so short a time; but suppose them a thousand, they would not be so many as we sometimes have in a good country village. And were the flood gates of heaven opened, and the great abyse broken up, to destroy such an handful of people? were the waters raised fifteen cubits above the highest mountains, throughout the face of the whole earth, to drown a parish or two? This certainly is more incredible than the longest age which the Scriptures ascribe to the patriarchs: besides that, this short interval leaves no room for ten generations, which we find from Adam to the flood; nor does it allow the patriarchs age enough, (some of them, upon this supposition, must not be above five years old), when they are said to beget children.

It is generally allowed, and may indeed be proved by the testimony of Scripture, that our first fathers lived considerably longer, than any of their posterity have done since; but according to this hypothesis, (which depresses the lives of the antediluvians, not only below those who lived next the flood, but even below all following generations to this day), Methuselah, who was always accounted the oldest man since the creation, did but reach to the age of 75, and Abraham, who is said to have died in a good old age, was not completely 15.

The patrons of this opinion therefore would do well to tell us, when we are to break off this account of lunar years in the sacred history. If they will have it extended no farther than the flood, they make the postdiluvian fathers longer-lived than the antediluvian, but will be puzzled to assign a reason, why the deluge should occasion longevity. If they will extend it to the postdiluvians likewise, they

Hesiodus, Hecateus, Hellanicus, Ephorus, &c. do unanimously agree, that in the first ages of the world, men lived a thousand years; *Burnet's Theory*, l. 2. c. 4.

will then be intangled in worse difficulties; for they will make their lives miserably short, and their age of getting children altogether incongruous and impossible.

From the whole therefore we may conclude, that the years whereby Moses reckons the lives of the antediluvians, were solar years, much of the same length with what we now use; and that therefore there must be a reason, either in their manner of life, their bodily constitution, the temperament of the world wherein they lived, or (what is most likely) the particular vouchsafement of God, to give them this mighty, this singular advantage above us.

Some have imputed this extraordinary length of life in the antediluvians to the sobriety of their living, and simplicity of their diet; that they eat no flesh, and had no provocations to gluttony, which wit and vice have since invented. (c) This indeed might have some effect, but not possibly to the degree we now speak of; since there have been many moderate and abstemious people in all ages, who have not surpassed the common period of life.

Others have ascribed it to the excellency of the fruits, and some unknown quality in the herbs and plants of those days: but the earth, we know, was cursed immediately after the fall, and its fruits, we may suppose, gradually decreased in their virtue and goodness, until the time of the flood; and yet we do not see, that the length of men's lives decreased at all during that interval.

Others therefore have thought, that the long lives of the men of the old world proceeded from the strength of their stamina, or first principles of their bodily constitution; which, if they were equally strong in us, would maintain us, as they think, in being, as long: but though it be granted, that both the strength and stature of their bodies were greater than ours, and that a race of strong men, living long in health, will have children of a proportionably strong constitution; yet, that this was not the sole and adequate cause of their longevity, we have one plain instance to convince us, viz. that Shem, who was born before the deluge, and had in his body all the virtue of an antediluvian constitution, fell 300 years short of the age of his forefathers, because the greatest part of his life was passed after the flood.

(c) Burnet's Theory of the earth, l. 2 c. 4.

A. M.
1536. &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2468. &c.
Gen. ch. 5.
and 6. to
ver. 13.

A. M.
 1536, &c.
 Ant. Christ.
 2458, &c.
 Gen. ch. 5.
 and 6. to
 ver. 13.

The ingenious theorist whom I have quoted, for this reason, imagines, that before the flood, the situation of the earth to the sun was direct and perpendicular, and not, as it is now, inclined and oblique. From this position he infers, that there was a perpetual equinox all the earth over, and one continued spring; and thence concludes, that the equality of the air, and stability of the seasons were the true causes of the then longevity; whereas the change, and obliquity of the earth's posture, occasioned by the deluge, altered the form of the year, and brought in an equality of seasons, which caused a sensible decay in nature, and a gradual contraction in human life.

His reasoning upon this point is very elegant. "There is no question," says he, "but every thing upon earth, and especially the animate world, would be much more permanent, if the general course of nature was more steady, and more uniform. A stability in the heavens makes a stability in all things below; and that change, and contrariety of qualities which we have in these regions, is the fountain of corruption—the æther in their little pores, the air in their greater, and the vapours and atmosphere that surround them, shake, and unsettle their texture and continuity; whereas, in a fixed state of nature, where these principles have always the same constant and uniform motion, a long and lasting peace ensues, without any violence, either within, or without, to discompose them. We see, by daily experience," continues he, "that bodies are kept better in the same medium, (as we call it), than when they are sometimes in the air, and sometimes in the water, moist and dry, hot and cold, by turns; because these different states weaken the contexture of their parts. But our bodies, in the present state of nature, are put in an hundred different mediums, in the course of a year; the winds are of a different nature, and the air of a different weight and pressure, according as the weather and seasons affect them. All these things are enough to wear out our bodies soon, very soon, in comparison of what they would last, if they were always encompassed with one and the same medium, and that medium were always of one and the same temper."

This is all very pretty: but the author's grand mistake is, that it was not so in the primitive earth. He has no authority to show, that how high soever the waters might

might swell at the deluge, the centre of the earth gave way, A. M. 1536, &c.
or the foundations of the round world were shaken. The earth, no doubt, had, before, as well as after the flood, an Ant. Chris. 2468, &c.
 annual as well as a diurnal motion. (d) It stood to the sun in the same oblique posture and situation, and was Gen. ch. 5. and 6.
 consequently subject to the same seasons and vicissitudes ver. 13.
 that the present earth is; and if the air was more mild, and the elements more favourable at that time, this we may account the peculiar blessing of God, and not the result of the earth's position to the sun, or any fancied stability in the weather. The truth is, whatever we may attribute to second causes, why bodies that are naturally mortal and corruptible should subsist so long in the primitive ages of the world; yet the true cause of all is to be ascribed to the will of God, who impregnated our first parents with such vigour, and gave their posterity for some time such robust constitutions, as depended not upon the nature of their diet, the stability of the seasons, or the temperature of the air. After the flood, God soon made a sensible change in the length of man's days. For, perceiving the general iniquity to increase again, and thereupon desiring to make an alteration in the world's continuance, he hastened the period of human life, that the number of souls he intended to send into the world before the consummation of all things, might have a speedier probation. Man's age accordingly went on sinking by degrees, until a little before David's time, it came to be fixed at what has been the common standard ever since. (e) *The days of our age are threescore years and ten; and though men be so strong, that they come to fourscore years, yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow, so soon passeth it away, and we are gone.* This is our stated period; and therefore for us, who live in this postdiluvian world, and have the term of our trial so much shortened, the subsequent prayer of the devout Psalmist will always be necessary, always seasonable; *So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.*

(d) Vid. Keill's Examination of Burnet's theory. (e) Psal. xc. 10.

A. M.
 1656, &c.
 Ant. Chriſt.
 2348, &c.
 from Gen.
 vi. 12. to
 xi. 20.

C H A P. VI.

Of the deluge.

The HISTORY.

GOD (as we ſaid before) had given mankind a reprimand for an hundred and twenty years; but when he ſaw that all his lenity and forbearance tended to no purpoſe, except it was to make them more bold and licentious in their ſins, he declared to his ſervant Noah, that within a ſhort time his reſolution was to deſtroy them, and with them all other creatures upon the face of the earth, by a flood of waters; but † affirmed him at the ſame time, that ſince he had comported himſelf better, and approved his fidelity to his maker, he would take care to preſerve him and his family, and whatever other creatures were

† The words in our tranſlation are, *With thee will I eſtabliſh my covenant*: but 1ſt, by the word *covenant*, we are not here to underſtand a mutual compact or agreement, but only a ſimple and gracious promiſe, as it is likewiſe uſed, Numb. xviii. 19. xxv. 12. and in ſeveral other places; which promiſe, though only mentioned here, was doubtleſs made before, as may eaſily be gathered from both theſe words, and ſome foregoing paſſages, and from the neceſſity that Noah ſhould have ſome ſuch ſupport and encouragement during all the time of his miniſtry. 2dly, This covenant of God might relate to his ſending the promiſed ſeed, and redemption of mankind by the Meſſias; and in this ſenſe will import, that as the Meſſias was to come out of Noah's loins, ſo the divine providence would take care to preſerve him alive. But, 3dly, A learned and Right Reverend author is of opinion, that this covenant of God relates to his reſtating the earth in its primitive fertility in Noah's lifetime. To which purpoſe he obſerves, that as ſoon as the flood was over, God declares, *I will not curſe again the ground any more for man's ſake*: from which declaration it appears, (ſays he), 1ſt, That the flood was the effect of that curſe which was denounced againſt the earth for man's ſake; and 2dly, That the old curſe was fully executed and accompliſhed in the flood; in conſequence of which, a new bleſſing is immediately pronounced upon the earth, Gen. viii. 22. *While the earth remaineth, ſeed-time, and harveſt, and cold, and heat, and ſummer and winter, and day and night, ſhall not ceaſe*; Pool's Annot. and Biſhop Sherlock's Uſe and intent of prophecy.

necessary for the restoration of their species from the general calamity.

To this purpose he gave him orders to build a kind of vessel, not in the form of ships now in use, but rather inclining to the fashion of a † large chest or ark, and himself prescribed the plan whereby he was to proceed. — That to make the vessel firm and strong, and able to endure the pressure of the waves, the wood most proper for that purpose † should be cypress; and that to prevent the waves from penetrating, or the sun from cracking it, as well

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.
The make
and fashion
of the ark.

† The word *thebath*, which we render *ark*, is only read here, and in another place, where Moses, when an infant, is said to have been put into one made of bulrushes, Exod. ii. 3. It is supposed to come from a root which signifies *to dwell* or *inhabit*; and may therefore here denote a *house*, or *place of abode*. And indeed, if we consider the use and design, as well as the form and figure of this building, we can hardly suppose it to be like an ark or chest, wherein we usually store lumber, and put things out of the way; but rather like a farm-house, such as are in several countries where the cattle and people live all under one roof. As soon as men began to hew down timber, and to join it together, for the purpose of making houses, nothing can be supposed a more simple kind of edifice than what was made rectangular, with a bottom or floor, to prevent the dampness of the ground; a sloping cover or roof to carry off the rain that should fall; stalls and cabins for the lodgement of man and beast; and, to keep out wind and weather effectually, a coat of bitumen or pitch. Of this kind was this building of Noah's, and may therefore rather be termed a place of abode, than an ark or chest, properly so called; *Le Clerc's Comment. in locum.*

† The timber whereof the ark was framed Moses calls *gopher-wood*; but what tree this gopher was, is not a little controverted. Some will have it to be cedar, others the pine, others the box, and others (particularly the Mahometans) the Indian plane-tree; but our learned Fuller, in his Miscellanies, has observed, that it was nothing else but that which the Greeks call *κυπάρισσος*, or the *cypress-tree*; for, taking away the termination, *eupar* and *gopher* differ very little in the sound. This observation the great Bochart has confirmed, and shewn very plainly, that no country abounds so much with this wood as that part of Assyria which lies about Babylon. And to this we may add the observation of Theophrastus, who, speaking of trees that are least subject to decay, makes the cypress-tree the most durable of all; for which Vitruvius gives us this reason, *viz.* that the

the

A.M. well as to secure it from worms, and make it glide more
 1656, &c. easy upon the water, his business would be, as soon as it
 Ant. Chris. was finished, † to pitch it, or rather smear it all over with
 2349, &c. bitumen, (whereof there was plenty in the country), both
 from Gen. within and without; that, to make its proportion regular,
 vi. 12. to its length should be six times more than its breadth, and
 ix. 20. ten times more than its height; and, to give it capacity
 enough, the first of these should be † 300 cubits, that is,
 in our measure, 450 feet; the second 50 cubits, or 75
 feet; and the third 30 cubits, or 45 feet; that to make
 it commodious for the reception of every thing, it was to
 consist of three stories or decks, of equal height each, and
 each divided into stalls and apartments proper for the
 things that were to be put into it; that for turning off
 the rain, the roof was to be made sloping; that for letting
 in of light, * there were windows to be so and so disposed,

O

the sap, which is in every part of the wood, has a peculiar bitter
 taste, and is so very offensive, that no worm or other corroding
 animal will touch it; so that such works as are made of this wood
 will in a manner last for ever. *Vid. Univerf. hist.; Patrick's
 Comment.; Bochart's Phaleg. l. 1. c. 4.; and Bedford's Scrip.
 chronol. l. 1. c. 9.*

† The Arabic translation says expressly, *pitch it with pitch*,
 but the bitumen (which was plentiful in that country, and, as o-
 thers think, intended here) was of the same nature, and served
 to the same use as pitch, being glutinous and tenacious, and pro-
 per to keep things together; *Patrick's Comment.*

† A cubit is the measure from the elbow to the fingers end,
 containing six hands-breadths, or a foot and an half: so that 300
 cubits make exactly 450 feet. There are some however who
 take those for geometrical cubits, every one of which contain six
 of the common; but there is no need for any such computation,
 since, taking them for common cubits, it is demonstrable (as will
 appear hereafter) that there might be room enough in the ark for
 all sorts of beasts and birds, together with Noah's family, and their
 necessary provision; *Ainsworth's Annot.; and Patrick's Com-
 ment.*

* There are various translations of the word *zohar*, which
 occurs but once in the whole Bible in this sense. It seems to be
 derived from a root in the Chaldee, which signifies to *shine*, or
give light; and therefore our version renders it *a window*; but
 if so, it must be collective, and mean several windows, be-
 cause it is not likely that there should be but one in so vast a
 building: and from the following words, *in a cubit shalt thou
 finish it above*, some have supposed, that the window was to be

be

† or some other conveniency answerable to them; and that, for the more easy induction of the many things it was to contain, a door or entry-port was to be made in its side.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

These were the instructions which God gave Noah, who accordingly went to work, and being assisted with the hands of his family, (for † the rest of the world doubtless derided him), in the time that was appointed him, and seven days before the rain began to fall, * he had completed the whole.

The things
to be taken
into it.

be a cubit square, or but a cubit high, which would have been much too small. But the relative *it* being, in the Hebrew, of the feminine gender, and *zohar* of the masculine, these two words cannot agree; and therefore the proper antecedent seems to be the *ark*, which was covered with a roof raised a cubit high in the middle. This however, in the original, may signify no more than an injunction to build the ark by the cubit, as the common measure, by which the work was to be marked out and directed. *Vid. Univers. hist.; Saurin's Dissert.; and Lamy's Introduction.*

† What that other conveniency was, we shall have occasion to shew when we come to treat of the word *zohar*, (which we here render *window*), in answer to the subsequent objection.

† The Apostle to the Hebrews (xi. 7.) mentions Noah's building the ark as an heroic act of faith: *By faith Noah, says he, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear, prepared an ark, to the saving of his house, by which he condemned the world, and became heir of the righteousness which is by faith:* for we may well imagine, that this work of his was not only costly and laborious, but esteemed by the generality very foolish and ridiculous; especially when they saw all things continue in the same posture and safety for so many scores of years together; whereby Noah, without doubt, became all that while the song of drunkards, and the sport of the wits of the age; *Pool's Annot.* The Mahometans have a tradition, that when he began to work upon this famous vessel, all that saw him derided him, and said, "You are building a ship; if you can bring water to it, you will be a prophet, as well as a carpenter;" but he made answer to these insults, "You laugh at me now, but I shall have my turn to laugh at you; for at your own cost you will learn, that there is a God in heaven who punishes the wicked;" *Calmet's Dict. on the word Noah.*

* It is somewhat strange, that the torrent of interpreters should suppose, that Noah was 120 years about this work, when he gives no intimation to that purpose, but sufficient reasons to

A. M. whole. Whereupon God gave him instructions, that he
 1656 *bc.* should take into the ark every living thing of all flesh,
 Ant. *Christ.* both cattle, and beasts of the field, birds, and fowls of
 2349, *bc.* the air, and reptiles of all kinds; † of the unclean, one
 vi. 12. 19 pair
 ix. 20.

believe, that he was not near so long as is imagined. It is plain from Scripture, that *he was 500 years old when he begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet*; (Gen. v. 32.) and that when he received the command for building the ark, the same sons were married, for the text says expressly, *Thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons wives with thee*, (Gen. vi. 18) So that all the time between the birth and marriage of the said sons must at least be supposed to intervene before the command to build the ark was given; and between the command and the execution of it must not be so long as is imagined, without a concurrence of miracles, to prevent that part of it which was first built from being rotten and decayed before the last part of it was finished; *Saurin's Dissert.* In what place Noah built and finished his ark, is no less made a matter of dispute. One supposes that he built it in Palestine, and planted the cedars whereof he made it in the plains of Sodom: another takes it to have been built near mount Caucasus, on the confines of India; and a third, in China, where he imagines Noah dwelt before the flood. But the most probable opinion is, that it was built in Chaldea, in the territories of Babylon, where there was so great a quantity of cypress in the groves and gardens, in Alexander's time, that that prince built a whole fleet out of it, for want of other timber. And this conjecture is confirmed by the Chaldean tradition, which makes Xisuthrus (another name for Noah) set sail from that country. *Vid. Univers. hist. l. i. c. i.*

† The distinction between beasts that were clean and unclean, being made by the law, has given some a colour to imagine, that Moses wrote this book after his coming out of Egypt, and receiving the law: but to this it may be answered, that though, with respect to man's food, the distinction of clean and unclean was not before the law, yet some were accounted fit for sacrifices, and others unfit, from the very first beginning; and then unclean beasts, in this place, must denote such as are rapacious, which were not to be offered to God. In short, since the rite of sacrificing was before the flood, we may very well be allowed to suppose, that this distinction was also before it; and to suppose farther, that as the rite was undoubtedly of God's institution, so the difference of clean and unclean creatures to be sacrificed was of his appointment likewise. But there is a farther doubt arising from this passage, and that is—whether there

pair only, but of the clean seven pair; that when the general desolation was over, they might increase again, and replenish the earth; and that when every thing was thus settled and disposed of, himself and his family should likewise go into the ark, and take up their apartments.

Pursuant to these directions, Noah and his family went into the ark; (leaving the rest of the world in their security and sensuality), in the 600th year of his age, much * about the middle of September; when, in a few days after, (a) the whole face of nature began to put on a dismal aspect, as if the earth were to suffer a final dissolution, and all things return to their primitive chaos. ** The cataracts of heaven were opened, the abyss of waters,

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi 12. to
ix. 20.

A short description of the flood.

there went into the ark but seven of every clean, and two of every unclean species, or fourteen of the first, and two of the last. Some adhere to the former exposition, but others to the latter, which seems to be the natural sense of the Hebrew words, *seven and seven*, and *two and two*. Besides, if there were but seven of the clean beasts, one must have been without a mate: and if it be suggested, that the odd one was for sacrifice, it is more than Moses tells us, who, on the contrary, repeats it, that the animals all went in by pairs; *Patrick's Commentary; Pool's Annotations; and Universal History, c. 1.*

* The words in the text are, *In the second month*; but, for the better understanding of this, we must remember, that the year among the Hebrews was of two kinds; the one ecclesiastical, which began in March, and chiefly regarded the observation of their fasts and festivals, of which we read Exod. xii. 2. and the other civil, for the better regulating of mens political affairs, which began in September. Accordingly the second month is thought by some to be part of April, and part of May, the most pleasant part of the year, and when the flood was least expected, and least feared; but by others, part of October, and part of November, a little after that Noah had gathered in the fruits of the earth, and laid them up in the ark: so that the flood came in with the winter, and was by degrees dried up in the following summer. And this opinion seems to be more probable, because the most ancient, and first beginning of the year, was in September; and the other beginning of the year in March was but a later institution among the Jews, with respect to their festivals and other sacred affairs, which are not at all concerned here; *Pool's Annotations.*

(a) Howell's Complete history.

** Ovid, who is supposed to have extracted most of the beginning of his *Metamorphoses* out of the sacred records, has

A. M. waters in the centre of the earth poured out, and the sea, forgetting its bounds, overspread the earth with a dreadful inundation.

1656, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2349, &c.
from Gen.

vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

Too late does wretched man perceive the approach of his deserved fate; and in vain does he find out means for his preservation. The tops of the hills, the tallest trees, the strongest towers, the loftiest mountains, can give him no relief; it is but a small reprieve at most that they can yield him; for as the waters swell, and the waves come rushing on, hills, trees, towers, mountains, and every little refuge, must disappear with him. Noah himself cannot help him. Though he might now remember his predictions, and so flee to him for succour, yet God has shut the door of the ark, and it cannot be opened: (b) and so it shall be to every one, at the last great day, who shall not be found in Christ, the only ark of our salvation.

Its rise,

For forty days and nights together, without the least intermission, did the clouds continue raining; when at length the ark began to float, and to move from place to place as the waves drove it. And though there might be some short cessations afterwards, yet, at certain intervals the rain continued falling, and the waters swelling, till in process of time, the flood began to cover the mountains,

described both the induction and retreat of the waters in a manner very conformable to the original, from whence he had them. Their induction thus:

———— Madidis Notus evolat alis,
Terribilem piceâ tectus caligine vultum————
Utque manu latâ pendentia nubila pressit:
Fit fragor: hinc densi funduntur ab æthere nimbi.—
Ipse tridente suo terram percussit: at illa
Intremuit, motuque sinus patefecit aquarum.
Expatiata ruunt per apertos flumina campos,
Cumque satis, arbutta simul, pecudesque, virosque,
Tcætaque, cumque suis rapiunt penetralia sacris, &c.

Their retreat thus:

Nubila disjecit, nimbisque Aquilone remotis,
Et cœlo terras ostendit, et æthera terris————
Jam mare littus habet: plenos capit alveus amnes:
Flumina subsidunt: colles exire videntur:
Surgit humus: crescunt loca decrefcentibus undis.
Postque diem longum nudata cacumina sylvæ
Ostendunt, limunque tenent in fronde relictum. *Lib. I.*

(b) Miller's History of the church; Patrick's Commentary; and Pool's Annotations.

and,

and, by a gradual increase, came at last to raise its surface fifteen cubits (above twenty-two feet of our measure) higher than the tops of the highest of them.

In this elevation the flood continued until the latter end of March: when, as one friend is apt to remember another in distress, (the Scripture here speaks in the style of men), so God, reflecting upon Noah, and the poor remains of his creation, floating in the ark, caused a drying north wind to arise, the flood-gates of heaven to be stopped, and the irruption of the waters out of the womb of the earth to cease; by which means the deluge began to abate, and the waters subside, so that in a short time, the ark, which must have drawn great depth of water, stuck on a mountain, named *Ararat*, and there rested; and not long after, the tops of other mountains began to appear.

This happened in the beginning of May, when the summer was coming on apace: but Noah, wisely considering, that although the mountains were bare, the valleys might still be overflowed, waited forty days longer before he attempted any farther discovery; and then † opening the window,

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

and decrease.

The raven
and dove
sent out.

† It is very observable, that the words which we render *window*, in ch. 6. ver. 16. and ch. 8. ver. 6. of Genesis, are far from being the same: in the former place, the word is *zohar*, (the nature of which we shall have a proper occasion to explain), in the latter, it is *hhalon*, which signifies indeed an oval hole or window in any building, but here is a window of a peculiar denomination. That it was customary among the Jews to have a room in the upper part of their houses set apart for divine worship, in Hebrew called *Beth-alijah*, or simply *alijah*, in Greek ὑπερῶν, and in Latin *oratorium*; and that in this place of prayer, there was always an *hhalon*, an hole or window, which pointed to the *kibla*, or place whereunto they directed their worship, is evident from several passages in Scripture. Among the Jewish constitutions, in the code, called *Beracoth*, there is a certain canon grounded upon this custom, viz. *That no man shall pray, but in a room where there is an hhalon opening towards the holy city*: and of Daniel it is particularly related, that when he knew that the decree for his destruction was signed, *he went into the house, and his hhalon, his window, being open in his chamber towards Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, as he did aforesaid*, Dan. vi. 10. for that this was not a common window, but one dedicated to religious worship, is plain from the people's discerning, by its

A. M. window, he let go a raven, as supposing that the smell of
 1656, &c. dead bodies would allure him to fly a good distance from
 Ant. Christ. the vessel; but the experiment did not do: the raven,
 2349, &c. after several unsuccessful flights, finding nothing but wa-
 from Gen. ter, returned to the ark again. Seven days after this, he
 vi. 12. to let fly a dove, a bird of a strong pinion, and, from the re-
 ix. 20. } motest places, always accustomed to come home, and there-
 fore proper to make farther discoveries. But she finding
 nothing but water likewise, immediately returned to the
 ark, and was taken in. After this he waited seven days
 more, and then sent her forth again; and she, in the e-
 vening, brought in her mouth an olive-branch, the emblem
 of peace, and a token to Noah that the waters were abated
 much. Whereupon he waited seven days more, and then
 let her fly the third time; but she finding the waters gone,
 and the earth dry, returned no more; so that he was now
 thinking of uncovering the roof, and going out of the ark
 himself; but having a pious regard to the divine provi-
 dence and direction in all things, he waited five and fifty
 days longer, and then received orders from God for him
 and his family to quit the vessel, but to take care at the
 same time that every other creature should be brought
 forth with him.

Thus ended * Noah's long and melancholy confine-
 ment; which, by a due computation from the time of
 his

its being open, that he was at prayers. Nor is it improbable
 that this window might have some visible sign, either of the name
 of God, or of the holy city, or of the sanctuary, or the like, in-
 scribed on it; because it is a constant tradition, that these oratories
 or rooms for prayer were always so made as to have their angles
 answer to such certain points of the heaven, and to have the mark
 of adoration so evidently distinguished, that none might mistake it,
 if they cast but their eye upon the wall. Now, as the practice
 among the Jews of worshipping in upper rooms, with their faces
 towards a hole or window in the wall, was never introduced by
 any positive law, and yet universally prevailed, it is reasonable to
 believe, that at first it was derived from Noah, and that the win-
 dows in their oratories were made in imitation of this *hhalon*, or
 point of adoration in the ark; *Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. 2.; Oc-
 cas. Annot. in the appendix.*

* Mr Bafnage [in his *Antiq. Judaïq. tom. 2. p. 299.*] has
 given us the kalendar of this melancholy year of Noah's con-
 finement.

his going into the ark, to that of his coming out, was exactly the space of a solar year.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

The OBJECTION.

“ **B**UT, granting (c) that a vessel, fashioned according to the description which Moses gives us of the structure of the ark, could *live* (as the seamen phrase it)

The year of the world's creation 1656.

Month.

I. September. Methuselah died at the age of 969 years.

II. October. Noah and his family entered the ark.

III November the 17th. *The fountains of the great deep were broken open.*

IV. December the 26th. The rain began, and continued forty days and forty nights

V. January. All the men and beasts that were upon the earth were buried under the waters.

VI February. The rain continued.

VII. March. The waters remained in their elevation till the 27th, when they began to abate.

VIII. April the 17th. The ark rested on Mount Ararat.

IX. May. They did nothing while the waters were retreating.

X. June the 1st. The tops of the mountains appeared.

XI July the 11th. Noah let go a raven, which (as Beshage thinks) returned to him no more.

The 18th. He let go a dove, which returned.

The 25th. He let go the dove again, which returned with an olive-branch.

XII. August the 2d. The dove went out the third time, and returned no more.

I. September the 1st. The dry land appeared.

II. October the 27th. Noah went out of the ark with his family. During this long continuance in the ark, the form of prayer, which some oriental writers make Noah to have offered unto God, runs in this manner: “ O Lord, thou art truly great, and there is nothing so great as that it can be compared to thee; look upon us with an eye of mercy, and deliver us from the deluge of waters. I intreat this of thee for the love of Adam, thy first man; for the love of Abel, thy faint; for the righteousness of Seth, whom thou hast loved. Let us not be reckoned in the number of those, who have disobeyed thy commandments; but still extend thy merciful care to us, because thou hast hitherto been our deliverer, and all thy creatures shall declare thy praise. Amen;” *Calmet's Dictionary on the words Deluge and Noah.*

(c) Parker's Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. I. part I. Occasional Annotat. 12.

A. M. 1656, &c. Ant. Chrif. 2349, &c. from Gen. yi. 12. to ix. 20.

“ in fuch a tempeft of waters fo long together; yet what
 “ can we think would become of Noah and his family,
 “ with all the feveral kinds of birds, beafts, and reptiles,
 “ (d) ftowed up, all this while, in a clofe hutch, without
 “ the leaft breath of freſh air? How could they fee to go
 “ about their buſineſs (and certainly they had buſineſs
 “ enough, to attend ſuch a multitude of creatures) when
 “ they muſt have lived all this while, without the leaſt
 “ light either of fun, moon, or the ſtars? And in this
 “ ſtate of darkneſs, wherein day and night to them were
 “ both alike, how could they poſſibly meaſure time, or
 “ tell the precise number of the months and days, that
 “ they had continued in the ark?

“ The ark indeed, according to the deſcription of
 “ Moſes, was a large building: But had it been ten times
 “ larger, it could never have contained the feveral couples
 “ of all kinds, which were ordered to be brought into it.
 “ Had they been huddled together, the wild and the tame,
 “ the ſtrong and the weak promiſcuouſly, they would have
 “ ſoon diſpatched one another, without troubling the de-
 “ luge. Had proper cells and partitions been made for
 “ them, 'tis hardly conceivable, what a prodigious ſpace,
 “ ſuch a number as was merely neceſſary, would have
 “ taken up. For, if we compute only the creatures of
 “ the old world, the room allowed them in the ark will
 “ hardly contain ſo many different ſpecies together, with
 “ their reſpective food and provender; but then, if we
 “ take in all the beaſts of the new world, and ſuch as are
 “ found under the ſouthern hemisphere, we ſhall ſcarce
 “ find room for the animals themſelves, much leſs for
 “ the great ſtore of proviſions that will be neceſſary to
 “ keep them alive ſo long. But the greateſt wonder is,
 “ (e) how the many animals, which are peculiar to ſeve-
 “ ral parts of America, could get into Chaldea, or where-
 “ ever the ark was built; and, after the deluge was over,
 “ could return to their native country again. Nay, even
 “ allowing this to be practicable, it will ſtill puzzle our
 “ imagination to conceive, how either man or beaſt, could
 “ poſſibly live, by reaſon of the ſharpneſs of the air, when
 “ once the ark came to be raiſed above the middle region,
 “ above the tops of the higheſt mountains.

“ It is a much more reaſonable ſcheme, therefore, and
 “ what rids us of all theſe difficulties, to ſuppoſe, that the

(d) *Ibid.* Occaſional Annot. II. (e) *Iſ.* Voſſius *De ætate mundi*, p. 283.

“ flood was not univerfal, but confined to fome particular A. M.
 “ countries; that, as its primary design was to destroy ^{1656, &c.}
 “ mankind only, (who could hardly be thought, in fo ^{Ant. Chriſt.}
 “ ſhort a time, to have overſpread the whole face of the ^{2349, &c.}
 “ earth), there was no neceſſity to carry the waters be- ^{from Gen.}
 “ yond the bounds of what was inhabited; and that the ^{vi. 12. to}
 “ waters required to raiſe the deluge ſome fifteen cubits ^{ix. 20.}
 “ above the higheſt mountains, are more than what the
 “ clouds, the rivers, the ſea, and all the ſuppoſed cavities
 “ of the earth, were able to produce. For, to come to
 “ an eſtimate of this, (f) we muſt firſt ſuppoſe water
 “ enough to cover the plain ſurface of the earth, the fields,
 “ and lower grounds; then we muſt heap up ſo much
 “ more upon this, as will reach above the tops of the
 “ higheſt mountains; ſo that, drawing a circle over the
 “ tops of the higheſt mountains, quite round the earth,
 “ (ſuppoſe from pole to pole) and another to meet round
 “ the middle of the earth, all that ſpace or capacity,
 “ contained within theſe circles, is to be filled up with
 “ water; and what a prodigious maſs muſt this needs
 “ make?

“ In a word, we allow the flood to have been ſo far uni-
 “ verſal, that it overwhelmed all the parts of the then inha-
 “ bited world, and that all the race of mankind, except
 “ N^oah’s family, was deſtroyed in it; but that it ſhould
 “ extend itſelf over the whole globe, we ſee no manner of
 “ reaſon, becauſe the whole globe was not then inha-
 “ bited: Nor can we find out, in the whole ſtorehouſe of
 “ nature, a ſufficient quantity of water to overflow it to
 “ the height which Moſes talks of, even though the whole
 “ of it had been inhabited. And therefore we may well
 “ be allowed to conclude, that the deluge was local, and
 “ might probably happen in that tract of ground,
 “ which lies between the four ſeas, the Perſian, the
 “ Caſpian, the Euxine, and the Syrian, in which com-
 “ paſs are the Tygris, the Euphrates, and ſeveral other
 “ large rivers, that might be contributory to the inun-
 “ dation.”

How many wiſe ends the providence of God might have
 in bringing this deſtruction upon the earth, it is impoſſible
 for us to find out; but even ſuppoſing that he had but this
 one, viz. to rid himſelf of a generation that was become
 profligate, and paſt all hopes of amendment; yet the

Answered;
 by ſhewing
 the deluge
 to be uni-
 verſal, from
 the number
 of the
 world’s in-
 habitants.

(f) Burnet’s Theory, l. 1. c. 2.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

number of mankind, which, before the flood, was vastly superior to what the present earth perhaps is capable of sustaining, caused every place to be inhabited, and that none might escape the avenging hand, caused every place to be overflowed. And indeed, if we consider the longevity of the first inhabitants of the earth, and the pretty near equality of their ages (which seem to have been providentially designed for the quick propagation of mankind) we shall soon perceive, that, in the space of 1600 years, mankind would become so numerous, that the chief difficulty would be where we should find countries to receive them. For if, in the space of about 266 years (as the sacred history acquaints us) the posterity of Jacob, by his sons only (without the consideration of Dinah his daughter) amounted to six hundred thousand males above the age of twenty, all able to bear arms, what increase may not be expected from a race of patriarchs, living 6, 7, 8, or 9 hundred years a-piece, and some to the five hundredth year of their lives begetting sons and daughters. For, (g) if we suppose the increase of the children of Israel to have been gradual, and proportionate through the whole 266 years, it will appear, that they doubled themselves every fourteen years at least; and if we should continue the like proportion through the entire hundred and fourteen periods (which the space from the creation to the deluge admits) the product, or number of people on the face of the earth at the deluge, would at least be the hundredth in a geometric double proportion, or series of numbers, 2, 4, 8, 16, &c. where every succeeding one is double to that before it: And to how an immense sum this proportion would arise, * those who know any thing

(g) Whiston's Theory of the earth, l. 3. c. 3.

* The ingenious Dr Burnet [in his Theory of the earth, l. 1.] has computed the multiplication of mankind in this method. " If we allow the first couple, *says he*, at the end of 100 years, " or of the first century, to have left ten pair of breeders (which " is no hard supposition) there would arise from these, in 1500 " years, a greater number than the earth was capable of, al- " lowing every pair to multiply in the same decuple proportion, " that the first pair did. But, because this would rise far beyond " the capacity of the earth, let us suppose them to increase, in " the following centuries, in a quintuple proportion only, or, if " you will, only in a quadruple, and then the table of the multi- " plication of mankind, from the creation to the flood, would " stand thus:

thing of the nature of geometric progressions, will soon perceive. So that had the antediluvians only multiplied as fast before, as it is certain the Israelites did since the flood, the number of mankind actually alive and existing at the deluge must have been not only more than what the present earth does contain, but prodigiously more than what the whole number of mankind can be justly supposed, ever since the deluge; nay indeed, with any degree of likelihood, ever since the first creation of the world. Upon which account, though this calculation must not at all be esteemed real, or to exhibit in any measure the just number of the posterity of Adam alive at the time of the deluge, yet it certainly shews us how vastly numerous (according to the regular method of human propagation) the offspring of one single person may be; how plentifully each quarter of the world must then have been stocked with inhabitants; and that consequently, to destroy its inhabitants, the inundation must have fallen upon every quarter, and encompassed the whole globe.

A. M. 1656, &c.
Ant. Chriſt. 2349, &c.
from Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

And accordingly, if we take the circuit of the globe, and inquire of the inhabitants of every climate, we shall find, (b) that the fame of this deluge is gone through the earth, and that in every part of the known world there are certain records and traditions of it; that the Americans acknowledge, and speak of it in their continent; that the Chinese (who are the most distant people in Asia) have the

From tradition.

Century 1 — 10	Century 9 — 655360
2 — 40	10 — 2621440
3 — 160	11 — 10485760
4 — 640	12 — 41943040
5 — 2560	13 — 167772160
6 — 10240	14 — 671088640
7 — 40960	15 — 2684354560
8 — 163840	16 — 10737418240

This product is too excessive high, if compared with the present number of men upon the face of the earth, which I think is commonly estimated to be between three and four hundred millions; and yet this proportion of their increase seems to be low enough, if we take one proportion for all the centuries. For though in reality the same measure cannot run equally through all the ages, yet we have taken this as moderate and reasonable between the highest and the lowest; but if we had only taken a triple proportion, it would have been sufficient (all things considered) for our purpose.

(b) Burnet's Theory, *ibid.*

A. M. tradition of it; that the several nations of Africa tell various stories concerning it; and that in the European parts, the flood of Deucalion is the same with that of Noah, only related with some disguise. So that we may trace the deluge quite round the globe, and (what is more remarkable still) every one of these people have a tale to tell, some one way, some another, concerning the restoration of mankind, which is a full proof that they thought all mankind was once destroyed in that deluge.

From fos-
sils.

Nay, instead of surrounding the globe, we need only turn aside the surface a little, and look into the bowels of the earth, and we shall find arguments enough for our conviction. For * the beds of shells which are often found on the tops of the highest mountains, and the petrified bones and teeth of fishes which are dug up some hundreds of miles from the sea, are the clearest evidences in the world, that the waters have, some time or other, overflowed the highest parts of the earth: nor can it, with any colour of reason, be asserted, that these subterraneous bodies are only the mimicry or mock-productions of nature, for that they are real shells, the nicest

* A learned author, who has lately undertaken an examination of revelation, has enforced this argument with a good deal of life and spirit. “Whereas Moses assures us, (says he), that *the waters prevailed fifteen cubits above the highest mountains*, let the mountains themselves be appealed to for the truth of this assertion. Examine the highest eminences of the earth, and they all, with one accord, produce the spoils of the ocean, deposited upon them on that occasion, the shells and skeletons of sea-fish and sea-monsters of all kinds. The Alps, the Appenine, the Pyrenees, the Andes, and Atlas, and Ararat, every mountain of every region under heaven, from Japan to Mexico, all conspire, in one uniform, universal proof, that they all had the sea spread over their highest summits. Search the earth, and you will find the mause-deer, natives of America, buried in Ireland; elephants, natives of Asia and Africa, buried in the midst of England; crocodiles, natives of the Nile, in the heart of Germany; shell-fish, never known in any but the American seas, together with entire skeletons of whales, in divers other countries; and what is more, trees and plants of various kinds, which are not known to grow in any region under heaven. All which are a perfect demonstration, that Moses’s account of the deluge is incontestably true;” *part 1. dissertation 2.*

examination both of the eye and microscope does evince, and that they are true bones, may be proved by burning them, which (as it does other bones) turns them first into a coal, and afterwards into a calx.

These considerations bid fair for the universality of the deluge; but then, if we take in the testimony of Scripture, this puts the matter past all doubt. For when we read, that, by reason of the deluge, *(i) every living substance was destroyed, which was upon the face of the ground, both man and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; that during the deluge, (k) the waters exceedingly prevailed, and all the high hills that were under the whole heavens were covered; and that, when the deluge was over, God made a covenant with Noah, that (l) there should be no more a flood to destroy the earth, and to cut off all flesh;* we cannot but conclude, that every creature under heaven, except what was preserved in the ark, was swept away in the general devastation.

And, indeed, unless this devastation was general, we can hardly conceive what necessity there was for any ark at all. *(m) Noah, and his family, might have retired into some neighbouring country, as Lot and his family saved themselves by withdrawing from Sodom, when that city was to be destroyed. This had been a much better expedient, and might have been done with much more ease, than the great preparations he was ordered to make, of a large vessel, with stalls and apartments for the reception of beasts and birds. Beasts might have possibly saved themselves by flight; but if they did not, Noah might, after the deluge, have furnished himself from other places, which this desolation had not reached; and as for the birds, they, without much difficulty, might have flown to the next dry country, perching upon trees, or the tops of mountains, by the way, to rest themselves if they were tired, because the waters did not prevail upon the earth all on a sudden, but swelled by degrees to their determinate height.*

Now, if the swelling of these waters to a height, superior to that of the loftiest mountains, was only topical, we cannot but allow, that unless there was a miracle to keep them up on heaps, they would certainly flow all over the earth; because these mountains are certainly high enough to have made them fall every way, and join with the seas,

(i) Gen. vii. 22. *(k)* Ch. vii. 19. *(l)* Ch. ix. 11. *(m)* Burnett's Theory, l. 4.

A. M. which environ the earth. All liquid bodies, we know, are
 1656, &c. diffusive: their parts being in motion, have no tie or
 Ant. Christ. connection one with another, but glide, and fall off any
 2349, &c. way, as gravity and the air press them; and, therefore,
 from Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20. when the waters began to arise at first, long before they
 could swell to the height of the hills, they would diffuse
 themselves every way, and thereupon all the valleys and
 plains, and the lower parts of the earth, would be filled all
 the globe over, before they could rise to the tops of the
 mountains in any part of it. So vain and unphilosophical
 is the opinion of those, who, to evade the difficulty of the
 question, would fain limit or restrain the deluge to a par-
 ticular country, or countries. For if we admit it to be
 universal, say they, where shall we find a sufficient quanti-
 ty of water to cover the face of the earth, to the height
 that Moses mentions?

Whence
 the suffi-
 ciency of
 water, va-
 rious con-
 jectures.

Some indeed have thought it the best, and most com-
 pendious way, to call in the arm of omnipotence at once,
 and to affirm, That God created waters on purpose to make
 the deluge, and then annihilated them again, when the
 deluge was to cease. But our business is not here to in-
 quire what God could work by his almighty power; but to
 account for this event, in the best manner we can, from
 natural causes. (n) Moses, it is plain, has ascribed it to
 natural causes, the continued rains for forty days, and the
 disruption of the great abyss; and the manner of its gra-
 dual increase and decrease, wherein he has represented it, is
 far from agreeing with the instantaneous actions of creation
 and annihilation.

Others, instead of a creation, have supposed a trans-
 mutation of element, viz. either a condensation of the air,
 (o) or a rarefaction of the waters; but neither of these
 expedients will do: for, besides that air is a body of a
 different species, and (as far as we know) cannot, by any
 compression or condensation, be changed into water, even
 upon the supposition that all the air in the atmosphere were
 in this manner condensed, it would not produce a bed of
 water over all the earth, above two and thirty foot deep;
 because it appears, by undoubted experiment, that a co-
 lumn of air from the earth to the top of the atmosphere,
 does not weigh more than two and thirty feet of water:

(n) Burnet's Theory, l. 1. c. 3.
 Noë, l. 2. c. 4.

(o) Kircher De Arca

much less would the spirit of rarefaction answer the purpose, (*p*) because, if we suppose the waters but fifteen times rarer than they naturally are, (as we most certainly do, to make them reach the tops of the highest mountains), it will be difficult to conceive, how they could either drown man or beast, keep alive the fish, or support the heavy bulk of the ark. The truth is, Moses, in his account of the deluge, says not one word of the transmutation of elements; the forty days rain, and the disruption of the abyfs, are the only causes which he assigns; and these, very likely, will supply us with a sufficient quantity of water, when other devices fail.

(*q*) A very sagacious naturalist, observing, that at certain times, there are extraordinary pressures on the surface of the sea, which force the waters outwards upon the shores to a great height, does very reasonably suppose, that the divine power might, at this time, by the instrumentality of some natural agent, to us at present unknown, so depress the surface of the ocean, as to force up the water of the abyfs through certain channels and apertures, and so make them a partial and concurrent cause of the deluge. It cannot be denied indeed, but that the divine providence might, at the time of the deluge, so order and dispose second causes, as to make them raise and impel the water to an height sufficient to overflow the earth; but then, because there must be another miracle required to suspend the waters upon the land, and to hinder them from running off again into the sea, our author seems to give the preference to another hypothesis, which, at the time of the deluge, supposes the centre of the earth to have been changed, and set nearer to the centre or middle of our continent, whereupon the Atlantic and Pacific oceans must needs press upon the subterraneous abyfs, and so compel the water to run out at those wide mouths, and apertures, which the divine power had made in breaking up the fountains of the great deep. Thus the waters being poured out upon the face of the earth, and its declivity changed by the removal of the centre, they could not run down to the sea again, but must necessarily stagnate upon the earth, and overflow it, till upon its return to its old centre, they in like manner would retreat to their former receptacles. But the misfortune of this hypothesis is, that

(*p*) Burnet's Theory, and Le Clerc's Commentary. (*q*) Ray in his Physico-theological discourse concerning the deluge.

besides

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chriſt
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

A. M. besides the multitude of miracles required in it, it makes the deluge topical, and confined to our continent only, whereas, according to the testimony of the spirit of God in the Holy Scriptures, it was certainly universal.

1656, &c.
Ant. Chrif.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

(r) A very ingenious theorist seems to be of opinion himself, and labours to persuade others, that the * deluge was occasioned by the dissolution of the primæval earth; the dissolution of the earth by the fermentation of the inclosed

(r) Dr Burnet.

* To have a more perfect idea of the author's scheme, we must remember, that he conceives the first earth, from the manner of its formation, to have been externally regular and uniform, of a smooth and even surface, without mountains, and without a sea; and that all the waters, belonging to it, were inclosed within an upper crust, which formed a stupendous vault around them. This vast collection of waters he takes to have been the great deep, or abyfs of Moses, and that the disruption of it was the chief cause of the deluge. For he supposes, that the earth being, for some hundreds of years, exposed to the continual heat of the sun, which, by reason of the perpendicular position, which, as he imagines, the earth's axis then had to the plane of the ecliptic, was very intense, and not allayed by the diversity of seasons, which now keep our earth in an equality of temper; its exterior crust was, at length, very much dried, and when the heat had pierced the shell, and reached the waters beneath it, they began to be rarefied, and raised into vapours; which rarefaction made them require more space than they needed before, and finding themselves pent in by an exterior earth, they pressed with violence against the arch to make it yield to their dilatation: and as the repeated action of the sun gave force to these inclosed vapours more and more, so, on the other hand, it weakened more and more the arch of the earth, that was to resist them, sucking out the moisture that was the cement of its parts, and parching and chapping it in sundry places; so that, there being then no winter to close up its parts, it every day grew more and more disposed to a dissolution, till at length, when God's appointed time was come, the whole fabric broke; the frame of earth was torn in pieces, as by an earthquake; and those great portions or fragments, into which it was parted, fell down into the abyfs, some in one posture, and some in another. Thus the earth put on a new form, and became divided into sea, and land; the greatest part of the abyfs constituting our present ocean, and the rest filling up the cavities of the earth. Mountains and hills appeared on the land, islands in the sea,

and

closed waters; the fermentation of the waters, by the continued intense heat of the sun; and the great heat of the sun, by the perpendicular position of the axis of the earth to the plane of the ecliptic. But allowing the position of the earth to be what he imagines, (*s*) yet it seems difficult to conceive, how the heat of the sun should be so intense, as to cause great cracks in it, and so raise the waters in it into vapours; or how the waters, thus rarefied, should be of force sufficient to break through an arch of solid matter, lying upon them some hundred miles thick. It is much more probable, that if the action of the sun was so strong, the abyss (which the theorist makes the only storehouse of waters in the first earth) would have been almost quite exhausted, before the time of the deluge: nor can we believe that this account of things is any way consonant to the Mosaic history, which describes a gradual rise and abatement, a long continuance of the flood, and not such a sudden shock and convulsion of nature, as the theorist intends, in which, without the divine intervention, it was impossible for the ark to be saved.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

(*t*) Another learned theorist endeavours to solve the whole matter, and supply a sufficiency of water from the trajection of a comet. For he supposes, "That in its descent towards the sun, it pressed very violently upon the earth, and by that means, both raised a great tide in the sea, and forced up a vast quantity of subterraneous waters; that as it passed by, it involved the earth in its atmosphere for a considerable time; and as it went off, left a vast tract of its tail behind, which (together with the waters, pressed from the sea, and from the great abyss) was enough to cover the face of the whole earth, for the perpendicular height of three miles." But (to pass by smaller objections) that which seems to destroy his whole hypothesis is this — (*u*) That it is far from being clear, whether the atmosphere of a comet be a watery substance or not. The observations of the most curious inquirers make it very probable, that the circle about the bo-

and rocks upon the shore, so that, at one shock, providence dissolved the old world, and made a new one out of its ruin. *Vide* the Universal history, l. i. c. i. where this extract out of Burnet's theory is made.

(*s*) Keil's Examination of Burnet's theory. (*t*) Mr Whiston.

(*u*) Keil's Answer to Whiston's Theory; and Nicholl's Confession, vol. i.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12 to
ix. 20.

dy of a comet is nothing, but the curling or winding round of the ſmoak, riſing at firſt to a determinate height, from all parts of the comet, and then making off to that part of it which is oppoſite to the ſun; and if this opinion be true, the earth, by paſſing through the atmosphere of a comet, ran a greater riſque of a conflagration, than a deluge.

Theſe are the ſeveral expedients which the wit of men hath deviſed, to furniſh a ſufficient quantity of water, in order to effect a deluge, but all incompetent for the work. Let us now turn to the ſacred records, and ſee what the two general cauſes aſſigned therein, *the opening of the windows of heaven*, and *the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep*, are able to ſupply us with, upon this occaſion.

The two
reaſons
which the
Scripture
aſſigns :
1. Conti-
nued rains ;

1. By *the opening of the windows of heaven*, muſt be underſtood the cauſing the waters which were ſuſpended in the clouds, to fall upon the earth, not in ordinary ſhowers, but in floods, or (as the Septuagint tranſlate it) in cataracts, (x) which travellers may have the trueſt notion of, who have ſeen thoſe prodigious falls of water, ſo frequent in the Indies, and where the clouds many times do not break into drops, but fall, with a terrible violence, in a torrent.

How far theſe treaſures of waters in the air might contribute to the general inundation, we may, in ſome meaſure, compute from what we have obſerved in a thunder-cloud, (y) which, in the ſpace of leſs than two hours, has ſometimes poured down ſuch a vaſt quantity of water, as beſides what ſunk into the dry and thirſty ground, and filled all the ditches and ponds, has cauſed a conſiderable flood in the rivers, and ſet all the meadows on float.

Now, had this cloud (which for ought we know moved forty miles forward in its falling) flood ſtill, and emptied all its water upon the ſame ſpot of ground, what a ſudden and incredible deluge would it have made in the place? What then muſt we ſuppoſe the event to have been, when the flood-gates of heaven were all opened, and on every part of the globe, the clouds were inceſſantly pouring out water with ſuch violence, and in ſuch abundance, for forty days together?

(x) Patrick's Commentary.

(y) Ray on the deluge.

It is impossible for us indeed to have any adequate conception of the thing, (z) though the vast inundations which are made every year in Egypt, only by the rains which fall in Ethiopia, and the like annual overflowings of the great river Oroonoque in America, whereby many islands and plains, at other times inhabited, are laid twenty feet under water, between May and September, may give us a faint emblem, and be of some use to cure our infidelity in this respect.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

2. The other cause which the Scripture makes mention of, is the *breaking up of the fountains of the great deep*, whereby those waters, which were contained in vast quantities in the bowels of the earth, were forced out, and thrown upon the surface of it. (a) That there is a mighty collection of waters inclosed in the bowels of the earth, which constitutes a large globe, in the interior or central part of it; and that the waters of this globe communicate with that of the ocean, by means of certain hiatus, or apertures, passing between it and the ocean, * is evident from the Caspian and other seas, which receive into themselves many great rivers, and having no visible outlets, must be supposed to discharge the water they receive, by subterraneous passages into this receptacle, and by its intervention, into the ocean again. The (b) Mediterranean in particular, besides the many rivers that run into it, has two great currents of the sea, one at the straits of Gib-

2. the break
ing up of
the abyſs;

(z) Patrick's Commentary. (a) Woodward's Natural history.

* The Caspian sea is reckoned in length to be above an hundred and twenty German leagues, and in breadth, from east to west, about ninety of the same leagues. There is no visible way for the water to run out; and yet it receives into its bosom near an hundred large rivers, and particularly the great river Wolga, which of itself is like a sea for largeness, and supposed to empty so much water into it in a year's time, as might suffice to cover the whole earth; and yet it is never increased nor diminished, nor is observed to ebb or flow, which makes it evident, that it must necessarily have a subterraneous communication with other parts of the world. And accordingly, Father Avril, a modern traveller, tells us, that near the coast of Xylam there is in this sea a mighty whirlpool, which sucks in every thing that comes near it, and consequently has a cavity in the earth, into which it descends. *Vid.* Moll's Geography at the end of Persia in Asia, p. 67.; Stillingfleet's Orig. sac. l. 3. c. 4.; and Bedford's Scripture-chronology, c 12.

(b) Nicholl's Conference, vol. 1.

A. M. raltar, and the other at the Propontis, which bring in such
 1656, &c. vast tides of water, that, many ages ago, it must have
 Ant. Christ endangered the whole world, had it not emptied itself,
 2349, &c. by certain secret passages, into some great cavity under-
 from Gen. neath. And for this reason, some have imagined, (c)
 vi. 12. to that the earth altogether is one great animal, whose abyfs
 ix. 20. } supplies the place of the heart in the body of the earth, to
 furnish all its aqueducts with a sufficiency of water, and
 whose subterraneous passages are like veins in the body,
 which receive water out of the sea, as the veins do blood
 out of the liver, and in a continued circulation, return it
 to the heart again.

However this be, it is certainly more than probable, (be-
 cause a matter of divine revelation), that there is an im-
 mense body of water inclosed in the centre of the earth,
 to which the Psalmist plainly alludes, when he tells us, that
 (d) *God founded the earth upon the seas, and established it
 upon the floods; that (e) he stretched out the earth above
 the waters; that (f) he gathered up the waters as in a
 bag, (so the best translations have it), and laid up the
 deep as in a store-house.* Nay, there is a passage or two in
 the Proverbs of Solomon, (where Wisdom declares her anti-
 quity, and pre-existence to all the works of the earth),
 which sets before our eyes, as it were, the very form and
 figure of this abyfs: (g) *When he prepared the heavens, I
 was there, when he set a compass upon the face of the deep,
 and strengthened the fountains of the abyfs.* Here is men-
 tion made of the abyfs, and of the fountains of the abyfs;
 nor is there any question to be made, but that the foun-
 tains of the abyfs here are the same with those which Mo-
 ses mentions, and which, as he tells us, were broken up at
 the deluge. And what is more observable in this text,
 the word which we render *compass*, properly signifies a
circle, or circumference, or an orb, or sphere: so that,
 according to the testimony of Wisdom, who was then pre-
 sent, there was, in the beginning, a sphere, orb, or arch,
 set round the abyfs, by the means of which, the fountains
 thereof were strengthened; for we cannot conceive, how
 they could have been strengthened any other way, than by
 having a strong cover or arch made over them.

(c) Stillfleet's Orig. sacr. (d) Psal. xxiv. 2.
 (e) Psal. cxxxvi. 6. (f) Psal. xxxiii. 7. (g) Prov.
 viii. 27. 28.; Sir Walter Raleigh's History.

If such then be the form of this abyfs, that it feems to be a vaft mafs or body of water lying together in the womb of the earth, it will be no hard matter to compute what a plentiful fupply might have been expected from thence, in order to effect an univerfal deluge, (b) For if the circumference of the earth (even according to the loweft computation) be 21,000 miles, the diameter of it (according to that circumference) 7000 miles; and confequently from the fuperficies to the centre, 3500 miles; and if (according to the beft account) * the higheft mountain in the world (taking its altitude from the plain it ftands upon) does not exceed four perpendicular miles in height; then we cannot but conclude, that in this abyfs there would be infinitely more water than enough, when drawn out upon the furface of the earth, to drown the earth to a far greater height than Mofes relates. In a word, fince it is agreed on all hands, that in the time of the chaos, the waters did cover the earth, infomuch that nothing of it could be feen, till God was pleafed to make a feparation: why fhould it be thought fo ftrange a thing, that, upon a proper occafion, they fhould be able to cover the earth again; (i) efpecially when the waters above the firmament came down to join thofe below, as they did at the beginning?

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chrif.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.
Its fufficiency to
drown the
world.

(k) Seneca, treating of that fatal day (as he calls it) when the deluge fhall come, (for he fupposed that the

(b) Patrick's Commentary.

* It is very probable, that men are exceedingly miftaken as to the height of mountains, fince, upon examination, it appears that the higheft in the world is not four miles perpendicular. Olympus, whofe height is fo extolled by the poets, does not much exceed a mile and a half. The mount Athos, which is faid to caft its fhadow into the ifle of Lemnos, (according to Pliny 87 miles) is but two miles in height; nay, the very Pike of Teneriff, which is reputed the higheft mountain in the world, may be afcended in three days, which (according to the proportion of eight furlongs to a day's journey) make it much about the height of a German mile perpendicular, as Varenius confefles. And as for thofe mountains in Peru, in comparifon of which (as the Spaniards tell us) the Alps are no more than cottages, they themfelves allow, that they may be afcended in four days, which ftill reduces them much within the compafs of four miles, and thereby makes the account of the flood, and its over-topping the higheft mountains, not fo improbable as fome imagine; *Stillingfleet's Orig. facr. lib.*

3. cap. 4.

(i) *Vid.* l. I. c. I. p. 6.

(k) *Nat. Quæft.* l. 3. c. 27.
world

A. M. world was to be destroyed alternately, first by water, and
 1656, &c. after that by fire), and questioning how it might be effect-
 Ant. Chriſt. ed, whether by the force of the ocean overflowing the
 2349, &c. earth, by perpetual rains without intermiſſion, by the
 from Gen. swelling of rivers, and opening of new fountains, or (what
 vi. 12. to he rather ſuppoſes) by a general concurrence and combina-
 ix. 20. tion of all theſe cauſes, concludes his inquiry at laſt with
 theſe remarkable words, “ There are vaſt lakes (ſays he)
 “ which we do not ſee, much of the ſea which lies hidden
 “ and concealed, and many rivers which glide in ſecret;
 “ ſo that there may be cauſes of a deluge on all ſides,
 “ when ſome waters flow under the earth, others flow
 “ round about it, and being long pent up, may overwhelm
 “ it. And as our bodies ſometimes diſſolve into ſweat,
 “ ſo the earth ſhall melt, and, without the help of other
 “ cauſes, ſhall find in itſelf what ſhall drown it.—There
 “ being in all places, both openly and ſecretly, both from
 “ above and from beneath, an eruption of waters ready to
 “ overflow and deſtroy it.”

But whatever ſolutions we may gather, either from ſacred or profane authors, it ſeems neceſſary, after all, to call in the divine power to our aſſiſtance. (1) For though the waters which covered the earth at the creation might be ſufficient to cover it again; yet how this could be effected by mere natural means, cannot be conceived. Though the waters ſuſpended in the clouds might fall in great torrents for ſome time, yet, when once their ſtore was exhausted, (as at this rate it could not laſt long), nothing but an almighty voice could have commanded a freſh ſupply of forty days continuance from thoſe other planetary ſpaces where he had ſettled their abode: and though the ſubterraneous ſtores did certainly contain a fund ſufficient to complete the deluge, yet there wanted on this occaſion an almighty hand, either to break down the arch which enclosed the abyſs, or by ſome ſecret paſſages to force the waters out of it upon the ſurface of the earth; and ſo ſtopping the reflux, ſuſpend them for ſuch a determinate time, at ſuch an elevation. There needed ſome almighty hand, I ſay, to do this: and accordingly we may obſerve, that though Moſes makes mention of two natural cauſes that might be conducive to the work, yet he introduces God as ſuperintending their cauſes, and aſſuming indeed the whole performance to himſelf: for *behold I, even I, do bring a*

(1) Univerſal Hiſtory, l. I. c. I.

flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven, and every thing that is on the earth shall die.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chrif.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

Thus, with the help and concurrence of God, we have found a sufficient quantity of water for the destruction of the old world: let us now consider the make and capacity of the vessel wherein the several animals that were to replenish the new were to be preserved.

(m) Could we but imagine, that by some strange revolution the whole art of shipping should come to be lost in this part of the world, and that there happened to remain such a short account of one of our largest ships (the Royal Anne, for instance) as that it was so many foot long, broad, and deep; could contain in it some hundreds of men, with other living creatures, and provisions for them all during several months; and that the strength of it was such, that it was not broken in pieces all the time that the great storm endured; would it not be very pleasant for any one to conclude from hence, that this ship, according to the description of it, was nothing but an oblong square, without any more contrivance than a common chest made by the most ignorant joiner? And yet such are some men's inferences when they talk of this noble structure.

Moses's
manner of
describing
the ark.

Moses indeed makes mention of little else but the dimensions of the ark, its stories, and capacity to hold the things to be placed in it; but it does not therefore follow, but that it might have the convexity of a keel, (as many large flat-bottomed vessels have), as well as a prow, to make it cut the waters more easily. The design of the vessel however was not to make way, (as they call it at sea), but to preserve its inhabitants; and this it was more capable of doing (as † may be proved to a demonstration) than if it had

Its design to
float in calm
weather.

(m) Biblioth. Biblica.; Occas. annot. 13.

† For let us suppose, that without any addition of art, it was nothing more than an oblong square, whose length was sextuple to the breadth, and decuple to the height; it is demonstrable, that a piece of wood of that proportion being lighter than the water, will be always supported by it. For instance, take a plank of oak exactly square, let it be one foot broad, six foot long, and seven or eight inches thick, answering the proportion of the ark; there is no body, I believe, will say, that any waves or winds will be strong enough to break this piece of timber, notwithstanding its right angles. Now, let any solid of this fashion be multiplied in a decuple, centuple, or millicuple

A. M. had been built according to the most modern model, even
 1656, &c. supposing the waters, from the first to the last, to have been
 Ant. Chris. never so boisterous. But this they were not: whatever
 2349, &c. storms and convulsions there might be in particular places,
 from Gen. storms and convulsions there might be in particular places,
 vi. 12. to when the flood-gates of heaven were at first opened, and
 ix. 20. the fountains of the great deep broken up, (and then the
 ark was not afloat), the sacred text takes no notice of any
 rough weather till after the 150 days of the flood's gradual
 increase, when, upon the ceasing of the rains from above,
 and the waters from beneath, God sent forth a strong
 driving wind, but then the ark was at rest. So that all the
 time that the ark was afloat, or (as the Scripture expresses
 it) while it *went on the face of the waters*, the winds were
 asleep, and the weather, though rainy, was free from all
 storms and angry commotions. Upon the whole, there-
 fore, we may conclude, that, be the structure of the ark
 what it will, it was certainly suited both to the burthen it
 was to carry, and the weather it was to live in; and on
 this, and fundry other accounts, * upon experiment, per-
 haps it may be found to be the most complete and perfect
 model that ever was devised.

Its capacity
 to hold e-
 very thing
 that was to
 be put in it.
 Had we never seen a ship, and should be told what a
 number of men, and what a quantity of provision and
 merchandize one of the largest rates will carry, it would
 seem no less incredible to us than what Moses tells us of
 the things which were contained in the ark. The ark,

milleuple proportion, and let the force of the waves, and the in-
 vasive power of the wind, be multiplied also with it in the same
 proportion, the resistance of a rectangular solid (which is perfectly
 impenetrable, and exactly the case of the ark) will be proof a-
 gainst any given force whatever; *Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. 1. ;*
Occas. annot. 13.

* About the beginning of the last century, Peter Janfon, a
 Dutch merchant, caused a ship to be built for him, answering, in
 its respective proportions, to those of Noah's ark, the length of it
 being 120 foot, the breadth of it 20, and the depth of it 12.
 At first this was looked upon no better than as a fanatical vision
 of this Janfon, (who was by profession a Menonist), and, whilst
 it was building, he and his ship were made the sport of the sea-
 men, as much as Noah and his ark could be. But afterwards it
 was found that ships built in this fashion were, in the time of peace,
 beyond all others most commodious for commerce; because they
 would hold a third part more, without requiring any more hands,
 and were found far better runners than any made before; *Biblio-*
theca Biblia, ibid.

according

according to his account, was 300 cubits in length, 50 in breadth, and 30 in height; and if we suppose the cubit here mentioned, at the lowest computation, to be but a foot and an half long, yet was the length of it (according to that proportion) 450 feet, the breadth 75, and the height 45; and consequently, the whole capacity 1,580,750 cubical feet, which was space enough, in all conscience, to receive every thing, and much more than every thing that was to be contained in it. For it appears from the sacred text, that the form of the ark was rectangular; (n) and being intended only for a kind of float to swim above the water, the flatness of its bottom did render it much more capacious. It appears from the same text, that this ark consisted of three stories, and the whole height of it being 45 feet, it may well be supposed that this height was equally divided among the three stories, and so each story was 15 foot high, only deducting a foot and a half, or one cubit, for the slope of the roof, or the cover of the upper story. (o) It is likewise pretty well agreed by interpreters, that the lowest story was appointed for four-footed animals, as most commodious for them; the middle story for their provender, and what they were to live upon; and the upper story partly for the birds, and what they were to eat, and partly for Noah and his family, together with their utensils: and that each of these stories was spacious enough to receive what was to be put therein, will appear to any one who will give himself the trouble * of making a geometrical calculation.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chri.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

He

(n) Wilkins's Essay towards a real character. (o) Wells's Geography, vol. 1. cap. 2.; Lamy's Introduction.

* Buteo has plainly demonstrated, that all the animals contained in the ark could not be equal to 500 horses; (the learned Heidegger, from Temporarius, makes them 400 oxen); and yet it is not to be questioned, but that a building very near as long as St Paul's Church, and as broad as the middle isle of that church is high within, is capable of affording stabling for such a number of horses. Vid. Dr Bundy's Translation of Lamy's introduction. Kircher (in his *Arca Noë*, c. 8.) has given us large calculations of the dimensions of the ark, and from thence concludes, that this vessel was capacious enough to receive, not only Noah and his family, all other creatures and their food, but even an entire province likewise. Wilkins, (in his Essay towards a real character), and from him Wells (in his

A. M. He who looks upon the stars, as they are confusedly scattered up and down in the firmament, will think them to be (what they are sometimes called) innumerable, and above the power of all arithmetic to count; and yet, when they are distinctly reduced to their particular constellations, and described by their several places, magnitudes, and names, it appears, that of those which are visible to the naked eye, there are not many more than a thousand in the whole firmament, and few more than half so many (even taking in the minuter kinds of them) to be seen at once in any hemisphere. And in like manner, he who should put the question, How many kinds of beasts or birds there are in the world? would be answered, even by such as in other respects are knowing and learned enough, that there are so many hundreds of them as cannot be enumerated; whereas, upon a distinct inquiry into all such as are yet known, or have been described by credible authors, it will appear, that they are much fewer than is commonly imagined, (p) not an hundred sorts of beasts, and not two hundred of birds.

1656, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.
The number of animals:

And why fewer than is imagined.

And yet, out of this number, as small as it is, we must except all animals that are of equivocal generation, as insects; all that are accustomed to live in water, as fish and water-fowl; all that proceed from a mixture of different species, as mules; and all that by changing their climate, change their colour and size, and so pass for different creatures, when in reality they are the same. We must observe farther, that all creatures of the serpentine kind,

Geography of the Old Testament) have both entered into a large detail of things, and given us an exact and complete idea of the capacity of the ark, and of its proportion, together with what it might contain. Le Peletier (in his *Dissert. sur l'arch de Noë*) follows another English author, Bishop Cumberland, who, in his Discovery of the weights and measures of the Jews, has proved, that the ancient cubit of the Jews was the old derah of Memphis; whereupon Peletier allows 1,781,377 cubical feet of Paris for the whole contents of the ark, so that it might hold (as he pretends) 42,413 tons of lading. But a certain anonymous author has published a dissertation upon the same principles, wherein he compares the ark to our modern ships, and computes its measure according to the tons it might contain, and thereupon makes it larger than 40 ships of 1000 tons each. Vid *Dissert. hist. chron. geograph. &c. d. 2. ; Journal de Paris sur Janvier 1712. tom. 51. p. 9.*

(p) Wilkins's Essay.

the viper, snake, flow-worm, lizard, frog, toad, &c. might have sufficient space for their reception, and for their nourishment in the hold or bottom of the ark, which was probably three or four foot under the floor, whereon the beasts are supposed to stand; and that the smaller creatures, such as the mouse, rat, mole, &c. might find sufficient room in several parts of the ark, without having any particular places or cells appointed for them: so that the number of the several species of animals to be placed in the first or lowest story, upon the foot of this deduction, stands thus.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

Beasts which live on hay.

On fruits and roots.

On flesh.

The Horse	Stone-buck	The Hog	The Lion	Stoat
Ass	Shamois	Baboon	Bear	Weasle
Camel	Antelope	Ape	Tyger	Castor
Elephant	Elke	Monkey	Pard	Otter
Bull	Hart	Sloth	Ounce	Dog
Urus	Buck	Porcupine	Cat	Wolf
Bison	Rein-deer	Hedge-hog	Civet-cat	Fox
Bonafus	Roe	Squirrel	Finet	Badger
Buffalo	Rhinoceros	Ginny-pig	Polecat	Jackall
Sheep	Camelopard	Ant-bear	Martin	Caraguya.
Stepciferous	Hare	Armadilla		
Broad-tail	Rabbit	Tortoise.		
Goat	Marmotte.			

Now, concerning these creatures God gives Noah this injunction: (9) *Of every clean beast, thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and the female; and of beasts that are not clean, by two, the male and the female.* Taking the words then in their highest acceptation, viz. that Noah was to receive into the ark one pair of every species of unclean animals, and seven pair of every species of clean; yet, considering that the species of unclean animals, which were admitted by pairs only, are many in comparison of the clean, and the species of large animals few in comparison of the smaller; we cannot but perceive (as by a short calculation it will appear) that this lower story, which was ten cubits high, three hundred long, and fifty broad, i. e. 225,000 solid feet in the whole, would be capable of receiving, with all manner of conveniency, not only all the sorts of beasts that we are acquainted with, but probably all those other kinds which are any where to be found under the copes of heaven.

The lowest story large enough for their reception, and why.

It is a pretty general opinion, and what seems to be founded on Scripture, that before the flood, both men,

The middle story sufficient to contain their provender, and why.

(9) Gen. viii. 2.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2340, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

beaſts, and birds fed only upon fruits and vegetables. (r) *Behold I have given you every herb, ſays God, bearing ſeed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in which is the fruit of a tree yielding ſeed, to you it ſhall be for meat; and to every beaſt of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat: * Nor do there want inſtances in hiſtory of ſome very ravenous creatures that have been brought to live upon other kind of food than fleſh. So*

(r) Chap. i. 29. 30.

* It is not to be denied, but that ſeveral learned men have taken great pains to provide fleſh for the carnivorous animals ſhut up in the ark, when it is beyond all controverſy that the ſtomachs of ſuch animals are fitted for the digeſtion of fruits and vegetables; that ſuch food would be more ſalutary both for them and their keepers, and would create a leſs demand of drink throughout the courſe of ſo long a confinement; and yet there is not the leaſt foundation from the text to ſuppoſe, that any ſuch proviſion was made for creatures of ſuch an appetite, but ſeveral inſtances in hiſtory do ſhew, that even the moſt rapacious of them all may be brought to live upon other diet than fleſh. Thus Philoſtratus, in his Apollonius, l. 5. tells us of a lion in Egypt, which, though it went into the temple conſtantly, would neither lick the blood of ſacrifices, nor eat any of the fleſh when it was cut in pieces, but fed altogether on bread and ſweet-meats: and Sulpitius Severus [Dial. 1. c. 7.] gives us this account of a Monk of Thebais. “When we came to the tree, whither our courteous hoſt led us, we there perceived a lion, at the ſight of which I and my guide began to tremble; but as the holy man went directly up to it, we, though in no ſmall fright, followed after. The beaſt, at our approach, modeſtly retired, and ſtood very quiet and ſtill, while the good man gathered it ſome branches of apples, and as he held them out, the lion came up and eat them, and ſo went off.” The like ſtory is told us by Phocas, in his deſcription of the Holy Land, cap. 13. of ſome lions beyond the river Jordan, whom an Anchorite, named Iberus, fed with pulſe and cruſts of bread: and to the animals in the ark, feeding in this manner, the prophet Iſaiah, ſpeaking of the times of the Meſſiah, [Ch. 11. 6. 7] is ſuppoſed by our author to allude. *The wolf ſhall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid, and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child ſhall lead them; and the cow and the bear ſhall feed, their young ones ſhall lie down together, and the lion ſhall eat ſtraw like the ox; Heidegger’s Hiſt. patr. excr. 17.*

that there was no necessity for Noah's providing so many supernumerary sheep (as some would have it) to feed the carnivorous animals for a whole year. (s) the same divine providence which directed all the animals, of whatever country, to make towards the ark, which took from them their fierceness, and made them tame and gentle upon this occasion, might likewise beget in them a loathing of flesh, (supposing they eat it before), and an appetite for hay, corn, fruits, or any other eatables that were most obvious in this time of distress. And as they were shut up, and could not spend themselves by motion, but might have their stomachs palled with the continued agitation of the vessel, they may well be supposed to stand in need of less provision than at other times.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

If then (to make our computation) we should say, that (t) all the beasts in the lower story of the ark were equal, in their consumption of food, to 300 oxen, (which is more by a great deal than some calculations have allowed), that 30 or 40 pounds of hay are ordinarily sufficient for an ox for one day; and that a solid cubit of hay, well compressed, will weigh about 40 pounds; then will this second story, being of the same dimensions with the other, *i. e.* 225,000 solid feet, not only allow space for a sufficient quantity of hay, but for other repositories of such fruits, roots, and grain, as might be proper for the nourishment of those animals that live not upon hay; and for such passages and apertures in the floor as might be necessary for the putting down hay and other provender to the beasts in the lower story.

Upon the whole therefore it appears, that the middle story of the ark was likewise large enough to hold all that was requisite to be put therein: and as for the third and upper story, there can no manner of doubt be made, but that it was sufficient to hold all the species of birds, even though they were many more than they are generally computed. The accurate bishop Wilkins * has divided them into

The upper story sufficient for its purpose.

(s) Heidegger's Hist. patriar. *ibid.* (t) Wilkins's Essay, part 2. c. 5.

* The manner of his reckoning them up is this:

1. Carnivorous birds	_____	_____	66
2. Phytivorous birds of short wings	—	_____	17
3. Phytivorous birds of long wings	—	_____	18
4. Phytivorous birds of short thick bills	_____	_____	16
		5. Insectivorous	

A. M. into nine forts, and reckon them to be an hundred and
 2656. &c. ninety-five in the whole; but then the greatest part of
 Ant. Chriſt. them are ſo very ſmall, that they might well enough be
 2349, &c. kept in partitions or cages piled one upon another. The
 from Gen. vi. 12. to food neceſſary for their ſuſtenance would not take up any
 ix. 20. great proportion of room, and the remainder of the ſtory
 would make a commodious enough habitation for Noah
 and his family, together with little cloſets, and offices,
 wherein to diſpoſe of their ſeveral domeſtic matters and
 utenſils.

Biſhop Wil- Upon the whole inquiry then, ſays the ſame learned
 kins's re- prelate, it does, of the two, appear more difficult to af-
 ſection up- ſign a ſufficient number and bulk of neceſſary things to
 on the anſwer the capacity of the ark, than to find ſufficient room
 whole. in it for the convenient reception of them; and thereupon
 he truly, as well as piously, concludes, (u) " That had the
 " moſt ſkilful mathematicians and philoſophers been ſet to
 " conſult what proportions a veſſel deſigned for ſuch an
 " uſe as the ark was, ſhould have in the ſeveral parts of
 " it, they could not have pitched upon any other more
 " ſuitable to the purpoſe than theſe mentioned by Moſes
 " are; inſomuch, that the proportion of the ark (from
 " which ſome weak and Atheiſtical perſons have made ſome
 " poor efforts to overthrow the authority of the ſacred
 " Scriptures) does very much tend to confirm and eſtabliſh
 " the truth and divine authority of them. Eſpecially,
 " if we only conſider, that in theſe days men were leſs
 " verſed in arts and ſciences; at leaſt, that the ark was,
 " in all probability, the firſt veſſel of any bulk that was
 " made to go upon the water: whence the juſtneſs of
 " the proportion obſerved in its ſeveral parts, and the ex-
 " actneſs of its capacity to the uſe it was deſigned for, are

5. Inſectivorous birds the greater	_____	_____	15
6. Inſectivorous birds the leſs	_____	_____	12
7. Aquatic birds near wet places	_____	_____	17
8. Aquatic fiſſipedes	_____	_____	16
9. Aquatic pleniſipedes	_____	_____	18

In all---195

To theſe perhaps may be added ſome exotic birds; but as the
 number of theſe is but ſmall, ſo we may obſerve of the carnivorous,
 which is the largeſt ſpecies, that they were reputed unclean, and
 conſequently, but two of each ſort admitted into the ark; *Bed-*
ford's Scrip. chron. 2. 12.

(n) Wilkins, *ibid.*

" reasonably

“ reasonably to be ascribed, not to bare human^{A. M.} invention
 “ and contrivance, but to the divine direction, expressly^{1656, &c.}
 “ given to Noah by God himself, as the sacred historian^{Ant. Chriſt.}
 “ acquaints us.”^{2349, &c.}
 from Gen.
 vi. 12. to ix.
 20.

Thus we have placed the several kinds of creatures in the ark, and furnished them with a competent stock of provision.

And now, if it should be asked, How came they all together? the reply in that case will be this — (x) That the country of Eden is very reasonably supposed by learned men to be next adjacent to the garden of that name, from whence Adam was expelled; and that, as all early accounts of that country paint it out to us, as one of the most fruitful and delicious regions in the earth, (though now greatly changed), there is no reason to imagine, that Adam sought for any habitation beyond it. There, according to many concurring circumstances, was this famous ark built: there is gopher-wood (very reasonably supposed to be cypress) found in great abundance; there is asphaltus, wherewith the ark, to defend it from the impression of the waters, was daubed and smeared both within and without; and not far from thence is mount Ararat, where the ark, as the waters began to abate, is known to have rested: and in this situation, there is not any reason to imagine, that any one species of animals could be out of Noah's reach. (y) There they were all natives of the same country, and he perhaps, some time before the flood, might have tamed some of every kind, so that, when the deluge came on, they might easily be brought to the ark, and every one ranged in its proper place, before that Noah shut it up.

But now, that they are all shut up, what shall we do for air to keep them alive, or for light, to direct them in what they are to do? Mention indeed is made of a window, left in the upper part of the ark; but this is said to be no more than a cubit square, and what is this in proportion to so vast a fabric? Either therefore we must devise some relief for them in this exigence, or we shall soon find the poor remains of the creation in utter darkness, and in the shadow of death.

(z) As the word *Zohar*, which we render *window*, is never mentioned in the singular number through the whole

(x) Revelation Examined, part 1. (y) Howell's History, vol. 1. l. 1. (z) *Vid. Bibliotheca Biblica*, vol. 1.; Occasional annot. xi.

A. M. compass of the Bible, but only this once, it perhaps may be
 1656, &c. no very easy thing to find out its true signification. Whe-
 Ant. Chris. whether the LXX interpreters understood the meaning of it;
 2349, &c. whether they knew, in the Greek language, any word
 from Gen. whether they knew, in the Greek language, any word
 vi. 12. to ix. capable of expressing it; or whether they might think it
 20. of so sacred a nature, as not proper to be published at all:
 but so it is, that they prudently have omitted it in their
 translation, and will have the precept, or direction, which
 God gives Noah, to mean no more, than that he should
 finish the ark, by closing it on the top, and compacting it
 well together.

The word has its original from a verb which signifies
to burn, or *shine like oil*; and indeed where-ever it occurs
 (as it sometimes occurs in the dual number), it always signi-
 fies some bright and luminous body: and accordingly,
 some of the Jewish doctors were of opinion, that this must
 have been a kind of precious stone, or carbuncle, which
 was hung up in the midst of the ark, to give light all a-
 round: and to this purpose, R. Levi tells us, that, “ du-
 ring the whole 12 months that Noah was shut up in the
 ark, he needed neither the light of the sun by day, nor
 the light of the moon by night; for there was a jewel
 belonging to him which he hung up in the ark; and as
 it waxed dim, he knew that it was day, but as its lustre
 was more intense, he knew that it was night.” But this
 opinion is not well founded; because such authors as have
 written best upon the qualities of precious stones, do all
 agree, that (whatever the ancients may say), there is no such
 thing as a night-shining carbuncle to be found in nature.

That it is possible to make a self-shining substance, ei-
 ther liquid or solid, the hermetical phosphor of Balduinus,
 the aerial and glacial noctilucas of Mr Boyle, and several o-
 ther preparations of the like sort, together with the observa-
 tions of the most accurate philosophers upon the production
 and propagation of light, and the prodigious ejaculation of
 insensible effluvioms, are a sufficient demonstration. The
 most surprising substance of this kind was the pantarba of
 Jarchus, “ which shone in the day as fire, or as the sun,
 and at night, did discover a flame, or light, as bright
 as day, though not altogether so strong; which was, in
 short, of that fiery and radiant nature, that if any one
 looked on it in the day-time, it would dazzle the eyes
 with innumerable gleams and coruscations:” nor can
 we well doubt, but that Noah, who (as oriental traditions
 say) was a profound philosopher; who was certainly a per-
 son

son of much longer experience, than any later liver can pretend to; and (what is more) was under the peculiar favour and direction of God, perceiving the necessity of the thing, should be equally able to prepare some perpetual light, which should centrally send forth its rays to all parts of the ark, and, by its kind effluvioms, cherish every thing that had life in it. Now, if this be allowed, (and this is more consonant to the letter of the text † than any other interpretation that has hitherto been advanced), then will all the difficulties, which either are, or can be raised about the manner of subsistence, in a close vessel, by creatures of so many different species, vanish immediately. But, if it be not allowed, then it is impossible, without admitting a whole train of miracles, to give the least account, how respiration, nutrition, motion, or any other animal function whatever, could be performed in a vessel so closely shut up: and therefore, it is the safest to conclude, that, according to the divine direction, there must have been something placed in the ark, which, by its continual

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chrit.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

† P. Lamy, to evade some difficulties that he could not so well solve, tells us, That the form of the ark is so little ascertained by Moses, that every one is left to his own conjectures concerning it: and therefore, he supposes, that as the ark was divided into three stories, or floors, and the word *Zohar*, which we translate *window*, signifies, *splendor, light, noon, &c.* the whole second story (in which he places the animals) was quite open all round, except some parts, which were grated, to hinder the birds from flying in and out: otherwise, he cannot conceive, how they could have had sufficient light, and air, and a free passage for it, to prevent stagnations, and many other inconveniencies, which, upon this supposition, would have been removed. The lower story indeed was included within wooden walls, and well guarded with pitch, as being all under water; but the two upper stories, being above water, were either entirely open, or secured with lattices and grates; and the top, or open parts, covered with goat-skins, and sheep-skins, sewed together, (as the tabernacle afterwards was), which Noah could easily let down, or roll up, according as rain, or storm, or a want of air made it necessary. And then, as for keeping the beasts clean, he supposes, that the stalls were so open and shelving at the bottom, that water might have been let in, high enough to have washed the feet of the cattle, and to have cleansed the stalls of itself. *Vid.* his Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, lib. 1. cap. 3.; and Bedford's Scripture-chronology, cap. 11. But all this is pure imagination, and inconsistent with the notion which the sacred history give us of it.

A. M. emanation, might both purify and invigorate the included
 1656, &c. air) might correct and sweeten all noxious vapours and
 Ant. Chris. exhalations; and, like the sun, send such a vivifying light,
 2349, &c. that nothing should die that was within the ark, *i. e.* so
 from Gen. vi. 12. to far as the beams thereof did reach.
 ix. 20.

Thus we have rescued Noah and his family from the
 danger of suffocation in their confinement, by the supply
 of a vicarious light, to purify the air, and dispel all va-
 pours, as well as enable them to go about their work: but
 now, that the waves swell, and the vessel mounts on high,
 even above the top of the highest hills under heaven, they
 run into another quite different danger, *viz.* that of being
 starved to death, amidst the colds, and extreme subtilty
 of the air, in the middle region, wherein no creature can
 live. (a) But the middle region of the air, we ought to
 remember, is not to be looked upon as a fixed point, which
 never either rises or falls. It is, with respect to us, more
 or less elevated, according to the greater or less heat of the
 sun. In the cold of winter, it is much nearer to the earth,
 than in the warmth of summer; or (to speak more pro-
 perly) the cold which reigns in the middle region of the
 air during the summer, reigns likewise in the lower region
 during the winter. Supposing the deluge then to out-top
 the highest mountains, it is evident, that the middle region
 of the air must have risen higher, and removed to a great-
 er distance from the earth, and waters; and, on the con-
 trary, that the lower region must have approached nearer
 to both, in proportion as the waters of the deluge in-
 creased or decreased: so that, upon the whole, the ark
 was all along in the lower region of the air, even when it
 was carried fifteen cubits above the highest mountains; and
 the men and beasts which were inclosed in it, breathed the
 same air, as they would have done on earth, a thousand, or
 twelve hundred paces lower, had not the deluge happened.

How Noah But during this whole course of the ark, since Noah
 could mea- was shut up in so close a place, where he was not capable
 sure time. of making any observations, where indeed he could see nei-
 ther sun, moon, nor stars, for many months, it may very
 well be wondered, how he could possibly have any just
 mensuration of time, had we not reason to suppose, that he
 certainly had within the ark a chronometer of one kind or
 other, which did exactly answer to the motion of the hea-
 vens without. The invention of our present horological

(a) *Vide* Calmct's Dictionary on the word *Deluge*.

machines indeed, and particularly of the pendulum watch, (which is the most exact corrector of time), is but of modern date; but it does not therefore follow, but that the same, or other equivalent pieces of art, might, in former ages, have been perfectly known to some great men. Suppose that Mr Hugen, or some other, was the inventor of pendulums in these parts of the world, yet it is more than probable, that there was a pendulum-clock made many years before at Florence, by the direction of the great Galileo; and that, long before that, there was another at Prague, which the famous Tycho Brahe made use of, in his astronomical observations. And therefore, unless we fondly imagine, that we postdiluvians have all the wit and ingenuity that ever was, we cannot but think, that Noah, who not only had long experience himself, but succeeded to the inventions of above 1600 years, (which, considering the longevity of people then, were much better preserved than they can be now), was provided with horological pieces of various kinds, before he entered the ark. Or, if we can suppose him destitute of these, yet what we have said of the *zohar*, is enough to evince, that, by the observation of that alone, there could be no difficulty in distinguishing the nights from the days, and keeping a journal accordingly.

But now, that the flood subsides, and the ark is landed, and all its inhabitants are to disembark, how can we suppose, that several of the animals shall be able to find their way from the mountains of Armenia, into the distant parts of the West Indies, which (as far as we can find) are joined to no other part of the known world, and yet have creatures peculiar, and such as cannot live in any other climate? This is a question that we must own ourselves ignorant of, (b) in the same manner, as we pretend not to say, by what means that vast continent was at first peopled. But by what method soever it was that its first inhabitants came thither, whether by stress of weather, or designed adventure, by long voyages by sea, or (supposing a passage between one continent and another) by long journeyings by land, it is plain, that by the same means, some creatures at first might have been conveyed thither: and as their number, at that time, could be but small, we may suppose that by a promiscuous copulation with one another, they might beget a second sort, which in process of time, the

(b) *Vid.* Universal History. Of this however we shall give the conjectures of the learned, when we come to treat of the dispersion of nations in our next book.

A. M. nature and temperature of the climate might so far alter, as to make them pass for a quite different species, and so far affect their constitution, as to make them live not so commodiously in any other climate. To convey either men or beast, all on a sudden, from the warmest parts of Africa, to the coldest places in the north, would be a probable means to make them both perish; but the case would not be so, if they were to be removed by insensible degrees, nearer to those places: nor can we say, that there never were such creatures in those parts of Asia, where Noah is thought to have lived, as are now to be found in America; because it is very well known, that formerly there have been many beasts of a particular species in some countries, such as the hippopotami in Egypt, wolves in England, and beavers in France, where at present there are few or none of them to be found.

Why God made use of rather than any other method, to destroy the wicked, and preserve the righteous? the proper answer is, that whatever pleaseth him, that hath he done, both in heaven and in earth; for as his will is not to be controlled, so neither is it to be disputed. For argument's sake, however, let us suppose, for once, that instead of drowning the world, God had been pleased to destroy by plague, famine, or some other sore judgment, all mankind, except Noah and his sons, who were to be eye-witnesses of this terrible execution: to live to see the earth covered with dead bodies, and none left to bury them, the fields uncultivated, and the cities lie waste and desolate without inhabitants, who can conceive what the horror of such a sight would have been? And who would have been content to live in such a world, to converse only with the images of death, and with noisome carcases? But God, in mercy, shut up Noah in the ark, that he should not see the terrors and consternations of sinners when the flood came; and he washed away all the dead bodies into the caverns of the earth, with all the remains of their old habitations. So that when Noah came out of the ark, he saw nothing to disturb his imagination, nor any tokens of that terrible vengeance which had over-run the world, to offend his sight: only, when he looked about him, and saw every thing gone, he could not but fall into this contemplation, that *God, when he enters into judgment with the wicked, (c) will not pity, nor spare, nor have mercy,*

but destroy. He will dash them one against another, even father and son together, and (d) cause his fury to rest upon them, until his anger be accomplished.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chrif.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

DISSERTATION VI.

Of Mount Ararat.

BEFORE we conclude this chapter, and this book together, it may not be improper to give the reader some account of the mountains of Ararat in general; in what part of the world that particular one which is here intended is said to be situate; and, according to the relations both of ancient geographers and modern travellers, of what form and magnitude this mountain is. But in this inquiry some difficulties will arise, by reason of the different traditions concerning it.

The author of the verses * which go under the name of the *Sibylline Oracles*, places the mountains of Ararat in the borders of Phrygia, not far from Celænæ, at the head of the two rivers Marsyas and Meander: but it appears from good authorities, that there is in reality no mountain at all in that place, or at most, but a small hill, an eminence made by art, and not by nature: and therefore the learned Bochart has happily found out the ground of this mistake, when he tells us, that not far from this city Celænæ, there is another town called *Apamea*, and firnamed *κιβωτῆς*, or *the ark*; not from any tradition that Noah's ark ever rested there, but purely on account of its situation, because it is encompassed with three rivers, Mar-

Different
opinions
concerning
it.

(d) Ezek. v. 13.

* The verses, as they are set down by *Gallæus de Sibyllis*, p. 589. are these:

Ἐστὶ δὲ τις Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἠπειροῖο κελαϊνῆς
Ἡλίβαλον τανύμηνες ὄρος, Ἄραρατ δὲ καλεῖται —
Μαρσύων ἔνθα φλίβες μέγαλυ πόσιμοιο πέφυκαν,
Τῷ δὲ Κιβωτῷς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψηλοῦ καρήνῃ.

But that which shews the spuriousness of these verses, is this: — That the Sibyl, speaking of herself as contemporary with Noah, takes notice of the river Marsyas, which, whatever name it had at first, was certainly, after the death of Midas, called *the fountain of Midas*, and retained that name until the time of Marsyas, by whom it was altered; and this must be long after the death of this Sybil; *Bedford's Scripture-chronology*. l. 2.

A. M. 1656, &c. Ant. Chris. 2349, &c. from Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

fyas, Obrimas, and Orgas, which give it the resemblance of a chest or ark, in the same manner that the port of Alexandria was so called, by reason of the bay which inclosed the ships.

Sir Walter Raleigh, (e), and from him some later writers (f) are of opinion, that the mountains of Ararat were those of Caucasus, towards Bactria and Saga Scythia. This, as they imagine, agrees with the general notion, that the Scythians might contend for the antiquity of their original with any other nation; with the Chaldean tradition, concerning the actions of their great man Xifuthrus, who is commonly supposed to be the same with Noah; with the language, learning, and history of the Chinese, who are thought to be Noah's immediate descendents; and with the journey which some of his other descendents are said to have took, viz. (g) *from the east to the land of Shinar*. A modern chronologer has endeavoured to prove, that the place where Noah built the ark was called *Cypariffon*, not far from the river Tigris, and on the north-east side of the city of Babylon; that while the flood continued, it sailed from thence to the north-east, as far as the Caspian sea, and when the flood abated, the north-wind brought it back by a southern course, and landed it upon Mount Caucasus, east of Babylon, and about nine degrees distant from it in longitude; and that this opinion, as he imagines, is more agreeable to the course which the ark, by meeting with contrary currents, would be forced to make; to the sense of Scripture, in bringing the sons of Noah from the east, and in settling the children of Shem (who went not to Shinar) in this place, and to the great conveniency of Noah's landing not too far from the country where he lived before the flood, that thereby he might be capable of giving better directions to his family how to disperse themselves, and to replenish the new world as occasion did require. But besides that there appears little or no authority for all this, the observation of travellers into those countries may make it be questioned, whether such a vessel as the ark is represented, drawing much water, and very unfit for sailing, could be able to reach mount Caucasus from the province of Eden (where it is generally thought to have been built) in the space of the flood's increase, which was no more than an hundred and fifty days. The most probable

(e) His History of the world. (f) Heylin's Cosmography; and Shuckford's Connection, l. 2. (g) Gen. xi. 2.

opinion therefore is, that by the word *Ararat*, the Holy Scriptures denote that country which the Greeks, and from them other western nations, do call *Armenia*. In this sense it is taken by the Septuagint, by the Chaldee paraphrase, by the Vulgate, by Theodoret, and by divers others. The learned Bochart has brought together a multitude of arguments, all tending to the same conclusion: but then the question is, on what particular mountain it was that the ark landed?

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

1. The most prevailing opinion for some time was, that one of the mountains which divide Armenia on the south from Mesopotamia, and that part of Assyria which is inhabited by the Curds, (from whence the mountains took the name *Curdu*), which the Greeks changed into *Gordiee*, * and several other names, was the place where the ark landed: and what makes for this opinion, is, that whereas the deluge was in a great measure occasioned by the overflowing of the ocean, as the Scriptures tell us, that flux of waters which came from the Persian sea, running from the south, and meeting the ark, would of course carry it northward upon the Gordiæan mountains, which seems to be voyage enough for a vessel of its bulk and structure to make in the stated time of the flood's increase.

The most
consider-
able.

The tradition which affirms the ark to have rested on these mountains, must have been very ancient, since it is the tradition of the Chaldeans themselves, and in former ages was very little questioned, till men came to inquire into the particular part of those mountains whereon it settled, and then the authors seemed to place it out of Armenia; Epiphanius on the mount Lubar, between the country of the Armenians and Gordiæans; and all the eastern authors, both Christian and Mahometan, on mount Themanin, or Al-Judi, which overlooks the country of Diarrhabia, or Mouffal, in Mesopotamia.

To confirm this tradition however, we are told, that the remainders of the ark were to be seen upon these mountains. Berofus and Abydenus both declare, that there was such a report in their time; the former observes farther, that several of the inhabitants thereabouts scraped the

* The Greek and Latin writers name them *Carduchi*, *Cardici*, *Cordiee*, *Corduene*, *Gordi*, *Cordæe*, *Curdi*, &c. The orientals call them likewise *Cardon*, *Cordyn*, *Curud*, &c. Bochart supposes that they are the same which are called by mistake in Josephus, *Caron*. *Vid.* Univers. hist.; and Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 3.

A. M. 1656, &c. Ant. Chris. 2349, &c. from Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

pitch off the planks as a rarity, and carried it about them for an amulet; and the latter says, that they used the wood of the vessel against several diseases with wonderful success; as the relicks of this ark were likewise to be seen in the time of Epiphanius, if we may believe him. The town of Themanin, which signifies *eight*, situate at the foot of the mountain Al-Judi, was built, we are told, in memory of the eight persons who came out of the ark; and formerly there was a monastery, called *the monastery of the ark*, upon the Curdu mountains, where the Nestorians used to celebrate a festival, on the very spot where they supposed the ark stopped: but in the year of Christ 776, that monastery was destroyed by lightning, together with the church, and a numerous congregation in it; and since that time, the credit of this tradition has in some measure declined, and given place to another, which at present prevails.

2- This opinion places mount Ararat towards the middle of Armenia, near the river Araxes, or Aras, above 280 miles distant from Al-Judi, to the north-east. (b) St Jerom seems to have been the first who hath given us an account of this tradition. "Ararat (says he) is a champion country, incredibly fertile, through which the Araxes flows at the foot of mount Taurus, which extends so far; so that by the mountains of Ararat, whereon the ark rested, we are not to understand the mountains of Armenia in general, but the highest mountains of Taurus, which overlook the plains of Ararat." Since his time, its situation in this place has been remarked by several other writers; and all the travellers into these places now make mention of no other mount of Ararat than what the Armenians call *Masis*, (from Amasia, the third successor of Haikh, the founder of their nation), and what the Mahometans do sometimes name *Agri-dagh*, i. e. *the heavy* or *great mountain*, and sometimes *Parmak-dagh*, the *finger-mountain*, alluding to its appearance; for as it is strait, very steep, and stands by itself, it seems to resemble a finger, when held up.

A description of mount Ararat.

The mount Ararat, which the Armenians, as we said, call *Masis*, and sometimes *Mesefouffar*, (because the ark was stopped there when the waters of the flood began to abate, stands about twelve leagues to the east (or rather south-east) of Erivan, (a small city seated in the upper

(b) In Isaiah xxxvii.

Armenia),

Armenia) four leagues from Aras, or Araxes, and ten to the north-west of Nakschivan; which, because *nak*, in Armenian, signifies *a ship*, and *schivan*, *stopped* or *settled*, is supposed to have its name from the same occasion. This mountain is encompassed by several little hills, and on the top of them are found many ruins, which are thought to have been the buildings of the first men, who might fear, for some time, to go down into the plains. It stands by itself, in the form of a sugar-loaf, in the midst of one of the greatest plains that is to be seen, and separated from the other mountains of Armenia, which make a long chain. It consists of two hills, whereof the less is more sharp and pointed; but the larger (which is that of the ark) lies north-east of it, and rears its head far above the neighbouring mountains. It seems so high and big indeed, that when the air is clear, it does not appear to be above two leagues from Erivan, and yet may be seen some four or five days journey off; but from the middle to the top, it is always covered with snow, and for the space of three or four months in the year, has its upper part commonly hid in the clouds.

A. M. 1656, &c. Ant. Chiff. 1349, &c. from Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

The Armenians have a tradition, that on the summit of this mountain there is still a considerable part of the ark remaining, but that it is impossible to get up to the top of it. (i) For they tell us of one traveller, a person of singular piety, who endeavoured to do it, and had advanced as far as the middle of the mountain; when, being thirsty, and wanting water, he put up a prayer to God, who caused a fountain to spring out of the ground for him, and so saved his life; but at the same time, he heard a voice, saying, *Let none be so bold as to go up to the top of this mountain.*

How difficult the ascent of this mountain is (without any particular revelation) we may inform ourselves from the following account which Mr Tournefort gives us of it.

“ About two o’clock in the afternoon, (k) (says he),
 “ we began to ascend the mountain Ararat, but not with-
 “ out difficulty. We were forced to climb up in loose
 “ sand, where we saw nothing but some juniper and
 “ goats-thorn. The mountain, which lies south and
 “ south-south-east from *Eimiadzim*, or *the three churches*,

Tournefort's account of it.

(i) La Boulaye's Voyages. (k) Vide his Voyages into the Levant, letter 7.

A. M. " is one of the most sad and disagreeable sights upon earth ;
 1656, &c. " for there are neither trees nor shrubs upon it, nor any
 Ant. Chris. " convents of religious, either Armenians or Franks.
 2349, &c. " All the monasteries are in the plain, nor can I think the
 from Gen. " place inhabitable in any part, because the soil of the
 vi. 12. to " mountain is loose, and most of it covered with snow.
 ix. 20. "

" From the top of a great abyss, (as dreadful an hole
 as ever was seen), opposite to the village of Akurlu,
 (from whence we came), there continually fall down
 rocks of a blackish hard stone, which make a terrible
 resound. This, and the noise of the crows that are con-
 tinually flying from one side to the other, has something
 in it very frightful ; and to form any notion of the place,
 you must imagine one of the highest mountains in the
 world opening its bosom, only to shew one of the most
 horrid spectacles that can be thought of. No living a-
 nimals are to be seen but at the bottom, and towards
 the middle of the mountain. They who occupy the
 lowest region, are poor shepherds and scabby flocks.
 The second region is possessed by crows and tygers,
 which we passed by, not without giving us some dread
 and uneasiness. All the rest of it, *i. e.* half of it, has
 been covered with snow ever since the ark rested there,
 and these snows are covered half the year with very thick
 clouds.

" Notwithstanding the amazement which this fright-
 ful solitude cast us into, we endeavoured to find out
 the monastery we were told of, and inquired whether
 there were any religious in caverns. The notion they
 have in the country, that the ark rested here, and the
 veneration which all the Armenians have for this moun-
 tain, (for they kiss the earth as soon as they see it, and
 repeat certain prayers after they have made the sign of
 the cross), have made many imagine, that it must be filled
 with religious. However, they assured us that there was
 only one forsaken convent at the foot of the gulf ; that
 there was no fountain throughout the whole mount ;
 and that we could not go in a whole day to the snow,
 and down again to the bottom of the abyss ; that the
 shepherds often lost their way ; and that we might judge
 what a miserable place it was, from the necessity they
 were under to dig the earth from time to time, to find
 a spring of water for themselves and their flocks ; and
 in short, that it would be folly to proceed on our way,
 because they were satisfied our legs would fail us ; nor
 would

“ would they be obliged to accompany us for all the treasures of the King of Persia.

“ When we considered what the shepherds had told us, we advised with our guides; and they, good men, unwilling to expose themselves to the danger of dying for thirst, and having no curiosity, at the expence of their legs, to measure the height of the mountain, were at first of the same sentiments with the shepherds; but afterwards concluded, that we might go to certain rocks, which were more prominent and visible than the rest, and so return by night to the place where we were; and with that resolution we went to rest. In the morning, after that we had eat and drank very plentifully, we began to travel towards the first ridge of rocks, with one bottle of water, which, to ease ourselves, we carried by turns; but notwithstanding we had made pitchers of our bellies, in two hours time they were quite dried up; and as water shook in a bottle is no very pleasant liquor, our hopes were, that when we came to the snow, we should eat some of it to quench our thirst.

“ It must be acknowledged, that the sight is very much deceived when we stand at the bottom, and guess at the height of a mountain; and especially, when it must be ascended through sands as troublesome as the Syrtes of Africa. It is impossible to take one firm step upon the sands of mount Ararat; in many places, instead of ascending, we were obliged to go back again to the middle of the mountain; and, in order to continue our course, to wind sometimes to the right, and sometimes to the left.

“ To avoid these sands, which fatigued us most intolerably, we made our way to the great rocks, which were heaped one upon another. We passed under them, as through caverns, and were sheltered from all the injuries of the weather, except cold, which was here so keen and intense, that we were forced to leave the place, and came into a very troublesome way, full of large stones, such as masons make use of in building, and were forced to leap from stone to stone, till I, for my part, was heartily weary, and began to sit down, and repose myself a little, as the rest of the company did.

A. M. -
1656, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix 20.

“ After we had rested ourselves, we came about
 noon to a place which afforded us a more pleasing
 prospect. We imagined ourselves so near, that we could
 have even touched the snow (we thought) with our teeth;
 but our joy lasted not long; for what we had taken for
 snow, proved only a chalk-rock, which hid from our
 sight a tract of land above two hours journey distant
 from the snow, and which seemed to have a new kind
 of pavement, made of small pieces of stones broke off
 by the frost, and whose edges were as sharp as flints.
 Our guides told us, that their feet were quite bare, and
 that ours in a short time would be so too; that it
 grew late, and we should certainly lose ourselves in the
 night, or break our necks in the dark, unless we would
 chuse to sit down, and so become a prey to the tygers.
 All this seemed very feasible; and therefore we assured
 them, that we would go no farther than the heap of
 snow, which we shewed them, and which, at that di-
 stance, appeared hardly bigger than a cake; but when
 we came to it, we found it more than we had occasion
 for; the heap was above thirty paces in diameter. We
 every one eat as much as we had a mind for, and so, by
 consent, resolved to advance no farther. It cannot be
 imagined how much the eating of snow revives and in-
 vigorates: we therefore began to descend the mountain
 with a great deal of alacrity; but we had not gone far,
 before we came to sands, which lay behind the abyss,
 and were full as troublesome as the former; so that a-
 bout six in the afternoon we found ourselves quite
 tired out and spent. At length, observing a place covered
 with mouse-ear, whose declivity seemed to favour our
 descent, we made to it with all speed, and (what pleased
 us mighty well) from hence it was that our guides shew-
 ed us (though at a considerable distance) the monastery,
 whither we were to go to quench our thirst. I leave it
 to be guessed, what method Noah made use of to descend
 from this place, who might have rid upon so many sorts
 of animals, which were all at his command: but as for
 us, we laid ourselves upon our backs, and slid down for
 an hour together upon this green plat, and so passed on
 very agreeably, and much faster than we could have
 gone upon our legs. The night and our thirst were a
 kind of spurs to us, and made us make the greater
 speed. We continued therefore sliding in this manner,

“ as long as the way would permit ; and when we met
 “ with small flints which hurt our shoulders, we turned
 “ and slid on our bellies, or went backwards on all four.
 “ Thus by degrees we gained the monastery ; but so dis-
 “ ordered and fatigued by our manner of travelling, that
 “ we were not able to move hand or foot.”

A. M.
 1656, &c.
 Ant. Chris-
 2349, &c.
 from Gen.
 vi. 12. to ix.
 20.

I have made my quotation from this learned botanist and most accurate traveller the longer, not only because it gives us a full idea of the mountain, so far as he ascended, but some distrust likewise of the veracity (*l*) of a certain Dutch voyager, who seems to assure us, that he went five days journey up mount Ararat to see a Romish hermit ; that he passed through three regions of the clouds, the first dark and thick, the next cold and full of snow, and the third colder still ; that he advanced five miles every day, and when he came to the place where the hermit had his cell, he breathed a very serene and temperate air ; that the hermit told him, he had perceived neither wind nor rain all the five and twenty years that he had dwelt there ; and that on the top of the mountain there still reigned a greater tranquillity, which was a means to preserve the ark without decay or putrefaction.

There is one objection which may be made to all that we have said concerning the situation of this famous mountain, and that is,—Whereas the sons of Noah, when they quitted the country where the ark rested, are said to (*m*) *journey from the east into the land of Shinar*, it is plain, that if they removed from any part of Armenia, they must have gone from the north or north-west ; but this we shall take occasion to examine when we come to treat of their migration. In the mean time, it is worthy our observation, and some argument of our being in the right, (*n*) that the situation of Ararat, as we have supposed it, whether it be mount Masis, or the mountain of Cardu, was very convenient for the journey of the sons of Noah, because the distance is not very great, and the descent easy, especially from the latter, into the plains of Mesopotamia, whereof Shinar is a part. Nor should we forget, that the neighbourhood, which the sacred history, by this means, preserves between the land of Eden, where man was created, that of Ararat, where the remains of mankind were

An objec-
 tion stated
 and an-
 swered.

(*l*) Struys's Voyages, chap. 17.
 (*n*) Univers. Hist. l. i. c. 1. p. 10.

(*m*) Gen. xi. 2.

A. M. 1656, &c. Ant. Chrif. 2349, &c. from Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.

saved; and that of Shinar, where they fixed the centre of their plantations, is much more natural, and seems to have a better face and appearance of truth, than to place these scenes at so vast a distance, as some commentators have done.

That there were mountains before the deluge. One inquiry more, not concerning mount Ararat only, but every other mountain that is dispersed over the whole earth, is this, — Whether they were in being before the induction of the flood? The ingenious author of the Theory, so often quoted, is clearly of opinion, that (o) the face of the earth, before the deluge, was smooth, regular, and uniform, without mountains, and without a sea; and that the rocks and mountains which every where now appear, were made by the violent concussions which then happened, and are indeed nothing else but the ruins and fragments of the old world. But all this is confuted by the testimony of divine wisdom, who declaring her own pre-existence, (p) *I was set up from everlasting, says she, from the beginning, or ever the earth was; when there was no depth, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water, before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth; while as yet God had not made the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the world.* So that, according to this declaration, not only the fountains of waters which we see upon the face of the earth, but even mountains (which some have accounted its greatest deformities) and all hills were part of the original creation, and cotemporary with the first foundations of the earth: and though a deluge can scarce be supposed to overspread the globe, without making some transmutation in it, yet that it could not shock the pillars of the round world, or cause a total dissolution in nature, we have the same divine testimony assuring us, that at the time of the first creation, (q) *God laid the foundation of the earth so sure, that it should not be removed for ever.*

Their use and pleasantness. It is a groundless imagination then to ascribe the origin of mountains and other lofty eminences to a certain disruption of the earth in the time of the deluge; when God, from the very first beginning, designed them for such excellent purposes. For, besides that several of these rocks

(o) Burnet's Theory, l. 1. c. 5. (p) Prov. viii. 23. &c.
(q) Psal. civ. 5.

and mountains (as well as the broad sea) are really an awful sight, and fill the mind with just notions of God's tremendous Majesty, which a small river or a smooth surface does not do so well; and besides, that they yield food for several animals formed by nature to live upon them, and supply us from without with many wholesome plants, and from within with many useful metals; by condensing the vapours, and so producing rain, fountains, and rivers, they give the very plains and valleys themselves the fertility which they boast of. For this seems to be the design of hills, (says (r) a learned inquirer into the original of springs and fountains), "That their ridges, being placed through the midst of the continent, might serve, as it were, for alembicks, to distil fresh water for the use of man and beast; and their heights to give a descent to those streams which run gently, like so many veins of the microcosm, to be the more beneficial to the creation."

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2349, &c.
from Gen.
vi. 12. to
ix. 20.

(s) Nay, we may appeal to the sense of mankind, whether a land of hills and dales has not more pleasure and beauty both than any uniform flat, which then only affords delight when it is viewed from the top of an hill. For what were the Tempe of Thessaly, so celebrated in ancient story for their unparalleled pleasantness, but a vale divided by a river, and terminated with hills? Are not all the descriptions of poets embellished with such ideas, when they would represent any places of superlative delight, any blissful seats of the muses and nymphs, any sacred habitations of gods and goddesses? They will never admit that a wild flat can be pleasant, no not in the * Elysian fields: they too must be diversified. Swelling descents and declining vallies are their chief beauties; nor can they imagine * even paradise a place of pleasure, or heaven itself * to be heaven without them. So that such a place as our present earth is, distinguished into mountains, rivers, vales,

(r) Dr Halley. (s) Bentley's Sermons at Boyle's lectures.

* At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti,
Hoc superate jugum---et tumulam capite. *Vir. Æn.* 6.

* Flowers worthy of paradise, which not wise art,
In beds and curious knots, but nature boon,
Pour'd forth profuse, on hills, and dale, and plain.

* For earth hath this variety from heav'n
Of pleasure, situate on hill or dale. *Milton's Paradise lost, book 4.*

A. M. and hills, must, even in point of pleasure, claim a pre-eminence before any other, that presenting us with no more than a single scene, and, in one continued plain superficies, must of necessity pall the prospect. But then, if we consider farther the riches that are repositied in these mountains, the gold and precious stones, the coal, the lead, the tin, and other valuable minerals that are dug out of their bowels, all useful in their kinds, and fitted for the accommodation of human life, we shall be apt to overlook the fantastical pleasantness of a smooth outside, and to think with Moses, the man of God, that *(t)* *Blessed of the Lord is any land for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills.*

(t) Deut. xxxiii. 13. 15.

The end of the first book.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
B I B L E.

B O O K II.

Containing an account of things from the Flood to the Call of Abraham; in all, 426 years, and six months.

C H A P. I.

The remainder of what is recorded of Noah, to his death.

THE HISTORY.

AS soon as Noah and his family were landed, and all the creatures committed to his charge were come safe out of the ark, he selected some of every kind, both beasts and birds, but such only as were clean, and, by God's appointment, proper for sacrifice; and having built the first altar that we read of restored the ancient rite of divine worship, and † offered

A. M. 1657, &c.
Ant. Chris. 2347, &c.
from Gen. viii. 20 to the end of ch. 9.
burnt- Noah's sacrifice, and the promise and grants which God gives him.

† Josephus tells us, that Noah, in a persuasion that God had doomed mankind to destruction, lay under a mortal dread for fear of the same judgment over again, and that it would end in an anniversary inundation; so that he presented himself before the Lord with sacrifices and prayers, "humbly beseeching him, "in mercy, to preserve the order of the world in its frame;

A. M. burnt-sacrifices thereon. And this he did with so grateful
 1657, &c. a sense of the divine goodness, and so reverential a fear
 Ant. Chris. of the divine majesty, as procured him a gracious accept-
 2347, &c. ance, and in testimony of that acceptance, several grants
 from Gen. and promises.

God's promises were, that † though mankind were nat-
 1808, &c. urally wicked, and apt to go astray from the very womb,
 Ant. Chris. yet, be their iniquities ever so great, he would not any
 2347, &c. more destroy the earth † by a general deluge, or disturb
 from Gen. the order of nature, and † the several seasons of the year,
 viii. 20. to and
 ch. 9. and

“ to punish the guilty, and spare the lives of the innocent; and
 “ not to proceed with rigour, for the wickedness of some particu-
 “ lars, to the destruction of the whole; otherwise the survivors of
 “ this calamity would be more wretched than those that were
 “ washed away in the common ruin, if, after having suffered
 “ horror of thought, and the terror of so dismal a spectacle, they
 “ should only be delivered from one calamity, to be consumed by
 “ another;” *Antiq.* l. 1. c. 4. But that this should be the pur-
 port of his prayer is not very likely, because we find no such in-
 dications of terror in Noah, who knew the great and criminal
 causes of the deluge to be such, as could not happen every year,
 and who having found favour in the eyes of God, and a miracu-
 lous preservation from a general destruction, can hardly be sup-
 posed to have cast away his confidence in him so soon, and instead
 thereof, to be possessed with an abject and servile fear: and there-
 fore we may conclude, that the nature of his prayer and sacrifice
 was eucharistical, and not deprecatory; *Heidegger's Hist. patriar.*
exercit. 19.

‡ The words in our translation are, *I will not again curse the
 ground any more for man's sake, for the imagination of man's
 heart is evil*; which is certainly very injuriously rendered, because
 it makes the sacred author speak quite contrary to what he design-
 ed, and is an affront to the justice, goodness, and wisdom of God,
 who, by this translation of *for* instead of *though*, might seem to
 bless man for his evil imaginations; *Essay for a new translation.*

† For particular inundations there have been at several times,
 in divers places, whereby towns and countries have been over-
 whelmed, with all their inhabitants; *Pool's Annotations.*

‡ All the versions do manifestly in this place confound the
 four seasons of the year, which Moses exactly distinguishes. For
 the Hebrew word *kor*, which they render *cold*, signifies the *winter*,
 because of the cold that then reigns. The word *chom*,
 which they render *heat*, signifies the *spring*, because of the heat
 which abounds in Judea about the end of the spring, in the
 months

and their regular vicissitudes : and in confirmation of this, he appointed the rainbow for a token, which (whether it used to appear before the flood or no) was now to be the ratification of the truth of his promise, and his faithful witnesses in heaven.

The grants which God gave Noah and his sons were not only * the same dominion which our first parents be-
fore

A. M.
1657, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

months of May and June, which are the harvest-time in that country. The word *kajts*, which they render *summer*, does indeed signify so; but then the word *chicroph*, which they term the *winter*, should be rendered *autumn*, which is the time of plowing and cultivating the ground, as may be seen Prov. xx. 4. So that the whole sentence, which contains the promise of God, Gen. viii. 22. if rendered justly, should run thus,—*While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, winter and spring, summer and autumn, day and night, shall not cease*; an Essay for a new translation. We cannot but observe however, that this vicissitude of times and seasons, which is here promised as a blessing to mankind, is a full confutation of the dreams of such writers as are apt to fancy, “ That in the primordial earth there was every where a perpetual spring and equinox; that all the parts of the year had one and the same tenor, face, and temper; and that there was no winter or summer, seed-time or harvest, but a continual temperature of the air, and verdure of the earth;” which, if it were true, would make this promise of God a punishment, rather than a blessing to mankind *Vid Burnet’s Theory, l. 2. c. 3.; and Heidegger’s Hist. patriar. exercit. 19.*

* A learned and Right Reverend author, to shew the renovation of the earth after the deluge, and its deliverance from the curse inflicted upon it by reason of Adam’s transgression, runs the parallel between the blessings and privileges granted to Adam soon after his creation, and those restored to Noah and his posterity soon after the flood. To our first parents it is said, *Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth on the earth*, Gen. i. 28. To Noah and his sons it is said, *The fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, and upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea, into your hand are they delivered*, Gen. ix. 2. To Adam and Eve are granted for food, *Every herb bearing seed—and every tree, in the which is the fruit of the tree, yielding seed*, Gen. i. 29. But Noah and his sons have a larger charter,—*Every moving thing that lieth shall be meat to you, even as the green herb, have I*
Z z 2 given

A. M. fore the fall had over the animal creation, and a full power to keep them in submiffion and fubjection; but a privilege likewise to kill any of thefe creatures for food; only with this reftriktion, that they were not to † put them to unnecelfary torture, or to eat any part of their blood, which might be a means to introduce the fhedding of human blood. The human kind, notwithstanding their apo-

1657, &c.
Ant. Chrift.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

given you all things, Gen. ix. 3. The bleffing upon the earth at the creation was,——*Let the earth bring forth grafs, and herb yielding feed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind,* Gen. i. 11. The bleffing after the flood is,——*While the earth remaineth, feed-time and harveft fhall not ceafe,* Gen. viii. 22. In the beginning, *the lights in the firmament were appointed to divide the day from the night, and to be for feafons, and for days, and years,* Gen. i. 14. After the flood, the new bleffing is,——*That fpring and autumn, fummer and winter, and day and night, fhall not ceafe,* Gen. viii. 22. Whereupon our author afks, What is beftowed in the firft bleffings that is wanted in the fecond? What more did Adam enjoy in his happieft days? What more did he forfeit in his worft, with refpect to this life, than that which is contained in thefe bleffings! If he neither had more, nor loft more, all thefe bleffings you fee exprefly reftored to Noah and his pofterity: and from all this laid together, he concludes, that the old curfe upon the ground was, after the deluge, fnifhed and completed; *Ufe and intent of prophecy,* p. 91.

† The words in the text are,——*But frefh, with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, fhall you not eat.* This the Hebrew doftors generally underftand to be a prohibition to cut off any limb of a living creature, and to eat it, while the life, *i. e.* the blood, was in it; *dum adhuc vivit, et palpitat, feu tremit,* as a modern interpreter has truly explained their fenfe. And in this they are followed by feveral Chriftians, who think (as Maimonides did) that there were fome people in the old world fo favage and barbarous, that they did eat raw frefh, while it was yet warm from the beaft out of whofe body it was cut piece-meal. Plutarch tells us, that it was customary in his time to run red hot fpits through the bellies of live fwine, to make their frefh more delicious; and I believe fome among us have heard of whipping pigs, and torturing other creatures to death for the fame purpofe. Now thefe things could not be committed, if fuch men thought themfelves bound in confcience to abftain from all unnecelfary cruelties to the creatures, and to bleed them to death with all the difpatch they could, before they touched them for food. *Vid. Patrick's Commentary; and Revelation examined, vol. 2. p. 20.*

stacy, did still retain some lineaments of the divine similitude; and therefore, whosoever murdered any of them, did thereby deface the image of God; and whether it were man † or beast, stranger or near relation, was appointed by the magistrate to be put to death: and with these grants and promises, he gave them encouragement (as he did our first progenitors) to *be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth*, which was now left almost destitute of inhabitants.

A. M.
1656, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

But how much soever the deluge might deprive the earth of its inhabitants, it had not so totally destroyed the trees, and plants, and other vegetables, but that, in a short time, they began to appear again; and being encouraged by the kindly warmth of the sun, discovered their several species by the several fruits they bore. Noah before the flood † had applied himself to husbandry, and now, upon the recovery of the earth again, betook himself to the same occupation. Among his other improvements of the ground, he had planted a vineyard, and perhaps was the first man who invented a press to squeeze the juice out of the grape, and so make wine. Natural curiosity might tempt him to taste the fruit of his own labour; but being either unacquainted with the strength of this liquor, or, through age and infirmity, unable to bear it, so it was, that drinking a little too freely, he became quite intoxicated with it; and so falling asleep in his tent,

† If it here should be asked, How any beast that is neither capable of virtue or vice can be deemed culpable, in case it should chance to kill any man? The answer is, That this law was ordained for the benefit of men, for whose use all beasts were created. For, 1st, Such owners as were not careful to prevent such mischiefs, were hereby punished; 2dly, Others were admonished by their example to be cautious; 3dly, God thereby instructed them, that murder was a most grievous crime, whose punishment extended even to beasts; and, 4thly, The lives of men were hereby much secured, when such beasts as might do the like mischief another time, were immediately dispatched, and taken out of the way; *Patrick's Commentary*.

† Anciently the greatest men esteemed nothing more honourable, and worthy their study, than the art of agriculture. *Nihil homine libero dignius*, nothing more becoming a gentleman, was the saying of the Roman orator; and for the truth of this, the Fabii, the Cato's, the Varro's, the Virgil's, the Pliny's, and other great names, are sufficient witnesses; *Bibliotheca Biblica*, vol. I. p. 251.

A. M. lay with his body uncovered, and in a very indecent posture, was exposed to the eyes of his children.

1657, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

Ham, who espied his father in this condition, instead of concealing his weakness, proclaimed it aloud, and to his other two brothers Shem and Japhet made him the subject of his scorn and derision: but so far were they from being pleased with his behaviour in this respect, that taking a garment, and laying it upon both their shoulders, they went backward, till, coming to their father, they dropt the garment upon him, and so covered the nakedness which their pious modesty would not permit them to behold. Nor is it improbable, that, to prevent the like indecency, they watched him during the remaining time of his sleep, and might possibly, upon his awaking, acquaint him with what had happened: whereupon, perceiving how unworthily his son Ham had served him, † he cursed his race in the person of Canaan his grandson, and reflecting how respectfully his other two sons had behaved, he rewarded their pious care with each one a blessing, which, in process of time, was fulfilled in their posterity.

And Noah's
death.

This is all that the Scripture informs us of concerning Noah, only we are given to understand, that he lived 350 years after the deluge, in all 950; and if we will believe the tradition of the orientals, he was buried in Mesopotamia, where, not far from a monastery, called *Dair-Abunah*, i. e. *the monastery of our father*, they shew us, in a castle, a large sepulchre, which they say belonged to him: but as for the common opinion of his dividing the world among his three sons before his death, giving to Shem Asia, to Ham Africa, and to Japhet Europe, there is

† It is a tradition among the eastern writers, that Noah, having cursed Ham and Canaan, the effect of his curse was, that not only their posterity were made subject to their brethren, and born, as we may say, in slavery, but that likewise, all on a sudden, the colour of their skin became black: (for they maintain, that all the blacks descended from Ham and Canaan); that Noah, seeing so surprising a change, was deeply affected with it, and begged of God, that he would be pleased to inspire Canaan's masters with a tender and compassionate love for him; and that his prayer was heard. For notwithstanding we may still at this day observe the effect of Noah's curse in the servitude of Ham's posterity, yet we may remark likewise the effect of his prayer, in that this sort of black slaves is sought for, and made much of in most places; *Calmet's Dictionary on the word Ham.*

no manner of foundation for it, either in Scripture or tradition.

A. M.
1657, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

The OBJECTION.

“ BUT how ſhort ſoever this poſt-diluvian part of Noah’s hiſtory may be thought, it is long enough, we find, to contain many more abſurdities and miſrepreſentations of things than can eaſily be digeſted. It might be the opinion of the Heathen world, perhaps, that their gods were pleaſed with the ſmell of incenſe, and (as one (*b*) expreſſes it) would leave their ordinary diet of nectar and ambroſia, to ſnuff up the ſmoak and fat of ſacrifices ; yet ſurely it gives us too groſs and carnal a notion of the great God of heaven and earth, that he ſhould be ſo far delighted with the ſweet favour of any oblation, as to have his heart attendered, his relentings kindled, and himſelf drawn into a haſty reſolution never to deſtroy the earth any more, when it is apparent, that ſince that time he has brought upon it ſeveral inundations, and at the end is reſolved to conſume it with a general conflagration.

“ The rainbow indeed may be accounted a very beautiful ſight in the heavens ; but as it proceeds from a natural cauſe, (*c*) from the reflection and refraction of the rays of the ſun from innumerable drops of rain in a cloud, it can be no proper token of a covenant commencing at that time. As there was a ſun and clouds before the flood, the ſame phænomenon muſt have frequently appeared, and conſequently loſt its validity ; nor can we ſuppoſe, that God ſhould ever be ſo unmindful of his covenant, as to ſtand in need of ſo ſlight, ſo common a remembrancer.

“ The permiſſion of animal food to Noah and his poſterity may be thought perhaps a peculiar privilege ; but (*d*) when we read of the ſame dominion over all creatures, and the ſame diſtinction of clean and unclean beaſts in the times before the flood that we find in the times of Noah, either we muſt ſuppoſe the diſtinction to be frivolous, and the dominion given to man more extenſive, after he had ſinned, than it was before ; or we muſt allow, that this is a privilege no more than

(*b*) Lucin. De Sacrif. vol. 1. p. 306. (*c*) Sauin’s Diſſertation. (*d*) Heidegger’s Hiſt. patriar. exer. 15.

A. M. " what all antediluvians had ; and consequently, that it is
 £657, &c. " a misrepresentation to call it *a new grant*.
 Ant. Chris. " Man, in his state of innocence, and while the
 2347, &c. " image of God shone radiantly about him, held all other
 from Gen. " creatures under a voluntary subjection : but the many
 viii. 20. " sad accidents which we read of continually, are too sure
 the end of " a testimony, that this part of the grant is in a manner
 ch. 9. " quite withdrawn, and that *the fear of us and the dread of*
 " *us*, is so little impressed upon several kinds of beasts,
 " that on sundry occasions they turn upon their masters,
 " and rebel.

" The Lord and Sovereign of the post-diluvian world
 " was the Patriarch Noah, who must consequently be a
 " man of business, as having the chief government of
 " affairs devolved upon him ; and yet, after this period of
 " time, we hear no manner of tidings of him, except
 " it be in one scurvy story of his planting a vineyard, get-
 " ting scandalously drunk, and exposing himself to the scorn
 " and derision of all about him. It is somewhat strange,
 " that in all the antediluvian ages, the use of the vine
 " should not be found out, or that Noah, who was now
 " above 600 years old, should not be acquainted with its
 " intoxicating quality ; but if he was not, the more he
 " was to be pitied ; and Moses (one would think) should
 " have imitated his two dutiful sons, and, in compassion
 " to his infirmity, cast the kind veil upon his nakedness.
 " But instead of that, to represent this favourite of God,
 " and grave sire of mankind, lying in his tent in the
 " shameful manner that he does, and then, as soon as he
 " awakes from his wine, to give him the spirit of prophe-
 " cy, and set him a venting his curses and his blessings at
 " random, looks as if he were acting the part of Ham,
 " and exposing a weak wan's failings to the public. For,
 " according to this representation, what other reason can
 " we assign for the several notorious blunders that he makes ;
 " (e) for his mistaking the name of *Canaan* (who seems
 " to be innocent in the whole affair) - instead of that of his
 " guilty son *Ham*, in the curse ; for preferring his younger
 " son *Shem* before the first-born *Japhet*, in the blessing ;
 " and for the many unaccountable reveries of enlarging
 " *Japhet*, making him dwell in the tents of *Shem*, and
 " *Ham* to become the servant of servants ? What ac-
 " count can we give for these extravagancies, I say, but

(e) *Vid. Gen. ix. 25. 26. 27.*

“ that of supposing that the good old patriarch was not
 “ yet got out of his cups, and returned to his senses ?”

It is a sad perversion of the use of human understanding, and no small token of a secret inclination to infidelity, when men make the condescensions of Scripture an argument against its divine authority; and from the figures and allusions which it employs in accommodation to their capacities, draw conclusions unworthy of its sacred penmen, and unbecoming the nature of God.

In relation to sacrifices, we find God declaring himself very fully in these words: (f) *Hear, O my people, and I will speak; I myself will testify against thee, O Israel, for I am God, even thy God. I will not reprove thee, because of thy sacrifices, or for thy burnt-offerings, because they were not always before me. I will take no bullock out of thine house, or he-goat out of thy folds; — for thinkest thou that I will eat bulls flesh, or drink the blood of goats? Offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the Most High, and call upon me in the time of trouble, so will I bear thee, and thou shalt praise me.* So that it is not the oblation itself, but the grateful sense and affections of the offerer, that are acceptable to God, and which, by an easy metaphor, may be said to be as grateful to him (g) as perfumes or sweet odours are to us.

And indeed, if either the sense of gratitude or fear, if either the apprehension of God's peculiar kindness, or of his wrathful indignation against sin, did ever produce a sincere homage, (h) it must have been upon this occasion when the Patriarch called to remembrance the many vows he had made to God in the bitterness of his soul, and in the midst of his distress; when coming out of the ark, he had before his eyes the ruins of the old world, so many dreadful objects of the divine vengeance; and at the same time saw himself safe amidst his little family, which must have all likewise perished, had they not been preserved by a miraculous interposition. And with such affections of mind as this scene could not but excite, it would be injurious not to think that his prayers and oblations were answerably fervent, and his joy and thanksgiving such as became so signal a deliverance.

But it was not upon account of these only that his service found so favourable a reception. Sacrifices (i) (as we shewed before) were of divine institution, and prefigurative

(f) Psal. l. 7. &c. (g) Patrick's Commentary. (h) Saarin's Dissertations. (i) Vid. p. 135. &c.

A. M.
 1657, &c.
 Ant. Christ.
 2347, &c.
 from Gen.
 viii. 20. to
 the end of
 ch. 9.

Answered,
 by shewing
 why Noah's
 sacrifice

was accept-
 ed.

A. M. of that great propitiation which God, in due time, would exhibit in the death of his son. Whatever merit they have, they derive from Christ, *(k)* who gave himself for us, an offering, and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour. It was in the sense of this, therefore, that Noah approached the altar which he had erected; and while he was offering his appointed sacrifices, failed not to commemorate *this Lamb of God, which was slain from the foundation of the world,* and so found his acceptance in the beloved; for he is the *(l)* angel which comes and stands at the altar, having a golden censer, and to whom is given much incense, that he may offer it with the prayers of the saints, upon the golden altar, which is before the throne.

That the covenant hereupon refrained God neither from particular inundations;

We mistake the matter however very much, if we imagine, that the merit of Noah's sacrifice (even when purified with the blood of Christ) was the procuring cause of the covenant here mentioned. The covenant was in the divine counsel from everlasting, and God only here takes an occasion to acquaint Noah with it: but then we may observe, that he expresses himself in such terms as lay no restraint upon him from sending a judgment of waters, or from bringing a general conflagration upon the world at the last day. He binds himself only *never to smite any more every living thing in the manner he had done*, i. e. with an universal deluge; but if any nation deserves such a punishment, and the situation of their country well admits of it, he may, if he pleases, without breach of this covenant, bring a local inundation upon them; though it must be acknowledged, that whenever we find him threatening any people with his *(m)* sore judgments, he never makes mention of this.

nor the general conflagration.

It was a general tradition among the Heathens, that the world was to undergo a double destruction, one by water, and the other by fire. The destruction by fire St Peter has given us a very lively description of. *(n)* *The heavens and the earth, which are now, says he, are kept in store, reserved unto fire, against the day of judgment; for then shall the heavens pass away with a great noise, and the elements melt with fervent heat, and the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up.* But all this is no infraction upon the covenant made with Noah, which relates to the judgment of a flood: And though this catastrophe will certainly be more terrible than the other, yet

(k) Eph. v. 2. *(l)* Revel. viii. 3. *(m)* Vid. Ezek. xiv. 21.
(n) 2 Pet. iii. 7. 19.

it has this great difference in it, (o) that it is not sent as a curse, but as a blessing upon the earth: not as a means to deface and destroy, but to renew and refine it; and therefore the same Apostle adds, (p) *Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.*

Thus the covenant of God standeth sure: but then, in relation to the sign or sacrament of it, whether it was previous or subsequent to the deluge, this has been a matter much debated among the learned. It cannot be denied indeed, but that * this curious mixture of light and shade, discernible

A. M. 1657, &c. Ant. Christ. 2347, &c. from Gen. viii. 20. 10 the end of ch. 9.

That the rainbow, the sign of the covenant, did not exist before the flood.

(o) Heidegger's Hist. patriar. vol. 1. exer. 19. (p) 2 Pet. iii. 13.

* The learned Heidegger has given us an account of the nature and colours of the rainbow; and by what different causes they are produced, in words so very expressive, that I chuse to give them in the original, rather than run the hazard of injuring their emphasis by a bad translation. " *Efficit iridem potissimum sol, seu radius solaris in vaporem receptus, inque eo refractus, propter diversa receptacula; unum rarius, aera; alterum densius, vaporem; qui et solarem recipit radium, et in oculum reflectit: ita ut in iride sit partim ἀνάκλασις, sive radii luminosi, in profunditate vaporis, refractio; partim διάκλασις, seu radii ejus ad oculum reflectio, quæ non possunt sociari nisi in nube rorida, et in pluvias jam resolvendâ; quippe in tantum rara, ut eum aliquantum radius solaris penetret, et in tantum etiam densa, et ubi radius sese paululum insinuarit, eundem repercutiat. Circularis et arcuata est ejus figura, ob figuram solis ipsius; quia semper iris apparet ex adverso solis, repercussis ejus radiis ab opposita nube. Colores iridis, ex varia lucis et umbrarum mixtura, sunt tres potissimum; ποινικός, puniceus et rubicundus; πράσινος, porraceus, sive viridis, et ἀλβεργος, cæruleus. Cum enim solares radii primum subeunt nubem, quia minus transitur opaci, color est rubicundus, sen puniceus: ubi paulo magis penetrârit, impeditur aliquantum coloris ardor, atque sic fit viridis; at in profundam vaporis admissus, usque ad infimam arcus curvaturam, ob opacitatem remittit color, estque cæruleus;" Exercit. 19. This description is pretty lively, and gives us some idea of this strange phænomenon; and yet we must own, that the nature of refraction, on which the colours of the rainbow do depend, is one of the abstrusest things that we meet with in the philosophy of nature. Our renowned Boyle, who wrote a treatise on the subject of colours, after a long and indefatigable search into their natures and properties, was not able so much as to satisfy himself what light is, or (if it be a body) what kind of corpuscles, for size and shape, it consists of,*

A. M.
1657. &c.
Ant. Chrif.
2347. &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

discernible in the rainbow, arises naturally from the super-
ficies of those parts which constitute a cloud, when the
rays of the sun, from the adverse part of the hemisphere,
are darted upon it; and for this reason, (q) whenever there
is the like disposition of the sun to the cloud, it may be i-
magine*d* that the same phænomenon may be seen, and con-
sequently, at certain times, has been seen, not from the de-
luge only, but from the first foundation of the world.
(r) But as this opinion has nothing in Scripture to enforce
it, so there are no grounds in nature to give it any sanction,
unless we will assert this manifest untruth, — That every
disposition of the air, and every density of a cloud, is fitly
qualified to produce a rainbow.

This meteor (as the Scripture informs us) * was ap-
pointed

or how these insensible corpuscles could be so differently, and yet
withal so regularly, refracted: and he freely acknowledges, that
however some colours might be plausibly enough explained in the
general, from experiments he had made, yet whensoever he would
descend to the minute and accurate explication of particulars, he
found himself very sensible of the great obscurity of things. Dr
Halley, the great ornament of his profession, makes the same ac-
knowledgment; and after having, from the given proportion of
refraction, accounted both for the colours and diameter of the
rainbow, with its several appearances, he could hence discern (as
he tells us) farther difficulties lying before him: particularly,
from whence arose the refractive force of fluids? which is a pro-
blem of no small moment, and yet deservedly to be placed among
the mysteries of nature, *nondum sensibus, aut ratiociniis nostris
objecta*: and the noble Theorist of light himself, after his many
surprising discoveries, built even upon vulgar experiments, found
it too hard for him to resolve himself in some particulars about it;
and notwithstanding all his prodigious skill in mathematics, and
his dextrous management of the most obvious experiments, he con-
cludes it at last to be a work too arduous for human understanding,
absolutely to determine what light is, after what manner refracted,
and by what modes and actions it produceth in our minds the phan-
tastes of colours; *Biblioth. Biblica, vol. 2. occas. annot. 2. in
the appendix.*

(q) *Vid.* Brown's *Pseudodoxia epidemica*. (r) Dr Jackson
upon the Creed, l. i. c. 16.

* That this rainbow was thought to be of somewhat more than
mere natural extraction, the physical mythology of the ancient
Heathens seems to testify, and it is not improbable, that from
the tenor of God's covenant here made with Noah, which
might be communicated to them by tradition, Homer, the great
father

pointed by God to be a witness of his covenant with the new world, and a messenger to secure mankind from destruction by deluges; so that had it appeared before the flood, the sight of it afterwards would have been but a poor comfort to Noah and his posterity, whose fear of an inundation was too violent, ever to be taken away by a common and ordinary sign.

A. M.
1657, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch 9.

For suppose that God Almighty had said to Noah, (s)
 “ I make a promise to you, and to all living creatures,
 “ that the world shall never be destroyed by water again ;
 “ and for confirmation of this, behold, I set the sun in
 “ the firmament :” would this have been any strengthening
 of Noah’s faith, or any satisfaction to his mind? “ Why,
 “ (says Noah) the sun was in the firmament when the
 “ deluge came, and was a spectator of that sad tragedy ;
 “ and as it may be so again, † what sign or assurance
 “ in

father of Ethnick poetry, does, by an easy and lively fiction, bring in Jupiter, the king of heaven, sending Iris, his messenger, with a peremptory command to Neptune, the prince of waters, to desist from any farther assisting the Grecians, and annoying the Trojans; and at the same time that Iris is sent with this message to the watery deity, the poet has so contrived the matter, that Apollo, or the sun, which is the parent and efficient cause of the rainbow, is sent with another message to Hector, and the Trojans, in order to encourage them to take the field again, and renew their attack. The meaning of all which fine machinery is no more than this,—That after a great deal of rain, which had caused an inundation, and thereby made the Trojan horse useless, the sun began to appear again, and the rainbow in a cloud opposite to the sun, which was a sure prognostic of fair weather; *Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. 1. occas. annot. 2. in the appendix.*

(s) Burnet’s Theory.

† When God gives a sign in the heavens, or on the earth, of any prophecy or promise to be fulfilled, it must be something new, or by some change wrought in nature, whereby he testifies to us, that he is able and willing to stand to his promise. Thus God puts the matter to Ahaz, *Ask a sign of the Lord, ask it either in the depth, or in the height above:* and when Ahaz would ask no sign, God gives him one unasked: *Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son.* Thus when Abraham asked a sign, whereby he might be assured of God’s promise, that his seed should inherit the land of Canaan, it is said, that *when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp passed between the pieces of the beasts which he had cut asunder,*
 Gen.

A. M. "in this, against a second deluge?" But now if we suppose, on the other hand, that the rainbow first appeared to the inhabitants of the earth after the deluge, nothing could be a more proper and apposite sign for providence to pitch upon, in order to confirm the promise made to Noah and his posterity, that the world should no more be destroyed by water. The rainbow had a secret connection with the effect itself, and so far was * a natural sign; and as it appeared first after the deluge, and was formed in a thin, watry cloud, there is, methinks, a great easiness and propriety of its application for such a purpose. For if we suppose, that while God almighty was declaring his promise to Noah, and what he intended for the sign of it, there appeared, at the same time, in the clouds, *

3657, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

2

Gen. xv. 17. And in like manner, in the sign given to Hezekiah for his recovery, and to Gideon for his victory; in the former case, *the shadow went back ten degrees in Abaz's dial*, Isa. xxxviii. 8.; and in the latter, *the fleece was wet, and all the ground about it dry*; and then (to change the trial) *it was dry, and all the ground about it wet*, Judg. vi. 38. 39. These were all signs, proper, significant, and satisfactory, having something new, surprising, and extraordinary in them, denoting the hand and interposition of God: but where every thing continues to be as it was before, and the face of nature, in all its parts, the very same, it cannot signify any thing new, nor any new intention of the author of nature; and, consequently, cannot be a sign or pledge, a token or assurance of the accomplishment of any new covenant or promise made by him; *Burnet's Theory*, l. 2. c. 5.

* Common philosophy teaches us, that the rainbow is a natural sign that there will not be much rain after it appears, but that the clouds begin to disperse. For as it never appears in a thick cloud, but only in a thin, whenever it appears after showers which come from thick clouds, it is a token that they now grow thin; and therefore the God of nature made choice of this sign, rather than any other, to satisfy us, that he would never suffer the clouds to thicken again to such a degree, as to bring another deluge upon the earth; *Patrick's Commentary*. "Fit
" iris ab adverso sole, mittente radios in nubem non densam;
" significat ergo naturaliter, quod et jussu Dei, imbrēm nunquam
" obruturum mundam: quī enim possit, cum neque cœlumi to-
" tum obductum nubibus sit, neque, quæ adsunt, sunt valde den-
" sæ?" *Valesius, De S. Philos. c. 9.*

* The ingenious Marcus Marci is of opinion, that the rainbow, which first appeared to Noah after the flood, and was so particularly dignified by God, as to be consecrated for a divine sign,

a fair rainbow, that marvellous and beautiful meteor, which Noah had never seen before, it could not but make a most lively impressi^on upon him, quickening his faith, and giving him comfort and assurance, that God would be stedfast to his purpose.

A. M. 1657, &c.
Ant. Chriſt. 2347, &c.
from Gen. viii. 20. to the end of ch. 9.

For God did not *set this bow in the clouds for his own sake*, to engage his attention, and revive his memory, whenever he looked on it, (though that be the expressi^on which the Holy Spirit, speaking after the manner of men, has thought fit to make use of), but for our sakes was it placed there, as an illustrious symbol of the divine mercy and goodness, and to confirm our belief and confidence in God: and therefore, whenever (t) *we look upon the rainbow*, we should do well to *praise him who made it; for very beautiful is it in the brightness thereof. It compasseth the heaven with a glorious circle, and the hands of the most high have bended it.*

And for whose sake it was appointed.

And as the goodness of God was very conspicuous to Noah and his posterity, in giving them a new sign for the confirmation of his promises; so it was no less remarkable in the new charter which he granted them, for the enlargement of their diet. That our first parents *, in their state

That flesh was not eat before the flood.

sign, was not the common one, but a great and universal iris, inimitable by art, which he has defined by a segment of a circle, dissected into several gyrations (or rounds) by the diversity of the colours, differing from one another, begotten by the sun-beams refracted in the atmosphere, and terminated with an opaque superficies. But whether this serves to explain the matter any better, or whether the common rainbow be not an appearance illustrious enough to answer the purposes for which it was intended, we leave the curious to inquire; and shall only observe farther, that whether it was an ordinary or extraordinary bow which appeared to Noah, it is the opinion of some, that the time of its first appearing was not immediately after he had sacrificed, (as is generally supposed), but on the 150th day of the flood, when God remembered Noah, upon which very day of the year they likewise calculate the birth of Christ (as pretypified thereby) to have exactly fallen out; and that even the glory of the Lord, which shone round about the shepherds, was a gracious phenomenon, corresponding with this sign of the covenant; *Biblicthea Biblica, ibid.*

(t) Ecclesiasticus, xliiii. 11. 12.

* This notion the Pagan poets and philosophers had received: for Ovid, in his description of these times, gives us to understand,

stapd,

A. M. 7657, &c. Ant. Chris. 2347, &c. from Gen. viii. 20. to the end of ch. ix.

state of integrity, had not the liberty of eating flesh, is very evident, because they were limited by that injunction which appoints herbs and fruits for their food: (u) *Behold I have given you every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of the earth, and every tree in the which is the fruit of the tree yielding seed: to you it shall be for meat.* Nay, so far was mankind from being indulged the liberty of eating flesh at that time, that we find the beasts of the field, creatures that in their nature are voracious, and the fowl of the air, and every thing that crept upon the earth, under the same restraint, as having nothing allowed them for their food but the herbage of the ground; because it was the Almighty's will, that in the state of innocence no violence should be committed, nor any life maintained at the loss and forfeiture of another's.

This was the original order and appointment, and so it continued after the fall; for we can hardly suppose, that God would allow a greater privilege to man after his transgression than he did before. On the contrary, we find him (x) *curfing the ground* for man's sake, and telling him expressly, that *in sorrow he should eat of it all the days of his life*; and though it should bring forth thorns and thistles to him, yet here the restriction is still continued, *Of the herbs of the field thou shalt eat*, which is far from im-

stand, that they fed on no flesh, but lived altogether on herbs and fruits, when he introduces Pythagoras, a great inquirer into the ancient and primitive practices of the world, expressing himself in this manner:

At vetus illa ætas, cui fecimus aurea nomen,
 Foetibus arboreis, et quas humus educit, herbis
 Fortunata fuit; nec polluit ora cruore.
 Tunc et aves tutæ movere per aëra pennas,
 Et lepus impavidus mediis erravit in arvis;
 Nec sua credulitas piscem suspenderat hamo.
 Cuncta sine infidiis, nullamque timentia fraudem,
 Pienaque pacis erant. *Met. l. 15.*

Porphry, in his book *De abstinentia*, asserts the same thing, viz. That in the golden age no flesh of beasts was eaten, and he is to be pardoned in what he adds afterwards, viz. That war and famine introduced this practice. He was not acquainted with Genesis; he knew not that God's order to Noah after the flood was, that *every living creature should be meat for him*; Edwards's Survey of religion, vol. I. p. 117.

(u) Gen. i. 29. 30. (x) Ch. iii. 17. 18.

plying a permission to make use of living creatures for that purpose. A. M. 1657, &c.

Nay, farther, we may observe, that such a permission had been inconsistent with God's intention of punishing him by impoverishing the earth; since, had God indulged him the liberty of making use of what creatures he pleased for his food, he might easily have made himself an amends for the unfruitfulness of the earth, by the many good things which nature had provided for him. The dominion therefore which God at first gave mankind over brute-animals, could not extend to their slaying them for food, since another kind of diet was enjoined them; nor could the distinction of clean and unclean respect them as things to be eaten, but as things to be sacrificed. The first permission to eat them was given to Noah and his sons, and is plainly a distinct branch of power, from what God grants, when he tells them, (y) *The fear of you, and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, &c.* Ant. Chris. 2347, &c. from Gen. viii. 20. to the end of ch. 9.

If it be asked, for what reason God should indulge Noah and his posterity in the eating of flesh after the flood, which he had never permitted before it? the most probable answer is, — That he therefore did it because the earth was corrupted by the deluge, and the virtue of its herbs, and plants, and other vegetables, sadly impaired by the saltness, and long continuance of the waters, so that they could not yield that wholesome and solid nutriment which they did before: though others rather think, that God indulged them in this, (z) *because of the hardness of their hearts*; and that, perceiving the eagerness of their appetites towards carnal food, and designing withal to abbreviate the term of human life, he gave them a free licence to eat it; but knowing, at the same time, that it was less salutary than the natural products of the earth, he thence took occasion to accomplish his will and determination, of having the period of human life made much shorter. Nor is the reason, which (a) Theodoret assigns, for God's changing the diet of men from the fruits of the earth, to the flesh of animals, much amiss, *viz.* “That, foreknowing, in future ages, they would idolize his creatures, he might aggravate the absurdity, and make it more ridiculous so to do, by their consuming at their tables what they sacrificed at their altars; since nothing is more absurd, than to worship what we eat.” Why it was granted to Noah and his posterity.

(y) Gen. ix. 2. (z) Matth. xix. 8. (a) In Gen. quaest. 55. p. 44.

A. M.
1657, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
ch. 9.

That man's
dominion
over brute-
creatures
ſtill conti-
nues.

It cannot be denied indeed, but that the grant of dominion which God gave Adam, in his ſtate of innocence, is now much impaired; and that the creatures, which to him were ſubmiſſive through love, by us muſt be uſed with ſeverity; and ſubjected by fear: but ſtill it is no ſmall happineſs to us, that we know how to ſubdue them; that the horſe and the ox patiently ſubmit to the bridle and the yoke; and ſuch creatures as are immorigerous, we have found out expedients to reclaim. For though man's ſtrength be comparatively ſmall, yet there is no creature in the earth, ſea, or air, but what *, by ſome ſtratagem or other, he can put in ſubjection under him.

But (b) *canſt thou draw out Leviathan with an hook? or his tongue with a cord, which thou letteſt down? Canſt thou put an hook into his noſe? or bore his jaw through with a ſpear? Will he make many ſupplications unto thee? Will he ſpeak ſoft words unto thee? Wilt thou take him for a ſervant for ever?* All theſe queſtions, how expreſſive ſoever of the ſeveral qualities of this portentous creature, may, nevertheleſs, be answered in the affirmative, viz. That how large ſoever in bulk, and how tremendous ſoever in ſtrength this animal may be, yet the Greenland fiſhermen, who every year return with its ſpoils, do literally perform what our author ſeems to account impoſſible; they (c) *fill his ſkin with barbed irons, and his head with fiſh-ſpears; and ſo they play with him, as with a bird; they bind him for their maidens, and part him among their merchants.*

* This ſuperiority of man over all other creatures, his holding them in ſubjection, and making them ſubſervient to his uſes, we find elegantly deſcribed by Oppianus, in the following verſes.

— ἢ γάρ τι πέλει Καθυπέρτερον ἀνδρῶν,
Νόſφι Θεῶν μύνοιſι δ' ὑπεῖχομεν ἀθανάτοιſιν.
"Οςσος μὲν κατ' ὄρεſφι βινυ ἀτρεſον ἔχοντας
Θῆας ὑπερειαλως βροτῶς ἑς-εῖſειν; ὕσσα δὲ φύλα
"Οιωῶν νεφέλῃσι ἔ ἠέρι δινεύοντα
Εἶλε, χαμαὶ ἔπιλον περ ἔχων δέμας; ἦδ' ἐ λείοντα
"Ρύσαι ἀγνηορῆ δμνηθῆμεναι ἦδ' ἐſάωſειν
"Αιείδον ἠνεμῶεις πτερυγων βόθης ἀλλά ἔ Ἰνδῶν
Θῆρα κελαινὸρρίνον ὑπέρειον ἀχθος ἀνάγκη
Κλίναν ἐπιβρίσαντες, ὑπὸ ζεύγλῃſι δ' ἔθηκαν
"Ουρῶν ταλαεργῶν ἔχειν πόνον ἐλκυσῆρα.

Lib 5. Halieutic. n. ver. 10. &c.

(b) Job. xli. i. &c.

(c) ver. 5. &c.

In short, God has implanted in all creatures, a fear and dread of man. (d) This is the thing which keeps wolves out of our towns, and lions out of our streets; and tho' the sharpness of hunger, or violence of rage, may at certain times make them forget their natural instinct, (as the like causes have sometimes divested man of his reason), yet, no sooner are these causes removed, but they return to their ordinary temper again, without pursuing their advantage, or combining with their fellow-brutes to rise up in rebellion against man, their lord and master.

(e) Some modern writers of no small note are clearly of opinion, that the Ararat where the ark rested, was mount Caucasus, not far from China, where Noah and some part of his family settled, without travelling to Shinar, or having any hand in the building of Babel; and the arguments they alledge for the support of this opinion, are such as these, — That the Mosaic history is altogether silent, as to the peopling of China at the dispersion, and wholly confines itself within the bounds of the then known world; that the Chinese language and writing are so entirely different from those among us, (introduced by the confusion at Babel), that it cannot well be supposed they were ever derived from them; and that (taking their first king Fohi and Noah to be the same person) there are several (f) traditions relating to them, wherein they seem to agree, that the reign of Fohi coincides with the times of Noah, and the lives of his successors correspond with the men of the same ages recorded in Scripture; and from hence they infer, that the true reason why Moses makes so little mention of Noah, in the times subsequent to the

A. M.
1657, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

Why Moses
makes so
little men-
tion of
Noah after
the flood.

(d) Miller's History of the church, l. i. c. i. (e) Dr Alix, in his Reflections on the books of the Holy Scriptures; Mr Whiston in his Chronology of the Old Testament; Shuckford, in his Connection; and Bedford, in his Scripture chronology. (f) Thus, in the Chinese history, Fohi is said to have had no father, which agrees well enough with Noah, because the memory of his father might be lost in the deluge; that Fohi's mother conceived him, as she was encompassed with a rainbow; which seems to allude to the rainbow's first appearing to Noah after the flood; and that Fohi carefully bred up seven sort of creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the supreme Spirit of heaven and earth, which is an imperfect tradition of Noah's taking into the ark, of every clean beast by sevens, and of his making use of none but these in all his burnt-offerings; Shuckford's Connection, lib. 2.

A. M. flood, is this,—That he lived at too great a distance, and had no share in the transactions of the nations round about Shinar, to whom alone, after the dispersion of mankind, he is known to confine history. This indeed is solving the difficulty at once: but then, as this opinion is only conjectural, the histories and records of China are of a very uncertain and precarious authority, and such as are reputed genuine, of no older date than some few centuries before the birth of Christ, the major part of the learned world has supposed, either that Noah, settling in the country of Armenia, did not remove from thence, nor had any concern in the work of Babel, and so falls not under the historian's consideration; or that, if he did remove with the rest into the plains of Shinar, being now superannuated, and unfit for action, the administration of things was committed to other hands, which made his name and authority the less taken notice of.

Why he records the account of his drunkenness. It must be acknowledged, however, that the design of the sacred penman is, to be very succinct in his account of the affairs of this period, because he is hastening to the history of Abraham, the great founder of the Jewish nation, and whose life and adventures he thinks himself concerned, upon that account, to relate more at large. However this be, it is certain, from the tenor of his writing, that he is far from leading us into any suspicion of his having a private malignity to Noah's character. He informs us, that, amidst the corruption of the antediluvian world, he preserved himself immaculate, and did therefore find favour in the sight of God, and was admitted to the honour of his immediate converse: that, to preserve him from the general destruction, God instructed him how to build a vessel of security, undertook the care and conduct of it himself, and, amidst the ruins of a sinking world, landed it safe on one of the mountains of Armenia; that, as soon as the deluge was over, God accepted of his homage and sacrifice, and not only renewed to him the same charter which he had originally granted to our first progenitor, but over and above that, gave him an enlargement of his diet which he had not granted to any before; and with him made an everlasting covenant, never to destroy the world by water any more, whereof he constituted his bow in the clouds to be a glorious symbol. In this point of light it is that Moses has, all along, placed the patriarch's character; and therefore, if, in the conclusion of it, he was forced to shade it with one act of intemperance, this, we may reasonably conclude,

clude, proceeded from no other passion but his love of truth; and to every impartial reader must be * a strong argument of his veracity, in that he has interspersed the faults with the commendations of his worthies, and, through his whole history, drawn no one character so very fair, as not to leave some blemishes, some instances of human frailty still abiding on it. And indeed, if we consider the thing rightly, we shall find it an act of singular kindness and benefit to us, that God has ordered the faults and miscarriages of his saints so constantly to be recorded in Scripture; since they are written for our instruction, to remind us of our frailty, and to alarm our caution and fear.

Noah, we read, had escaped the pollutions of the old world, and approved his fidelity to God in every trying juncture; and yet we see him here falling of his own accord, and shamefully overcome in a time of security and peace; when he had no temptations to beset him, nor any boon companions to allure him to excess: and therefore his example calls perpetually upon (g) *him that thinketh he standeth, to take heed lest he fall*. More especially, it informs us, that (h) *wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby, is not wise*; and therefore it exhorts, in the words of the wise man, (i) *Look not thou upon wine when it is red, when it giveth its colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright. At the last it will bite like a serpent, and sting like an adder. Thine eyes shall behold strange women, and thine heart shall utter per-*

* To confirm, in some measure, the truth of this account of Moses, we have an Heathen story, which seems to have sprung from some tradition concerning it; for it tells us, that, on a certain day, Myrrha, wife, or (as others say) nurse to Hammon, and mother of Adonis, having her son in her company, found Cynistas sleeping in his tent, all uncovered, and in an indecent posture. She ran immediately, and informed Hammon of it; he gave notice of it to his brothers, who, to prevent the confusion which Cynistas might be in to find himself naked, covered him with something. Cynistas, understanding what had passed, cursed Adonis, and pursued Myrrha into Arabia; where, after having wandered nine months, she was changed into a tree which bears myrrh. Hammon and Ham are the same person, and so are Adonis and Canaan; *Calmet's Dictionary on the word Ham*.

(g) 1 Cor. x. 12. (h) Prov. xx. 1. (i) Ch. xxiii. 31. &c.

A. M. *verse things; yea, thou shalt be as he that lieth down in*
 2657, &c. *the midst of the sea, and as he that lieth upon the top of a*
 Ant. Chriſt. *maſt.*
 2347, &c.

There is not however all the reason that is imagined, to suppose that Noah was drunk to any such excessive degree. The same word which is here used occurs (k) in another place in this book of Genesis, where we read, that *Joseph's brethren drank, and were merry with him*; and yet the circumstances of the entertainment will not suffer us to think, that they indulged themselves in any excess, in the presence of him whom as yet they knew to be no other than the governor of Egypt. And in like manner, if we may be allowed to take the word here in an innocent sense, its import will only be, that Noah drank of the wine plentifully, perhaps, but not to a debauch, and so fell asleep. For we must observe, that Moses's design is, not to accuse Noah of intemperance, but only to shew upon what occasion it was the Canaanites, whom the people under his command were now going to engage, were accursed, and reprobated by God, even from the days of Noah; and consequently, in more likelihood to fall into their hands.

Without perplexing ourselves therefore to find out such excuses as several interpreters have devised, as that Noah was unacquainted with the nature of the vine in general, * or with the effects of this in particular, or that the age and infirmity of his body, or the deep concern and melancholy of his mind, made him liable to be overcome with a very little; we may adventure to say, that he drank plentifully, without impeaching his sobriety; and that while he was asleep, he chanced to be uncovered, without any stain upon his modesty. There is a great deal of difference between satiety and intemperance, between refreshing nature, and debauching it; and considering withal, that the fashion of mens habits was at that time

(k) Ch. xliii. 34.

* It is a Jewish tradition or allegory, that the vine which Noah planted was not of ordinary terrestrial growth, but was carried down the river out of paradise, or at least out of Eden, and found by him: and as some have imagined that *the tree of knowledge of good and evil* was a vine, so, by the description given thereof, and the fatal consequences attending it, there seems to be a plain allusion to it, and some reason to believe that it was one and the same tree by which the nakedness both of Adam and Noah was exposed to derision; *Targ. Jonath.*

loose, (as they were likewise in subsequent ages before the use of breeches was found out), such an accident might have easily happened, without the imputation of any harm.

(l) The Jewish doctors are generally of opinion, that Canaan, * having first discovered his grandfather's nakedness, made himself merry therewith, and afterwards exposed it to the scorn of his father. Whoever the person was, it is certain that he is called (m) *the younger, or little son of Noah*, which cannot well agree with Ham, because he was neither little, nor his younger son, but the second, or middlemost, as he is always placed; (n) nor does it seem so pertinent to the matter in hand, to mention the order of his birth, but very fit (if he speaks of his grandson) to distinguish him from the rest. So that if it was Canaan who treated his grandfire in this unworthy manner, the application of the curse to him, who was first in the offence,

A. M. 1657, &c. Ant. Christ. 2347, &c. from Gen. viii. 20. to the end of ch. 9.

Why Noah cursed Canaan, and not Ham.

(l) Calmet's Dictionary on the word *Canaan*.

* Interpreters have invented several other reasons, why the curse which properly belonged to Ham was inflicted on his son Canaan; as 1st, When Canaan is mentioned, Ham is not exempted from the malediction, but rather more deeply plunged into it, because parents are apt to be more affected with their childrens misfortunes than their own; especially, if themselves brought the evil upon them by their own fault or folly. 2dly, God having blessed the three sons of Noah at their going out of the ark, it was not proper that Noah's curse should interfere with the divine blessing, but very proper that it should be transferred to Canaan, in regard to the future extirpation of the people which were to descend from him. But, 3dly, Some imagine that there is here an *ellipsis*, or defect of the word *father*, since such relative words are frequently omitted, or understood in Scripture. Thus, Mat. iv. 21. *James of Zebedee for the son of Zebedee*; John xix. 25. *Mary of Cleopas for the wife of Cleopas*; and Acts vii. 16. *Emmor of Sychem for the father of Sychem*, which our translation rightly supplies; and in like manner, *Canaan* may be put for *the father of Canaan*, as the Arabic translation has it, *i. e. Ham*, as the Septuagint here render it. And though Ham had more sons, yet he may here be described by his relation to Canaan, because in him the curse was more fixed and dreadful, reaching to his utter extirpation, whilst the rest of Ham's posterity in after ages were blessed with the saving knowledge of the gospel; *Pool's Annotations*.

(m) Gen. ix. 24. (n) Patrick's Commentary.

A. M. is far from being a mistake in Noah. It is no random anathema which he let fly at all adventures, but a cool, deliberate denunciation, which proceeded not from a spirit of indignation, but of prophecy. The history indeed takes notice of this malediction immediately upon Noah's awaking out of his sleep, and being informed of what had happened; but this is occasioned by its known brevity, which (as we have often remarked) relates things as instantly successive, when a considerable space of time ought to interfere. In all probability, these predictions of Noah, which point out the different fates of his posterity, were such as (o) we find † Jacob pronouncing over his sons a little before his death; and it is not unlikely, that the common opinion of Noah's dividing the earth among *his*, might take its original from these last words that we read of him, which were certainly accomplished in their event.

The curse verified.

The curse upon Canaan is, that he should be a servant to Shem: and (p) about 800 years after this, did not the Israelites, descendents of Shem, take possession of the land of Canaan, subdue thirty of its kings, destroy most of its inhabitants, lay heavy tributes upon the remainder, and, by oppressions of one kind or other, oblige some to fly into Egypt, * others into Africa, and others into Greece? He

(o) Gen. xlix.

† That which may confirm us in this opinion, is,—That Jacob, when he calleth his children together, acquaints them, that his purpose is *to tell them that which shall befall them in the last days*; and that he does not always presage blessings, but sometimes ill-luck to their posterity, and (in the same manner that Noah does) now and then drops a note of his displeasure, according as their behaviour has been: For thus he says of Simeon and Levi, in regard to the slaughter of the Shechemites, *Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel*, Gen. xlix. 7.

(p) Patrick's Comment. in locum.

* Procopius [De bello Vandal. l. 2. c. 10.] tells us, that in the province of Tingitana, and in the very ancient city of Tingis, which was founded by them, there are two great pillars to be seen, of white stone, erected near a large fountain, with an inscription in Phœnician characters to this purpose, *We are people preserved by flight from that rover Jesus, the son of Nave, who pursued us*. And what makes it very probable that they bent their flight this way, is the great agreement, and almost identity of the Punic, with the Canaanitish or Hebrew language; *Calmet's Dictionary on the word Canaan*.

was doomed likewise to be a servant to Japhet; and did not the Greeks and Romans, descended from Japhet, utterly destroy the relicks of Canaan, who fled to Tyre, built by the Sidonians; to Thebes, built by Cadmus; and to Carthage, built by Dido? For who has not heard of the conquests of the Romans over the Africans?

The blessing upon Japhet is, that his territories should be enlarged: (q) and can we think otherwise, when we shall shew anon) not only all Europe, and the Lesser Asia, but Media likewise, and part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and the vast regions towards the north, which anciently the Scythians, but now the Tartars, inhabit, fell to the share of his posterity? It was likewise declared, that he should dwell in the tents of Shem; and is it not notorious, that the Greeks and Romans invaded, and conquered that part of Asia where the posterity of Shem had planted themselves? that both Alexander and Cæsar were masters of Jerusalem, and made all the countries thereabout tributary? “ You (says (r) Justin Martyr, speaking to Trypho the Jew concerning his nation) who are descended from Shem, according as God has appointed, came into the land of the children of Canaan, and made it your own; and in like manner, according to the divine decree, the sons of Japhet (the Romans) have broke in upon you, seized upon your whole country, and still keep possession of it. Thus the sons of Shem (says he) have overpowered and reduced the Canaanite; and the sons of Japhet have subdued the sons of Shem, and made them their vassals; so that the posterity of Canaan are become, in a literal sense, *servants of servants*.”

There is something peculiar in the blessing which Noah gives Shem; for (s) *blessed* (says he) *be the Lord God of Shem*: but why the God of Shem, and not the God of Japhet? As to the behaviour of these two sons towards their father, it was the same. They joined in the pious office done to him; so that in this respect they were equal, and equally deserving of a blessing. Nay, if any preference was due to either from the father, it was to Japhet, his first-born; for so he was, though commonly last named, when the sons of Noah are mentioned together. Now this being the case, how comes Shem to be preferred? And what

(q) Patrick's Commentary. p. 288. (r) Dial contra Tryp. Jud. (s) Gen. ix. 26.

A. M. 1657, &c. Ant. Chris. 2347, &c. from Gen. viii. 20. to the end of ch. 9.

The blessing upon Japhet,

A. M. is the blessing conferred on him? A temporal blessing it could not be; for that was before confirmed with all the sons of Noah. Day and night, summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, were a common gift to the world, and bestowed (as our Saviour observes) *on the evil, as well as on the good*. We may therefore presume, that the blessing here given to Shem was of a different kind, founded upon (t) *a better covenant, and established upon better promises*, than any temporal grant can be. And accordingly we may observe, that the same promise which was given to Adam after the fall, *viz.* that the seed of the woman should finally prevail, was renewed to Noah before the flood; for (u) *with thee will I establish my covenant*, says God; and therefore, as the Apostle to the Hebrews tells us of this patriarch, (x) *that he was heir of the righteousness, which is by faith*; he certainly foresaw, that in Seth's family God would settle his church; that of his seed Christ should be born according to the flesh; and that the covenant which should restore man to himself and to his maker, should be conveyed through his posterity. And this accounts for the preference given to Shem; for Noah spake not of his own choice, but declared the counsel of God, who had now, as he frequently did afterwards, *chosen the younger before the elder*.

Thus it appears upon inquiry, that these prophecies of Noah were not the fumes of indigested liquor, but (y) *the words of truth and soberness*: and though their sense was not so apparent at the time of their being pronounced, yet their accomplishment has now explained their meaning, and verified that observation of the Apostle, (which very probably alludes to the very predictions now before us), *No prophecy is of any private interpretation; for the prophecy came not of old time by the will of men, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*.

DISSERTATION I.

Of the prohibition of blood.

The meaning of the prohibition. **T**HE grant which God was pleased to give Noah and his posterity, to eat the flesh of all living creatures, has this remarkable restriction in it, (z) *But flesh, with the*

(t) Heb. viii. 6. (u) Gen. vi. 18. (x) Heb. xi. 7.
 (y) Acts xxvi. 25. (z) Gen. ix. 4.

life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat.

A. M.
1657, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

Whether this prohibition related to the eating of things strangled, and such as died of themselves, in which the blood was settled, (as (a) some will have it), or to the eating of the flesh of creatures reeking in blood, and their limbs cut off while they themselves were yet alive, (as others (b) imagine), is not so material here to inquire; since the former was prohibited by subsequent laws, both (c) in the Jewish and Christian church, and the latter was a practice too abhorrent to human nature, one would think, to need any prohibition at all. Whether therefore it be blood congealed, or blood mingled in the flesh, that is here primarily intended, the injunction must at least equally extend to blood simple and unmixed; nor can any interpretation imaginable be more natural and obvious than this:—

“ Though I give you the flesh of every creature that you shall think proper to make use of for food, yet I do not at the same time give you the blood with it. The blood is the life, or vehicle, or chief instrument of life, in every creature; it must therefore be reserved for another use, and not be eaten.”

This is the true sense of the prohibition, compared with these parts of the Levitical law wherein we find it re-enjoined: but then the question is, whether this injunction be obligatory upon us now, under the dispensation of the gospel? or, whether the gospel, which is the law of liberty, has set us free from any such observance? and a question it is that ought the rather to be determined, because some have made it a matter of no small scruple to themselves, whilst others have passed it by with neglect, as a law of temporary duration only, and now quite abrogated.

The question thereupon.

That therefore the reader may, in this matter, chiefly judge for himself, I shall fairly state the arguments on both sides; and when I have done this, by a short examination into the merits of each evidence, endeavour to convince myself, and others, on which side of the question it is that truth preponderates; and consequently, what ought to be the practice of every good Christian in relation to this law.

Those who maintain the lawfulness of eating blood, do not deny but that this prohibition obliged Noah and his

The arguments for the eating of blood.

(a) St. Chrysostom, and Ludovicus De Dieu. (b) Maimonides, and our Selden De jure gentium. (c) *Vid.* Lev. xvii. 12.; and Acts xv. 20.

A. M. 1657, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

posterity, *i. e.* all mankind, to the time of the promulgation of the law, do not deny, but that, at the giving of the law, this prohibition was renewed, and more explicit reasons were given for the observation of it; nay, do not deny, but that under the gospel it was enjoined, by a very competent authority, to some particular Christians at least, for some determinate time. But then they contend, that during these several periods, there could be no moral obligation in the injunction, but that, (setting aside the divine authority) *(d) neither if they did eat, were they the worse, neither if they did not eat, were they the better.*

For if there was any moral turpitude in the act of eating blood, or things commixed with blood, how comes it to pass (say they) that though God prohibited his own people the Jews, yet he suffered other nations to eat *(e) any thing that died of itself*, and consequently had the blood settled in-it? *If (f) meat commendeth us to God*, the same providence which took care to restrain the Jews *(g) (for is he the God of the Jews only; is he not also of the Gentiles?)* from what was detestable to him, as well as abhorrent to human nature, would have laid the same inhibition upon all mankind; at least he would not have enjoined his own people to give to a proselyte of the gate, or to sell to an alien or Heathen such meat as would necessarily ensnare them in sin.

The law therefore which enjoined Noah and his children to abstain from blood, must necessarily have been a law peculiar to that time only. *(h) Cain*, in the first age of the world, had slain Abel, while there were but few persons in it: God had now destroyed all mankind, except eight persons; and to prevent the fate of Abel from befalling any of them, he forbids murder under a capital punishment; and to this purpose, forbids the use of blood, as a proper guard upon human life in the infancy of the world. Under the Mosaic covenant he renews this law indeed, but then he establishes it upon another foundation, and makes blood therefore prohibited, because he had appointed it *(i) to be offered upon the altar, and to make an atonement for mens souls: for it is the blood (saith he) that maketh an atonement for the soul;* and what was reserved

(d) 1 Cor. viii. 8. *(e)* Deut. xiv. 21. *(f)* 1 Cor. viii. 8.
(g) Rom. iii. 29. *(h)* Miscellanea sacra, vol. 2. *(i)* Lev. xvii. 11.

for religious purposes was not at that time convenient to be eat. But now, that these purposes are answered, and these sacrifices are at an end, the reason of our abstinence has ceased; and consequently our abstinence itself is no longer a duty.

A. M. 1657, &c. Ant. Chris. 2347, &c. from Gen. viii. 20. to the end of ch. 9.

Blood, we allow, had still something more sacred in it: it was a type of the sacrifice of Christ, who was to be offered upon the altar of his cross; but that oblation being now made, the reason of its appropriation, and being withheld from common use, is now no more. And, though the council at Jerusalem made a decree, even subsequent to the sacrifice of Christ, that the *brethren, who were of the gentiles, should abstain from things strangled, and from blood*; yet before we can determine any thing from this injunction, the occasion, place, time, and other circumstances of it, must be carefully looked into.

The occasion of the decree was this, — While Paul and Barnabas were preaching the gospel at Antioch, certain persons, converted from Judaism, came down from Jerusalem, and, very probably, pretending a commission from the apostles, declared it their opinion, that whoever embraced the Christian religion, was obliged, at the same time, to be circumcised, and observe the whole law.

The place, where the question arose, was Antioch, where (as Josephus tells us) there was a famous Jewish university, full of *profelytes of the gate*, (as they were called), and who, in all probability, were converted by the men of (k) Cyprus and Cyrene, who were among those that were dispersed at the first persecution, which immediately ensued the martyrdom of Stephen.

The persons who moved this question were (l) *some of the sect of the Pharisees*, converted to Christianity; but still so prejudiced in favour of their old religion, or at least of the divine rite of circumcision, that they thought there was no coming to Christ without entering in at that gate.

The persons to whom the question related, (m) were *profelytes of the gate*, i. e. Gentiles by birth, but who had renounced the Heathen religion as to all idolatry, and were thereupon permitted to live in Palestine, or where-ever the Jews inhabited; and had several privileges allowed them, upon condition, that they would observe the laws of society, and conform to certain injunctions that (n) Moses had prescribed them.

(k) Acts xi 20. (l) Ch. xv. 5. (m) Miscellanea sacra, vol. 2. (n) Lev. xvii.

A. M. The time when this question arose, was not long after the conversion of Cornelius; so that this body of profelytes was, very probably, the first large number of Gentiles that were received into the Christian church, and this the first time that the question was agitated, — “Whether the *profelytes of the gate*, who (as the zealots pretended) could not so much as live among Jews without circumcision, could be allowed to be a part of the Christian church without it?”

1657, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2. 47, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

Under these circumstances the council at Jerusalem convened, and accordingly made their decree, that the *profelytes of the gate* (for it is persons of this denomination only which their decree concerns) should (o) abstain from the meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication; the very things which, (p) according to the law of Moses, they engaged themselves to abstain from, when they were first admitted to the privilege of sojourning among the Jews. So that, in effect, the decree did no more than declare the opinion of those who made it, to those to whom it was sent, viz. that Christianity did not alter the condition of the profelytes, in respect of their civil obligations; but that, as they were bound by these laws of Moses before their conversion, so were they still; and consequently, that the sense of St Paul is the same with the sense of the council at that time; (q) let every one abide in the calling, i. e. in the civil state and condition wherein he is called. But supposing the decree to extend farther than the profelytes of Antioch, yet there was another reason why the council at Jerusalem should determine in this manner, and that was — the strong aversion which they knew the Jewish converts would have conceived against the Gentiles, had they been indulged the liberty of eating blood; and therefore, to compromise the matter, they laid on them this prudent restraint, from the same principle that we find St Paul declaring himself in this manner: (r) *Though I am free from all men, yet have I made myself a servant unto all, that I might gain the more. Unto the Jew, I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jew; — to the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.*

Nay, admitted the decree was not made with this view, yet, being founded on laws which concerned the

(o) Acts xv. 29. (p) Vid. Lev. xvii. and xviii. (q) 1 Cor. vii. 20. (r) Ch. ix. 19. 20. 22.

Jewish polity only, it could certainly last no longer than that government lasted; and consequently, ever since the temple-worship has expired, and the Jews have ceased to be a political body, it must have been repealed; and accordingly, if we look into the gospel, say they, we may there find a repeal of it in full form. For therein we are told, (s) that *the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*; (t) that *meat commendeth us not unto God*; (u) that *what goeth into the mouth defileth not the man*; (x) that *to the pure, all things are pure*; and (y) that *there is nothing unclean of itself, but only to him that esteemeth it to be unclean, it is unclean*; for every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be refused, if it be received with thanksgivings, for it is sanctified with the word of God and prayer (z); And therefore we are ordered, (a) that *whatever is sold in the shambles, even though it be a thing offered to idols, that to eat, asking no questions for conscience sake*; and are told, that (b) *whoever commandeth us to abstain from meats, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving of them that believe, and know the truth, ought to be ranked in the number of seducers.*

In a word, the very genius of the Christian religion, say they, is a charter of liberty, and a full exemption from the law of Moses. It debars us from nothing, but what has a moral turpitude in it, or at least what is too base and abject for a man that has the revelation of a glorious and immortal life in the world to come: and as there is no tendency of this kind in the eating of blood, they therefore conclude, that this decree of the apostles either concerned the (c) Jewish profelytes only, who, in virtue of the obedience they owed to the civil laws of Palestine, were to abstain from blood; or obliged none, but the Gentiles of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, to whom it was directed; was calculated for a certain season only, either to prevent giving offence to the Jews, who were then captious, or to reconcile Gentile and Jewish converts, who were then at some variance; but was to last no longer than till the Jews and Gentiles were formed into one communion. So that now, the prohibition given by God to Noah, the laws gi-

(s) Rom. xiv. 17. (t) 1 Cor. viii. 8. (u) Math. xv. 11.
 (x) Tit. i. 15. (y) Rom. xiv. 14. (z) 1 Tim. iv. 4. 5.
 (a) 1 Cor. x. 25. 28. (b) 1 Tim. iv. 1. 3. (c) Miscel-
 lanea sacra, vol. 2.

A. M. 1657, &c. Ant. Chrif. 2347, &c. from Gen. viii. 20. to the end of ch. 9.

ven by Moses to the Israelites, and the decree sent by the apostles to the Christians at Antioch, are all repealed and gone, and a full licence given us to eat blood with the same indifference, as any other food; if so be we thereby (*d*) give no offence to our weaker brethren, for whom Christ died.

Those who maintain the contrary opinion, viz. That the eating of blood, in any guise whatever, is wicked and unlawful, found the chief of their arguments upon the limitation of the grant given to Noah, the reasons that are commonly devised for the prohibition, and the literal sense of the apostolic decree.

The arguments against the eating of blood.

(*e*) When princes give grant of lands to any of their subjects, say they, they usually reserve some royalties (such as the mines, or minerals) to themselves, as memorials of their own sovereignty, and the other's dependence. If the grant indeed be given without any reserve, the mines and minerals may be supposed to be included in it; but when it is thus expressly limited, "You shall have such and such lordships and manors, but you shall not have the mines and minerals with the lands, for several good reasons specified in the patent;" it must needs be an odd turn of thought to imagine, that the grantee has any title to them; and yet this is a parallel case: for when God has thus declared his will to the children of men, — "You shall have the flesh of every creature for food, but you shall not eat the blood with it;" it is every whit as strange an inference, to deduce from hence a general right to eat blood.

The commandment given to Adam is, — (*f*) *Of every tree in the garden thou shalt freely eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat.* This is the first law: and the second is like unto it, (*g*) *Every moving thing, that moveth, shall be meat for you; even as the green herb, have I given you all things; but flesh, with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat.* This, upon his donation both to Adam and Noah, God manifestly reserves to himself, as an acknowledgment of his right, to be duly paid; and when it was relaxed or repealed, say they, we cannot tell.

Nay, so far from being repealed, that it is not only in his words to Noah, that God has declared this inhibition, but in the law, delivered by his servant Moses, he has ex-

(*d*) I Cor. viii. 11. &c. (*e*) Vid. Revelation examined, vol. 2.
 (*f*) Gen. ii. 16. 17. (*g*) Ch. ix. 3. 4.

plained his mind more fully concerning it. *(h) Whatsoever man there is, of the house of Israel, or of the strangers, that sojourn among you, that eateth any manner of blood, I will even set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people.* This is a severe commination, say they; and therefore observe, how oft, in another place, he reiterates the injunction, as it were, with one breath. *(i) Only be sure, that thou eat not the blood, for the blood is the life, and thou mayest not eat the life with the flesh. Thou shalt not eat it; thou shalt pour it upon the earth, as water; thou shalt not eat it, that it may go well with thee, and thy children after thee.*

A. M.
1657, &c.
Ant. Chriſt
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

Now, there are several reasons, continue they, why God should be so importunate in this prohibition. For having appointed the blood of his creatures to be offered for the sins of men, he therefore requires, that it should be religiously set apart for that purpose; and having prohibited the sin of murder under a severe penalty, he therefore guards against it, by previously forbidding the eating of blood, lest that should be an inlet to savageness and cruelty.

The Scythians, (as *(k)* Herodotus assures us), from drinking the blood of their cattle, proceeded to drink the blood of their enemies; and were remarkable for nothing so much, as their horrid and brutal actions. The animals, that feed on blood, are perceived to be much more furious than others that do not; and thereupon they observe, that blood is a very hot, inflaming food; that such foods create cholera, and that cholera easily kindleth into cruelty. Nay, they observe farther, that eating of blood gave occasion to one kind of early idolatry among the Zabii, in the east, viz. the worship of dæmons, whose food, as they imagined, was blood; and therefore they, who adored them, had communion with them by eating the same food. Good reason therefore, say they, had God in the gospel, as well as the law, to prevent a practice which he could not but foresee would be attended with such pernicious effects.

For the apostolic decree, as they argue farther, did not relate to one sect of people only, *the proselytes of the gate*, who were lately converted to Christianity; nor was it directed to some particular places only, and with a design to answer some particular ends, the prevention of offence, or the reconciliation of contending parties; to subsist for

(h) Lev. xvii. 10.

(i) Deut. xii. 23. &c.

(k) Lib. 4.

A. M. a determinate time, and then to lose all its obligation :
 1657, &c. but it concerned all Christians, in all nations, and in all
 Ant. Christ. future ages of the church; was enacted for a general use
 2347, &c. and intent; and has never since been repealed: and to
 from Gen. viii. 20 to support these assertions, they proceed in this method.

the end of
 ch. 9.

Before the passing of this decree, say they, St Paul preached Christianity to the whole body of the Gentiles at Antioch. For he had not long preached in the synagogues, before the Gentiles (*l*) besought him, that he would preach to them the same words, *i. e.* the doctrine of Jesus Christ, on the next Sabbath day; and accordingly we are told, that on the Sabbath day, *came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God*, which certainly implies a concourse of people more than the *profelytes of the gate*; nay, more than the whole body of the Jews, who were but a handful, in comparison of the rest of the inhabitants of that great city; and that this large company was chiefly made up of Gentiles, the sequel of the history informs us. For when the (*m*) Jews saw the multitude, they were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, *contradicting and blaspheming*. Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, *It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles*. And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord; and as many as were ordained to eternal life, believed; and the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region.

Now, this transaction at Antioch, say they, happened seven years before the decree against blood and things strangled was passed at Jerusalem; and therefore, as the Gentiles, not in Antioch only, but in all the region round about, were no strangers to the doctrine of Jesus Christ, there is reason to suppose, that this decree, when passed, was not confined to one particular set of men, but directed to all Gentile converts at large. For hear what the president of the council says upon this occasion; (*n*) *Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them, who from among the Gentiles are turned to God; but that we write unto them, that they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood: for Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogue every Sabbath day.*

(*l*) Acts xiii. 42. &c.

(*m*) Acts xiii. 45. &c.

(*n*) Acts

xv. 19. to 22.

My sentence (says the apostle) is, that ye write unto the Gentile converts upon these points; *for Moses has those of old in every city that preach him*, i. e. there is no necessity of writing to any Jewish convert, or any profelyte convert to Christianity, to abstain from these things, because all that are admitted into synagogues, (as the profelytes were), know all these things sufficiently already. And accordingly, upon this sentence of St James, the decree was founded, and directed (according to the nature of the thing) to those whom it was fitting and necessary to inform in these points, *i. e.* to those who were unacquainted with the writings of Moses.

A. M.
1657, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

The letter indeed which contained the decree, was directed to the brethren at Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia; but it would be shocking, and unchristian to think, that the precepts of an apostolic epistle were obligatory to those only to whom the epistle was directed. The purport of it concerned all. It was to apprise the Heathen converts to Christianity, that they were exempted from the observance of the law of Moses, except in four instances laid down in that canon; and as it was of general concern for all converts to know, the apostles, we may presume, left copies of it in all the churches: for so we are told expressly of St Paul, and his companions, that *(o) as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, which were ordained of the apostles and elders, that were at Jerusalem; and so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily.*

The apostles, say they, out of Christian prudence, might do many things to prevent offence, and to accommodate matters to the peoples good-liking: but certainly it looks below the dignity of a synod, to meet, and debate, and determine a question, with the greatest solemnity, merely to serve a present exigence; to leave upon record a decree which they knew would be but of temporary obligation; and yet, could not but foresee, would occasion endless scruples, and disputes in all future ages of the church. If it was to be of so short a continuance, why was not the repeal notified, and why were not so many poor, ignorant people saved, as died martyrs in the attestation of it? But, above all, how can we suppose it consistent with the honour and justice of the apostles, to impose things as necessary, which were but of transient and momentary duration?

Observe the words of the decree, (cry they), *It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no*

(o) Ch. xvi. 4. 5.

A. M. *greater burthen, than those necessary things, viz. that ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication.* If these abstinences were only intended to be enjoined for a season, could they properly be enjoined under the denomination of *necessary things*? Is that the appellation for duties of a transient and temporary observation? Did neither the apostles, nor the Holy Ghost, know the distinction between necessary and expedient? Or, suppose it not convenient to make the distinction at that time, how come things of a temporary, and those of an eternal obligation, to be placed upon the same foot of necessity in the same decree? Or, were fornication and idolatrous pollutions to be abstained from, only for a season, in compliment to the infirmity of the Jews, or in order to make up a breach between some newly initiated converts? These are absurdities, say they, which cannot be avoided, when men will assert the temporary obligation of this decree.

Some general declarations in Scripture, especially in St Paul's epistles, seem indeed like a repeal of it; but then if we consider the scope and occasion of these declarations, we shall soon perceive, that they were intended to be taken in a limited sense, otherwise they are not consistent with the decree itself. Our blessed Saviour, for instance, tells the people, that, *not that which goeth into the mouth defileth the man, but that which cometh out of it*: but now, if this declaration of his destroys the validity of the apostolic decree, it will follow, *1st*, That this decree was repealed just twenty years before it was made; which is a supposition somewhat extraordinary: and, *2^{dly}*, That the whole body of the apostles did, after full debate, make a most solemn decree, and that under the influence of the Spirit of God, in direct contradiction to the express declaration of their Lord and Master, which is a little too contiguous to blasphemy; and therefore let us consider the occasion of our Saviour's words.

The Pharisees, it seems, were offended at his disciples, for sitting down to meat before they had washed their hands, as being a violation of one of their traditional precepts. Whereupon our Saviour tells the company, *Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth the man*; never meaning to give them a permission to eat any thing prohibited by the law, but only to instruct them in this, — That there was not all that religion, or profanation of religion, as the Pharisees

Pharisees pretended, in observing or not observing the tradition of the elders, by eating with washed or unwashed hands; that the thing itself was of an indifferent nature; nor could a little soil taken in at the mouth, by eating with dirty hands, defile the man, because nothing of that kind could properly be called a pollution.

St Paul himself was one of the council of Jerusalem when the prohibition of blood was ratified by the Spirit of God, and imposed on the Gentiles who were converted to the Christian faith; and therefore we can hardly think, that in his epistles, which were written not many years after, he should go about to abolish the observation of those precepts which, after mature deliberation, were enacted by a general assembly of the church. And therefore, when he tells us that *the kingdom of God*, i. e. the Christian religion, *consisteth not of meat and drink*, and that *meat commendeth us not unto God*, he must be understood in a comparative sense, viz. That it neither consists in, nor commendeth us so much, as holiness and purity of life. When he declares, *That every creature of God is good*, that *nothing is unclean of itself*, and that *to the pure all things are pure*, &c. he must necessarily be understood with this restraining clause,—In case there be no particular statute to the contrary; for where there is one, all the sanctity in the world will not give a man a toleration to break it. And when he complains of some mens commanding us to abstain from certain meats, as an infringement upon our Christian liberty, and a branch of the doctrine of devils, the meats which they forbad must be supposed to be lawful in their kind, and under no divine prohibition, otherwise we bring the apostles who inhibited the use of blood under the like imputation.

It cannot be denied indeed, that (p) St Paul allows Christians to eat *things offered to idols*, which may seem to invalidate this apostolic decree. But the answer to this is, —(q) That the plain intention of the council at Jerusalem, in commanding to abstain from meats offered to idols, was to keep Christians from idolatry, or, as St James expresses it, *from pollutions of idols*; and the true way to effect this, they knew, was by prohibiting all communion with idols, and idolaters in their feasts, which were instituted in honour of their idols, and were always kept in their temples: but how is this command defeated by St Paul's permitting the Corinthians to eat any part of a

A. M.
1657, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

(p) 1 Cor. x. 27. (q) Revelation examined, vol. 2. p. 66.

A. M. creature sold in the shambles, or set before them in private
 1657, &c. houses, (though that creature might chance to have been
 Ant. Chris. slain in honour to an idol), since the Christian who eat it
 2347, &c. in this manner did not eat it in honour to the idol, but
 from Gen. merely as common food ?
 viii. 20. To illustrate this by a parallel instance. Suppose that the
 the end of
 ch. 9.

apostolic decree had commanded Christians to abstain from things stolen, would not any one conceive, that the design of this command was to prohibit theft, and all communion with thieves in their villainy? Yes, surely:—Suppose then, that any one of the council should after this tell the people whom he preached to, that they might buy any meat publicly sold in the shambles, or set before them in private houses, *asking no questions for conscience sake*, though possibly the butcher or the host might have stolen the meat; would any one think that this permission was intended to invalidate the decree of abstaining from things stolen? And if such a construction would be absurd in the one case, why should it not be deemed so in another? especially, when St Paul himself so expressly, so solemnly deters Christians from all participation in idolatrous feasts; (*r*) *The things which the Gentiles sacrifice (says he) they sacrifice to devils, not to God; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of devils.*

In a word, (say they), whatever the sense of certain passages in St Paul's writings may seem to be, they cannot be supposed to contradict the decree at Jerusalem: a decree to which himself consented, nay, which he himself principally occasioned, and which he himself actually carried about, and deposited with the several churches. For to imagine, that with his own hands he deposited the decree in one church, under the sanction of a canon ratified by the Spirit of God, and then immediately went to another, and preached against that very canon, and decried it as inconsistent with Christian liberty, is to charge the Apostle with such an inconsistency of behaviour, folly, and prevarication, as but badly comports with the character of an *ambassador of Jesus Christ*. And therefore, unless we are minded to impair the authority, and sap the foundation of revealed religion, we must allow the decree to be still in force; and the command which prohibits the eating of blood, still chargeable upon every man's conscience. A

(*r*) 1 Cor. x. 20. 21.

command,

command given by God himself to Noah, repeated to Moses, and ratified by the apostles of Jesus Christ: given immediately after the flood, when the world, as it were, began anew, and the only one given on that occasion; repeated with awful solemnity to the people whom God had separated from the rest of the world to be his own; repeated with dreadful denunciations of divine vengeance upon those who should dare to transgress it; and ratified by the most solemn and sacred council that ever was assembled upon earth, acting under the immediate influence of the Spirit of God; transmitted from that sacred assembly to the several churches of the neighbouring nations by the hand of no meaner messengers than two bishops and two apostles; asserted by the best writers, and most philosophic spirits of their age, the Christian apologists, and sealed with the blood of the best men, the Christian martyrs; confirmed by the unanimous consent of the fathers, and revered by the practice of the whole Christian church for above 300 years, and of the eastern church even to this very day.

A. M.
1657, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20. to
the end of
ch. 9.

These are some of the chief arguments on both sides of the question: and to form a judgment hereupon, we may observe,——That though this prohibition of eating blood can hardly be deemed a commandment of moral obligation, yet is it a positive precept, which cannot but be thought of more weight and importance, for being so oft and so solemnly enjoined; that though the reasons alledged for its injunction are not always so convincing, yet the prevention of cruelty and murder, which is immediately mentioned after it, will, in all ages, be ever esteemed a good one; and though the liberty granted in the gospel seems to be great, yet can it hardly be understood without some restriction.

It seemed once good to the Holy Ghost, among other necessary things, to prescribe an abstinence from blood; and when it seemed otherwise to him, we are no where, that I know of, instructed. Could it be made appear indeed, that this prescription was temporary and occasional, designed to bind one set of men only, or calculated for the infant-state of the church, the question would be then at an end; but since there are no proper marks in the apostles decree, to shew the temporary duration of it; and the notion of proselytes of the gate, to whom alone it is said to be directed, (how commodious soever it may be to solve all difficulties), upon examination is found to be groundless or uncertain, the obligation, I fear, lies upon every good Christian still.

The decision of the question.

A. M. still. But as this is not every one's sentiment, (s) *As one*
 1657, &c. *believeth that he may eat all things, and another thinketh it*
 Ant. Chrif. *the safe side of his duty to abstain; so let not him that eateth*
 2347, &c. *despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not*
 from Gen. *judge him that eateth; but judge this rather, that no man put*
 viii. 20. *the end of a stumbling block, or an occasion to fall, in his brother's way.*
 ch. 9.

(s) Rom. xiv. 2. 3. 13.

C H A P. II.

Of the confusion of languages.

THE HISTORY.

A. M. **F**OR some years after the flood, it is highly probable
 1757, &c. that Noah and his family lived in the neighbourhood
 Ant. Chrif. of the mountains of Armenia, where the ark rested: that
 2247, &c. as they began to multiply and spread, they thence removed
 from Gen. xi. to ver. into the countries of Syria; then crossing the Tygris into
 10. Mesopotamia, and so shaping their course eastward, came
 Reasons for at length to the pleasant plain of Babylon, on the banks of
 building the tower of the river Euphrates. The fertility of the soil, the de-
 Babel. lightfulness of the place, and the commodiousness of its si-
 tuation, made them resolve to settle there, and to build a
 city, which should be the metropolis of the whole earth,
 and in it a vast high tower; which should be the wonder of
 the world: for the present use, a kind of *pharos*, or land-
 mark, and to future ages a monument of their great power
 and might.

By this project they promised themselves mighty matters; but that which chiefly ran in their heads, was their keeping together in one body, that, by their united strength and counsels, as the world increased, they might bring others under their subjection, and make themselves universal lords. But one great discouragement to this their project was, — That in the place which they had chose for the scene of all their greatness, there was no stone to build with. Perceiving, however, that there was clay enough in the country, whereof to make bricks, * and plenty of a pitchy substance,

* The word which our translators make *slime*, is in Hebrew *hemar*, in Greek *ἀσφαλτος*, in Latin *bitumen*; and that this plain

substance, called *bitumen*, which would serve instead of mortar; with one consent they went to work, and in a short time every hand was employed in making bricks, building the city, and laying the foundation of a prodigious pile, which they purposed to have carried up to an immense height, and had already made a considerable progress in the work, when God, dissatisfied with their proceedings, thought proper to interpose, and, at the expence of a miracle, quashed all their project at once; insomuch, that this first attempt of their vanity and ambition became the monument of their folly and weakness.

The blessing which God had given Noah and his sons, *to increase and multiply, and replenish the earth*, had now, for above an hundred years, exerted itself to good purpose; but though the number of their descendents was very large, yet the language which they all spake was but one, the same which had descended to them † from their great progenitor,

A. M. 1757, &c.
Ant. Chris. 2247, &c.
from Gen. xi. to ver. 10.
And for the confusion of languages.

plain did very much abound with it, which was of two kinds, liquid and solid; that the liquid bitumen here swam upon the waters; that there was a cave and fountain, which was continually casting it out; and that this famous tower, at this time, and the no less famous walls of Babylon, were afterwards built with this kind of cement, is confirmed by the testimony of several profane authors. For thus Strabo tells us, “ In Babylonia bitumen multum nascitur, cujus duplex est genus, authore Eratosthene, liquidum et aridum. Liquidum vocant *naphthan*, in Sufiano agro nascens; aridum vero, quod etiam congelescere potest, in Babylonia, fonte propinquo Naphthæ;” lib. 16. Thus Justin, speaking of Semiramis, “ Hæc Babyloniam condidit, (says he), murumque urbis cocto latere circumdedit, arenæ vice bitumine interstrato, quæ materia in illis locis passim e terris exæstuat;” lib. 1. And thus Vitruvius, who is elder than either, “ Babylone lacus est amplissima magnitudine, habens supranatans liquidum bitumen, quo bitumine, et latere testaceo, structum murum Semiramis Babyloni circumdedit;” lib. 8. To these we may add some modern testimonies, which tell us, that these springs of bitumen are called *oyum Hit*, the *fountains of Hit*; and that they are much celebrated by the Persians and Arabs. All modern travellers, except Rauwolf, who went to Persia and the Indies by the way of Euphrates, before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, mention these fountains as a very strange and wonderful thing. *Vid. Biblioth. Biblica*, vol. 1. p. 281.; *Heidegger’s Hist. patriar. exercit.* 21.; and *Univers. hist.* lib. 1. c. 2.

† That the children of Noah did speak the same language from Adam, is very manifest; because Methuselah, the grandfater

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

nitor Adam, and very probably was pronounced in the same common manner. To frustrate their undertaking therefore, God determined with himself † to *confound their language*; by which means it came to pass, that though their tongues still retained the faculty of speech, yet, having lost the pronunciation of their native language, on a sudden they were so changed, and modified to the expression of another, (which was of a sound quite different), that the next stander-by could not comprehend what his neighbour meant, and this in a short time ran them into the utmost disorder and confusion. For these different dialects produced different ideas in the minds of the builders, which, for want of understanding one another, they employed to improper objects, and so were obliged to desist from their enterprize. And not only that, but being by this means deprived of the pleasure and comfort of mutual society, (except with such as spake the same language), all those who were of one dialect joined themselves together, and leaving the devoted place, (as they then thought it), depart-

ther of Noah, lived a considerable time with him, and questionless spake the same language. And that this language was no other than the Hebrew, is very probable from this argument,—— That Shem, the son of Noah, was for some time contemporary with Abraham, who descended from him, and whose family continued the same language that they both spake, until the time of Moses, who recorded the history of his own nation in his native language; so that what we have now in the Pentateuch, according to the opinion of all Hebrew, and most Christian writers, is the very same with what God taught Adam, and Adam his posterity; *Patrick's Commentary.*

† Some commentators, from the word *confound*, are ready to infer, that God did not make some of these builders speak new, different languages, only that they had such a confused remembrance of the original language they spake before, as made them speak it in a quite different manner: so that by the various inflections, terminations, and pronunciations of divers dialects, they could no more understand one another, than those who understand Latin can comprehend those who speak French, Italian, or Spanish, though these languages do certainly arise from it. But this we conceive to be a great mistake, not only because it makes all languages extant to be no more than so many different dialects of the same original, and consequently reducible to it; but because, upon examination, it will appear, that there are certain languages in the world so entirely different from each other, that they agree in no one essential property whatever; and must therefore, at this time, have been of immediate infusion.

ed in tribes, † as their choice or their chance led them, to seek out fresh habitations. Thus God not only defeated their design, but likewise accomplished his own, of having the world more generally and more speedily peopled than it otherwise would have been; and to perpetuate the memory of such a miraculous event, the place which was first called *Babel*, and, with small variation, afterwards *Babylon*, from this confusion of languages, received its denomination.

This confusion of tongues (if not dispersion of the people) is supposed by most chronologers to have fallen 101 years after the flood; for Peleg, the son of Eber, (who was great grandson to Shem), was certainly born in that year, and is said to have had the name *Peleg* given him, because that in his time the earth was divided.

THE OBJECTION.

“ **B**UT upon the supposition that the ark rested on the mountains of Armenia, and the family of Noah, for some time, continued in that coast; how can they, with any tolerable propriety, be said to have journeyed from the east into the land of *Shinar*, when, if by *Shinar* we are to understand the land of *Chaldea* or *Babylon*, every map will inform us, that the mountains of Armenia lie in a manner quite north of *Babylon*, and consequently they must have travelled from the north, and not from the east, to have arrived at that place?

“ But *Moses* perhaps might not be so good at geography as he is at the multiplication of mankind. According to the Hebrew computation, (which is reckoned true), the new world had now subsisted much about an hundred years; and can we suppose, that the descendents of no more than three couple (for *Noah*, we may now suppose, was become effete, and unable to beget children) were, in so short a time, a number sufficient to set about the

† The dispersion of *Noah's* sons was so ordered, that each family and each nation dwelt by itself; which could not well be done (as *Mr Mede* observes) but by directing an orderly division, either by casting of lots, or chusing according to their birth-right, after that portions of the earth were set out, according to the number of their nations and families; otherwise some would not have been content to go so far north as *Magog* did, whilst others were suffered to enjoy more pleasant countries.

A. M. 1757, &c. Ant. Chrif. 2247, &c. from Gen. xi. to ver. 10.

“ building of a city, which was to be the metropolis of the whole world, and of a tower, whose top was to reach up to heaven ?

“ Designs of this nature are generally attempted by vast, extensive empires that are over-stocked with people, and have multitudes of idle hands to employ ; but to suppose a small tribe of men, (and who of necessity must some of them be busied in other occupations), and much more, to suppose a colony or detachment only of them (as most commentators will have it) to have had the hardiness to enterprize so prodigious a fabric as the tower of Babel is represented, is something so romantic, that it puts one in mind of that fabulous stuff of the giants piling one mountain upon another, to scale heaven, and wage war with the Gods.

“ But supposing the story to be true, yet where would the harm be in building a town to dwell in, and a tower for its ornament or defence ? It is a laudable ambition, one would think, for a people to desire to perpetuate their name ; and for a city to be at unity with itself, how joyful a thing is it ! What then can we conceive should be the reason that God should be so highly offended at these builders, as himself to interpose in disappointing their design ? but to interpose in the manner he did, by subducting the old, and infusing new languages, so as to make them unintelligible to one another, this is a thing so unaccountable, that it would tempt one to think, that there was a mistake somewhere in our translation.

“ The Hebrew word *shaphah*, which we render *language*, (or *lip*, as it is in the marginal note), has, doubtless, very frequently that signification ; nor is it to be denied, but that one universal language was spoken by Noah's family. But then it appears from several passages in Scripture, (particularly from Isa. xix. 18.), that the word does not so properly denote *languages*, as it does an agreement in sentiments and inclinations, which seems every whit as necessary for the building of a city as the greatest similitude of dialect can be. Now, taking the word in this sense, it may be, that what we call *confounding their language*, may mean confounding their minds, and raising a spirit of discord among them, which might make them abandon their enterprize, and disperse into different countries ; and then, though they might speak all the same language at parting, a considerable diverfi-

“ ty would naturally, and without the intervention of a A. M.
 “ miracle, in a short time ensue. 1757, &c.
 “ We see, in a thousand years, what alterations and Ant. Chris.
 “ deviations have been made from the Latin, in France, 2247, &c.
 “ Italy, Spain, and the Subalpine countries. In France, xi. to ver.
 “ the Gascon and Provencial dialects are hardly understood 10.
 “ at Paris: in Spain, besides the Castilian, there are two
 “ large idioms, the Portuguese and the Catalan, neither of
 “ which are readily intelligible by a person that has always
 “ lived at Madrid: and a man may know all the rest of
 “ the dialects which are derived from the Latin, and yet
 “ be wholly to seek in the Grisons language. — All these
 “ tongues, however, we certainly know, have sprung from
 “ the Latin within these twelve hundred years, and the
 “ nations who speak them have constantly maintained a
 “ mutual commerce and intercourse together. If then such
 “ alterations are actually visible in dialects (which have
 “ been formed from languages still extant) in so few
 “ years, what may we reasonably suppose to have been
 “ the fate of languages that existed above three thousand
 “ years ago? especially, when men were so totally di-
 “ vided from one another, as we may imagine the first in-
 “ habitants of this globe were after this great dispersion.
 “ In short, (a) the cause of the variety of languages in
 “ the world is grounded in reason and nature; in the
 “ difference of climates, in the unsettled temper of man-
 “ kind, the necessary mutability of human things, the rise
 “ and fall of states and empires, and change of modes
 “ and customs, which necessarily introduce a proportion-
 “ able change in language: and therefore, supposing the
 “ Hebrew to be the primitive language, in a proper period
 “ of time after such a dispersion, all other languages will
 “ be found as naturally springing from it as so many
 “ branches from the same stock. It is in vain then to have
 “ recourse to miracles, when the business may as well be
 “ done without it; when it is but supposing, that all lan-
 “ guages now extant sprung originally from one common
 “ root, and that they are no more than different forms
 “ and dialects of it, which the force of time, assisted
 “ with some incidental causes, without the intervention of
 “ any superior power, naturally produces; otherwise we
 “ can hardly imagine how dialects that are so near a-kin
 “ came to be placed so nearly to one another.”

(a) Vid. *Sentimens de quelque theologiens sur l'histoire critique*,
 p. 435; and a letter to Dr Waterland, p. 28. 29.

A. M.
1557, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
1247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

Answered,
by ſhewing
the proper
ſituation of
Ararat,
from
whence the
people ſo-
journed ;

Thoſe who have undertaken to ſettle the geography of the Holy Scriptures, tell us, that the land of Shinar was all that valley which the river Tygris runs along, from the mountains of Armenia northwards to the Perſian gulf ; or at leaſt to the ſouthern diviſion of the common channel of the Tygris and Euphrates. (b) So that the country of Eden was part of the land of Shinar : and as Eden was probably ſituate on both ſides of the aforemention'd channel, ſo it is not unlikely that the valley of Shinar did extend itſelf on both ſides (but on the weſtern ſide, without all doubt) of the river Tygris.

Now the mountains of Armenia, according to the account of moſt geographers, lie north, and not eaſt, from Shinar and Aſſyria ; but then it may be ſuppoſed (c) either that Moſes, in this place, followed the geographical ſtyle of the Aſſyrians, who called all that lay beyond the Tigris the *eaſt country*, though a great part of it, towards Armenia, was really northward ; or (as ſome (d) others will have it) that as mankind multiplied, they ſpread themſelves in the country eaſtward of Ararat ; and ſo making ſmall removes, (from the time of their deſcent from the mount to the time of their journeying into the land of Shinar), they might probably enough be ſaid to have begun their progreſs from the eaſt. But without the help of theſe ſolutions, and taking Moſes in a literal ſenſe, he is far from being miſtaken. (e) Moſt geographers indeed have drawn the mountain of Ararat a good way out of its place, and hiſtorians and commentators, taking the thing for fact, have been much perplexed to reconcile this ſituation with its deſcription in Scripture : whereas, by the accounts of all travellers for ſome years paſt, the mountain which now goes under the name of *Ararat* lies about two degrees more eaſt than the city of Shinar or Senjar, from whence the plain, in all probability, takes its name : and therefore, if the ſons of Noah entered it on the north ſide, they muſt of neceſſity have *journeyed from the eaſt*, or, which is the ſame thing, have travelled weſtward from the place where they ſet out, in order to arrive at the plain of Babylon.

and that all
mankind
were en-
gaged in
the build-
ing of Babel.

Hiſtorians indeed, as well as commentators, have generally given in to the common opinion, that Shem and his

(b) Wells's Geography, vol. 1. p. 210. (c) Bochart's
Phaleg. l. 1. c. 7. (d) Kercher's Turrus Babel, 12. (e)
Univerſal hiſtory, l. 1. c. 2.

family were not concerned in this expedition; but for what reason we cannot conceive, since there is no fact, in all the Mosaic account, more firmly established than this, — that the whole race of mankind, then in being, were actually engaged in it.

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

As soon as Moses has brought the three sons of Noah out of the ark, he takes care to inform us, that (f) of them was the whole earth overspread. After he has given us the names of their descendants, at the time of their dispersion, he subjoins, and (g) by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood: and then, proceeding to give us an account of this memorable transaction, he tells us, that (h) the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech; and that as they, namely the whole earth, (i) journeyed from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and dwelt there, &c.; (k) so that, from the beginning to the end of this transaction, the connection between the antecedent and relative is so well preserved, that there is no room to suppose, that any less than all mankind, were gathered together on the plain of Shinar, and assisted in the building of Babel: nor seems it improbable, that Moses has made these unusual repetitions, to inculcate the certainty of that fact, and to take away all ground for supposing, that any other branch of Noah's posterity was in any other part of the earth at that time.

The time indeed, when this transaction happened, is very differently computed by chronologers, according as they follow the LXX interpreters, who make it 531; the Samaritan copy, which makes it 396; or the Hebrew, which allows it to be no more than 101 years from the flood to the confusion of tongues, and less, we may suppose, to the first beginning to build the tower. If we take either of the former computations, the thing answers itself: upon a moderate multiplication, there will be workmen more than enough, even without the posterity of Shem: but if we submit to the Hebrew account of time, we shall find ourselves straitened, if we part with one third of our complement, in so laborious a work. There is no necessity however to suppose, (l) with some, that every one of these progenitors, as soon as married, (which was very early), had every year twins by his wife; which, according to arithmetic progression, would amount to no less

(f) Gen. ix. 19. (g) Ch. x. 32. (h) Ch. xi. 1.
(i) Ibid. ver. 2. (k) Univers. hist. l. 1. c. 2. (l) Tem-
porarius in demonst. chronol. l. 2.

A. M. than 1554420 males and females, in the shortest period
 1757, &c. given. Half the number would be sufficient to be employed
 Ant. Chris. on this occasion; and (m) half the number will be no un-
 2247, &c. reasonable supposition, considering the strength of consti-
 from Gen. tution men had then, and the additional blessing which
 xi. to ver. God bestowed upon them, and whereby he interested his pe-
 10. cular providence, “ Ut ad incrementum sobolis humanæ,

“ ad orbis vastitatem instaurandam, præcipua quædam in
 “ illis fœcunditas inesset, quæ justam alioquin ætatem an-
 “ teverteret; ut vel a pueris ipsis, quod nonnulli suspican-
 “ tur, probabile esset, generandi vim illis et usum potuisse
 “ suppetere”; (n) as Petavius elegantly expresses it.

But after all, there seems to be no occasion for sup-
 posing an extraordinary increase of people, or for confi-
 ning the first undertaking of this great building to the com-
 pass of one hundred years after the flood. In the tenth
 chapter of Genesis, it is said indeed, that *unto Eber were
 born two sons, and that the name of one was Peleg*, which
 being derived from an Hebrew word, that signifies *to di-
 vide*, has this reason annexed to it, *for in his days was the
 earth divided*. Now, by the subsequent account of Peleg’s
 ancestors we find, that he was born in the 101st year after
 the flood; from whence it is concluded, that the earth be-
 gan to be divided at his birth. But this is a conclusion
 that by no means results from the text, which only says
 that *in his days was the earth divided*; words which can,
 with no manner of propriety, imply, that this division be-
 gan at his birth.

His name indeed was called *Peleg*; but it does not
 therefore follow, that this name was given him at his birth.
 It might have been given at any time after, from his be-
 ing a principal agent among his own family, in the di-
 vision made in his days; as several names have, throughout
 all ages, been given upon the like accidents, not only to
 private persons, but to whole families. Or suppose the
 name to be given at his birth, yet no reason can be af-
 signed, why it might not be given prophetically, as well as
 that of Noah, from an event then foreseen, though it
 might not come to pass for some considerable time after the
 name was given.

(m) Usher’s Chron. sacra. p. 28.

(n) Doct. temp. l. 9.

(o) Since Peleg then, according to the sacred account, lived two hundred and thirty-nine years, and his younger brother Jocktan, and his sons, were a considerable colony in the distribution of the world, it is much more rational to suppose, that this distribution did not begin till a good part of Peleg's life was expended. Suppose it however to be no more than an hundred years after his birth; yet we may still retain the Hebrew computation, and have time and hands enough for the carrying on the great work of Babel, before this distribution, since mankind might very well be multiplied to some millions, in the compass of two hundred years.

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

Putting all these considerations together then, we can hardly imagine, that there wanted a sufficient number of men to go upon an enterprize, which, though not strictly chargeable with sin, because there was no previous command forbidding it, yet, in the sense of God himself, bold and presumptuous enough: (*p*) *Behold the people is one, and they have all one language, and now this they begin to do; this is their first attempt, and after this, nothing † will be restrained from them; they will think themselves competent for any thing that they shall have a fancy to do. For though God could have no reason to apprehend † any molestation*

Why God
disliked and
defeated
their under-
taking.

(o) Revelation Examined, vol. 2. dissert. 3. xi. 6. (*p*) Gen.

† The common versions say of the builders of the tower of Babel, *And now nothing will, or shall, be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do.* But this is false in fact; because God soon put a stop to their design by confounding them, and scattering them abroad from thence, over the face of the earth. We may observe therefore, that the same particle, which is indeed sometimes taken negatively, is evidently here to be taken interrogatively, and is equal to the most express affirmation: and therefore the text should thus be translated, *Shall they not be restrained in all they imagine to do?* Yes, they shall; which accordingly was immediately executed; *Essay for a new translation.*

† What their attempts were, the historian has represented in their own words: *and they said, Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven,* Gen. xi 4. But far be it from any one to imagine, that these builders could be so stupidly ignorant, as ever to think by this, means to climb up to heaven, or that they would not have chosen a mountain, rather than a plain, or a valley, for this.

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2247, &c.
from Gen
xi. to ver.
10.

leſtation from their attempts, (as the poets make heaven all in an uproar upon the invaſion of the giants), yet, ſince they were contrary to his gracious deſign of having the earth replenifhed, it was an act highly conſiſtent with his infinite wiſdom and goodneſs to ſee them diſappointed.

The divine purpoſe was, that men ſhould not live within the limits of one country only, and ſo be expoſed to perpetual contentions, while every one would pretend to make himſelf maſter of the neareſt and moſt fertile lands; but that, poſſeſſing themſelves of the whole, and cultivating almoſt every place, they might enjoy a proportionable increaſe of the fruits of the earth. (q) Thorns and briars were ſpringing up every where; woods and thickets ſpreading themſelves around; wild beaſts increaſing; and all this while the ſons of Noah gathering together in a cluſter, and deſigning ſo to continue; ſo that it was highly reaſonable for God to confound their miſ-timed projects, and diſperſe them.

Their purpoſe was to make themſelves a name by enſlaving others: but God foreſaw, (r) that abſolute power

if they could once have entertained ſo groſs an imagination. It is a common hyperbole this in the ſacred writings, to ſignify any great and loſty building, as may be ſeen in Deut. i. 18. Dan. iv. 8. and in ſeveral other places; nor is the like manner of expreſſion unuſual among profane authors likewise: for Homer, ſpeaking of the iſland of Calypſo, tells us, that in it was a place:

ὄθι δένδρεα μακρὰ περὺβει
κλίθριτ' αἰγείροστ', ἐλάλητ' ἦν ἄρανομήκης.

Odyſſ. i. ver. 238.

By a literal interpretation of the Hebrew idiotiſm, however, it is a common thing for the greateſt abſurdities to be received by the unwary for realities; and not at all a wonder, that the miſunderſtanding the text ſhould give riſe to what we are told of the giants in the fable attempting to ſcale heaven, and of the expedition of Coſigna and his companions, who had contrived ladders for that end; hoping, that ſo they might make their nearer addreſſes to the queen of heaven. And thus even the ſillieſt of the Pagan tales may be traced up to their original; for there is generally ſome foundation for them in truth, either miſunderſtood or miſapplied. Vid. Le Clerc's Commentary; Voſſ. Hiſt. Græc. lib. 1. cap. 3.; and Bibliotheca Biblica ad locum.

(q) Waterland's Scripture vindicated, part 1. (r) Le Clerc's Diſſertation.

and

and univerfal empire were not to be trusted in any mortal hand ; that the first kings would be far from being the best men ; but as they acquired a superiority by fraud and violence, so they would not be backward to maintain it by oppression and cruelty : and therefore, to remedy such public grievances, he determined with himself, that there should be a diversity of governments in the world ; that if the inhabitants of any place chanced to live under a tyrannical power, those that were no longer able to endure the yoke might fly into other countries and dominions, (which they could not do if the whole was one entire monarchy), and there find a shelter from oppression. And as he knew how conducive the bad example of princes would be towards a general corruption of manners, he therefore took care to provide against this malady, by appointing several distinct kingdoms and forms of government at one and the same time ; that if the infection of vice got ascendancy, and prevailed in one place, virtue and godliness, and whatever is honourable and praise-worthy, might find a safe retreat, and flourish in another. Thus all the mischiefs which might possibly arise from an univerfal monarchy, and all the advantages that do daily accrue from separate and distinct governments, were in the divine foresight and consideration, when he put a surprizing stop to the building of these men, and their ambitious schemes of empire together.

For in what manner soever it was that he effected this, † whether it was by disturbing the memories, or

A. M. 1757, &c.
Ant. Chrif. 2247, &c.
from Gen. xi. to ver. 10.

That this defeat was immediate-ly his work.

† Since Moses has no where acquainted us, (says the learned Heidegger, in his Hist patriar. lib. 1. exercit. 211.) in what manner the confusion of languages was effected, every one is left to follow what opinion he likes best, so long as that opinion contains nothing incongruous to the received rule of faith: nay, it may not be inconvenient to produce several opinions upon this subject, to the intent that every one may embrace that which seems to him most conformable to truth. And therefore he instances in the opinions of several learned men, but in those more particularly of Julius Scaliger, who ascribes this event to a confusion of notions which God miraculously sent among the builders; and that of Isaac Casaubon, who will needs have all the different languages now extant to be no more than derivatives from the Hebrew. Saliger's words, as Heidegger quotes them, are these: " Sic enim aiunt (Hebræi sci- licet) quo impii propositi opus illud interciperetur atque prohibere-

A. M.
 1757, &c.
 Ant. Chriſt.
 2247, &c.
 from Gen.
 xi. to ver.
 10.

perverting their imaginations ; by diverſifying their hearing, or new-organizing their tongues ; by an immediate inſuſion of new languages, or a diviſion of the old into ſo many different dialects ; and again, whether theſe tongues, or dialects of tongues, † were few or more ; whether there

“ tur, factum a Deo optimo maximo, ut lapidem petenti alius cal-
 “ cem, alius fabulum, alius maltham, alius bitumen, alius aquam,
 “ ferret. Fortaſſe etiam non deſuiſſe arbitror, qui ſibi dictam pu-
 “ tarent contumeliam, atque propterea manum conſererent, ubi
 “ maxima intercedit occaſio ſubtilitatis ; nam ſi lapidem petenti
 “ alius aliud, multi multa, diverſa omnia afferebant, videretur u-
 “ nius ſoni modus, in varias ſpecies deductus, diverſis mentibus
 “ ſeſe inſinuaviſſe. Una igitur priſca adhuc extaret lingua, variæ
 “ vero ſignificatûs.” The words of Caſaubon are as follows :
 “ Si in Babele linguæ in totum diverſæ factæ ſunt, neceſſario
 “ Chaldæi Aſſyrii ἀλλοκότες illas linguas retinuiſſent ; atqui contra-
 “ rium videmus accidiſſe. Eſt enim veriſſimum, linguas cæteras
 “ eo maniſteſtiora et magis expreſſa originis Hebraicæ veſtigia ſer-
 “ vaſſe, et nunc ſervare, quo propius ab antiqua et prima homi-
 “ num ſede abſuerunt. Nam proximus quiſque populus genti He-
 “ braicæ proxime ad illius linguam acceſſit. Longinquitas vero
 “ alienationem ſubinde majorem intulit. Clarum hoc, ex compa-
 “ ratione linguarum, Syriacæ, Chaldaicæ, Arabicæ, Punicæ, &c.
 “ cum Hebraica : clariffimum item, ſi Græcam linguam diligen-
 “ ter ſpectes. Græci primi in Aſia habitârunt : inde Iones, vel,
 “ ut Æſculus vocat Hebraice, Javones, in Europam trajecerunt ;
 “ in antiquiſſimis quibuſque Græcorum ſcriptoribus multa propterea
 “ vocabula Hebraica, quæ poſtea vel deſierunt eſſe in uſu, vel
 “ admodum ſunt mutata : obſervamus etiam Aſiaticos Græcos ma-
 “ gis ἑβραϊστέν, quam Ευρωπαϊστέν.”

† It is not to be thought, that there were as many ſeveral dialects as there were men at Babel, ſo that none of them under- ſtood one another. This would not only have diſperſed man- kind, but utterly deſtroyed them ; becauſe it is impoſſible to live without ſociety, or to have any ſociety without underſtanding one another. It is likely therefore that every family had its peculiar dialect, or rather, that ſome common dialect or form of ſpeaking was given to thoſe families whom God deſigned to make one colony in the following diſperſion. Into how many languages the people were divided, it is impoſſible to deter- mine. The Hebrews fancy ſeventy, becauſe the deſcendents of the ſons of Noah, as they are enumerated in Scripture, are juſt ſo many ; the Greek fathers make them ſeventy-two, becauſe
 the

there were only so many originals at first, (as many per-
 haps as there were either tribes or heads of families), and all the rest were no more than derivatives from them; the operations of an almighty power are equally visible, and the footsteps of divine wisdom apparent, in the very method of his disappointing these ambitious builders.

A. M.
 1757, &c.
 Ant. Chris.
 2247, &c.
 from Gen.
 xi. to ver.
 10.

(s) He could, no doubt, with the same facility, have sent down fire from heaven to consume them; but then, that would have been but a momentary judgment, whereof we should have known nothing but what we read in the dead letter of a book: whereas, by this means, the remembrance of God's interposition is preserved to all future ages, and in every new language that we hear, we recognize the miracle.

(t) It was equally the finger of God, we allow, whether the minds or the tongues of the workmen were confounded; but then, in that case, the miracle does not so plainly and so flagrantly appear, nor would it have had so good an effect upon the builders themselves; because men may quarrel and break off society without a miracle; whereas they cannot speak with new tongues by their own natural strength and ingenuity.

And not a
 confusion
 of minds,
 but of
 tongues.

Nor is the formation of a new language only more miraculous, but to the imaginations of the persons upon whom it was wrought, incredibly more surprising than any disagreement in opinion, or any quarrel that might there-

the LXX version adds two more, (Elisa among the sons of Japhet, and Canaan among the sons of Shem), and the Latin fathers follow them. But this is all conjecture, and what is built upon a very weak foundation. For in many places, so many people concurred in the use of the same speech, that of the seventy scarce thirty remain distinct, as Bochart has observed: and among these, others have supposed, that the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, in the east; the Greek and Latin in the west; and the Finnish, Slavonian, Hungarian, Cantabric, and the ancient Gaulish, in the north; are generally reputed originals: besides some more that might be discovered in Persia, China, the East-Indies, the midland parts of Afric, and all America, if we had but a sufficient knowledge of the history of these people. *Vid.* Patrick's Commentary; and Wotton of the confusion of languages at Babel.

(s) Heidegger's Hist. patriar. vol. I. exercit. 21. (t) Wotton of the confusion of languages at Babel.

A. M. upon ensue. And therefore I have always thought, that
 1757. &c. this account of the confusion of tongues which God
 Ant. Chriſt. wrought at Babel, would ſcarce have been told ſo particu-
 2247, &c. larly, and repreſented as God's own act and deed, had it
 from Gen. only ariſen from a quarrel among the builders, which ob-
 xi. to ver. liged them to leave off their work, and ſcatter themſelves
 20. over the face of the earth. For when God is here de-
 ſcribed as coming down in perſon to view their work, ſome-
 thing almoſt as ſolemn as the creation, full as ſolemn
 as the denunciation of the flood, when Noah was com-
 manded to build the ark, is certainly intended by that ex-
 preſſion: and therefore, when Moſes acquaints us, that
there was but one language at that time, the circumſtance
 would be impertinent, if he did not intimate withal, that
 very ſoon after there were to be more.

Iſa. xix. 19. explained. The prophet Iſaiah indeed, ſpeaking of the converſion
 of ſome Egyptians to the Jewish faith, tells us, that *in*
that day ſhall five cities in the land of Egypt ſpeak the
language (or liſp, as it is in the margin) of Canaan, and
ſwear to the Lord of hoſts. Speaking the language of
 Canaan, (*u*) is thought by ſome to mean no more than be-
 ing of the ſame religion with the Jews, who inhabited the
 land of Canaan; but why may it not be interpreted li-
 terally, as it is in our tranſlation? Might not theſe five
 cities particularly, to ſhew the value and reverence that
 they had for the religion of the Jews, learn their lan-
 guage; eſpecially ſince they would thereby be better
 enabled to underſtand the books of Moſes and the Pro-
 phets, which were written in that tongue? Do not the
 Mahometans, whatever they are, Turks, Tartars, Perſians,
 Moguls, or Moors, all learn Arabic, becauſe Mahomet
 wrote the Alcoran in that language? Why then ſhould we
 be offended at the literal ſenſe of the words, when the
 figurative is ſo low and flat in compariſon of it? (*x*) *In*
that day Egypt ſhall be like a woman; it ſhall be afraid
and fear, becauſe of the ſhaking of the hand of the Lord
of Hoſts. (*y*) *The Lord of hoſts ſhall be a terror unto*
Egypt, and (z) in that day ſhall there be an altar to the
Lord in the miſt of the land of Egypt, i. e. they ſhall be-
come proſelytes to the law of Moſes; and that they may
 not miſtake in underſtanding the ſenſe of the law, which

(*u*) Le Clerc's Commentary. (*x*) Iſa. xix. 16. (*y*) Ver.
 17. (*z*) Ver. 19.

they shall then embrace, they shall agree to learn the language in which it is written. This is an easy and genuine sense of the words: but, instead of that, to fly to a forced and abstruse one, merely to evade the evidence of a miracle, favours of vanity at least, if not of irreligion.

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

In short, all interpreters, both Jewish and Christian, understood this confusion of Babel to be a confusion of languages, not of opinions. They saw the texts, if literally understood, required it; they observed a surprising variety of tongues, essentially different from one another; and they knew that this was not in the least inconsistent with the power of God. They did not question, but that he who made the tongue could make it speak what, and how he pleased; and they acquiesced (as all wise and honest interpreters should) in the literal explication, perceiving that nothing unworthy of God, or trifling, or impossible in itself, resulted from it.

But to give this part of the objection a full and satisfactory answer, we shall look a little into the nature of languages in general, and thereby endeavour to shew, that there are some languages, when once established, are not so subject to variation as is pretended; and that in the ages subsequent to this extraordinary event, they could not, in any natural way, undergo all the alterations we now perceive in them, supposing them all descended from one common stock.

That from
the time of
this confu-
sion, there
were all a-
long sever-
al langua-
ges essen-
tially dif-
ferent.

(a) Now, in order to this, we must observe, that every language consists of two things, matter and form. The matter of any language are the words wherein men who speak the language express their ideas; and the several ways whereby its nouns are declined, and verbs conjugated, are its form.

The Latins and Greeks vary their nouns by terminations; as *Vir, viri, viro, virum*, ἀνθρωπος, ἀνθρώπου, ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθρώπων. We decline by the prepositions *of, to, from, the*, in both numbers; but the Hebrews have no different terminations in the same number, and only vary thus, — *Isb, man; ishim, men; isbah, woman; isboth, women*. The rest are varied by prepositions inseparably affixed to the words, as *ba-isb, the man; le-isb, to the man; be-isb, in the man: &c.* which prepositions, thus

(a) Wotten of the confusion of languages at Babel.

joined,

A. M. joined, make one word with the noun to which they are
 1757, &c. affixed, and are herein different from all those languages
 Ant. Chris. which come from a Latin or Teutonic original.
 2247, &c.

from Gen. xi. to ver. 10. The western and northern people consider every transitive verb, either actively or passively, and then they have done; as *amo*, in Latin, is *I love*; *amor*, *I am loved*; and so in Greek, ἀγαπῶ, ἀγαπῶμαι: but in Hebrew, every word has, or is supposed to have, seven conjugations; in Chaldee and Syriac, six; and in Arabic, thirteen; all differing in their significations.

The western languages abound with verbs that are compounded with prepositions, which accompany them in all their moods and tenses; and therein vary their signification: but in the eastern there is no such thing; for though they have (in Arabic especially) many different significations, some literal, and some figurative, yet still their verbs, as well as nouns, are un-compounded.

In the Greek, both ancient and barbarous, in the Latin, and the dialects arising from it, and in all the branches of what we call the old Teutonic, the possessive pronouns, *my*, *thy*, *his*, *yours*, *theirs*, &c. make a distinct word from the noun to which they are joined, as Πατήρ ἡμῶν, *pater noster*, *fader vor*, *our father*, &c. But in all the oriental tongues, the pronoun is joined to the end of the noun, in such a manner as to make but one word. Thus *ab*, in Hebrew, is *father*; *abi*, *my father*; *abinu*, *our father*. In Chaldee, from the same root, *abouna* is *our father*; in Syriac, *abun*; in Arabic and Ethiopic, the same.

Once more. All western languages mark the degree of comparison in their adjectives by proper terminations, *wise*, *wiser*, *wisest*; *sapiens*, *sapientior*, *sapientissimus*; σοφός, σοφώτερος, σοφώτατος: But none of the eastern tongues already mentioned have any thing in them like this.

These are some of the marks and characters which distinguish the eastern from the western languages; and what is farther observable, these characters have none of them disappeared, or shifted from one to another, for near three thousand years. They appear in every book of the Old Testament, from Moses down to Malachi; in the Chaldee paraphrasts, in the Syriac versions, in the Misna, in the Gemara, and in every other Rabbinical book, down to the Jewish writers of the present age: but on the other hand, if we consider Homer's poems, which are the oldest monuments we have of the Greek language; if we take

Theocritus for the Doric dialect; Euripides, or Thucydides, for the Attic; Herodotus, or Hippocrates, for the Ionic; and Sappho for the Æolic; and so descend to the Greek, which is spoken at this day, we shall see the general marks of western languages running through them all. These idioms shew themselves, at first sight, to be nothing more than dialects manifestly springing from the same common root, which never did, and (as far as we may judge from the practice of above two thousand years) never will conjugate verbs, decline nouns, or compare adjectives, like the Hebrew or Arabic. These languages did always compound verbs and nouns with prepositions, which essentially alter the sense. These languages had never any possessive pronouns affixed to their nouns, to determine the person or persons to whom of right they belong; nor do they affix any single letter to their words, which may be equivalent to conjunctions, and connect the sense of what goes before with what follows; which any person but tolerably initiated in the eastern languages must know to be their properties.

And indeed, if we cast but our eye a little forward into the sacred history, it will not be long before we may perceive some instances of this difference between languages. For when Jacob and Laban made a covenant together, they erected an heap of stones, on which they eat, and Laban called it *Jegar-sabadutha*, but Jacob *Gal-ed*, which words signify (those in Chaldee, which are Laban's, and the other in Hebrew, which are Jacob's) *an heap of witnesses*; and in like manner, Pharaoh calls Joseph *Tsophnath-Paaneahh*, which words are neither Hebrew nor Chaldee. So that here we see three distinct dialects formed in Jacob's time; and yet we may observe, that the world was then thin, commerce narrow, and conquests few; so that the people were constrained to converse with those of their own tribe, and consequently could keep their dialect far more entire than it is possible for any nation to do now, when commerce, conquests, and colonies planted in regions already peopled with nations that speak distinct languages, may be supposed to bring in a deluge of new words, and make innumerable changes. But nations seldom trade much abroad, or make invasions upon their neighbours, or send forth plantations into remote countries, until they are pretty well stocked at home, which could hardly be the case of any one country for several ages after the dispersion.

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

It is a mistaken notion which some have imbibed, that every little thing, be it but the change of air, or difference of climate, (which at most can but affect the pronunciation of some letters or syllables), can make a diversity in languages. Small and insensible alterations, which perhaps will appear in an age or two, will undoubtedly happen; but unless people converse much with strangers, their language will subsist, as to its constituent form, the same for many generations.

The Roman language, for instance, was brought to a considerable perfection before Plautus's time; and though now and then some obsolete words may appear in his writings, yet any man that understands Latin may read the books that were written in it, from Plautus down to Theodoric the Goth, which was near seven hundred years; and had not the barbarous nations broken into Italy, it might have been an intelligible language for several ages more. And in like manner, we may say, that had not the Turks, when they over-ran Greece, brought darkness and ignorance along with them, the Greek tongue might have continued even to this day, since it is manifest, from Homer's poems, and Eustathius's commentaries upon them, that it subsisted for above two thousand years, without any considerable alteration; for the space of time between the poet and his commentator was no less.

And that there are more original languages in the world than is imagined.

And if the languages which we are acquainted with remained so long unchanged to any great degree in times of more commerce and action than what could be subsequent upon the dispersion, there is reason to believe, that (though it be difficult to define the number of them), there are many more original languages in the world than some men imagine. For if we consider their great antiquity, their mutual agreement in the fundamentals (which we have described) can be no argument that any one of them is derived from the rest; since it is natural to suppose, that when God confounded the speech of the builders of Babel, he made the dialects of those people who were to live near one another, so far to agree, that they might, with less difficulty, and in a shorter space of time, mutually understand each other, and so more easily maintain an intercourse together. For though their association (considering the ends that engaged them in it) was certainly culpable, yet perhaps it might not deserve so severe a punishment as an entire separation of every tribe among them from their nearest

nearest kindred, with whom they had hitherto spent all their time.

To sum up the force of this argument in a few words. If we consider the time since the building of the tower of Babel, not yet 4000 years, and the great variety of languages that are at present in the world; if we consider how entirely different some are to others, so that no art of etymology can reduce them to the least likeness or conformity; and yet, in those early days, when the world was less peopled, and navigation and commerce not so much minded, there could not be that quick progression of languages; and if we examine the alterations which such languages as we are acquainted with have made in two or three thousand years past, where colonies of different people have not been imported, we shall find the difference between language and language to be so very great, and the alteration of the same language, in a considerable tract of time, to be so very small, that we shall be at a loss to conceive, whence so many and so various languages could have proceeded, unless we take in the account of Moses, which unriddles the whole difficulty, and justly ascribes them to the same almighty power which taught our first parents to speak one tongue in the beginning, and, in after-ages, inspired the apostles of Jesus Christ with the gift of many.

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.
A recapitulation of the whole argument.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the tower of Babel.

THAT there really was such a building as the tower of Babel, erected some ages after the recovery of the earth from the deluge, is evident from the concurrent testimony of several Heathen writers. For when (besides the particular description which (b) Herodotus, the father of the Greek historians, gives us of it) we find Abydenus (as he is (c) quoted by Eusebius) telling us, “That the first race of men, big with a fond conceit of the bulk and strength of their bodies, built, in the place where Babylon now stands, a tower of so prodigious an height, that it seemed to touch the skies, but that the winds and the gods overthrew the mighty structure upon their heads;” when we find Eupolemus (as he is (d) cited

That there really was such a building as the tower of Babel.

(b) Lib. I. c. 181. (c) Præparat. evang. l. 9. c. 14.

(d) Alex. Polyhist. apud Euseb. Præp. evan. l. 9. c. 18.

A. M. by Alexander Polyhistor) leaving it upon record, “ That
 1757, &c. “ the city of Babylon was first built by giants, who escaped
 Ant. Chriſt. “ from the flood; that theſe giants built the moſt famous
 2247, &c. “ tower in all hiſtory; and that this tower was daſhed to
 from Gen. “ pieces by the almighty power of God, and the giants diſ-
 xi. to ver. “ perſed, and ſcattered over the face of the whole earth;”
 10. and laſtly, when (e) we find Joſephus mentioning it as a
 received doctrine among the Sibyls, “ That at a certain
 “ time, when the whole world ſpake all one language, the
 “ people of thoſe days gathered together, and raiſed a
 “ mighty tower, which they carried up to ſo extravagant
 “ an height, that it looked as if they had propoſed to ſcale
 “ heaven from the top of it; but that the gods let the
 “ winds looſe upon it, which, with a violent blaſt, beat it
 “ down to the ground, and at the ſame time ſtruck the
 “ builders with an utter forgetfulneſs of their native tongue,
 “ and ſubſtituted new and unknown languages in the room
 “ of it:” When we find theſe, and ſeveral other authors,
 I ſay, that might be produced, bearing teſtimony to Moſes
 in moſt of the material circumſtances attending the
 building of this tower, we cannot but conclude, that the
 repreſentation which he gives us of the whole tranſaction
 is agreeable to truth.

The ſhort is, all the remains now extant of the moſt an-
 cient Heathen hiſtorians (except Sanchoniatho) concur in
 confirming the Moſaic account of this matter; and the ſum
 of their teſtimonies is, — (f) That a huge tower was built
 by gigantic men at Babylon; that there was then but one
 language among mankind; that the attempt was offenſive
 to the gods; and that therefore they demolifhed the tower,
 overwhelmed the workmen, divided their language, and
 diſperſed them over the face of the whole earth.

That it was
 not blown
 down or
 deſtroyed. There is one circumſtance indeed wherein we find
 theſe ancient hiſtorians differing with Moſes, and that is, in
 affirming that the tower was demolifhed by the anger of
 God, and by the violence of the winds; but as it ſeems
 more conſiſtent with the divine wiſdom (for the admonition
 of poſterity) to have ſuch a monument of mens folly and
 ambition for ſome time ſtanding; ſo we may obſerve,
 that (in confirmation of our ſacred penman, who ſpeaks of
 it as a thing exiſting in his time) Herodotus, the Greek

(e) Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. (f) Vid. Joſephus's Antiq. l. 1. c. 5.
 Eusebius's Præpar. evang. l. 9. c. 14. &c.; and Huetius's
 Quæſt. Alnetan. l. 2. p. 189.

historian, tells us expressly, that he himself actually saw it, A. M. 1757, &c. Ant. Chris. 2247, &c. from Gen. xi. to ver. 10. as it was repaired by Belus, or some of his successors; Pliny, the Latin historian, that it was not destroyed in his days; and some modern travellers, (whom by and by we shall have occasion to quote), that there are some visible remains of it extant even now. And therefore the fancy of its being beat down with the winds is taken up, in pure conformity * to some Persian tales, recorded of Nimrod, whom these historians suppose to be the first projector of it.

It cannot be denied indeed, but that the generality of interpreters, meeting with the expression of (*g*) *the children of men*, whereby they understand bad men and infidels, as opposed to the children of God, which usually denote the good and the faithful, are apt to imagine, that none of the family of Shem, which retained (as they say) the true worship and religion, were engaged in the work, but some of the worse sort of people only, who had degenerated from the piety of their ancestors: but by *the* Who were the builders of it.

* The author of the book called *Malem* tells us this story, — That when Nimrod saw that the fire into which he caused Abraham to be cast, for not submitting to the worshipping of idols, did him no damage, he resolved to ascend into heaven, that he might see that great God whom Abraham revealed to him. In vain did his courtiers endeavour to divert him from this design: he was resolved to accomplish it; and therefore gave orders for the building of a tower that might be as high as possible. They worked upon it for three years together: and when he went up to the top, he was much surprised to see himself as far from heaven, as when he was upon the ground; but his confusion was much increased, when they came to inform him, the next morning, that his tower was fallen, and dashed in pieces. He commanded them then, that another should be built, which might be higher and stronger than the former: but when this met with the same fate, and he still continued an obstinate persecuter of those who worshipped the true God, God took from him the greatest part of his subjects, by the division and confusion of their tongues, and those, who still adhered to him, he killed by a cloud of flies, which he sent amongst them; *Calmet's Dictionary on the word Nimrod.* The poets, in like manner, having corrupted the tradition of this event with fictions of their own, do constantly bring in Jupiter defeating the attempts of the Titans:

Fulmina de coeli jaculatus Jupiter arce,
Vertit in authores pondera vasta suos, &c. Ovid.

(*g*) Gen. xi. 5.

children

A. M.
 3757, &c.
 Ant. Chris.
 2247, &c.
 from Gen.
 xi. to ver.
 10.

children of men in that place, it is evident, that we are to understand all mankind, because, in the initial words of the chapter, they are called *(h) the whole earth*; nor can we well conceive how, in so short a time, after that awakening judgment of the deluge, the major part of mankind, even while Noah and his sons were still alive, should be so far corrupted in their principles, as to deserve the odious character of unbelievers.

not Nimrod

(i) Josephus indeed, and some other authors, are clearly of opinion, that Nimrod, a descendent from the impious Ham, was the great abettor of this design, and the ring-leader of those who combined in the execution of it. But though the undertaking seems to agree very well with the notion which the Scripture gives us of that ambitious prince; yet, besides that, *(k)* others extremely well versed in all Jewish antiquities, have made it appear, that Nimrod was either very young at the time, or even not yet born, when the project of building the tower and city was first formed, there is reason to believe (even supposing him then alive, and in great power and authority among his people) that he was not in any tolerable condition to undertake so great a work.

The account which Moses gives us of him is; — That he *(l)* began to be a mighty one in the earth; which the best writers explain, by his being the first who laid the foundation of regal power among mankind: but it is scarce imaginable, how an empire, able to effect such a work, could be entirely acquired, and so thoroughly established, by one and the same person, as to allow leisure for amusements of such infinite toil and trouble.

(m) Great and mighty empires indeed have seemingly been acquired by single persons; but when we come to examine into the true original of them, we shall find, that they began upon the foundations of kingdoms already attained by their ancestors, and established by the care and wisdom of many successive rulers for several generations, and after a long exercise of their people in arts and arms, which gave them a singular advantage over other nations that they conquered. In this manner grew the empires of Cyrus, Alexander, and all the great conquerors in the world: nor can we, in all the records of history, find one

(h) Ver. 1. *(i)* Antiq. l. 1. c. 5. *(k)* Bochart's Phaleg. l. 1. c. 10. *(l)* Gen. x. 8. *(m)* Revelation Examined, vol. 2. dissert. 3.

large dominion, from the very foundation of the world, that was ever erected and established by one private person. And therefore we have abundant reason to infer, that Nimrod, though confessedly the beginner of sovereign authority, could, at this time, have no great kingdom under his command.

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

But admitting his kingdom to be larger than this supposition; yet, from that day to this, we can meet with no works of this kind attempted, but from a fulness of wealth, and wantonness of power, and after peace, luxury, and long leisure had introduced and established arts: so that nothing can be more absurd, than to attribute such a prodigious work to the power and vanity of one man, in the infancy both of arts and empire, and when we can scarce suppose, that there was any such thing as artificial wealth in the world.

Since then this building was undoubtedly very ancient, as ancient as the Scripture makes it, and yet could not be effected by any separate society, in the period assigned for it, the only probable opinion is, that it was (as we said before) undertook and executed by the united labours of all the people that were then on the face of the earth. It is not unlikely, however, that after the dispersion of the people, and their living the place unfinished, (n) Nimrod and his subjects, coming out of Arabia, or some other neighbouring country, might, after their fright was over, settle at Babel, and there building the city of Babylon, and repairing the tower, make it the metropolis (as afterwards it was) of all the Assyrian empire.

Though he
might after-
wards settle
there.

To this purpose, there is a very remarkable passage (o) in Diodorus Siculus, where he tells us; "That on the walls of one of the Babylonian palaces was portrayed a general hunting of all sorts of wild beasts, with the figure of a woman on horse-back piercing a leopard, and a man fighting with a lion; and that on the walls of the other palace were armies in battalia, and huntings of several kinds." Now of this Nimrod, the sacred historian informs us, that he was a great and remarkable hunter, so as to pass into a proverb; and this occupation he might the rather pursue, as the best means of training up his companions to exploits of war, and of making himself popular, by the glory he gained, and the public good he did, in destroying those wild beasts, which at that time

(n) Bochart's Phaleg. l. I. c. 10.

(o) Lib. I.

A. M. 2757, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

For what
purposes it
was built.

infested the world. And as this was a part of his character, the most rational account that we can give of these ornaments on the Babylonian palaces, is, that they were set up by some of Nimrod's descendents, in their ancestor's imperial city, in memory of the great founder of their family, and of an empire which afterwards grew so famous.

(p) Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria, will needs have it, that Nimrod was the first author of the religion of the Magians, the worshippers of fire: and from hence, very probably, (q) a late archbishop of our own has thought, that this tower of Babel (whose form was pyramidal, as he says, and so resembling fire, whose flame ascends in a conic shape) was a monument designed for the honour of the sun, as the most probable cause of drying up the waters of the flood. For, "though the sun," says he, "was not merely a god of the hills, yet the heathens thought it suitable to his advanced station, to worship him upon ascents, either natural, or where the country was flat, artificial, that they might approach, as near as possibly they could, the deity they adored." This certainly accounts for God's displeasure against the builders, and why he was concerned to defeat their undertaking; but as there is no foundation for this conjecture in Scripture, and the date of this kind of idolatry was not perhaps so early as is pretended, the two ends which Moses declares the builders had in view, in forming their project, will be motives sufficient for their undertaking it.

For if we consider that they were now in the midst of a vast plain, undistinguished by roads, buildings, or boundaries of any kind, except rivers; that the provision of pasture, and other necessaries, obliged them to separate; and that, when they were separated, there was a necessity of some land-mark to bring them together again upon occasion, otherwise all communication, and with it, all the pleasures of life must be cut off; we can hardly imagine any thing more natural and fit for this purpose, than the erection of a tower, large and lofty enough to be seen at great distances, and consequently sufficient to guide them from all quarters of that immense region; and when they had occasion to correspond, or come together, nothing certainly could be more proper, than the contiguous buildings

(p) Calmet's Dictionary on the word *Nimrod*.
of idolatry.

(q) Tenison,

of a city, for their reception, and convenient communication.

If we consider likewise, that all the pride and magnificence of their ancestors were now defaced, and utterly destroyed by the deluge, without the least remains, or memorial of their grandeur; that consequently the earth was a clear stage, whereon to erect new and unrivaled monuments of glory and renown to themselves; and that at this juncture, they wanted neither art nor abilities, neither numbers nor materials, to make themselves masters of what their vanity projected; we may reasonably suppose, that the affectation of renown was another motive to their undertaking; since it is very well known, that this is the very principle which has all along governed the whole race of mankind, in all the works and monuments of magnificence, the mausoleums, pillars, palaces, pyramids, and whatever has been erected of any pompous kind, from the foundation of the world to this very day. So that, taking their resolution under the united light of these two motives, the reasoning of the builders will run thus: "We are here in a vast plain: † our dispersion is inevitable: our increase, and the necessaries of life demand it. We are strong and happy, when united; but when divided, we shall be weak and wretched. Let us then contrive some means of union and friendly society, which may, at the same time, perpetuate our fame and memory. And what means so proper for these purposes, as a magnificent city, and a mighty tower, whose top may touch the skies? The tower will be a land-mark to us, through the whole extent of this plain, and a centre of unity, to prevent our being dispersed; and the city, which may prove the metropolis of the whole earth, will, at all times, afford us a commodious habitation. Since then we need fear no dissolution of our works by any future deluge, let us erect something that may immortalize our names, and outvie the labours of our antediluvian fathers." And that this seems to have been the reason-

† Here they speak as if they feared a dispersion; but it is hard to tell for what cause, unless it was this:— That Noah having projected a division of the earth among his posterity, (for it was a deliberate business, as we noted before), the people had no mind to submit to it; and therefore built a fortress to defend themselves in their resolution of not yielding to his design; but what they dreaded, they brought upon themselves by their own vain attempt to avoid it. *Vid.* Patrick's Comment. and Usher ad A. M. 1757.

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

A. M. ing of their minds, will further appear, if we come now
 2757, &c. to take a short survey of the dimensions of the building,
 Ant. Chris. according to the account which the best historians have gi-
 2247, &c. ven us of it.
 from Gen.

xi. to ver. It is the opinion of the learned (r) Bochart, that what-
 10. ever we read of the tower, inclosed in the temple of Be-
 The dimen- lus, may very properly be applied to the tower of Babel;
 sions of the because, upon due search and examination, he conceives
 tower. them to be one and the same structure. Now, of this tow-
 er (s) Herodotus tells us, that it was a square of a furlong
 on each side, *i. e.* half a mile in the whole circumference,
 whose height, being equal to its basis, was divided into eight
 towers, built one upon another; but what made it look
 as divided into eight towers, was very probably the man-
 ner of its ascent. *The passage to go up it*, continues our
 author, *was a circular, or winding way, carried round the*
outside of the building to its highest point: (t) from whence
it seems most likely, that the whole ascent was, by the
benching-in, drawn in a sloping line from the bottom to
the top, eight times round it, which would make the ap-
pearance of eight towers one above another. This way
was so exceeding broad, that it afforded space for horses and
carts, and other means of carriage to meet and turn; and
the towers, which looked like so many stories upon one
another, were each of them seventy-five foot high, in which
were many stately rooms, with arched roofs, supported by
pillars, which were made parts of the temple, after the
tower became consecrated to that idolatrous use; and, on
the uppermost of the towers, which was held more sacred,
and where their most solemn devotions were performed,
there was an observatory, by the benefit of which it was,
that the Babylonians advanced their skill in astronomy be-
yond all other nations.

Some authors, † following a mistake in the Latin ver-
 sion of Herodotus, wherein the lowest of these towers is
 said

(r) *Vid.* Phaleg. part 1. l. 1. c. 9. (s) *Lib.* 1. (t) Pri-
 deaux's Connection, part 1.

† The words of Herodotus are: 'Εν μίση δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ πύργος σεπίος
 ἐκδοῦνται, ἑκάστη ἔχει τὸ μῆκος, ἔχει τὸ εὖρος' ἔχει ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῷ πύργῳ
 ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, ἔχει ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ ταῦτα, μέχρις ἢ ὀκτώ πύργων.
 Now, tho' it be allowed, that the word *μῆκος* may signify *height*,
 as well as *length*, yet it is much better to take Herodotus in the
 latter sense here; otherwise the tower (if every story answers
 the lowest) will rise to a prodigious height, though nothing near

said to be a furlong thick, and a furlong high, will have each of the other towers to be of a proportionate height, which amounts to a mile in the whole: but the Greek of Herodotus (which is the genuine text of that author,) says no such thing, but only, that it was a furlong long, and a furlong broad, without mentioning any thing of its height; and (u) Strabo, in his description of it, (calling it a *pyramid*, because of its decreasing, or benching-in at every tower), says of the whole, that it was a furlong high, and a furlong on every side: for to reckon every tower a furlong high, would make the thing incredible, even though the authority of both these historians were for, as they are against it. Taking it only as it is described by Strabo, it was prodigious enough; since, according to his dimensions only, without adding any farther, it was one of the most wonderful works in the world, and much exceeded the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt.

In this condition continued the tower of Babel, or the temple of Belus, until the time of Nebuchadnezzar; but he enlarged it by vast buildings, which were erected round it, in a square of two furlongs on every side, or a mile in circumference; and inclosed the whole with a wall of two miles and a half in compass, in which were several gates leading to the temple, all of solid brass, which very probably were made of the brazen sea, the brazen pillars, and the other brazen vessels, which were carried to Babylon from the temple of Jerusalem: for so we are told, that all the sacred vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar carried from thence, he put (x) into the house of his god in Babylon, i. e. into the house or temple of Bel, (for † that was the name of the great god of the Babylonians), surrounding it with the pomp

to what Jerom (l. 5. Comment. in Eſaiam) affirms, from the testimony of eye-witnesses, as he says, who examined the remains of it very carefully, viz. that it was no less than four miles high; *Univerſ. hiſt. l. 1. c. 2.*

(u) Lib. 16.

(x) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Dan. i. 2.

† Bel is supposed to have been the same with Nimrod, and to have been called *Bel* from his dominion, and *Nimrod* from his rebellion; for *Bel*, or *Baal* (which is the same) signifies *Lord*, and *Nimrod*, *Rebel*, in the Jewish and Chaldean language; the former was his Babylonish name, by reason of his empire in that place; and the latter his Scripture name, by reason of his rebellion, in revolting from God, to follow his own wicked designs; *Prideaux's Connection, part 1. l. 2.*

A. M. of these additional buildings, and adorning it with the spoils
 1757, &c. of the temple of Jerusalem. This tower did not subsist
 Ant. Chris. much above an hundred years, when Xerxes, coming from
 2247, &c. his Grecian expedition, wherein he had suffered a vast loss
 from Gen. of men and money, out of pretence of religion, († as be-
 xi. to ver. ing himself a Magian, and consequently detesting the
 10. worship of God by images), (y) but in reality with a
 design to repair the damages he had sustained, demolished
 it, and laid it all in rubbish; having first plundered it of all
 its immense riches, among which were several images, or
 statues of massy gold, and (z) one particularly of forty
 feet high, which very probably was † that which Nebu-
 chadnezzar (a) consecrated in the plains of Dura.

Thus

† The two great sects of religion among the Persians, were
 the Magians and Sabians. The Sabians worshipped God through
 sensible images, or rather worshipped the images themselves.
 The Babylonians were the first founders of this sect; for they
 first brought in the worship of the planets, and afterwards that
 of images, and from thence propagated it to all other nations
 where it prevailed. The Magians, on the contrary, worshipped no
 images of any kind, but God only, together with two subordi-
 nate principles, the one, the author and director of all good,
 and the other, the author and director of all evil. These two
 sects always had a mortal enmity to each other; and therefore it
 is no wonder, that Xerxes, who had always the Archimagus at-
 tending him in his expeditions, with several other inferior Ma-
 gi, in the capacity of his chaplains, should by them be prevailed
 on to take Babylon in his way to Susa, in order to destroy all the
 idolatrous temples there.

(y) Prideaux's Connection, part 1. (z) Diodorus Siculus, l. 2.

† Nebuchadnezzar's golden image is said indeed in Scripture
 to have been 60 cubits, *i. e.* ninety foot high, but that must
 be understood of the image and pedestal all together: for that
 image being said to have been but six cubits broad or thick, it
 is impossible that the image could have been sixty cubits high;
 for that makes its height to be ten times its breadth or thick-
 ness, which exceeds all the proportions of a man, forasmuch as
 no man's height is above six times his thickness, measuring
 the slenderest man living at the waist. But where the breadth
 of this image was measured, it is not said: perhaps it was from
 shoulder to shoulder, and then the proportion of six cubits
 breadth will bring down the height exactly to the measure
 which Diodorus has mentioned. For the usual height of a man
 being four and an half of his breadth between the shoulders,

it

(a) Dan. iii. 1.

Thus fell this great monument of antiquity, and was never repaired any more: For though Alexander, at his return to Babylon, after his Indian expedition, expressed his intentions of rebuilding it, and accordingly set ten thousand men on work to rid the place of its rubbish; yet, before they had made any progress therein, that great conqueror died on a sudden, and has ever since left both the city and tower so far defaced, that the very people of the country are at a loss to tell where their ancient situation was. Since some late travellers however have, in their opinions, found out the true ruins and remains of this once renowned structure, we shall not be averse to gratify our reader's curiosity (*b*) with an account of what one of the best authority among them has thought fit to communicate to the public.

“ In the middle of a vast and level plain, (says he), about a quarter of a league from the Euphrates, (which in that place runs westward), appears an heap of ruined buildings, like a huge mountain, the materials of which are so confounded together, that one knows not what to make of it. Its figure is square, and rises in form of a pyramid, with four fronts, which answer to the four quarters of the compass, but it seems longer from north to south than from east to west, and is (as far as I could judge by my pacing it) a large quarter of a league. Its situation and form correspond with that pyramid which Strabo calls the tower of *Belus*; but even in his time it had nothing remaining of the stairs, and other ornaments mentioned by Herodotus, for the greatest part of it was ruined by Xerxes and Alexander, who designed to have restored it to its former lustre, but was prevented by death.

A. M. 1757, &c.
Ant. Chris. 2247, &c.
from Gen. xi. to ver. 10.

The present remains of it.

it must, according to this proportion, have been twenty-seven cubits high, which is forty foot and an half. Nor must it be forgot what Diodorus further tells us, *viz.* That this image contained a thousand Babylonish talents of gold, which, upon a moderate computation, amounts to three millions and an half of our money. But now, if we advance the height of the statue to ninety foot without the pedestal, it will increase the value to a sum incredible; and therefore it is necessary to take the pedestal likewise into the height mentioned by Daniel; *Prideaux's Connection, part 1. l. 2.*

(*b*) *Vid.* Pietro della Valle, part 2. l. 17.

“ There

A. M. 1757, &c. Ant. Chris. 2247, &c. from Gen. xi. to ver. 10.

“ There appear no marks of ruins round the compass of this rude mass, to make one believe that so great a city as Babylon ever stood here. All that one can discover, within 50 or 60 paces of it, is only the remains here and there of some foundations of buildings; and the country round about it is so flat and level, that one can hardly conceive it should be chosen for the situation of so noble a city, or that there ever were any considerable structures on it. But considering withal, that it is now at least four thousand years since that city was built, and that in the time of Diodorus Siculus, as he tells us, it was almost reduced to nothing, I, for my part, am astonished that there appears so much as there does.

“ The height of this mountain of ruins is not in every part equal, but exceeds the highest palace in Naples. It is a mishapen mass, wherein there is no appearance of regularity. In some places it rises in points, is craggy, and inaccessible; in others it is smooth, and of easy ascent,—Whether ever there were steps to ascend it, or doors to enter into it, it is impossible at present to discover: and from hence one may easily judge, that the stairs ran winding about on the outside, and that, being the less solid parts, they were the soonest demolished, so that there is not the least sign to be seen of them now.

“ In the inside of it there are some grottos, but so ruined, that one can make nothing of them; and it is much to be doubted, with regard to some of them, whether they were built at the same time with the work, or made since by the peasants for shelter, which last seems to be more likely. It is evident from these ruins, however, that the tower of *Nimrod* (so our author calls it) was built with great and thick bricks, as I carefully observed, causing holes to be dug in several places for that purpose; but they do not appear to have been burnt, but only dried in the sun, which is extremely hot in those parts.

“ In laying these bricks, neither lime nor sand was made use of, but only earth tempered and petrified; and in those parts which made the floors, there had been mingled with the earth (which served instead of lime) bruised reeds or hard straws, such as large mats are made of, to strengthen the work. In several other places, especially where the strongest buttresses were to be, there were, at due distances, other bricks of the same size, but more solid, and burnt in kilns, and set in good lime,

“ or

“ or bitumen, but the greater number were such as were dried in the sun.”

This is the most of what this sedulous traveller could discover; and yet, upon the foot of these remarks, he makes no doubt to declare, “ That this ruin was the ancient Babel, or the tower of Nimrod, (as he calls it): for besides the evidence of its situation, it is so acknowledged to be, and so called by the inhabitants of the country to this very day:” notwithstanding some others are of a contrary opinion, viz. (c) That this, and some other ruins not far distant from it, are not the remains of the original tower, but rather some later structures of the Arabs.

A. M.
1757, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2247, &c.
from Gen.
xi. to ver.
10.

We cannot dismiss this subject however, without making some reflections on the vanity and transitoriness of all sublunary things, as well as the veracity of all God's predictions; since that goodly city, which was once the pride of all Asia, and the designed metropolis of the whole universe, according to the words (d) of the prophets, *is fallen, is fallen low, very low, and become a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment, and an hissing without an inhabitant*; and that stately tower, which once reared its head on high, and seemed to menace the stars, is brought down to the ground, even to the dust; insomuch, that the place of it is to be seen no more; or, if by chance found out by some inquisitive traveller, the whole is now become only a confused heap of rubbish, according to the word of God, by the same prophet; (e) *I will roll thee down from the rocks, and make thee as a burnt mountain, and they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations, but thou shalt be an everlasting desolation, saith the Lord.*

A moral
reflection
hereupon.

(c) Univerf. hist. l. i. c. 2. (d) Isa. xxi. 9.; and Jer. li. 37.
(e) Jer. li. 25. 26.

C H A P. III.

Of the Dispersion, and first Settlement of the Nations.

THE HISTORY.

IN what manner the children of Noah were admitted to the possession of the several countries they afterwards came to inhabit, the sacred historian has not informed us;

A. M.
1759, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2245, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

The settle-
ment of the
sons of Ja-
but
phet.

A. M. 1759, &c. but this we may depend on, that (a) this great division of the earth was not the result of chance, but of mature deliberation; not a confused, irregular dispersion, wherein every one went where he pleased, and settled himself where he liked best, but a proper assignment of such and such places for every division and subdivision of each nation and family to dwell in. Japhet, as we said before, though usually mentioned last, yet was in reality the eldest son of Noah, and accordingly has his descendents here placed in the front of the genealogy. He had † seven sons: Gomer, who seated himself in Phrygia; Magog, in Scythia; Madai, in Media; Javan, in Ionia, or part of Greece; Tubal, in Tibarene; Mashech, in Moschia, (which lies in the north-east parts of Cappadocia); and Tiras, in Thrace, Mysia, and the rest of Europe towards the north.

The sons of Gomer were Ashkanaz, who took possession of Ascania, (which is part of Lesser Phrygia), Riphah, of the Riphæan mountains; and Togarmagh, of part of Cappadocia and Galatia.

The sons of Javan were Elishah, who seated himself in Peloponnesus; Tarshish, in Spain; Kittim, in Italy; and Dodanim (b) (otherwise called *Indianim*) in France, not far from the banks of the river Rhodanus, to which he seems to have given the name. By these, and the colonies which in some space of time proceeded from them, not only a considerable part of Asia, but all Europe, and the islands adjacent, were stocked with inhabitants; and the several inhabitants were so settled and disposed of, that each tribe or family who spake the same language kept together in one body; and (how distant soever in their situation) continued, for some time at least, their relation to the people or nation from whom originally they sprang.

(a) Mede's Disc. 49. 50. l. 1.

† The following account of the plantations of the three sons of Noah and their descendents is extracted from Bochart's Phaleg.; Heidegger's Historia patriarcharum, vol. 1. exercit. 22.; Wells's Sacred geography, vol. 1.; Bedford's Scripture-chronology, l. 2.; Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1.; Parker's Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. 1.; the authors of the Universal history, l. 1.; Le Clerc and Patrick's Commentaries; Pool and Ainsworth's Annotations; with other authors of the like nature; from whom we have made use of the most probable conjectures, and to whom we refer the reader, rather than encumber him with a multitude of explanatory notes.

(b) 1 Chron. i. 7.

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A MAP
shewing the general
DISPERSION
and settling of the
NATIONS



F The Habitation of Aram after y' Assyrian Monarchy sometimes call'd Aram naharaim as P. sal. 60. Telle or Aram betwix y' two Rivers, and by the Greeks Mesopotamia
E F The Habitation of Japhet before the Assyrian Monarchy.
G The Habitation of the Posterity of Japhet after the Assyrian Monarchy before they People Greece.

A The Habitation of Arphaxad after the Assyrian Monarchy.
B The Habitation of the Posterity of Arphaxad after y' Assyrian Monarchy call'd Arraphontis
C The Habitation of Allhur before the Assyrian Monarchy.
D The Habitation of Aram before the Assyrian Monarchy.
E The Habitation of Allhur after the Assyrian Monarchy sometimes antiently call'd. Ishur

Shem, the second son of Noah, (and from whom the Hebrew nation did descend), had himself five sons; where-
 of Elam took possession of a country in Persia, called after himself at first, but in the time of Daniel, it obtained the name of *Susiana*; *Affur*, of *Affyria*; *Arphaxad*, of *Chaldea*; *Lud*, of *Lydia*; and *Aram*, of *Syria*, as far as the Mediterranean sea.

A. M.
 1759, &c.
 Ant. Chriſt.
 2245, &c.
 from Gen.
 x. to the
 end; and
 from ch. II.
 ver. 10. to
 the end.

The sons of Aram were Uz, who seated himself in the country of Damascus; Hull, near Cholobatene in Armenia; Mash, near the mountain Musius; and Gether, in part of Mesopotamia.

Of Shem.

Arphaxad had a son named *Salah*, who settled near *Susiana*, and begat *Eber*, (the father of the Hebrew nation), who had likewise two sons; *Peleg*, whose name imports *division*, because in his days mankind was divided into several colonies; and *Jocktan*, who had a large offspring, to the number of thirteen sons, all seated in Arabia Felix, and who, in all probability, were the progenitors of such people and nations as in those parts, in after ages, had some affinity to their several names. For here it was that the *Allumœotæ*, who took their name from *Almodad*, the *Selapeni* from *Sheleph*, and the *Abalitæ* from *Obal*, &c. lived, viz. from that part of Arabia which lies between *Mufa*, (a famous sea-port in the-red-sea), and the mountain *Climax*, which was formerly called *Sephar*, from a city of that name built at the bottom of it, and then the metropolis of the whole country.

Ham, the youngest son of Noah, had four sons; where-
 of Cush settled his abode. in that part of Arabia which lies
 towards Egypt; *Mizraim*, in both Upper and Lower Egypt; *Phut*, in part of Lybia; and *Canaan*, in the land which was afterwards called by his name, and in other adjacent countries.

And of
 Ham.

The sons of Cush were *Seba*, who settled on the south-west part of Arabia; *Havilah*, who gave name to a country upon the river *Pison*, where it parts with *Euphrates*, to run into the Arabian gulf; *Sabtah*, who lived on the same shore (but a little more northward) of the Arabian gulf; *Raamah*, who, with his two sons *Sheba* and *Dedan*, occupied the same coast, but a little more eastward; and *Sabtecha*, who (we need not doubt) placed himself among the rest of his brethren. But among all the sons of Cush, *Nimrod* was the person who, in these early days, distinguished himself by his bravery and courage. His lot chanced to fall into a place that was not a little infested with

A. M.
1759, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2245, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10 to
the end.

wild beaſts; and therefore he betook himſelf to the exerciſe of hunting, and drawing together a company of ſtout young fellows, not only cleared the country of ſuch dangerous creatures, but procuring himſelf likewise great honour and renown by his other exploits, he raiſed himſelf at length to the dignity of a king, (the firſt king that is ſuppoſed to have been in the world), and having made Babylon the ſeat of his empire, laid the foundation of three other cities, viz. Erech, Accad, and Calneſh, in the neighbouring provinces; and ſo paſſing into Aſſyria, and enlarging his territories there, he built Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Reſen, (which was afterwards called *Lariſſa*), ſituate upon the Tygris. But to return to the remainder of Ham's poſterity.

Mizraim, his ſecond ſon, became king of Egypt, which, after his death, was divided into three kingdoms by three of his ſons; Ananim, who was king of Tanis, or Lower Egypt, called afterwards *Delta*; Naphtulim, who was king of Naph, or Memphis, in Upper Egypt; and Pathruſim, who ſet up the kingdom of Pathros, or Thebes, in Thebais. Ludim and Lehabim peopled Lybia: Caſlubim fixed himſelf at Caſiotis, in the entrance of Egypt from Paleſtine; and having two ſons, Philiſtim and Caphterim, the latter he left to ſucceed him at Caſiotis, and the former planted the country of the Philiftines between the borders of Canaan and the Mediterranean ſea. The ſons of Canaan were Sidon, the father of the Sidonians, who lived in Phœnicia; Heth, the father of the Hittites, who lived near Hebron; Emor, the father of the Amorites, who lived in the mountains of Judea; and Arvad, the father of the Arvadites, not far from Sidon. But whether the other ſons of Canaan ſettled in this country, cannot be determined with any certainty and exactneſs; only we muſt take care to place them ſomewhere between Sidon and Gerrar, and Admah and Zeboim; for theſe were the boundaries of their land.

Upon the whole then we may obſerve, that the poſterity of Japhet came into the poſſeſſion, not only of all Europe, but of a conſiderable portion of Aſia: (c) for two of his ſons, Tiras and Javan, together with their deſcendents, had all thoſe countries which, from the Mediterranean ſea, reach as far as Scandinavia northward; and his other ſons, from the Mediterranean, extended themſelves eaſtward over almoſt all Aſia Minor, and part of Armenia,

(c) Heidegger's Hiſt. patriar. vol. 1. exercit. 22. ſect. 1.

over Media, Iberia, Albania, and those vast regions to-
 wards the north, where formerly the Scythians, but now ^{A. M. 1759, &c.} the Tartars, dwell: That the posterity of Ham held in ^{Ant. Christ. 2245, &c.} their possession all Africa, and no small part of Asia; (d) Mizraim, both the Upper, Lower, and Middle Egypt, ^{from Gen. x. to the end;} Marmarica, and Ethiopia, both east and west; Phut, the ^{from ch. 11. ver. 10. to the end.} remainder of Africa, Lybia, Interior and Exterior, Numidia, Mauritania, Getulia, &c.; Cush, all Arabia that lies between the Red-sea and the Gulf, beyond the Gulf, Carmania, and no small part of Persia, and towards the north of Arabia, (till expelled by Nimrod), Babylonia, and part of Chaldea; and Canaan, Palestine, Phœnicia, part of Cappadocia, and that large tract of ground along the Euxine sea, even as far as Colchis; and that the posterity of Shem had in their possession part both of the Greater and Lesser Asia; (e) in the Lesser, Lydia, Mysia, and Caria; and in the Greater, Assyria, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Susiana, Arabia Felix, &c. and perhaps eastward, all the countries as far as China.

These are the plantations (f) of the families of the sons of Noah in their generations, and after this manner were the nations divided in the earth after the flood. And now to descend to a more particular account of the posterity of his son Shem, from whom the Hebrews (who are the proper subjects of our history) were descended.

Two years after the flood, when Shem was 100 years ^{A.M. 1658.} old, he had a son named *Arphaxad*; after which time he lived 500 years; so that the whole of his life was 600.

Arphaxad, when 35, had a son named *Salah*; after ^{A.M. 1693.} which he lived 403 years; in all 438.

Salah, when 30, had a son named *Eber*, (from whom ^{A.M. 1723.} his descendents were called *Hebrews*), after which he lived 403 years; in all 433.

Eber, when 34, had a son named *Peleg*, in whose time ^{A.M. 1757.} (as we said) the earth came to be divided; after which he lived 430 years; in all 464.

Peleg, when 30, had a son named *Reu*, after which he ^{A.M. 1787.} lived 209 years; in all 239.

Reu, when 32, had a son named *Serug*; after which he ^{A.M. 1819.} lived 207 years; in all 239.

Serug, when 30, had a son named *Nahor*; after which ^{A.M. 1849.} he lived 200 years; in all 230.

Nahor, when 29, had a son named *Terach*; after which ^{A.M. 1878.} he lived 119 years: in all 148. But of all these persons,

(d) *Ibid.* sect. 2. (e) *Ibid.* sect. 3. (f) Gen. x. 32.

A. M. 1597, &c. Ant. Chris. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. 11. ver. 10. to the end.

it must be remarked, that they had several other children of both sexes. though not recorded in this history.

Terah, when 70, (for he was not blessed with children sooner), had three sons, one after another, Abram, Nahor, and Haran; whereof Haran, the eldest, died before his father, in his native country of Ur, leaving behind him one son, whose name was *Lot*, and two daughters, whereof the elder, *viz.* *Milcah*, was married to her uncle Nahor, and the younger († whose name was *Sarai*) was married to her uncle Abram; but at this time she was barren, and had no children.

A. M. 1927. The corruption of mankind was now become general; and idolatry and polytheism began to spread like a contagion, * the people of Ur, in particular, (*g*) (as is supposed by the signification of the name) worshipped the element of fire, which was always thought a proper symbol of the sun, that universal god of the east. Terah, the father of Abram, (*h*) was certainly a companion (some say a priest) of those who adored such strange gods; nor was Abram himself (as it is generally imagined) uninfected. But God being minded to select this family out of the rest of mankind, and in them to establish his church, ordered Terah to leave the place of his habitation, which was then cor-

† It is very probable, that *Sarai* was called *Iscah* before she left Ur; because, in the 29th verse, we read that Haran had a daughter of that name, and yet we cannot suppose, but that, had she been a distinct person, Moses would have given us an account of her descent, because it so much concerned his nation to know from whom they came both by the father and mother's side; *Patrick's Commentary.*

* The city of Ur was in Chaldee, as the Scripture assures us in more places than one; but still its true situation is not so well known. For some think it to be the same as *Camarina* in *Babylonia*; others confound it with *Orcha*, or *Orche*, in *Chaldea*; while others again take it to be *Ura*, or *Sura*, upon the banks of the river *Euphrates*. *Eochart* and *Grotius* maintain, that it is *Ura*, in the eastern part of *Mesopotamia*, which was sometimes (as it appears from *Acts vii 2. 4.*) included under the name *Chaldea*; and this situation seems the more probable, not only because it agrees with the words of *St Stephen* in the above cited place, but with the writings of *Ammianus Marcellinus* likewise, who himself travelled this country, and mentions a city of this name in the place where *Eochart* supposes it, about two days journey from *Nisibis*; *Wells's Geography, vol. 1.*

(*g*) *Vid.* *Calmiet's Dictionary* on the word *Ur.* (*h*) *Jos. xxiv. 2. 14.*

rupted in this manner; which accordingly he did, and taking with him his son Abram and his wife, together with his grandson Lot, left Ur, with an intent to go into Canaan; but in his journey fell sick at * Haran, a city of Mesopotamia, where being forced to make his abode for some time, || in the 145th year of his age he there died.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. xi.
ver. 10. to
the end.

The OBJECTION.

“ **B**UT how well soever we may think it comports
“ with the character of a good historian, to enter-
“ tain us with a dry catalogue of names, and of names
“ which never once more appear upon the stage of action;
“ to tell us, that such an one, at such a time, begat such
“ an one, and then died, aged so and so, without enter-

* Haran, which is likewise called *Charan*, according to the Hebrew, and *Charran*, according to the Greek pronunciation, was a city situated in the west, or north-west part of Mesopotamia, on a river of the same name, which very probably runs into the river Chaboras, as that does into the Euphrates. It is taken notice of by Latin writers, on account of the great overthrow which the Parthians gave the Roman army, under the command of Crassus, and, as some think, had its name given by Terah, in memory of Haran his deceased son. But others think it is much better derived from the word *Hharar*, which denotes its soil to be *hot* and *adust*, as it appears to be from a passage out of Plutarch, in the life of Crassus, and several other ancient testimonies. *Vid.* Calmer's Dictionary; Well's Geography; and Le Clerc's Commentary *in locum*.

|| St Stephen (in Acts vii. 4.) tells us, that after the death of his father, Abraham removed from Haran, or, as he calls it, *Charran*, to the land of Canaan. In Gen. xii. 4. we are told, that Abraham was *seventy-five years old, when he departed out of Charran*. In Gen. xi. 26. it is said, that Terah was *seventy years old when he begat Abraham*; and yet, in ver. 32. of the same chapter, it is affirmed, that *he died, being two hundred and five years old*. But at this rate Terah must have lived sixty years after Abram's going from Haran: for 75 (the number of Abram's years when he left Haran) being added to 70, the number of Terah's years, when he begat Abram, make 145 years only; whereas the account in Genesis is, that he lived 205. This therefore must certainly proceed from a fault crept into the text of Moses; because of the two hundred and five years which are given to Terah, when he died at Haran, he only lived an hundred and forty-five, according to the Samaritan version, and the Samaritan chronicle, which, without doubt, do agree with the Hebrew copy, from which they were translated; *An essay for a new translation.*

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. II. ver. 10. to the end.

ing any further into his ſtory, or acquainting us with one title of the tranſactions of his life; yet ſure we cannot think, that his account of the origin of nations, or the plantation of mankind over the face of the earth, can be either rational or conſiſtent. In little more than the ſpace of an hundred years, to ſuppoſe mankind ſo far increaſed, as to be able to ſend out colonies, from the centre of their diſperſion, to all the parts of the then known world, is ſomewhat unaccountable: but then to makè infants, mere infants, or perſons, who perhaps, at that time, were unborn, the chiefs and leaders of theſe colonies; to give them countries which they never ſaw, and theſe countries names which they never could deſerve, is a thing vaſtly abſurd, and what argues, at leaſt, a ſtrange forgetfulneſs in our author.

Peleg, for inſtance, could not have been long born, and Jocktan, his younger brother, (much more Jocktan's ſons), can ſcarce be ſuppoſed to have been born when the diſperſion happened; and yet they are repreſented both as heads and princes of families; one conducting his people to † the ſouthern parts of Meſopotamia, and the other, with his numerous family, taking poſſeſſion of † a good ſhare of Arabia Felix. And whereas it is ſaid of the ſons of Japhet, that *by them were the iſles of the Gentiles divided into their lands*, it is manifeſt, from the account of Moſes himſelf, that the places which he aſſigns for their habitation, were all upon the continent; nor were the iſlands of Europe peopled, till many generations after this period were paſt and gone.

The deſign of Moſes, no doubt, is to evince, that all the preſent inhabitants of the world deſcended originally from the three ſons of Noah; but beſides the great

† It is not unlikely, that either Peleg, or ſome of his poſterity, gave name to a town upon Euphrates, called *Phalga*, not far from the place where the river Chaboras runs into it; *Patrick's Comment.*

† The Arabians, it is certain, do avowedly derive their original from Jocktan; and herein they may as well be credited, as the Europeans, who pretend to be ſprung from Japetus, or Japhet; or the Africans, who will have Ham, or Jupiter Hammon, for their founder. There is moreover, in the territories of Mecha, a city which even to this day is called *Baiſaſh Jecktan*, i. e. the *ſeat and habitation of Jecktan*, very remarkable for the elegance of its buildings, the pleaſure of its ſituation, and plenty of its fountains; *Patrick and Le Clerc's Comment.*

“ difficulty

“ difficulty of settling the several nations in any tolerable
 “ manner, according to the chartel which he has given
 “ us, there must of necessity have been people in the
 “ world, either escaped from the flood, or self-originated,
 “ before this æra of their dispersion.

A. M.
 1997, &c.
 Ant. Chris.
 2007, &c.
 from Gen.
 x. to the
 end; and
 from ch. II.
 ver 10. to
 the end.

“ Between the flood and this dispersion, the space is
 “ little more than a hundred years: Ninus is placed by
 “ many chronologers in this first century: but suppose him
 “ considerably later, he is far from being the first founder
 “ of the Assyrian monarchy. Belus preceded him, and
 “ several kings there were before Belus: but now, how
 “ can this agree with the propagation of mankind from
 “ the sons of Noah? Some petty states might perhaps be
 “ erected; but it is impossible to conceive, that the founda-
 “ tion of so great an empire should be laid, in so small
 “ a compass of time, by the posterity of three persons.

“ The records, and astronomical observations of some
 “ countries, reaching much lower than the Mosaic date
 “ of the flood; the history of China, and the state and
 “ grandeur of other eastern nations, in times as an-
 “ cient as any mentioned in profane history, together with
 “ the maturity of civil discipline and government, of
 “ learning and inventions of all kinds, before ever Greece
 “ or Italy, or any other western people, grew to be at all
 “ considerable, are a sufficient argument that these people
 “ were no descendents of Noah; or that if they were,
 “ that there must be a gross mistake in point of compu-
 “ tation. For (to take one argument more from Moses
 “ himself) from the flood to the time of Abraham, (ac-
 “ cording to the Hebrew account), were much about 305
 “ years; and yet, in that patriarch’s days, the world
 “ was so well replenished, and dominions so well established,
 “ that we read of several kings encountering one another;
 “ by which it is evident, that the earth had been peopled
 “ some time before, or otherwise there could not have
 “ been such potent princes as some of them are represent-
 “ ed to be at that time.

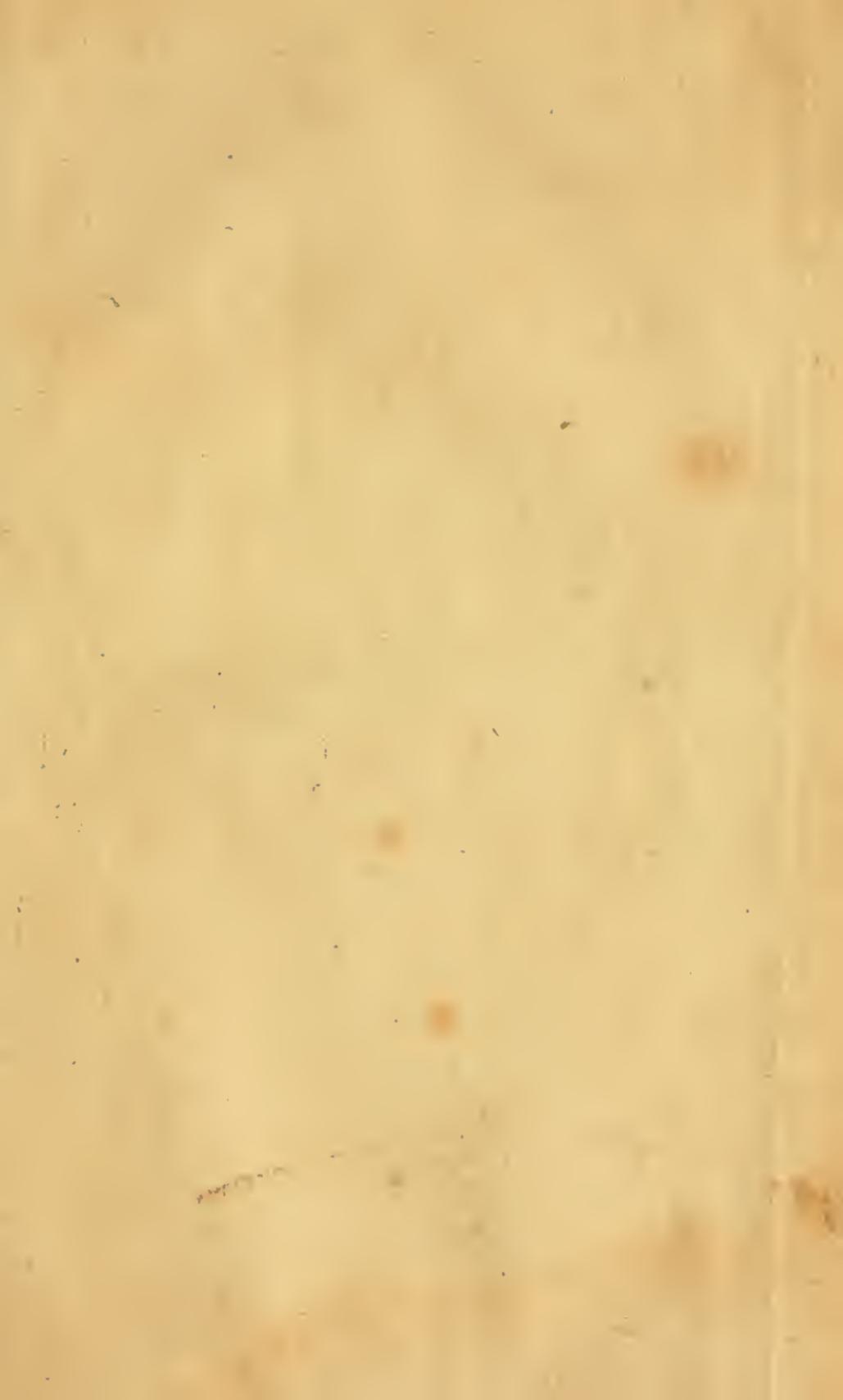
“ The difficulties then, in the Mosaic account of
 “ the origin of nations, being so many, and so insupe-
 “ rable, it may not perhaps be deemed so absurd a thing,
 “ that several other nations (as well as the Greeks and
 “ Egyptians) have owned no founder, but professed them-
 “ selves Aborigines, or the first inhabitants of the countries
 “ where they lived. And without some such supposition,
 “ what can we say for the natives of America, a large conti-
 “ nent,

A. M. “
 1997, &c. “
 Ant. Chris. “
 2007, &c. “
 from Gen. “
 x. to the “
 end; and “
 from ch. 11. “
 ver. 10. to “
 the end. “

“ nent, which Moses makes no mention of; and yet, upon its first discovery, was found stocked with a competent number of inhabitants, though it apparently has no connection, and consequently could have no communication with any other parts of the globe? Who was their great progenitor? What chief, of all the race of Noah, first discovered the passages that have ever since been lost, and carried a colony into this new world, which could none of them find their way back again? These questions we expect to be resolved in, or otherwise we may be permitted to conclude, that the inhabitants of this part of the world had better fate than those of the other, in escaping the rage of the waters, and so surviving the flood.”

It may seem not a little strange to some perhaps, why Moses, in his account of the times both preceding and subsequent to the flood, should be so particular in setting down the genealogies of the patriarchs; but he who considers that this was the common method of recording history in those days, will soon perceive, that he had reason sufficient for what he did; namely, to give content and satisfaction to the age wherein he wrote. We indeed, according to the present taste, think these genealogies but heavy reading; nor are we at all concerned who begat whom, in a period that stands at so distant a prospect; but the people, for whom Moses wrote, had the things either before their eyes, or recent in their memories. They saw a great variety of nations around them, different in their manners and customs, as well as their denominations. The names whereby they were then called, were not to them so antique and obsolete, as they are to us. They knew their meaning, and were acquainted with their derivation. And therefore it was no small pleasure to them, to observe, as they read along, the gradual increase of mankind; how the stem of Noah spread itself into branches almost innumerable, and how, from such and such a progenitor, such and such a nation, whose history and adventures they were no strangers to, did arise. Nor can it be less than some satisfaction to us, even at this mighty distance, to perceive, that after so many ages, the change of languages, and the alteration of names, brought in by variety of conquests, we are still able to trace the footsteps of the names recorded by Moses; by the help of these can * discover

* Those who have undertaken to give us an account of the several



From these people are derived the Canaanites.

From these sprung the Philistines & Ephraim.



A Genealogical Tree of Noah's Descendants, Engraved from M. Stuckhousen's History of the Bible.

discover those ancient nations which descended from them, and, with a little care and application, the particular regions which they once inhabited; whereof the best heathen geographers, without the assistance of these sacred records, were never in a capacity so much as to give us a tolerable guess.

But there is a farther reason for our historian's writing in this manner. God had promised to Adam, and in him to all his posterity, a restoration in the person of the Messiah. This promise was renewed to (i) Noah, and afterwards confirmed to Abraham, the great founder of the Jewish nation. Fit therefore it was, in this regard, that he should record exact genealogies, and that all other sacred historians should successively do the same: nor can we sufficiently admire the divine wisdom, in settling such a method, in the beginning of the world, by Moses, and carrying it on by the prophets, as might be of general use as

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

several countries assigned to Noah's posterity, have laid down certain rules, as land-marks, to direct our inquiry into the origin of each particular nation. They tell us, that where-ever we find the Scripture assigning any portion or tract of land, to any branch of Noah's posterity, we may rest assured, that that particular branch, or at least the major part of it, settled itself there: that the families, or tribes of any nation, are continually ranked in that nation; so that where-ever we find the nation, there we may expect to find the family likewise, unless there be apparent evidence of their transplantation: that when two or more of these nations are mentioned together, it is highly probable, that they were either both seated together, or lay in a very near neighbourhood to each other: that when two nations or tribes happen to be incorporated into one, the name of one of them is generally swallowed up by the other, and always goes along with the greater: that all original plantations ought to be sought for within a reasonable compass of earth, from the centre of their dispersion, from whence they might, in colonies, afterwards extend themselves into still remoter parts: that the origin of nations, and their cognation and affinity to one another, are to be judged of by the agreement of languages, the remainders of ancient names, the history of nations, monumental inscriptions, and a conformity of manners and customs; and that, lastly, according to these criteria, we shall find that the race of Shem settled chiefly in Asia; those of Ham, part in Asia, and part in Africa; and the greater part of those of Japhet in Europe; so that Shem was situate in the east, with Japhet on the north, and Ham on the south.

(i) *Vid.* Bp Sherlock's Use and intent of prophecy.

A. M. long as the world should last. For as the expectation of the Messiah put the Jews upon keeping an exact account of all their genealogies; so when Christ came into the world, it was evident, beyond dispute, that he was of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Judah, and of the lineage of David, according to the promises which had, from time to time, been recorded of him.

It is well worth our observation however, that in the catalogue which Moses gives us of the descendents of Noah, he makes mention of no more than sixteen sons of the three brothers, or principal founders of so many original nations; nor of any more than seven of these sixteen, of whom it is recorded, that they had any children; and even of these seven, there is one (we may observe) whose children are not numbered. (k) But it is not to be imagined, that in two or three hundred years, upon a moderate calculation, or even but in an hundred years, at the lowest account, Noah should have had no more than sixteen grandsons; and that of these too, the majority should go childless to the grave: it is much more likely, or rather self-evident, that the nine grandsons, of whom we find nothing in Scripture, were nevertheless fathers of nations, as well as any of the rest, and not only of original nations, called after their names, but of lesser and subordinate tribes, called after their sons names: and (what makes the amount to seem much less) there is reason to suppose, that how many soever the grandchildren of Noah were, we have, in this tenth chapter of Genesis, the names of those only who were patriarchs of great nations, and only of such nations as were in the days of Moses known to the Hebrews. For if we read it attentively, we shall perceive, (l) that the design of the holy penman, is not to present us with an exact enumeration of all Noah's descendents, (which would have been infinite), no, nor to determine who were the leading men above all the rest; but only to give us a catalogue, or general account, of the names of some certain persons, descended of each of Noah's children, who became famous in their generations; and so pass them by, as having not space enough in his history to pursue them more minutely. For we may observe, that the constant practice of our author (as it is indeed of all other good authors,) is to cut things short that do not properly relate to

(k) Biblioth. Bibl. vol. I. Occas. annot. 17.
 Ford's Connect. l. 3.

(l) Shack-

his purpose; and when he is hastening to his main point, to mention cursorily such persons as were remarkable (though not the subject he is to handle) in the times whereof he treats.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. II.
ver. 10. to
the end.

Thus, in the entrance of his history, his business was to attend to the line of Seth; and therefore, when he comes to mention the opposite family of Cain, (m) he only reckons up eight of them, and these the rather because they were the real inventors of some particular arts, which the Egyptians vainly laid claim to. And in like manner, when he comes to the life of Isaac, Jacob's was the next line wherein his history was to run; and therefore he contents himself with giving us a catalogue of some of Esau's race, but such of them only as were in after-ages, (n) *the Dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession*, as he expresses it. Unless therefore, we would desire it in an author, that he would be luxuriant, and run wild, we cannot, with any colour of reason, blame the divine historian for stopping short upon proper occasions; for had he pursued all the families descended from Noah, into their several plantations, and there given us the history of all their various adventures, the world, we may almost say, would not have contained the books which he must have written.

What grounds there may be for the supposition, I cannot tell; but to me there seems no reason why we should be obliged to maintain, that all the parts of the habitable world were peopled at once, immediately after the confusion of languages. The historian, indeed, speaking of the persons he had just enumerated, gives us to know, that (o) *by these were the nations divided after the flood*; but how long after the flood, he does not intimate: so that there is no occasion to understand the words, as though he meant, that either by these only or by these immediately, or by these all at once, was the earth replenished; but only, that among others, (unmentioned, because not so well known to the Jews), there were so many persons of figure descended from the sons of Noah, who, some at one time, and some at another, became heads of nations, and had, by their descendents, countries called after their names; so that (p) by them

The world
peopled
gradually.

(m) Gen. iv. (n) Ch. xxxvi. 43. (o) Ch x. 32.
(p) Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1. l. 3.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Christ. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. II. ver. 10. to the end.

the *nations were divided*, i. e. people were broken into different nations on the earth, not all at once, or immediately upon the confusion, but at several times, as their families increased and separated after the flood.

For, considering that the number of mankind was then comparatively small, and the distance of these countries, from the place of their dispersion, immensely wide; it is more reasonable to think, that these several plantations were made at different times, and by a gradual progression. Moses indeed informs us, that the earth was portioned out among the children of Noah, after their tongues: supposing then, that the number of languages was, according to the number of the heads of nations, sixteen, these sixteen companies issued out of Babel at separate times, and by separate routs, and so took possession of the next adjacent country, whereunto they were to go. Here they had not settled long, before the daily increase of the people made the bounds of their habitation too narrow; whereupon the succeeding generation, under the conduct of some other leader, leaving the place in possession of such as cared not to move, penetrated farther into the country, and there settling again, and again becoming too numerous, sent forth fresh colonies into the places they found unoccupied; till, by this way of progression on each side, from the centre to every point of the circumference, the whole world came in time to be inhabited, in the manner that we now find it. If then the several parts of the globe were by the sons of Noah gradually, and at sundry times, peopled, there wanted not, all at once, so many; and if several of the sons of Noah who had their share in peopling the globe, are not taken notice of by Moses, there might possibly be many more to plant and replenish the earth than we are aware of. Let us then see what their number, upon a moderate computation, might, at this time, be supposed to be.

What the number of the people then in the world might possibly be.

To this purpose we are to remember, that we are not to make our computation according to the present standard of human life, which *, since the time of the flood, is vastly

* In the Mosaic history we find, by what degrees the long lives, which preceded the flood, were after it shortened. The first three generations recorded in Scripture after the deluge, Arphaxad, Salah, and Heber, lived above 430 years. Yet not so long as their ancestor Shem, who being born 100 years before the flood,

vastly abbreviated; that the strength of constitution necessary to the procreation of children, which, by a continued course of temperance, and simplicity of diet, then prevailed, is now, by an induction of all manner of riot and excess, sadly impaired; and that the divine benediction, which, in a particular manner, was then poured out upon the children of Noah, could not but prove effectual to the more than ordinary multiplication of mankind; so that length of days, assisted by the blessing of God, and attended with a confirmed state of health, could not but make a manifestly great difference between their case and ours.

* Various are the ways which have been attempted by learned men to shew the probable increase of man-

flood, lived above 500 after it. The three next generations, Peleg, Reu, and Serug, lived not much above 230 years; and from their time only Terah lived above 200. All the others after him were below that number. Moses came not to be above 120; and in his days he complains that the age of man was shortened to about seventy or eighty years; and near this standard it has continued ever since; *Millar's Church-history*, p. 35.

* Petavius [de Doct. Temp. l. 9. c. 14.] supposes, that the posterity of Noah might beget children at seventeen; that each of Noah's sons might have eight children in eight years after the flood; and that every one of these eight might beget eight more: by this means, in one family (as in that of Japhet, 238 years after the flood) he makes a diagram, consisting of almost an innumerable company of men. Temporarius (as the learned Usher, in his Chron. Sacra, ch. 5. tells us) supposes that all the posterity of Noah, when they attained twenty years of age, had every year twins; and hereupon he undertakes to make it appear, that in 102 years after the flood, there would be in all 1,534,400; but without this supposition of twins, there would in that time be 388,605 males, besides females. Others suppose, that each of the sons of Noah had ten sons, and by that proportion, in a few generations, the amount will arise to many thousands within a century. And others again insist on the parallel between their increase and the multiplication of the children of Israel in Egypt, and thereupon compute, that if from 72 men, in the space of 215 years, there were procreated 600,000, how many will be born of three men in the space of 100 years? But what method soever we take to come to a probable conjecture, we still have cause to believe, that there was a more than ordinary multiplication in the posterity of Noah after the flood; *Stillingsfleet's Orig. Sacr.* l. 3.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chrif.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

A. M. kind, in that period of time : but for our present purpose,
 1997, &c. it will be sufficient to suppose, (q) that the first three
 Ant. Chrisf. couples, *i. e.* Noah's three sons, and their wives, in twen-
 2007, &c. ty years time after the flood, might have thirty pair, and,
 from Gen. x. to the by a gradual increase of ten pair for each couple in forty
 end; and years time, till the three hundred and fortieth year after the
 from ch. 11. flood, in which Peleg died, there might rise a sufficient
 ver. 10. to number (* as appears by the table under the page) to
 the end. spread colonies over the face of the whole earth. And if
 to these the several collateral descendents of Noah's poste-
 rity were taken in; if the children which Noah himself
 might possibly have in the 350 years he lived after the
 flood; which Shem and his two brothers might have in the
 last 160; which Salah and his contemporaries might have
 in the last 160; and which Heber and his contemporaries
 might have in the last 191 years of their lives, (which are
 not reckoned in the account), together with the many more
 grandsons of Noah and their progeny, which, in all proba-
 bility, (as we observed before), are not so much as men-
 tioned in it; it is not to be imagined how much these ad-
 ditions will swell the number of mankind to a prodigious
 amount above the ordinary calculation.

That king- But allowing the number at this time to be not
 doms at this near so large as even the common computation makes it;
 time were yet we are to remember, that at the first planting of any
 but small. country, an handful of men (as it were) took up a large
 tract of ground. (r) At their first division, they were
 scattered into smaller bodies, and seated themselves at a
 considerable distance from one another, the better to pre-
 vent the increase of the beasts of the field upon them.
 These small companies had each of them one governor,

(q) Bishop Cumberland's *Origines gentium*, tract. 4.; and
 Millar's *Church-history*, ch. 1. part 2.

* Years of the world.	Years after the flood.	Pairs of men and women.
1676	20	30
1716	60	300
1756	100	3,000
1796	140	30,000
1836	180	300,000
1876	220	3,000,000
1916	260	30,000,000
1956	300	300,000,000
1996	340	3,000,000,000

(r) Bedford's *Script. chron.* l. 1. c. 5.

who,

who, in Edom, seems to be called (*s*) *a duke*, and in Canaan, (*t*) *a king*, (whereof there were no less in that small country than one and thirty at one time): but of what power or military force these several princes were, we may learn from this one passage in Abraham's life, *viz.* that (*u*) when Chedorlaomer, in conjunction with three other kings, had defeated the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, with three kings more that came to their assistance, plundered their country, and taken away Lot and his family, who at this time sojourned in these parts; Abraham, with no more than 318 of his own domestics, pursues the conquerors, engages them, beats them, and, together with his nephew Lot, and all his substance, recovers the spoil of the country which these confederate kings were carrying away. A plain proof this, one would think, that this multitude of kings which were now in the world were titular, rather than real; and that they had none of them any great number of subjects under their command. For though Canaan was certainly a very fruitful land, and may therefore be presumed to be better stored with inhabitants than any of its neighbouring provinces; yet we find, that when Abraham and Lot first came into it, though (*x*) *they had flocks, and herds, and tents, that the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together*; yet, as soon as they were separated, they found no difficulty to settle in any part thereof with the rest of its inhabitants.

How great soever the growth of the Assyrian monarchy became at last, yet we have too little certainty of the time when it began, ever to question, upon that account, the truth of the propagation of the world by the sons of Noah. Ninus (whom profane history generally accounts the first founder of it) is placed (*y*) by one of our greatest chronologers, in the 2737 year of the world, according to the Hebrew computation; so that, living in the time of the Judges, he is supposed to have been contemporary with Deborah; but (*z*) others think this a date much too early. Nimrod, we must allow, founded a kingdom at Babylon, and perhaps extended it into Assyria; but this kingdom was but of small extent, if com-

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

The king-
dom of Af-
ſyria in
particular.

(*s*) Gen. xxxvi. to the end. (*t*) Joſ. xii. 9. to the end.
(*u*) Gen. xiv. (*x*) Gen. xiii. 5. 6. (*y*) Uther's Annot.
Vet. Teſt. A. M. 2737. (*z*) Stillingsfleet's Orig. Sacr. l. 3.
c. 4.; and Sir Iſaac Newton's Chron.

A. M. 1997, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

pared with the empires which arose afterwards; and yet, had it been ever so much greater, it could not have been of any long continuance, because the custom in those early days was for the father to divide his territories among his sons. After the days of Nimrod, we hear no more in the sacred records of the Assyrian empire, till about the year 3234, when we find Pul invading the territories of Israel, and making Menahem tributary to him. It is granted indeed, that the four kings, who, in the days of Abraham, invaded the southern coast of Canaan, came from the countries where Nimrod had reigned, and perhaps were some of his posterity who had shared his conquests; but of what small significance such kings as these were, we are just now come from relating. Sefac and Memnon, two kings of Egypt, were great conquerors, and reigned over Chaldea, Assyria, and Persia; and yet, in all their histories, there is not one word of any opposition they received from the Assyrian monarchy then standing: and though Nineveh, in the time of Joash, king of Israel, was become a large city; yet it had not yet acquired that strength as not to be afraid (according to the preaching of Jonah) of being invaded by its neighbours, and destroyed within forty days. Not long before this, it had freed itself indeed from the dominion of Egypt, and had got a king of its own, but (what is very remarkable) (a) its king was not as yet called *the king of Assyria*, but only (b) *the king of Nineveh*; nor was his proclamation for a fast published in several nations, no nor in all Assyria, but only in Nineveh, and perhaps the villages adjacent: whereas, when once they had established their dominion at home, secured all Assyria properly so called, and began now to make war upon their neighbouring nations, their kings were no longer called *the kings of Nineveh*, but began to assume the title of *the kings of Assyria*. These, and several more instances which the author I have just now cited has produced, are sufficient arguments to prove that the Assyrians were not the great people some have imagined in the early times of the world; and that if they made any figure in Nimrod's days, it was all extinguished in the reigns of his successors, and never revived, until God, for the punishment of the wickedness of

(a) Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, ch. iii. (b) Jonah
iii.

his own people, was pleased to raise them from obscurity, and, as the Scripture expresses it, *(c)* stirred up the spirit of Pul, and the spirit of Tiglath-Pilnefer, king of Assyria.

And in like manner we may observe, that whatever noise has been made in the world with the astronomical observations of the Chaldeans, which Aristotle is said to have sent into Greece, and according to which Alexander is thought to have taken at Babylon, the whole is a mere fiction and romance. There is nothing extant (as *(d)* a very good judge of ancient and modern learning tells us) in the Chaldaic astrology of older date than the æra of Nabonassar, which begins but 747 years before Christ. By this æra the Chaldeans computed their astronomical observations, the first of which falls about the 27th year of Nabonassar; and all that we have of them are only seven eclipses of the moon, and even these but very coarsely set down, and the oldest not above 700 years before Christ. And to make short of the matter, the same author informs us farther, that the Greeks were the first practical astronomers who endeavoured in earnest to make themselves masters of the sciences; that Thales was the first who could predict an eclipse in Greece, not 600 years, and that Hipparchus made the first catalogue of the fixed stars, not above 650 years before Christ.

What the history of the Egyptians and Chinese, and their boasted antiquity, is, we have had occasion to take notice *(e)* more than once; and need only here to add, that, bating that strange affectation wherein they both agree, of being thought so many thousand years older than they have any authentic testimonies to produce; there is a manifest analogy between the Scripture-history, and what Berosus has told us of the one, and Martinius of the other: For (to refer the reader to what we have observed from Berosus concerning the Egyptians) *(f)* the genealogy which the Chinese give us of the family of their first man, Puoncius seems to carry a near resemblance to Moses's patriarchal genealogies; Thienhoang their second king's civilizing the world, answers very well to Seth's settling the principles, and reforming the lives of

(e) 1 Chron. v. 26. *(d)* Wotton's Reflections, ch. 23.

(c) *Id.* Apparatus, p. 73. 79.; and the History, l. 1. c. 5.

(f) Biblioth. Bib. in the introduction, p. 77.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.
That the
antiquity of
the astrono-
mical obser-
vations a-
mong the
Chaldees is
false:

And that
the histories
of the E-
gyptians
and Chinese
accord with
Moses.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chris. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. 11. ver. 10. to the end.

men; and Fohi's fourth successor, whom they accuse of destroying their ancient religion, and introducing idolatry, is plainly copied from the history of Nimrod, who was probably the first establisher of idol-worship. So that from these, and some other particulars in their history, we may be allowed to conclude, that the ancient Chinese (as all other nations did) agreed, in the main, with Moses in their antiquities; and that the true reason of their chronological difference is, that the reigns of the Chinese kings (in the very same manner as the Egyptian dynasties) were not successive, (*g*) but of several contemporary princes, who, at one and the same time, had different and distinct dominions.

The wild pretences of self-origination considered.

The want of certain records of ancient times, and consequently, the gross ignorance which some nations laboured under as to their original, has thrown several into a wild notion and conceit, that they were self-originated, came never from any other place, and had never any primordial founder or progenitor. But now, whatever hypothesis they are minded to take; whether they suppose a beginning or no beginning of human generation; whether they suppose men to have sprung out of the sea, or out of the land; to have been produced from eggs cast into the matrix of the earth, or out of certain little *pustula* or fungosities on its surface; to have been begotten by the *anima mundi* in the sun, or by an *anima terræ* pervading the body of this terraqueous globe; to have been sent forth into the world silently, and without noise, or to have opened the womb of their common mother with loud claps of thunder: take they which of these hypotheses they will, I say, and when they once come to reason upon it, they will soon find themselves hampered and entangled with absurdities, and impossibilities almost innumerable.

All nations to whom the philosophers in search after knowledge resorted, had memorials, we find, left among them, of the first origin of things; but the universal tradition of the first ages was far better preserved among the eastern than western nations, and these memorials were kept with greater care by the Phœnicians and Egyptians than by the Greeks and Romans. (*b*) Among the Greeks however, when they first undertook to philosophize, the beginning of the world, with the gradual progression of its inhabitants, was no matter of dispute; but that being

(*g*) M. de Loubere's Hist. of Siam.

(*b*) Bibliotheca Bi-

lica, vol. 1. occas. annot. c. 17.

taken for granted, the inquiry was, Out of what material principles the cosmical system was formed? and Aristotle, arrogating to himself the opinion of the world's eternity as a *nostrum*, declared that all mankind before him asserted the world's creation.

From this wild notion of Aristotle, in opposition to an universal tradition, and the consent of all ages, the poets took occasion to turn the histories of the oldest times into fables; and the historians, in requital and courtesy to them, converted the fables which the poets had invented into histories, or rather popular narratives; and most of the famous nations of the earth, that they might not be thought more modern than any of their neighbours, took occasion too of forging certain antiquities, foolish genealogies, extravagant calculations, and the fabulous actions and exploits of gods and heroes, that they might thus add to their nobility by an imaginary anticipation of time, beyond the possible limits that could be made known by any pretence of certainty.

The wiser sort of men however saw into this; and, from the ordinary increase and propagation of mankind, the invention and growth of arts and sciences, and the advancements carried on in civil discipline and government, could discern the folly and superstition of all such romantic pretensions: but then, having lost the true ancient tradition, they were drove to the necessity of a perpetual vicissitude, either of general or particular deluges; by which, when things were come to their crisis and perfection, they were made to begin again, and all preceding memoirs were supposed to be lost in these inundations. But this is all a groundless conjecture, a mere begging of the question, and a kind of prophesying backwards of such alterations and revolutions, as it is morally impossible for them to know any thing of.

Since therefore an eternal succession of generations is loaded with a multitude of insuperable difficulties, and no valid arguments are to be found for making the world older than our sacred books do make it; since the presumed grandeur of the Assyrian, and other monarchies, too soon after the flood to be peopled by Noah's children, is a gross mistake, and the computations of the Chaldeans and other nations, from their observations of the celestial bodies, groundless and extravagant; since all the pretensions of the several Aborigines are found to be ridiculous, and the more plausible inventions of successive revolutions entirely ima-

A. M. ginary; since neither the self-originists, nor the revolutionists, even upon their own principles, can account for what is most easily accounted for by the writings of Moses; and (what is a farther consideration) since † there are many customs and usages, both civil and religious, which have prevailed in all parts of the world, and can owe their original to nothing else but a general institution; which institution could never have been, had not all mankind been of the same blood originally, and instructed in the same common notions, before they were divided in the earth: since the matter stands thus, I say, we have all the reason in the world to believe, that this whole narration of Moses concerning the origination of mankind, their destruction by the flood, their renovation by the sons of Noah, their speedy multiplication to a great number, their dispersion upon the confusion of languages, and their settling themselves in different parts of the world, according to their allotments, is true in fact; because it is rational, and consistent with every event; consonant to the notions we have of God's attributes; and not repugnant to any system of either ancient or modern geography that we know of.

And that we have certain knowledge how some particular nations were peopled.

Time indeed, and the uncertain state of languages; the different pronunciation of the same word, according to the dialect of different nations; the alterations of names in several places, and substitution of others of the like importance in the vernacular tongue; the disguising of ancient stories in fables, and frequently mistaking the idiom of oriental languages; the inundation of barbarism in many countries, and the conquests and revolutions generally in-

† Such are, 1. The numbering by decads. 2. The computing time by a cycle of seven days. 3. The sacredness of the seventh number, and observation of a seventh day as holy. 4. The use of sacrifices, propitiatory, and eucharistical. 5. The consecration of temples and altars. 6. The institution of sanctuaries, and their privileges. 7. Separation of tenths and first fruits to the service of the altar. 8. The custom of worshipping the Deity discalceated or bare-footed. 9. Abstinence of husbands from their wives before sacrifice. 10. The order of priesthood, and the maintenance of it. 11. Most of the expiations and pollutions mentioned by Moses, in use among all famous nations. 12. An universal tradition of two protoplasts, deluges, and renewing mankind afterwards; *Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. 1. p. 296.*

productive of new names, which have happened almost in all; these, and several other causes, create some perplexity in determining the places recorded by Moses, and ascertaining the founder of each particular nation: but still, notwithstanding these disadvantages, we may, in some measure, trace the foot-steps of the sons of Noah, issuing out from Babel into the different quarters of the world, and in several countries, perceive the original names of their founders preserved in that of their own.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. 11. ver. 10. to the end.

For though the analogy of names be not, at all times, a certain way of coming to the knowledge of things; yet, in this case, I think it can hardly be denied, but that the Assyrians descended from Assur; the Canaanites, from Canaan: the Sidonians, from Sidon; the Lydians, from Lud; the Medes, from Madai: the Thracians, from Tiras; the Elamites, from Elam; the Ionians, from Javan; with several others produced by (*k*) Grotius, (*l*) Montanus, (*m*) Junius, (*n*) Pererius, and more especially (*o*) Bochart, that most splendid star of France, (as (*p*) one calls him upon this occasion), who, with wonderful learning and industry, has cleared all this part of sacred history, and given a full and satisfactory account of the several places where the posterity of Noah seated themselves after the deluge.

How the large continent of America came to be peopled (since no mention is made of it in the writings of Moses, and so vast a sea separates it from any other part of the known world) is a question that has exercised the wit of every age, since its first discovery. It is worthy our observation however, that though all the great quarters of the world are, for the most part, separated from each other, by some vast extensive ocean; (*q*) yet there is always some place or other, where some isthmus, or small neck of land, is found to conjoin them, or some narrow sea is made to distinguish and divide them. Asia and Africa, for instance, are joined together by an isthmus, which lies between the Mediterranean sea and Arabian gulf. Upon the coasts of Spain and Mauritania, Europe and Africa are divided by no larger a sea than the Fretum Herculis, or straits of Gibraltar; and above the Palus Mœotis, Europe has nothing to part is from Asia, but the small river Tanais. America, as it is divided into North and South, is joined

By what ways and what nations, America might be peopled.

(*k*) *Vid.* Annot. l. 1. De Verit. (*l*) Pa'eg. (*m*) In Gen. x. (*n*) *Ibid.* (*o*) Phaleg. (*p*) Heidegger. (*q*) Heidegger's Hist. patriarcharum, vol. 1. exer. 22.

A. M. together by a neck of land which, from sea to sea, is not
 1997, &c. above 18 leagues over : what separates North America
 Ant. Chris. from the northern parts of Asia, is only the straits of
 2007, &c. Anien ; or South America from the most southern parts of
 from Gen. Asia, is only the straits of Magellan. And therefore, since
 x. to the providence, in the formation of the earth, has so ordered
 end ; and the matter, that the principal continents are, at some place
 from ch 11. or other, always joined together by some little isthmus, and
 ver. 10. to generally separated by some narrow sea ; and (what is fur-
 the end. ther to be observed) since most of the capital islands in our
 part of the hemisphere, such as Sumatra in Asia, Madaga-
 scar in Africa, and England in Europe, are generally at
 no great distance from the continent ; we have some rea-
 son to presume, that there may possibly be a certain neck
 of land (though not as yet discovered) which may join some
 part of Asia, or perhaps some part of Europe, to the main
 continent of America. Or, if we may not be allowed the
 supposition, yet (*r*) why might not there formerly have been
 such a bridge (as we may call it) between the south-east
 part of China, and the most southern continent of this new
 world, though now broken off (as (*s*) some suppose England
 to have been from France) by the violent concussions of the
 sea ; as indeed the vast number of islands which lie be-
 tween the continent of China and Nova Guinea, (which are
 the most contiguous to each other), would induce one to
 think, that once they were all one continued tract of land,
 though by the irruption of the sea, they are now crumbled
 into so many little islands ?

The difference however between the inhabitants of
 South and North America, is so remarkably great, that
 there is reason to imagine, they received colonies at first
 from different countries ; and therefore some are of opi-
 nion, that as the children of Shem, being now well versed
 in navigation, might, from the coasts of China, take pos-
 session of the southern parts ; so might the children of Ja-
 phet, either from Tartary, pass over the straits of Anien,
 or out of Europe, first pass into Norway, thence into Ice-
 land, thence into Greenland, and so into the northern parts
 of America : and this they think the more probable, be-
 cause of the great variety of languages which are observed
 among the natives of this great continent ; a good indica-
 tion, as one would imagine, of their coming thither at dif-
 ferent times, and from different places.

(*r*) Patrick's Commentary. (*s*) *Vid.* The new general Atlas.

We indeed, according to the common forms of speech, call those places islands, which are, on every side, surrounded by the sea; but the Hebrews were wont to give that name to all maritime countries, such as either had several islands belonging to them, or such as had no islands at all, provided they were divided from Palestine or from Egypt by the sea, and could not conveniently be gone to any other way. (t) Such are the countries of the Lesser Asia, and the countries of Europe, where the descendants of Japhet were seated; and that these are denoted by the *Isles of the Gentiles**, might be evinced from several parallel passages in Scripture. At present we need only take notice, that as the Lesser Asia was from Babel, the nearest place of Japhet's allotment, it is very probable, that he and his sons continued there for some time, till the increase of their progeny made them send out colonies, which not only peopled the isles of the Mediterranean and Ægean seas, but passing into Europe, spread themselves farther and farther, till at length they came to take possession of the very island wherein we now live.

A. M. 1997, &c.
Ant. Christ. 2007, &c.
from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. 11. ver. 10. to the end.

The isles of the Gentiles

To this purpose the writers on this subject have made it appear, that from their original country, which was Asia Minor, they sent a colony to the Mœotic Lake, on the north of the Euxine sea; and as they were called

and that of England.

(t) Well's Geography of the Old Testament, vol. 1.

* Thus the prophet Isaiah, (ch. xi. 10. 11.) speaking of the calling of the Gentiles, and of the restoration of the Jews, has these words: *The Lord shall recover the remnant of his people from Assyria, Egypt, Pathros, Cush, Elam, Shinar, Hamah, and from the isles of the sea: where, by the isles of the sea (which is the same with the isles of the Gentiles) we must necessarily understand such countries as are distinct from the countries which are here expressly named, viz. Assyria, Egypt, &c. and therefore most likely the countries of Lesser Asia, and Europe. The same prophet, in order to shew God's omnipotency, speaks in this manner; Behold the nations are as a drop of the bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance; behold he takes up the isles as a very little thing, ch. xl. 15. Where, if by isles we mean those which we call strictly so, the comparison of the disparity is lost, because those which we call isles, are indeed very little things; and therefore the proper signification of the word, in this place, must be those large countries which were beyond the sea in regard to Egypt whence Moses came, or Palestine whither he was now going; Well's Geography, vol. 1.*

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. 11. ver. 10, to the end.

Cimmerii in Asia, ſo they gave the name of *Bosphorus Cimmerius* to the Straits we there meet with; that after this, ſpreāding farther, they fell down the Danube, and ſettled in a country, which † from them was called *Germany*; that from Germany, they advanced ſtill farther, till they came into France, for the inhabitants of France, (as (*u*) Joſephus tells us) were anciently called *Gomorites*; and that from France they came into the ſouth part of Briton; and therefore we find that the Welch (the ancient inhabitants of this iſle) call themſelves *Kumero*, or *Cymro*, call a woman *Kumerāss*, and the language they ſpeak *Kumeraeg*; which ſeveral words carry in them ſuch plain marks of the original name from whence they are derived, that if any regard is to be had to etymologies in caſes of this nature, we cannot forbear concluding, that the true old Britons, or Welch, are the genuine deſcendents of Gomer. And ſince it is obſerved, that the Germans were likewiſe the deſcendents of Gomer, particularly the Cymbri, to whom the Saxons, and eſpecially the Angles, were near neighbours, it will hence likewiſe follow, that our anceſtors, who ſucceeded the old Britons * in

† The people of this country are called *Germans*, and they call themſelves *Germen*, which is but a ſmall variation, and eaſy contraction for *Gomeren*, *i. e.* *Gomerians*: for the termination *en* is a plural termination in the German language; and from the ſingle number *Gomer* is formed *Genren*, by the ſame analogy, that from *brother* we form *brethren*; *Well's Geography*, vol. 1. p. 127. ; and *Bedford's Scripture-Chronology*, l. 2 c. 4.

(*u*) Antiq. l. 1.

* To ſhew how the weſtern part of our iſland came likewiſe to be peopled, the above-cited author of *Scripture-chronology* ſuppoſes, that when Joſhua made his conqueſts in the land of Canaan, ſeveral of the inhabitants of Tyre, being ſtruck with the terror of his arms, left their country, and being ſkilled in the art of navigation, ſailed into Africa, and there built a city, called *Carthage*, or *the city of the wanderers*, as he interprets the word; that the Syrians and Phœnicians being always conſiderable merchants, and now ſettling in a place convenient for their purpoſe, began to enlarge their trade; and coaſting the ſea-ſhore of Spain, Portugal, and France, happened at length to chop upon the iſlands called *Caffiterides*, now the iſlands of Scilly, whereof he gives us a deſcription from Strabo; that having here fallen into a trade for tin and lead, it was not long before they diſcovered

in the eastern part of this isle, were in a manner descended from Gomer the first son of Japhet.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

Thus we see, (x) that the plantations of the world by the sons of Noah, and their offspring, recorded by Moses in this tenth chapter of Genesis, and by the inspired author of the first book of Chronicles, are not unprofitable fables, or endless genealogies, but a most valuable piece of history, which distinguishes, from all other people, that particular nation, of which Christ was to come; gives light to several predictions, and other passages in the prophets; shews us the first rise and origin of all nations, their gradual increase, and successive migrations, cities building, lands cultivating, kingdoms rising, governments settling, and all to the accomplishment of the divine benediction: (y) *Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth; and the fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every other creature.*

DISSERTATION III.

Of the sacred Chronology, and profane History, Letters, Learning; Religion, and Idolatry, &c. during this period.

BEfore we enter upon the history of the world, as it is delivered in some Heathen authors, from the time of the flood, to the calling of Abraham, it may not be improper to settle the sacred chronology; and that the rather because the difference is very considerable, (as appears by the subsequent table), according as we follow the computation of the Hebrew text, of the Samaritan copies, or of the Greek interpreters. But before we come to this, we must observe, that in the catalogue which we refer to, Moses takes notice of no other branch of Noah's family, but only that of Shem, and his descendents in a direct line to Abraham, and the different computations (z) relating to them, may be best perceived by the following table.

The difference that is found in the sacred chronology.

discovered the land's end on the west side of Cornwall, and finding the country much more commodious than Scilly, removed from thence, and here made their settlement. And this conjecture he accounts more feasible, by reason of the great affinity between the Cornish language, and the ancient Hebrew or Phœnician; l. 2. c. 4. p. 195.

(x) Millar's Church history, ch. 1. per. 2. (y) Gen. ix. 1.
(z) Usher's Chron. sac. cap. 2.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

	After the flood Shem was	Heb. Sam. Sep.			Heb. Sam. Sep.			Heb. Sam. Sep.		
1		2	2	2	500	500	500		600	
2	Arphaxad —	35	135	135	403	300	330		438	
0	Cainan — —	0	0	130	0	0	330		6	
3	Salah — —	30	130	130	403	303	330		433	
4	Eber — —	34	134	134	430	270	270		404	
5	Peleg — —	30	130	130	209	109	209		332	
6	Reu — —	32	132	132	207	107	207		239	
7	Serug — —	30	130	130	200	100	200		230	
8	Nahor — —	29	79	79	119	69	125		148	
9	Terah the father of Abram.	70	70	70				205	145	205
	In all	292	942	1072						
		Before they had children.			After they had children.			Before they died.		

Now, whoever casts his eye into this table, may easily perceive, that except the variations which may possibly have been occasioned by the negligence of transcribers, (a) the difference between the Samaritan and Septuagint chronology, is so very small, that one may justly suspect, that the former has been transcribed from the latter, on purpose to supply some defect in its copy; but that the difference between the Greek and Hebrew chronology, is so very great, that the one or other of them must be egregiously wrong; because the Septuagint do not only add a patriarch, named *Cainan*, never mentioned in the Hebrew, and so make eleven generations from Shem to Abraham, instead of ten; but in the lives of most of these patriarchs, they insert 100 years before they came to have children, *i. e.* they make them fathers 100 years later than the Hebrew text does, though (to bring the matter to a compromise) they generally deduct them again in the course of their lives.

On both sides have appeared men of great learning; but they who assert the cause of the Septuagint, are not unmindful to urge the testimony of St Luke, who, (b) between Arphaxad and Salah, has inserted the name of Cai-

(a) Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1. l. 3. (b) Chap. iii. 36.

nan, which (as he was an inspired writer) he could never have done, had not the Septuagint been right, in correcting the Hebrew Scriptures: besides that, the numbers in the Septuagint give time for the propagation of mankind, and seem to agree better with the history of the first kingdoms of the world.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Aat. Chris.
2007, &c.
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x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

On the other hand, they who abide by the Hebrew text, cannot think, that the authority of the Septuagint is so sacred, as their adversaries imagine. Upon examination, they find many things added, many things omitted, and, through the whole, so many faults almost every where occurring, "that were a man to recount them all," as (c) St Jerom expresses it, "he would be obliged not only to write one, but many books;" "nor need we seek for distant examples of this kind," (d) says Bochart, "since this very genealogy is all full of anachronisms, vastly different both from the Hebrew and the vulgar version."

Editions moreover there were of an ancient date, which, in imitation of the Alexandrian manuscript, preserved by Origen in his Hexapla, had none of this insertion. Both Philo and Josephus, though they make use of the Septuagint version, know nothing of Cainan; and Eusebius and Africanus, though they took their accounts of these times from it, have no such person among their postdiluvians; and therefore (e) it is highly reasonable to believe, that this name crept into the Septuagint through the carelessness of some transcriber, who, inattentive to what he was about, inserted an antediluvian name (for such a person there was before the flood) among the postdiluvians; and having no numbers for his name, wrote the numbers belonging to Salah twice over.

Since therefore the Hebrew text, in all places where we find Noah's posterity enumerated, takes not the least notice of Cainan, but always declares Salah to be the immediate son and successor of Arphaxad; (f) we must either say, that Moses did, or that he did not know of the birth of this pretended patriarch: if he did not, how came the LXX interpreters by the knowledge of what Moses, who lived much nearer the time, was a diligent searcher into antiquity, and had the assistance of a divine spirit in every thing he wrote, was confessedly ignorant of? If he did know it, what possible reason can be assigned for his con-

(c) On Jeremiah, xvii. (d) Phaleg. l. 2. c. 2. (e) Heidegger's Hist patriar. vol. 2. exer. 1. (f) Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1. l. 2.

A. M. cealing it, especially when his insertion or omission of it makes such a remarkable variation in the account of time from the flood to the call of Abraham; unless he was minded to impose upon us by a false or confused chronology, which his distinct observation of the series of the other generations, and his just assignment of the time which belonged to each, will not suffer us to think?

1997, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2027, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

Rather therefore than impeach this ſervant of God, (who has this teſtimony upon record, that (g) *he was faithful in all his houſe*), either of ignorance or ill-intent, we may affirm (with Bochart and his followers) that St Luke never put Cainan into his genealogy, (for as much as † it is not to be found in ſome of the beſt manuſcripts of the New Teſtament), but that ſome tranſcriber finding it in the Septuagint, and not in St Luke, marked it down in the margin of their copies, as an omiſſion in the copies of St Luke, and ſo later copiers and editors finding it thus in the margin, took it at laſt into the body of the text, as thinking perhaps that this augmentation of years might give a greater ſcope to the riſe of kingdoms, which otherwiſe might be thought too ſudden: whereas (if we will believe a very competent judge of this matter) “ (h) Thoſe who contend for the numbers of the Septuagint muſt either reject (as ſome do) the concurrent teſtimony of the Heathen Greeks and the Chriſtian fathers concerning the ancient kingdoms of Aſſyria and Egypt, or muſt remove all thoſe monarchies farther from the flood. Nor muſt the teſtimony of Varro be overlooked, which tells us, that there were but 1600 years between the firſt flood and the Olympiads; whereas this number is exceeded ſeven or eight hundred years by the Septuagint’s account. Theſe, and ſeveral other conſiderations, (ſays he) incline me to the Hebrew numbers of the patriarchs generating, rather than to the Seventy’s; becauſe, by the numbers of the Seventy, there muſt be about 900 years between the flood and the firſt year of Ninus, which certainly is too much diſtance between a grand-father and a grandchild’s beginning to reign.”

(g) Heb. iii. 2.

† The ancient manuſcripts of the Gospels and Acts, both in Greek and Latin, which Beza preſented to the univerſity of Cambridge, wants it; nor is it to be found in ſome manuſcripts which Archbiſhop Uſher, in his Chron. Sacr. p. 32. makes mention of; *Millar’s Hiſtory of the church, ch. 1. period 2.*

(h) Biſhop Cumberland’s Origin antiquif. p. 177. &c.

Thus

Thus it seems reasonable to suppose, that the interpolation of the name of Cainan in the LXX's version might be the work of some ignorant and pragmatistical transcriber: and in like manner, the addition and subtraction of several hundred years in the lives of the fathers before mentioned might be effected by such another instrument, (i) who thinking perhaps that the years of the antediluvian lives were but lunar ones, and computing, that at this rate the six fathers (whose lives are thus altered) must have had their children at 5, 6, 7, 8 years old, (which could not but look incredible), might be induced to add the 100 years, in order to make them of a more probable age of manhood at the birth of their respective children. Or, if he thought the years of their lives to be solar, yet still he might imagine that infancy and childhood were proportionably longer in men who were to live 7, 8, or 900 years, than they are in us; and that it was too early in their lives for them to be fathers at 60, 70, or 80 years of age; for which reason he might add the 100 years to make their advance to manhood (which is commonly not till one fourth part of our days is near over) proportionable to what was to be the ultimate term of their lives,

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chriſt.
2007, &c.
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x. to the
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the end.

This seems to be the only method of reconciling the difference between the LXX version and the Hebrew text, in point of chronology; and now to proceed to what we find recorded in profane history during this period.

After the dispersion of nations, the only form of government that was in use for some time was paternal, when fathers of nations were as kings, and the eldest of families as princes. But as mankind increased, and their ambition grew higher, the dominion which was founded in nature gave place to that which was acquired and established by power.

The profane history during this period.

In early ages, a superiority of strength or stature was the most engaging qualification to raise men to be kings and rulers. The Ethiopians (k) as Aristotle informs us, made choice of the tallest persons to be their princes; and though Saul was made king of Israel by the special appointment of God, yet it appears to have been a circumstance not inconsiderable in the eyes of the people, (l) that he was a choice young man, and goodly; and that there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier man than he. But

The erection of kingdoms.

(i) Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1. lib. 5. ex Lud. Capelli, Chron. sacra. in apparatu Walton ad Bibl. Polyglot. (k) De Repub. l. 4. c. 4. (l) 1 Sam. ix. 2.

A. M.
1927, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

when experience came to convince men, that other qualifications, besides stature and strength, were necessary for the people's happiness, they then chose persons of the greatest wisdom and prudence for their governors. (m) Some wise and understanding man, who knew best how to till and cultivate the ground, to manage cattle, to prune and plant fruit-trees, &c. took into their families, and promised to provide for such as would become their servants, and submit to their directions. And thus, in continuance of time, heads of families became kings; their houses, together with the near habitations of their domestics, became cities; their servants, in their several occupations and employments, became wealthy and considerable subjects; and the inspectors and overseers of them became ministers of state, and managers of the public affairs of the kingdom.

In the first beginning of political societies, almost every town (as we may suppose) had its own king, (n) who, more attentive to preserve his dominions than to extend them, restrained his ambition within the bounds of his native country; till disputes with neighbours, (which were sometimes unavoidable), jealousy of a more powerful prince, an enterprising genius or martial inclination, occasioned those wars which often ended in the absolute subjection of the vanquished, whose possessions falling into the power of the conqueror, enlarged his dominions, and both encouraged and enabled him to push on his conquests by new enterprizes.

The reign
of Nimrod.

Nimrod was the first man we meet with in Scripture who made invasions upon the territories of others: for he dispossessed Ashur, the son of Shem, who had settled himself in Shinar, and obliged him to remove into Assyria, whilst himself seized on Babylon, and having repaired, and not a little enlarged it, made it the capital of his kingdom.

A descrip-
tion of Ba-
bylon.

(o) This city was situate on both sides of the river Euphrates, having streets running from north to south, parallel with the river, and others from east to west. † The

(m) Shuckford's Connection, vol. 2. l. 6. (n) Justin, l. 1. c. 1. (o) Prideaux's Connection.

† It must be observed however, that all this compass of ground was not really built upon; for the houses stood at a considerable distance, with gardens and fields interspersed; so that it was a large city in scheme, rather than in reality; *Prideaux's Connection, part 1. l. 2.*

compass of the wall, which was furrounded with a vast ditch filled with water, was 480 furlongs, *i. e.* about 60 miles; the height of it 350 feet, and the breadth so vastly great, that carts and carriages might meet on the top of it, and pass one another without danger. Over the Euphrates (which cut the city into two equal parts from north to south) there was a stately bridge, and at each end of the bridge † a magnificent palace, the one of 4, and the other of 8 miles circumference; and belonging to the larger palace were those hanging gardens which had so celebrated a name among the Greeks. They were made in form of a square of 400 foot on every side, and were carried up aloft into the air in the manner of several large terrasses, one above another, till they came up to the height of the walls of the city. They were sustained by vast arches built upon arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall on every side that was 22 feet thick; and as they wanted no plants or flowers fit for a garden of pleasure, so there are said to have grown in them trees which were no less than eight cubits thick in the body, and 50 feet in height. But this, among other pompous things appertaining to this city, was the work of ages subsequent to Nimrod, and built by Nebuchadnezzar, to gratify his wife Amytis, who being the daughter of Astyages king of Media, and much pleased with the mountainous and woody parts of her own country, was desirous of having something like it in Babylon.

From the Assyrians this great and noble city came into the hands of the Persians, and from them into the hands of the Macedonians. Here it was that Alexander the Great died: but not long after his death, the city began to decline apace, by the building of Seleucia, about 40 miles above it, by Seleucus Nicanor, who is said to have erected this new city in spleen to the Babylonians, and to have drawn out of Babylon 500,000 persons to people it; so that the ancient city was, in the time of Curtius the historian, lessened a fourth part; in the time of Pliny, reduced to desolation; in the days of St Jerom turned into a park, wherein the kings of Persia did use to hunt; and accord-

† The old palace (which was probably built by Nimrod) stood on the east side of the river, and the new one (which was built by Nebuchadnezzar) exactly over against it, on the west side; *Frideaux, ibid.*

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

A. M. ing to the relation * of some late travellers, is now reduced
 1997, &c. to one tower only, called *the tower of Daniel*, from
 Ant. Chris. whence may be seen all the ruins of this once vast and
 2007, &c. splendid city.
 from Gen.

x. to the It can hardly be imagined, that the first kings were able,
 end; and either to make or execute laws with that strictness and
 from ch. 11. rigour which is necessary in a body of men, so large as
 ver. 10. to to afford numerous offenders: and for this reason it
 the end. seems to have been a prudent institution in Nimrod, when
 his city of Babylon began to be too populous to be regu-
 lated by his inspection, or governed by his influence, to †
 lay

* Mr Reuwolf, who in 1574 passed through the place where this once famous city stood, speaks of the ruins of it in the following manner. “ The village of Elugo (says he) is now situated where heretofore Babylon of Chaldea stood. The harbour, where people go ashore, in order to proceed by land to the city of Bagdad, is a quarter of a league distant from it. The soil is so dry and barren, that they cannot till it; and so naked, that I could never have believed that this powerful city, once the most stately and renowned in all the world, and situated in the fruitful country of Shinar, could have stood there, had I not seen, by the situation of the place, by many antiquities of great beauty which are to be seen round about, and especially by the old bridge over the Euphrates, whereof some piles and arches of incredible strength are still remaining, that it certainly did stand there.——The whole front of the village Elugo is the hill upon which the castle stood, and the ruins of its fortifications are still visible, though demolished. Behind, and some little way beyond, is the tower of Babylon, which is half a league diameter, but so ruinous, so low, and so full of venomous creatures, which lodge in the holes they make in the rubbish, that no one durst approach nearer to it than within half a league, except during two months in the winter, when these animals never stir out of their holes;” *Calmet's Dictionary*.

† The cities which he founded are said to be Erec, Accad, and Calne. Erec was the same that occurs in Ptolemy, under the name of *Arecca*, and which is placed by him at the last, or most southern turning of the common channel of the Tigris and Euphrates. Accad lay northward of Erec, and very probably at the common joining of the Tigris and Euphrates. And Calne (which is said to be the same with Ctesiphon) upon the Tigris, about 3 miles distant from Seleucia, and was for some time the capital city of the Parthians: for that it was the same with Ctesiphon, seems to be confirmed by the country, which lies
 about

lay the foundations of other cities; by which means he disposed of great numbers of his people, and, putting them under the direction of such deputies as he might appoint, brought their minds by degrees to a sense of government, until the beneficial use of it came to be experienced, and the force and power of laws settled and confirmed. He is supposed to have begun his reign A. M. 1757, to have reigned about 148 years, and to have died A. M. 1905.

About the beginning of Nimrod's reign, Ashur, * one of the descendents of Shem, being driven from Babel (as most suppose) by the invasion of Nimrod, led his company on the Tygris, and so, settling in Assyria, laid the first foundation of Nineveh, which, in process of time, equalled even Babylon itself in bigness. For, whereas we observed of Babylon, that it was in circuit 480 furlongs, (p) the description which Diodorus gives us of Nineveh, is, that it was 150 furlongs, *i. e.* near 19 miles in length; 90 furlongs, *i. e.* somewhat above 11 miles in breadth; and 480 furlongs, *i. e.* just 60 miles in circumference; and for this

A. M.
1997, &c.
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2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

Of Ashur.

A description
of Ni-
neveh.

about it, being *Chalonitis*, which is evidently derived from *Chalno* or *Chalno*, whereby we find it called in different parts of Scripture; *Wells's Geography*, vol. 1 c. 5.

* Many authors have imagined that Nineveh was not built by Ashur, but by Nimrod himself, because they think it not likely that Moses should give an account of the settlement of one of the sons of Shem, where he is expressly discoursing of Ham's family; and therefore they interpret (as the marginal note directs) Gen. x. 11. *Out of that land went forth Asshur, he, i. e.* Nimrod, went forth into Assyria, which is the explanation that I have in some measure followed. But others imagine, that Moses is not so exactly methodical, but that upon mentioning Nimrod and his people, he might hint at a colony which departed from under his government, though it happened to be led by a person of another family: That the land of Ashur and the land of Nimrod are mentioned as two distinct countries in Micah v. 6.; and that if Nimrod had built Nineveh, and planted Assyria, Babylon and Assyria would have been but one empire, nor could the one be said to have conquered the other with any propriety: whereas we are expressly told by Diodorus, that the Assyrians conquered the Babylonians; and may thence infer, that before Ninus united them, Babylonia and Assyria were two distinct kingdoms, and not the plantation of one and the same founder; *Shuckford's Connection*, vol. 1. l. 4.

(p) *Wells's Geography*.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chris. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. 11. ver. 10. to the end.

reason it is (q) called an exceeding-great city of three days journey, according to the common estimation of 20 miles to a day's journey. And equal to the greatness was the strength of this city: for its walls were 100 feet high, and so very broad, that three carts might go a-breast on the top of them; whereon were raised 1500 turrets, and each of them 200 feet high, and so very strong, that the place was deemed impregnable, (r) till Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, having made an affinity with Astyages king of Media, entered into a confederacy with him against the Assyrians, and hereupon joining their forces together, they besieged Nineveh, and after having taken the place, and slain the king thereof, to gratify the Medes, they utterly destroyed that ancient city, and from that time Babylon became the metropolis of the Assyrian empire.

Such was the rise and fall of this great city, where Ashur governed his subjects much in the same manner as Nimrod did his in Babylon: for as they increased, he dispersed them in the country, and † having built some other cities

(q) Jonah iii. 3. (r) Prideaux's Connection, vol. 1.

† The cities which Ashur is said to have built, were Rehoboth, Resen, and Calah. The word *Rehoboth* in the Hebrew tongue signifies *streets*, and the sacred historian seems to have added the word *city*, on purpose to shew that it was here to be taken as a proper name. Now, as there are no footsteps of this name in these parts, but a town there is, by Ptolemy called *Birtha*, which in the Chaldee tongue denotes the same as does Rehoboth in the Hebrew, in an appellative or common acceptance; it is hence probably conjectured, that Rehoboth and Birtha are only two different names of one and the same city, which was seated on the Tigris, about the mouth of the river Lycus. Resen is supposed by most learned men to be the same city which Xenophon mentions under the name of *Larissa*, and that, not only because the situation of this Larissa well enough agrees with the situation of Resen, as it is described by Moses lying between Nineveh and Calah; but because Moses observes, in the same text, that *Resen was a great city*; in like manner, as Xenophon tells us, that Larissa, though then ruined, had been a large city, of eight miles circumference, with walls 100 foot high, and 25 foot broad. And whereas Larissa is a Greek name, and in the days of Xenophon there were no Greek cities in Assyria; for this they account, by supposing, that when the Greeks might ask, What city those were the ruins of? the Assyrians might answer, Larefen, or of Resen, which Xenophon expressed by Larissa,

cities along the Tigris, he there settled them under the government of deputies or viceroys.

Whilst Nimrod and Ashur were settling their people in their respective countries, Mizraim, the second son of Ham, * and who, by Heathen writers, is constantly called *Menes*, seated himself at first near the entrance of Egypt, and there perhaps built the city of Zoan, which was anciently the habitation of the kings of Egypt; but from Zoan he removed farther into the country, and took possession of those parts which were afterwards called *Thebais*, where he built the city of Thebes, and (as Herodotus will have it) the city of Memphis likewise. He reigned 62 years, and died A. M. 1943.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.
Of Menes.

Belus succeeded Nimrod, and was the second king of Babylon; but whether he was related to his predecessor or not, is a thing uncertain. It seems most likely, that as Nimrod, though a young man in comparison of many then alive, was advanced, for some merit or other, to the regal dignity; so when he died, Belus might appear to be the most proper person, and for that reason was appointed to succeed him: for he is represented as a prince of study, the inventor of the Chaldean astronomy, and one who spent his time in cultivating his country, and improving his people. He reigned 60 years, and died A. M. 1969.

Of Belus.

Ashur, king of Nineveh, dying much about this time, Ninus became the second king of Assyria, and proved a man of an ambitious and enterprising spirit. Ba-

Ninus.

Larissa, a name not unlike several cities in Greece. And lastly, as to Calah, or Calach, since we find in Strabo a country, about the head of the river Lycus, called *Calachene*, it is very probable that the said country took this name from Calach, which was one of the capital cities of it. Ptolemy makes mention likewise of a country called *Cal-cine* in these parts: And whereas Pliny mentions a people called *Classitæ*, through whose country the Lycus runs, there is some reason to suppose, that *Classitæ* is a corruption of *Calachitæ*; *Wells's Geography*, vol. 1.

* The person whom Moses calls *Mizraim*, is, by Diodorus, and other Heathen writers, commonly called *Menes*; by Syncellus, *Mesiraim*. *Menes* is supposed to be the first king of Egypt by Herodotus, l. 2.; by Diodorus, l. 1.; by Eratosthenes and Africanus from Manetho; by Eusebius and Syncellus in Chro. Euseb.; and the time of *Menes* coincides very well with that of Moses's *Mizraim*, as Sir John Marsham [in his *Can. Chron.* p. 2.] has pretty clearly evinced; *Shuckford's Connection*, vol. 1. l. 4.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chris. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. II. ver. 10. to the end.

bylonia lay too near him, not to become the object of his desire; and therefore, making all military preparations for that purpose, he invaded it; and as its inhabitants had no great skill in war, soon vanquished them, and laid them under tribute. His success in this attempt made him begin to think of subjecting other nations: and as one conquest paved the way for another, in a few years he overran many of the infant states of Asia, and so, by uniting kingdom to kingdom, made a great accession to the Assyrian empire. His last attempt was upon Oxyartes, or Zoroastres, King of Bactria, where he met with a brisker opposition than he had hitherto experienced; but at length, by the contrivance and conduct of Semiramis, the wife of one Memmon, a captain in his army, he took the capital, and reduced the kingdom: but being hereupon charmed with the spirit and bravery of the woman, he fell in love with her, and prevailed with her husband (by giving him his own daughter in lieu of Semiramis in marriage) to consent to his having her for his wife. By her he had a son named Ninyas; and after a reign of 52 years, he died. A. M. 2017.

Ninyas was but a minor when his father died; and therefore his mother, who all along had a great sway in the administration of public affairs during her husband's lifetime, continued in the government with the † consent and approbation of her subjects. She removed her court from Nineveh to Babylon, which she encompassed with the wall we mentioned before, and adorned with many public and magnificent buildings; and having thus finished

† Justice, in his history of this woman, informs us, that upon the death of her husband, she made use of the stratagem of personating her son, to obtain the empire to herself: but Diodorus, with more probability, ascribes her advancement to her conduct, bravery, and magnanimous behaviour. When she took upon her to be queen, the public affairs were put in the hands, to which Ninus, when alive, used generally to commit them; and it is not likely that the people should be uneasy at her governing, who had, for several years together, by a series of actions, gained herself a great credit and ascendant over them; especially if we consider, that when she took up the sovereignty, she still pressed forward in a course of actions which continually exceeded the expectations of her people, and left no room for any to be willing to dispute her authority; *Shuckford's Connexion, vol. I. l. 4.*

the feat of her empire, and settled all the neighbouring kingdoms under her authority, she raised an army, with an intent to conquer India; but after a long and dangerous war, being tired out with defeats, she was obliged, with the small remainder of her forces, to return home; where, finding herself in disgrace with her people, she resigned the crown and authority to her son, after she had reigned 42 years; and soon after died, A. M. 2059.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chrif.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

Her son Ninyas began his reign, full of a sense of the errors of his mother's administration, and engaged in none of the wars and dangerous expeditions wherein she had harrassed and fatigued her people: but though he was not ambitious to enlarge his empire, (s) yet he took all due care to regulate, and settle upon a good foundation the extensive dominions which his parents had left him. By a wise contrivance of annual deputies over his provinces, he prevented many revolts of distant countries, which might otherwise have happened; and his taking up that state of being difficult of access, (which was afterwards much improved by eastern monarchs), might perhaps procure him a greater veneration from his subjects. However this be, it is certain, that most authors have represented him as a weak and effeminate prince, which might naturally arise (without any other foundation) from his succeeding a father and mother who were rather too active to enlarge their dominions, as well as from the disposition in most writers, to think a turbulent and warlike reign, if victorious, a glorious one, and to overlook an administration that is employed in the silent, but more happy arts of peace and good government.

Ninyas.

In Egypt, Mizraim, after his death, had three sons, who became the kings of the several parts thereof. Ananim, or rather Anan, was king of the lower Egypt, or Delta; Naphtuhim, or Naph, of Middle Egypt, or the country about Memphis; and Pathrusium, or Patrus, of the Upper Egypt, or the country of Thebais: and agreeably hereunto, from these three kings did these several countries take their ancient denominations. Of the first of these, viz. Ananim, we have nothing remaining but only his name and the time of his death: for after he had reigned 63 years, according to Syncellus, he died A. M. 2006.

The kings
of Egypt.

(s) Diodorus Siculus, l. 2.

A. M. Of the second, *viz.* Naphtuhim, we are told, that he
 1997, &c. was the author of the architecture of these ages; had
 Ant. Chrif. some useful knowledge of phyfic and anatomy; and
 2007, &c. taught his subjects (as he learned it from his brother Pa-
 from Gen. thrufium) the ufe of letters: for to this Pathrufium, (whom
 x. to the they call *Thyoth*), the Egyptians indeed afcribe the inven-
 from ch. II. tion of all arts and fciences whatever. The Greeks called
 ver. 10. to him *Hermes*, and Latins *Mercurius*; and while his fa-
 the end. ther Mizraim lived, he is fupposed to have been his fe-
 cretary, and greatly affiftant to him in all his undertakings.
 When his father died, he inftructed his brothers in all
 the knowledge he was mafter of; and as for his own peo-
 ple, he made wholefome laws for their government, fettled
 their religion and form of worfhip, and enriched their
 language by the addition of feveral words, to exprefs fe-
 veral things which before they had no names for.

This is the beft account that we can give of the Babylo-
 nian or Affyrian empires, and of the kings that ruled Egypt,
 for fome ages next after the difperfon of mankind. Other
 nations, no doubt, were fettled into regular governments
 in thefe times: Canaan was inhabited rather fooner than
 Egypt; and (*t*) according to Mofes, Hebron, in Canaan,
 was built feven years before Zoan in Egypt; but as none
 of thefe nations made any confiderable figure in the firft
 ages, their actions lie in obfcurity, and muft be buried in
 oblivion. The few men of extraordinary note, that were
 then in the world, lived in Egypt and Affyria; and for
 this reafon, we find little or no mention of any other
 countries, until one of thefe two nations came to fend
 out colonies, which by degrees polifhed the people they
 travelled to, and inftructed them in fuch arts and fciences,
 as made them appear with credit in their own age, and
 (as foon as the ufe of letters was made public) tranfmitted
 their names with honour to pofterity.

Theufeand
 invention
 of letters.

The knowledge of letters cannot have been of any
 long ftanding among us Europeans, who are fettled far
 from the firft feats of mankind, and far from the places
 which the defcendents of Noah firft planted. “None of the
 “ancient Thracians,” (*u*) fays *Ælian*, “knew any thing
 “of letters: nay, the Europeans in general, thought it dif-
 “reputable to learn them, though in Affia they were held
 “in greater requeft.” The Goths, according to the ex-

(*t*) Numb. xiii. 22.

(*u*) Universal history, l. 8. c. 6.

prefs testimony (x) of Socrates, had their letters and writings from Ulphila, their bishop, *anno Dom.* 370. The Slavonians received theirs from Methodius, a philosopher, about *an. Dom.* 856. The people of Dalmatia had theirs not till St Jerom's, and those of Illyria, not till St Cyril's days.

The Latins (who were more early) received their letters (as most authors agree) from the Greeks, and were taught the use of them, either from some of the followers of Pelafgus, who came into Italy about 158 years after that Cadmus came into Greece, or from the Arcadians whom Evander led into those parts, about 60 years after Pelafgus.

Among the Greeks, the Ionians were the first who had any knowledge of letters; and they, in all probability, had them from the Phœnicians, who were the followers of Cadmus, when he came into Greece; but from whom the Phœnicians had them, has been matter of some dispute. Many considerable writers have derived them directly from Egypt, and are generally agreed, that Thyoth, or Mercury, was the inventor of them. In the early ages, when mankind were but few, and these few employed in the several contrivances for life, it could be but here and there one that had leisure, or perhaps inclination, to study letters. Tho' companies that removed from Babel, were most of them rude and uncultivated people: they followed some persons of figure and eminence, who had gained an ascendent over them; and these persons, when they had settled them in distant places, and came to teach them such arts as they were masters of, had every thing they taught them imputed to their own invention, because the poor ignorant people knew no other person that was versed and skilled in them.

Though therefore the Egyptians had confessedly the use of letters very early among them; and though their Thyoth, or Mercury, might be the first who taught others their use, and for that reason be reputed the inventor of them; yet I cannot but think, that Noah and his sons, who had learned them in the old world, taught them to their posterity in the new. For, since mankind subsisted 1600 years before the flood, it is not very probable, that they lived all this while without the use of letters. If they did, how came we by the short annals which we have of the antediluvian ages?

(x) Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 33.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. II. ver. 10. to the end.

But if they did not, it is not unlikely, that Noah, being well ſkilled in the knowledge and uſe of them, might teach them to his children: and if we purſue the inquiry, and aſk from whence Noah attained his knowledge, the moſt proper reply will be, that he had it from the inſtruction of his parents, as his parents might have it, in their ſeveral ſucceſſions from Adam, and as Adam might have it from God.

And indeed, if we conſider the nature of letters, it cannot but appear ſomething ſtrange, that an invention ſo ſurpriſing as that of writing is, ſhould be found out in an age ſo near the beginning of the world. (y) Nature may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have prompted men to ſpeak, to try to expreſs their minds to one another by ſounds and noiſes; but that the wit of man ſhould, among its firſt attempts, find out a way to expreſs words in figures or letters, and to form a method, by which they might expoſe to view all that can be ſaid or thought, and that within the compaſs of 16, 20, or 24 characters, variously placed, ſo as to form ſyllables and words; that the wit of man, I ſay, could immediately and directly fall upon a project of this nature, is what exceeds the moſt exalted notions we can poſſibly form of his capacity; and muſt therefore remit us to God (in whom are hid all the treaſures of infinite wiſdom) for the firſt invention and contrivance of it.

The learn-
ing arts and
commerce.

As ſoon as the uſe of letters, whether of divine or human invention, came generally to be known, it is reaſonable to think, that all arts and ſciences would from thence receive a powerful aſſiſtance, and in proceſs of time begin to take root, and flouriſh; but this was a period a little too early to bring them to any great perfection. (z) For though Noah and his ſons had doubtleſs ſome knowledge of the inventions of the antediluvians, and probably acquainted their deſcendents with ſuch of them as were moſt obvious and uſeful in common life; yet it cannot be imagined, that any of the more curious arts, or ſpeculative ſciences, were improved to any degree (ſuppoſing them to be known and invented) till ſome conſiderable time after the diſperſion. On the contrary, one conſequence of that event ſeems to have been this——that ſeveral inventions, known to their anceſtors, were loſt, and mankind gradually degenerated into ignorance and barbarity, till eaſe and plenty had given

(y) Shuckford's Connection, vol. I. l. 4.
history, l. I. c. 2.

(z) Univerſal

them leisure to polish their manners, and to apply themselves to such parts of knowledge as are seldom brought to perfection under other circumstances.

The inhabitants of Babylon indeed are supposed to have had a great knowledge in astronomical matters, much about this time; (a) for when Alexander the Great took possession of that city, Callisthenes the philosopher, who accompanied him, upon searching into the treasures of the Babylonian learning, found, that the Chaldeans had a series of observations for 1903 years backwards from that time; *i. e.* from the 1771st year of the world's creation forwards. But this is a notion that we have already confuted; as indeed the nature of the thing will teach us, that upon the first settlement in any country, a nation could not but find employment enough (at least for some ages) in cultivating their lands, and providing themselves houses, and other necessaries, for their mutual comfort and subsistence.

Ninus and Semiramis are supposed to have improved vastly the arts of war and navigation about this period: for * we read of armies, consisting of some millions of horse

(a) Simplicius de Cœlo, l. 2. com. 46.

* The history of the Assyrian empire, as we have it in Diodorus Siculus, l. 2. c. 1.—22. and in Justin, l. 1. c. 1. 2. is in the substance of it, to this effect ——— The first who extended this empire, was Ninus, who being a warlike prince, and desiring to do great things, gathered together the stoutest men in the country, and having trained them up to the use of arms, entered into an alliance with Ariæus King of Arabia, by whose assistance he subdued the Babylonians, and imposed a tribute on them, after he had taken their King captive, and killed him, with his children. Then having entered Armenia with a great army, and destroyed several cities, he so terrified the rest, that King Bazanes submitted to him. After this, he vanquished Pharnus King of Media in battle; crucified him and his wife, and seven children; and in the space of seventeen years, overcame all Asia, except India and Bactria; but no author declares the particulars of his victories. Of the maritime provinces, he subdued, according to Ctesias, whom we follow, (says Diodorus) Egypt, Phœnicia, the Lower Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia; and besides these, Caria, the Phrygians, Lydia, Mysia, Troas, together with the Propentis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and all the barbarous nations, as far as the Tanais; with Persia, Susiana, Caspiana, and many other nations that we need not here enumerate. From this last expedition, as soon as he returned, he built a city, which he called by his own name, *Ninus*, not far from the river Euphrates; and being afterwards enamoured with the beau-

A. M. 1997, &c.
 Ant. Chris.
 2007, &c.
 from Gen.
 x. to the
 end; and
 from ch. 11.
 ver. 10. to
 the end.

horse and foot; and of fleets, and gallies, with brazen beaks, to transport the forces over a river only, to the number of two thousand: but all that narration of Diodorus and Justin, as it is acknowledged to be taken from Ctesias, (whom † all the best critics of antiquity look upon as an author

ty and valour of a woman of uncertain birth, named *Semiramis*, he took her to wife, and by her advice and direction governed all things with success. For having gathered together an army of seventeen hundred thousand foot, and two hundred and ten thousand horse, and six hundred thousand chariots, (numbers incredible in those days!), with these he advanced against *Oxyartes*, King of *Bactria*, who met him with an army of four hundred thousand men: but the *Bactrians* being defeated, and their capital, by the valour and direction of *Semiramis* taken, she was thereupon advanced to the honour of being made queen, which occasioned her husband to hang himself. After *Ninus* had thus settled his affairs in *Bactria*, his wife *Semiramis* had a son (whom he named *Ninyas*) and not long after died, leaving the administration of the kingdom in his wife's hands; who, to raise her own glory, built a stately monument for her deceased husband; built the city of *Babylon*, and other remarkable places; and then, having brought *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and *Libya*, all the way to the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, under her jurisdiction, returned into *Asia*; where she had not been long, before hearing that *Stabrobates*, or *Staurobates*, King of *India*, governed a rich country, she resolved to take it from him. To this purpose she prepared a great army and fleet: but being told what mighty elephants there were in *India*, in order to have something like them, she caused three hundred thousand hides of oxen to be dressed, and stuffed with straw, under which there was a camel to bear the machine, and a man to guide it, which at a distance made a kind of resemblance of these vast creatures. Her army consisted of three millions of foot, one million of horse, and an hundred thousand chariots; of an hundred thousand of those that fought on camels; of two hundred thousand camels for the baggage; and two thousand gallies, with brazen heads, to transport her army over the river *Indus*. — But all this must be false and fabulous; because it is incredible to think, either that her own country should supply, or that the country whereinto she was marching, should be able to sustain such an immense number of men, and other creatures, as are here related: besides that, it is false in fact, that the kings of *Assyria* ever governed all *Asia*, or stretched their conquests over *Egypt* and *Libya*; *Miller's History of the church, ch. 1. part 3.*

† This *Ctesias* was a native of *Cnidus*, and physician to *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. He wrote a *Persian history* in three and twenty books, of which there remain only a few fragments, preserved

author deserving no credit), may very justly be accounted false and fabulous. And though it cannot be denied, that the invention of shipping, which was not before the flood, (for had it been before, more than Noah and his family might have saved themselves from the waters), is a great step towards the improvement of commerce; yet as the dispersion of mankind made it more difficult to trade with nations who spake a different language, so the method whereinto we may suppose they entered at first, extended no farther than this:—That the colonies, who planted new countries, not only perceiving their own wants, from the conveniencies they had left behind them, but finding likewise something useful in their settlements, which were before unknown to them or their founders, fetched what they wanted from the parts where they formerly dwelt, and, in exchange for that, carried what they had discovered in their new plantations thither; and this seems to have given the first rise to traffic and foreign trade, whose gradual advances we may have occasion to take notice of hereafter. In the mean time, we shall conclude this book, and this chapter together, with an account of the religion which at this time obtained in the most famous nations of the world; and observe withal, by what means it came to degenerate into idolatry, and other wicked and superstitious practices.

Now, besides the common notion of a God, which men might either learn from tradition, or collect by their own reflection, the very history of the deluge, which had not so long ago befallen the world, could not but instruct and confirm the generations we are now treating of in several articles of their religion. If they had the account of this remarkable judgment transmitted to them in all its circumstances, they could not but entertain these conceptions of God:—That he takes cognizance of the things

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chris.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

served by Photius; but very valuable authors, who have seen Ctesias, when perfect, give him no commendable character. Plutarch (in Artaxerxes) calls him a fabulous vain man, and a great liar. A. Gellius (*Noctes Atticæ*, l. 9. c. 4.) reckons him among the fabulous writers; and Aristotle (in his *Historia animalium*) says, that he was an author who deserves no credit; as indeed, if we will judge either by the incredible things in his story, or by what he says of the Indian and Persian affairs, in his fragments that remain, we shall have reason to conclude, that these great men have not given him this character without good grounds; *Miller's History, ibid.*

A. M. which are done hear on earth ; that he is a lover of virtue, and a severe punisher of vice ; that he is infinite in power, and a severe punisher of vice ; that he is infinite in power, by commanding the winds and rains, seas and elements, to execute his will ; that he is likewise infinite in mercy, in forewarning the wicked of their ruin (as he did the old world) several years before its execution ; and that therefore a being of such a nature and disposition was to be served, and worshipped, and feared, and obeyed. So that the sum of religion, in the ages subsequent to the flood, even to the promulgation of the law, must have consisted in the belief of a God, and his sacred attributes ; in the devout worship of him, by the oblation of prayers and praises, and such sacrifices as he himself had instituted ; and in the observance of those eternal rules of righteousness, of justice and mercy, of sobriety and temperance, &c. which, if not expressly delivered to the sons of Noah, were nevertheless deducible from the nature of things, and the relations wherein mankind stood toward one another.

And now, if we look into the principal nations which were at this time existing, we shall find, that (b) the Persians, above all other people, were remarkable for having amongst them a true account of the creation of the world, and its destruction by water, which they strictly adhered to, and made the foundation of their religion ; nor have we any reason to think, but that they were for some time very zealous professors of it, though by degrees they came to corrupt it, by introducing novelties, and fancies of their own, into both their faith and practice : We shall find, (c) that many of the Arabians preserved the true worship of God for several ages, whereof Job (who perhaps lived in the days now under consideration) was a memorable instance ; as was likewise Jethro, the priest of Midian, in the days of Moses : we shall find, that the Canaanites of old were of the same religion with Abraham ; for tho' he travelled up and down many years in their country, yet was he respected by the inhabitants of it, as a person in great favour with God ; and Melchisedeck, the king of Salem, who was the priest of the most high God, and consequently of the same religion, received him with this address ; (d) *Blessed be Abraham, servant of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth* : we shall find, from Abimelech's prayer, upon his receiving intimation, that Sarah was Abraham's wife, that among the Philistines there

(b) Hyde's Relig. vet. Persarum, c. 3. (c) Shuckford's Con-
nection, vol. 1. l. 5. (d) Gen. xiv. 19.

were some true worshippers of the God of heaven; (e) A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chriſt. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. I. I. ver. 10. to the end. *Lord, Wilt thou ſlay a righteous nation? Said he not unto me, ſhe is my ſiſter; and ſhe, even ſhe herſelf, ſaid, he is my brother: in the integrity of my heart and innocency of my hands have I done this:* we ſhall find that the Egyptians allowed no mortal creature to be a god; profeſſed to worſhip nothing but their god *Cneph*, (f) whom they affirmed to be without beginning, and without end; and though, in the mythologic times, (g) they repreſented this deity by the figure of a ſerpent, with the head of an hawk in the middle of a circle, yet they affirmed at the ſame time, that the God whom they thus repreſented was the creator of all things, a being incorruptible and eternal, with ſeveral other attributes becoming the divine nature: In ſhort, we ſhall find, that all the nations then known in the world, not only worſhipped the ſame God, whom they called *the maker and creator of the univerſe*, but worſhipped him likewiſe in the ſame form and manner; that they had all the like ſacrifices, either expiatory, to make atonement for their ſins; precatory, to obtain favours from Almighty God; propitiatory, to avert his judgments; or euchariftical, to return thanks for his extraordinary mercies; and that all theſe ſacrifices were every-where offered upon altars, with ſome previous purifications, and other ceremonies to be obſerved by the offerer: So that religion, in every nation, for ſome time after the flood, both in principle and practice, was the ſame, till ſome buſy and pragmatical heads, being minded to make ſome improvements, (as they thought), added their own ſpeculations to it, and ſo both deſtroyed its uniformity, and introduced its corruption.

When this corruption of religion was firſt introduced, And idolatry of theſe times, when it began. is not ſo eaſy a matter to determine, becauſe neither ſacred nor profane hiſtory have taken any notice of it. Thoſe (b) who account idolatry one of the ſins of the antediluvian world, ſuppoſe that Ham, being married into the wicked race of Lamech, retained a ſtrong inclination for ſuch a falſe worſhip; and that after he was ſeparated by his father Noah, and ſeparated from the poſterity of Shem, he ſoon ſet it up. Thoſe (i) who imagine that the tower of Babel was a monument intended for the honour of the ſun, which had dried up the waters from off the face of

(e) Gen. xx. 5. (f) Plutarch de Iſide et Oſiride, p. 359.

(g) Eusebius's Præp. Evan. l. I. c. 10. (h) Bedford's Scripture-chronology, l. 2. c. 6. (i) Vid. Tennison of idolatry.

A. M. the earth, must suppose, that the worship of that planet began whilst the remembrance of the deluge was fresh in mens minds: but those (*k*) who are of opinion that the difference of mens dialects, and the difference of their sentiments concerning God, might not improperly commence together, must date the first institution of idolatry not a great deal lower than the time of the dispersion.

(*l*) The generality of Christian fathers, as well as oriental writers, are positive in their assertions, that the first appearance of idolatry was in the days of Serug: "Be-
" cause, as Enoch, say they, was the seventh from Adam,
" in whose time the general impiety, before the flood,
" is said to have began; so Serug being in like manner
" the seventh from Noah, lived at a proper distance for
" such a corruption of religious worship to be introduced,
" and grow." But this is a reason too trifling to be taken notice of: nor can I see (says our learned Selden) (*m*) how they can be able to maintain their opinion, who determine so peremptorily concerning a matter of so distant and uncertain a nature.

But whatever the date of idolatry might be, it is certain that it had its first birth, not in Egypt, (as some have maintained), but in Chaldea, as the Most Reverend author of the Treatise of Idolatry has evinced; (*n*) and that, because in the days of Abraham we find all other nations and countries adhering to the true account of the creation and deluge, and worshipping the God of heaven, according to what had been revealed to them; whereas the Chaldeans had so far departed from his worship, and were so zealous in their errors and corruptions, that upon Abraham's family refusing to join with them, they expelled them their country, and (*o*) cast them out from the face of their gods.

The Chaldeans indeed, by reason of the plain and easy situation of their country, which gave them a larger prospect of the heavenly bodies than those who inhabited mountainous places, had a great conveniency for astronomical observations, and accordingly, were the first people who took any great pains to improve them. And as they

(*k*) Cyril. Alex. contra Julian. l. 1. (*l*) Heidegger's Hist. patriar. vol. 2. exer. 1. (*m*) De Diis Syris, proleg. 3.

(*n*) Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1. l. 5. (*o*) Judith v. 8.

were the first astrologers; (*p*) so learned men have observed, that lying on the ground, or else on flat roofs, all night, to make their observations, they fell in love with the lights of heaven, which, in the clear firmament of those countries, appeared so often, and with so much lustre; and perceiving the constant and regular order of their motions and revolutions, they thence began to imagine, that they were animated with some superior souls, and therefore deserved their adoration; and as the sun excelled all the rest, so the generality of learned men have, with good reason, imagined, that this bright luminary was the first idol in the world.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. I. I.
ver. 10. to
the end.

Among the Egyptians, (*q*) Syphis, king of Memphis, was the first who began to speculate upon such subjects. He examined what influence the sun and moon had upon the terrestrial globe; how they nourished and gave life and vigour to all things; and thereupon, forgetting what his ancestors had taught him, *viz. that in the beginning God created the heavens, as well as the earth*, the sun and moon, as well as the creatures of this lower world, he concluded, that they were two great and mighty deities, and accordingly, commanded them to be worshipped.

The Persians perhaps (*r*) were never so far corrupted, as to lose entirely the knowledge of the supreme God. They saw those celestial bodies running their courses, as they thought, day and night, over all the world, and reviving and invigorating all the parts and products of the earth; and though they kept themselves so far right, as not to mistake them for the true God, yet they imagined them to be his most glorious ministers; and not taking care to keep strictly to what their forefathers had taught them, they were led away by their own imaginations to appoint an idolatrous worship for beings that had been created, and by nature were not gods.

What kind of idolatry was current among the Canaanites, Moses sufficiently intimates in the caution he gives the Israelites, just going to take possession of it, *viz. that (s) when they lifted up their eyes to heaven, and saw the sun, and moon, and stars, even all the host of heaven, they should not, as the inhabitants of the country were,*

(*p*) Tennison of idolatry. (*q*) Diodorus, l. 1. (*r*) Hyde's Reliq. vet. Persarum, c. 1. (*s*) Deut. iv. 19.

A. M. 1997, &c. Ant. Chrif. 2007, &c. from Gen. x. to the end; and from ch. 11. ver. 10. to the end.

be driven to worfhip, and to ferve them : and that this was the customary worfhip among the Arabians, the juftification which Job makes of himfelf is a fufficient proof; (t) *If I beheld the fun when it fhined, or the moon walking in brightnefs, and mine heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kifled my hand, i. e. if with devotion of foul, or profefion of outward refpect, I have worfhipped thofe heavenly bodies, which, by their height, motion, and luftre, attract the eye, and ravifh the fenfes, this alfo were an iniquity to be punifhed by the judges; for then I fhould have denied the God that is above.* And therefore the account (u) which the Greek hiftorian gives us of the origin of this kind of idolatry, is more than probable, viz. that the moft ancient inhabitants of the earth (meaning thofe who lived not long after the flood, and particularly the Egyptians) contemplating on the world above them, and being aftonifhed with high admiration at the nature of the univerfe, believed that there were two eternal gods, the fun and the moon; the former of which they called *Ofiris*, and the latter *Ifis*: fince, of later years, upon the difcovery of America, though many different idols were found in different places, yet as for the fun, it was the univerfal deity, both in Mexico and Peru.

Their great multiplicity of idols.

But whatever the firft idol might be, it foon multiplied into fuch a prodigious number, as to fill both heaven and earth with its progeny; infomuch that there are not three parts of the creation, but what, in one nation or other, had their worfhippers. (x) They worfhipped univerfal nature, the foul of the world, angels, devils, and the fouls of men departed, either feparate and alone, or in union with fome ftar, or other body. They worfhipped the heavens; and in them both particular luminaries and conftellations; the atmofphere; and in it the meteors and fowls of the air; the earth, and in it beafts, birds, infefts, plants, groves, and hills, together with divers foſsils and terreftrial fire. They worfhipped the water; and in it the fea and rivers; and in them fiſhes, ferpents, and infefts, together with fuch creatures as live in either element. They worfhipped men, both living and dead; and in them the faculties and endowments of

(t) Job xxxi. 26. 27.
(x) Tertullian of idolatry.

(u) Diodorus Siculus, l. 1.

the soul, as well as the several accidents and conditions of life. Nay, they worshipped the images of animals, even the most hateful, such as serpents, dragons, crocodiles, &c. and descended at last so low, as to pay a religious regard to things inanimate, herbs and plants, and the most stinking vegetables.

How men came to part with the religion of their ancestors for such trash, and (y) to change the glory of the incorruptible God into the image of corruptible man, and birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things, the Apostle, who remonstrates to the indignity, has in some measure supplied us with a reason, when he tells, that this state of things, how gross and strange soever it was, was introduced under the pretences of wisdom, or by men professing to be wise.

It was the wise amongst them that formed the design; and, addressing to the multitude, with a grave appearance, prevailed (as we may conceive) by some such form of arguing as this. (z) “ We are all aware, ye sons of Noah, “ that religion is our chief concern; and therefore it well “ becomes us to improve and advance it as much as possible. We have indeed received appointments from God “ for the worship which he requires; but if these appointments may be altered for his greater glory, there is “ no doubt but that it will be a commendable piety so to “ alter them. Now our father Noah has instructed us in “ a religion, which, in truth, is too simple, and too “ unaffecting: It directs us to the worship of God, abstractedly from all sense, and under a confused notion; “ under the formality of attributes, as power, goodness, “ justice, wisdom, eternity, and the like; an idea foreign to our affections, as well as our comprehensions: “ whereas, in all reason, we ought to worship God “ more pompously, and more extensively, and not only to “ adore his personal and essential attributes, but likewise “ all the emanations of them, and all those creatures by “ which they are eminently represented. Nor can this “ be any derogation from his honour, since his honour is “ certainly more amply expressed, when in this manner “ we acknowledge, that not only himself, but all his creatures likewise, are adorable. We ought therefore (if “ we will be wise) to worship the host of heaven, be-

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2007, &c.
from Gen.
x. to the
end; and
from ch. 11.
ver. 10. to
the end.

How the world came to fall into this state.

(y) Rom. i. 22. 23. ferm. 1.

(z) Young's Sermons, vol. 2.

A. M. 1997, &c. “ cause they are eminent representations of his glory and
 Ant. Chris. 2007, &c. “ eternity: we ought to worship the elements, because
 from Gen. x. to the “ they represent his benignity and omnipresence: we ought
 end; and “ to worship princes, because they sustain a divine charac-
 from ch. 11. “ ter, and are the representatives of his power upon earth:
 ver. 10. to “ we ought to worship men famous in their generation,
 the end. “ even when they are dead, because their virtues are the
 “ distinguishing gifts and communications of God: nay,
 “ we ought to worship the ox and the sheep, and what-
 “ ever creatures are most beneficial, because they are the
 “ symbols of his love and goodness; and with no less rea-
 “ son, the serpent, the crocodile, and other animals that
 “ are noxious, because they are the symbols of his awful
 “ anger.”

This seems to be a fair opening of the project; and by some such cunning harangue as this, we may suppose it was that the first contrivers of idolatry drew in the ignorant and admiring multitude. And indeed, considering the natural habitude of vulgar minds, and the strong inclinations they have, in matters of an abstruse consideration, to help themselves by sensible objects, it seems not so difficult a task to have drawn them in.

The motives which engaged men in it.

Those who worshipped universal nature, or the system of the material world, perceived first, that there was excellency in the several parts of it, and then (to make up the grandeur and perfection of the idea) they joined them altogether in one divine being. Those who laboured under a weakness and narrowness of imagination, distributed nature into its several parts, and worshipped that portion of it which was accounted of most general use and benefit. Usefulness was the common motive, but it was not the only motive which inclined the world to idolatry: for, upon farther inquiry, we shall find, that whatever ravished with its transcendent beauty, whatever affrightened with its malignant power, whatever astonished with its uncommon greatness; whatever, in short, was beautiful, hurtful, or majestic, became a deity, as well as what was profitable for its use. (a) The sun, men soon perceived, had all these powers and properties united in it: its beauty was glorious to behold; its motion wonderful to consider; its heat occasioned different effects; barrenness in some places, and fruitfulness in others; and the immense globe of its light appeared highly exalted, and riding in triumph, as it were, round

(a) Tension of idolatry.

the world. The moon, they saw, supplied the absence of the sun by night; gave a friendly light to the earth; and, besides the great variety of its phases, had a wonderful influence over the sea, and other humid bodies. The stars they admired for their height and magnitude, the order of their positions, and celerity of their motions, and thence were persuaded, either that some celestial vigour or other resided in them, or that the souls of their heroes and great men were translated into them when they died; and upon these, and such like presumptions, they accounted all celestial bodies to be deities. (b) The force of fire, the serenity of air, the usefulness of water, as well as the terror and dreadfulness of thunder and lightning, gave rise to the consecration of the meteors and elements. The sea, swelling with its proud surface, and roaring with its mighty billows, was such an awful sight, and the earth, bedecked with all its plants, flowers, and fruits, such a lovely one, as might well affect a Pagan's veneration; when for the like motives, *viz.* their beneficial, hurtful, delightful, or astonishing properties; beasts, birds, fishes, insects, and even vegetables themselves, came to be adored.

The pride and pomp of the great, and the low and abject spirits of the mean, occasioned first the flattery, and then the worship of kings and princes as gods upon earth. Men famous for their adventures and exploits, the founders of nations or cities, or the inventors of useful arts and sciences, were revered while they lived, and, after death, canonized. The prevailing notion of the soul's immortality made them imagine; that the spirits of such excellent persons, either immediately ascended up into heaven, and settled there in some orb or other; or that they hovered in the air; whence, by solemn invocations, and by making some statue or image resembling of them, they might be prevailed with to come down and inhabit it.

Whether the idolatry of image-worship was first begun in Chaldea or in Egypt, we have no grounds from history to determine: but where-ever it had its origin, the design of making statues and images at first was certainly such as the author of the book of Wisdom (c) has represented it, *viz.* to commemorate an absent or deceased friend, or to do honour to some great man or sovereign prince; which (whether so intended or no at first) the ignorance

(b) Herbert's ancient religion of the Gentiles. (c) Ch. xiv. 5. &c.

A. M. and superstition of the people turned in time into an object of religious adoration; "the singular diligence of the artificer," as our author expresses it, "helping to set forward the ignorant to more superstition: for he, peradventure, willing to please one in authority, forced all his skill to make the resemblance of the best fashion, and so the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took him now for a god, who a little before was but honoured as a man."

The gross folly and stupidity of it.

We cannot but observe, however, with what elegance and fine satire it is, that the Scripture sets off the stupidity and gross infatuation, both of the artificer and adorer. *The carpenter heweth down cedars, and taketh the cypress and the oak. He stretcheth out his rule; he marketh it out with a line; he fitteth it with planes; he marketh it out with the compass, and maketh it after the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man. — He burneth part thereof in the fire; with part thereof he eateth flesh; he roasteth roast, and is satisfied; yea he warmeth himself, and saith, A-ha! I am warm, I have seen the fire; and the residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image. He falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me, for thou art my god; never considering in his heart, nor having knowledge or understanding to say, I have burnt part of it in the fire; yea also I have baked bread upon the coals thereof: I have roasted flesh, and eaten it; and shall I make the residue thereof an abomination? Shall I fall down to the stock of a tree?*

The insufficiency of reason to guide us in matters of religion.

That rational creatures should be capable of so wretched a degeneracy, as this amounts to, may justly provoke our wonder and amazement: and yet we may remember, that these people (who may possibly be the object of our scorn and contempt) had the boasted light of nature to be their guide in matters of religion. Nay, they had some advantages that we apparently want: they lived much nearer the beginning of the world; had the terrors of the Lord, in the late judgment of the deluge, fresh in their minds: had the articles of their religion comprised in a small compass; and (what is no bad friend to reason and sober recollection) lived in more simplicity, and less luxury, than these later ages can pretend to; and yet, notwithstanding these advantages, so sadly, so shamefully did they miscarry, that the wit of a man would be at a loss to devise a reason for their conduct, had not the divine wisdom

wisdom informed us, that ^{they} ~~exalted~~ ^{alienated} themselves from the light of god, and lightly regarded the counsels of the most high; that they forsook the guide of their youth, and rejected those revelations, which at sundry times, and in divers manners were made to their forefathers for the rule and measure of their faith and practice. We indeed had we lived in those days, may be apt to think, that we would not have been carried away with common corruption; that the light of nature would have taught us better, than to pay our devotions to brute beasts, or to look upon their images as our gods. but, alas! we little consider, what the power of reason, or mere unassisted reason, is against the force of education, and the prevalence of custom, engaged on the side of a false, but ~~flashy~~, ~~false~~ flashy and popular religion. Aristotle, Plato and Cicero, were in after ages some of the greatest reasoners that the world has produced; and yet we find them complying with the established worship of their country: what grounds have we then to imagine, that in case we had been contemporaries with them, we had acquitted ourselves any better? our reason indeed now tells us, that we would have died, rather than have submitted to these impious modes of worship ~~of them~~ but then we are to remember, that reason is not assisted by the light and authority of a divine revelation; that therefore we are not competent judges, how we should act without this superior aid, but that in all probability (^{is}) taking away the direction and restraint of this reason we ~~will~~ ^{shall} relapse into the same extravagant ~~and~~ ^{and} the same impiety, the same ~~and~~ ^{and}

and superstition, which prevailed over it be-
fore, and therefore to conclude in the words
of our blessed saviour, spoken indeed up-
on another, but verely applicable upon
this occasion), (2) blessed are the eyes which
see the things which ye see a full and
perfect rule of faith and manners con-
tained in that holy bible which is in
every ones hands for I tell you, that
many prophets and kings have desired
to see those things, which ye see, and have
not seen them; and to hear those
things, which ye hear and have not heard
them.

(a) Eph. 4. 18.

(c) Rogers necessity of a
divine revelation

(2) Luke 10. 23. 24

The end of the first volume.

