A NEW HISTORY
OF THE
HOLY BIBLE,
FROM THE
BEGINNING OF THE WORLD,
TO THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

WITH
ANSWERS TO MOST OF THE CONTROVERTED QUESTIONS;
DISSERTATIONS UPON THE MOST REMARKABLE
PASSAGES; AND A CONNECTION OF PROFANE
HISTORY ALL ALONG.

To which are added,

NOTES, EXPLAINING DIFFICULT TEXTS, RECTIFYING MIS-
TRANSLATIONS, AND RECONCILING SEEMING CONTRADICTIONS.

BY THE REV. THOMAS STACKHOUSE, A. M.
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VOL. I.

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1795.
TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

EDMUND,

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

AND

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 disdained 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 God and religion, and, by his example and encouragement, to animate us in defence of it.
To you, my Lord, we owe a full confluence 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 favour 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.

Whatever 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 asser-
tor 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

Devoted servant,

THOMAS STACKHOUSE.

Beenham in Berkshire, \\
April 7, 1744.
Before we enter upon the history of the Holy Bible, it may not be improper to enquire 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 compos'd, and the several translations and other incidental changes, which, since the time of its publication, have been made.

The books which we look upon as the foundation of our holy religion, go under different names. They are stiled 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 Sancia, as containing all the tracts which were wrote upon the same divine subject. Of later ages the word Bible, (which comes from the Greek Biblia, 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 immethodical, a flat 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 needs no great pains to discover. 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 and reason." To this purpose we may observe, that the objects of our knowledge are of three kinds: Some are discernable by the light of nature without revelation; such is the knowledge of God from the effects of his power and wisdom, as the apostle argues: Others knowable, not at all by the light of nature, but by revelation only; such is the salvation of mankind.

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 Diatkeia (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 it 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 titled the New Testament. Dr. P's hisk. of the Canon, &c.

b Bishop Williams' sermons at Boyle's lectures.

c Rom i. 20.
mankind by the death of Jesus Christ, \(d\) which (as the apostle expresseth 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 mediatly 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 signtures of our intentions, which effect 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 the power of communicating his thoughts, \(\text{who teacheth man understanding}?\)

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 pretended

\(d\) Eph. iii. 9. \(e\) 2 Tim. i. 10. \(f\) Fiddes's body of divinity, vol. 1. \(g\) 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 sundry 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

1 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 flight 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

Cut
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 obtained.

The plain truth is, if there be no revelation, we are, 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. 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 in that state, we shall soon perceive, that he could not attain a competent knowledge of many things, without the assistance of divine revelation. 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.  

Bishop Williams's sermons at Boyle's lectures.

1 Milton, whom I take to be a good commentator upon what happened to Adam in his state of innocence, introduces him thus expressing himself:
THE APPARATUS,

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, loth, 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 therefore

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
Whate'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 power 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.
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OR PREPARATORY DISCOURSE.

XJii

proper to believe, (the wifdom and goodnefs of
conftrain us to believe,) that, in order to relieve him
under this perplexity, God took care, either by the mir

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niftry of his holy angels,

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and impreffion, to inform him of every thing, that
was neceffary for him to know, in the ilate wherein he
had placed him.
He had placed him now in a beautiful garden, and given
him great variety of fruits for his nourilhment and fupport.
But might not fome of thefe fruits be d^figned for
other purpofes than food ? or might they not have fome
bad and pernicious qualities in them, how apparently fair
^ Without making the experiment
foever, and inviting ?
it was impeflible for Adam to know what food was proper
for his conftitution, which experiment (for ought he knew)
might have proved fatal to him and therefore we find
God giving him this direction " Of every tree m the garden
then may/i freely eat y but ef the tree of kno-jj ledge of^oodand

tion,

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fvil, th<jU fhalt rwt eat of it

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for

in the day that thou eatejl

thereof, thcu fhalt fur ely die.

He had placed him, naked and defencelefs, in the mldft
of favage creatures, all able and inclined to deftroy him,
had they not been reftrained by fome invifible power ; and,
in this condition, he muft have been miferable beyond all
imagination, and under perpetual apprehenlions, that the
but,
firft lyon or tyger he met would certainly devour him
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find

God giving hiin

afTurance to the contrary, and inverting him with this au^
^ Have dominion over ^hefifj of the fea, and over
thcrity
the fowl of the air^ and over every living thing that m-jvcth
:

upon the earth.

He had formed a woman, to be a confort and companion to him ; but how he fhould know any thing of a future flate of marriage, and the ties of conjugal aifeclion am.ong his pofterity, ^ (as his words plainly indicate;) how
he fhould have a perfect notion oi father and mother, before there was any fuch thing as father and mother in the
world ; fiiould have clear ideas of the afiec^ion and endearments arifing from that relation, and yet, at the fame
time, fhould perceive, that the affection and endearments
arifing from marriage, would fo far get the better of them,
as to attach a man nearer to a flranger, taken into his bofom, than to thofe very parents whofe blood ran in his
veins

^ Revelation examined.
?Ibid. ii.^4.

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Gen.

il.

i6, 17.

°Ibid.

i.

26.

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veins; is a problem which cannot be resolved without having recourse to divine revelation; and therefore we find our Saviour thus expounding it: "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.

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 splendour of his temples, the number of his votaries, and the pomp and solemnity of his worship. 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? 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 idolatry?

9 Matt. xix. 4, &c. 5 Bishop Williams's Sermons. 6 Jenkin'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 inclined to impart one to mankind, whenever their occasions required it.

"But what occasion could there be for any divine revelation, when, by giving them the light of reason, (that perfect and unerring guide, and implanting in them the law of nature, God had made an ample and standing provision, both for the instruction of their minds, and the direction of their lives? when, by a due attention to these, they might, at any time, be enabled to perceive all that was necessary for them to know, and to practice all that was required of them to do, without any supernatural intervention, which, in this case, seems highly needless and superfluous?"

We readily grant, indeed, that the great principle of action in human nature is reason; infomuch that to judge according to its directions, is not the privilege of the philosopher 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, 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 light, Christianity as old as the creation, passim. Law's Case of reason; or, Natural religion fairly and fully stated.
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 judgements 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.

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. 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 unpolluted holiness of human life, or

*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.
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.

It will be no disparagement, I hope, to the present age, to suppose that the ancient philosophers had as great strength of reason and judgement, 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 some of them held all things to be eternal, while others 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, 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 of

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1 Peripatetics. 2 Epicureans. A patribus acceptos deos placet coli; De Leg. 1. 2. Item illud ex institutis pontificum et aulpicum non mutandum est, quibus hostis immolandum cuique deo. Ibid.
OR PREPARATORY DISCOURSE.

of virtue; and therefore 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 they taught nothing of divine grace and assistance towards our attainment of virtue, and perseverance in it; and therefore we find others of them equaling themselves to the gods, and sometimes taking precedence; "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 they were 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.  \[ ^C 2 \]

\[ ^i \] Non quis, quod bonus vir esset, gratias diis egit unquam: Jovem optimum maximum ob eas res appellant, non quod nos jutios, temperatos lapientes, efficat, sed quod falsos, incolumes, opulentos, copiosis; Cic. de nat. deorum, l. 3.

\[ ^d \] Stoics. Est Aliquid, quo sapientes antecedat deum; ille naturæ beneficio, non suo, lapiens est; Sen. epist. 53.
Therefore 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, 1 "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, Ε "I hope there is a place where I and good men shall meet; yet I cannot affirm it:" And ὧ "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, aerial 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.

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; 1 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-murther, and setting themselves for the example of it to their followers: That we find Cato commending

5 Tusc. Quest. lib. 1. 1 Epist. 100. 6 Plato in Phaed. 6 Tusc. Quest. 7 Vid. Bishop of London's second pastoral letter.
commending fornication as a proper remedy against adultery; Plato, affecting the expediency of men's having their wives in common; and Chrysippus, teaching the worst of inceft, 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 auffere 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 con temners 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? \(^1\) Had their lot been among the vulgar, how are they sure they should have been so happy, or so confiderate, as not to be involved in that idolatry and superstition, that wickedness and immorality, which then overspread 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? It is one thing to find out a rule at first, and another to perceive its agreement with reason; and the difficulty is not much (when 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. It is no

\(^k\) Inft. 1. i. praef. \(^1\) 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 conver-
fation they might have with the Hebrews, to whom God
had committed the oracles of his will by the hand of his
servant Mofes. For this is certain beyond all controversy,
that the most eminent philosophers, such as Pythagoras,
Plato, Democritus, and others, finding a dearth of knowl-
edge 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
complete their studies; where, conversing with the Jews,
(who were there in great numbers,) and having the oppor-
tunity of consulting the law of Mofes in the Ptolemean li-
brary, 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 rea-
ly owing to the help of revelation, that has given us a far
more perfect and exact knowledge of the nature and at-
tributes of God, from whence many of our duties imme-
diately flow; a greater certainty of future rewards and
punishments; and a clearer conviction of the necessity of
fobriety, temperance, and other moral virtues, as prepar-
atory 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 mi-
nority, 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 mo-
rality, 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, funk into ignorance and stupidity, and thereby submitted to the wiles of the tempter, and 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 inassailability are ascribed? "Is this the fundamental "law of the universe, that can tell us more than books "or masters, more than the two tables of Mofes, 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 opposite 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 men's wants, An objec- "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, "is

* 2 Tim. ii. 26. a Vid. Christianity as old as the creation, p. 60, 61, &c.
"is so undistinguishable, and by us who live at such a dif-
"tance of time, so impossible to be adjusted; that the faf-
"eft way is to fuspend our belief, until we have a suffi-
cient conviction, that what is offered as a message from
heaven, infallibly comes from God."

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 doc-
tors, who treat of the subject, have many curious obser-
vations 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 man, 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
(as he did to St. Paul) or his immediate conversing with
them (as he did with Moses,) * 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 fen-
fation.

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 pleafes,
make ufe 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 fuch visible appearances, talk as familiarly to
them, as one man converfes with another? Cannot he,
who formed our minds, and knows all the ways of ac-
cess to them, draw fuch clear and bright scenes, and pic-
tures of things on our fancy and imagination, whether
fleeping or waking, as fhall need no other proof of their
divinity, but themselves; even as light is known by itself,
and the first principles of reafon by their own evidence?
In short, why cannot he fo clarify the understanding by a
beam of light left in from above, as fhall be as evident a
proof of its divine original, as it is that the light proceeds
from the fun, the fountain of it?

Whatever it may feem to us, who have not the fen-
fation or experience of fuch divine representations as the
prophets had, and therefore can no more defcribe them,
than

How the

persons in-
spired

might judge
of their own
inspirations.

* Acts ix. 4.  
* Exod. xxxiii. 11.
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 enterprise, was cured of his fear, and confirmed in his mind 9 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, 1 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, 2 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 may judge Voi. I. No. 1.

9 Judges vi. 20. 1 Exod. iv. 3. 2 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 messenger sent from God, and then observe whether he answers that character. Now, as a revelation is a divine communication, 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 perfiring in the same affections, 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 revelation.

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 administer 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 unfolded, 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 appeased, forgiveness obtained, and the heavy load upon human nature, arising from the sense and conscientiousness 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 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 wisdom;
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 was brought up in Pharaoh's court, educated in all princely qualities, and skilled in all the learning of the Egyptians. What the learning of the Egyptians was, we need not here relate: if we will believe Macrobius, who, in one place, makes Egypt the mother of all arts, and, 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 judgement between an imposture and 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 for sake 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 tolerable

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 extoll himself, or agrandize his nation, may be thought a probable inducement; but so far is he from magnifying himself, that he omits no opportunity of recording his own failings and miscarriages; passes over in silence his own qualities and achievements; and opens the account of his ministry with the relation of a fact, (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 to his own faults without disguise or extenuation; conferring 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 his and Simeon’s inhumanity to the Schechemites; and, through the whole course of his history seems as if he were describing 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 lawgiver.

As


c Josphus relates, that Moses, for some years, was general to Pharaoh, and that he obtained a very singular 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.
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 expectancies 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?

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 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 Berosus, 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

h Vid. Grot. de veritate.
veral rites and religious 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.

Thus consonant to the greatness and majesty of God, as a law-
giver, and the received opinions of the earliest ages of the world,
are the historic facts which Moses relates. And to con-
sider him in his legislative capacity what can be more a-
greeable to the notions we have of God, than the prohi-
bition of idolatry and polytheism, and the institution of his
true religion and worship; than the prohibition of perju-
ry and vain swearing, of theft, of murder, of adultery,
of covetousness of all kinds; and the injunction of the con-
trary virtues, of justice and mercy, of chastity and cha-
ity, 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 in-
umerable favours they had received from him; his fre-
quent and pathetic exhortations to obedience, and living
answerable 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 judgement of God,
and of the various plagues and punishments which would
certainly be the consequence of their persisting in their
fins? 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 injunc-
tions, but that they were fully satisfied they came origi-
nally from God, and were only delivered to them by the
hand of his servant Moses. And, for their farther con-
viction of this, they had all the evidence that could be re-
quired, the prediction of events, which none but God
could

* Shuckford's connection. Ibid.
could foreknow, and the demonstration of miracles, which none but God could perform.

For not to insist at present 1 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.

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 such

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such things as had all imaginable evidence of an almighty power afflicting 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 complete 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 elevate 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 Or. Hebr. lib. 2. c. 15. m Wheatly's School of the Prophets
we read of are described, a coming down from the high place, with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them.

Out of these seminaries, or colleges of prophets, God usually made choice of persons to be sent on messages; though he did not to 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 bade 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 these persecutions and sufferings, in the execution of an office, had they not been persuaded of the truth of their vocation, and under an indissoluble 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 communion 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.

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

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a 1 Sam. x. 5. o Ezek. iii. 14. p Heb. xi. 36. 37.
fo frequently, so kindly occurring in the prophets? a
Wherewithal should I come before the Lord, and bow my-
self 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 goodneces,
than those earnest calls and invocations to repentance? b
Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways for why will ye die,
O house of Israel? For, as I live, faith the Lord, I have no
pleasure in the death of the wicked. What is more con-
ducive to the honour and glory of God, than those rap-
turous songs of praise wherewith the Royal Pсалмist tunes
his harp, and those tender strains of grief wherewith the
mournful prophet wets his bed? c 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? d 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? e 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 f the
wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard lie down
with the kid, and the calf, and the young lion, and the fawning
together, and a little child shall lead them: as the evangelici-
cal prophet expresseth it in that beautiful allegory.

That the prophets should be able to foretell things so their prop-
hecies many ages before they came to pass; that he who went
from Judah to denounce God’s judgements against the alt-
ar of Bethel, and against f Jeroboam, for setting it up,
should make mention of the very name of Jofiah (who was
to be God’s instrument in executing them) three hundred
and sixty one years before the event happened: that g Eli-
jah 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 ifaiah
E 2

a Micah vi. 6. b Ezek. xxxiii. 11. c Jer. ix. 1. d Isa.
ix. 6. e Chap. liii. f Chap. xi. 6. g 1 Kings xiii. 2. h
2 Chap. xvii.
founded prophecy of Cyrus by name, a two hundred and ten years before the accomplishment of his prophecy; b foretold 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. 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 truth of 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 communicated.

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 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 diftant 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 reaonings, so confused in their method, so inipid 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,
We allow indeed, that there is a great deal of difference between those who were contemporaries with Mofes and the prophets, and us, who are at some thousand years distance. The completion of a prediction gave fatisfaction to the prophets' pretentions, and miracles carried with them a clear and present conviction; they entered quick, and gained affent 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 thou- sand years ago, conquered a great part of the world: and that there was such a perfon as Julius Caesar, 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 fense 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 ac- complifhment in the other; which cannot but give great comfort and fatisfaction 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 fufficient grounds for our faith to reft upon, if we can but fatisfy our- selves—that the perfons by whom God made revelations of his will at sundry times, and in diverfe manners, were di- rected by him to record them in certain books— That, in writing these books, they were aflifted by the inspiration of his infalible spirit— That, according to the best com- putations, they were wrote by the very fame perfons to whom they are acribed:— That, at a proper period of time, they were compiled into one body by fuch as were autho- rized.
rifed and enabled so to do: — That from them they have descended to us, true and genuine, without any consider-
able loss or alteration: — That the books now extant, and received by the Christian church, are the very same which were thus written by inspiration, and compiled by authority: — And that they are not liable to the foregoing objections, but deserve a better character, and better usage, than some in this age are pleased to give them.

It is the opinion of some learned men, that writing was an art coeval 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 Methuselah lived above three hundred years, while Adam was yet alive: Sem was almost an hundred when Methuselah 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 yet,

Why God appointed it to be so,

Jenkin’s Reasonableness, and Stillingfleet’s Orig. Sacr.
yet, in this time, the tradition of those few things where-

in religion was then comprehended, was so totally cor-

rupted, that idolatry was generally practised, and God was

obliged to make a new and immediate revelation to the pa-

triarch Abraham.

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 sur-

prising, the commandments then delivered but few, the

people all of one language, separate from the rest of man-

kind, and obliged to a constant commerce among them-

selves; so there seems to be in this case all imaginable ad-

vantages in favour of tradition; and yet, notwithstanding

these, God would not trust his precepts to this uncertain

way of conveyance, but himself, with his own finger, twi-

ced them upon two tables of flone. The historical transac-

tions of the Jews, the many strange deliverances

Heaven vouchsafed them, and particularly their signal vic-

tory 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: nay, the very ceremonial part

of the law, though not intended to be of perpetual obliga-
tion, was not referred to this traditionary method, but,

according to divine appointment, committed to writing,

and reposed with the priests: and therefore we have lea-

son to wonder, that, in things which were to come to

pafs 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 injunc-
tions of this kind, to write their inspirations before the peo-

ple in a table, and to note them in a book, that they might be

for the time to come, for ever and ever.

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 reli-
gion. The familiar converse he had with God, the won-

ders

That these books were written by divine inspiration.

h Burnet on the Articles.  i Exod xxxi. 13.  k Chap. xvii.

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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 affurring us, that \textit{all scripture is given by the inspiration of God}, and the apostle of the Jews affverting the same thing, \textit{viz.} that \textit{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, \textit{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 \textit{what reason for 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} Vol. I No. 1. 

\textsuperscript{m} 2 Tim. iii. 16. \textsuperscript{n} 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. \textsuperscript{o} Vid. Calmet’s Differ. vol. 1.
the books which he designed to be the sole guide of man-kind in matters of religion, and which he foresew all pote-terity would appeal to as the great touchstone of truth, should not be liable to any errors; but that his Holy Spirit should fo guide the hand of his penmen, (as it were,) and assist them in their compositions with such an infallible ve-racity, as might be of sufficient authority to silence all dif-fferences 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 de-cide 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 fene with 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 prov-"ed 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."

It is needless, and almost impossible for us to define pre-cisely how far the Spirit of God was engaged in the com-position 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 diversify of style and diction which may be observed in se-veral books, and sometimes the expressing one and the fame thing in different terms by different authors, is al-most 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 differ-ence in it which we now fee, and which (taking in the holy penmen for a share in the composition) may not un-fitly be ascribed to natural caufes. 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 ex-pression than Amos, who had his education among the herds? It is a more easy supposition therefore of the two,
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 perceptive, 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 exigencies 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.

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 Greek Hagiographa; or books that were written by holy men, but not with such fulness 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.
- Genesis
- Exodus
- Leviticus
- Numbers
- Deuteronomy

Four books of the former prophets.
- Joshua
- Judges, and a Ruth
- Samuel 1. and 2
- Kings 1. and 2
- Isaiah

Four books of the later prophets.
- Jeremiah, and his Lamentations
- Ezekiel
- The books of the 12 lesser prophets
- King David's Psalms
- King Solomon's Proverbs
- His Ecclesiastes
- His Song of Songs
- The book Job
- The book of Daniel
- The book of Ezra, and Nehemiah
- The book of Esther
- The book of * Chronicles 1. and 2

Which was put as an appendix to the Judges. Counted them but one book.
- The Jews reckoned them both together for one.

And these two went with them for one book.

q Which was put as an appendix to the Judges. Counted them but one book.
- Counted but one book.
- Which were all put in one.
- The Jews reckoned them both together for one.
- And these two went with them for one book.
OR PREPARATORY DISCOURSE.

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. 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.

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.

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, according to God's order and appointment.

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,

The Hebrews call it Bereishith, in principio, in the beginning, because in their language it begins with that word.

The Hebrews call it veela Schemoth, because it begins with these words, now these are the names, &c. The Jews term it Vaieira, because in Hebrew it begins with this word, which signifies, and he called. For now that they are 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, Antiq. Heb. I. 8. The Jews term it Vachdabber, 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
monial, which Mofes 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 reversion.

This is the scope of the Pentateuch, or five books of Mofes: 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 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 Mofes, 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.

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, that he was successor of Mofes in prophecies, i.e. the next inspired writer of scripture after Mofes, we have no reason to oppose the judgement of the Jewish church, which generally ascribed it to him.

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

there was now another generation of men sprung up, it was highly requisite to have these laws promulged afresh, which Mofes does in this book, and here and there intersperses both explications and additions; Lewis, *ibid.* The Jews call it *Elle baddelburim, hec fiant verba, these are the words, because the Hebrew text begins in this manner.*

*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, from Jufhua's death until Eli, (i. e. about 300 years,) is very ancient, as appears from a passage in a psalm of David, b When thou wenteft forth before the people, when thou marchedft through the wilderness, the earth fook, the heavens also dropped at the preffence of God; which words are an exact imitation of these in i Judges; Lord, when thou wenteft out of Seir, when thou marchedft 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 tranfaotions under the two laft judges, Samuel and Eli, and under the two firft kings, Saul and David, (comprising the compafs 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, affert, that the four and twenty firft chapters were written by Samuel himfelf, and the reft by the prophets Nathan and Gad; which affertion they found on this pasfage of the Chronicles, k Now the acts of David the King, firft and laft, behold they are written in the book of Samuel the fcor, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the book of Gad the fcor.

The books of Kings 1 and the Chronicles, (for I take Kings and Chronicles, which, taking in fonme part of the foregoing books, contain the history of the Jifh monarchy down to the captivity of Babylon (a space of above 500 years,) were compiled out of ancien records, which records were wrote by men of a prophetic spirit: and all that Ezra (or whosoever their compiler was) added of his own, was only fonme genealogical obfervations at the beginning of the Chronicles, and fonme other passages of small moment; relating to the times after the captivity.

The books of Samuel.

b Psal. lxviii. 7, 8. i Judges v. 4. k 1 Chron. xxiv. 29.
1 Though it be a matter of great uncertainty, whether the book of the Kings or of the Chronicles were firft written, yet it is evident, that this of the Chronicles is more full and comprehenfive than that of the Kings: and from thence these books are called Paralipomena, Remains, Supplements, and Additions, by the Greek interpreters; because they contain fonme passages or circumstances that were omitted in the other historical writers; Lewis, ibid.
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, n by the writer of the book of Maccabees, attested to be the author of that work.

Esther. The history of Esther, a Jewish captive virgin, who, for her transcendent beauty, was advanced to the throne of Persia, and, by her interest with her royal husband a Ahasuerus, (who some will have to be the same with the above-mentioned Artaxerxes, and others with Darius Hyphasis,) 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.

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 under

\[m\ 2\ \text{Mac.}\ \text{ii.}\ 13.\]  
\[n\ \text{Vid. Prideaux's Connect. part I.}\]  
\[\text{book 4.}\]
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 Psalms,
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 92 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 cer-
tain, 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.

That the book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles,
were written by King Solomon is the general opi-
The pre-

nion 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 begin-
ning of the first, which are reputed the original collec-

† 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 Vir-
gil. 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 Con-

nextion, vol. 2. chap. 9

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tion of Solomon, the rest were compiled by other hands; only the last chapter (which bears the name of 
Lemuel is supposéd 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,

Ecclesiastes. To fear God and keep his commandments, which is the whole duty of man for God, says he, will bring every work to judgement, and every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.

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 content 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 praiés bestowed upon Ezekiel, and other prophets and worthies of Israel, there are these words: 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.

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 aslit 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 purvue.

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 professionally 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

\[ p \text{ Eccles. xii. 13, 14.} \]  
\[ p \text{ Eccles. iv. 10.} \]
some authorities that are now lost,) we must allow, that
Ezra, upon his return from the captivity of Babylon, un-
dertook the work; and, after he had finished it, had it
approved by the grand Sanhedrim, and published by au-
thority. Only we must observe, 4 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 re-
turn 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 col-
lected, and digested into one volume: and if we believe 7
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 Jew-
ish 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 ceased up among the Jews, that this was a pro-
per period for collecting the several copies, and adjusting
the catalogue of their sacred books.

But Ezra did more than this: 5 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, inferted
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

What he
did to make
did to make
his edition
his edition
perfect.
perfect.

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4 Vid. Prideaux's Connection, part 1. 1. 5. 7 Vid. Wal-
ton's Prolog. 9. in Bib. Polyg. 5 Vid. Prideaux's Connect-
ton's Prolog. 9. in Bib. Polyg. 5 Vid. Prideaux's Connect-
ion, 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 * 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 inspired the writers of these sacred volumes. For besides that himself was a " prophet, or (as he is styled) * 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, Zechariah, 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 * 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 * 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 " several

* Part 1. lib. 5. p. 497. * 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. * Ezra vii. 6. * Chap. ii. 62, 63. * 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 Artaxerxes 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 books rejected*, transmitted to us, we may plainly perceive, if we will but turn to the several catalogues which the fathers, in their 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 instruction 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 more books than what are strictly canonical, yet how shall we satisfy ourselves that we have received them all? In several parts of scripture we find books referred to, "such
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"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 tame and imperfect."

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 reheartal 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 
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 as- 
sistance, but by such c as were styled recorder., or writers 
of chronicles, as it is in the margin, an office of great ho-
nour and trust, but of a different kind from that of pro-
phets. 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 assistèd; but in other matters 
"they only wrote as faithful historians." And, 4thly, 
That most of these pieces c are still remaining in the scrip-
tures, 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 salva-
tion. 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 im-
partially examines that passage in Exodus, will find, that 
the book referred to is nothing else but a collection of such 
juncttions 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 Re-
ligion, vol. 2.
The *book of the wars of the Lord*, cited in Numb. xx. 14. and supposed to be wanting, is (in the opinion 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 reheatse 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 all dictated by divine inspiration; and consequently no *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 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 letting up of *archery*, and maintaining military exercizes. 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 whereof we have but one, were very likely his juvenile compositions; and his *universal history of vegetables*, and that of *animals of all kinds*, as properly

6 Dr. Lightfoot's Chronology of the times of the Old Testament.  
7 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 enterprises which those brave men who were stirred by God in an extraordinary manner, were so famous for, (or to express the remarkablenes 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.  
8 Joseph. Antiq. lib. 5. cap. 2.
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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 phraeology is so very uncertain.”

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 it is 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 another, to join with the first, would give us more authority, as well as security. Now choose 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 to

1 Phileleu, Lipf. 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 confine 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.

Consider 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 reader 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 Tefta-
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 Holy Scriptures have been. And much more are we to blesse 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."

For besides his providential care, (which we may well suppose to go along with writings of so divine a character), we find God making all proper and prudent provision for their preservation, by inferring 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 cenflure, so long as that order of men, whose office and zeal led them to correct any error in

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 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 it 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, considering the many ages through which the books have passed, we have much more reason to wonder,

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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.

"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 reverses of all this, it is idle, if not impious, to ascribe to the Deity."

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 whereunto they translate, to the idiosyncrasies 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 true genius of the language

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 dictation 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 enquire 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,
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. 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 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, figuative 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.

These observations being premised, if we should now consider the nature of eloquence in general, as it is defined by 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 us

9 Vid. The Minute Philosopher, dialogue 4.
1 Cujusque orationem videris sollicitum et politam, seito animum quoque non minus esse pulsilis occupatum: magnus remissius loquitur, et fecuris; quaeunque dicit plus habent fiducia quam cura; Sen. epist. 115.
2 Rhet. 1. 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 lefions of morality taught with such force and perspicuity (except in the sermons Christ, and the writings of the apostles) as in the book of Deuteronomy? Where is the whole compafs of devotion, in the several forms of confeffion, petition, fuftoration, thanksgiving, vows, and praifes, fo punctually taught us, as in the book of Pfalms? Where are the rules of wisdom and prudence fo convincingly laid down, as in the Proverbs of Solomon and the choice fentences of his Ecclefliafies? Where is vice and impiety of all kinds more juftly displayed, and more fully confuted, than in the threats and admonitions of the prophets? And what do the little warmths, which may be raifed in the fancy by an artificial compofure and vehemence of style, signify in comparison of those strong impulfs and movements which the Holy Scriptures make upon good men’s fouls, when they refent the frightful justice of an angry God to ftubborn offenders, and the bowels of his compaffion, and unfpeakable kindnefs to all true penitents and faithful fervants?

The Holy Scripture indeed has none of those flashy ornaments of speech, wherewith human compositions fo plentifully abound; but then it has a fufficient flock 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.

And Joseph could no longer reftain himfelf — but, lifting up his voice with tears, faid—— I am Joseph—— Doth my father yet live? — And his brethren could not anfwerv him; for they were troubled at his presence. And Joseph faid to his brethren, Come near me, I pray you: and they came near, and he faid I am Joseph—— your brother —— whom ye fold into Egypt. Nothing certainly can be a more lively defcription of Joseph’s tender refpect 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 fon Joseph lived, it is faid, that a Jacob’s heart fainted, for he believed them not; but when he faw the waggons which Joseph had fend for him, the fpirit of Jacob, their father, revived: and Israel faid, It is enough —— Joseph my fon is yet alive —— I will go —— and see him before,

b Gen. xlv. 1. &c.  
A 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.

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 doeth 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 where he has surpassed that passage of the prophet. *He that killeth an ox, is as if he flew 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 swine's blood.* But above all other figures, that, where on poets and orators love chiefly to dwell, is the *hypotyposes*, 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 *in the song of Moses and Miriam*; to the description of the Leviathan *in Job*; to the descent of God, and a storm at sea *in the Psalms*; to the intrigues of an adulterous woman *in the Proverbs* to the pride of the Jewish ladies *in Isaiah*; and to the plague of locusts *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 wilderness,*

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wilderness, and nothing shall escape them. — Before their face people shall be pained; all faces shall gather blackness. They shall run like mighty men; they shall climb the wall like men of war; they shall march every one in his way, and they shall not break their ranks. — They shall run to and fro in the city; they shall run upon the wall; they shall climb up upon the houses; they shall enter into the windows as a thief. — The description is more remarkable, because the analogy is carried quite throughout without straining, and the whole process of a conquering army in the manner of their march their destroying the provision, and burning the country, in their scaling the walls, breaking into houses, and running about the vanquished city, are fully delineated and set before our eyes.

From these few examples (for it would be endless to proceed in instances of this kind) it appears, that the Holy Bible is far from being defective in point of eloquence; and (what is a peculiar commendation of it) its style is full of a grateful variety; sometimes majestic, as becomes that high and holy one who inhabiteth eternity; sometimes so low, as to answer the other part of his character, who dwelleth with him that is of an humble spirit; and, at all times so proper, and adapted so well to the several subjects it treats of, that c whoever considers it attentively will perceive, in the narrative parts of it, a strain so simple and unaffected; in the prophetic and devotional, something so animated and sublime; and in the doctrinal and perceptive, such an air of dignity and authority, as seems to speak its original divine.

We allow indeed, that method is an excellent art, highly conducive to the clearness and perspicuity of discourse; but then we affirm, that it is an art of modern invention in comparison to the times when the sacred penmen 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 pleasure that is not digested into order, and sorted under proper heads; but the eastern nations, who were used to a free way of discourse, and never cramped their notions by methodical limitations, would have despised a composition of this kind as much as we do a school-boy's theme, with all the formalities of its exordiums, ratios, and confirmations. And, if this

* The Minute Philosopher, 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.

The truth is, if 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 exquisit in Sophocles, or any other lofty tragedian?

But

Nicholls's conference with a Theist, vol. 1.
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 unpleasant 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 sundry 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 they are 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:
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.

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 in 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.

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 Cre-
tor of the world governs it by 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 pro-
per 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 ac-
tion, they could never have been accomplished, without of-
fering violence (by some miraculous interposition) to men's
voluntary determinations. Had God, for instance, fore-
told our Saviour's crucifixion, with all its particular cir-
cumstances, 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-rul-
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 prophe-
cies concerning the Messiah and his sufferings were deli-
vered 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) because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the pro-
phets, they fulfilled them in condemning him. So necessary
it was that all the prophecies of future events should be
couched under dark, and enigmatical phrases, left, by be-
ing too plainly foretold, they might possibly chance to de-
troy themselves, and defeat their own intention.

We acknowledge still farther, that, besides the predic-
tions 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 dis-
penration itself. If we consider seriously with ourselves, we

\[\text{Acts xiii. 27.}\]
cannot but say, that it is more reasonable to suppose, 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 we not suppose, that 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.

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 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...
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 circumlocution 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 puntilios, 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, imperfect, 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 I 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 field,

k Gen. iv. 14. 1 Ver. 17. m He was afraid (says Josephus) left, 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. book 1, lib. 3.
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?

It may look perhaps like a careless ramble of thought, to see a prophet, (for it is only the prophetical 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 Horace, * 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.

The repetitions in scripture we may perhaps 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 cafe, 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,

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* Vid. Carm. 1. 3. 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 reproducing 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 prophetical, 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 whip 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 misrendering the connective particles, which have many different significations, and now and then misplacing a parenthesis in the Hebrew tongue, the thread of the discourse 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, and its method of reasoning vindicated;

* 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 in-
vention, 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 even they had been masters
of this art, since they were to address themselves to popu-
lar 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 em-
ployed, 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 amiablenes and advantages of good, and
deformity and mischiefs of evil; and are not the argu-
ments which Moses uses to engage the Jews to a com-
pliance 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 obe-
dience 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 judgements against them, and tax them with
such vile ingratitude, such stupid idolatry, and such other
awakening motives to repentance; are not these argu-
ments, I say, as powerful to persuade a nation to abandon
their sins, and adhere to the service of God, as the most
pompous harangues 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.

I mention but one objection more, and that is, the im-
pertinence of some relations occurring in the historical,
and the ridiculousness of some actions mentioned in the
prophetical books of Scripture: but before we pass that
centure, we should do well to consider, whether the sacred
writers might not possibly have some farther prospect in re-
ording these matters, than we, at this distance of time,
are

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 \*\*\* \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*
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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 *the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, i.e. 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. a 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 parabolic, and others impossible to be transacted in reality, (for though Jeremiah, for instance, might take two long journeys to Euphrates, about the affair of a girdle, without demurring to the authority of him that sent him; yet we can hardly think that he really sent bands 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. xxy. 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 representation themselves, but what

x Vid. Lowth on Inspiration. y 1 Cor xiv. 32. z Waterland's Scripture vindication, part 3.

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 emblematical representations were likewise introduced, as is evident, not only from Agabus's taking St. Paul's girdle, 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 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 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 superintendency 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 judgement, and penetrate much farther into the meaning of them, than we now can do. And even in

\[\text{Acts xx. 11.} \quad \text{Acts xi. 11.} \quad \text{Ch. xi. 5.}\]
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our present situation, if we would make any tolerable judgement 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),

"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, irrerelatively, 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 36,525 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 and

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Mr Boyle, p. 744
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 of the Chinefe 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, 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 foever their first writers might be, it is certain, that since the time of Hoan-ti, their Xth 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

"Vid. Le Compte's memoirs, and Bianchini's hist. univ."

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

The Grecians of old were so very great pretenders to antiquity, that they scorned to have any father or founder of their nation asigned them; and therefore they affected to be called Aborigines, et Genuini Terra, 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 Cambyses, about 550 years 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 tranfaotions 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 Muse, 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 afferts 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 Thesius, (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 those on the margin; all beyond is nothing but dry desarts, 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 Thesius; 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 worthy

\[8\] Vid. Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac. chap. 4. \[9\] Vid. the life of Thesius.
"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, 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 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 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 Chaldee.

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 tenses,

\(^{1}\) Edwards on the perfection of the Scriptures. \(^{k}\) Shuckford's connection of sacred and profane history, vol. 1, lib. 2.
tenfes, numbers, and perfons in verbs, and the different cafes in nouns, we may well imagine were the improve-
ments of art and study, and not any firit effay or origin-
al production; and in this respect we cannot but con-
ceive, 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 not ma-
y) confift generally of three letters, or two syllables at the moft. Its nouns are not declined by different cafes, nor are its numbers distinguished by different terminations as the Latin or Greek are; but by the addition of a short syllable in the dual and plural, which at the fame time de-
nominates the gender. The gender is likewise included in the verb, which prevents the neceffity of having many pronouns; and by varying its conjugations, (which are fel-
dom irregular,) it has the lefs ufe for auxiliary verbs. Add to this, that the Hebrews ufe seldom any vowels in writing; have no compound nouns or verbs; few prepoftions, few adjectives, no comparitives or fuperlatives; no great num-
ber of conjugations; but two moods, two tenfes; no ge-
runds, no fupines; and of particles of all kinds far from many; and then we can hardly conceive a language more fimple and eafy, more short and expreffive than theirs.

Upon this account some of late have imagined, that the Chinefe might possibly be the firit original language of man-
kind: for besides that Noah very probably fettled 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 confefledly monofyllables; fo that, whatever the original of this tongue was, it femeS very likely to have been the firit that was planted in the country: for though it is natural to think, that mankind might begin to form fingle founds at firit, and afterwards come to enlarge their speech by doubling and redoubling them; yet it is not to be imagined, that if men had firit known the copiouf-
ness of expreffion arifing from words of more fyllables than one, they would ever have reduced their language to its primitive monofyllables. But ifince we have not a fufficient knowledge of this language to make a competent judge-
ment of it, we muft wave its pretentions for the prefent.

The Chaldee, it muft be owned, has a great many marks of this original fimplicity in it: but then, what gives the Hebrew

1 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 Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, Seth, &c.; of ancient countries, such as Lydia, Assyria, &c.; of ancient Heathen Gods, such as 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- ing to compromise the matter between the two languages, (the Hebrew and Chaldee) are apt to fancy, 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 affirm, 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 preferred this primitive tongue; and his descendants, 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 ministration 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 primeval 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.

L 2

Thus the word Adam comes from the Hebrew Adamab, which signifies earth; Eve or Cheva from Chiah, life; Cain from Canah, to pull; Abel signifies vanity; and Seth from Sheth, to substitute. Thus Lydia from Lud; Assyria from Assur. Thus Saturn from Satur, to hide one's self; Jupiter from Jevobah; Belus from Baal; and Vulcan from Tubal-Cains.

Vid. Shuckford's connection, vol. 1. lib. 2.
In a word, 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.

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 judgements, 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.

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 deflexer of the Scriptures; for observe what a beautiful panegyric he has given us barely of that part which we call the Pentateuch: 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 honeycomb. Moreover,

Calmet's dictionary. 5 Psal. xix. 7, &c.
ver, by them is thy servant taught, and in keeping of them there is great reward.

Ptolemy 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, a 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 complete, without the Bible, he sent for an authentic copy from Jerusalem, and for a number of learned men to make a translation of it into 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 amusements of books and manuscripts from all parts of the world, (a library perhaps not to be equaled 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 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: *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 another great man of our nation, in a letter to one of his sons, declares; *I have been acquainted somewhat (fays 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 kinds of eloquence. His little book on the subject, though impaired by the injury of time, has given us specimen

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*Vid. Prideaux's connexion, part 2. l. 2. p. 110. u In his life, *2 Tim. iii. 16. v Judge Hale.*
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 Mofes 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 reaoner; and yet we find him a vadoring 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 it was no wild rant, but a sentence proceeding from mature judgement, that of Robert, king of Sicily, to Fran. Petrarcha: "I tell thee, my "Petrarcha, 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 let's wonder then, that we find our profound logician Mr. Locke, declaring, that "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 giving the preference to Scripture chronology, above that of the Egyptians, Greeks, Chaldeans, or any other nation whatever: That we find, I lay, some persons of the most sparkling wit and fancy, declaiming 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 menifeftly shews, that some of the greatest personages in the world, the most noble and refined wits, the most knowing and judicial heads, have born 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 enquire a little into some of the principal versions and explications that have been made of them.

Now

2 Lib. adver. Hermogenem. a Jenkin's Preface to his Reasonableness of Christianity. b Vid, his Chronology of ancient kingdoms amended, passim.
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 Ptolomy 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 Elazar, 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 of

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

c THÉ other Greek translations by Aquila, Symachus, 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 difuse 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; 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 to

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 calt. 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. 1. 1.

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, 15.
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 Jerusalem, 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 to 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, 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

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Mr. Whitton, 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. Thus Dr. Lightfoot observes, that in Ist. 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 Counsellor; in Pronym super Queli. in Gen.
and how we ought to receive it.

The Chaldee paraphrases, and why made.

(As we find they are curtailed in the Greek version) relating to the divinity of the Messiah; 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 Messiah, 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 era.

The refult 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 penman of the New Testament; is conducible to our better understanding the sense of the Hebrew; and as to its disfagreement therewith, may, in a great measure, admit of a reconciliation.

Of all the translations which are in the oriental languages, 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 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 Jeremiah)

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. In 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 t\(\text{argum}^*\) of Onkelos, because it comes up nearest to the standard of the Chadee, (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 \(\text{Joshph}^*\), surnamed \(\text{Joseph}\); 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 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 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 infatuated, that they hold them to be of the same authority with the sacred text; and, for the support of this opinion, pretend

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\(^{*}\) See Prideaux's Connex, part 2. lib. 8. p. 771.

\(^{1}\) See 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 prophetical 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 tra-"diction through such faithful hands as God, by his provi-
dence, had appointed; the first from Moses, and the o-
ther 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 foever 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.

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) ob-
serving 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 reject-
ed 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 in

m Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam verte-runt, numerari possunt; Latini autem interpretēs nullō modo.
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 ascendancy.

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 "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 nobody shall presume to reject, under what pretence soever." A decree, which 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-
what obscure; Malvenda, another Dominican, who is grammatical enough, but both obscure and barbarous; Cardinal Cajetan, who is literal without obscurity; the renowned Erasimus, 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; Cattalo, 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.

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 whenever the Latin translators disagree," says a great man 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."

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 displeased

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p Cardini Ximenius in his preface to Pope Leo.
fed with that likewise, he forbade all English translations whatever; so that, during this 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 Elisabeth'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 Bishop's 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 detractation 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 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 word 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.

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 sense 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,
OR PREPARATORY DISCOURSE.

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 compassion, &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 Assyria, 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), * 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 unto moist ground, and, in process of time, thou shalt find it again.

The profane do likewise abuse another wholesome precept of Solomon, * 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.

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* Ecclef. xi. 1.  Chapman. 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, 

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It is a text of much obscurity, and hardly consistent with decency, to say, a 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 Midianites 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 clothes as usual; "For far be it from God (says a Mai-

Smith's select discourses, a More Nev. part 2. chap. 46.

x Psal. lx. 8.

y Iza. xx 3.

z Vid.

a Essay for a new translation.
"them such actions, as must of course denote them fools
"and madmen."

These are some of the places wherein our translators have been manifestly faulty; and I mention it again, that I have produced these, not with any finister 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, 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 division, to which passages, almost in every page, do allude: must be sufficiently skilful 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 purity

b Vid. Father Simon's critical history, l. 3; Du Pin's history of the canon, l. i c. 10.; Dissert. 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 this down 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 parentheticals 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 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, 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 proper

\[\text{Vid, Prideaux's connect, part 1,1, 5.}\]
proper periods, every pause was marked with two great points, which the Jews called *segua* jupick, i.e. *b. d 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 Vatabulus 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; 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 possible)
fible) to retrieve the credit of the sacred writings; to re-
claim 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 Psalmist's prayer and sentiment,

"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.

"Psal. cxix. 33, 34, 165."
THE

PREFACE.

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 when 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 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; reasonable 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 "unto God a sweet favour in Christ in them that are saved, and in them that perish, to the one the favour of death unto death, and to the other the favour 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 promise to myself. Blome has given us a very pompous book; but besides that it is no more than a bare translation of Sieur de Raymon'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 infestations of the sentiments of the fathers, which prove not always 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 the
the unlawful parallels he makes between the acts of former and later times, and by a certain levity which he discovers upon several occasions, not so becoming the sacredness of his subject. Howel has certainly exceeded all that went before him, both in his design and execution of it. He has given us a continued relation of Scripture-translation; 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 dictation. 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 men’s 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 license 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 unfaithful were endeavouring to wrest, to the perversion of other men’s faith, as well as their own destruction. The commentaries and annotations we have upon the Scriptures, both from 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 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.

2dly, 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,
PREFACE.

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, where in 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 choose 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 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 the characteristics, he may be assured what manner of note he is to expect. The chronological and other tables must be referred to the conclusion of the work.
The Jewish account of Time, Money, and Weights.

An account of the Years, Months, and Kalander of the Jews; together with a rehearsal 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 Phoenicians) 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. 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 phases 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 called

Prideaux's Conne&ion, 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 \textit{Feader}, or the second \textit{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 calendar; but 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 correspondence, 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.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Jewish Months.}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
1 & \textit{Nifan} & March and April \text{ takes in part of } \\
2 & \textit{Jyar} & April and May \text{ takes in part of } \\
3 & \textit{Sivan} & May and June \text{ takes in part of } \\
4 & \textit{Tammuz} & June and July \text{ takes in part of } \\
5 & \textit{Ab} & July and August \text{ takes in part of } \\
6 & \textit{Elul} & August and September \text{ takes in part of } \\
7 & \textit{Tisri} & September and October \text{ takes in part of } \\
8 & \textit{Macchesvan} & October and November \text{ takes in part of } \\
9 & \textit{Cislev} & November and December \text{ takes in part of } \\
10 & \textit{Tebeth} & December and January \text{ takes in part of } \\
11 & \textit{Shebat} & January and February \text{ takes in part of } \\
12 & \textit{Adar} & February and March \text{ takes in part of } \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The thirteenth month (\textit{Feader}) is then only intercalated, or cast in, when the beginning of Nifan would otherwise be carried back into the end of February.
The Jews of old had very exact kalanders, wherein were set down their several facts and festivals, and all those days wherein they celebrated the memory of any great event that had happened in 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Nisan or Abib</td>
<td>I. New moon. Beginning of the sacred or ecclesiastical year, a fast for the death of the children of Aaron, Lev. x. 1, 2.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X. A fast for the death of Miriam, the sister of Moses, Numb. xx. 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XIV. The Paschal Lamb slain on the evening of this day.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XV. The great and solemn feast of the Passover.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XVI. The oblation of the first fruits of the harvest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XXI. The conclusion of the Passover, or end of unleavened bread.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XXIV. A fast for the death of Joshua.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Yar or Jiar</td>
<td>VII. The dedication of the temple, when the Asmoneans consecrated it again after the persecutions of the Greeks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X. A fast for the death of the high-priest Eli, and for the taking of the ark by the Philistines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XXIII. A feast for the taking of the city of Gaza by Simon Maccabeus, 1 Mac. xiii, 43, 44.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>XXVIII. A fast for the death of the prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. xxv. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sivan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Jewish account of Time, Money, and Weights.

3. Sivan.

VI. Pentecost, or the fiftieth day after the passover, called likewise the feast of weeks, because it happened seven weeks after the passover.

XV. A feast for the victory of the Maccabees over the people of Bethsam, 1 Mac. v. 52.

XVII. A feast for the taking of Caesarea by the Aminoneans.

XXVII. A fast in remembrance of Jero- boam's forbidding his subjects to carry their first fruits to Jerusalem, 1 Kings xii. 27.

XXX. A fast in memory of the solemn judgement given by Alexander the Great, in favour of the Jews, against the Ish- maelites and Egyptians.

4. Tamuz or IX. A fast for the taking of Jerusalem on that day, but whether by Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus Epiphanes, or the Romans, it is not said.

XVII. A fast in memory of the tables of the law that were broken by Moses, Exod. xxxii. 15.

5. Ab.

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.

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.

XVIII. A fast, because that, in the time of Ahab, the evening lamp went out.


VII. A fast in memory of the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah, Ezra, vi 16.

XVII. A fast for the death of the spies, who brought an ill report of the land of promise, Numb. xiv. 36, 37.

7. Tisbi.
The Jewish account of Time, Money, and Weights

Months.

7. **Tisri**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>The feast of trumpets, Lev. xxiii. 34. Numb. xxix. 1, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>A fast for the death of Gedaliah, whereupon the expulsion of the people, and the utter destruction of the land ensued, Jer. xli. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>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, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.</td>
<td>The fast of expiation, as some think, in memory of man's fall, and expulsion out of paradise, Lev. xxiii. 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV.</td>
<td>The feast of tabernacles, in memory of their dwelling in tents, in their passage through the wilderness, Lev. xxiii. 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII.</td>
<td>The rejoicing for the law; or a feast instituted in memory of the law, which God gave them by the hand of Moses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. **Marches-Van.**

| VI.          | A fast upon the occasion of Nebuchadnezzar's putting out Zedekiah's eyes, after that he had slain his children in his fight, 2 Kings xxv. 7. Jer. lii. 11. |

9. **Cisleu.**

| VI.          | A fast in memory of the book of Jeremiah torn and burnt by King Jehoiachim, Jer. xxxvi. 23. |
| VII.         | A feast in memory of the death of Herod the Great, a bitter enemy to the sages. |
| XXI.         | The feast of Mount Gerizim, upon their obtaining leave of Alexander the Great to destroy the temple of Samaria, which was situate there. |
| 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 the feast of lights, because, during the time
The Jewish account of Time, Money, and Weights.

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.


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


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 fast 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 fast, in com-
The Jewish account of Time, Money, and Weights

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 thirteen months, here is the place where the second month of Adar, or Veador, 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. 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 inconveniences 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 Hyftaphes; 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, until the government of Simon


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 Maccabeus, to whom Antiochus Sidetes, King of Syria, granted the privilege of coining 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 determinate sum of money; what he has to remark is this—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, and 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 Gerah,  -    -    - 000 00 01
The Hebrew Drachm, -    - 000 00 09
Two Drachms made a Bekah, -    - 000 01 06
Two Bekahs made a Shekel, -    - 000 03 00
Sixty Shekels made a Mina, - 009 00 00
Fifty Minas made Talent, - 450 00 00
A Talent of gold, sixteen to one,- 7200 00 00

**Jewish Weights.**

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<th>lb.</th>
<th>oz.</th>
<th>gr.</th>
<th>dec.</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| The Gerah, - - - 000 00 10 95 |
| The Hebrew Drachm or Zuza, - - 000 00 54 75 |
| Two Zuzas made a Bekath, - - 000 00 109 1/2 |
| Two Bekaths made a Shekel, - - 000 00 219 |
| An hundred Shekels made a Mineth, - 050 00 00 |
| Thirty Mineths made a Talent, - 1500 00 00 |

**P 2 MEASURES**

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 and an old woman, on the other, a young man and 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 and a scrip, on the other a tower; and on Mordecai's money, on one side sackcloth and ashes, on the other a crown." But this seems to have the air of a Rabbinical fiction; Lewis's *Antiq. Heb.* lib. 6. For so the word *shakel* comes from *shakal* to weigh; and may properly be interpreted the weight; Lewis, ibid. *Prideaux*’s connection, in the preface.
Measures of Length.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Feet</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Hebrew Cubit, somewhat more than</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Zerith, or Span, a little more than</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Span of a Cubit, a little above</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Palm, or hand’s breadth, somewhat above</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Fathom, which makes 4 Cubits, above</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel’s Reed, which was 6 Cubits, above</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ancient Measuring-line, or Chain, which was 80 Cubits, above</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Sabbath day’s journey, 2000 Cubits</td>
<td>3648</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Miles, Paces, Feet.

An Eastern mile, 4000 Cubits,
A day’s journey generally computed much about 33

Measures of Capacity.

Dry Measures. Liquid Measures.

The Cab contained a quarter of a peck.
The Omer, or Gnomer in the Hebrew, was the tenth part of an Ephah.
The Ephah is computed to be about our bushel; and The Homer is supposed to be ten.

The Log came near to our pint.
12 Logs made an Hin, which answered our gallon.
6 Hins made a Bath, which was about six gallons; and
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 and profane history, and in the reduction of weights and measures, our learned Cumberland: but whoever desires a fuller account of these matters, may consult the said Bishop Cumberland, Of the Jewish weights, measures, and monies; Mr. Brerewood, De ponderibus et pretiis veterum nummorum; Dr. Bernard, De mensuris et ponderibus antiquis; and others that have written on this argument, which is not a little difficult and perplexing.

THE
THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THINGS FROM THE CREATION TO THE FLOOD; IN ALL, 1656 YEARS.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation of the World.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE chief design of the author of the 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 and part of the world; and of the transactions of one particular nation more especially, from whence the Messiah was to spring: and therefore it cannot well be expected, that he should extend his history to the creation of the supreme empyrean heaven, which God might make the place of his own residence, and the mansions of those celestial beings, whom he constituted the ministers of his court, and attendants on his throne *, an immense space of time, perhaps.

* This is no novel notion of our own, but what has been confirmed by many great authorities, as the learned and ingenious Dr. Burnet testifies. For, speaking of some, who supposed that the whole universe was created at one and the same time, and the
perhaps, before the Mosaic account of the origination of this planetary world begins.

In the introduction of the history indeed we are told, that God created **the heaven and the earth**: but when it is considered, that heaven, in Scripture-language, is very commonly set to signify no more than the upper region of the air; that we frequently read of **a the firmament of heaven, \(b\) the windows of heaven, \(c\) the bottles of heaven, and \(d\) the hoary frost of heaven, \&c. none of which extend beyond our atmosphere, we have no grounds to conclude, that at one and the same time God created every thing that is contained in the vast extra-mundane spaces of the universe. On the contrary, when we find him recounting to Job, that at the time \(e\) when he laid the foundations of the earth, the morning stars sang together, and the highest heaven and angels included in the first day's work, **Hieronymi verba," says he, "liber hic opponere. Sex milia, " necdum nostri orbis impleuntur anni, et quantas prius aeternitates, " quanta tempora, quantas seculorum origines fissae arbitrandum est, " in quibus angelii, tiranni, dominiones, exterque virtutes servierint " Deo. In libro De Trinitate, (five Novitiani, five Tertulliani " fit,) tam mundus angelicus, quam super-"furnituremarius, " conditus dicitur ante mundum Mosaicum, his verbis, Quam " etiam superioribus. i. e. super ipsum quoque solidamentum partibus, " angelos prinis instituerit Deus, spirituales virtutes digerit, thro- " nos potestatisque prefecit, et atia multa celerum immensa spatia " considereft, &c. ut hic mundus noxifinum magis Dei opus eft ap- 
" pararet, quam folum & unicum. Denique Catholicorum com- 
" munem hanc fissae tententiam, notat Caffianus suo tempore, 
" nempe seculo quinto inuente: ante illud Genesios temporale " principium, omnes illas potestatis celestes Deum creavit, non " dubium eft;" Burnet's Archæolog. Philopb. c. 8.

† By heaven, some understand in this place the highest super-
"furnituremarius heaven, and by the earth, that pre-existent 
" 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 su-
" preme heaven only which he then finifhed, and formed into a 
" moft 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 in 
" order likewise."

\(a\) Gen. i. 20. \(b\) Gen vii. 11. \(c\) Job, xxxviii. 37.
\(d\) Ibid. ver. 29. \(e\) Ibid. ver. 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.

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  
the whole planetary system. † The truth is, the several planets that are contained within the magnus orbis,  
(as

† 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 chrysalis orbs, and lastly,  
the caelum empyreum, or heaven of heavens. All these maly  
orbs, and vast bodies borne by them, are in this system supposed  
to move round the terraqueous globe once in twenty four hours;  
and beside that, to perform other revolutions in certain periodical  
times, according to their distance from the supposed centre,  
and the different circumference they take.

2dly, In the Copernican system, the fun 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.

3dly, In the New System, the sun and planets have the same  
light 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.
That this world was formed out of a pre-existing chaos (as it is called), or the circle which Saturn describes about the sun, have so near a similitude and relation: the same form, the same centre, and the same common luminary with one another, that it can hardly be imagined but that 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 pre-suppose, that the other parts of the planetary world went all along on in the same degrees of formation with it.

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 heavens 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 Evangelist, John i. 3.) 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 hic apud antiquos [says Petavius, De officio sxe dieum, l. i. c. 1.] perocgata, multitque communis opinio, principii nomine verbum significari, sem 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 com-
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, fangled 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 of angels. 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 Elhim, than of the singular Elah; 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, purporting to their notions of the divine unity; Le Clerc's dissert. De ling. Hebraica.

* 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:

\begin{quote}
Ante mare, et terras, et quod tegit onnia, colum,
Unus erat toto nature vulitus in orbe,
Quem dixere chaos: rudis, indigibusque moles,
Nec quiquam, nisi pondus iniris, congibusque eodem
Non bene junctorum discordia femina rerum, &c.
\end{quote}

* Si materia chaos extitit ante mundi Mosaici principium, quid fuit, quem in finem extitit aut ubinam loci ante illud tempus? Respondeo, haec non esserit nimis sollicitudo quærenda, cum magna ex partenotiam nostriam fugiunt. Sed vidimus quandoque no-
vastellis in caelo oriri, quæ nunquam ante apparuerant; quas

\begin{quote}
\texttt{tamen}
\end{quote}
bitation of the creatures he was about to form, and might
delay the sitting it up for them until the time which his in-
finite wisdom had determined for their creation was fully
and part of

3dy, It is to be observed farther, that though Mofes
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 unacquaint-
ed with the vulgar, or what is usually called the Ptolemaic
hypotheses, 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 narra-
tive, how matters were transacted, without assenting or de-
nying any philosophic truth. Had he indeed talked a great
deal of globular and angular particles, of centrical motion,
planetary vortices, atmospheres of comets, the earth's ro-
tation, and the sun's rest, he might possibly have pleased
the taste of some theorifts 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 Mofes was to last for ever, as being
the ground-work which God designed for all his future re-
velations; and therefore it was requisite to have it framed
in such a manner, as that it might condescend to the mean-
eft 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 Mofes 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
impofter, and expofed 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
have
tamen praextitisse, sub aliquàformâ, et aliqui locorum, æquum
eft credamus. Præterea, cometas fæpe in caelo adventimus,
quarum origo, et primum fedes nos latent. Denique, neutiquam
fingendum eft, celos incorruptibles: corpora celesfia, prionde
ac terræ, suæ habent vicissitudines et transmutationes; atque
ipsæ fixæ in planetas, mediante chao, converti possunt, et vicis-
sum planetae exculfus fordibus, in fixas reviviscere, &c.; Bur-
net's Archæol. Philosopb. cap. 9.
have made the illiterate look upon him as a wild romancer. A. M. 1.
By God's direction, therefore, he took the middle and
wifelft way, which was to speak exact truth, but cautiously, Gen. ch. 1.
and in fuch general terms as might neither confound the mind of the ignorant Jews, nor expose him to the cenfure
of philofophizing Christian: 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 cof-
mogony in fuch a manner, as makes it of perpetual use
and application; forasmuch as it contains no peculiar no-
tions of his own, no principles borrowed from the ancient
exploded philofophy, nor any repugnant to the various
discoveries of the new.

A 4thly, It is to be obferved farther, in relation to this ac-
count of Mofes, that when God is faid to give the word,
and every thing thereupon proceeded to its formation, he
did not leave matter and motion to do their beft, whilst he
frood by (according to Dr. Cudworth's expreffion) as an
idle {pectator of this 
{iufus atomorum, and the various reffults of it; but himself interpofed, and, conducting the whole
proces, gave not only life and being, but form and figure
to every part of the creation.
The warmeft abettors of mechanical principles do not
deny, but that a divine energy at i'eaf muft be admitted
in this cafe, where a world was to be formed, and a wild
chaos reduced to a fair, regular, and permanent {yftem.
The immediate hand of God (they cannot but acknow-
ledge) is apparent in a miracle, which is an infraction up-
on the standing laws of nature; but certainly, of all mi-
acles, 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 fuch 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 fteded econ-
omy of things now, it is certain that the laws of motion
(with which philosophers make fuch noise) could not take
place before every part of the creation was ranged and set-
tled in its proper order.

It may be allowed however, fince, even in the Mofaic
account, there are fome passages, such as, Let the earth
bring forth grafs, let the earth bring forth the living
creature after his kind, and it was f,) that whatever

\[ \text{Q. 2} \]

\[ a \text{ Vid Whitfon's Theory.} \]
\[ b \text{ Vid. Hale's Origin of mankind.} \]
comes under the compass of mechanical causes, might possibly be effected by matter and motion, only fet on work by infinite wisdom, and sustained in their being and operation by infinite power; but whatever is above the power 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 mists, 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 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. xxxii. 9.] Mr. Le Clerk 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 thenceupon they think, that since the word Ruach signifies the wind, as well as the Spirit, Ruach Elohim 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, and part of which over-clouded the expansium, 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 completed. And as the greater parts subsided, the lighter, and more tenuous mounted up; and the lucid and fiery particles (being lighter than the rest) ascended 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 expansium 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.

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 respective places of the Spirit of God; and that this signification agrees very well with Mofes's account, which represents the earth so mixed with the waters, that it could not appear, and therefore flood in need of a wind to dry it. But besides that this sense seems to be a bad 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, Les 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 wherever we read the words [be 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 be in the west; and that this revolution made a distinction between day and night; Bedford's chronology.
A M. r.
Ant. Chrif.
4004.
Gen. ch. r.
and part of
ch 2.

spe\citive planets, and be restrained within their proper limits by several atmospheres. Hereupon all the aqueous parts immediately subsided towards the centres of the several planets, and were circumfused about their globes; by which 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 waters under \( \frac{1}{2} \) the firmament, from the waters which are above \( \frac{1}{2} \) 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 dissimifed to their several orbs, but were confusedly mixed, and overspread the whole face of the expansum before.

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 watery particles, as we said, clearing the expansum, and falling 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 place, and the dry land to appear. Whereupon the mighty mountains instantaneously 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 to

† Gen. i. 6. The LXX interpreters, in translating the word [Rakiagh] the firm or solid, seem to have followed the philosophy of the first ages: for the ancients fancied that the heavens 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 something 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 firmament 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; græfs for cattle, and herbs
and fruit-trees for the nourishment of man. Immediate-
ly therefore, upon the divine command, it was covered
with a beautiful carpet of flowers and græfs, trees and
plants of all kinds, which were produced in their full pro-
portion, laden with fruit, and not subjected to the ordinary
course of maturation. For how great soever the fecun-
dity 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 super-
natural 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.

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 expanse 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 lefser alterations, which
were afterwards to be effected; and therefore, on the
fourth day, God took and condensed it, and casting it in-
to a proper orb, placed it at a convenient distance from the
dearth 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.

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
The fourth

† 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
fown by us, or falling from the plants themselves; but in the
beginning, were wrought 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 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 form-
ed till the next day; Patrick’s comment. in loc.
nearer distance from the earth, that it might perpetually be-
moving round it, and that the sun, by darting its rays upon
its solid surface, might reflect light to the terrestrial globe,
for the benefit of its inhabitants: and, at the same time,
that God thus made the moon, he made, in like manner,
† the other five planets of the solar system, and their fa-
tellites. Nor was it only for the dispensation of light to
this earth of ours, that God appointed the two great lumi-
naries of the sun and moon to attend it, but for the mea-
sure 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 oc-
casion likewise a grateful variety of seasons in the several
parts of the earth, which are thus gradually and succes-
ively visited by the reviving heat of the sun-beams: And
this was the work of the fourth day.

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 ter-
restrial 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 fairs 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. Si-
mon 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 Nicholl's conference.

‖ 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.

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

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 Hierozom. p. 1. l. i. 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.
all; in order to make this sublunary world a still more comfortable place of abode, in the beginning of the sixth, and last day, 1 God made the terrestrial animals, which the sacred historian distinguishes into three kinds: 1st, Beasts, 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 heaven,

|| 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, filled 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 Lecture.
from the Creation to the Flood,

Chap. I.

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 suftenance; 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.

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 let 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 expounders 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 haec verba Deum Patrem ad Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, aut aitatem ad Filin-
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 he man became a living soul.

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

"un dixisse, omnes fere patres, ab ipsis apollo lorum tempori. 
bus, fidenter pronunciant;" Whitby structura patrum. Others have thought, that this language of Moles 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 reasumes 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 cow'reing low With blandishment; each bird stool'd on his wing. I nam'd them, as they pass'd, and underfoot 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 fo 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 flood under, drain'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.
extasy likewise, wherein was represented to his imagination, both what was done to him, and what was the mythical meaning of it, and whereby he was prepared for the reception of that divine oracle concerning the sacred institution of marriage, which presently, upon his awaking, 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.

Å Gen. ii. 23.
† As the original word does not strictly signify a rib, and is all along rendered by the LXX. pleura, 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 bones, 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
principles so jarring and repugnant, and so beautiful a va-
riety and composition of things from a mere mass of con-
fusion and disorder, God was pleased with the work of
his hands; and having pronounced it good, or properly a-
and part of
adapted to the uses for which it was intended, be rested from
all his work, i. e. he ceased to produce any more creatures,
as having accomplished his design, and answered his origi-
nal idea; and thereupon he * sanctified, and set apart the
next

their civil year (viz. in the month Tisri, which answers to part
of our September and October) from whence their sabbatical
and jubilee years did likewise commence, Exod. xxiii 16.
xxiv. 22.; Lev. xxi. 39. The month Abib (which answers to
part of our March and April) had indeed the honour after-
wards to be reckoned among the Jews the beginning of their
year in ecclesiastical matters, because the children of Israël, 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 annual equi-
nox; and for this reason, the Jews do still, in the era of the
creation, as well as in that of contradicts, and other instruments,
compute the beginning of their year from the first day of
Tisri. Herein, however the Jews differ from us; that where-
as they make the world only 3760, most of the Christian chronol-
ogers will have it to be much about 4000 years older than
Chrift; so that by them 5732 years, or thenceabouts, are thought
a moderate computation of the world’s antiquity Vid. Usher’s
annals; Bedford’s chronology; and Shucktoord’s connection.

* Whether the institution of the Sabbath was from the be-
inning of the world, and one day in seven always observed by
the patriarchs, before the promulgation of the law; or whe-
ther the sanctification of the seventh day is related only by way
of anticipation, as an ordinance not to take place until the in-
troduction of the Jewish economy, 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 faiered penman had said,
God ended his work, and rested, he adds immediately, in the words
of the same tense, be 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 sanctify-
ing the Sabbath, not as an act then first done, but as what he had
formerly done upon the creation of the world; when we re-
member, that all the patriarchs from Adam to Moses had set
times for their solemn assemblies and that these times were week-
ly, and of divine institution; that upon the return of these
weekly
next 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.**

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 endeavoring 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 work, weekly 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 opifici olyles it,) and the universal festival of mankind; Bedlow's Scripture-chronology, and Patrick's commentary.
from the Creation to the Flood.

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
poor woman's soul, to say nothing of the strange sub-
flratum of her body: These, and several other particu-
lars, are enough to make us suspect the physical truth
of our author's cosmogony, and to pronounce it not
much better than what we meet with in the theology, or
histories of other ancient nations."

• Where wast thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth?
Declare if thou hast understanding. Whereupon are the foun-
dations 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 com-
prehend 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 allmighty power, yet it pleased the divine Architect
to employ the space of six days in the gradual formation
of the world, because he foreknew, 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 produc-
tion 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 the apostle tells us) that these ce-
lestial creatures defier to look into; and the more they are
let into the knowledge and wisdom of God, the more they
are incited to praise him. 8 That therefore they might
not want sufficient matter for this heavenly exercise, the
whole scene of the creation, according to the several de-
grees 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 there-
in exhibited, than they could have had, in case the world
had started forth in an infant, 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.

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God

9 Job. xxxviii. 4, 6. f 1 Pet. i. 12. 8 Jenkins’s rea-
sonableness of the Christian religion.
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 mists, 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 completed. 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.

There is therefore no necessity of departing from the literal sense of the Scripture in this particular. The several 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 to fair a field for contemplation.

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 was 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. Both poets and philosophers have made Nox, and Erebus, and Tartar, 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, 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.
The author of the Book of Wisdom tells us indeed, that God ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight; but we cannot from hence infer, that in the hexemeron, he was so nice and curious, as to weigh out to himself in gold scales (as it were) his daily work by grains and scruples. We indeed, who are finite creatures, may talk of the heat and burden of the day, and, in a weekly task, are forced to proportion the labour of each day to the present condition of our strength; but this is the case of human infirmity, and no way compatible 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 appear, that even, in human conception, the work of the third day, which consisted in draining the earth, and stocking 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 simple production of light?

The compass of the chaos (as we supposed) took up the whole solar system, or that space, which Saturn circumscribes in his circulation round the sun; and if so, what a prodigious thing was it, to give motion to this vast unwieldy mass; and to direct that motion in some sort of regularity; in the general struggle and cumbustion, to unite things that were no ways akin, and to fort the promiscuous elements into their proper species; to give the properties of rest and gravitation to one kind, and of afcension and elasticity to another: to make some parts subside 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 compact, 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 rarfaction, 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 say,
fay, 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 flatufes. What incredible effects the ascension 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 irrefistible. 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 supercicies of the earth above the waters, and so make receptacles for them to run into. 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 hastened 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 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 proportionably on the first day, being a little more condensed, and put in 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.

1 Psal. civ. 6, 7, 8.  
2 Ray's Wisdom of God in the creation.
with the earth; so that the labour of this day could not be so disproportionably great as is imagined. It is true indeed, the Scripture tells us, that God on this day, not only made the sun and the moon, but that he made the stars also; 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 [be made] which are not in the original; for the simple version of the Hebrew is this—and a 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 [rules] 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 predominancy 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, * 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 refreshment this to them, and a singular ins-

* Gen i. 16.

A. M. 1. Ant. Chrif.
Gen, ch. 1, and part of ch. 2.

Why the moon may be called a great light

* Lucidum coeli decus—fyderum regina bicornis; Hor. Aflrorum decus; Ving. Æn—Obscuri dei clarum mundi; Se- neca Hip. Arcana moderatrix Cinthia noctis; Stathus Theb.

—Phœbea imitans lumina fratris Semper, et in proprio regnantem tempore noctis; Manil.

* Derham's Astro-theology, ch. 4.
tance 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 man-kind (as certainly our first parent literally was) clay in the hands of the potter, and thereupon he asks this question: *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 us therefore to inquire into the reason that might induce God to make the man and the women 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*, *This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh;* 

*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 complete, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do, or say,
Seems wisest, virtuoufeft, dfigureft, best.
All higher knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded, wisdom in discourse with her
Loves discontenanc’d, and like folly shews,
Authority and reason on her wait,
As one intended first, but after made
Occasionally; and, to confummate all,
Greatness of mind, and nobleness their seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard angelic plac’d.* Book 8.

* Gen. ii. 23. 24.
The History of the BIBLE, Book I.

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

The shall be called + woman, because she was taken out of man: therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh.

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 poet’s Minerva) out of the head, might have intituled 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.

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; 

*It is not good that man should be alone, I will make him an help-meet for him, i.e. of the same 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.

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 at

+ Arjus Montanus, renders the Hebrew word virago, in the margin virga, i.e. she-man.

+ Gen. ii. 18  
+ 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 man-and part of kind grew out of the earth like pumpkins? What strange stories does the Grecian theology tell us of Ouranos and Pe, 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 Phoenician historian 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 Tayn, 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 Tayn, created another man called Tanhotn, 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 wife Tayn 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

* Vid. Cumberland's Sanchoniatho.

* As to the formation of Adam's body, 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, ofseven lays 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 viceregent: that, surprized 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 report to God of the Earth's remonstrances; but God resolving to execute his design, dispatched Michael,
was carried about upon angels' necks, whose heads were so big, that birds could not fly in a thousand years from one ear to another; that the heavens were propped up by the mountain Koff; that the stars were fire-brands, thrown against 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.

There 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 forbid and trifling are they, in comparison of what we read in the book of Genesis, 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 Afraphel, with the same commission: that these two angels returned in like manner to report the Earth's excuses and absolute refusal 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, infused life and understanding into it, and clothing it in a wonderful drefs, suitable to its dignity, commanded the angels to fall prostrate before it, which Eblis (by whom they mean Lucifer) refusing to do, was immediately driven out of paradise. 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; *

Cabinet's Dictionary on the word Adam.

* Thales, quem primum Graeci putant rerum naturalium causas esse rimatum, mundum opus esse Dei, Deumque antiquissimum esse rerum omnium, utpote ortus expertem, afferi. Pythagoras, cum mundi hujus fabricam et ornamentum contemplaret videre sibi, aiebat, audire vocem illam Dei, quâ exitiere justus est. Plato.
Chap. I. from the Creation to the Flood.

their most renowned poets. So that were we to judge of 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 and part of 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 affinities in point of tradition; were we, I say, to wave all this that might be alleged 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 greatnes, 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 ask non ex æterna materia, suiique ceæquali, Deummundum com- pugisse ratus est, sed eduxisse ex nihilo, solique suâ voluntate ad id eguiisse, neque solum à Deo, sed ad Dei similitudinem factum esse hominem, et animos nostros Deo esse cognatos et similes, eodem Platonis notum fuit. Vocandi quoque ad partes poetæ: inter Latinos Virgilius, cum canentem inducit Silenum, ut co-aetis verum feminibus mundi tener orbis concreverit; præcipue Oвидius, cum esse terræque narrat orturn, hominisque ad Dei ef- fignem confici; et, inter Græcos, imprimit Hesiodus. qui rerum omnium machinationem, suavissime carminibus, Mosaicæ doctrinae consonis, in Theogonìa, celebravit; Huetii Alnetianæ Questions.

a Vid. Stillingfleet’s Orig. Sacr. I. 3. c. 1.
ask ourselves some such questions as these. What power built, over our heads, this vast and magnificent arch, and spread out the heavens like a curtain? Who garnished these heavens with such a variety of shining objects, a thousand, and ten thousand times ten thousand different stars, new funs, new moons, new worlds, in comparison of which this earth of ours is but a point, all regular in their motions, and swimming in their liquid ether? Who painted the clouds with such a variety of colours, and in such diversity of shades and figures, as is not in the power of the finest pencil to emulate? Who formed the sun of such a determinate size, and placed it at such a convenient distance, as not to annoy, but only refresh 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 blest vicissitudes of the day and night, and the regular succession of different seasons? That it should always proceed in the same straight 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 constant motion, and so preserved from putrefaction, and accommodated to man's manifold conveniencies, besides the business of sailing, and the use of navigation: in a word, that the rest of the planets, and all the innumerable host of heavenly

b Psal. xix. 4, 5. c Ray's Wisdom of God in the creation.
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 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 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 afferted the contrary, was himself destitute of understanding; 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 the 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 system,
system, from falling upon each other: what, I say, would Tully, that great master of reason, have thought and said, if these, and other newly discovered instances of the inex-
pressible accuracy and wisdom of the works of God, had been observed and considered in his days? Certainly A-
theism, 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 a-
shamed 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 regula-
arity of motion, or, in the phrase of the prophet, "who esta-
blished the world by his wisdom, and stretched out the heavens by
his understanding."

The air and its meteor.

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 tempefts? By whose
command, and out of whose treasuries, are these meteors
sent forth to purify the air, which would otherwise stag-
nate, and consume the vapours, which would otherwise
annoy us? And by what skilful hand is the 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?

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 fruitfulnefs 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 feasons, day and
night,

Jer. li. 15. Ray's Wisdom of God in the creation.
night, winter and summer? that clothed 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 any part of 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, h 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

h Dr Sam. Clarke's ferm. vol. 2. i Ray's Wisdom of God in the creation.

* Where has nature disposed so many fener, as in a gnat? (says Pliny in his Natural history, when considering the body of that insect,) "Ubivifum prætendit? ubi guftatum applicavit? ubi odoratum inferruit? ubi vero truculentam illam, et portione maximam vocem, ingenieravit? qua subtilitate pennas adnexit? prælongavit pedum crura, disposuit jejunam caveam, uti alvum, avidam sanguinis, et potissimum humani, accendit? telum vero, perfodendi tergori quo spiculavit ingenio atque, ut in capaci, cum cerni non possit exilias, ita reciprocâ geminavit arte, ut fodiendo acuminatum, pariter forbendoque effulolum effet?" 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 discernable by glaftes, to the number of 10, 20, or 30 thoufand 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,
smaller the creature is, the more amazing is the workmanship; and when in a little mite, we do (by the help of glasses) see limbs perfectly well organized, an head, a body, legs, and feet, all distinct, and as well proportioned for their size, as those of the largest elephants; and consider withal, that, in every part of this living atom, there are muscles, nerves, veins, arteries, and blood; and in that blood rambous particles and humours; and in those humours, 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, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom, and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his works, and his ways of creation and providence perplexing 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 providential direction of them, by an all-wise, and all-powerful mind. For what else has infused into birds the art of building their nests, either hard or soft, according to the constitution of their young? What else makes them keep so constantly 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 celestial signs, the influence of the stars, and the change of seasons? What else 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 wandering, 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 creation, or the immediate and continual direction, of some superior cause.

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

Rom. xi. 33. 

Ray's Wisdom of God.
cause. In a word, * can we behold the spider's net, the silk worms' webs, the bees' cells, or the ants' granaries, without being lost in the contemplation, and forced to ac-
knowledge that infinite wisdom of their Creator, who ei-
ther directs their unerring steps himself, or has given them 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, 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 unwieldy 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 stowed 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. 

All 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, * who hath placed the hand for the bound thereof, by a perpetual decree, that it cannot pass; and placed the Leviathan (among other an-
imals of all kinds) therein to take his psalm, 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

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Charnock's existence of a God. Fenelon's demon-

stration of a God. Jer. v. 22.
of ointment, as the author of the book of Job elegantly describes that most important creature.

If now, from the world itself, we turn our eyes more particularly upon man, the principal inhabitant that God has placed therein, no understanding certainly can be so low and mean, no heart so stupid and insensitive, as not plainly to see, that nothing but infinite wisdom could, in so wonderful a manner, have fashioned his body, and inspired into it a being of superior faculties, whereby he teacheth us more than the beasts of the field, and maketh us wiser than the fools of heaven.

Should any of us see a lump of clay rise immediately from the ground into the complete 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, 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

Lord! I will give thee thanks, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made.

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Job, xli. 31.  
Job, xxxv. 11.  
Hale's origination of mankind.  
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.

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.

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, choosing, acting, and (which is the end
and excellency of all) the power of knowing, obeying, imi-
titating, 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; "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, * O Lord, how wonderful are thy works!
in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy
riches.  

* 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 qualifica-
tions, 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 inten-
tions 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; Wilkin's nat. vol.
Clarke's ferm, vol 1.  
Psal. cvi. 2.  
Ibid.  
civ. 24.  
Ibid. cvii. 21, 22.
The History of the BIBLE, Book I.

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

goodness, and declare the wonders that he doth for the children of men! that they would offer him the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and tell out all his works with gladness!

CHAP. II.

Of the state of man's innocence.

The History.

Gen ch. 2. from ver. 3.

As soon as the seventh day from the creation (the first day, as we said, of Adam's life, and consequently the first day of the week) was begun, Adam, awaking out of his sleep, and musing, very probably, on his vision the preceding night, beheld the fair figure of a woman approaching him, + conducted by the hand of her almighty Maker; and as she advanced, the several innocent beauties 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. lxxiii. 9.] the Angel of God's presence) appeared to Adam, on this and fundry 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 splendour 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 bellow,
To make her amiable. On the came,

Led
when he surveyed 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 from ver. 8. 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. 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, pronounced

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 haft fulfill'd
"Thy words. Creator bounteous, and benign!
"Giver of all things fair! but fairest this
"Of all thy gifts." Book 8.

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

__________ all heav'n
And happy constellations, on that hour
Shed their select 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 odours, from the spicy shrub,
Difporting.

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

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 pronounce'd——
Here love his golden shafts employs; here lights
His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings;
Reigns here and revels—— Book 4.
pronounced his benediction over them, to the intent that
they might enjoy un molested the dominion he had given
them over the other parts of the creation, and, being
themselves fruitful in the procreation of children, might
live to see the earth replenished with a numerous progeny,
descended from their loins.

The 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 his 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 1f, That it is indeed a com-
mand 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, 3dly, that it does not oblige every particular man to mar-
ry, 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, 3dly, it is here rather a per-
mission 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 reeves, o'er which the mantling vine
Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
Luxuriant. Mean while murm'ring waters fall
Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or in a lake

(That
the country of Eden, 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, passes through a large country, and then dividing again, form the two rivers, which the sacred historian calls Pison, and Gison, 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.

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, 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, not because it had a virtue to confer any such knowledge, but because the devil, in his

(That to the fringed bank, with myrtle crown'd,
Her chrysal 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.

* Histoire de la Bible, par M. Martin.
* Ant. Chiff. 4. 4
* Gen. ch. 2. In lin. ver. 8.
* A. M. 1.
* Chap. II. from the Creation to the Flood.
* Nichoii's Conference, vol. i.
* Others think, that the tree of life was so called, in a symbolic 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 perfected 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 himself, Rev. xxii, 2. according to which is that famous saying of St. Austin, Erat et in ceteris lignis alimentum, in istis vero sacramentum; Patrick's Commentary.

* 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
his temptation of the woman, pretended that it had; pretended, that as God knew all things, and was himself subject to no one's controul, so the eating of this tree would confer on them the same degree of knowledge, and put them in the same state of independency: and from this unfortunate deception (whereof God might speak by way of anticipation; it did not improperly derive its name.

Into this † paradise of much pleasure, but some danger, wherein was one tree of a pernicious quality, though all the rest were good in their kind, and extremely salutary, the Lord God conducted our first parents, who, at this time, were naked, and yet not ashamed, because their innocence 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 clothing to defend them from the weather, God having given them (as we may imagine) a survey of their new habitation, shewn them the various beauties be known by their abstaining from the fruit, or eating it; or in respect to them, who, in the event, found by fad 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 always attended with sorrow and regret; Dodd's Annotation, and Young's Sermons, vol 1.

† Effius 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, yielding 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. Nehemiah, ii. 8. where that prophet requests of Artaxerxes' letters to Ataph, the keeper of the king's forest, or paradise; 2dly, in the Song of Solomon, [iv. 15] where he says, that the plants of the spouse are an orchard of pomegranates; and 3dly, in Ecclesiastes [ii. 5.] where he says, he made himself gardens, or paradies. 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; Edwards's Survey of religion, vol. 1, and Calmet's Dictionary on the word Paradise.
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 ever 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.

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 unwoven shade,
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant leaf. On either side
Acanthus and each od'rous bushy shrub,
Fence'd up the verdant wall. Each beauteous flow'r
Tiris, all hues, roses, and jessamin,
Rear'd high their flourish'd heads between, and wrought
Mosaic: under foot the violet,
Crocus, and hyacinth, with rich inlay,
Broider'd the ground, more colour'd than with stone
Of coftliest 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 expresseth 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, hence (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 referred 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 transgessed.
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 goodnes. 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 whereas in 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.

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!

This gossed 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.

Revelation examined, part 1.
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 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 economy 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.

The Objection,

"But how delightful soever the garden of Eden might be, a type of heaven, and an entrance into the reality of a terrestrial paradise."

But 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 informed 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 impalpable?”

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 incarnattoni verbi. And therefore we need let wonder, that we find it an article inserted in the common offices of the primitive church; and that in the most ancient liturgy, now extant [that of Clement] we read these words,

X, 2
regions of eternal bliss; yet all this seems to be but
an imaginary and romantic description of what never
had any existence in nature. In the whole habitable
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 it-
self, in the middle region of the air, &c. and of those who
allow 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 Peru, 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 the whole earth, before its devastation,
was entirely paradisical; 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.
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
sacred 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
very

words concerning Adam: "When thou broughtest him into
the paradise of pleasure, thou gavest him free leave to eat of
all other trees, and forbadest him to taste of one only, for the
hope of better things: that if he kept the commandment, he
might receive immortality as the reward of his obedience;"

Burnet's Theory.  

Burnet's Theory; and Archæol
philosoph
very nature of his description shews, that Mofes 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 Ararat, where the ark rested, or Shinaar, where the lions 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 elyrian fields, their garden of Adonis, their garden of the Heiferides, 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 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


m Huet. Quest. Aletan.

* 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, Paradise, 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
should be thought any part of their punishment; nor can we see, what occasion there was for placing a flaming sword about the tree of life; or for appointing an host of the cherubims 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 exception to the cafe in hand: "because Moses does not describe the situation of paradise in antediluvian names. The names of the rivers, and the countries adjacent, Cufb, 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.

Now the description which Moses gives us of it, is delivered in these words—"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 became 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 Bdelium, and the Onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon; the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Cufb. 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, whereof 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 word Eden, which in the Hebrew tongue (according 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, of

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 fight, or smell, was sweet! from thee
How shall I part, and whether wander down
Into a lower world?—

—Book 11.

"Shuckford's Connect. 1. 1.  
"Gen. ii. 8, &c.
of all the places which go under this denomination, the
learned have generally looked upon these three, as the pro-
perest countries wherein to enquire for the terrestrial pa-
радисе:

1. The first is that province which the prophet A-
mos seems to take notice of, when he divides Syria into
three parts, viz. Damascus, the plain of Aven, and the
house of Eden, called Caelo-Syria, or the hollow Syria, be-
cause the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus inclose it
on both sides, and make it look like a valley. But (how
great forever 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 prin-
cipal text in this inquiry.

2. The second place, wherein several learned men
have fought 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 speci-
fied 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 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 Mo-
ses's description of it) went out of the country of Eden, to wa-
ter the garden of paradisс.

3. The third place, and that wherein the country of
Eden, as mentioned by Moses, seem most likely to be feat-
ed, is Chaldea, not far from the banks of the river Eu-
phrates. To this purpose, when we find Rabshakeh vaunting
out his master's actions, 'Have the gods of the na-
tions

p Ch. i. 5.  q Its chief abettors are Heidegger in his
Historia Patriarch; Le Clerc in Gén. ii. 8.; P. Abram in his
Pharaus Vet Test.; and P. Hardouin in his edition of Pliny.
χ The chief patrons of this scheme are Santon in his Atlаs;
Reland in his Dissertat. de situ paradisе; and Calmet, both in his
Dictionary and Commentary on Gen. ii. 8.  s Vide. Thavenot,
and Sir John Chardin's travels, 1 2 Kings xix. 12. and
Mz. xxxvii. 12.
tions delivered them which my fathers have destroyed, as Gazan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden, which were in Telaffar? As Telaffar, in general, signifies 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 the description of the four rivers, in order to ascertain the place where the garden (we are in quest of) was very probably situate.

The first river is Phison, or Pifon, (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 when Moses wrote his history, he was, in all probability, in Arabia Petraea, 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; whereas

u Vid. Bedford's Scripture-chronology.

* Calvin [on Gen ii. 8.] was the first starter of this opinion, and is, with some little variation, followed by Marinus, Bochart, Hugelius, 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 plentiful in grass, that the people are forced to drive their cattle from pasture, lest they should forfeit themselves by too much plenty; Vid. Herod. Clio. lib. ; and Quint. Curt. l. 5.

v Vid. Well'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 Susiana on the east side, they separate again not far from Baflora, and so fall, in two channels, into the Persian gulf, inclosing the island Teredon, now called Baljara.

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 "the Israelites dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt; and in the other, that 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 Baharen.

2 Gen. xxv. 18, 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.

* Nearcius, 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.
haren, an island situated in the Persian gulf; and as for * the onyx-stone in particular, (if we will believe what Pliny tells us,) the ancients were of opinion, that it was no where to be found but in the mountains of Arabia. It seems reasonable therefore to conclude, (according to all the characters which Moses has given us of it,) that that tract of Arabia which lies upon the Persian gulf, was, in his days called the land of Havilah, and that the channel which, after Euphrates and Tigris part, runs westward into the said gulf, was originally called Pison; and this the rather, because † some remains of its ancient name continued a long while after this account of it.

The second river is Gihon, that which compasseth, or runneth along, the whole land of ‡ Cusb. 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 Elius Gallus thither, either to make these nations his friends, and to draw to himself their riches, or else to subdue them; lib. 16 Diodorus Siculus describes at large the advantages of Arabia, and especially its precious 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 Pistoigris, which is Pison mixed with Tigris: as Mr Carver observes.) By Xenophon it is called simply Phyeus, in which the name of Phison is plainly enough retained, and went under that name until the time of Alexander the Great. For Q. Curtius commonly calls Tigris itself by the name of Phisus and says it was so called by the inhabitants thereabout, 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 Cusb, by the name of Ethiopia and in this mistake is all along followed by our English version, (whereas by the land of Cusb 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;
observe, that Moses has not affixed so many marks on the Gihon, as he does on the Pison, and that probably for this reason;  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 Chuzesian, which carries in it plain footsteps of the original word Cufb, 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 Cufb, 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 or (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 name of 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.

* Benjamin of Navarre tells us, that the province of Elam, whereof Susa 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.
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Book I.

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

Dekel and Tigris; yet, if we either observe Moses's method of reckoning up the four rivers, or consider the true geography of the country, we shall easily perceive, that the river Hiddekel could properly be no other. 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 second; so, having passed over that stream, and turning to the left, in order to come back again to Arabia Petraea, (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 Euphrates, at last. For Tigris (we must remember) parts Assyria 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 Pison and Gihon, which, as we said before, empty themselves into the Persian gulf.

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 Euphrates 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 channel; but from thence, i.e. when it was gone out of Eden, it

+ Wells's Geography.

+ Euphrates is of the same signification with the Hebrew Phrauth, and is probably so called, by reason of the pleasantness, at least the great fruitfulness, of the adjacent country. It must not be disfigured 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 f itu paradifi] judiciously 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; Univers. Hist. book 1. chap. 3.
it was parted, and became four streams or openings; (for so the Hebrew word may be translated,) two upwards, and two below. For, supposing this channel to be our common centre, we may, if we look one way, i. e. up towards Babylon, see the Tigris and Euphrates coming into it; and, if we look another way, i. e. down towards the Persian gulf, see the Pison and the Gihon running out of it.

It seems reasonable then to suppose, that this country of Eden lay on each side of this great channel, partly in Chaldea, and partly in Susiana: and, what may confirm us in this opinion, is, the extraordinary goodness and fertility of the soil. For, as it is incongruous to suppose, that God would make choice of a barren land wherein to plant the garden of paradise; so all ancient historians and geographers inform us, that not only Mesopotamia, Chaldea, a good part of Syria, and other neighbouring countries, were the most pleasant and fruitful places in the world; but modern travellers likewise particularly assure us, that in all the dominions which the Grand Seignior has, there is not a finer country, (though, for want of hands, it lies in some places uncultivated) than that which lies between Bagdat and Basflora, 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 paradise was planted, the sacred historian seems to intimate, by informing us, that it 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 seated. If then the garden of paradise lay in the easterly part of the country of Eden, and 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 paradise was situated on the east side 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 Bree) at present is known to stand.

Thus

A. M. 1. 4064.
Gen. ch. 2.
from ver. 8.

4 Gen. ii. 8. 6 Chap. ii. 10.
Thus we have followed the path which * the learned
and judicious Huetius, bishop of Auranches, has pointed
out to us, and have happily found a place wherein to fix
this garden of pleasure. And, though it must be owned,
that there is no draught of the country which makes the
rivers exactly answer the description that Moses has given
us of them; yet, it is reasonable to suppose, * that he
wrote according to the then known geography of the coun-
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 mon-
archs of that great empire were remarkable for making;
and that all modern observers 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
doubtless,

* 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 le paradis terrestre estoit situe 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 Persique. Et
" comme ce canal failoit quelques detours, et quelques cour-
" bures je dis, (pour entrer dans une plus grande precision.)
" que le paradis estoit situe sur une de ces courbures, et appa-
" remmen sur le bras meridional de la plus grande, (qui a
" este marque par Agathamemon dans les Tables geogra-
" phiques de Ptoleme) lorsque ce fleuve revient vers l'orient,
" apres avoir fait un long retours vers l'occident environ a
" trente deux degrz tres-neuf minutes de latitude septen-
" trionale, et a quatre vingt degrz dix minutes de longitude,
" (selon le delinination de Agathamemon.) a peu pres la ou il
" place l'Aracce, qui est l'Erec de l'Ecriture. L'ajoute en-
" core que les quatre tetes de ce fleuve sont le Tigre et l'Eup-
" phrate avant leur junetjon et les deux canaux, par ou il
" tombe dans la mer, apres sa division; que le plus occiden-
" tal 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 Deserte; que le Gehon est le canal orien-
" tal des deux, dont j'ay parle; et que le pais de Chus est la Su-
" fiana." Vid. Traite de la situation du paradis, p. 16.

* Shuckford's Connection, book 1.
From the Creation to the Flood.

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, 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, 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.

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

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 capb 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.

a visible radiant glory which accompanied him where-ever he went, and struck awe and reverence into the other parts of the animal creation; and that his person was so completely perfect and handsome, that even God, before he formed him, assumed an 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.

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 about to build an house, first delineates the scheme in his mind, and then proceeds to erect the fabric. But this opinion, how true soever, does not come up to the point in hand; because it makes no distinction between man and other creatures, (for they were likewise made according to the ideal image in the divine intellect) though it may be manifestly the intent of the Scripture-account to give him a particular preference.

Origen, among ancient Christian authors, will have it to be the Son of God, who is called the express image of the Father: but there is no such restriction in the words of Mofes. They are delivered 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; whilst others have thought it more properly seated in dominion. But these are only single lines, and far from coming to the whole portraiture.

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, secondly, those natural perfections and accomplishments wherein this image of God, impressed on our first parents, may be said to consist.

An eloquent father of the church has set this whole matter before us in a very apt similitude, comparing this animal and living effigies of the King of Kings, with the image of

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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 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."

That our first parents, besides the seeds of natural virtue and religion found in their minds, and besides the natural innocence and rectitude wherein they were created, were endowed 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. "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 affirms to be the recondite sense of Moses's words in the history of man's creation.

And


"The great Moses," says he, "makes not the species of the rational soul to be like to any of the creatures, but pronounces 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

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And indeed we need go no farther than this history of Moses, to prove the very point we are now upon. For, whereas it acquaints us, that the first man, in his state of integrity, was able to sustain the approaches of the divine presence, and converse with his maker in the same language, it is reasonable to suppose, that it was a particular vouchsafement 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 fortified and prepared for it by a divine power.

Whereas it tells us, that "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 Gallenus, no

the eternal word, For God," faith 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.

* 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 Dissertation,
no Newton, among the moderns; nay, no academy or roy-

al society whatever durft have once attempted it.

Whereas it informs us, that Adam no sooner saw his 
wife brought unto him, but he told exactly her origi-
nal, 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. From the 
conformity of parts which he beheld in that goodly crea-
ture, 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 ima-
ginable, 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, other-
wise than by divine illumination; "which enabled him u 
(as one excellently expresses it) "to view essences in them-
elves, and read forms without the comment of their 
respective properties; which enabled him to see conse-
quences 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 contin-
gencies, and improved his conjectures and sentiments e-
ven to a prophecy, and the certainties of a prediction."

These seem to be some of the supernatural gifts, and As to the 
what we may call the chief lines, wherein the image of body,

God was so conspicuous upon Adam's soul; and there was 
this supernatural in his body likewise, that 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 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 im impassable, and set 
free from the reach of any outward impressions and ele-

Z 2

8 Gen. ii. 23. 1 Bull's Sermons and discourses. 
South's sermons, vol. 1. x Hopkin's Doctrine of the 

two covenants. y Gen. ii. 9. 2 Edward's Survey 
of religion, vol. 1.
mental disorders, which may impair their vigour, or endanger their dissolution,) but an immortality by donation, and the privilege of an especial providence, which engaged itself to sway and over-rule the natural tendency which was 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.

2. Another chief part of the divine image and similitude 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 understanding and will; which, though (for the clearer conception 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 chooses or rejects the several 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 chiefly their residence in the sensitive appetite; and however, in this lapse condition of our nature, they may many times mutiny and rebel, yet, when kept in due temper and subordination, are excellent hand-maids to the soul. Though the Stoics look upon them all as sinful defects, and deviations 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 impressed upon each of these.

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

a South's Sermons, vol. 1.   b Edward's Survey.
that supreme Spirit, whose wisdom was infinite, and essence eternal.

"His understanding was, as it were, the upper region of his soul, lofty and serene; seated above all fordid 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 despotic.

His will was then very ductile and pliant to the motions of right reason. It pursued the directions that were given to, 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 fallacies.

His passions were then indeed all subordinate to his will and intellect, and acted within the compass of their proper objects. His love was centered 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 effulgence 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 preference; 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 the

* South's sermons, vol. 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 if so, then is there another perfection arising from this harmony, and due composure 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 spicry field, refreshes it upon every reflection, and fills it with a joyful confidence towards God.

These are some of the natural lines (as we may distinguish them) which the finger of God pourtrayed upon the soul of man: and (so far as a spiritual being may be resembled by a corporeal) 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 fixed upon it, such as could neither be eclipsed by sickness, nor extinguished by death; 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. that dominion and sovereignty where-with God invested him over all other creatures. For there is even still remaining in man a certain terrific character, (as 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 other,
Chap. II. from the Creation to the Flood.

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, 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 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 perfected of his nature, such as the excellency of his knowledge, the subordination of his faculties, the tranquility 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 confusions 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 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 be followers of God as dear children: grow in grace, be renewed in knowledge, and conformed to the image of his Son: We must give all diligence to add to our faith virtue;

Bate’s Harmony. Hale’s Origination of mankind.


Col. iii. 10. Rom. viii. 29.

2 Pet. i. 5. &c.
virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity: that we may be complete in him, who is the head of all principality and power: and that as we have borne the image of the earthly, we may also bear the image of the heavenly Adam.

P Col. ii. 10. 9 i Cor. xv. 49.

CHAP. 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 daemons, 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 Alnetan. Qæst. lib. 2.

* Our excellent Milton represents Satan within prospect of Eden, and near the place where he was to attempt his desperate enterprise
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from the Creation to the Flood.

spairing of reconciliation with the Almighty, he abandoned himself to all kinds 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. 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) † endured with the greatest talents of sagacity and understanding, enterprize 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 flat; how soon
Wou'd height recal high thoughts! how soon unfay
What feign'd submission swore! Eafe 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!
Farewell Remorie! all good to me is lost
Evil be thou my good! by thee at leaft
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.

† 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 suggeftions hide
From sharpeft fight: for in the wily snake
Whatever fleights, none wou'd suspicions mark,

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understanding, would be no improper instrument for his purpose, he usurped the organs of one of these, and through them, he addressed himself to the woman, the first opportunity 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 the

As from his wit, and native subtlety
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 subtlety 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 subtlety of the serpent, and perhaps the piafilenes, andforkines 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, uncalli'd, before her flood,
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 dumb 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 it-
self *, 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
flight a transgression; and that the sole intent of this pro-
hibition was, to continue them in their present state of
dependence and ignorance, and not admit them to that extent
of knowledge, and plentitude of happiness, which their
eating of this fruit would confer upon them: for God him-

* 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 ob-
served: and therefore it is not improbable, that the temper, be-
fore 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 de-
nied them any of the fruit of the garden; Patrick's Commentary.

* Burnet, in his Archaeologia philosophica, 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
' pulcherriima, quid rerun agis sub hac umbra? Ev. Ego hujus
' arboris pulcriudinem contemptor. Serp. Jucundum quidem
'spectaculum, sed multo jucundiores fructus gulaffin', men do-
'mina? Ev. Minime vero: Deus nobis interdixit eum hujus arbo-
'ris. Serp. Quid audis! Quis iste Deus, qui fuis invisus innocuos
'naturae delicias? nihil suavius nihil salubrius hoc fructu. Quam-
'obrem interdiceret, nisi per legem ludeiram? Ev. Quinimo sub
'poea mortis interdixit. Serp. Rem male capis procul dubio:
'nihil habet mortiferi haec arbor, sed potius divini aliquid, et
'supra vires communis naturae. Ev. Ego non habeo quid tibi
'repondeam, fed adibo virum. Serp. Quid virum interpellas de
'retantilla? Ev. Utanne? Quid pulchrius hoc pomo? Quam suf-
'ave redolent? Sed forsan male sapit. Serp. Est esca, crede mihi,
'angelis non indigna. Fac perculum, et, si male sapit, rejicto,
'et me in superior habeto pro mendacísimo Ev. Experiar; est
'quidem gratissimi saporis: non me fetellifici. Porrige hic alte-
rum, ut viro afferam. Serp. Commodum memini. En tibi
'alterum: adi virum. Vale, beatula.—Ego interea elobar, il-
'la curet cætera;' lib. 2. cap 7.
self knew, that † that the proper use of this tree was, to illuminate the understanding, and advance all the other faculties of the soul to such a sublimity, that the brighteft angels in heaven 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 tasted 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 conceit 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 deceitful bait of present sensual pleasure, blinded her reason by degrees; and as she stood gazing on the tree, filled all her thoughts,

† 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, the 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, the 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 understood 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 referve, 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 fo 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 discern 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, and the whole capacity of her soul. The sight of the fruit provoked her desire; the suggestions of the tempter urged it on; her natural curiosity raised her longings; and the very prohibition itself did something to 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. *

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. 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 ascendency 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 reluctancy, (as we may suppose,) he, "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. *

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

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 the 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. 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 elegance in the sacred writing, to make use of the figure, which rhetoricians call *antanaclasis* 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 Matth. 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.

2 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 on the origin of evil. But others take the expression rather in a figurative sense, viz. to denote the commision 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 reprobat sinners,* (for so the word *gummos* signifies in the New Testament, Rev. xvi. 15.; for *Aaron had made them naked, unto their shame, among their enemies,* Ex. 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
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; Nicholl's Conference, vol. 1.

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

† 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 gneleb, 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 sewings 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, [i. 16. c. 24.] it had folium maximum or umbrosissimum; Patrick's Commentary.

‡ The word, in the translation is aprons; but since in the original it may signify anything 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 uninclincible 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

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Gen. ch. 3.

Protest them from the injuries of the weather, and conceal their shame. Nor was their guilt attended with shame only, but with fear likewise, and many dismal apprehensions.

† 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 confciences fet their fin 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 judgement, and fiery indignation, 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 immediately betook themselves to the thickest and closest places they could find in the garden, in order to hide themselves from hisinspection; 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 herdman shunning heat,
Shelters in cool and tend's his pasturing herds
In loop-holes, cut through thickest shade. Book 9.

† The word voice may be equally rendered noife: and since God's usual way of notifying his presence afterwards was either by a small still voice or noife, 1 Kings, xix. 12 or by a noife like that of great waters, Ezek. i 24. or like the ruffling of wind in the trees. 2 Sam. v. 24. we may reasonably suppose, that it was either a soft gentle noife 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 Commentary.

* 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 reheld? —— 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
I 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 foever 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 Messiah, should ruin all his new-erected empire of sin and death; and, having spoiled principalities and powers, should make a show of them openly, triumphing over them in his crofs. 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

† 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, confessed: but what is certain in the serpents sentence, 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 desarts, to which God, in a good measure, has condemned it; Revel. examined.

* It is remarkable, that a woman is the only creature we know of, who has any sorrow in conception. This Arisotle expressly affirms, and only excepts the influence of a mare conceiving by an as. 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

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the woman, was sorrow in conception, pain in child-birth, and constant subjection to her husband's will; to the man, * a life of perpetual toil and slavery; and to 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 which the 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 subsistence. The wisdom, goodness, and justice of God, however, is very conspicuous, in decrees, 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 them with impetuosisity 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 de-
creation suffered by it. The fertility of the earth, and fe-
renity 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 immo-
derate heat, or cold, or wind, or rain, which now began
to infest 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 sacri-
fice,

roy 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 unbena’; 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——
Theirs changes in the heavens, though slow, produce
Like change on sea, and land; fiderial blast,
Vapour, and mist, and exhalation hot,

* It cannot be denied, but that the skins of beasts were a ve-
ry ancient sort of clothing. 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
piously 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 pe-
culiar vestments appointed him by God. But all this fine fic-
tion of theirs falls to the ground, if we can but suppose with
some, that by the word which we render coats, we may not im-
properly understand tents, or arbors, to defend our first parents
from the violence of the heats, and such nasty showers as were

Bb2 common
face, either in confirmation of the covenant of grace, 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 Jseba 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 common in the countries 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 fain 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 dephata, the skins of them, as well as the hides of animals. Vid, Le Clerc, and Patrick's Commentary; and Bibliotheca Bibl. 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 shalt eat 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, "Left 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 remov-
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 refulgent 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

"ing him from this place, and for ever debarring him from "any hopes of coming at that tree again;" Epist. in diff. beca.

Examples of God's speaking by way of sarcasm or upbraid- ing, are not uncommon in Scripture: but considering that, in the midst of judgement, he here thinketh upon mercy; that before the sentence against our first parents, he promises them a re- floration, and after sentence past, does nevertheless provide them with clothing. 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 pur- fice it; to know evil, and to avoid it; (for that is the perfection of moral knowledge;) but behold how he is now dege- nerated! And therefore, lest this degeneracy should conti- nue 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 e- qual to the former.

† What is meant by the flaming sword represented to be in the hands of the cherubim, at the entrance of the garden of paradise, is variously conjectured by learned men: but, of all essays of this kind, that of Tertullian, who thought it was the Torrid Zone, is the most unhappy; Tertul. Apol. cap. 47. The words of Laetanzius are [Juffit. Divin. 1. 2. c. 12.] Ipsam paradisum 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 ascension 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
from any thoughts of ever attempting a re-entrance, until he should think fit to destroy, and utterly lay waste the beauty of the place. Thus fell our first parents, and, from the happiest condition that can be imagined, plunged themselves 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.**

BUT, upon supposition that the state of perfection wherein our first parents were created, was really as complete as is pretended; we cannot well conceive how it was possible for them to fall from it 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 momentous precepts might have besetted 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 assume the form of so detestable a creature; and what should hinder Eve from not being frightened when she heard 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 luflre, and may fitly be described by the image of such a sword; Tenison of Idolatry.

* Kom. v. 12.*
"heard him begin to speak, and instead of staying to talk with him, flees immediately to her husband, we cannot conceive. If the devil, in this disguise, was like to be an over-match for her, why did God admit of such an unequal conflict? Or, if the conflict was to be, why did not he send her succours from above? When to 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 angels, 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 cursed the earth, and the serpent, which were both incapable of sin, and consequently no ways culpable; when he drives the unhappy pair out of paradise with such precipitancy, and leaves them to shift for themselves in a naked barren land; and (what is worst of all) when he entails 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 senfe, and so on."

How long our first parents continued in their state of innocence, and in the possession of the garden of Eden, is not so well agreed. The account of their fall, in the series of history, follows immediately their introduction into their blissful abode; whereupon most of the Jewish doctors, and some of the Christian fathers, were of opinion, that they preserved their integrity but a very short while;

while; that in the close of the same day wherein they were made, they transgressed the covenant, and were the 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.

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 infinuations, 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 cherubim to guard all avenues against their return; this is crowding too long a series of businesfs into too short a compass of time, and thereby giving an handle to infidelity, when there is no manner of occasion for it.

We

\footnote{d Burnet's \textit{Arch\oeology philosophica}.} \footnote{e Bull's \textit{State of man before the fall}.} \footnote{f Nicholls's \textit{Conference}, vol. i.}
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, 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 abstinence or separation: nor must we forget (what the history itself tells us) that they were so much accustomed to *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) 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, *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: 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 it must be remembered, that *no created being can,* in


* 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...
in its own nature, be incapable of sin and default. Its perfections, be they what they will, are finite, and whatever has bounds set to its perfections, is, in this respect, imperfect, i.e. it wants those perfections which a being of infinite perfections only can have; and whatever wants any perfection, is certainly capable of miscarrying. And as every finite creature is capable of default, so every rational being must necessarily have a liberty of choice, i.e. it must have a will to chuse, as well as an understanding to reason; because a faculty of understanding, without a will to determine it, if left to itself, must always think of the same subject, or proceed in a series and connection of thoughts, without any end or design, which will be a perpetual labour in vain, or a thoughtfulness to no purpose. And as every rational being has a liberty of choice, so, to direct that choice, it must of necessity have a prescribed rule of its actions.

God indeed, who is infinite in perfection, is a rule to himself, and acts according to his own essence, from whence it is impossible for him to vary; but the most perfect creatures must act by a rule, which is not essential to them, but prescribed them by God, and is not so intrinsic in their natures, but that they may decline from it; for a free agent may follow, or not follow, the rule prescribed him, or else he would not be free.

Now, in order to know how it comes to pass, that we so frequently abuse our natural freedom, and transgress the rules which God hath set us, we must remember, that "the soul of man is seated in the midst, as it were, between those more excellent beings, which live perpetually above, and with whom it partakes in the sublimity of its nature and understanding, and those inferior terrestrial beings, with

would be God. Imperfection must therefore be tolerated in creatures, notwithstanding the divine omnipotence and goodness; for contradictions are no objects of power. God indeed might have refrained from acting, and continued alone self-sufficient, and perfect to all eternity; but infinite goodness would by no means allow of this; and therefore since it obliged him to produce external things, which things could not possibly be perfect, it preferred these imperfect things to none at all; from whence it follows, that imperfection arose from the infinity of divine goodness; King's Essay on the origin of evil,

Stillingfleet's Orig. facr.
with which it communicates, through the vital union it has with the body; and that, by reason of its natural freedom, it is sometimes amiliated to the one, and sometimes to the other of these extremes. We must observe further, that, in this compound nature of ours, there are several powers and faculties, several inclinations and dispositions, several passions and effects, 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 wife, 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 tempter, 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. 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 exercices them, are so far beyond our reach, that we are utterly incapable of framing just and adequate notions of

*Clarke of the original of moral evil.  *Bishop King's Sermon of predestination.
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: *just as the man, who fees 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 prudence any influence over her choice, but *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.

That some command was proper to be laid upon man in his state of innocence, is hardly to be denied. *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 require:

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1. Young's Serm. vol. i.
2. James i. 14, &c.
3. Revelation examined.
require of his creatures, in some acts of homage and obe-
dience, (which homage and obedience must necessarily im-
ply some kind of restraint upon their natural liberty) an
acknowledgement and declaration of it. And if some re-
straint of natural liberty was necessary in Adam’s case, what
restraint could be more easy, than the coercion of his ap-
petite 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 injunc-
tion of some great rule of moral virtue, we perhaps may
account a properer test of man’s obedience; but if we con-
sider the nature of things, as they then stood, we may find
reason perhaps to alter our sentiments. The Mosaic ta-
bles 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 con-
tain nothing suitable to man in the condition wherein we
are now considering him.

Had God, for instance, forbidden the worship of falso
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 af-
terwards, 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 imprecaions 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

Nicholls’s Conference, vol. 1. and Jenkins’s Reasonable-
ness, vol. 2.
they never had any? What possible temptation could they have to be guilty of murder, when they must have acted it upon their own flesh? How could they commit adultery, 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 witnesses 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 duties 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 acquainted with, were improper for the trial of man’s obedience in his state of innocence; it remains, that his probation 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 commanded or forbidden. And if such a command was to be chosen, 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 eaten of, and would therefore every moment give them an opportunity of testifying their obedience to God by their forbearing it? A wise appointment this, had not the great enemy of mankind come in, and defeated it.

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 exposition 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 this whole passage is to be understood of a real serpent; which creature, 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 therefore

* Le Clerc’s Commentary and essays.  
* Josephus, and several others.
Chap. III.

from the Creation to the Flood.

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 tramfart his fraud and impotence.

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 insidious, as the gentle, familiar, and insinuating nature of this creature. 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 of Jews and 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.

There

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, inclos'd
In serpent, inmate 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,

* Josephus's Antiq. l. 1.  
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. 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 proper 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 not allow, that the serpent was not of a common ordinary species, but one very probably something like that flying fiery fort, which, we are told, are bred in Arabia and Egypt. They are of a shining yellowish colour like brass, and by the motion of their wings, and vibration of their tails, reverberating...
reverberating the sun-beams, make a glorious appearance. 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 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 therupon 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 pleafant to the eye, yet it was impossible she could know, either that it was good for food, or desirable to make one wife, any other way than by the example and experiment of the serpent, which, merely by eating of that fruit, (as she thought,) was changed.

“Hows Eve came to be deluded.”
changed from a brute into a rational and rational creature. This, I say, is a pretty plausible solution; and yet it cannot 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 affected 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 entice her with some such cunning harangue as this.

"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 receive late, 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. 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 knowledge

- 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.

(8) 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 feemom 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 allurement. 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 choosing 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.

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, 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, matter 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.

6 Bishop King's Sermon on the fall. 8 Bishop King's Essay on the origin of evil.
rational, and determined, as it were by a law, that he should be free; and, having ingrafted this in his make, it would have been a violation of his own laws, and infrac-
tion on his own work, to have interposed, and hindered the use of that faculty, which, by the law of nature, he had eftablifhed. We do not expect, that the situation of the earth, or the course of the fun should be altered on our account, because these seem to be things of great impor-
tance; 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 lefs 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 fhoek and violence done to nature, if God fould interfere, and hinder the actions of free-will; and perhaps it would prove no lefs pernicious to the intellectual fystem, 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 fin, 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 fuch, had there been no possibility of acting contrary, and man’s nature would have been divine, had it been made inpeccable. Had God given our firft parents then fuch powerful influences of his holy Spirit, as to have made it imposfible for them to fin, or had he sent a guard of angels, to watch and attend them fo as to hinder the devil from proposing any temptation, or them from heart-
ening to any; had he, I fay, supernaturally over-ruled the organs of their bodies, or the inward inclinations of their minds, upon the leaft tendency to evil; in this cafe he had governed them, not as free, but as neceffary 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 fuch a fufficient measure of power and affifiance, as might enable them to be a match for the strongeft temptation; and this, there is no queftion to be made, but that he did do.
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 in 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 perseverance only is to be blamed, and not any want of sufficient assistance from their bounteous Creator.

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, Tha 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.

For let us suppose, 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, as

4 Nicholls's Conference, vol. i.  i Young's Sermons.
as desperate, as forlorn, as that of fallen angels was before: whereas, in the present state of things, our condition is much safer. Sin indeed, by reason of our present infirmity, may more easily make its breaches upon us, either through ignorance or surprize; but it cannot get dominion 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 temptations, that m God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able; against discouragement from the pretense of our infirmities, that n we may do all through Christ that strengtheneth us; and, in case of failing, that o we have an Advocate with the Father, and a propitiation for our sins. Thus plentifully did God provide for man’s fidelity in that state of integrity, thus graciously for his restoration, in this state of infirmity. In both cases, his goodness has been conspicuous, and has never failed!

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 lapied 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 employed 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 directed to an intelligent being and free agent, who had committed a crime which a brute could not be capable of.

Now if we consider what a glorious creature the serpent 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 body,) as to make it a monument of man’s apostasy, a testimony of his displeasure against sin, and an instructive emblem to deter all future ages from the commissio of that which

*k Rom. vi. 14. 1 John iv. 4. m 1 Cor. x. 13. n Phil. iv. 13. o 1 John ii. 1. p Patrick’s Commentary; and Mede’s Discourses.
which brought such vengeance along with it. In the Levi
tical law we find, that if a man committed any abomina
tion with a beast, the beast was to be slain as well as the
man; and, by parity of reason, the serpent is here pu
nished, if not to humble the pride, and allay the triumph
of the devil, by seeing the instrument of his success to
be 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 degrada-
tion of the serpent: he foresaw, that, in future ages, Sa
tan would take pride in abusing this very creature to the
like pernicious purposes, and, under the semblance of ser-
pents of all kinds, would endeavour to establish the vile
idolatry, even the idolatry of his own hellish worship.
That therefore the beauty of the creature might be no pro-
vocation 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,
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 ser-
pent 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 un-
derstanding 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
from

9 Lev. xx. 15, 1 Bishop King's Sermon on the fall.
from their obedience, and were now in the presence of God expecting judgment. They knew full well, at that juncture, that their fall was the victory of the serpent, 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 left 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, I have gotten a man from the Lord, i.e. I have gotten a man through the signal favour and mercy of God.

Now this extraordinary exultation cannot be supposed to arise from the bare privilege of bearing issue, for that privilege (as she could but not 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 God, faith she, hath appointed me another seed, or one who will destroy the power of Satan, instead

3 Bishop Sherlock's Use and intent of prophecy. 4 Gen. iv. 1. 5 Revelation examined, vol. 1. 6 Gen. iv. 25.
instead of Abel, whom Cain slew. Thus we see, that the obscurity in which it pleased God to foretell 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 forever 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 displeasure) 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 brow.

It must be acknowledged therefore, 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

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E e

Why God turned our first parents out of paradise, and cursed the ground.

The nature of the divine prohibition.

Revelation examined.
his authority, when we suppose, that good and evil are in the nature of things only, and not in the commandments and prohibitions of God. Whatever God is pleased to 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 enacts it, is of the same necessary and indispensable 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 devil, 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 desire and purloin, what was none of his own; and one of the most cruel and unparalleled murthers that ever was committed, to kill and destroy so many thousands of their offspring.

Add to this, that it was a disobedience against God, an infinite being, and of infinite dignity; a God, who had given them existence, and that so very lately, 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 committed 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 complicated nature, and attended with such horrid aggravations.

It

It is the opinion of some, 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: as some poisons (we know) will strangely affect the nerves and spirits, without causing immediate death; and 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? 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 first parents.

b Jenkins's Reasonablenes, vol. 2.  
Jenkins's Reasonablenes, vol. 2.  
Revelation examined, vol. 1.  
Jenkins's Reasonablenes, vol. 2.
The History of the BIBLE, Book 1.

Moyses no allegorical writer.

first parents. We were in their loins, and from thence our infection came: they were our representatives, and in them we fell: but then, amidst all this scene of calamity, we have one comfortable, one saving prospect to revive us, viz. that Adam was the figure of him that was to come; and therefore, as by the offence of one, judgement came upon all mankind to condemnation, even so by the righteousness 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.

That not only the poets, but some of the greatest philosophers likewise, had a strange affection 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 Moyses could have no such design; 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 Moyses 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 Cannae, is to be understood allegorically, as that what Moyses tells us of the prohibition of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, or of Adam and Eve's expulsion from

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; 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 preferred among them, Moses must necessarily have loft 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, — 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) fo 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, when we read in the book of Wisdom, that 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 God, at the first, filled man with the knowledge of understanding, and bestowed him good and evil, but that error and darkness baa their beginning together with sinners;

m Moses Vindicatus.  

i Jenkins's Reasonableness, vol. 2.  

k Vid. Bishop Sherlock's Dissert. 2. annexed to his Use and intent of prophecy.  

n Eccl. xv. 7.  

1 Wisd. ii. 23, 24.  

n Ibid. xi. 16.
of all flesh; that death is the sentence of the Lord over all flesh; that the covenant, from the beginning, was, Thou shalt die the death; and that of woman came the beginning of sin, and through her we all die: when we read, and compare all these passages together, 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 of a serpent, of a dragon, of a leviathan, the crooked serpent, &c.; and the prophet telling us expressly, that shall be the serpent's meat; but our blessed Saviour likewise declaring, that the devil was a murderer from the beginning, a liar, and a father of lies; St Paul affirming, that the woman being deceived, was first in the transgression, and that the serpent beguiled her through his subtility; and St John, in his Revelation, 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 comprise the sum and substance of the Mosaic account. 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.

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: 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: That, in the old Greek mysteries, the people used to carry about a serpent, and were instructed to cry Eve, whereby the devil seemed to exult, as it were, over the

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References:

- Ecclus. xli. 3
- Ibid. xiv. 17
- Ibid. xxv. 24
- Isa. xiv. 29, xxvii. 1
- Micah vii. 17
- Isa. lxv. 25
- John viii. 44
- 1 Tim. ii. 14
- 2 Cor. xi. 3
- Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2
- Moses Vindicatus
- Nichollis's Conference, vol. 1
the unhappy fall of our first mother; and that in his A. M. 1. worship in idolatrous nations, even now, * there are fre-
quent 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
flowness of children’s education, of their imbecility above
all other creatures, of the woman’s subjection to her hu-
band, of our natural antipathy to viperous animals, and
(what hath puzzled the wisest of the heathen sages to dis-
cover) of the depravation of our wills, and our strong pro-
penity 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.
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 in-
clinations which exerted themselves in this world were first
of all contracted in another. Several established two
principles, the one the author of all the good, and the
other the author of all the evil (whether natural or mo-
ral) 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 hypothe-
eses, but immediately concluded with our Saviour’s argument,
that a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit; be-
cause the explication of the rife of sin, by an original
lapse,

* 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 de-
vil in this manner, glorying in his miscarriage of Eve among
these poor idolaters. And an account of much the like nature
is given us in books of travels into the West-Indies; Nicholls’s
* Bishop King on the
* Matth. vii. 18.
lapse, is not only freed from these absurdities wherewith other explanations 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. that God made not death, neither hath he pleasure in the destruction of the living. He created all things, that they might have their beings and the generations of the world, 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; and so error and darkness had their beginning together with sinners.

**DISSENTATION 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.

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 was 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 original
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ginal righteousness, and thence became dead in sin, and actually defiled 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.

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, * That the denunciation of the sentence, (In the day thou eat-est 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 sundry 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 recompensed 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 very

k Locke's. Reasonableness of Christianity: and Tractus De imputatione divina peccati Adami per Dan. Whithy.
† St. Augin, in his fourth book against Julian, brings in Cicero [De repub. I. 3.] complaining, "Non a matre, sed a noverca "natura editum cecidit hominem in vitam; corpore nudo, fragili, "et infirmo; animo anxio ad molefitias, humilia timores, mollis "ad labores; in quo tamen velut obrutus ineptus quidam divi- "nus mentis." Whereupon the holy father makes this remark, "Rem vidit author ille, causam nescivit: latebat enim eum, cur "efflet grave jugum super, filios Adam: quia, factis literis non "cruditus, ignorabat originale peccatum."

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very Heathens complain of; this † the Scriptures everywhere testify; and therefore they conclude, that since man was not originally made in this condition, (for God created him after his own image,) he must have contrived all this from his fall; and that therefore the threatening of death had an higher signifycation than the disfiguration of the soul and body, viz. the loss of the divine favour, of all supernatural gifts and graces, and a total defection of the mind from God, which immediately ensued upon the transgression.

These are some of the principal opinions, (for the little 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 question: — "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 preservation?") And in searching into this, the sentiments of the fathers, much more the alterations 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 whole 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 because 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 Pfalmist therefore makes, in his own person, this confession of our natural depravity; Behold I was shapen in wickedness, and in sin did my mother conceive me, Ps. li. 5. and St. Paul makes this public declaration of our inability to do good; I know that in me (i.e. in my flesh) dwelleth 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 captivity 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.

† Volinus, in his history of Pelagianism, assures us, that the whole Catholic-church was 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 nor 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 afflft our hereditary weaknesses, 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 and

Adam's sin was imputed to his posterity to their condemnation; so that children dying therein were configned 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.
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and acceptable to God by the power of his own natural abilities, they then run counter to the common experience of human infirmity; they overlook the declarations of God's word concerning his gracious assistance; and seem to despise the kind overture of that blest 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 defection, 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. 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 adorning and adorning it, it cannot

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 mind 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 fulness 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.

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 can not 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 op-
pose an opinion which clouds the amiable attributes of God, and represents him in a dres of horror, and engaged in acts of extreme severity at least, if not unrelenting cruelty. 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 conseqently 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 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, 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 the whole scheme of man's salvation was laid in the divine counsel and decree from all eternity; that God, foreseeing man would fall, determined

\[m \text{Rom. iii. 9, 19, 23.}\]
\[\text{a Eph. ii. 3.}\]
\[\text{o Jenkins' Reasonableness, vol. 2.}\]
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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 per-
sonal 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 like-
wise 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 ob-
struction 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 fa-
thers, 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.

In short, as long as St Paul’s epistles are read, the ori-
ginal 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 co-
venant of works was broken, and has included all man-
kind

* Baptizantur infantes (juxta Chrysopolomum et Theodore-
tum) ut baptifinus ipfis fit arca futurorum bonorum, typus fu-
ture resurrectionis, Dominici passio communicatio, atque ut
superne regenerati, fandi ficatori in adoptionis jus adduifi et uni-
geniti cohæredes. per facrorum myfieriorum participationem,
finit; Whitby De imputatione peccati Adami.
kind ever since; that the blood of Christ shields his children from the wrath of God; and that the imputation of Adam's guilt, and obnoxiousness to punishment, is effectually taken away, by the meritorious oblation of that Lamb of God which was slain from the foundation of the world.

CHAP. IV.

Of the murder of Abel, and the banishment of Cain.

The History.

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 human nature, and began to discover itself in that impious fact which Cain committed on 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 promised

* 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 transgression 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 altercations 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
Wetring 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 moit he seem'd, and most severe,
What else but favour, grace, and mercy shone?
mised seed would immediately descend from her, that she supposed him to be the person who was to subdue the power of the great enemy of mankind; and therefore, upon her delivery, she cried out, in a transport of joy, *I have gotten a man from the Lord,* and accordingly gave him the name of Cain, which signifies possession or acquisition: never suspecting, that as soon as he grew up, he would occasion her no small sorrow and disconsolation.

The next son that the bore, (which was the year following,) was called *Abel,* denoting sorrow and mourning; but very probably he might not receive that name, until his tragical end, which caused great grief to his parents, 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 before them, there was small reason (one would think) for those feuds and contentions, which, in after ages, embroiled mankind. But the misfortune was, they were persons of quite different tempers; and accordingly, when they grew up, betook themselves to different employments; Cain, who was of a sly, sordid, and avaricious temper, to the tilling of the ground; and Abel, who was more gentle and ingenuous in his disposition, to the keeping of sheep.

† *Ich eth Jehovah,* which our translation makes a man from the Lord, should rather be rendered the man, the Lord, Helvicus 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 doctors, have taken the words in this sense: — That our grandmother 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 vanity, 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 spirit; *Patrick’s Commentary,* and *Saurin’s Dissertation.*

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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 sheep-herd, the firstlings, or (as some will have it) the milk of.

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, [Heb: 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 fest and solemn occasion then, (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, ‡ "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 " piety

Commentary, and Saurin's Dissertation. But the learned Heidegger is of an opinion quite the contrary; Vid. Exercit. 15. De cibo antediluvianum.

Heidegger's Historia patriarchum.

† 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 with all prosperity to their king,) praying, that God would be pleased to accept (in the Hebrew, turn into after) his burnt sacrifice, Psal. xx. 3; Patrick and Le Clerc's Commentary.

‡ The words in our translation are, If thou dost 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.
piety was the proper disposition for a sacrificer; and tokens of divine approbation should attend his oblations; that it was folly and madness in him to harbor any revengeful thoughts against his brother; because, if he proceeded to put them in execution, a dreadful punishment would immediately overtake him; and that least of all he had reason to be angry with him whose preference was only a token of his superior virtue, and not intended to supplant him of his birthright, which should always be inviolate, and his brother be obliged to pay him the respect and homage that was.

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 investuate, 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; *Eloah for a new translation. But this sense of the word seems a little too far fetched.

‡ Le Clerc's Commentary.

† The words in the text are *unto thee shalt 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 [*aim el yad] or our eyes are to his hand; the other [*tehukah 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 Psl. cxxxii. 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 disposition
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from the Creation to the Flood.

was due to his primogeniture; which, if he was minded "to preserve, his wife, it way would be to be quiet, and "not proceed one step farther in any wicked design."

This was a kind admonition from God; but so little ef-
fet 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 him,

disposition of mind to pay respect and honour. His de-
fire 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; Stuckford's Concord. vol. i.

* 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 want-
ing. The Samaritan Pentateuch, and the LXX' version sup-
ply 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 judgement. "Why was thy oblation favourably accepted, when mine was "rejected? Abel answered and said unto Cain, The world was "created 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 judgement, 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 judgement and a judge, "and another world, in which good men shall receive a re-
ward, and wicked men be punished." Upon which there en-
flu a quarrel, which ended in Abel's death. So that, ac-
cording to this account, Abel suffered for the vindication of the truth, and was, in reality, the first martyr; Esthias in difficili-
ora loca.
him, and afterward 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 full and evasive answers from him, directly charged him with his murther; 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.

Cain's chief 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

† Jofephus's antiq, l. 1. c. 3. u Shuckford's Introduction, vol. 1.

† 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 expoliators 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
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 enfuant 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 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 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.

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 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 displeased that God respected 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 asked nor hoped for mercy from God, but despaired and so fell into the condemnation of the devil; Ainsworth's Annotations.

† Both Lightfoot, Heidegger, and Le Clerc, 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 profopora] However this be, it is agreed by all interpreters, that there was a divine glory, called by the Jews Schechinah, 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.
hurt him, yet, being conscious of his own guilt, he was fearfull of every thing he saw or heard: till having wandered about a long while in many different countries, he settled at length with his wife and family in the land of Nod; where, in some tracts 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 themselves against incursions, and * to secure their unjust posfections; and this place he called after the name of his son Enoch, which, in the Hebrew tongue, signifies a dedication.

This Enoch begat Jarad; Jarad begat Methuajael; Methuajael begat Methuafael; and Methuafael 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, instructing 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 exchanged the innocency of that primitive generositie 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, fortified, and peopled it;" Antiq. l. 1. c 3; and Le Clerc’s Commentary.

† Le Clerc, supposing that the increase of females at the beginning 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-deluvian patriarchs. Bishop Patrick likewise makes this apology for him. "His earnest desire of seeing that blessed feed," 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 feed. 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 Selden
two children; Jabal, who made great improvements in the management of cattle, and found out the use of tents, 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 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.

This is the register of Cain's posterity for seven generations: and Moles, perhaps, might the rather enumerate them, to shew who were the real authors and inventors of certain arts and handicrafts, 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 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 upon

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 anfwered 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 patriarch. 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 anything 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; and 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. patriarch. and Stillingfleet's Originals, l. 3. c. 5.


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upon them unawares, and revenge Abiel's untimely death: but Lamech, when he came to be head of a people, endeavoured to reason them out of this fear. For calling
his family together, he argued with them to this purpose.

"Why should we make our lives uneasy with these groundless suspicions? What have we done, that we

... should

... 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, herebuilders and boasters 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 somebody 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 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 wound-ing 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 flirring 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 mifforming 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-
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"should be afraid? We have not killed any man, nor of.
"fereed 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 an-
to ver. 15.
"ceftor; killed Abel; but God was pleased so far to for-
give 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 pre-
fume 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 shynes 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.

THE OBJECTION.

"BUT how little foever the Scripture teaches us of
that there were other men before Adam.

"Cain and his adventures, yet it certainly teaches us
too much, ever to believe that Adam and Eve were the
primogenial parents of mankind. 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.

H h 2 "When

fy, and is not a little countenanced by the authority of Joes-
phus. "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 dread-
ful judgement which threatened his whole family, for the
murder of Abel, and, under this apprehension, he breaks
the matter to his two wives." Antiq. lib. 1. 3.

"Vid. La Peirere's Systeme theolog. p. 1. 1. 3.; and Blount's
Oracles of reason.
When Cain intended to murther his brother, he enticed 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 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 multitudes of men in the world that either designedly or accidentally might do it?

But allowing that Adam and Eve had some few children 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 choose 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 Enoch? 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 intended 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 universal creation.

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 Abraham, he could not have that under his peculiar consideration. He acquaints us, we find, with the origination of the first of other animals, whence they arose, and in what 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, *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 *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 *God had made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth. *Some Greek copies read it αιστ. of one man, leaving out ἀνθρωπος, wherein they are followed by the vulgar Latin: but allowing the common reading to be just, yet still the word ἀνθρωπος or blood, must be taken in the same 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 differed in their habitations, and differ much in language and customs from each other, yet they all were originally by the same stock, and derived their succession from the first man that God created.” Neither can it be conceived, on what account *Adam is called in Scripture the first man, and that he was made a living soul of the earth, earthly,

* Mark x. 6.  
* Gen. iii. 20.  

1 Stillingfleet’s Orig. facr. l. 3. c. 4.  
† Homer employs it in this acceptation:  
* ἐκ ἐτέν ἵματις ἰκεῖσθαι.  

Thence those that are near relations are called by Sophocles, *ἐς τριττον ἁμαρτά and accordingly Virgil uses sanguis in the same sense:  
† Trojana a sanguine duci; Stillingfleet’s Orig. facr. l. 3. c. 4.  
* 1 Cor. xv. 45.
earthly, unless it were to denote, that he was absolutely the first of his kind, and so to be the standard and measure of all that followed.

The design of Moses is not to give us a particular account of the whole race of mankind descended from Adam, but only of those persons who were most remarkable, and whose story was necessary to be known, for the understanding of the succession down to his time. Besides those that are particularly mentioned in Scripture, we are told in general, that Adam begat sons and daughters; and if we will give credit to an ancient eastern tradition, he had in all thirty-three sons, and twenty-seven daughters, 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 mechanics able enough to supply others with such instruments of husbandry as might then be requisite for the cultivation of the ground. 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.

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 (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 disconsolate 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 mankind 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,

That there might be vast numbers of people then in the world.

a Patrick’s Commentary.  o Gen. v. 4.  p Nicholl’s Conference, vol. 1.  q Gen. v. 3.
(though great numbers of them were dead during this in-
crease,) we may very well suppose, that the children of A-
dam, whose lives were so very long, might amount at least
to a hundred thousand in a hundred and thirty years, to which are almost five generations.

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 murtherer. Upon this supposition we may likewise find him men enough to build and inhabit a city; especially 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, left every one that lighted on him would kill him; for by this time mankind was greatly multiplied, and 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 unawares,

† 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, insiling 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, No. 2.

* Le Clerc's Commentary. 

Le Clerc's Commentary.
Various are the conjectures of learned men concerning the mark which God set upon Cain, to prevent his being killed. Some think that God skigmatized 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 clothed 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 description which Moses gives us of it is this.

And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east side of Eden; and there he built a city, and called the name of it after the name of his son Enoch. Hereupon the learned Huetius observes,

† 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 Ex. x. 11 that God did signs before the Egyptians; and Lxx. 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 allure 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 the expostulation of his crime; Patrick's Commentary; and Sauvain's Dissertation.

† Gen. iv. 16, 17.  
* De la fuite du paradis.
ferves 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 term-ination pretty common to nouns feminine, and conse-quently no part of the name itself: from whence he in-
ers, 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 Ja-red, 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 imag-inable, how the city of Enoch, built before the flood, should either stand or retain its ancient name, after so violent a concusion, and total alteration of the face of nature.

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, con-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 with-draw, was Arabia deserta: to the barrenness of which, the curse that God pronounces against him, seems 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 o-pinion 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-

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x Well's Geography.  

y Gen. iv. 11.
fore, where-ever the country was where Cain took up his abode, that, in after ages, was called the land of Nod, 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 parent's 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 do

† Though we should suppose, that Adam and Eve had no other children than Cain and Abel 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 afore-said 122d year, 421,164 men, capable of generation, without ever reckoning the women, both old and young, or much children, as are under the age of 17 years. Vid. Desert chronol. geogr. critique sur le Bible differt. i. in the Journal of Paris, Jan. 1712, vol. II. 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 murthered him, is said A. M. \textit{128} to be in the field, \textit{2} not in contradiction to any large and populous city then in being, but rather to the tents, \textit{3876}, or cottages, where their parents and offspring might then live. The cause of his murthering him, was \textit{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 \textit{b} Cain was of that wicked one, and slew his brother, because his own works were wicked, and his brother's righteous.

\section*{Dissertation IV.}

\textit{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 clothed; 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 obligations 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.

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 \textit{c} of Enoch's prophecy; nothing \textit{d} of Noah's preaching; nothing \textit{e} of the peopling of the earth.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{a} Le Clerc's Commentary.
  \item \textit{b} John iii. 12.
  \item \textit{c} Jude 14.
  \item \textit{d} 2 Pet. ii. 15.
  \item \textit{e} \textit{Vid.} Gen. iv.
\end{itemize}
of the world; though these be referred to in other parts of Scripture: \(^f\) nor does he here introduce the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, with an intent to inform us of the origin of that rite, but merely to let us know what was the unhappy occasion of the first murder that ever was committed in the world.

The \(^s\) 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 \textit{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 fight, or an offering of a sweet smelling favour 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 unneces- sary cruelty; and therefore to have taken away their lives, without God's positive injunction, would have been an abominable act, and enough to disapprove 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 of

\(^f\) Outram De sacrificiis. \(^s\) 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 expense of a miracle, to de- note his approbation of them.  

\textit{1 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.  

\textit{k No man (says another Apostle) taketh this honour to himself, but be that is called of God, as was Aaron; nor can any one lay hold on the promise of forgivenes of sins (which is the great design of all sacrificing) any other way than by symbols of God’s own institution.  

In \textit{1} 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 — \textit{m} that the gravest and wisest of the Heathen philosophers always \textit{*} 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

\textit{1} Rom. xi. 34. \textit{k} Heb. v. 4. \textit{i} Heidegger’s Histor. patriar. exercit. i. \textit{m} Edward’s Survey of religion, vol. 1.

\textit{*} 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. Evan. i. i. 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. Paufanias [De Cerere Phrygialensi] 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

\textit{Non bove mañiato colesia numina gaudent,} was an old position of more writers than Ovid. \textit{Vide Shuck- ford’s Connection, vol. i. l. 2.}
might take the rite of sacrificing from the Jews, to 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 by faith Abel offered unto God a more acceptable sacrifice, than Cain: for 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 conception 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.

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 inherit

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Heidegger's Histor. patriarch, exercit. 8.  
Heb. xi. 4.  
Rom. x. 17.
rit their parents, corruption and infirmity. Since man, therefore, had forfeited his life by his transgressions, and God, notwithstanding, decreed to receive him into mercy, nothing certainly could better become the divine wisdom and goodness, than the establishment of some institution, 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; so 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 carcasses 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,
goodness, caused some ray of hope to shine through this scene of mortality and misery, and made sacrifices (at the same time that they were such lively emblems of the horror of guilt) the means of its expiation, and the seals of his covenant of grace.

"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 comprised: 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 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 condemn 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 anything, but only in virtue of the expiatory sacrifice of the Medias 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.

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 the

\[\text{Revelation examined.} \quad \text{Heb. x. 4.}\]
the reasons, that are usually allledged, for his rejection of
Cain’s, and approbation of Abel’s sacrifice.
Most of the Jewish interpreters have placed the differ-
ent 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 ^ by offering to him
of that which cost him nothing: Whereas Abel found a kind
acceptance, because t be honoured the Lord with his substance:
He brought of the firstlings of his flock, and the very best
and fatter of them, as thinking nothing too good to be
offered in devotion and gratitude to him from whom he
received all.

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 sup-
poses, 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 repen-
tance 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 doft well, shalt thou not be ac-
cepted? And if thou dost not well, sin lieth at thy door, i. e.
if thou art righteous, thy righteousnes shall have thee; but
if thou art not, by what expiation is thy sin purged? it
lieth still at thy door.
The author to the * 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 con-
sequence of such belief, the performance of some action en-
joined by God: By faith Noah, being warned by God, prepar-
ed 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
land

**2 Sam. xxiv. 24. Prov. iii. 9. Bishop Sherlock’s
Use of Prophecy, dif. 3. Chap. xi. ver. 4. Shuck-
ford’s Connect, vol. 1. l. 2.**
A. M. 118. land, which God promised to give him for an inheritance, obeyed, i. e. he believed that God would give him what he had promised, and, in consequence of such belief, did what God commanded him: And thus it was, that Abel, by faith, offered a better sacrifice than Cain, because he believed what God had promised, that the seed of the woman 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.  

2 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 obligation was all that was required to his justification, he took no care to preferve 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 malicisoufnes; 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 forgivenesfs 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 deteatable in the sight of God

* Heidegger’s Hist. patriarch. exercit. 5. * Isa. lxvi. 3.
Chap. V. from the Creation to the Flood.

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.

* 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, falsque animo, sanctoque recessit
Mentis, et in eo doleum generofo pacius honesto,
Hanc cedo, ut ad moveram templis, et farre litabo.

SAT. 2:

And that other in Seneca:

Non in victimis, licet optimae sint, auroque praefulgent, deorum et honest, fed pia et recta voluntate venerandum; De fæc. u. t. c. 6.

b Ecclus. xxxv. 1, &c.

CHAP. 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 expulsions 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 be the birth of Seth.

* 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.
be different, and himself a lasting comfort and consolation to them: And therefore, as soon as Eve was delivered of the child, she called his name Seth, which signifies substi-
tute, because God had been so good as to send him in the room of his brother Abel, whom Cain slew. Adam, when he had Seth, was 130 years old: He lived after that 800 years, and begat several other children (though Moses makes no mention of them.) So that the whole of his

Seth.

A M 235

A catalogue of Adam's

A M 315

Enos, when 90, had a son named Cainan: After which he lived 815 years; in the whole 905.

A M 325

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 outlive 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 de-

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fendants, being born infants, did gradually proceed to matur-

ity; subduing 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 usu-

ally 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 be-

}
Methuselah, when 187, had a son named Lamech: After which he lived 782; in all 969.

Lamech, when 182, had a son named Noah: After which he lived 595; in all 777: And

Noah, when he was 500 years old, had three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet; † from whom the world, after the deluge, was replenished.

† This is the genealogy which Moses gives us of the posterity of Adam, in the line of Seth, until the time of

† Of these three sons, 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 Comment. and Poel's Annota.

† 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 prayer and worshipper of God. In the days of Mahalaleel (as the tradition tells us) a defection happened among the sons of Seth, who went down from the mountains where they inhabited, and joined themselves to the daughters of Cain: and therefore he called his son's name Jared, which signifies defending. 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;
the deluge; but we must observe, that these are far from being all his progeny. In the case of our great progenitor Adam, he informs us, that after the birth of Seth, he had several sons and daughters, though he does not so much 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, before they ever had a child, when it, so plainly appers, 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 doubtless were many) but only of the principal persons by whom, in a right line, the the succession was continued down to Noah, and thence to Abraham, the founder of the Jewish nation.

Not long after the departure of Cain, the whole world was divided into two families, or opposite nations: The family of Seth, which adhered to the service of God, became for the first part of the word [Methu] signifies he dies, and [Selah] the sending forth of water. Methuselah, perceiving the wickedness 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 after the deluge, or a notable improver of the art of agriculture called his name Noah, which denotes a comforter; Bedf ord's Scriptur e chronology. We may observe, from this catalogue, however, that the patriarchs, in those days, were not so superstitious, as to think anything 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 a 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 children.
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 styled the \(fons\) 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 manner 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 \(Karabesbem\), 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 \(Besbem\), by, or after the name of his son, Numb. xxxii. 42, \(Jikra\), he called it \(Nobabesbem\), by, or after his own name; and in Pial. xlix. 11, \(Kareau\), they call their lands \(Bishmotham\), 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 \(fons\) of \(God\) saw the daughters of \(men\); Patrick's Commentary; and Calmet's Dictionary on the word \(Enos\); and Shuckford's Connection, vol. i. l. 1.

\(b\) Heidegger's Histor. patriarch.
ner of impiety and lasciviousness; from whence they had the name of the sons and daughters of men.

In this period of time, Enoch, one of the family of Seth, and the seventh in a direct line from Adam, a person of singular piety and sanctity of life, not only took care of his own conduct, * as considering himself always 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.

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 tradition

* This seems to be the natural sense of the expression of walking with God; and excellent to this purpose is this passage of Seneca, if we take what he tells us of the presence of God in a Christian sense: “Sic certe vivendum, says he, tanquam in conspectu vivamus; sic cogitandum, tanquam aquis in piscibus intimum inspicere poilit, et potest. Quid enim prodest ab homine aliquid esse secretum? nihil Deo clausum est. Inept animis nostris et cogitationibus mediis intervenit;” lib. 1. ep 83; Le Clerc’s Commentary. But, considering how usual 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 several 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, divinique videbit Permilos heroas, et ipse videbitur illis, Virg. ecl. 4. And to the same purpose,

Sapientes seque mortales ostendere cautu Celicola, nondum spretæ pietate, solebant. Catul. in Nup. Tēt. et Pelei.

* Where Adam was buried cannot be collected from Scripture, St. Jerom [in Matt. 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-
dation 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 mur-
therer 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 Methusela-
lah, 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 de-
struction, and so become the father of the new world; and for this reason † he called him Noah, which signifies a com-
forter, 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 caffia, and deposit it in a certain cave, on the top of a mountain, which he had chosen for the repository of his remains, and which was thence called the cave of All-Kouz, a word derived from the Arabian Kanaza, which signifies to lay up pri-
vately. And this precaution (as the Jews will have it) was or-
dered by Adam to be taken, lest his posterity should make his re-
licts the object of idolatry. Several of the primitive fathers be-
lieve, 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-bu-
ried 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 re-
posited with them. When Eve, the mother of all living, died is no where expressed in Scripture; but there are some who ven-
ture to tell us, that she outlived her husband ten years; vide the Univerusal 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
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Gen. ch 5, 6, 10.  
ver. 13.

ferter: though others imagine, that the name was therefore given him, because his father, by the spirit of prophecy, foreknew, that God, in his days, would remove the curse of barrenness from off the face of the earth, and, after the time of the deluge, restore it to its original fertility.

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 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. 5. and knowing the labour and inconveniences they were under, rejoiced in foreseeing what ease and comfort they should have, when they 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 sons 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, supposeth 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 expostition. 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 their instance could it appear, unless it were 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 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. Heidigger's Hist. patriarch.; Patrick and Le Clerc's Commentary; Pool's Annotations; Shuckford's Connection; and Bishop 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.
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 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 intermarriages with them; from whence arose another race of men, no less remarkable for their daring wickedness then for their bold undertakings and adventurous actions.

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, 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 lufts and inordinate passions.

* Our excellent Milton describes the manner of their being captivated with the daughters of Cain in these words:

* Long had not walk'd, when from their teats, behold,
  A bevy of fair women, richly gay,
  In gems, and wanton drest: to th' harp they sung
  Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on.
  The men, though grave, ey'd them; and let their eyes
  Rove without rein; 'til in the amorous net
  First caught, they lik'd, and each his liking chose. Book. 1.

* Josephus's Antiq. 1. 1. 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. 1. 1. c. 4.; and (as the tradition is) he settled in a country called Cyparissus, 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. In one word, the whole race of mankind was become so very wicked, that one would have really thought they had been confederated together against heaven, to violate God's law, 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.

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 dispositions 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 those passions and
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 de-
nounced 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
reproval,) they should forswear 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
rupt and degenerate age, had found favour in his sight;
and for whose sake his family, which consisted of eight per-
sons in all, was to be exempted from the general destruc-
tion.

The Objection.

But how great forever the wickedness of the ante-
diluvian world might be, yet it comports but bad-
ly with the goodness, and wisdom, and foreknowledge of
God, to have created the race of mankind, and provid-
ed 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 Heathers can tell
us, that majestatis diminutio est, et confesio erratis, mutanda facere;
neeesse est enim ei cadem placere, cui, nisi optima placere non possunt;
Seneca in Præf. nat. quaæt. Vid. Le Clerc's Commentary: Bishop King on Predilettination; and Ainworth's Annota-
tions.

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 in-
creasing 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 men-
tioned 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 di-
mination to its authority; Pool's Annotations.
Chap. V. from the Creation to the Flood.

in so short a compafs of time, to cancel the work of A.M. 1536.
his own hands, by destroying the beauty of the one, and
the lives of the other. For seven generations together
(if Jos. sets truth) men lived in the exercise of
virtue, and in the love and fear of God. The family
of Seth were very famous for their holiness, justice, and
purity; and (as writers say) were continually
employing themselves in the worship and praisef 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 All fleshs had
corrupted his way upon the earth, and that every imagina-
tion of his heart was evil continually, infomuch that it re-
pented and grieved the Lord that he had made man. Now if
God forefaw that man would fo soon become fo very
wicked, why did he make him at all? Or, if foreseeing
this, he neverthelefs thought proper to make him, why
was he fo concerned at finding him to be just what he
forefaw he would prove? To destroy the wicked race
of Cain indeed, in some particular branch of it, for tes-
timony of his displeasure against the reft, this might have
been confident with his wisdom and justice, and other
facred attributes: but to lay waste the whole earth all
at

f Ant. i. 4.
† Immediately after the death of Adam, (fay several of these
writers.) Seth being wearied with the wickednefs of the family
of Cain, his neighbours, and fearing that now they would be-
come more profligate, retired from the plain where he lived
before, and taking with him his eldest fon Enos, and Cainan
the fon 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 employed themselves in the praisef 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 fo very near the celestial paradise, that they
heard the voices of angels celebrating the praisef of God, and
joined with them in their facred hymns and heavenly benefic-
tions. Bedford’s Scripture chronology.

8 Gen. vi. 12.
The History of the BIBLE

Book I.

A.M.1536. "at once, and even the brute creation, which was not capable of offending? to pull down what he had for the space of 1656 years been establishing, and to put himself to the trouble of beginning again, and re-peopling the shattered and defaced earth from the loins of four progenitors only, argues too much levity and caprice, ever to be imputed to a wife and unchangeable God.

"The whole history of this period of time indeed (according to the account of Moses) is so glaringly romantic, 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 Corinthians tells us, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherit incorruption: and yet here we have a man, who (according 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 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 generation; and yet 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 marrying 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 pleasant stories of their gods turning gallants to ladies, of their assuming human shape, living in obscurity for some time, and submitting to employs far beneath their quality, and all for the love of the fair sex; but, in a book:

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 fhewn 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.

1 Gen vi. 2.
"book of divine extract and sacred truth, we little expec-
ted 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 détrone
them, is a popular subject among the sons of Parnassus;
but who ever thought to have met with the foun-
dation of all these fictions in so grave an author as Mo-
hes? In short, his whole account of the translation 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."

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
but an world
came to be
wicked.

† The poets have described the attempt of the ancient giants
in such strains as these:

Neve foret terris sccurior ardus æther.
Affectâsferunt regnum cœlestes gigantes,
Altaque congelatos Ærexit ad tydera montes Æcid, Met. i. 1.

Corpora qui manibus magnum rescindere cœllum
Agreft, superîque Jovem detrudere regnis.
Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Òsîm
Seïlicet; atque Òsî frondosum inuolvere Olympum;
Ter pater extruditos disjecit fulmine montes. Virg Æn, 6,
et Geor 1.

Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Jovi
Fdeas juvetus horrîda brachiiis,
Fratreique tendentes opaco
Peîon imposuisset Olympo.
Sed quid Typhœus, quid validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyryion ñatu,
Quid Ægheus, evulsiæque truncis
Enceladus jaculator audax,
Contra sonantem Palladis Ægida
Possent ruentes? Hor. Car. 1. 3. ode 4.

m Gen. vi. 4.
Vot. I, No. 3. Mm
but foresee, that he would sadly degenerate, and turn rebel
to his will, is a question we have already endeavoured to
resolve, a when we treated of the fall of Adam; and by
what means his posterity, in the succession of so few ge-
erations, as passed from the creation to the flood, be-
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 or-
iginal 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 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 hu-
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 mercy, or
monitions of providence with man, who is now entirely
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-
rup\ion, 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-
cation

a 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.

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 judgements 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 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, 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 their

9 Shuckford's Connect. vol. 1. L 1.

2 Revelation examined, vol. 1.
and other living creatures.

their duty, and giving them directions for the conduct of their lives; since, at this time, they had the principles of religion (which were but very few) conveyed to them by an easy tradition, which, by Methuselah's living 248 years with Adam, and dying but a little before the flood, in the 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, as the Apostle styles him, to exhort that wicked race to forsake their sins, and return unto him; to warn them of their impending 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 judgement: 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 sufficient 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, added to his own declarations, institutions, inflictions, and denunciations of vengeance, could reclaim, in the course of so many centuries.

Other living creatures, it is true, were not culpable in this manner: They all answered the ends of their production, and man was the only rebel against his maker. But as, in an universal deluge, it was impossible to preserve them alive without a miracle; so, having, in some measure, been made instrumental to man's wickedness, innocent 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 severity, that thereby he might deter future ages from the like provocations. And this is the inference which the Apostle draws from all his judgements of old: 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 upon

5 2 Pet. ii. 5. 6 Le Clerc's Commentary. 4 2 Pet. ii. 4, &c.
The Scripturc 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 αἰγίλλοι τοῖς θείοι 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. "Several people have had the trial," says he, "and several have heard it from those who knew it to be true, that the Siboni and Sambii, 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.

An incubus (if any such there be) can desire commerce with a woman, for no other reason, but only to draw

† Dr Whitby, in his Scripturc et patrum. p. 5. has instanced in almost all the fathers of the four first centuries, who were of this opinion; such as Julian Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, St Cyprian, Lactantius, Eufebius, &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 αἰγίλλοι 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. 1. 1. c. 4.

* De civitate Dei, l. 15. c. 23. † Heidegger's Hist. patriar.
draw her into the gulf of perdition. Any carnal gratification of his own cannot be his motive, because pleasure, in an assumed body, if it is pretended to, must be fictitious. But here the sons of God are said to be enamoured with the daughters of men, and (to satisfy their lufts) to take to themselves wives of all that they choose, 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 in Scripture men of renown, did enflue; but it is impious to think, that God would ever concur with the devil, violating the laws of generation which he had established, 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 engender.

In prejudice taken to this opinion, therefore, several interpreters have made choice of another, which, though somewhat more reasonable, is nevertheless subject to exceptions. 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 discomfitence vice, were themselves the greatest examples and promoters of lewdness and debauchery; taking the daughters of men, or of the inferior and meaner sort of the people, and debauching them by force. But besides the harshness of the construction, which (contrary to Scripture-phrase) makes all great and powerful 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 women; 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 disfigure them; but voluntarily entered into 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 inferiors, 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?

The most common, therefore, and indeed the only probable opinion is, that the sons of God were the descendants of Seth.

2 Ibid.
dants of Seth, who, for the great piety wherein they con-
tinued for some time, were so called, and that the daugh-
ters 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 pro-
voking 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 The ido-
no, in the ages before the flood, idolatry was practised? but there seems to be no great foundation for our doubt-
ing 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, *they became vain in their imagi-
nations, 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, men fell into idolatry, until the true wor-
ship of God was again established in Abraham’s family, it seems very probable that he intended us an intimation here-
of in the manner of his expressing himself: Nor can we imagine but that, when St. Peter compares the false teach-
ers 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 cer-
tain 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 in the way of Cain;* he leaves us to in-
fer, 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 pro-
fligate in their manners, but abettors of infidelity, and promoters

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a Rom. i 21, 23.  b Gen. viii. 21.  c 2 Pet. ii. 1; 5.  d Ver. 4, 11.
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,
Thou shalt not make marriages with them; thy daughter
thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shall
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 Mo-
abites to commence a familiarity with them; whereupon
it soon came to pass, that The people began to commit abomi-
don 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 the 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 Canaanite wâ-
man; and though we, under the gospel, 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? a 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 en-
hanced, 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 moun-
tainous country where they inhabited, nor have any com-
munion with the descendents of Cain.

How

\[\text{Deut. vii. 3, 4.} \]
\[\text{Num. xxv. 1, 2.} \]
\[\text{1 Cor. viii. 4.} \]
\[\text{2 Cor. vi. 14, &c.} \]
How the commixture of the two 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, because giants there were among the Cainites, before this conjunction, and we read of several in other nations many ages after the flood. The more probable opinion therefore is, t that God permitted it in vengeance to their parent's 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.

It must be acknowledged, indeed, that translators have not agreed in their notions of this word. Aquila, instead of *gigantes*, renders it *men who attack*, or fall with impetuosity upon their enemies; and Symmachus will have it mean *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 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.

*That there were multitudes of giants in the land of promise, before the Israelites took possession of it, such as Og king of Bashan, and the Anakims, whom o the Moabites called *Enims*, i. e. *terrible men*, and p the Ammonites, *Zamzummims*, 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 of

1 Gen vi 4.  k Vid. Heidegger’s Vit. patriar. and Patrick’s Commentary. 1 *Etiinioves*  m *Biaioi*.  † Mr Whiston, in his original records, has a supplement concerning the old giants, wherein, according to the Apocryphal book of Enoch, he divides the giants into three kinds, and in this division thinks himself countenanced by the works 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.

a Huetii Aletan. Quest. o Deut. ii. 11. p Ver. 21.

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and in Sicily, A.D. 179, near Panormum in Sicily, the body of a giant was dug up; and Cappellanus, and one of the Cypriotes, and a D. Numb. xiii. 39. Anno, I. 56. c. 2. 


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and 60. and 60. Gen. ch. 2. 260. in 1.

This text is a fragment from a historical or mythological text, discussing the legendary figures of giants and the story of Ovid's "Fasti." It mentions that the body of a giant was found near Panormum in Sicily and the tradition of giants in various parts of the world. The text refers to Homer's poems and other ancient authors. It describes the stories of the Cyclops and their feats, such as the Cyclops Polyphemus who dug up the body of a giant near Panormum in Sicily. The passage also touches on the tradition of giants and the legends of the Cyclops, as mentioned in Ovid's "Fasti."
But I forbear more instances of this kind, and, * refer-
ing the reader, for his farther conviction, to such au-
thors as have professedly handled this subject, shall only
 crave leave to make this remark — 7 that, in all pro-
bability, no small part of the eldest cities, towers, temples,
obelisks, pyramids, and pillars, some of which are still re-
main ing, and defervedly 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 2 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 Whifton's Supplement concerning the old giants, in his
Authentic Records, part 2.

* Hey that desire to see more instances of this kind may
find them cited by Huetius, in his Quest. Aletan. I. 2.; Aug. De
civit. Dei l. 15.; Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 5. 18.; Plini, l. i.;
Heidegger's Hist. patr. exercit. 11.; Grotius De veritate. l. 1.;
Hackwell's Apologi. l. 3.; Whilton's Original Records, part 2;
and our Philosophical Transactions, N. 234. 272 274. 346.
and 370.

† Whilton'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
called 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 Maris, 480 miles long, and dug by human la-
bour, all by the fame Herodotus. 9. The Sphinx of Egypt.
10. The moft ancient Temple in Egypt. 11. The Agrigentine
Temple. 11. The Pyramidal Obelisk, all mentioned by Diodorus
Siculus. 13. The Temple of Solomon. 14. The Palace of Sol-
mon at Jerusalem. 15 That at Balbeck. 16. That at Tad-
mor 17. The Palace and Buildings at Persepolis. 18. The
And 20. The first Temple of Diana at Ephesus; Whilton's Sup.

mounds, in order to scale it, or to hurl rocks, and
islands, and huge flaming trees against it, in order to shake,
or set it on fire; all that we pretend to say is, that in an-
cient days, there were giants, in great numbers, who (ex-
cepting the largeness of their stature) were formed and
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.

Amidst the antediluvian corruption, and even while
these abominable and gigantic men were in being, Moses
makes particular mention of one person of eminent san-
tity, and who found a favour extraordinary, for having pre-
furred his innocence, and perfisted in his duty, withnot-
standing the wickedness of the age wherein he lived. E-
noch was certainly, in other respects, an extraordinary per-
son. 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 trans-
lated 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 be-
come a crude tautology. For, if we say, that Enoch was
not, i. e. he 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

**Enoch was not, i. e. was no where to be found, was seen**

neither among the living nor the dead here on earth, for and 6. to
God took him, i. e. because God translated to another place,
soul and body together, without undergoing the pains of
death; here is a grace and energy in the expression, 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 tak-
ing 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 assump-
tion into glory. The truth is, c 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, 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 mans-
ions of bliss.

Our Saviour, indeed, when he came upon earth, though he
declared from heaven to be the Son of God, who was
not exempted from the common condition of our mortal-
ity. f 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 de-
vil. His errand was to propitiate for our sins; but since,
without shedding of blood there is no remission, the decree was,
that he should die, which when he had satisfied he rose a-
gain; and after forty days converse with his disciples even
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, guided by the ministrty of
angels.

* Patrick’s Commentary.  f Heb. ii. 14.  g Ch. ix. 22.
The angelic Book bright the which ''I a

The place to which Enoch was translated;

and some Heathen evidences hereof:

angels, gently raised him from the earth, and mounted with him upon high, (which seems to be our Saviour's cafe,) or that a strong ghyft of wind, governed by the fame angelic powers, in some vehicle or other, resembling a bright chariot and horses, transported him into heaven, (which seems to be the cafe 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 trumpet shall sound.

It is an idle conceit therefore of some of the Jewis, as well as Christian doctors, that Enoch was not translated into the celestial, 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 paffed through the Red-fea, and that the waves, towering up on all sides, surrounded it like a wall, and kept that particular spot dry; which is by too much bold a fuppofition, e-fpecially when it contradicts that authority, which tells us, that the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and that all the high hills, which were under the whole heavens, were covered.

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 evidence of his presence, and communicates his glory with the utmost majesty: a place which St. Paul calls m the third heaven, whereunto Elijah was translated,

1 2 Kings ii. 11. k 1 Cor. xv. 52.

* Bonferius ait, Verisimile esse paradum ab imbribus ferva- tum immunem, undique ad latera fese attollentibus aquis, et quasi in murum solidatis, quemadmodum foliis aqua Maris Rubri Israelitis in medio aquarum transeuntibus Verum non hic quid verisimile fit quaeritur, fed quid pro certo affirmari pos- fit Ubi miraculi nullum velfigium appareat, non licet propria opinione verifimitudinis illud affure: Heidegger, Vit. pa- triar De raptu Enochi, exercit.

1 Gen. vi. 19. m 2 Cor. xii. 2.
lated, and wherein our blessed Saviour is now in 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 affuring Cadmus, that by the help of Mars, he should live for ever in the isles of the blest: that we find Aganympa 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.

And in like manner, it is far from being a bad argument for the truth and reality of the flood, that we find, of the flood: almost everywhere in the Latin and Greek historians, horrid descriptions of the lives of the giants, which occasioned that heavy judgement: that we find Berosus the Chaldean, as he is quoted by Josephus, relating the same things which Moses does, concerning the great deluge, the destruction of mankind by it, and the ark, in which Nochus (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 by Eusebius) taking notice of the wood of the vessel, wherein Xifuthrus (for 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 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 Lucian giving us a long account of an ancient tradition, which


† M. Le Clerc in his notes upon Grot. De verit. [l. 1. §. 16] seems to intimate, that Xifuthrus, Ogges, 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:

* Contra Julianum.

* De Dea Syria.
which the people of Hierapolis had of the deluge, * varying very little from what our sacred historian relates: when we find all this, I say, we cannot but acknowledge, that these, and the many more historians who are usually produced upon this head, are a strong testimony of the truth and authority of Moses; and therefore, to conclude this reply, or a vindication of him, with the reflection of the learned " Scaliger upon the agreement he perceived between 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 " are

* 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 multitude 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 strangers; for which reason this great misfortune came upon them: All on a sudden the earth disembowelled itself of a great quantity of water, great flowers 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 in which he was saved was 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, together with their mates. He received them all, and they did him no harm; for by the assistance of heaven there was a great amity between them, so that all failed in one chest as long as the water did predominate. This is the account which all the Greek historians 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 chasm into which all this water sunk, whereupon Deucalion built an altar, and erected a temple 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 chasm 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.

" Not. in Fragm. in append. ad emend. temp."
are rather to be pitied for not having had the advantage of true and authentic antiquities and records to set them right, than to forfeit their value and authority, from such slips and deviations from the truth of the story as render their testimony and confirmation of the truth of the sacred history much stronger, because much less to be suspected than if they agreed with it in every circumstance.

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 convenient to take some notice of such Heathen writers as have given us an account of the times before the flood, through which we have hitherto been tracing Moses: and those that are esteemed of the best credit and repute, are only three; Berofus, who wrote the history of the Chaldeans; Sanchoniatho, who compiled that of the Phœnicians; and Manetho who collected the antiquities of Egypt. The Chaldeans were certainly a nation of great and undoubted antiquity. In all probability they were the first formed into a national government after the flood, and therefore were more capable of having such arts and sciences 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 Josephus assures us) a priest of Belus, and a Babylonian 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, says one, which made a fair and specious shew, but was not within what it pretended to be, especially when it attempts to treat of ancient times. It cannot be denied, however, but that some fragments

\[x\] Stillingfleet's Orig. facr. l. i. c. 3. \[y\] Cont. App. l. 1. \[z\] Vid. Univerf. hist.; and Shuckford's Connect. l. 1.
fragments of it which have been preserved from ruin by
the care and industry of Josephus, Tatianus, Eusebius, and
others, have been very useful, not only for proving the
truth of Scripture-history to the Heathens, but for con-
firming likewise some passages relating to the Babylonish
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 fami-
liarly 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 Xifuthrus, the last, Noah; and of this Xifuthrus he
pursues the story in this manner.

Cronus, or Saturn, appearing to him in a dream,
gave him warning, that on the 15th day of the month De-
fius, mankind should be destroyed by a flood, and there-
fore 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. Xifuthrus 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 di-
rected, 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 wa-
ter, 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 Berosus, who varies very little from our
sacred historian during this period.

Sanchoniatho is highly commended both by Por-
phyry, the great adversary of Christianity, and by his
translator into Greek, Philo. Biblius. Theodoret is of op-
inion, that his name, in the Phœnician tongue, signifies
φιλάνθρωπος, a lover of truth; which name, as Bochart
imagines, was given him when he first set himself to write
history:

a Ibid.  b Stillingfleet's Orig, facr. l. 1. c. 2.
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 Proto-gonus and Ἔος, (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 practisèd idolatry; for, upon the occasion of great droughts, they made their adorations to the sun, calling him Beelzamen, 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 peices of wood against one another: that these begat sons of vast bulk and stature, whose names were given to mount Caffius Libanus, Antilibanus, and Brathys, whereon they feized: that of these were begotten Memrumus, and Hypsufarnius, the latter of whom was the inventor of huts made of reeds and reeses, and had a brother called Usus, 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 Chryfor (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 Agrotes, 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 Mofes, especially in the idolatrous line of Cain, our learned bishop Cumberland has all along made his observations.

O o 2. 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 he pro-
fected 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 anything of, and which pillars being engraved be-
fore 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 car-
ried those of the Israelites. 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 determi-

* The substance of the account however (as it stands
unexplained in Manetho) is this:——That there were in
Egypt thirty dynasties of gods, consisting of 113 genera-
tions,

* Vid. Stillingfleth’s Orig. facr. I. c. 2. No. II. Shuck-
ford’s Connect part i. 1. 1.

* 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
Marsham, in his Can. chron. p 1) 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
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.

Now, in order to explain what is meant by this prodigious number of years, we must observe, 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 complete revolution of any star which they worshipped, 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 Eratothenes, 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. I. 1.
The reign of that star; and as a period of 36,525 years is what they call an entire mundane revolution, i.e. when the several heavenly bodies come round to the same point, from which all their courses began; so is 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 Egyptian dynasties: and if so, it makes their history not near so extravagant as has been imagined, and sinks their account of time some hundred years short of the Jewish computation.

The Jewish computation indeed is not a little ambiguous, 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 Samaritan copies, and from the LXX interpretation.

### The computation of Moses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. According to the Hebrew text.</th>
<th>Begin his life in the year of the world</th>
<th>Had his son in the year of his life</th>
<th>Lived after his son's birth, years</th>
<th>Lived in all, years</th>
<th>Died in the year of the heathens.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>130</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seth</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>1042</td>
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<tr>
<td>Enos</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>905</td>
<td>1140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cainan</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>1235</td>
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<tr>
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<td>65</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>1290</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jared</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>1422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enoch</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methuselah</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>1656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamech</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>1651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah</td>
<td>1056</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Accordingly.
Chap. V.  

from the Creation to the Flood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>According to the Samaritan</th>
<th>Died in the year of the world</th>
<th>Lived in all</th>
<th>Lived after his son's birth</th>
<th>Had his son in the year of his life</th>
<th>Lived after his son's birth</th>
<th>Had his son in the year of his life</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>65</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jared</td>
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<td>1307</td>
<td></td>
<td>847</td>
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<td>62</td>
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<tr>
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<td>365</td>
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<td></td>
<td>653</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>1307</td>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. According to the Septuagint:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Died in the year of the world</th>
<th>Lived in all</th>
<th>Lived after his son's birth</th>
<th>Had his son in the year of his life</th>
<th>Lived after his son's birth</th>
<th>Had his son in the year of his life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>1340</td>
<td>905</td>
<td></td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cainan</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>1535</td>
<td>910</td>
<td></td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahalaleel</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>895</td>
<td></td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jared</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>962</td>
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<tr>
<td>Enoch</td>
<td>1122</td>
<td>1487</td>
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<td>187</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lamech</td>
<td>1474</td>
<td>2227</td>
<td>753</td>
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<td>188</td>
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<tr>
<td>Noah</td>
<td>1662</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 St Jerom informs us of.

*In quæst, in Genes.*
of **viz.** that there were Samaritan copies which made Methuselah 187 years old at the birth of Lamech; and Lamech 182 at the birth of Noah. Now, if this be true, it is easy to suppose 62 (the age of Jared at the birth of Enoch) to be a mistake of the transcriber, who might drop a letter, and write 62 instead of 162; and thus all the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan copies will entirely vanish.

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.

Those who espouse the cause of the Greek version, draw up their arguments in this rank and order. They tell

† Lud. Capellus [in his *Chron. sacr. in apparatu Walto 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 proportionally 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 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*, i. 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 rarely 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 dropped 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, who expressly declares, that he wrote his history from the sacred pages, 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, 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 Septuagint,
The History of the BIBLE, Book I.

A.M. 1536, Ant. CHRIF. 2408.
Gen. ch. 5 and 6 to verse 13.

For the Hebrew computation.

The Septuagint, except here and there a variation or two, not worth regarding; and therefore they conclude, that, as there is a manifest disagreement between the Greek and Hebrew copies in this respect, the mistake should rather be charged upon the Hebrew, than the Septuagint; because, as the Hebrew is thought by some to fail 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 addition.

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 that the Hebrew text is the original, in which the Spirit of God indicted 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 were committed these oracles of God, used the greatest diligence to preserve them pure and entire, in so much, that in the course of so many years (as 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 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 (which

k Millar's Church history. 1 Rom. iii. 2. m Contra Appl. 1 s. n Vid. Eus opera, tom. 2. p. 932, edit. Ultraject. 1699.
(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 100 years, entirely agrees with it.

They tell us, that Demetrius, the real historian, (for Phaleriues 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 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 whether it was done by way of addition or subtraction: Only as it is evident, that the Greeks

† Demetrius Phalerius was the first president of the college of Alexandria, to which the library belonged, where the original manuscripts of the Septuagint were reposed. 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 ever he 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 this purpose; Shuckford's Connect. i. 1.

* Vide Cave's Hist.; Litt. p 2 in Joseph; and Well's Dissertation upon the Chronicles of Josephus, p. 19...

** Heidegger's Hist. patriarch.
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Greek did compute by numerical letters, whereas it is much questioned, that the Hebrews ever did, the mistake or falsification rather seems to lie on the side of the Greek translators, the very form of whose letters was more susceptible of it.

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.

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 acknowledgements, that the fruits of the earth, and all other creatures, for the

† The names for the Septuagint computation, which the learned Heidegger, in his hist. patriarch (as he takes them from Baronius,) has reckoned up, are such as these: Theophilus Bishop of Antioch, St Cyril, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolytus, Origin, Lactantius, Epiphanius, Philaetius Orofius, Cyril; the two Anathasius, 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 Jerome, but men of great skill and proficiency in the Hebrew language; De estate 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 man-kind especially as they referred to the Melias, and signified the future sacrifice of Christ, they were certainly instituted by God, and the practice of them was founded upon a divine command.

It is not to be doubted, 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 refer 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 to put into the ark seven pairs of clean, and two of unclean creatures: And 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) where-of the Jewish doctors make such boast; * and of these the

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* Gen. vii. 2.
* The commandments given to the sons of Noah are the same with these. They are an abridgement of the whole law of nature; but have one positive precept annexed to them; and are generally
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 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 flood; 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 replenish 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 perfons. 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 his sons, and were constantly observed by all the uncircumcised worshippers of the true God; Bibletheca Bib. occaf. annt. 1. vol. 1.

* To this purpose Cicero [De legibus, I. 3. c. 1] tells us, that “Sine imperio, nec domus uilla, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus flare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest.” Seneca afferts, that “Ifud [imperium] ef vinculum, per quod respublica coheret: Ile spiritus vitalis, quem haec tot millia trahunt: nihil ipxia per se futura, nisi onus et praesta, si mens illa imperii subtrahatur.”
flood; insomuch, 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.

The enterprising genius of man began to exert itself and the learning of the antediluvians.

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." 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

Univ. hist. l. i. n. 2. a Antiq. l. i. c. 2. b Stillingfleet's Orig. fac. l. i. c. 2.
persons who survived, might communicate their inventions to whom they pleased: The plain truth is, Josephus, who frequently quotes Heathen authors, and Manetho in particular, to this story of Seth's pillars from the pillars of Hermes mentioned in that historian: for as the Jews had an ancient tradition concerning Seth's pillars, Josephus; in reading Manetho, might possibly think his account misapplied 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.

" The Eastern people have preserved several traditions of very little certainty concerning Enoch. They believe, 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 besides

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 Jewish 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 authenticity. 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 Saulbin'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 apostle's 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 containing with the devil about the body of Moses, to interpolate many fables and inventions of their own; Raleigh's History of the world.
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 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 judgements against them; and as he was a good man, it was easy for St. Jude to imagine, that he would not fit still, and see the impieties of the people grow so very exorbitant, without endeavouring to reprove 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 judgement 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 testimo-

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a Heideggar’s Hitl. 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 to 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 transcribing them from any real book; Shuckford’s Connect. 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 Phænician antiquities; and among the Greeks, Vol. 1. No 4.
ny both of sacred and profane history. The only suspicion that can arise in our minds upon this occasion, is, that the computation might possibly be made, not according to solar, but lunar years; but this, instead of solving the difficulty, runs us into several gross absurdities.

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 abyss 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 eldest 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.

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.
If they will extend it to the postdiluvians likewise, they
will then be entangled 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 tem-
perament of the world wherein they lived, or (what is most
likely) the particular vouchsafeement of God, to give them
this mighty singular advantage above us.

Some have imputed this extraordinary length of life in
the antediluvians to the sobriety of their living, and sim-
plicity of their diet; that they eat no flesh, and had no
provocations to gluttony, which wit and vice have since in-
vented. 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 de-
creased 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 flamina, or first principles of their bodily constitu-
tion; 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 pro-
portionably 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.

Burnet’s Theory of the earth, l. 2. c. 4.
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 aether 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 or the foundations of the round world were shaken. The earth, no doubt, had, before, as well as after the flood, an annual as well as diurnal motion. It stood to the fun in the same oblique posture and situation, and was consequently subject to the same seasons and vicissitudes 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 designing 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. The days of our age are threescore years and ten: and though some 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.  
\[c\] Psal. xc. 10.
GOD (as we said before) had given mankind a reprieve 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 he assured 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 necessary.

† The words in our translation are, With thee will I establish my covenant: but right 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 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 Messiah; and in this sense will import, that as the Messiah 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 reinvigorate 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 again curse the ground 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. xiii. 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 cypresse; and that to prevent the waves from penetrating, or the sun from cracking it, as well

† 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 κουάρφος, or the cypresse-tree; for, taking away the termination, cupar, 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 cypresse the most durable of all; for which Vitruvius gives us this reason, viz., that the
well as to secure it from worms, and make it glide more
easy upon the water; his busines would be, as soon as it
was, finished, to pitch it, or rather smear it all over with
bitumen, (whereof there was plenty in the country), both
within and without; that, to make its proportion regular,
its length should be six times more than its breadth, and
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 fo and so disposed,
or

the sap, which is in every part of the wood, has a peculiar bit-
ter taste, and is so very offensive, that no worm or other cor-
roding 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
others think intended here) was of the same nature, and served
to the same use as pitch, being glutinous and tenacious, and
proper to keep things together; Patrick's Comment.

† A cubit is the measure from the elbow to the finger's end,
containing six hands breadths or a foot and a half; so that 300
cubits make exactly 450 feet. There are some however who
take these 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; Anisworth's Annot.; and Patrick's
Comment.

* There are various translations of the word zobar 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
Chap. VI.  
from the Creation to the Flood.

† 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.

These were the instructions which God gave Noah; who accordingly went to work, and being affilied 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.

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 Differt.; 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 facing 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 Diff. 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
The Hypothesis of the BIBLE,  Book. I.

whole. Whereupon God gave him instructions, that he should take into the ark every living thing of all flesh, both cattle, and beasts of the field, birds, and fowls of the air, and reptiles of all kinds; † of the unclean, one pair 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 Differt. In what place Noah built and finished his ark, is no less made a matter of disputation. 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 cypresses 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. 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 defolation 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 like— from Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 10. A short description of

Pursuant to these directions, Noah and his family went into the ark, (leaving the rest of the world in their security and senility,) in the 600th year of his age, much about the middle of September; when, in a few days after, the whole face of nature began to put on a dismal aspect, as if the earth were to suffer a final dissolu- lution, and all things return to their primitive chaos. ** The cataracts of heaven were opened, the abyss of waters, 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 ecclesiasti- cal, which began in March, and chiefly regarded the observa tion of their fasts and festivals, of which we read Exod. xii. 2. and the other civil, for the better regulating of men’s 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.

* Howell’s Complete history.

** Ovid, who is supposed to have extracted most of the be- ginning of his Metamorphoses out of the sacred records, has described.
waters in the centre of the earth poured out, and the sea, forgetting its bounds, overspread the earth with a dreadful inundation.

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, and 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: 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.

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, and,

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 piceä testus caligine vulsum---
Urque manu latâ pendantia nubila præstit:
Fīt frager: hinc densī funduntur ab aethere nimbi.—
Ipì triānte suo terram percūsit: at illa
Intremuit, motuque sinus patefecit aquarum.
Expatiata ruunt per apertos fiuma campos,
Cumque faris arbustī simul, pecudesque, virosque,
Tectaque, cumque suis rapiunt penetralia lacris,

Their retreat thus:

Nubila disjecit, nimisque Aquilone remotis,
Et célo terras offendit, et aethera terris——
Jam mare littus habet: plenos caput alveus amnes:
Flumina subfīdunt: colles exire videntur:
Surget humus: crescent loca decrecentibus undis.
Posquē diem longum nudata cacamina sylvæ
Oltendunt, limumque tenent in fronde reliétum. Lib. 1.

b Miller's History of the church; Patrick's Commentary; and Pool's Annotations.
from the Creation to the Flood:

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 one friend is apt to remembrance 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 and ceasing of the 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 subsided, 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,

† 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 khalon, 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-aliyah, or simply aliyah, in Greek προσευχή; and in Latin oratorium; and that, in this place of prayer, there was always an hhalon, an hole or window, which pointed to the kible, 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 aforetime, 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 being open that he was
window, he let go a raven, as supposing that the smell of
dead bodies would allure him to fly a good distance from
the vessel; but the experiment did not do; the raven,
after several unsuccessful flights, finding nothing but wa-
ter, returned to the ark again. Seven days after this, he
let fly a dove, a bird of a strong pinion, and, from the re-

toect 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 even-
ing, 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

was at prayers. Nor is it improbable that this window might
have some visible sign, either of the name of God or of the ho-
ly city, or of the sanctuary, or the like, inscribed 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 ado-
ration 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 intro-
duced by any positive law, and yet universally prevailed, it is
reasonable to believe, that at first it was derived from Noah,
and that the windows in their oratories were made in imitation
of this bhalon, or point of adoration in the ark; Bibliotheca Bibli-
ca, vol. 2.; Occas. Annot. in the appendix.

* Mr Baunage [in his Antiq. Judaiq. 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 ex-
actly the space of a solar year.

The Objection.

"But, granting 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) "
in

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 Bemage 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 10th. 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 saint; for the righteousness of Seth, whom thou hast loved. Let us not be reckoned in the number of those, who have dis obeyed 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;" Caius's Dictionary on the words Deluge and Noah.
in such a tempest of waters so long together; yet what
can we think would become of Noah and his family,
with all the several kinds of birds, beasts, and reptiles,
ditowed up, all this while, in a close hutch, without
the least breath of fresh air? How could they see 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 sun, 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 several 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
toon dispatched one another, without troubling the de-
lude. 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,
how the many animals, which are peculiar to several
parts of America, could get into Chaldea, or wherever
the ark was built; and, after the deluge was over, could
return to their native country. 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
flood

1 Ibid. Occasional Annot. 11.
2 If. Vossius De ætate mundi, p. 283.
flood was not universal, but confined to some particular countries; that, as its primary design was to destroy mankind only, (who could hardly be thought, in so short a time, to have overspread the whole face of the earth,) there was no necessity to carry the waters beyond the bounds of what was inhabited; and that the waters required to raise the deluge some fifteen cubits 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, 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 up on 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 universal, that it overwhelmed all the parts of the then inhabited world, and that all the race of mankind, except Noah'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 inhabited:

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 compass are the Tygris, the Euphrates, and several other large rivers, that might be contributory to the inundation.

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 number...
number of mankind, which, before the flood, was vaftly 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 fix 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, 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

* 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 breed-"ers (which is no hard supposition) there would arise from "these, in 1500 years, a greater number than the earth was "capable of, allowing every pair to multiply in the same decu-"ble proportion, that the first pair did. But, because this would "rife far beyond the capacity of the earth, let us suppose them "to increase, in the following centuries, in a quintuple propor-"tion only, or, if you will, only in a quadruple, and then the "table of the multiplication of mankind, from the creation to "the flood, would stand thus:

Century
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.

And accordingly, if we take the circuit of the globe, and inquire of the inhabitants of every climate, we shall find, that the fame of this deluge is gone through the earth, and that in every part of the known world there are certain records or 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 tradition.

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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 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.

*Burnet's Theory, ibid.*
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 were once destroyed in that deluge.

Nay, instead of the surrounding 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 mimickry or mock-productions of nature, for that they are real shells, the nicest examination

* 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, " deposed 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 moufe-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 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 incontrollably 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, 1 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, 2 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 3 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. 4 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 devastation 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,

1 Gen. vii. 23. 2 Ch. vii. 19. 3 Ch. ix. 11. 4 Bur- net's Theory, l. 1.
which environ the earth. All liquid bodies, we know, are
diffusive: their parts being in motion, have no tie or con-
nection one with another, but glide, and fall off any way,
as gravity and the air presf them; and therefore, when the
waters began to arife at firft, long before they could swel-
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 unphilofophical is the o-
pinion of thofe, who, to evade the difficulty of the quef-
tion, would fain limit or restrain the deluge to a particular
country, or countries. For if we admit it to be univer-
fa! fay they, where fhall we find a fufficient quantity of
water to cover the face of the earth, to the height that Mo-
ifes mentions?

Some indeed have thought it the beft, and moft com-
pendious way, to call in the arm of omnipotence at once,
and to affirm, That God created waters on purpofe to
make the deluge, and then annihilated them again, when
the deluge was to ceafe. But our bufines is not here to
inquire what God could work by his almighty power; but
to account for this event, in the beft manner we can, from
natural caufes. n Moses, it is plain, has ascribed it to
natural caufes, the continued rains for forty days, and the
difruption of the great abyfs; and the manner of its
gradual increafe and decreafe, wherein he has represented
it, is far from agreeing with the inftantaneous actions of
creation and annihilation.

Others, instead of a creation, have fuppo{ed a tran-
mutation of element, viz. either a condenfation of the air,
or a rarefaction of the waters; but neither of these
expedients will do: for, besides that air is a body of a dif-
ferent fpecies, and (as far as we know) cannot, by any com-
pression or condenfation, be changed into water; even
uppon the fuppo{ition that all the air in the atmosfphere were
in this manner condensed, it would not produce a bed of
water over all the earth, above two and thirty feet deep;
because it appears, by undoubted experiment, that a co-

n Burnet's Theory, l. i. c. 3.

Kircher De Arca

Noe, l. 2. c. 4.
much less would the spirit of rarefaction answer the purpose, 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 fih, 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.

A very sagacious naturalist, observing, that at certain times, there are extraordinary presfures 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 besides

Burnet's Theory, and Le Clerc's Commentary. Ray in his Physico-theological discourse concerning the deluge.
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.

1 A very ingenious theorist seems to be of opinion
himself, and labours to persuade others, that the * deluge
was occasioned by the dissolusion of the primæval earth; the
dissolusion of the earth by the fermentation of the in-
closed

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 stupenduous
vault around them. This vast collection of waters he takes to
have been the great deep, or abyss of Moses, and that the dis-
ruption 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 e-
quality 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 in-
to 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 resit them, fucking out the
moisture that was the cement of its parts, and parching and
chapping it in sundry places; so that, there being then no win-
ter to close up its parts, it every day grew more and more
disposed to a dissolusion, 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 earthquak e; and those great por-
tions or fragments, into which it was parted, fell down into the
abyss, some in one posture, some in another.

Thus the earth put on a new form, and became divided into
sea, and land; the greatest part of the abyss 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,
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 posi-
tion of the earth to be what he imagines, it 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 rare-
fied, 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, along continuance
of the flood, and not such a sudden shock and con-
vulsion of nature, as the theorist intends, in which, with-
out the divine intervention, it was impossible for the ark
to be saved.

Another learned theorist endeavours to solve the
whole matter, and supply a sufficiency of water from the
trajectory of a comet. For he supposes, "That, in its
descend 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 a-
byss) 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— That it is far from being
clear, whether the atmosphere of a comet be a watery sub-
fstance or not. The observations of the most curious in-
quirers make it very probable, that the circle about the bo-

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and breaks upon the shore, so that, at one shock, providence dif-
solved the old world, and made a new one out of its ruin. Vide the Universal history, 1. 1. c. 1. where this extract out of
Burnet's theory is made.

6 Keil's Examination of Burnet's theory.  c Mr Whiston,
7 Keil's Answer to Whilton's Theory; and Nicholl's Con-
ference, vol. 1.
dy of a comet is nothing, but the curling or winding round of the smoke, 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.

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 filled, and emptied all its water upon the same spot of ground, what a sudden and incredible deluge would it have made 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.
Chap. VI. from the Creation to the Blood.

It is impossible for us indeed to have any adequate conception of the thing, 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 O Crabu on 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.

2. The other cause which the Scripture makes mention of, is the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep, where-by those waters, which were contained in vast quantities in the bowels of the earth, were forced out, and thrown upon the surface of it. 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 Mediterranean in particular, besides the many rivers that run into it, has two great currents of the sea, one at the straits of Gibraltar, and the other

2 Patrick’s Commentary. 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 bottom 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. fac. 1. 3. c. 4.; and Bedford’s Scripture-chronology, c. 12.


T t 2
other at the Propontis, which bring in such vast tides of water; that, many ages ago, it must have endangered the whole world, had it not emptied itself, by certain secret passages, into some great cavity underneath. And for this reason, some have imagined, that the earth altogether is one great animal, whose abyss 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 the veins of 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, (because a matter of divine revelation,) that there is an immense 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, (to 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 antiquity, 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 abyss: e 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 abyss. Here is mention made of the abyss, and the fountains of the abyss; nor is there any question to be made, but that the fountains of the abyss here are the same with those which Moses 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 present, there was in the beginning a sphere, orb, or arch, let round the abyss, 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.

If

c Stillingfleet's Orig. sacr.
d Psal. xxiv. 2.
e Psal. cxxvi. 6.
f Psal. xxxiii. 7.
g Prov. viii. 27. 28.
Sir Walter Raleigh's History.
If such then be the form of this abyss, that it seems to be a vast mass or body of water lying together in the womb of the earth, it will be no hard matter to compute what a plentiful supply might have been expected from thence, in order to effect an universal deluge. h For if the circumference of the earth (even according to the lowest computation) be 21,000 miles, the diameter of it (according to that circumference) 7000 miles; and consequently from the superficies to the centrec, 3500 miles; and if (according to the best account) * the highest mountain in the world (taking its altitude from the plain it stands upon) does not exceed four perpendicular miles in height; then we cannot but conclude, that in this abyss there would be infinitely more water than enough, when drawn out upon the surface of the earth, to drown the earth to a far greater height than Moses relates. In a word, since it is agreed on all hands, that in the time of the chaos, the waters did cover the earth, insomuch that nothing of it could be seen, till God was pleased to make a separation: why should it be thought so strange a thing, that, upon a proper occasion, they should be able to cover the earth again; especially when the waters above the firmament came down to join those below, as they did at the beginning?

k Seneca, treating of that fatal day (as he calls it) when the deluge shall come, (for he supposed that the world

h Patrick’s Commentary.

* It is very probable, that men are exceedingly mistaken as to the height of mountains, since, upon examination, it appears that the highest in the world is not four miles perpendicular. Olympus, whose height is so extolled by the poets, does not much exceed a mile and a half. The mount Athos which is said to cast its shadow into the isle of Lemnos, (according to Piny 87 miles) is but two miles in height; nay, the very Pike of Teneriff, which is reputed the highest mountain in the world, may be ascended in three days, which (according to the proportion of eight furlong’s to a day’s journey) make it much about the height of a German mile perpendicular, as Varenius confesses. And as for those mountains in Peru, in comparison of which (as the Spaniards tell us) the Alps are no more than cottages, they themselves allow, that they may be ascended in four days, which still reduces them much within the compass of four miles, and thereby makes the account of the flood, and its overtoping the highest mountains, not so improbable as some imagine; Stillingfleet’s Orig. sacr. lib. 3. cap. 4.

i Vid. I. 1. c. 1. p. 6. k Nat. Quæst. 3. c. 27.
world was to be destroyed alternately, first by water, and after that by fire,) and questioning how it might be effected, whether by the force of the ocean overflowing the earth, by perpetual rains without intermission, by the swelling of rivers, and opening of new fountains, or (what he rather supposes) by a general concourse and combination 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 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. '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. Tho' 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

* Univer§. History, 1. i. c. 1*
bring a 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.

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.

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 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


† 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 nobody, 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 milledecuple

A. M. 1656, &c.
Ant. Chrift. 2349, &c.
from Gen. vi. 12. to ix. 20.
had been built according to the most modern model, even supposing the waters, from the first to the last, to have been never so boisterous. But this they were not: whatever storms and convulsions there might be in particular places, when the flood gates of heaven were at first opened, and 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 expresseth 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, therefore, 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 sundry other accounts, * upon experiment, perhaps it may be found to be the most complete and perfect model that ever was devised.

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, according

to hold every thing that was to be put in it, had a micklepower of the wind, and the invasive power of the wind, be multiplied also with it in the same proportion, the refilience of a rectangular solid (which is perfectly impenetrable, and exactly the shape of the ark) will be proof against any given force whatever; Biblotheca Biblica vol. 1: Occas. annot. 13.

* About the beginning of the last century, Peter Janssen, 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 a 120 foot, the breadth of it 20, and the depth of it 12. At first this ark was looked upon no better than as a fanatical vision of this Janssen, (who was by profession a Mennonite,) and, whilst it was building, he and his ship were made the sport of the seamen, 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; Biblotheca Biblica, ibid.
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 cubic
feet, which was ample enough, in all conscience to re-
ceive 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; 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 an half, or one cu-
bit, for the slope of the roof, or the cover of the upper story.
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 re-
ceive what was to be put therein, will appear to any one
who will give himself the trouble of making a geometrical
calculation.

He

2 Wilkins's Essay towards a real character. 6 Wells' Geography, vol. 1. cap 2.; Lamy's Introduction.
* Buteo has plainly demonstrated, that all the animals con-
tained in the ark could not be equal to 500 horses; (the learn-
ed 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 flabling for
such a number of horses, Vid. Dr Bundy's translation of Lamy's
introduction. Kircher (in his Area Noe, 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 Geogra-
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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, not an hundred sorts of beasts, and not two hundred of birds.

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, the phy 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 Differ. sur l'Arch de Noe) 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. Differ. 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.

Now, concerning these creatures God gives Noah this injunction: "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 forts 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.

It is a pretty general opinion, and what seems to be founded on Scripture, that before the flood, both men, and beasts, contain their provision, and why
beasts, and birds fed only upon fruits and vegetables.

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 instancies in history of some very ravenous creatures that have been brought to live upon other kind of food than flesh. So that

* 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 instancies 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, I. 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 sweat-meats; and Sulpitius Severus [*Dial. i. c. 7.*] gives us this account of a Monk of Thebaïs. * When we came to the tree, whither our courteous host led us there perceiv ed 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 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 with the ox. Heidegger's Hill, patr. exer. 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. The same di-
vine providence which directed all the animals, of whatfe-
ver country, to make towards the ark, which took from
them their fiercenenfs, and made them tame and gentle upon
this occasion, might likewise beget in them a loathing of
flesh, (fupposing they eat it before,) and an appetite for
hay, corn, fruits, or any other eatables that were most ob-
vious in this time of diffrefs. And as they were shut up,
and could not spend themfelves by motion, but might have
their stomachs palled with the continued agitation of the
vessel, they may well be fuppofed to famd in need of lefs
provision than at other times.

If then (to make our computation) we fhould fay, that
all the beafts in the lower story of the ark were equal,
in their conftitution of food, to 300 oxen, (which is more
by a great deal than fome calculations have allowed,) that
30 or 40 pounds of hay are ordinarily sufficient for an ox
for one day; and that a folid cubit of hay, well compressed,
will weigh about 40 pounds; then will this second story,
being of the fame dimensions with the other, i. e. 225,000
folid feet, not only allow a fpace for a sufficient quantity of
hay, but for other repositories of fuch fruits, roots, and
grain, as might be proper for the nourifhment of thofe
animals that live not upon hay; and for fuch paffages
and apertures in the floor as might be neceffary for the
putting down hay and other provyender to the beafts in the
lower story.

Upon the whole therefore it appears, that the middle
story of the ark was likewife large enough to hold all that
was requeflite 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 fpecies of birds, even
though they were many more than they are generally com-
puted. The accurate bishop Wilkins * has divided them
into.

* Heidegger's Hist. patriar. ibid.

Wilkin'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
into nine sorts, and reckon them to be an hundred and ninety-five in the whole; but then the greatest part of them are so very small, that they might well enough be kept in partitions or cages piled one upon another. The food necessary for their sustenance would not take up any 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.

Upon the whole inquiry then, says the same learned prelate, it does, of the two, appear more difficult to assign a sufficient number and bulk of necessary things to answer the capacity of the ark, than to find sufficient room in it for the convenient reception of them; and thereupon he truly, as well as piously, concludes, "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 left "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 "reasonably

5. Insectivorous birds the greater
6. Insectivorous birds the less
7. Aquatic birds near wet places
8. Aquatic felifipes
9. Aquatic polumipes

In all—195

To these perhaps may he added some exotic birds: but as the number of these is but small, so we may observe the carnivorous, which is the largest species, that they were reputed unclean, and consequently, but two of each sort admitted into the ark; Bed-

*Wilkins, ibid.*
“reasonably to be ascribed, not to bare human invention and contrivance, but to the divine direction, expressly given to Noah by God himself, as the sacred historian acquaints us.”

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 thither? the reply in that case will be this—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, where with 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. 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.

As the word Zobar, which we render window, is never mentioned in the singular number through the whole compass

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compass of the Bible, but only this once, it perhaps may be no very easy thing to find out its true signification. Whether the LXX interpreters understood the meaning of it; whether they knew, in the Greek language, any word capable of expressing it; or whether they might think it 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 signifies 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 around; and to this purpose, R. Levi tells us, that, "during 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, either liquid or solid, the hermetical phosphor of Balduinus, the aerial and glacial noëlliluces of Mr Boyle, and several other preparations of the like sort, together with the observations of the most accurate philosophers upon the production and propagation of light, and the prodigious ejaculation of insensible effluviums, are sufficient demonstration. The most surprizing 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-
from the Creation to the Flood.

A. M. 1566, &c.
Ant. Chris. 1349, &c.
from Gen. VI. 12, to

I recommend to 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 effluviums, 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

† 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 Zobah, 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 inconveniences 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.
emanation, might both purify and invigorate the included air) might correct and sweeten all noxious vapours and exhalations; and, like the sun, send such a vivifying light, that nothing should die that was within the ark, i. e. so far as the beams thereof did reach.

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 vapours, 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 subtlety of the air, in the middle region, wherein no creature can live. 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 properly) 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 greater distance from the earth, and waters; and, on the contrary, that the lower region must have approached nearer to both, in proportion as the waters of the deluge increased 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.

But during this whole course of the ark, since Noah was shut up in so close a place, where he was not capable of making any observations, where indeed he could see neither 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 heavens without. The invention of our present horological machines

a Vide Calmet'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 mo-
dern date; but it does not therefore follow, but that the
fame, or other equivalent pieces of art might, in former
ages, have been perfectly known to some great men. Sup-
pofe that Mr Hughens, 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 Ga-
lifeo; and that, long before that, there was another at
Prague, which the famous Tycho Brahe made ufe of, in his
aftromonical observations. And therefore, unless we fond-
ly imagine, that we poftdiluvians have all the wit and inge-
nuity 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, confidering 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
fuppofe him diftulte of thefe, yet what we have faid of the
zohar, is enough to evoince, that by the obervation of that
alone, there could be no difficulty in diftinguifhing the
nights from the days, and keeping a journal accordingly.

But now, that the flood fubfides, and the ark is landed,
and all its inhabitants are to difembarik, how can we fuppofe,
that feveral of the animals fhall be able to find their
way from the mountains of Armenia, into the diftant 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 crea-
tures peculiar, and fuch as cannot live in any other cli-
mate? This is a question that we muft own ourselves igno-
rant of, b in the fame manner, as we pretend not to fay, by
what means that vaft continent was at firit peopled. But by
what method ever it was that its firit inhabitants came
thither, whether by ftreels of weather, or defigned adven-
ture, by long voyages by fea, or (fuppofing a paffage be-
tween one continent and another) by long journeyings by
land, it is plain, that by the fame means, fome creatures
at firit might have been conveyed thither: and as their
number, at that time, could be but small, we may fuppofe
that, by a promifhous copulation with one another, they
might beget a fefond fort, which in proecfs of time, the

b Vid. Universal History. Of this however we fhall give
the confefufures of the learned, when we come to treat of the
difpersion of nations in our next book.
nature and temperature of the climate might so far alter, as to make them pass for a quite different species, and so affect their constitution, as to make them live not so commodiously in any other climate. To convey either men or beasts, 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 care would not be so, if they were to be removed by insensible degrees, nearer to these 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.

If, after all, it should be asked, why God made use of this, 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 fore judgement, 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 carcasses? But God, in mercy, shut up Noah in the ark, that he should not see the terrors and confutations 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 judgement with the wicked, will not pity, nor spare, nor have mercy, but destroy. He will

Jer. xiii, 14.
of them one against another, even father and son together, and cause his fury to rest upon them, until his anger be accomplished.

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 Celaenæ, at the head of the two rivers Marfyas 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 Celaenæ, there is another town called Apamea, and sirnamed Koraf 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, Marfyas, Obri- 

* The verses, as they are set down by Gallicus de Sibyllis, p. 589, are these:

"Εν Σιβυλία τοις Φρυγίς ἐπὶ ηπείρου κελανίς
Ηλιδαίων παυκύκκες ὄρα, Αραράτ δὲ καλείται
Μαρφύα ἐνθα φλίτες μηγάς πολύμοι πίτακαν,
Τὸ δὲ Κοράφ ἔμειν ἐν υφραῖν καρφῷ.

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 Marfyas, 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 Marfyas, by whom it was altered; and this must be long after the death of this Sybil; Bedford's Scripture-chronology. l. 2. c. 2.
mas, 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 enclosed the ships.

Sir Walter Raleigh, \(^c\) 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 the great man Xisuthrus, who is commonly supposed to be the same with Noah; with the language, learning, and history of the Chinefe, who are thought to be Noah's immediate descendants; and with the journey which some of his other descendents are said to have taken, \(^v\) viz. \(^f\) 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 Cyparisson, not far from the river Tygris, and on the north-east side of the city of Babylon; that while the flood continued, it failed 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 convenience 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

\(^c\) His History of the world. \(^f\) Heylin's Cosmography; and Shuckford's Connection, l. 2. \(^v\) Gen. xi. 2.
most probable opinion therefore is, that by the word Arat, 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?

1. The most prevailing opinion for some time was, that the most 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 Cordus,) which the Greeks changed into Cordiæi, * 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 Gordian 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 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 Gordian; and all the eastern authors both Chriftian and Mahometan, on mount Themain, or Al-Judi, which overlooks the country of Diarrhabia, or Moufal, 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 pitch

* The Greek and Latin writers name them Carduchi, Cardici, Cordiai, Cordueni, Cordi, Cordzi, Curdi, &c. The orientals call them likewise Cardon, Cordyn, Curuz, &c. Bochart supposes that they are the same which are called by mistake in Josephus, Carol, Vid. Universit. hist.; and Phales. lib. 1. cap. 3.
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 relics 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 Neftorians 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 230 miles distant from Al-Judi, to the north-east. St. Jerome seems to have been the first who hath given us an account of this tradition. "Ararat (says he) is a champaign country, incredibly fertile, through which the Araxes flows at the foot of the 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 Ararat than what the Armenians call Mafs, (from Amasia, the third successor of Haïkh, the founder of their nation,) and what the Marmotics do sometime name Agri-dagh, i.e. the heavy or great mountain, and sometimes Farunik-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.

The mount Ararat, which the Armenians, as we said, call Mafs, and sometimes Misfousfar, (because the ark was flopped 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 Armenia,)
Armenia) four leagues from Aras, or Araxes, and ten to
the north-west of Nakšchivan; which, because nak, in
Armenian, signifies a ship, and schivan, flopped 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 left 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 neigh-
bouring 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.

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. For they tell us of one traveller, a person
of singular piety, who endeavoured to do it, and had ad-
vanced 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, \(a\) (says he), Tourne-
fort's ac-
ount of it.
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,

\(\text{La Boulaye's Voyages.}\) \(\text{Vide his Voyages into the}
Levant, letter 7.\)
is one of the most sad and disagreeable sights upon earth;
for there are neither trees nor shrubs upon it, nor any
convents of religious, either Armenians or Franks.
All the monasteries are in the plain, nor can I think the
place inhabitable, in any part, because the soil of the
mountain is loose, and most of it covered with snow.
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
re-found. 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 postified 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 enquired 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 they be obliged to accompany us for all the trea-
ures of the King of Persia.

When we considered what the shepherds had told us
we advised with our guides; and they, good men, un-
willing to expose themselves to the danger of dying for
thirst, and having no curiosity, at the expense of their
legs, to measure the height of the mountain, were at
first of the same sentiments with the shepherds; but af-
terwards 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 be-
gan 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 plea-
fant 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 mid-
dle 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 intoler-
ably, we made our way to the great rocks, which
were heaped one upon another. We pass'd under
them, as through caverns, and were shelter'd 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.

Y y 2 " After.
"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 fit 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 distance, 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 invigorates: 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 about 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 mightily well) from whence it was that our guides shewed 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 forts 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 paffed 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,
Chap. VI.  

from the Creation to the Flood.

"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 disordered and fatigued by our manner of travelling, that we were not able to move hand or foot."

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 1 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 tranquility, 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 have journeyed from the east into the land of Shinar, it is plain, that if they removed from any part in 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, that the situlation of Ararat, as we have supposed it, whether be mount Malis, 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 saved;

1 Struy's Voyages, chap. 17.

2 Unverf. Hist. i. i. c. i. p. 110.

A. M. 1656, &c. Ant. Chrif. 1349, &c. from Gen. vi. 12, to ix. 20.
faved; 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.

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 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 was 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 contemporary with the first foundations of the earth; and the deluge can scarce be suppos’d 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 af- fixing 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.

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

—A. M. 1056, &c.
—Ant. Carth.
—2349, &c.
—From Gen. vi. 12, to

That there were mountains before the deluge.

Their use and pleasantness.

—Burnet’s Theory, l. i. c. 5.
—Prov. viii. 23, &c.
—Psal. civ. 5.
and mountains (as well as the broad sea) are really an aw-
mful sight, and fill the mind with just notions of God's trem-
endous Majesty, which a small river or a smooth surface
does not do so well; and besides, that they yield food for se-
veral animals formed by nature to live upon them, and sup-
ply 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 a learned inquirer into the original of springs
and fountains,) "That the ridges, being placed through
the midst of the continent, might serve, as it were, for
alembicks, to diftil 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 mi-
crocosm, to be more beneficial to the creation."

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 de-
light when it is viewed from the top of an hill. For what
were the Temple of Thessaly, so celebrated in ancient story
for their unparallelled pleasentness, but a vale divided by
a river, and terminated with hills? are not all the descrip-
tions of poets embellished with such ideas, when they
would represent any places of superlative delight, any bliss-
ful feats of the muses and nymphs, any sacred habitations
of gods and goddesses? They will never admit that a wild
flat can be pleasent, no not in the * Elyrian fields: they too
must be diversified. Swelling descents and declining val-
lies are their chief beauties; nor can they imagine * even
paradise a place of pleasure, or heaven itself * to be hea-
ven without them. So that such a place as our present
earth is, distinguished into mountains, rivers, vales, and
hills,

Dr. Halley.  Bentleys Sermons at Boyle's lectures.

* At pater Anchises penitus connale virenti,
Hoc superate jugum—et tumulum capit. * 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
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 reposed 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 "Blessed of the Lord is any land for the chief things of the ancient mountains, and for the precious things of the lasting hills."

† Deut. xxxiii. 13, 15.

The end the first Book.
THE HISTORY
OF THE
BIBLE.

BOOK II.
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THINGS FROM THE FLOOD TO THE CALL OF ABRAHAM; IN ALL, 426 YEARS, AND SIX MONTHS.

CHAP. 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 burnt-sacrifices thereon. And

† 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 judgement 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;
this he did with so grateful a sense of the divine goodness, and so reverential a fear of the divine majesty, as procured him a gracious acceptance, and in testimony of that acceptance, several grants and promises.

God's promises were, that † though mankind were naturally wicked, and apt to go astray from the very womb, yet, be their iniquities ever so great, he would not any more destroy the earth † by a general deluge, or disturb the order of nature, and † the several seasons of the year, and

"frame; to punish the guilty, and spare the lives of the inno- "cent; and not to proceed with rigour, for the wickedness of "some particulars, to the destruction of the whole; otherwise "the survivors of this calamity would be more wretched than "tho' that were washed away in the common ruin, if, after "having suffered horror of thought, and the terror of so dif-

mal a spectacle, they should only be delivered from one ca-
"lamity, to be confamed by another," Antiq. 1, 1. c. 4. But that this should be the purport of his prayer is not very likely, because we find no such indications 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 miraculous preservation from a ge-
"neral destruction, can hardly be supposed to have cast away his confidence in him so soon, and instead thereof, to be posseffed with an abject and servile fear: and therefore we may conclude, that the nature of this prayer and sacrifice was eucharistical, and not deprecatory; Heidegger's Hist. patriarch. 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 de-

signed, and is an affront to the justice, goodness, and wisdom of God, who, by this translation of for instead of though, might seem to blefs 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 Annot.

‡ 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 witness in heaven.

The grants which God gave Noah and his sons were not only * the same dominion which our first parents before

months of May and June, which are the harvest-time in that country. The word καῦτος, which they render summer, does indeed signify so; but then the word ἕρσοph, 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 juftly, should run thus.—While the earth remaineth, feed-time and harvest. winter and spring, summer and autumn, day and night, shall not ceafe; an Essay for a new translation. We cannot but obferve however, that this vicissitude of times and feasons, 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 fame tenor, face, and temper; and " that there was no winter nor summer, feed-time nor 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. Burnett'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 curfe inflicted upon it by reafon 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 pofterity soon after the flood. To our first parents it is said, Have dominion over the fishes 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 fons it is laid, 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 feed, Gen. i. 29. But Noah and his fons have a larger charter,—Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat to you, even as the green herb, have I

Z 2 2 given.
fore the fall had over the animal creation, and a full power to keep them in submission and subjection; but a privilege likewise to kill any of these creatures for food; only with this restriction, that they were not to put them to unnecessary torture, or to eat any part of their blood, which might be a means to introduce the shedding of human blood. The human kind, notwithstanding their apo-

22. Whereupon our author asks, What is bestowed in the first blessings that is wanted in the second? What more did Adam enjoy in his happiest days? What more did he forfeit in his work, with respect to this life, than that which is contained in these blessings? If he neither had more, nor lost more, all these blessings you see expressly restored to Noah and his posterity; and from all this laid together, he concludes, that the old curse upon the ground was, after the deluge, finished and completed; Use and intent of prophecy p. 91.

† The words in the text are,—But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat. This the Hebrew doctors generally understand 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 abducit et palpitat, seu tremit; as a modern interpreter has truly explained their sense. And in this they are followed by several Christians, who think (as Maimonides did) that there were some people in the old world so savage and barbarous, that they did eat raw flesh, while it was yet warm from the beast, out of whose body it was cut piece-meal. Plutarch tells us, that it was customary in his time to run red hot spits through the bellies of live swine, to make their flesh more delicious; and I believe some among us, have heard of whipping pigs, and torturing other creatures to death for the same purpose. Now these things could not be committed, if such men thought themselves bound in conscience to abstain from all unnecessary cruelties to the creatures, and to bleed them to death with all the dispatch they could, before they touched them for food. Vid. Patrick's Commentary; and Revelation examined, vol. 2. p. 20.
ftacy, did still retain some lineaments of the divine simili-
tude; 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 re-
plenish the earth, which was now left almost destitute of in-
habitants.

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 en-
couraged by the kindly warmth of the sun, discovered their several species by the several fruits they bore. Noah be-
fore the flood † had applied himself to husbandry, and now, upon the recovery of the earth again, betook him-
sel£ to the same occupation. Among his other improve-
ments 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 la-
bour; 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, lay

† 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 pre-
vent such mischiefs, were hereby punished; 2dly, Others were admonished by their example to be cautious; 3dly, God there-
by 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 honour-
able, and worthy their study, than the art of agriculture. Nic-
obil homine libero dignius, nothing more becoming a gentleman, was the faying 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.
lay with his body uncovered, and in a very indecent posture, was exposed to the eyes of his children.

Ham, who spied 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 dropped 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.

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-Ahunah, 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 no

† 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 tra-
dition.

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 misrepre-
fentations 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 expresseth 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 gros 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 conflag-
ration.

"The rainbow indeed may be accounted a very beauti-
ful sight in the heavens; but as it proceeds from a natu-
ral cause, 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 com-
mencing at that time. As there was a sun and clouds before the flood, the same phenomenon must have fre-
quently appeared and consequcntly lost its validity; nor can we suppose, that God should ever be so unmindful of his covenant, as to stand in need of so flight, so com-
mon a remembrancer.

"The permifion of the animal food to Noah and his po-
strity may he thought perhaps a peculiar privilege; but when we read of the same dominion over all crea-
tures, 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 distinc-
tion to be frivolous, and the dominion given to man more extensive, after he had finned, than it was before; or we must allow, that this is a privilege no more than what

b Lucin. De Sacrif. vol. i. p. 399.  c Saurin's Differ-
tation.  d Heidegger's Hist. patriar. exer. 15,
what all antediluvians had; and consequently, that it is
a misrepresentation to call it a new grant.

"Man, in his state of innocence, and while the image
of God shone radiantly about him, held all other crea-
tures under a voluntary subjection: but the many sad ac-
cidents which we read of continually, are too sure a tes-
timony, that this part of the grant is in a manner 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, getting
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 fire 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 prophecy,
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 man's failings to the public. For,
according to this representation, what other reason can
we assign for the several notorious blunders that he
makes; 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

\footnote{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 sences?"

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 confessions 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: "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 bull's 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 hear 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 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, 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 to signal a deliverance.

But it was not upon account of these only that his service found so favourable a reception. Sacrifices (as we shewed before) were of divine institution, and prefigurative...
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 favour. 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 \( \text{Lamb of God, which was slain from the foundation of the world, and so found his acceptance in the beloved; for he is the } \)\( 1 \)\( \text{angel which comes and stands at the altar, having a golden censer, and to whom is given much incense, that he may offer it with the prayers of the saints, upon the golden altar, which is before the throne.} \)

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 \( m \) fore judgments, he never makes mention of this.

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 judgement of a flood: And though this catastrophe will certainly be more terrible than the other, yet it has this great difference

\( k \) Eph. v. 2. \( l \) 1 Revel. viii. 3. \( m \) Vid. Ezek. xiv. 21. \( n \) 2 Pet. iii. 7. 10.
difference in it,  o that it is not sent as a curse, but as a bless-
ing 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 see, 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 pre-
vious 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


* 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 potissi-
imum sol, seu radius solaris in vaporem receptus, inque co
" refractus propter diversa receptacula; unum radius, aera;
alterum denius vaporem; qui et folarem recipit radius, et
in oculum reflecit: ita ut in iride fit partim davvagnis, five
" radii luminose in profunditate vaporei, refractio; parum
" airarjis, seu radii ejus ad oculum refleci, quae non posunt
" sociari nisi in nube rorida, et in pluvias jam resolvenda;
" quipè in tantum rara ut eum aliquantum radius solaris
" penetrat. et in tantum etiam denfa et ubi radius sefe paulu-
" lum infiniarit, cundem repercussat. Circularis et arcuata
" est ejus figura, ob figuram folis ipsius; quia temper ipsum
" etiam ex adverso solis, repercussus ejus radii ab opposta nube.
" Colores iridis, e varia lucis et umbrae mixura, sunt tres
" potissimum; rotivixios, quum os et rubicundus; pracebus porraceus,
" live viridis, et daliypoc, cæruleus. Cum enim folares radii pri-
" mum subeunt nube, quia minus transitur opaci, color est
" rubicundus, seu punicus: ubi paulo magis penetrarit, im-
" peditur aliquantum coloris ardur, atque sic fit viridis; at in
" profundum vaporem admissus, usque ad inhumam arcos curva-
turam, ob opacitatem remittit color, etque cæruleus;" Excer-
cit. 19. This description is pretty lively, and gives us some idea
of this strange phenomenon; 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 treat-
sise on the subject of colours, after a long and indefatigable
search into their natures and properties, was not able so much
to satisfy himself what light is, or (if it be a body) what
kind of corpuscles, for size and shape, it consists of, or how

A 2 thef.
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 ad
dverse part of the hemisphere,
are darted upon it; and for this reason, 9 whenever there
is the like disposition of the sun to the cloud, it may be i-
magined that the same phenomenon may be seen, and con-
sequently, at certain times, has been seen, not from the de-
lude only, but from the first foundation of the world.
But as this opinion has nothing in Scripture to enforce
it, so there are no grounds in nature to give it any function,
unless we will asser this manifest untruth,—That every dis-
position 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

these insensible corpuscles could be so differently, and yet with-
al 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 whenever he
would descend to the minute and accurate explication of par-
ticulars, he found himself very sensible of the great obscurity
of things, Dr Halley, the great ornament of his profession,
makes the same acknowledgement; 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 be-
fore him: particularly, from whence arose the refractive force
of fluids: which is a problem of no small moment, and yet de-
servedly to be placed among the mysteries of nature, nondum ser-
fibus, aut ratiocinis nostri 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 pro-
digious skill in mathematics, and his dexterous management of
the most obvious experiments, he concludes it at last to be a
work too arduous for human understanding, absolutely to de-
terminate what light is, after what manner refracted, and by what
modes and actions it produceth in our minds the phantasties of

9 Vid. Brown’s Pseudodoxia epidemica. Dr Jackson upon
the Creed. 1. 4. c. 16.

* That this rainbow was thought to be of somewhat more than
mere natural extraction, the physical theology 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 de-
struction by deluges; so that it had 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.

For suppose that God Almighty had said to Noah, "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 Epic 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 afflicting 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 presage of fair weather; Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. 1. occaf. annot. 2, in the appendix.

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 at Jaffur, Gen.
"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, watery 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, *

Gen. xv. 17. And in like manner, in the sign given to Zeke-kiah for his recovery, and to Gideon for his victory; in the former case, the shadow went back ten degrees in Ahaz'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 " his ab adverso sole, mittente radios in nubem non denfum; " significat ergo naturaliter, quod et jus Dei imbre dispersum " obruturum mundum: qui enim possit, cum neque collem to- " tum obduetum nubibus sit, neque, qua adsunt, sunt valde " densae?" Valesius, De S. Philo. 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 impression upon him, quickening his faith, and giv-
ing him comfort and assurance, that God would be stedfast
to his purpose.

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 expression 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 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 bands of the Most High have bounded it.

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 en-
largement of their diet. That our first parents*, in their
state

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,
differed 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 su-
perecies. But whether this serves to explain the matter any bet-
ter, or whether the common rainbow be not an appearance illus-
rious enough to answer the purposes for which it was intended,
we leave the curious to enquire; and shall only observe farther,
that whatever it was an ordinary or an 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 pre-typed thereby) to
have exactly fallen out; and that even the glory of the Lord,
which shone round about the shepherds, was a gracious pheno-
menon, corresponding with this sign of the covenant; * Bibli-
theca Biblica, ibid.

1 Ecclesiasticus, xliii. 11. 12.
* This notion the Pagan poets and philosophers had received:
for Ovid, in his description of these times, gives us to under-
stand,
A. M.
1567, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2347, &c.
from Gen.
viii. 20 to
the end of
ch. ix.

The History of the BIBLE,

Book II.

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: * Behold I have given you every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of the earth, and every tree in 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 creepeth 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 * cursing 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 implying

fland, 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,
Fœtibus arboreis, et quas humus educit, herbis Fortunata fuit; nec polluit ora crone.
Tunc et aves tutæ movere per aera pennas,
Et lepus impavidus mediis erravit in arvis;
Nec sua credulis piceam füspenderat hamo.
Cuncta fine infidis, nullamque timentia fraudem,
Plenaque pacis erant.

Met. 1 15.

Porphyry, in his book, De abstinentia, affevers 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 præfice. 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. 1. p. 117.

u Gen. i. 29, 30.  x Ch. iii. 17, 18.
Chap. I. from the Flood to the Call of Abraham.

plying a permission to make use of living creatures for that purpose.

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, * The fear of you, and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, &c.*

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 salfiness, 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, *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 *Theodorat affigns, for God's changing the diet of men from the fruits of the earth, to the flesh of animals, much amis, 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."*

\* Gen. ix. 2. \* Matth. xix. 8. \* In Gen. quest. 55 p. 44.
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 ^ 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 for ever 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 fill his skin with barbed irons, and his head with fifh 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:

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Lib. 5. Halieuticon, ver. 10. &c.

Job. xli. i. &c.  

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Lib. 5. Halieuticon, ver. 10. &c.

Job. xli. i. &c.  

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Chap. I.

In short, God has implanted in all creatures, a fear and dread of man. This is the thing which keeps wolves out of our towns, and lions out of our streets; and though 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.

Some modern writers of no small note are clearly of opinion, that the Ararat where the ark rested, was mount Caucasas, 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 allege 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 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 flood, is this,

Miller's History of the church, l. i. c. i. 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.

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 sorts 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 seven, and of his making use of none but these in all his burnt-offerings; Shuckford's Connection, lib. 2.
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 suppos'd, 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 fall's 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.

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 preferred 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 Moles 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.
ably conclude, 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 to constantly 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 him that thinketh he standeth, to take heed lest he fall. More especially, it informs us, that wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and whatsoever it deceived thereby, is not wise; and therefore it exhorts, in the words of the wise man, 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 fail. * 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 Cynillas 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 Cynillas might be in to find himself naked, covered him with something. Cynillas, understanding what had passed, cursed Adonis, and purfued 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.  

* Prov. xx. 1.  

1 Cor. x. 12.  

Ch. xxii.  

Prov. xx. 1.  

Ch. xxiii.  

1 Cor. x. 12.
shall utter perverse things; yea, thou shalt be as he that lieth
down in the midst of the sea, and as he that lieth upon the top of
a mast.

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 the book of Genesis, where we read, that Joseph's
brethren drank, and were merry with him; and yet the cir-
cumstances of the entertainment will not suffer us to think,
that they indulged themselves in any excess, in the pre-

cence 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 im-
port 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 ge-

eral, * 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 over-
come 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 blame 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 men's habits was at that time
loose,

\(^k\) Ch. xliii. 34.

* It is a Jewish tradition or allegory, that the vine which
Noah planted was not of an ordinary terrestial 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 de-
scription given thereof, and the fatal conseqences attending it,
there seems to be a plain allusion to it, and some reason to be-
lieve that it was one and the same tree by which the naked-
ness both of Adam and Noah was expos'd 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.

1 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 in 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 grandfon) to distinguish him from the rest. So that if it was Canaan who treated his grandfather in this unworthy manner, the application of the curse to him, who was first in the offence, is

1 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 if, 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 children’s 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 underlaid 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; Psa. Annotations.

The curse upon Canaan is, that he should be a servant to Shem: and about 800 years after this did not the Israelites, descendants 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 was

\[\text{0 Gen. xlix.}\]

\[\text{† That which may confirm us in this opinion is,—That Jacob, when he called his children together, acquaints them that his purpose is to tell them that which shall befall them in the last days; and that he does not always preface blessings, but sometimes ill-luck to their posterity, and (in the same manner that Noah does now and then drops a note of his displeasure, according as their behaviour has been): For thus he lays of Simeon and Levi, in regard to the slaughter the Shechemites, Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel, Gen. xlix. 7.}\]

\[\text{p Patrick's Commentary in locum}\]

\[\text{* Procopius [De bello Vandal. i 2. c. 10] tells us, that in the province of Tingitana, and in the very ancient city of Tingis, which was founded by them, there are two great pillars to be seen, of white stone, erected near a large fountain, with an inscription in Punician characters to this purpose, We are people preferred by flight from that rocer Jefus, the son of Nave who pursued us. And what makes it very probable that they went their flight this way, is the great agreement, and almost identity of Punic, with the Canaanitish or Hebrew language; Calmet's Dictionary on the word Canaan.}\]
was doomed likewise to be a servant to Japhet; and did not the Greeks and Romans, descended from Japhet, utterly destroy the relics 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: and can we think otherwise, when (as 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 therewith tributary? "You (says 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 and upon Shem, for 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 thefe two sons towards their father, it was the fame. 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 laft named, when the sons of Noah are mentioned together. Now this being the case, how comes Shem to be preferred? And what is the blessing

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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 observeth) 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 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 "with thee will I establish my covenant," saith God; and therefore, as the Apostle to the Hebrews tells us of this patriarch, *that he was heir of the righteousness, which is by faith;" he certainly foresew that in Seth's family God would settle his church; that of this 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 the words of truth and soberness: and though their sense was not fo 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. The 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, *But flesh, with the life*.

life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat. Whether this prohibition related to the eating of things strangled, and such as died of themselves, in which the blood was settled, (as 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 imagine,) is not so material here to inquire; since the former was prohibited by subsequent laws, both 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.

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 this prohibition obliged Noah and his posterity of blood.

afterity, 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) 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 anything that died of itself, and consequently had the blood settled in it? If meat condemneth us to God, the same providence which took care to restrain the Jews (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 fell 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. 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 to be offered upon the altar, and to make an atonement for men’s souls: for it is the blood (faith he) that maketh an atonement for the soul; and was reserved for

d 1 Cor. viii. 8. e Deut. xiv. 21, f 1 Cor. viii. 8. h Rom. iii. 29. h Miscellanea Sacra, vol. 2. i Lev. xvii. 11.
for religious purposes was not at that time convenient to be eaten. 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.

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 with-held 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 commissio 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 Proselytes of the gate, (as they were called,) and who, in all probability, were converted by the men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who were among those that were dispersed at the first persecution, which immediately ensued at the martyrdom of Stephen.

The persons who moved this question were some of the feet 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, were Pros-

elytes 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 wherever 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 Moses had prescribed them.

The

k Acts xi. 20.  

m Miscellanea sacra.

vol. 2.  

n Lev. xvii.
The time when this question arose, was not long after the conversion of Cornelius; so that this body of proselytes 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 "Proselytes 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?"

Under these circumstances the council at Jerusalem convened, and accordingly made their decree, that the Proselytes 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 proselytes, in respect of their civil obligations; but that, as they were bound by these laws of Moses before their conversion, so they were 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 proselytes 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 fame principle that we find St Paul declaring himself in this manner: 1 Though I am free from all men, yet have I made myself a servant unto all, that I might gain the more. Unto the Jews, I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews;—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 Jewish polity

o Acts xv. 29. p Vid. Lev. xvii. and xviii. q 1 Cor. vii. 20. r Ch. ix. 19, 20, 22.
polity only, it could certainly last no longer than that go-
vernment lasted; and consequently, ever since the temple-
worship has expired, and the Jews have ceased to be a po-
litical 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, that
the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and
peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; that meat commendeth us not
unto God; that what goeth into the mouth defileth not the
man; that to the pure, all things are pure; and 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; And there-
fore we are ordered, that whatever is sold in the markets,
even though it be a thing offered to idols, that to eat, asking
no questions for conscience sake; and are told, that 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 there-
fore conclude, that this decree of the apostles either con-
cerned the Jewish proselytes 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 capacious, 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-
ven

* Rom. xiv. 17.  
† 1 Cor. viii. 8.  
‡ Matth. xv. 11.  
§ Tit. i. 15.  
¶ Tim. iv. 4.  
¶ Tim. iv. 3.  
∆ Malce-
lanea sacra, vol. 2.
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 we thereby 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 li-
mitation of the grant given to Noah, the reasons that are
commonly devised for the prohibition, and the literal sen-
se of the apostolic decree.

e When princes give grants 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,---- 4 Of every
tree in the garden thou shalt freely eat; but of the tree of know-
ledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat. This is the first
law; and the second is like unto it. 5 Every moving thing,
that liveth, 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 him-
s elf, 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-
plained

4 1 Cor. viii. 11, &c. 6 Vid. Revelation examined, vol. 2.
5 Gen. ii. 16, 17. 8 Ch. ix. 3, 4.
plained his mind more fully concerning it. 'a 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. 

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.'

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, left 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 choler, and that choler 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 demons, 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 set 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 sublift for

\[\text{Vol. I. No. 5.} \]

\[\text{3 D} \]

\[\text{A. M.} 1657, &c. \]

\[\text{Ant. Chrift. 2347, &c.} \]

\[\text{from Gen. viii. 20. to the end of ch. ix.} \]

\[\text{Lev. xvii. 10.} \]

\[\text{Deut. xii. 23, &c.} \]

\[\text{Lib. 4.} \]
a determinate time, and then to lose all its obligation; but it concerned all Christians, in all nations, and in all future ages of the church; was enacted for a general use and intent; and has never since been repealed: and to support these assertions, they proceed in this method.

Before the passing of this decree, they say, 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 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 Prophets 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 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 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 Gentiles converts at large. For hear what the president of the council says upon this occasion; "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."

A M. 1657, &c.
Ant. Christ.
2347, &c.
from Gen. viii. 20, to the end of ch. ix.

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1 Acts xiii. 42, &c.  
2 Acts xiii. 45, &c.  
3 Acts xv. 19, to 22.
Chap. I. from the Flood to the Call of Abraham.

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 proselyte convert to Christianity, to abstain from these things, because all that are admitted into synagogues, (as the proselytes 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.

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 "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 people’s 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 sved, 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 greater..."
greater burthen, than those necessary things, viz. that ye abtain 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 seafon, 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 affect 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, y/ That this decree was repealed just twenty years before it was made; which is a supposition somewhat extraordinary: and, 2dly, 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 men’s 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 forbade 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 St Paul allows Christians to eat things offered to idols, which may seem to invalidate this apostolic decree. But the answer to this is, 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 feast, 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 creature

P 1 Cor. x. 27. 9 Revelation examined, vol. 2. p. 65.
creature sold in the shambles, or set before them in private houses, (though that creature might chance to have been slain in honour to an idol,) since the Christian who eat it in this manner did not eat it in honour to the idol, but merely as common food?

To illustrate this by a parallel instance. Suppose that the 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; '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 decreed 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
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; re-
peated with awful solemnity to the people whom God had
separated from the rest of the world to be his own; repeat-
ed 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 philo-
scopic 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
reverenced by the practice of the whole Christian church
for above 300 years, and of the eastern church even to this
very day.

These are some of the chief arguments on both sides of
the question: and to form a judgement 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 so-
lemnly enjoined; that though the reasons alleged for its
injunction are not always so convincing, yet the prevention
of cruelty and murder, which is immediately mentioned af-
ter it, will, in all ages, be ever esteemed a good one; and
though the liberty granted in the gospel seems to be great,
yet it can hardly be understood without some restriction.

It seemed once good to the Holy Ghost, among other ne-
cessary 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
profelytes of the gate, to whom alone it is said to be direct-
ed, (how commodious sooner it may be to solve all diffi-
culties,) upon examination is found to be groundless or uncer-
tain, the obligation, I fear, lies upon every good Christian
still
The History of the BIBLE, Book. II.

For some years after the flood, it is highly probable that Noah and his family lived in the neighbourhood of the mountains of Armenia, where the ark rested: that, as they began to multiply and spread, they thence removed into the countries of Syria; then crossing the Tigris into Mesopotamia, and so shaping their course eastward, came at length to the pleasant plain of Babylon, on the banks of the river Euphrates. The fertility of the soil, the delightfulness of the place, and the commodiousness of its situation, 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 landmark, 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 chosen 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 kelmar, in Greek astalos, in Latin bitumen; and that this plain
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 calling it out; and that this famous tower, at this time, and no less famous walls of Babylon, were afterward 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 napētām in Susiano agro nascens aridum vero, quod etiam congelefsere poteft, in Babylonia, fonte propinquō Naphthae;* lib. 16, Thus Juflius, speaking of Semiramis, *Hec Babyloniam condidit, (fays he) murumque urbis cocto latere circumdedidit, arenæ vice biturne interfrato, quæ materia in illis locis paflim et terræ eexulit;* lib. 1. And thus Vitruvius, who is elder than either, *Babylone laeus est amplissima magnitudine, habens supranatans liquidum bitumenc, quo biturne, et latere tellaceo, tfrusus murum Semiramis Babylonìi 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 Perfia and the Indies by the way 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 Univer. hist. lib. 1, c. 2.*

† That the children of Noah did speak the same language with Adam, is very manifest; because Methuselah, the grandfa-

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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 ha-
ving lost the pronunciation of their native language, on a sud-
den they were so changed, and modified to the expres-
ion of another, which was of a found quite different, that the
next stranger-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 pro-
duced different ideas in the mind of the builders, which,
for want of understanding one another, they employed to
improper objects, and so were obliged to delist from their
enterprise. 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-
ated of Noah, lived a considerable time with him, and question-
lessly 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 contem-
porary with Abraham, who descended from him, and whose
family continued the same language that they both spoke, un-
til the time of Moses, who recorded the history of his own na-
tion 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 A-
dam, 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 re-
membrance of the original language they spake before, as made
them speak it in a quite different manner; so that by the vari-
ous inflections, terminations, and pronunciations of divers di-
alets, 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 cer-
tainly 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 con-
sequently reducible to it; but because upon examination, it will
appear, that there are certain languages in the world so en-
tirely different from each other, that they agree in no one es-
fential 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.**

"But 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 a geographer 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 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 building

† 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 suffer'd to enjoy more pleasant countries.
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 attempt 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 subduing 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 הָעַבָּד, 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 seem every where 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 interprize, and disperse into different countries; and then, though they might speak all the same language at parting, a considerable
ddiversity would naturally, and without the intervention
of a miracle, in a short time ensue.
We see, in a thousand years, what alterations and
deviations have been made from the Latin, in France,
Italy, Spain, and the Subalpine countries. In France,
the Gafcon and Provencial dialects are hardly understood
at Paris; in Spain, besides the Castilian, there are two
large idioms, the Portugeois 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 Grifons 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, 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.”

Thos

A. N.
1757, &c.

Ant. Christ.
1247, &c.

Gen.
xii. i

xi. to ver.

10.

Chap. II. from the Flood to the Call of Abraham.

Vid. Sentiment de quelques theologien sur l’historie critique,
p. 435; and a letter to Dr Waterland, p. 28, 29.
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. So that the country of Eden was part of the land of Shinar: and as Eden was probably situate on both sides of the aforementioned 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 supposéd 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, toward Armenia, was really northward; or (as some 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.

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 Senjär, from whence the plain, in all probability, takes its name; and therefore, if the sons of Noah entered it on the northside, 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.

Historians indeed, as well as commentators, have generally given in to the common opinion, that Shem and his family

Bochart's Phalæg. 1, 1, c. 7.
Kercher's Turris Babel, 12.
Universal history, 1, 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.

As soon as Moses has brought the three sons of Noah out of the ark, he makes 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 ' h 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 allotted 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, who 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 than

f Gen. ix. 19.  
Ch. x. 32.  
Ch. xi. 1.  
Ibid. ver. 2.  
K Uuiverf. hist. I. i. c. 2.  
T Emperorarius in demonf. chronol. l. 2.
than 155,442 males and females, in the shortest period given. Half the number would be sufficient to be employed on this occasion; and if half the number will be no unreasonable supposition, considering the strength of constitution men had then, and the additional blessing which God bestowed upon them, and whereby he interested his peculiar providence, "Ut ad incrementum fobolis humane, "ad orbis valuitatem instaurandam, praecipua quadam in illis fecunditas inesset, quæ juxta alioquin ætatem an- teverteret; ut vel a pueris ipsis, quod nonnulli suspicantur, probable effet, generandi vim illis et uifum potuisse "fuppetere;" as Petavius elegantly expresses it."

But after all, there seems to be no occasion for supposing an extraordinary increase of people, or for confirming the first undertaking of this great building to the compass 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 the one was Peleg, which being derived from an Hebrew word, that signifies to divide, 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 began 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 began 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 being a principal agent among his own family, in the division 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 affigned, 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.
Chap. II. from the Flood to the Call of Abraham.

Since Peleg then, according to the sacred account, lived two hundred and thirty-nine years, and his younger brother Joktan, 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.

Putting all these considerations together then, we can hardly imagine, that there wanted a sufficient number of men to go upon an enterprise, 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: '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

Revelation Examined, vol. 2. dissert. 3.

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, if they could once have
leftation 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 replenished, it was an act highly consistent with his infinite wisdom and goodness to see them disappointed.

The divine purport 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, pos sessing themselves of the whole, and cultivating almost every place, they might enjoy a proportionable increase of the fruits of the earth. \(^9\) Thorns and briars were springing up everywhere; 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 seafonable for God to confound their mis-timed prospects, and disperse them.

Their purpose was to make themselves a name by enslaving others: but God foresaw, \(^1\) that absolute power and have entertained so gross an imagination. It is a common hyperbole this in the Sacred Writings, to signify any great and lofty 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, than in it was a place:

\[\text{Εἰς ἔνδρα μακρὰ περιπάτην}\
\text{Κλάδορθ' ἀγυροῖς, εἰδῶν ἕν πραγματικός.}\
\text{Odyss. i. ver. 238.}\]

By a literal interpretation of the Hebrew idiom, 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 Coogna 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 fillief 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; \(^{Voll.}\) Hist. Græc. lib. i. cap. 3.; and Bibliotheca Biblica ad locum.

\(^9\) Waterland’s Scripture vindicated, part i. \(^{1}\) Le Clerc’s Dissertation.
and universal 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 required 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 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 ascendency, and prevailed in one place, virtue and godliness, and whatever is honourable and praiseworthy, might find a safe retreat, and flourish in another. Thus all the mischiefs which might possibly arise from an universal 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 surprising 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 perverting

† Since Moses has nowhere acquainted us, (says the learned Heidegger, in his Hist. patriar. lib. i. 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 Caubon, 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 (Hebraei sicilicet) quo impii propositi opus illud intercipiatur atque prohiberetur, factum

A. M. 1757, &c. Ant. Chriif. xi. to ver. 10.
perverting their imaginations; by diversifying their hearing, or new-organizing their tongues; by an immediate infusion of new languages, or a division of the old into many different dialects; and again, whether these tongues, or dialects of tongues, were few or more; whether


† It is not to be thought, that there were as many several dialects as there were men at Babel, so that none of them understood one another. This would not only have dispersed mankind 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 one 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 determine. The Hebrews fancy seventy, because the descendants of the sons of Noah, as they are enumerated in Scripture, are just so many; the Greek fathers make them seventy-two, because...
there were only so many originals at first, (as many perhaps 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.

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 judgement, 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.

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.

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 thereupon

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 Africa, and all America, if we had but a sufficient knowledge of the history of these people. Vid. Patrick's Commentary; and Wotten of the confusion of languages at Babel.

Heidegger's Hist. patriarch. vol. i. exercit. 21. Wotten of the confusion of languages at Babel.
upon enure. And therefore I have always thought, that this account of the confusion of tongues which God wrought at Babel, would scarce have been told so particularly, and represented as God’s own act and deed, had it only arisen from a quarrel among the builders, which obliged them to leave off their work, and scatter themselves over the face of the earth. For when God is here described as coming down in person to view their work, something almost as solemn as the creation, full as solemn as the denunciation of the flood, when Noah was commanded to build the ark, is certainly intended by that expression: 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.

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 lip, as it is in the margin) of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of hofis.” Speaking the language of Canaan, “is thought by some to mean no more than being of the same religion with the Jews, who inhabited the land of Canaan; but why may it not be interpreted literally, 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 language especially since they would thereby be better enabled to understand the books of Moses and the Prophets, 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? “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 hofis. “The Lord of hofis shall be a terror unto Egypt, and “in that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, i. e. they shall become proselytes to the law of Moses; and that they may not mistake in understanding the sense of the law which they

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 sentence 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.

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 application, 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 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 perceivingly in them, supposing them all descended from one common stock.

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 whereby 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, viri, virum, ánératos, ánérato, ánérato, ánérato. 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, — ish, man; ishim, men; ishab, woman; isibath, wo- men. The rest are varied by prepositions inseparably affixed to the words, as ba-ish, the man; le-ish, to the man; be-ish, in the man; &c. which prepositions, thus joined, make

Wotten of the confusion of languages at Babel,
make one word with the noun to which they are affixed, and are herein different from all those languages which come from a Latin or Teutonic original.

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, ἀγαπάω, 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 uncompounded.

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, ny. 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; ab, my father; abinu, our father. In Chaldee, from the same root, abuna 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, sapienter, sapiensissimus; σοφὸς σοφότερος, σοφότατος: 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 Mifna, 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
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 shewed 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 positive 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 in 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 a heap of stones, on which they eat, and Laban called it Jegar-fabadithba, 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 Tephnath-Paaneahb, 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.
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 sublent, 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 Eutathius’s commentaries upon them, that it sublent for above two thousand years, without any considerable alteration; for the space of time between the poet and his commentator was no lefs.

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 lefs 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 from 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 populated, 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 at the beginning, and, in after-ages, inspired the apostles of Jesus Christ with the gift of many.

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 Herodotus, the father of the Greek historians, gives us of it) we find Abydenus (as he is 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 cited by Lib. i. c. 181),

\[\begin{align*}
\text{A. M. 1757, &c.} \\
\text{Ant. Christ. 2447, &c.} \\
\text{from Gen. xi. to ver. 10.}
\end{align*}\]

A recapitulation of the whole argument.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{by} \\
\text{3 G 2}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{b Lib. i. c. 181.} \\
\text{c Preparat. evang. i. 9. c. 14.} \\
\text{d Alex. Polyhist. apud Euseb. Prep. evan. i. 9. c. 18.}
\end{align*}\]
by Alexander Polyhistor) leaving it upon record, \* That
the city of Babylon was first built by giants, who escaped
from the flood; that these giants built the most famous
tower in all history; and that this tower was dashed to
pieces by the almighty power of God, and the giants dif-
period, and scattered over the face of the whole earth;’
and lastly, when \* 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 fcale
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 Mo-

tes 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 trans faction
is agreeable to truth.

The short is, all the remains now extant of the most an-
cient Heathen historians (except Sanchoniah) concur in
confirming the Mosaic account of this matter; and the sum
of their testimonies is,—:\* 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 demolished the tower,
overwhelmed the workmen, divided their language, and
diffused them over the face of the whole earth.

There is one circumstance indeed, wherein we find
these ancient historians differing with Moses, and that is, in
affirming that the tower was demolished by the anger of
God, and by the violence of the winds; but as it feems
more consistent with the divine wisdom (for the admonition
of poverty) to have such a monument of men’s 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
historian,

\* Antiq. i. i. c. 5.
\* Vid. Josephus’s Antiq. i. i. c. 5.
Eusebius’s Prepara. evang. l. 9. c. 14. &c.; and Huetius’s
Quart. Alnetan. l. 2. p. 189.
historian, tells us expressly, that he himself actually saw it, 
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 re-
 mains 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 * the chil-
dren of men, whereby they understand bad men and in-
dels, as opposed to the children of God, which usually de-
ote 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 de-
generated from the piety of their ancestors: but by the 
children

* 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 
ids, 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 him-
sel as far from heaven, as when he was upon the ground; but 
his confusion was much increa, 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 ob-
folute persecutor 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; 
Cabinet's Dictionery on the word Nimrod. The poets, in like 
manner, having corrupted the tradition of this event with fic-
tions of their own, do constantly bring in Jupiter defeating the 
attempts of the Titans:

Fulmina de celi jaculatus arce,
Vertit in authores pondera vafia fuos, &c. Ovid.

& Gen. xi. 5.
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 the whole earth; nor can we well conceive how, in so short a time, after that awakening judgement 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.

1 1. Josephus indeed, and some other authors, are clearly of opinion, that Nimrod, a descendent from the impious Ham, was the great abetter 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 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 large

h Ver. 1. 1 Antiq. l. 1. c. 5.  Gen. 10. 2.  k Bochart's Pha-
\leg. l. 1. c. 10.  m Revelation Exa-
mixed, 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.

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) undertaken 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 leaving the place unfinished, 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.

To this purpose, there is a very remarkable passage in Diodorus Siculus, where he tells us; "That on the walls of one of the Babylonian palaces was pourtrayed a general hunting of all sorts of wild beasts, with the figure of a woman on horseback piercing a leopard, and a man fighting with a lion; and that on the walls of the other palace were armies in battalia, and hunting 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 the 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 infested

— Bochart's Phaleg. 1, 1. c. 10. — Lib. 1.
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 descendants, in their ancestor's imperial city, in memory of the great founder of their family, and of an empire which afterwards grew so famous.

For what purposes it was built.

For 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, a late archbishop of our own has thought, that this tower of Babel (whole 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 it 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 of a city for their reception, and convenient communication.

P Callmet's Dictionary on the word Nimrod.  a Tenison, of idolatry.
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 consequent 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 long 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 reasoning

† 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.
The History of the BIBLE, Book II.

The dimensions of the tower.

The dimensions of the tower will further appear, if we come now to take a short survey of the dimensions of the building, according to the account which the best historians have given us of it.

It is the opinion of the learned Bochard, that whatever we read of the tower, inclosed in the temple of Babel, may very properly be applied to the tower of Babel; because, upon due search and examination, he conceives them to be one and the same structure. Now, of this tower 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 base, was divided into eight towers, built one upon another; but what made it look as divided into eight towers, was very probably the manner 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: 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 appearance 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 beyond all other nations.

Some authors, following a mistake in the Latin version of Herodotus, wherein the lowest of these towers is said

\[r\] Vid. Phaleg, part i. l. c. 9.
\[s\] Lib. 1.
\[t\] Prideaux's Connection, part i.

† The words of Herodotus are; Ἐν μέχρι δὲ τῷ ἑπταύργῳ πύργῳ τιτᾶται, ἵππαι καὶ τὰ ὀφέρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πύργῳ ἀλλὰ πύργως ἐπιτίθεντο, καὶ ἔπειτα μᾶλλον, ἐπὶ τὸ πύργῳ μίκρος ὁ ἄκριμος τύργας. Now, tho' it be allowed, that the word μέχρι 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 least) will rise to a prodigious height, though nothing near to what Jerom (l. 5,
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
furlong broad, without mentioning any thing of its height;
and Strabo in his description of it, calling it a pyra-
mid, 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 fur-
long 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 lead-
ing 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 sa-
cred vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar carried thence, he put
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

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; Univer-
sal hist. l. c. 2.

Bel is supposed to have been the same with Nimrod, and
to have been called Bel, from his dominions, and Nimrod
from his rebellion; for Bel, or Baal (which is the same) signifies
Lord, and Nimrod, Rebel, in the Jewih 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 wick-
ed designs; Prideaux's Connection, part 1. l. 2.
of these additional buildings, and adorning it with the spoils of the temple of Jerufalem. This tower did not subsift much above an hundred years, when Xerxes coming from his Grecian expedition, wherein he had suffered a vast loss of men and money, out of pretense of religion, († as being himself a Magian, and consequently detesting the worship of God by images,) 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 mafsly gold, and a one particularly of forty feet high, which very probably was † that which Nebuchadnezzar a consecrated in the plains of Dura.

Thus

† The two great fefts of religion among the Persians were the Magians and Sabians. The Sabians worshipped God, thro’ sensible images, or rather worshipped the images themselves. Th: Babylonians were the first founders of this feast; 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 subordinate principles, the one, the author and director of all good, and the other, the author and director of all evil. These two fefts always had a mortal enmity to each other; and therefore it is no wonder, that Xerxes, who had always the Archimagus attending him in his expeditions, with several other inferior Magi, in the capacity of his chaplains, should by them be prevailed on to take Babylon in his way to Sufa, in order to destroy all the idolatrous temples there.

† Prideaux’s Connection, part 1. 2 Diadorus Siculous, 1. 2.

† Nebuchadnezzar’s golden image is said indeed in Scripture to have been 60 cubits, i. e. ninety feet high, but that must be understood of the image and pedestal altogether: 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, nefs, which exceeds all 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,

a Dan iii. 1.
Thus fell this great monument of antiquity, and was never repaired any more: For although 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 stricture, 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 compafs, 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.

There 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; Pridiax's Connection, part 1. l. 2.

"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 were ever any con- siderable 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 dis- cover: and from hence one may easily judge, that the stairs ran winding about on the outside, and that, being the least 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 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 scruple 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. "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.

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 of the prophets, is fallen, is fallen low, very low, and become a dwelling-place for dragons, an abomination, 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; infomuch, 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; "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, faith the Lord."

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; but
but this we may depend on, that 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 descendants 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; Maphra, in Moschia, (which lies in the north-east parts of Cappadocia); and Tiras, in Thrace, Myria, 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 Eliphaz, who seated himself in Peloponnesus; Tarshish, in Spain; Kittim, in Italy; and Dodanim (otherwise called Rodanum) in France, not far from the banks of the river Rhône, 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.

Shem

*Mede's Disc. 49. 50. 1. 1.*

† The following account of the plantations of the three sons of Noah and their descendants is extracted from Bochart's Phaeth.; Heidegger's Historia patriarcharum, vol. 1. exc. cit. 22.; Wells's Sacred geography, vol. 1.; Bedford's Scripture-chronology. 1. 2.; Shuckford's Connection. vol. 1.; Parker's Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. 1.; the authors of the Universal history, 1. 1.; Le Clerc and Patrick's Commentaries; Pool and Ainworth'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.

* 1 Chron. i. 7.*
Chap. III. from the Flood to the Call of Abraham.

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; Assur, of Assyria; Arphaxad, of Chaldea; Lud, of Lydia; and Aram, of Syria, as far as the Mediterranean sea.

The sons of Adam were Uz, who seated himself in the country of Damascus; Hull, near Cholobatene in Armenia; Math, near the mountains Mafius; and Gether, in part of Mesopotamia.

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 Joktan, 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 Allumaeota, who took their name from Almodad, the Selapeni from Sheleph, and the Abalitae 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; whereof Cuth settled his abode in that part of Arabia which lies towards Egypt; Mizraim, in both Upper and Lower Egypt; Phut, in part of Libya; and Canaan in the land which was afterwards called by his name, and in other adjacent countries.

The sons of Cuth 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; Sabah, 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 Sabtechah, who (we need not doubt) placed himself among the rest of his brethren. But among all the sons of Cuth 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 wild...
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 procured 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 Calneh, in the neighbouring provinces; and so passing into Assyria, and enlarging his territories there, he built Nineveh, Rehoboth, Cala, and Resen, (which was afterwards called Larissa,) situate upon the Tigris. 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 Pathruhim, who set up the kingdom of Pathros, or Thebes, in Thebais. Ludim and Lehabim peopled Lybia: Caalubim fixed himself at Caiotis, in the entrance of Egypt from Palestine; and having two sons, Philitim and Capisterim, the latter he left to succeed him at Caiotis, and the former planted the country of the Philistines 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 Gerar, 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: for two of his sons Tiras and Javan, together with their descendants, 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, over

over Media, Iberia, Albania, and those vast regions towards the north, where formerly the Scythians, but now the Tartars, dwell: That the posterity of Ham held in their possession all Africa, and no small part of Asia; d from Gen. Mizraim, both the Upper, Lower, and Middle Egypt, Marmarica, and Ethiopía, both east and west; Phut, the remainder of Africa, Lybia, Interior and Exterior, Numidia, Mauritania, Getulia; 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 Cholchis; and that the posterity of Shem had in their possession part both of the Greater and Lesser Asia; in the Lesser, Lydia, Myfia, and Caria; and in the Greater, Aſſyria, Syria Mesopotamia, Armenia, Suſfiana, Arabia Felix, and perhaps eastward, all the countries as far as China.

These are the plantations 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 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 which he lived 403 years; in all 438.

Salah, when 30, had a son named Eber, (from whom 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 (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 lived 209 years; in all 239.

Reu, when 32, had a son named Serug; after which he lived 207 years; in all 239.

Serug, when 30, had a son named Nahor; after which he lived 200 years; in all 230.

Nahor, when 29, had a son named Terach; after which he lived 119 years: in all 148. But of all these persons,
A. M. 1972, &c.

Ant. Chr.

2002, &c.

from Gen. x. to the end; and from chap. xi. ver. 10. to the end.

Talking 1948.

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, Abraham, 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.


The corruption of mankind was now become general; and idolatry and polytheism began to spread like a contagion, * the people of Ur, in particular, $ (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 caft. Terah, the father of Abram, † 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 corrupted.

† It is very probable, that Sarai was called Jeab 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 diffident person, Moses would have given us an account of her descent, because it is 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 assure us in many 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. Bochart 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 Bochart supposes it, about two days journey from Nisibis; Wallis's Geography, vol. i.

$ Vid. Calmet's Dictionary on the word Ur.

† Jos. xxiv. 2. 14.
ruptured 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, he died in the 145th year of his age he there.

**The Objection**

But how well ever we may think it comports with the character of a good historian, to entertain 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 entering *ing

* 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 Craffius, 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 Ilharar, which denotes its soil to be bot and aduft, as it appears to be from a passage out of Plutarch, in the life of Craffius, and several other ancient testimonies. Vid. Calmet's Dictionary; Wells'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 Moles; 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.
ing any further in his story, or acquainting us with "one title of the transactions of his life; yet sure we can- "not think, that his account of the origin of nations, or "the plantations 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 make infants, mere infants, or persons, who per- "haps, 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 Joktan, his younger brother, (much more Jok- "tan's sons,) can scarce be supposed to have been born "when the dispersion happened; and yet they are repre- "sented both as heads and princes of families; one "conducting his people to † the southern parts of Mezopo- "tania, 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 origi- "nally from the three sons of Noah; but besides the great "difficulty

† It is not unlikely, that either Peleg, or some of his posterity, gave name to a town upon Euphrates, called Philaga, not far from the place where the river Chaboras runs into it; Pat. Com. † The Arabians it is certain, do avowedly derive their origi- nal from Jocktan; and herein they may as well be credited, as the Europeans, who pretend to be sprung from Japetus, or Jap- phet; or the Africans, who will have Ham, or Jupiter Hammon for their founder. There is moreover, in the territories of Me- cha, a city which even to this day is called Beisath Jecktan, i. e, the seat and habitation of Jocktan, very remarkable for the eleg- anc y of its buildings, the pleasure of its situation, and plenty of its fountains; Patrick and Le Clerc's Comment.
difficulty of settling the several nations in any tolerable manner, according to the charter 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 era of their dispersion.

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 foundation of so great an empire should be laid, in so small a compass of time, by the povertency 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 ancient 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 computation. For (to take one argument more from Moses himself) from the flood to the time of Abraham, (according 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 insuperable, 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 themselves 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 con-"
tenant, which Moses makes no mention of; and yet, up-

on its first discovery, was found stocked with a compe-
tent number of inhabitants, though it apparently has no
connection, and consequently could have no communica-
tion 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 survi-
ving 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 con-
siders that this was the common method of recording his-
tory 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, ac-
cording 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 in-
numerable, 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 lan-
guages, 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
discovering 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 Noah, and afterwards confirmed to Abraham, the great founder of the Jewish nation. It, 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

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several countries assigned to Noah's posterity, have laid down certain rules, as landmarks, to direct our inquiry into the original of each particular nation. They tell us, that wherever we find the scripture assigning any portion or tract of land, or any branch of Noah's posterity, we may rest assured, that that particular branch, or at least the greater part of it, settled itself there: that the families, or tribes of any nation, are continually ranked in that nation; so that wherever 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 cognition and affinity to one another, are to be judged of by the agreement of languages, the remains 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 situated in the east, with Japhet on the north, and Ham on the south.

1 Vid. Ep. Sherlock's Use and intent of prophecy.
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. * 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 lefser and subordinate tribes, called after their son’s names: and (what makes the amount to seem much less) there is reason to suppose, that how many soever the grand-children 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, 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 passes 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 his

* Biblio. Bibl. vol. i. Occas. annot. 17. 1 Shuckford’s Connect. i. 3.
his purpose; and when he is hastening to his main point, to mention curiously such persons as were remarkable (though not the subject he is to handle) in the times whereof he treats.

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, 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, 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 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 by them

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m Gen. iv. n Ch. xxxvi. 43. o Ch. x. 33. p Shuckford's Connexion, vol. 1. l. 3.
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.

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 Moses 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
vatly 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, aslifted 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 mankind, in that period of time: but for our present purpose, it

the 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; *Miller's Church history, p. 35.

Petavius [de Doct. Temp. 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 Japheth 238 years after the flood) he makes a diagram, consisting of almost an innumerable company of men. Temporanus (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 infilt 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; *Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr. l. 3. c. 4.
it will be sufficient to suppose, ① that the first three couples, i. e. Noah's three sons, and their wives, in twenty years time after the flood, might have thirty pair, and by a gradual increase of ten pair for each couple in forty years time, till the three hundred and fortieth year after the flood, in which Peleg died, there might rise a sufficient number (* as appears by the table under the page) to spread colonies over the face of the whole earth. And if to these, the several collateral descendents of Noah's posterity 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 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 probability, (as we observed before,) are not so much as mentioned in it; it is not to be imagined how much these additions will swell the number of mankind to a prodigious amount above the ordinary calculation.

But allowing the number at this time to be not near so large as even the common computation makes it; yet we are to remember, that at the first planting of any country, an handful of men (as it were) took up a large tract of ground. ⑤ At their first division, they were scattered into smaller bodies, and seated themselves at a considerable distance from one another, the better to prevent the increase of the beasts of the field upon them. These small companies had each of them one governor, who,

① Bishop Cumberland's Origines gentium, tract. 4.; and Millar's Church-history, chap. i. part 2.

* Years of the world. Years after the flood. Pairs of men and women.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
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<tr>
<td>1676</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>1756</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>1796</td>
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<td>1836</td>
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<td>1876</td>
<td>220</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>260</td>
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<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>300,000,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>3,000,000,000</td>
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⑤ Bedford's Script. chron. 1. 1. c. 5.
who, in Edom seems to be called  "a duke, and in Canaan, "a king, (whereof there were no lesfs 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  "when Chedorlaomer, in conjunction with three other kings, had de-
feated the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah with three kings more that came to their assistance, plundered their coun-
try, and taken away Lot and his family, who at this time fojourned in these parts; Abraham, with no more than 318 of his own domestics, pursue 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 certain-
ly a very fruitful land, and may therefore be presumed to be better flored with inhabitants than any of its neigh-
boung provinces; yet we find, that when Abraham and Lot firft came into it, though  "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 seperate, they found no difficulty to settle in any part thereof with the rest of its inhabitants.

How great foever the growth of the Assyrian monarchy became at laft, 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 ac-
counts the firft founder of it) is placed  "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 suppos'd to have been contemporary with Deborah; but  "others think this a date much too early. Nimrod, we muft allow, founded a kingdom at Babylon, and perhaps extended it into Af-
yria; but this kingdom was but of finall extent, if com-
pared

6 Gen. xxxvi, to the end. 7 Jos. xii. 9, to the end.
8 Gen. xiv. 9 Gen. xiii. 5, 6.  "Usher's Annot.
10 c. 4. and Sir Ifaac Newton's Chron.
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 Puli 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 Josiah, 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) its king was not as yet called the king of Assyria, but only the king of Nineveh; nor was his proclamation for a fact 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 his

a Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, ch. iii. b Jonah
his own people, was pleased to raise them from obscurity,
and, as the Scripture expresses it, Stirred up the Spirit
of Puf, and the Spirit of Tigrath-Pileser, king of Assyria.

And in like manner we may obferve, that whatever noise
has been made in the world with the astronomical obser-
vations 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 fi-
ction and romance. There is nothing extant (as a very
good judge of ancient and modern learning tells us) in the
Chaldaic astrology, of older date than the era of Nabonaf-
far, which begins but 747 years before Chrift. By this era
the Chaldeans computed their astronomical observations,
the first of which falls about the 27th year of Nabonaffar;
and all that we have of them are only seven eclipses of the
moon, and even these but very coarfly set down, and the
oldest not above 700 years before Chrift. And to make
short of the matter, the fame 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 Chrift.

What the hisfory of the Egyptians and Chinese, and
their boasted antiquity, is, we have had occasion to take
notice of more than once; and need only here to add,
that, bating that strange affection wherein they both
agree, of being thought fo many thousand years older
than they have any authentic testimonies to produce;
there is a manifest analogy between the Scripture-his-
tory, 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)
the genealogy which the Chinese give us of the family
of their first man, Punoecus seems to carry a nearer resem-
blance to Moifes's patriarchal genealogies; Thienhoang
their second king's civilizing the world, anfwers very well
to Seth's setting the principles, and reforming the lives of
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e Vid. Apparatus, p. 78, 79.; and the History, l. 1, c. 5.
f Biblioth. Bib. in the introduction, p. 77.
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 eatablisher 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 reign of the Chinese kings (in the very same manner as the Egyptian dynasties) were not successive, but of several contemporary princes, who at one and the same time, had different and distinct dominions.

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 pustule or fungo-"sities on its surface; to have been begotten by the anima mundi in the sun, or by an anima terre 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. 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 taken for granted, the enquiry was, Out of what material

\[ \text{\textcopyright M. de Loubere's Hist. of Siam,} \]

\[ \text{\textcopyright Bibliotheca Biblica, vol. 1. occaf. annot. c. 17.} \]
terial principles the cosmic system was formed: and Aris-
totle arrogating to himself the opinion of the world’s eter-
nity as a niferum, declared that all mankind before him af-
fected 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 fa-
mous 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, ex-
travagant calculations, and the fabulous actions and ex-
plots 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 in-
vention and growth of arts and sciences, and the advance-
ments carried on in civil discipline and government, could
discern the folly and superstition of all such romantic pre-
tensions: but then, having left 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 sup-
posed 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 old-
er 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 im-
aginary.
And that we have certain knowledge how some particular nations were peopled.

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from Gen. x to the end; and from chap xi. ver. 10 to the end.

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 notices, 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.

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 introductive

† Such are, 1. The numbering by decades. 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 tithes and first fruits to the service of the altar. 8. The custom of worshipping the Deity disfalcated 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. 2. 296.
from the Flood to the Call of Abraham.

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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 preferred in that of their own.

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 Grotius, Montanus, Junius, Pererius, and more especially Bochart, that most splendid star of France, (as 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; 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 Moetis, Europe has nothing to part it from Asia, but the small river Tanais. America, as it is divided into North and South, is joined together.

k Vid. Annot. l. 1. De Verit. 1 Paleg. m In Gen. x. n Ibid. o Phaleg. p Heidegger. q Heidegger's Hist. patriarcharum, vol. i. exer. 22.
together by a neck of land which, from sea to sea, is not above 18 leagues over: what separates North America from the northern parts of Asia, is only the straits of Anien; or South America from the most southern parts of Asia, is only the straits of Magellan. And therefore, since providence, in the formation of the earth, has so ordered the matter, that the principal continents are, at some place or other always joined together by some little isthmus, and generally separated by some narrow sea; and (what is further to be observed) since most of the capital islands in our part of the hemisphere, such as Sumatra in Asia, Madagascar in Africa, and England in Europe, are generally at no great distance from the continent; we have some reason 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 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 some suppose England to have been from France) by the violent concussions of the sea; as indeed the vast number of islands which lie between 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 opinion, that as the children of Shem, being now well verified in navigation, might, from the coasts of China, take possession of the southern parts; so might the children of Japhet, either from Tartary, pass over the straits of Anien, or out of Europe, first pass into Norway, thence into Iceland, thence into Greenland, and so into the northern parts of America: and this they think the more probable, because of the great variety of languages which are observed among the natives of this great continent; a good indication, as one would imagine, of their coming thither at different times, and from different places.

*Patrick's Commentary.*  
*Vid.* The new general Atlas.
We indeed, according to the common forms of speech, call these 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 island at all, provided they were divided from Palestine or from Egypt by the sea, and could not conveniently be gone to any other way. 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.

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 Æg iptic Lake, on the north of the Euxine sea; and as they were called

Cimmerii


* 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, Cuff, 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 expressly named, viz. Assyria Egypt &c. and therefore most likely the countries of the Lesser Asia, and Europe. The same prophet, in order to shew God's omnipotence, speaks in this manner. Behold the nations are as a drop in the bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance; behold he takes up the isles as a very little thing, ch. xi. 15. Where, if by the 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 these large countries which were beyond the sea in regard to Egypt whence Moses came, or Palæstine whither he was now going; Well's Geography, vol. 1. p. 113.
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Cimerii in Asia, so they gave the name of Bosphorus Cimerius to the Straits we there meet with; that after this, spreading 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 Josephus tells us) were anciently called Gomerites; and that from France they came into the south part of Briton; and therefore we find that the Welsh (the ancient inhabitants of this isle) call themselves Kumero, or Cymro, call a woman Kumerae, and the language they speak Kumerae; 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 cafes of this nature, we cannot forbear concluding, that the true old Britons, or Welsh, are the genuine descendants of Gomer. And since it is observed, that the Germans were likewise the descendants 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 *

† The people of this country are called Germans, and they call themselves German, which is but a small variation, and easy contradiction of Gomeren, i.e. Gomerians: For the termination en is a plural termination in the German language; and from the singular number, Gomer is formed Gomeren, by the same analogy, that from brother we form brethren; Well's Geography, vol. 1. p. 127, and Bed ford's Scripture Chronology 1. 2. c. 4.

u Antig. 1 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, failed into Africa, and their built a city, called Carthage, or the city of 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 coaling the sea-shore of Spain, Portugal, and France, happened at length to chop upon the islands called Cassiterides, 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 the land's end on the west side of Cornwall,
tons in the eastern part of this isle, were in a manner de-
scended from Gomer the first son of Japhet.
Thus we see, * 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 fa-
bles; or endless genealogies, but a most valuable piece of hi-
story, which distinguishes from all other people, that par-
ticular 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 in-
crease, and successive migrations, cities building, lands
cultivating, kingdoms rising, governments settling, and all
to the accomplishment of the divine benediction: 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, Learn-
ing, 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 ap-
ppears 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 descendants in a direct line
to Abraham, and the different computations relating to
them, may be best perceived by the following table.

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Now

wall, 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 Phoenician; 1. 2. c. 4. p. 195.
* Millar's Church History, ch. i. per. 2.
\^ Gen. ix. 1.
\z Usher's Chron. fac. cap. 2.
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, 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 Caisan, 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

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| | 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 | 305 | 305 | 438 |
| 3 | | | | Cainan | 0 | 0 | 130 | 0 | 0 | 330 | 0 |
| 4 | | | | Salah | 30 | 130 | 130 | 403 | 305 | 330 | 433 |
| 5 | | | | Eber | 34 | 134 | 134 | 430 | 270 | 270 | 404 |
| 6 | | | | Peleg | 30 | 130 | 130 | 209 | 199 | 209 | 332 |
| 7 | | | | Reu | 32 | 132 | 132 | 207 | 107 | 207 | 239 |
| 8 | | | | Serug | 30 | 130 | 130 | 200 | 100 | 200 | 230 |
| 9 | | | | Nahor | 29 | 79 | 75 | 119 | 69 | 125 | 148 |
| 10 | | | | 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.
they who assert the cause of the Septuagint, are not un- 
mindful to urge the testimony of St Luke, who, b be-
tween Arphaxad and Salah, has inserted the name of Ca-
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.

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 exami-
nation, they find many things added, many things omit-
ted, 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 dif-
"ferent 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 Septua-
gint version, know nothing of Cainan; Eusebius and Afri-
canus, 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, insert-
ed an antediluvian name (for such a person there was be-
fore 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 im-
mediate son and successor of Arphaxad; f we must ei-
ther 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

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The argu-
ments for 
and against 
the LXX 
compu-
tation.

b Chap. iii. 36. c On Jeremia xvii. d Phaleg. 1. 2. c. 2.
Heidgzer's hist. patriar. vol. 2. exer. 1. f Shuckford's Con-
nection, vol. 1. 1. 2.
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 concealing 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?

Rather therefore than impeach, this servant of God, (who has this testimony upon record, that 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 copies 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 most 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 these 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

b 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.

a Bishop Cumberland's Origin antiquif. p. 177, &c.
which certainly is too much distance between a grand-
father and a granchild's beginning to reign.

Thus it seems reasonable to suppose, that the interpola-
tion of the name of Cainan in the LXX's version might be
the work of some ignorant and pragmatical transcriber: -
and in like manner, the addition and subtraction of seve-
rail hundred years in the lives of the fathers before men-
tioned might be effected by such another instrument,
who thinking perhaps, that the years of the antediluvian
lives were but lunar ones, and computing, that at this rate
the fix 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 propor-
tionably 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 ad-
vance 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.

This seems to be the only method of reconciling the dif-
ference between the LXX version and the Hebrew text,
in point of chronology; and now we proceed to what we
find recorded in profane history during this period.

After the dispersion of nations, the only form of govern-
ment that was in use for some time was paternal, when fa-
thers 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.

In early ages, a superiority of strength or stature was the
most engaging qualifications 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 in-
considerable in the eyes of the people, \(^l\) that he was a

\(^{i}\) Shuckford's Connection, vol. i. lib. 5. ex Lud. Capelli,
Chron Sacra. in apparatu Walbut ad Bibl. Polyglot.

\(^{k}\) De Repub. I. 4. c. 4.

\(^{l}\) 1 Sam. ix. 2.
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2007, &c.
from Gen. x. to the end; and from chap xiv. ver. 10. to the end.

choice young man, and goodly: and that there was not among the children of Israel a godlier man than he. But 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. 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, 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, occaioned 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 enterprises.

Nimrod was the first man we meet with in Scripture who made invasions upon the territories of others: for he dispossessed Arphaxad, 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.

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 compass

m Shuckford's Conneâion, vol. ii. 1. 6. n Justin, I. 1. c. 1.

A description of Babylon.

o Prideaux's Conneâion.

† 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 Conneâion part 1. 1. 2.
Compass of the wall, which was surrounded 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 vasty 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 pleas’d 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 forty 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, lessen’d 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 according

† 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; Prideaux, ibid.
The History of the Bible, Book II.

The holes and ruins of this once vast and splendid city.

It can hardly be imagined, that the first kings were able, either to make or execute laws with that strictness and rigour, which is necessary in a body of men, so large as to afford numerous offenders: and for this reason it seems to have been a prudent institution in Nimrod, when his city of Babylon began to be too populous to be regulated 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 situate 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 antiques of great beauty, which are to be seen round about, and especially by the old bridge over the Euphrates, where of 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 left, 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 Tygris, about three 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 it, being Chalontitis, which is evidently derived from
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 descendants 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 reason from Chalne, 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 Ashur, 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. 1. 4.

p Wells's Geography.

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reason it is 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, till Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, having made an affinity with Asyages 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 rife and fall of this great city, where Assur 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. i.,

† The cities which Assur is said to have built, were Rehoboth, Refen, 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 acceptation; 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. Refen is supposed, by most learned men, to be the same city which Xenophon mentions under the name of Lariffa, and that, not only because the situation of this Lariffa well enough agrees with the situation of Refen, as it is described by Mofes lying between Nineveh and Calah; but because Mofes observes, in the same text, that Refen was a great city; in like manner, as Xenophon tells us that Lariffa, tho' then ruinated, had been a large city of eight miles circumference, with walls 100 feet high, and 25 feet broad. And whereas Lariffa 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 Refen, which Xenophon expressed by Lariffa,
cities along the Tigris, he there settled them under the government of deputies or viceroy.

Whilst Nimrod and Assur were settling their people in their respective countries, Mizraim, the second son of Ham, * and who, by Heathen writers, is constantly called Menes, feated himself at first near the entrance of Egypt, and there perhaps built the city of Zoon, which was anciently the habitation of the kings of Egypt; but from Zoon he removed farther into the country, and took possession of those parts which were afterwards called Theibais, 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.

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.

Assur, 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. Babylonia

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 Calacine in their parts: And whereas Pliny mentions a people called Claffitae, through whose country the Lycus runs, there is some reason to suppose that Claffitae is a corruption of Calachitae; Wells’s Geography, vol. 1.

* The person whom Moses calls Mizraim, is, by Diodorus, and other Heathen writers, commonly called Menes; by Syncelius, Mesraim. 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 Synellus in Chron. 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 Conneftion, vol. i. l. 4.
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 subduing other nations: and as one conquest paved the way for another, in a few years, he over-ran 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 Baçtria, 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 the

† Justin in his history of this woman, informs us, that upon the death of her husband, she made use of the stratagem of personaating 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 professed 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 seat 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 danger-
ous 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.

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
harrased and fatigued her people: but though he was not
ambitious to enlarge his empire, yet he took all due care
to regulate, and settle, upon a good foundation, the exten-
vive dominions which his parents had left him. By a wise
contrivance of annual deputies over his provinces, he pre-
vented 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 adminis-
tration, that is employed in the silent, but more happy
arts of peace and good government.

In Egypt, Mizraim, after his death, had three sons,
who became the kings of the several parts thereof. Ana-
nim, 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 agree-
ably 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

\* Diocles Siculus, 1. 2.
Of the second, viz. Naphtuham, we are told, that he was the author of the architecture of these ages; had some useful knowledge of physic and anatomy; and taught his subjects (as he learned it from his brother Pathrium) the use of letters: for to this Pathrium, (whom they call Thoth,) the Egyptians indeed ascribe the invention of all arts and sciences whatever. The Greeks called him Hermes, and Latins Mercurius; and while his father Mizraim lived, he is supposed to have been his secretary, and greatly assistant to him in all his undertakings. When his father died, he instructed his brothers in all the knowledge he was master of; and as for his own people, he made wholesome laws for their government, settled their religion and form of worship, and enriched their language by the addition of several words, to express several things which before they had no names for.

This is the best account that we can give of the Babylonian or Assyrian empires, and of the kings that ruled Egypt, for some ages next after the dispersion of mankind. Other nations, no doubt, were settled into regular governments in these times: Canaan was inhabited rather sooner than Egypt; and according to Moses, Hebron, in Canaan, was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt; but as none of these nations made any considerable figure in the first ages, their actions lie in obscurity, and must be buried in oblivion. The few men of extraordinary note, that were then in the world, lived in Egypt and Assyria; and for this reason, we find little or no mention of any other countries, until one of these two nations came to send out colonies, which by degrees polished the people they travelled to, and instructed them in such arts and sciences, as made them appear with credit in their own age, and (as soon as the use of letters was made public) transmitted their names with honour to posterity.

The knowledge of letters cannot have been of any long standing among us Europeans, who are settled far from the first seats of mankind, and far from the places which the descendants of Noah first planted. "None of the ancient Thracians," says Ælian, "knew any thing of letters: nay, the Europeans in general, thought it difficult to learn them, though in Asia they were held in greater request." The Goths, according to the express

The History of the BIBLE,

Numb. xiii. 22.  
Universal history, 1. 8. c. 6.
pref testimony of Socrates, had their letters and writings from Ulphila, their bishop, anno Dom. 370. The Sclavonians 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 a hundred and fifty-eight years after that Cadmus came into Greece, or from the Arcadians whom Evander led into those parts, about sixty 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 Phoenicians, who were the followers of Cadmus, when he came into Greece; but from whom the Phoenicians 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. The 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?

* Hist. Eccles. 1. 4. c. 33.
The History of the BIBLE,

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 enquiry, 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. 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.

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. For though Noah and his sons had doubtless some knowledge of the inventions of the antediluvians, and probably acquainted their descendants 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 them

y Shuckford's Connection, vol. i. l. 4.

2 Universal history, i. r. c. 2.
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; for when Alexander the great took possession of that city, Calidhenes the philosopher, who accompanied him, upon searching into the treasuries 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 a 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

* Simplicius de Coelo. 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 in the use of arms, entered into an alliance with Arizus 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 Barzanes submitted to him. After this, he vanquished Pharnass 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 Baæria; but no author declares the particulars of his victories. Of the maritime provinces, he subdued, according to Ctesias, whom we follow, (says Diodorus) Egypt, Phenicia, the Lower Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia; and besides these, Caria, and Phrygias, Lydia, Mylia, Troas, together with the Propontis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and all the barbarous nations, as far as the Tanais; with Persia, Susiana, Caßpiana, 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-
horse and foot; and of fleets, and galleys, 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 Oxypates, 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 Lybia, 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, the 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 galleys, 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 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 Lybia; Miller's History of the church, chap. i. part 3.

† This Ctesias was a native of Cnidus, and physician to Artaxerxes Mnenomon. He wrote a Persian history in three and twenty books, of which there remain only a few fragments, pre-
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 conveniences 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 judgement transmitted to them in all its circumstances, they could not but entertain these conceptions of God:— That he takes cognizance of the things which are 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. Gallius (Noctes Attica, l. g. 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.
are done here on earth; that he is a lover of virtue, 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 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, that many of the Arabians preferred 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; "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 were.

b Hyde's Relig. vet. Persarum c. 3. c Shuckford's Conn. vol. 1. l. 5. d Gen. xiv. 19.
were some true worshippers of the God of heaven; c Lord, Wilt thou make 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 innocence of my hands have I done this: we shall find that the Egyptians allowed no mortal creature to be a god; proffessed 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 eucharisti- cal, 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 prag- matical 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 cor- ruption.

When this corruption of religion was first introduced, is not so easy a matter to determine, because neither sacred nor profane history have taken any notice of it. Those # who account idolatry one of the sins of the antedilu- vian world, suppose that Ham, being married into the wicked race of Lamech, retained a strong inclination for such a falfe worship; and that after he was cursed by his father Noah, and separated from the posterity of Shem, he soon set it up. Those t 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

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A. M. 
1597 &c. Ant Chrif. 
XXI. &c. from Gen.

1007. &c. from chap. 

x to the end; and 

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xi ver 10.

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the earth, must suppose, that the worship of that planet began whilst the remembrance of the deluge was fresh in men’s minds; but those k who are of opinion, that the difference of men’s 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.

1 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 whole time the general impiety, before the flood, “is said to have begun; 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 cer-
tain 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, be-
cause 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, accord-
ing 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 A-
braham’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 pro-
spect of the heavenly bodies than those who inhabited mountainous places, had a great conveniency for astrono-
mical observations, and accordingly, were the first people who took any great pains to improve them. And as they were

k Cyril. Alex. contra Julian. I. i. 1 Heidegger’s Hist. patriar. vol. ii. exerc. i. m De Diis Syris, proleg. 3. n Shuckford’s Connection, vol. i. l. 5. o Judith v. &.
were the first astrologers; 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.

Among the Egyptians, a 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 worshipp'd.

The Persians perhaps were never so far corrupted, as to lose entirely the knowledge of the suprême 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 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, be

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p Tennison of idolatry. q Diodorus, i. 1. r Hyde's Relig. vet. Persarum, c. i. s Deut. iv. 19.
be driven to worship, and to serve them: and that this was
the customary worship among the Arabians, the justifica-
tion which Job makes of himself is a sufficient proof; if
If I beheld the sun when it rose, or the moon walking in
brightness, and mine heart hath been secretly enraged, or my
mouth hath kissed my hand, i.e. if with devotion of soul,
or profession of outward respect, I have worshipped those
heavenly bodies, which, by their height, motion, and
lustre, attract the eye, and ravish the senses, this also were
an iniquity to be punished by the judges; for then I should have
denied the God that is above. And therefore the account
which the Greek historian gives us of the origin of this
kind of idolatry, is more than probable, viz. that the most
ancient inhabitants of the earth (meaning those who lived
not long after the flood, and particularly the Egyptians)
contemplating on the world above them, and being after-
nished with high admiration at the nature of the universe,
believed that there were two eternal gods, the sun and the
moon; the former of which they called Osiris, and the lat-
ter Isis: since, of later years, upon the discovery of Ame-
rica, though many different idols were found in different
places, yet as for the sun, it was the universal deity, both
in Mexico and Peru.

But whatever the first idol might be, it soon multiplied
into such 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 worshippers. * They worshipped universal na-
ture, the soul of the world, angels, devils, and the souls
of men departed, either separate and alone, or in union
with some star, or other body. They worshipped the
heavens, and in them both particular luminaries and
constellations; the atmosphere; and in it the meteors
and foulis of the air; the earth, and in it beasts, birds,
insects, plants, groves, and hills, together with divers
fossilis and terrestrial fire. They worshipped the water;
and in it the sea and rivers; and in them fishes,
serpents, and insects, together with such creatures as live
in either element. They worshipped men, both living and
dead; and in them the faculties and endowments of

* Job xxxi. 26, 27.  u Diodorus Siculus, I. 1.
x Tenniffon: of idolatry.
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, 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 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 reproachfully to the indignity, has in some measure supplied us with a reason, when he tells, that this state of things, how gross and strange ever it was, was introduced under the pretences of wisdom, or by men professing to be wise.

It was the wife 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. "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 picture to alter them. Now our father Noah has instructed us in a religion, which, in truth, is too simple, and too unappealing: 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 comprehension: 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 derivation 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-

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3 P "cause

Rom. i. 22, 23.

caufe they are eminent representations of his glory and

eternity: we ought to worship the elements, because

they represent his benignity and omniprence: we ought
to worship princes, because they sustain a divine charac-
ter, and are the representatives of his power upon earth:

we ought to worship men famous in their generation,
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-

cver creatures are most beneficial, because they are the
"symbols of his love and goodness; and with no les rea-

fon, 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 na-
tural habitude of vulgar minds, and the strong inclinations
they have, in matters of an abstruse consideration, to help
themselves by fensible objects, it seems not so difficult a task
to have drawn them in.

Those who worshipped universal nature, or the fystem
of the material world, perceived firft, that there was
excellency in the feveral 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 feveral parts, and worshipped that portion of it which
was accounted of moft general ufe and benefite. Usefulness
was the common motive, but it was not the only motive
which inclined the world to idolatry: for, upon farther in-
quiry, we fhall find, that whatever raviifhed with its tran-
cendent beauty, whatever affrightened with its malignant
power, whatever aiftonifhed with its uncommon greatnes;
whatever in short, was beautiful, hurtful, or magiftic, be-
came a deity, as well as what was profitable for its ufe.

The fun, men foon perceived, had all thefe powers and
properties united in it: its beauty was glorious to behold;
itfs motion wonderful to confider; its heat occasioned dif-
ferent effects; barrenfness in some places, and fruitfulness
in others; and the immense globe of light appeared
highly exalted, and riding in triumph, as it were, round

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\* Tennifon 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 in-
fluence 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 ce-
lestial bodies to be deities.  

The force of fire, the serenity of air, the usefulness of water, as well as the terror and
dreadfulness of thunder and lightening, gave rise to the
consecration of the meteors and elements. The sea, swell-
ing with its proud surface, and roaring with its mighty bil-
lows, 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 pro-
properties, beasts, birds, fishes, insects, and even vegetables
themselves, came to be adored.

The pride and pomp of the great, and the low and ab-
ject 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 foun-
ders of nations or cities, or the inventors of useful arts and
sciences, were reverenced while they lived, and, after death,
canonized. The prevailing notion of the soul's immortality
made them imagine, that the spirits of such excellent per-
sons, either immediately ascended up into heaven, and set-
tled there in some orb or other; or that they hovered in the
air; whence, by solemn invocations, and by making some
statue or image resemblant of them, they might be prevail-
ed 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 histo-
ry to determine: but wherever it had its origin, the design
of making statues and images at first was certainly such
as the author of the book of Wisdom  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

3 P 2

b Herbert's ancient religion of the Gentiles,  
 Chap. xiv.
15, &c.

A. M.
1997, &c.
Ant. Chrif.
1007, &c.

* * *
The History of the BIBLE,

Book II.

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 for- "ward the ignorant to more superstition: for he, perad- "venture, willing to please one in authority; forced all his "skil 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."

We cannot but observe, however, with what elegance and fine satire it is, that the Scripture sets off the stupidity and grofs infatuation, both of the artificer and adorer. "The carpenter heveth down cedars, and taketh the cypres 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, accord- ing 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 Aba! 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?

That rational creatures should be capable of so wretch- ed, 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 judgement in 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 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 the 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, of mere unassisted reason, is against the force of education, and the prevalence of custom, engaged on the side of a false, but 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 acquited ourselves any better? Our reason indeed now tells us, that we would have died, rather than have submitted to these impious modes of worship; but then we are to remember, that reason is now unassisted 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, taking away the direction and restraint of this reason would relapse into the same extravagancies, the same impiety, the same folly and superstition, which prevailed over it before. And therefore, (to conclude in the words of our blessed Saviour, spoken indeed upon another, but very applicable upon this occasion,) Blessed are the eyes which see the things which ye see, a full and perfect rule of faith and manners contained in that Holy Bible which is in every one's 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.

from Gen. x. to the end; and from chap. xi ver. 10. to the end.

\[d\] Eph. iv. 18.  
\[c\] Roger's Necessity of a divine revelation.  

The End of the First Volume.
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