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THE
SACRED AND PROFANE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
CONNECTED,

FROM THE
CREATION OF THE WORLD

TO THE
DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE AT THE
DEATH OF SARDANAPALUS,
AND TO THE
DECLENSION OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL
UNDER THE REIGNS OF AHAZ AND PEKAH.

WITH THE TREATISE ON
THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

BY
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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE
P R E F A C E.

THE first and second volumes of this history, which I some years ago offered to the public, do so fully explain the nature and design of my undertaking, that there can be no need of any further account of it. This third volume contains the sacred history from the Israelites having passed the Red sea to the death of Joshua; and I have, as in the former volumes, offered in it not only such observations as I thought might obviate or answer objections to, or difficulties in, the Scripture accounts of some facts of these times, but also such hints of the heathen nations, as can belong to this period, and may conduce to my being able to deduce the profane history in a clear light, when I shall come down to an age which may afford plenty of materials for a relation of the affairs of it.

I am sensible the reader may expect from me some account of the Jewish year, which he will not find in the ensuing volume. If the Israelites, when they came into Canaan, had not been instructed to compute such a number of days to a year, as might come very nigh to the true measure of it, they could not long have continued to keep their set feasts in their proper seasons. The heathen nations had as yet no notion of the year's containing more than 360 days^a: but such a year falling short five days, and almost a quarter of a day of a true solar revolution, it must be evident that the stated feasts of Moses's law, if they had been observed in a course of such years, would have returned five days and almost a quarter of a day, in every year, sooner than the true season of the year for observing them could have returned with them; and this in a very few years must have brought them into a great confusion^b. Moses ap-

^a See Pref. to vol. i.

^b They must in a few years have come to celebrate the Passover before they could have had lambs fit to be eaten; the wave-sheaf-offering would

have come about before the barley was ripe to be reaped; and the Pentecost before the time of wheat-harvest. Prideaux, Preface to part i. of his Connection.

pointed the Passover to be killed and eaten on the fourteenth day of the first month at even^c: on the same evening they began to eat unleavened bread^d, and continued the eating it unto the evening of the one and twentieth day^e: the wave-sheaf was to be offered on the second day of unleavened bread^f: fifty days after^g, or on the fifth day of the third month, two wave-loaves were to be offered for the wheat-harvest^h; and on the fifteenth day of the seventh monthⁱ they were to celebrate their ending the gathering in all the fruits of their land^k. Moses lived almost forty years after his giving the Israelites these institutions; and if all this while 360 days had been computed to be a year, it is evident, that the feasts of the law would by this time have gone backwards almost two hundred and ten days, from what was the real season of the year, at which they were at first appointed; for forty times five days and almost a quarter of a day amount to near that number. But we find, that, when the Israelites came into Canaan, and were to keep the Passover there on the fourteenth day of the month Abib^l, the corn was ripe in the fields^m; Jordan was in that flow over all his banks, which that river was annually remarkable for all the time of harvestⁿ; so that the Passover, and consequently the other feasts, fell this year at about the times to which Moses at first stated them: and therefore the Israelites must have had some method to adjust their computed year to the true measure of a real one, or otherwise the observation of their set festivals would in fewer years have remarkably varied from their true seasons.

By what particular method the ancient Israelites regulated their year in this manner, may perhaps be difficult to be ascertained: however, I would endeavour to offer what I think may be gathered from some hints in Moses's institutions relating to this matter.

Moses, for the calculating and regulating the sacred festivals, directed the Israelites to observe the month Abib^o: *this month was to be unto them the beginning of months*, it was

^c Exod. xii. 6—8. Levit. xxiii. 5.

^d Exod. xii. 18.

^e Ibid.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 10.

^g Lev. xxiii. 15, 16.

^h Exod. xxxiv. 22.

ⁱ Lev. xxiii. 39.

^k In Canaan the produce of the earth seems to come on in the same course as in Egypt: in Egypt the barley was in the ear when the wheat and

the rye were not grown up, Exod. ix. 31, 32; so in Canaan the barley-harvest came on first; then the wheat-harvest; and after these, the gathering their other fruits, the fruits of their vineyards, and oliveyards, &c.

^l Josh. v. 10.

^m Ibid. See book xii.

ⁿ Josh. iii. 15.

^o Deut. xvi. 1.

to be the first month of the year^p: on the fourteenth day of this month at even they were to kill and eat the Passover^q: the day after, or the fifteenth, was the first day of unleavened bread^r, and, which ought to be particularly remarked, the first day of unleavened bread was always to fall upon a sabbath: this I take to be hinted, Levit. xxiii. 11. The wave-sheaf was to be waved on the morrow after a sabbath^s; but the wave-sheaf was thus offered on the second day of unleavened bread^t, and consequently if that day was the morrow after a sabbath, then the day preceding, or first day of unleavened bread, was a sabbath. If this point be rightly stated, it will be to be remembered, that the sabbaths in this first month will fall thus; the first day a sabbath, the eighth day a sabbath, the fifteenth a sabbath, the twenty-second a sabbath, and the twenty-ninth a sabbath. A month was ordinarily computed to be thirty days, neither more nor fewer^u: accordingly, if we go through the second month, the sabbaths in it must be thus; the sixth day a sabbath, the thirteenth a sabbath, the twentieth a sabbath, and the twenty-seventh a sabbath^x. In the third month the sabbaths will fall thus;

^p Exodus xii. 2.

^q Ibid. 6—8. Levit xxiii. 5.

^r Levit. xxiii. 6.

^s Ver. 11. The Hebrew words are, *במחרת השבת*, i. e. *crastino sabbati*, on the day after the sabbath.

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii. ubi sup.

^u Moses thus computes the months in his account of the flood: from the seventeenth day of the second month to the seventeenth day of the seventh month; for five whole months he reckons one hundred and fifty days, Gen. vii. 11, 24. viii. 3, 4. which is exactly thirty days to each month; for five times thirty days are one hundred and fifty.

^x Scaliger intimates the twenty-second day of this second month to have been a sabbath. Lib. de Emen-dat. Temp. p. 153. ed. 1583. which, if true, would overthrow the order of the sabbaths I am offering. But, 1. If the twenty-second of this month had been a sabbath, then the fifteenth must have been a sabbath also, and the people would have rested in their tents upon it, Exod. xvi. 30. But the fifteenth was a day of travel; the Israelites took their journey from Elim unto the wilderness of Sin, on the fifteenth day of the second month, Exod. xvi.

1. so that this day was not a sabbath, and consequently neither was the twenty-second. 2. Scaliger's opinion is founded upon an imagination, that the quails were given in the very evening, and the manna on the morning after the Israelites came into this wilderness: if this were the fact, the Israelites, gathering manna for six successive days, before Moses observed to them that tomorrow is the sabbath, (see ver. 22, 23.) would indeed suggest the sabbath to fall on the twenty-second. But how improbable is it that the Israelites should have fixed their camp, explored the country, found that they could not be supported in it, mutinied, obtained a miraculous supply from God, and all this in the remaining part of a day almost spent in travel? A supply given thus instantaneously would hardly have been known to be a miracle: they could not so soon have judged enough of the country they were in, to determine whether it might not be the natural produce of it. In the wilderness of Shur they travelled three days before they came to high complaints for want of water, Exod. xv. 22. In like manner they came into the wilderness of Sin, on the fifteenth day of the month on a

the fourth day a sabbath: and the day after this sabbath was the day of Pentecost, or the fiftieth day from the day of bringing the sheaf of the wave-offering^y; for from the day of waving it, on the day after a sabbath, they were to count seven sabbaths complete; unto the day after the seventh sabbath fifty days, and upon that fiftieth day they were to offer the two wave-loaves and their new meal-offering^z; accordingly, from the sixteenth day of the first month to the fifth day of the third month, counting inclusively, are fifty days, and the fiftieth day falls regularly on the morrow or day after a sabbath, as Moses calculates it^a. The other sabbaths in this third month fall thus; the eleventh day a sabbath, the eighteenth a sabbath, and the twenty-fifth a sabbath. In the fourth month the sabbaths fall as follows; the second day a sabbath, the ninth a sabbath, the sixteenth a sabbath, the twenty-third a sabbath, and the thirtieth a sabbath. In the fifth month, the seventh day will be a sabbath, the fourteenth a sabbath, the twenty-first a sabbath, and the twenty-eighth a sabbath. In the sixth month, the fifth day is a sabbath, the twelfth day a sabbath, the nineteenth a sabbath, and the twenty-sixth a sabbath. We are now to begin the seventh month: and here I must observe, that Moses was ordered to *speake unto the children of Israel*, saying, *In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall ye have a sabbath*^b. It may be here queried, whether this sabbath was to fall seven days after the last sabbath, and be one of the weekly sabbaths of the year, or whether it was to be a common day of the week in itself, but ordered to be kept as a sabbath by a special appointment; and an answer to this query is easy to be collected from considering the appointments of this season: the tenth day of this seventh month was to be a day of atonement to afflict their souls, and they were specially ordered to do no work on that same day. There could have been no need of that particular order, if this tenth day had been a sabbath; for, upon account of its being a sabbath day, no manner of work must

second day of the week: in about four days they had eat up all that could be provided for them, and found absolutely that the land they were in could not support them: in this extremity they were ready to mutiny; on the fifth day, the twentieth day of the month, and the seventh day of the week, at even, Moses obtained them the quails, and on the next morning the manna: they gathered manna for

six days, and then the sabbath was on the twenty-seventh. In this way of computing we allow the affairs' transacted a necessary space of time, and this will fix the sabbaths to the days I have supposed to belong to them.

^y Levit. xxiii. 15.

^z Ibid. ver. 17. Numb. xxviii. 26.

^a Levit. xxiii. 16. .

^b Ibid. ver. 24.

have been done therein^c: this tenth day therefore did not fall upon a weekly sabbath. But it is to be observed, that it would have been a weekly sabbath, if some special appointment had not here taken place to prevent it; for, as the twenty-sixth day of the sixth month was a sabbath, the days going on in their common order, the third day of the seventh month would have been a sabbath, and consequently the tenth; but the tenth day thus appearing not to have been a sabbath, it must be allowed that the third also was not a sabbath day, and consequently that here must have been some particular appointment, to cause the sabbaths not to go on in the course in which they would otherwise have proceeded: and the injunction of the first day of the seventh month's being a sabbath, appears very plainly to have been this appointment, and would always cause the tenth day not to fall on a sabbath, but on a week-day, pertinently to the injunction of having no work done therein; so that I should think there can remain nothing further to be considered, than at what distance this sabbath day, on the first day of the seventh month, was to be kept from after the last preceding sabbath. And I think we cannot but conclude, that seven days must have been the interval; for I think this was the law of the sabbath without variation: between sabbath and sabbath *six days* they were to labour, and do all their work; but the seventh day was to be the sabbath^d: and if this be allowed me, it will be plain that the Israelites must have here added two days to the end of the sixth month to make the sixth day of the week the last day of it; for the twenty-sixth day of this month was, as I have observed, a sabbath^e; consequently, if this month, like other months, had contained thirty days only, the last day of it would have been the fourth day of the week, and the first day of the seventh month could not have been a sabbath in the manner which Moses appointed: here therefore the Israelites kept two week-days more than this month would otherwise have afforded, and began the seventh month with a sabbath, according to the injunction. But to go on: the first day of the seventh month being thus a sabbath, it will follow, that in this month the eighth day would be a sabbath, the fifteenth a sabbath, the twenty-second a sabbath, and the twenty-ninth a sabbath. The tenth day of this month was the day of atonement^f, the fifteenth day began the feast of tabernacles^g, a feast to be kept for the gathering

^c Exod. xx. 10.

^d Exod. xx. 9, 10.

^e Vid. quæ sup.

^f Levit. xxiii. 27.

^g Ver. 34.

in the fruits of the land^h: this feast was thus to begin with a sabbathⁱ, and after seven days celebration, it was ended on the eighth day, namely, on the twenty-second day of this month with another sabbath^k. The twenty-ninth day of the seventh month being a sabbath, the sabbaths in the eighth month will fall thus: the sixth day will be a sabbath, the thirteenth a sabbath, the twentieth a sabbath, and the twenty-seventh a sabbath: in the ninth month, the fourth day will be a sabbath, the eleventh a sabbath, the eighteenth a sabbath, and the twenty-fifth a sabbath: in the tenth month, the second day will be a sabbath, the ninth a sabbath, the sixteenth a sabbath, the twenty-third a sabbath, and the thirtieth a sabbath: in the eleventh month, the seventh day will be a sabbath, the fourteenth a sabbath, the twenty-first a sabbath, and the twenty-eighth a sabbath: in the twelfth month, the fifth day will be a sabbath, the twelfth a sabbath, the nineteenth a sabbath, and the twenty-sixth a sabbath, and the thirtieth day of this month would be the fourth day of a week. But here it must be remembered, that the first day of the ensuing year, the first of the month Abib, must fall upon a sabbath^l; so that here, as at the end of the sixth month, two days must be added to make the week and the year end together; that the first day of Abib may be regularly a sabbath after a due interval of six days between the last foregoing sabbath and the day of it. In this manner Moses's appointments appear to carry the Israelites through the year in fifty-two complete weeks, amounting to 364 days, and this would be a great approximation to the true and real solar year, in comparison of what all other nations at this time fell short of it: but still it must be remarked, that even a year thus settled would not fully answer; for the true length of the year being, as I have said, 365 days and almost six hours, Moses's year, if thus constituted, would still fall short one day and almost six hours in every solar revolution, and this would have amounted to almost fifty days in the forty years which he was with the Israelites; and therefore, had the Israelites begun and continued computing their year in this manner, they would have found at their entering into Canaan, on the tenth day of their month Abib, that they were come thither not just at the time of harvest, as they might have expected, nor when Jordan overflowed his banks, as he did annually, but rather they would have been there almost fifty

^h Levit. xxiii. 39.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k Ibid.

^l Vid. quæ sup.

days before the season ; so that we must endeavour to look for some further direction to Moses's appointments, or we shall be yet at a loss to say how the Israelites could keep their year from varying away from the seasons. But

I would observe, that there are several hints in the injunctions of Moses, that may lead us through this difficulty. The feasts of the Lord were to be proclaimed in their seasons^m; and it is remarkable, that the season for the wave-sheaf-offering is directed in some measure by the time of harvest: *When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then shall ye bring a sheaf—ⁿ*. Thus again: *Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: begin to number the seven weeks from such time as thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn^o*. The numbering these weeks was to begin from the day of bringing the sheaf of the wave-offering^p, and therefore the wave-sheaf-offering and the Pentecost at the end of the weeks appear evidently to have been regulated by the corn-season, which was sure to return annually after the revolution of a true year, however the computed year might vary from or not come up to it: and the only question that can now remain is, whether the Israelites were to keep all their other feasts on their set days, exactly at the return of their computed year, or whether their other feasts were regulated along with these of the wave-sheaf and Pentecost; so as to have their computed year corrected and amended, as often as the return of harvest shewed them there was reason for it. And this last intimation appears plainly to me to have been the fact; for I observe, that the fifteenth day of the seventh month is supposed never to fall before they had gathered in the fruits of their land; for on that day they were always to keep a feast for the ending all their harvest^q: but if the computed year had gone on without correction, the fifteenth day of the seventh month, every year falling short a day and almost a quarter of a true solar year, would in a number of years have come about before the time for beginning their harvest. And Moses lived long enough to have seen it very sensibly moving towards this absurdity, and consequently cannot be supposed to have left it fixed in such a manner: rather the whole computed year was to be regulated by the season of harvest. When the year was ended, the Israelites were to proclaim for the ensuing year the feasts of the Lord^r, and they were, I think, to be kept

^m Levit. xxiii. 4.

ⁿ Ver. 10.

^o Deut. xvi. 9.

^p Levit. xxiii. 15.

^q Levit. xxiii. 39.

^r Ver. 4.

at their times according to this public indication of them ; and, in order to fix their times right, they were, in the first place, to observe the month Abib^s, the harvest month^t, to appoint the beginning of that to its true season ; and this they might do [as often as they found it varying from it, by the corn not growing ripe for the sickle at or about the sixteenth day of this month, the second day of unleavened bread^u, on which they were wont to offer their wave-sheaf^x] in the following manner : when, I say, they found at the end of the year, from the experience of two or three past years, as well as the year then before them, that harvest was not so forward as to be fit to be begun in about sixteen days, they might then add so many days to the end of their year as might be requisite, that they might not begin the month Abib until, upon the sixteenth of it, they might expect to put the sickle to the corn, and bring the wave-sheaf in their accustomed manner : this, I think, might be the method in which the ancient Israelites adjusted their year to the seasons ; and I conceive, that, when they added to their year in this manner, the addition they made was of whole weeks, one, two, or more, as the appearing backwardness of the season required, that the first of Abib might fall upon a sabbath, and the other sabbaths of the year follow in their order, as I have above fixed them. We may observe of this method of adjusting the year, that it is easy and obvious ; no depths of human science, or skill in astronomy, are requisite for the proceeding according to it. The Israelites could only want once in about twenty years to *lift up their eyes, and to look into their fields^y*, and to consider, before they proclaimed the beginning of their month Abib, whether or how much they wanted of being *white to harvest* ; and this, with the observing their sabbaths as above related, would furnish them with a year fully answering all the purposes of their religion or civil life. And this method being thus capable of answering all purposes, without leading them to a necessity of fixing equinoxes, estimating the motions of the heavenly bodies, or acquainting them-

^s Deut. xvi. 1. I need not, I think, observe, that the weather in Judæa was not so variable as in our climate, and consequently that seed-time and harvest were seasons more fixed with the inhabitants of this country than with us.

^t It may be queried whether Abib be the name of a month : the Israelites in these times seem to have named their months no otherwise than first,

second, third, &c. *Nomina mensium ab initio nulla fuere*, says Scaliger. The Hebrew word *Abib* signifies *ripening* ; and perhaps Moses did not mean by *Chodesh ha Abib*, the month *Abib*, intending *Abib* as a proper name, but the month of *ripening*, or of the corn being fit for the sickle.

^u Exod. xii. Levit. xxiii. ubi sup.

^x Joseph. ubi sup.

^y John iv. 35.

selves with any of those schemes of human learning, by which the heathen nations were led into their idolatries, I am the more apt to think that this was the method which God was pleased by the hand of Moses to suggest to them.

I am aware of but one point that can furnish any very material objection to what I have offered. The Israelites were ordered by Moses to keep the beginnings of their months as solemn feasts, on which they were to offer special sacrifices^z, and they were to celebrate them like their other high festivals with blowing of trumpets^a; and they seem to have carefully observed this appointment in their worst, as well as in their best, from their earliest to their latest times. In the days of Saul, these days were kept as high feasts, on which a person, who used to sit there, was sure to be missed, if absent from the king's table^b. They are mentioned as held by David and Solomon amongst the solemn festivals^c. As such Hezekiah afterwards provided for the observance of them^d. The prophets mention them in like manner^e, and Ezra took care to revive them at the return from the captivity^f; and it appears to have been the custom of all the Israelites who feared God, to observe these days amongst the feasts of the house of Israel, as is evident from the character given to Judith, amongst other things, for her care in this matter^g. In their later days the Jews fixed the days of these feasts by the appearance of the new moon^h; and great pains were taken to begin the month and the moon togetherⁱ. And this was the practice when the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus wrote, for he tells us, that *from the moon is the sign of feasts*^k; and the Jewish writers say, that Moses appointed this practice, and that the Israelites proceeded by it from the beginning of the law^l. The LXX indeed seem to have been of this opinion; and accordingly, except in three or four places only^m, in their translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, they render the expression for *the beginnings of the months* by the Greek word

^z Numb. xxviii. 11.

^a Numb. x. 10.

^b 1 Sam. xx. 5.

^c 1 Chron. xxiii. 31. 2 Chron. ii. 4. viii. 13.

^d 2 Chron. xxxi. 3.

^e Isa. i. 13, 14. lxvi. 23. Ezek. xlvi. 1. Hos. ii. 11. Amos viii. 5.

^f Ezra iii. 5.

^g Judith viii. 6.

^h Talmud in Tract. Rosh. Hashanah. Maimonides in Keddush. Hachod.

Selden de anno civili veterum Judæ-

orum. Scaliger. Can. Isagog. lib. iii. p. 222. ed. 1658. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 6. p. 760. edit. Oxon.

ⁱ The English reader may see the translation of Jurieu's History of the Doctrines and Worship of the Church, vol. i. p. ii. c. 8. Prideaux, Connect. Pref. to vol. i.

^k Eccles. xliii. 7.

^l Vid. Spen. de Leg. Heb. lib. iii. c. 1. §. 3.

^m Vid. 2 Chron. viii. 13. Isa. lxvi. 23. Amos viii. 5.

νομμηλία orⁿ *νεομμηλία*, the term constantly used by the heathen writers for the festival of the new moons observed by them^o: and we have followed the LXX, and do generally call the first days of the months *the new moons* in our English Bibles. But if the ancient Israelites fixed these festivals in this manner, they could not compute their months and year as I have intimated; for in a calendar formed according to what I have offered, the new moons and first days of the months would fall in no agreement to one another. The most learned dean Prideaux has given a full account of the manner of the Jewish year in their later ages; it consisted of twelve lunar months, made up alternately of twenty-nine or of thirty days, and brought to as good an agreement as such a year could have with the true solar year, by an intercalation of a thirteenth month every second or third year^p: and some year of this sort the Israelites must have used, in and from the times of Moses, if they had observed the new moons from his times, making them the directors of the beginnings of their months, and keeping their feasts according to them.

But I would observe, 1. That it cannot be conceived that Moses had any notion of computing months according to this lunar reckoning; five successive months in his account were deemed to contain one hundred and fifty days^q; but had he computed by lunar months, one hundred and forty-eight days would have been the highest amount of them. In like manner twelve months only made a Jewish year, until at least after the times of David and Solomon; for had there been in their times a thirteenth month added to the year, and that so frequently as in every second or third year, neither would twelve captains in David's, nor the same number of officers of the household in Solomon's time, have been sufficient, by waiting each man his month, to have gone *throughout all the months of the year* in their waitings^r: no man of them waited more than one month in any one year^s, and therefore no years at this time had more than twelve months belonging to them. But the best writers seem fully satisfied in this point: "It can never be proved," says archbishop Usher, "that the Hebrews used lunary months before the Babylonian captivity^t:" Petavius seems to think, not till

ⁿ Numb. x. 10. xxviii. 11. 1 Sam. xx. 5. 2 Kings iv. 23. 1 Chron. xxiii. 31. Psalm lxxxi. 3. et passim.

^o Vid. Herodot. lib. de Vit. Homer. c. 33. Plutarch. de vitand. ære alieno, p. 821. ed. Xyl. 1624. Theophrast. Character. Ethic. iv. Lucian. in Icaro

Menip. p. 731.

^p Prideaux's Connect. pref. to part i.

^q Gen. vii. 12, 24. viii.

^r 1 Kings iv. 7. 1 Chron. xxvii.

^s 1 Kings iv. 7.

^t Chronol. Pref. to the Reader. Vid. Scaliger. Emend. Temp. p. 151.

after the times of Alexander the Great, when they fell under the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings^u. 2. It is not probable that God should command the Israelites to regulate their months by the moon, or to keep a feast upon the particular day of the new moon; for the law, if this had been a constitution of it, would have been calculated rather to lead them into danger of idolatry, than to preserve them from it. The practice of the later Jews in this matter prompted an author, cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, to charge them with idolatry^x; which charge, though I cannot think it well grounded, yet abundantly hints to me, that a feast of new moons is not likely to be a precept of Moses's law. I should think God would not have directed him to institute any thing that could carry such an *appearance of evil*, especially when one great design of the manner of giving the law is declared to be, that the Israelites, *when they lifted up their eyes to heaven, and saw the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, should not be driven to worship them*^y. The nations, whom the Israelites were to drive out, seem to have served these gods, and in this manner: and it is not likely the Israelites should be required to do *so unto the Lord their God*^z; rather it might be expected that they should be instructed in a method of beginning their months opposite to any show of agreement with the heathen superstitions. They were commanded not to use honey in any of their sacrifices^a; not to sow their fields with mingled seed^b; not to round the corners of their heads, nor mar the corners of their beards^c: these were things practised by the heathens as rites of religion, and therefore the Israelites were not allowed to do them. The Israelites were to be a *peculiar people unto the Lord their God*; and whilst there runs through the whole law a visible design of many of the institutions of it, to separate them from other nations for this great purpose, is it likely there should be a direction for them to begin their months with the moon, which was worshipped by the heathens as an high deity? I dare say this *beauty of heaven*^d, *lucidum cæli decus*, says Horace^e,

^u Petav. Rationar. Temp. Part. ii. lib. i. c. 6.

^x Μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβεσθε, καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι μόνοι οἰόμενοι τὸν Θεὸν γινώσκειν, οὐκ ἐπίστανται, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις, μηνὶ καὶ σελήνῃ, καὶ ἂν μὴ σελήνῃ φανῆ, σαββάτον οὐκ ἄγουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον, οὐδὲ νεομηνίαν ἄγουσιν, οὔτε ἄζυμα, οὔτε ἑορτήν,

οὔτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. vi. p. 760. edit. Oxon. 1715.

^y Deut. iv. 19.

^z Deut. xii. 31.

^a Levit. ii. 11.

^b Levit. xix. 19.

^c Ver. 27.

^d Ecclus. xliii. 9.

^e Carm. seculare.

queen of heaven^e, glory of the stars^f, Horace expresses it, *siderum regina*^g, was not a regulator or director of the religious festivals of the God of Israel; rather his chosen people were led into some plainer method of computing their months, and that such a method as might so vary the beginnings of them from a determined relation to any light of heaven, as to evidence that the appointed holy-days which they kept, they did indeed keep only unto the Lord. The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus observes of the moon, that *the month is called after her name*^h; but this was not so to an ancient Israelite. In our English language the words *moon* and *month* may have this relation, and a like thought is to be supported in the Greek tongue, in which the author of Ecclesiasticus wrote his book. *Mῆν*, *the month*, may be a contraction from *Mήνη*, *the moon*; though I think it more natural to derive *Mήνη* from *Mῆν*, than *Mῆν* from *Mήνη*. However, in the Hebrew, *Jareach*ⁱ, or *Lebanah*^k, are the words that signify *moon*; and *Chodesh*^l is the word for *month*; and these have no such affinity to one another. And indeed, 4. in the Hebrew Bible there is, I think, no one text either in the books of Moses, or in any other of the books of the Old Testament, that can intimate the Israelites to have observed the day of the new moon in any of their festivals. The Israelites were to offer their burnt-offerings unto the Lord in the beginnings, not of their moons, but [כְּרֵאשֵׁי חֳדָשֵׁיכֶם] *be-Rashei Chadshaicem*, *on the beginnings of their months*^m; and the expression is the same, Numb. x. 10. The Israelites are there commanded to *blow with the trumpets—on the beginnings of their months*; nothing relating to the moon is suggested to them. And this is the expression which runs through all the texts of Scripture, in which the LXX have used the word *νοῦμηνία* or *νεομηνία*, or we in English the *new moons*. When the Shunamite would have gone to the prophet, her husband said unto her, *Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither*, we render the place, *new moon nor sabbath*; the LXX say, οὐ νεομηνία οὐδὲ σάββατον but the Hebrew words are, *loa Chodesh ve loa Shabbath*ⁿ, *it is not the month-day, nor the sabbath*. Thus

^e See Jer. vii. 18.

^f Ecclus. ubi. sup.

^g Carmen seculare.

^h Ecclus. xliii. 8.

ⁱ יָרֵחַ. Vid. Gen. xxxvii. 9. Deut. iv. 19. Josh. x. 19. Psalm viii. 4. Ecclus. xii. 2. Isai. xiii. 10. Jer. viii. 2.

Ezek. xxxii. 7. Joel ii. 10, &c.

^k Cantic. vi. 10. Isaiah xxiv. 23. xxx. 26.

^l Gen. viii. 4. Exod. xii. 2. Levit. xxiii. 24. Deut. i. 3. 1 Kings iv. 7, &c.

^m Numb. xxviii. 11.

ⁿ 2 Kings iv. 23.

again, the Psalmist directs to *blow up the trumpet*, not as we render it, *in the new moons*, nor as the LXX, ἐν νεομηνίαι; but, *ba Chodesh, upon the month-day*^o. In none of the texts that suggest this festival is there any mention *ha Jareach* or *hal Lebanah*, of the moon; for not the first day of the moon, but the first day of the month, was the day observed by them. It is remarkable, that this signification of the Hebrew texts was so undeniable to the Jewish Rabbins, that they could not but own, that their observing the first days of months upon new moons did not arise from any direction of the words of the law^p: they say it was one of the matters which Moses was taught in the mount, and by tradition was brought down to them^q. It is, I think, undeniable, that the Jews did admit the use of a new form of computing their year some time after the captivity, which differed in many points from their more ancient method, and which obliged them in time to make many rules for the translation of days and feasts, an account of which we may find in the writers of their antiquities^r: but the law, as Moses or Joshua left it to the observance of their fathers, or as it was observed until after David's times or Solomon's, seems

^o Psalm lxxxi. 4. The latter part of the verse is thought by some writers to intimate something contrary to what I am offering: *Blow up the trumpet*, says the Psalmist, *on the month-day*, after which follows [בַּכֶּסֶה לַיּוֹם הַגִּנּוּי] *bacceseh lejom chaggenu*. The word *ceseh*, they say, is derived from the verb *casah*, to cover, so that *bacceseh* may signify *at the covering*, or when the moon is in conjunction with the sun, covered, as it were, so as to give no light. Thus these writers think this verse to intimate the new moon to have been a solemn festival: but I would observe, the expression thus taken is so singular, unlike any thing to be met with in any other place of Scripture, notwithstanding the frequent mention of the festival here intended, that I should think we cannot safely build upon it. Others derive the word *ceseh* from כַּסָּה *casas*, to number out, and accordingly render *bacceseh*, upon the appointed day: but were this the sense of the place, the word would perhaps have been written not בַּכֶּסֶה *bacceseh*, but בַּכַּסָּה *baccesea*, see Proverbs vii. 20. The reader may see what has been offered upon this text in Scalig. de Emendat. Temp. lib. iii. p. 153. ed.

Franc. 1589. Cleric. Comment. in loc. and will, after all, find the passage to be obscure, at most but doubtfully explained by those who have wrote upon it. לַיּוֹם is the same as בַּיּוֹם: see Proverbs vii. 20. הַגִּנּוּי is the known expression for the feast of tabernacles. Deut. xvi. 13. And I have been apt to suspect that transcribers have misplaced the letter כ in the word *ceseh*, and wrote בַּכֶּסֶה instead of הַכֶּסֶה, i. e. *bacceseh*, for *hassucoth*. In the Hebrew the letters of the one word might readily be wrote for the letters of the other. And if we may make this emendation, *hasucoth lejom haggenu*, will signify *on the day of our feast of tabernacles*; and the Psalmist will appear to recommend the observing two solemn feasts, which fell almost together in the same month; the one the month-day, or first day of the seventh month, on which was to be a memorial of blowing of trumpets, Levit. xxiii. 24. the other the first day of the feast of tabernacles. See ver. 34.

^p Maimonid. More Nevoch. p. iii. c. 46.

^q Abarb. in Parasch.

^r See Godwin's Moses and Aaron, lib. iii. c. 7.

to have been a stranger to all these regulations. I might perhaps say, that the Jews in following these were in many points led contrary to Moses's directions. When our Saviour was betrayed, he was apprehended on the night of the Passover, after he had eaten the Passover with his disciples, and carried early in the evening to the high-priest's house firstⁿ, and afterwards before Pilate into the judgment-hall^x; for the Jews who prosecuted had not then eat the Passover^y, and upon this account could not go into the judgment-hall. They intended our Saviour's accusation should be capital; the law had appointed, that persons defiled with the dead body of a man should be kept back, and not eat the Passover until the fourteenth day of the second month^z; they judged the persons who were to accuse our Saviour, so as to bring him unto the death, would be under the restriction of this law, and therefore they left off their prosecution until they should go home and eat the Passover. On the next morning, on the day after the Passover, they assembled, and carried him again to Pilate, and took counsel against him to put him to death^a; and in this morning passed the several matters that are related to have preceded our Saviour's crucifixion; namely, Pilate's sending him to Herod^b; Pilate's wife's message to Pilate, upon account of her dreams^c; Herod's remanding Jesus back again to Pilate^d; Pilate's then delivering him to the Jews to be crucified^e, upon which they immediately led him away, and crucified him^f, and the next day was the sabbath^g; so that in this year the Jews had at least a day between the evening of eating the Passover and the sabbath; but had they at this time proceeded according to Moses's institutions, I should think the first day of unleavened bread, the day immediately following the evening of the Passover, would have been the sabbath^h.

I have now offered the reader what I have for some time

t Matt. xxvi. 17—31, &c. Mark xiv. 12—27, &c. Luke xxii. 7—34, &c.

u Matt. xxvi. 57. Mark xiv. 53. Luke xxii. 54. John xviii. 13.

x Ibid. ver. 28.

y Ibid.

z Numb. ix. 10, 11.

a Matt. xxvii. 1. Mark xv. 1. Luke xxii. 66.

b Luke xxiii. 7.

c Matt. xxvii. 19.

d Luke xxiii. 11.

e Luke xxiii. 21—24.

f Matt. xxvii. 27—35. Mark xv.

16—24. Luke xxiii. 26—33. John xix. 16—18.

g Mark xv. 42. Luke xxiii. 54. John xix. 31.

h According to the Jewish calculation of the year, after they used lunar years, the interval between the Passover and the sabbath following it was different in different years. For instance, there was a day between in the year of our Saviour's crucifixion, the day of the Passover falling that year as on our Thursday. But it is evident, a Jewish lunar year ordinarily containing

apprehended the institutions of Moses's law do hint to have been the first and most ancient method used by the Israelites for computing and regulating their year. I have much wished to find some one learned writer directing me in this matter; but as I cannot say I do, I hope I have expressed myself with a proper diffidence. If the reader shall think what I have offered may be admitted, a small correction must be made in what I have suggested concerning the ancient Jewish year in my preface to my first volume: and if I shall find myself herein mistaken, I shall be hereafter better able to retract what I have thus attempted in a preface only, than if I had given it a place in the following books amongst the observations upon the law of Moses. I have taken no notice of a sentiment of Scaliger's, which seems to be admitted by archbishop Usher; that the ancient Israelites computed their year in twelve months of thirty days each, adding five days at the end of the twelfth month yearly, and a sixth every fourth yearⁱ; because it is a thought for which I find no shadow of proof from any hint of Scripture or remain of antiquity. Scaliger indeed attempts to compute the year of the flood to have been reckoned up by Moses to contain 365 days^k: but, in order to give colour to his supposition, he represents the raven and the dove, sent by Noah out of the ark, *to see if the waters were abated*, to have been sent out at forty days interval the one from the other^l: but Moses's narration intimates nothing like it; nor will any reader allow it to be probable, that collects and duly compares the particulars related by Moses of the rise and fall of the waters, and of Noah's conduct and observations. The raven and the dove here spoken of were undoubtedly sent out both upon one and the same day. As to archbishop Usher's seeming to be of opinion, that the ancient Jewish year was in this manner made up of 365 days, with an allowance for about a quarter of a day in every year; he had computed, and found that a number of years of the Israelites were capable of being made to answer to a like number of Julian years; and this led him to think they were, as to length, of much the same nature. I need only observe, that, if the Israelites computed their years in the manner above mentioned by me, a number of such years

but 354 days, that the Passover in the next year would fall as on a Tuesday, and consequently there would be three days between the Passover and the sabbath, &c.

ⁱ Scaliger lib. de Emendat. Temp. lib. iii. p. 151. ed. 1589. Usher's Chron. Epistle to the Reader.

^k Scaliger supra.

^l Gen. viii. 7, 8.

will not much vary in the sum of them, from the sum of a like number of Julian.

I intended to attempt in this place to answer the objections of some writers, who would argue Moses not to have composed the books we ascribe to him: but having in many parts both of this and the former volumes obviated the difficulties which seem to arise from some short hints and observations now interspersed in the sacred pages, which the learned are apprised not to have been inserted by the authors of the books they are now found in^m, I should in a great measure only repeat what I have already remarked, were I to refute at large what is offered upon this topic. If the reader has a mind to examine it, he may find the whole of what can be pretended on the one side in Spinozaⁿ, and Le Clerc's third dissertation prefixed to his comment on the Pentateuch may furnish matter for a clear and distinct answer on the other. We have indeed an hint or two upon this argument in some remains of a very great writer: "The
" race of the kings of Edom, it is observed, before there
" reigned any king in Israel, is set down in the Book of
" Genesis; and therefore that book was not written entirely
" in the form now extant before the reign of Saul." The reader may find this difficulty attempted to be cleared in its proper place; I shall therefore only refer to what is already said upon it^o.

" The history [in the Pentateuch] hath been collected, " we are told, from several books, such as were the history " of the creation, composed by Moses, Gen. ii. 4. the book of " the generations of Adam, Gen. v. 1. and the book of the " wars of the Lord, Numb. xxi. 14." It is something difficult to form any notion of the force of the argument here intended: St. Matthew writes; *The book of the generation of Jesus Christ*^p: can we hence argue, that the Gospel we now have and ascribe to him, was collected from a book of the generation of Jesus Christ written by him? Spinoza indeed offers the point which may perhaps be here intimated to this purpose. The books which Moses wrote are expressly named, and sometimes cited in the Pentateuch; consequently the Pentateuch is a different work from the books cited in it^q: but the fact is this; Moses has in some parts of his books told us expressly that he wrote them, and this writer would infer the direct contrary from these very intimations.

^m See book xii. ad fin.

ⁿ Tract. Theologico-polit. in part alter. c. 8.

^o See vol. ii. b. vii.

^p Matt. i. 1.

^q Tractat. Theologico-polit. ubi sup.

In the 33d chapter of Numbers, ver. 1, 2. we have these words: *These are the journeys of the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt, with their armies, under the hand of Moses and Aaron. And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys, by the commandment of the Lord: and these are their journeys according to their goings out, &c.* Let us now suppose that these words, and what follow them, to the end of the 49th verse of this chapter, were perhaps Moses's conclusion of the book he wrote upon this subject, whether he called it *Motzah*, a word answering to *Exodus*, or *Shemoth*, i. e. *The book of names*, as the Jews seem afterwards to have nominated it, or whether he really affixed no title to it. Let us suppose it to have begun from the first chapter of Exodus, and to have contained all the journeyings of the Israelites, with the historical circumstances that led to them or attended them, and that it ended with the recapitulation of them that is offered us in this chapter: in the 24th chapter of Exodus it may seem to be intimated that Moses wrote another book, called the book of the covenant^r. Let us now suppose that Moses at first wrote in this book no more than what God had commanded, and the people solemnly engaged themselves to perform, at their entering into covenant with God; namely, what is offered us in the 19th, 20th, 22d, and 24th chapters of Exodus; it may still be reasonably concluded, the covenant being not limited to the observance of the few commandments contained in these chapters, but obliging the Israelites to obey God's voice, to observe and to do all the statutes and judgments which God should give them^s, that the commandments afterwards given unto Moses were also written in this book in the following order; first, The laws given in Mount Sinai, towards the end of which might be thus written, *These are the statutes and judgments, which the Lord made between him and the children of Israel in Mount Sinai by the hand of Moses*^t: after which words, we may possibly imagine he added the laws contained in the 27th chapter of Leviticus, and concluded with these words, *These are the commandments which the Lord commanded Moses for the children of Israel in mount Sinai*^u. Next to these might be added the laws which God gave out of the tabernacle of the congregation^x: and in this manner we may imagine the book of the covenant to have consisted of all the laws which God gave the Israelites both from Sinai and from

^r Exodus xxiv. 4—7.

^s See Exodus xxxiv. 27.

^t Levit. xxvi. 46.

^u Levit. xxvii. 34.

^x Levit. i. 1. Numbers i. 1.

the tabernacle of the congregation. In the 29th chapter of Deuteronomy we are told of a *covenant which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, besides the covenant which he made with them in Horeb*^y: and we find these words at the end of one of his chapters: *These are the commandments and the judgments which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel, in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho*^z. It will not be doubted but that Moses wrote all *the words of this law also in a book*^a. Let us suppose that the words above cited were the conclusion of it: let us suppose farther, that unto all these Moses added in another book *the words which he spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan in the wilderness*^b; and all these together, with the Book of Genesis, make the Pentateuch, or five Books, which we call the Books of Moses.

It will here be said, that if we look for the books of Moses in the Pentateuch in this manner, we must allow some paragraphs and even chapters not to follow now exactly in the places where Moses at first put them. But in answer to this, I apprehend that it will not be thought a very material question, whether any of the leaves, sheets, rolls, or skins, that were written by Moses, have or have not, by some accident, been discomposed, and are not perhaps put together again, every one in its proper place: but the point is, whether in the present Pentateuch we have all, and nothing but all, that Moses wrote in the books that were penned by him: and of this a serious examinant may sufficiently satisfy himself. If we must suppose that Moses wrote his books under such titles as I have mentioned, yet under these the whole of all the books of Moses may be collected, and perhaps some passages and sections, which now seem to be misplaced, may be hereby put into an order, that

^y Deut. xxix. 1.

^z Numb. xxxvi. 13.

^a Deut. xxxi. 24.

^b Deut. i. 1. I might here answer a trifling cavil offered concerning the Book of Deuteronomy, raised from the words here cited. It is pretended that *beneber ha Jarden*, which we translate *on this side Jordan*, do rather signify *beyond*, or *on the other side Jordan*, and consequently that these words imply Moses not to have wrote the Book of Deuteronomy, for that the book so called was wrote by a person who had passed over Jordan, and could, according to the intimation of these words, remark, that the words of Moses were spoke

on a different side the river from the place where the book was written. But, were there no other, the 10th and 13th verses of the 50th chapter of Genesis are sufficient to shew the word *beneber* to have the signification we here take it in. When Joseph went up out of Egypt to bury his father, they journeyed from Goshen into Canaan, and came to the cave of Machpelah before Mamre, in their way to which they stopped at the threshingfloor of Atad, *beneber ha Jarden*, not *beyond*, but *on this side Jordan*; for they did not travel into Canaan, so far as to the river Jordan.

may add a clearness and connection, which they may be suspected to want in their present situation: and if we collect and examine the several little notes, remarks, and observations, which, though now found in several places of the Pentateuch^c, were undoubtedly not written by Moses, but added by some later hand, a judicious examiner will see of these, 1. That they are not so many as they are hastily thought to be. 2. That they are all of them inconsiderable; none of them so necessary in the places they are found in, but that, if they were omitted, the text would be full, clear, and connected without them. In this manner we may make the utmost allowance to the several objections offered against the books of Moses, and have a clear conviction, that there is no weight in any of them. That the Pentateuch contains the books of Moses, has been constantly believed and testified by the Jews in all ages: Spinoza himself confesses that Aben Ezra only, a very modern writer, pretended to have doubts of it, and that his intimations are but dark and obscure. Josephus tells us, as a truth never questioned, that five of their sacred books were the books of Moses^d: and our Saviour explains to us in what sense they were Moses's books; they were, he tells us, Moses's writings: *Had ye believed Moses, said he, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words*^e? If it were possible to shew that the books we now read of Moses's were not the books alluded to by our Saviour, something might be offered upon this subject: but whoever will attempt this, will find himself not able to propose any thing that can want a refutation.

When Moses had made an end of writing what he was to leave the Israelites, *he commanded the Levites, saying, Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark^f of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee*s. It is here queried, what the book was which Moses here gave the Levites; whether all his written works in one code or volume, or whether it was *the words of this law*^h; some one single book, which he had just then finished, a part only of his writings. Spinoza is for this latter opinion, this best suiting his purpose, to insinuate that the Levites had charge only of a small part of what Moses wrote, and consequently that all, except what was committed to their keeping, was soon lostⁱ. But I should think,

^c Vid. Clerici Dissertat. de Scriptore Pentateuch.

^d Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i. c. 8.

^e John v. 46, 47.

^f See Prideaux, Connection part i.

b. iii. Account of the ark.

^g Deut. xxxi. 25, 26.

^h See ver. 24.

ⁱ In Tract. Theolog. Polit. ubi sup.

1. that the words *Dibrei hattorah hazzaoth*, do not perhaps signify *the words of this law*^k, limited to a single book of part of Moses's writings: the particle **זאת** *zaoth* is, I think, sometimes used as plural^l, and the expression above is probably of this import; *when Moses had made an end of writing the words of the law, even all these* [words or things]. The fact might be thus: Moses wrote his books thus far, to this place; and then gave the Levites the charge of them.

2. The words used by Moses to the Levites are general: he delivered to them not *the book of this law*; not any particular part of his writings, but *this book of the law* in general^m: the particle *this* was here used, because Moses had the book then in his hand, which he delivered to them. *Seper ha Torah*ⁿ, or *seper Torah*^o, was the name of the whole code or volume of the sacred writings, never once given by Moses to any single part of his works, but imposed here as a general title of the book that contained the whole of them. The law was that part of the code for an introduction to, illustration, history, or confirmation of which, all the other parts were written, and therefore the whole might well be called *the book of the law*, the law being the principal and most important part of the code called by this title. As Moses gave the sacred volume which he left to the Israelites this general title; so we find it used in all after-ages for the title of this book, even when not only the works of Moses, but also the Psalms and the Prophets were contained in it. Joshua wrote his book in the book of the law^p; and yet in Josiah's time the volume found in the temple, which undoubtedly contained all that Joshua had written in it, as well as Moses, was called by its general name, *The book of the law* only. In our Saviour's time the books of Scripture were of three sorts, as Josephus afterwards reckoned them^q; namely, the books of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms^r: and our Saviour, who thus distinguishes them, when he intended to speak of the particulars that made up the sacred code, yet in the general not only calls all the books of Moses, *the law*^s, but cites the book of Psalms as part of the law^t, as the Jews also did in his age^u, and St. Paul afterwards cited Isaiah in like manner^x. Moses, at delivering his writings, called the whole

^k Deut. xxxi. 24.

^l See Judges xiii. 23.

^m את ספר התורה הזה

ⁿ 2 Kings xxii. 8.

^o Josh. xxiv. 26. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 14.

^p Joshua xxiv. 26.

^q Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i. c. 8.

^r Luke xxiv. 44.

^s Ibid.

^t John xv. 25.

^u John xii. 34.

^x 1 Cor. xiv. 21.

tome, *The book of the law*, and this continued to be the general title of the whole volume of the sacred books in all ages, whatever particular books were annexed to or contained in it. As to *the book of the wars of the Lord*, we have no reason to think any such book was written by Moses: it is indeed cited in a book of Moses^y; but so is *the book of Jasher* in that of Joshua^z, and yet *the book of Jasher* was a composure more modern and of far less authority than the book of Joshua. The reader may see what is offered concerning the citation of the book of Jasher in Joshua^a, and will find it reasonable perhaps to account for the citation in Numbers of *the book of the wars of the Lord* in like manner. In what is above offered the reader will see the greatest liberty taken by me in the suppositions I have made concerning the original divisions or titles of the books of Moses, and the dislocations or transpositions that may be conceived now to be in some chapters or paragraphs of them. I was willing to allow, for the sake of argument, the utmost that could with any show of reason be pretended; being sure that, after all, nothing could be concluded to prove Moses not to have written what we ascribe to him. But I must not leave this topic without observing, that I cannot say that Moses did actually divide his writings into books in the manner above supposed, or that the chapters, which we may imagine not to be now found in their proper places, were originally otherwise disposed by Moses than we now find them. Of all the books written by Moses, the book of Genesis only could be composed by him in the opportunity of a great leisure^b: he must have lived in the hurry of a variety of engagements, in the management of a most restless people, all the time he was writing his accounts of them; and consequently, what is contained in what we now call the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, might be at first minuted down, and put together, as works generally are, which are composed and finished in such circumstances: the historical parts were registered as the occurrences arose that were the matter of them. The laws given were recorded when, and as it pleased God to direct Moses to write them; sometimes immediately at their being given, at other times not until occasions arose, that demanded a recollection of them. Some things were repeated, added to, or explained, as circumstances required, and Moses had no time to go over and methodize anew what he had wrote in this manner, but put

^y Numbers xxi. 14. ^z Joshua x. 13. ^a See b. xii. ad fin. ^b See vol. ii. b. ix.

the whole together, and gave it to the Levites, still adding a few matters that were to be recorded after his ordering the Levites the charge of his books; namely, what we find from the 24th verse of the 31st chapter of Deuteronomy, to the end of the 33d chapter, as Joshua afterwards added to what was left by Moses the occurrences of the times that succeeded. In this manner, perhaps, we may fully account for all that can seem in any wise to intimate to us, that we have not now the books of Moses in the order and form in which he left them; and this account of his books seems to me most likely to be the true one, and consequently most reasonable to be admitted.

As to the particulars contained in the ensuing volume, I must submit them to the reader: I hope they may be received with the candour that has been shewed to my former volumes. What is now published might have been more various and entertaining, had it reached down to an age that could have afforded more matter of profane history to be interspersed in it: but divers of the Scripture occurrences herein treated of were not to be passed over cursorily, and the entering into these more largely obliged me to conclude this volume something short of the period at which I proposed to myself to end it. I am abundantly sensible of the obligations I am under to many of my superiors, for the reputation they give me by their favour. The truly great find a real pleasure in cherishing any well-intended endeavours of their inferiors: and if my abilities as an author were equal to the gratitude and inclination of my mind, I should well deserve the continuance of that good opinion which many persons, who are in stations above my being otherwise known to them, are pleased to conceive of me themselves, and to create of me in others. But I am afraid I should appear guilty of an act of vanity rather than of gratitude, if I were to proceed in intimations of this nature, or to say how much the right honourable Mr. Onslow, the Speaker of the House of Commons, has been a patron of my studies in this manner.

My thanks are acknowledged to be due to a learned divine of a foreign University, Mr. Wolle, of Leipsic, and also to Mr. Arnold, professor of the English and French tongues there, for my reputation in their country. I am sorry I am not able to read the translation of my books, which the one of them has some years ago published in the German tongue, and the very learned dissertation prefixed to that translation by the other. Hopes were at one time given me of seeing this dissertation in English, and, from the

short extract of it in our Republic of Letters^c, I cannot but think I should have satisfaction in every part of it, except in that which relates to my own character. I have not those abilities, which this learned divine ascribes to me: I may have been happy in the choice of a subject, which, if I could manage suitably, might afford a work very useful even to the learned world. I can only endeavour to go through it with as much attention as my situation in life will allow me; but am able to perform no part of it without many imperfections. My procedure in it must be by slow steps; being obliged many times to lay aside my studies upon account of avocations, which, in my circumstances, must be attended to, and oftentimes to defer, or entirely to drop subjects that might be considered, as I can or cannot get a sight of books that would conduct my inquiries. However, if I find my endeavours continue acceptable to the public, I shall, as soon as I can, in one volume more, offer the remaining part of this undertaking.

^c Republic of Letters for September, 1731.

SHELTON, NORFOLK,
Oct. 21, 1736.

THE
SACRED AND PROFANE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
CONNECTED,

BOOK X.

MOSES and the Israelites joined in a song of thanksgiving for their deliverance from the Egyptians^a, after which they moved from the Red sea into the wilderness of Shur^b: they wandered three days in the wilderness, and could find no water^c: at Marah they found water, but could not drink it, for it was bitter^d; *And the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink? And he cried unto the Lord, and the Lord shewed him a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet*^e. We are informed^f that God at this time gave Moses some particular command, and proved him, or made trial of his obedience; for this must be the sense of the place. Our English translators have evidently mistaken the words of Moses; they render the passage, *there he made for THEM a statute, and an*

^a Exodus xv.

^b Ver. 22.

^c Syncell. Chron. p. 128. ed. Par.
1651. Philo de vita Mosis, l. i. Joseph.

Antiq. l. iii. c. 1.

^d Exodus xv. 23.

^e Ver. 25.

^f Ver. 26.

ordinance, and there he proved THEM. This translation seems to hint, that some laws were here given to the Israëlites, and that *they* were the persons here proved; but the commentators are at a loss to ascertain any laws given at this time^g. If we attend to the Hebrew text, the affix used by Moses does not signify THEM, but HIM; and Moses himself was the person here applied to, and not the Israelites, and the statute and ordinance here given was to him, and not to them; and this agrees with the 26th verse, where the text is justly translated, not, *If ye will hearken*; but, *If THOU wilt diligently hearken*, &c. When the Israelites were got over the Red sea, we do not read that the pillar of the cloud and of fire went before them into the wilderness of Shur: Moses very probably led them thither without any special direction from God. They travelled here three days without water; and when they found water, it was bitter, and they could not drink it. In their distress they murmured, and Moses prayed to God for assistance. God accepted his prayer, and gave him [*chok ve mishpat*] a special order and appointment what to do; namely, to take a bough from a tree which he was directed to, and to put it into the waters, and by this he *proved* or tried *him*^h: he gave him an opportunity to shew his readiness strictly to perform whatever orders should be enjoined him; and hereupon God promised him, that if he would thus punctually observe all his appointments, that then he would continually extricate him out of every difficulty.

We read of no place called *Marah* in the profane authors; for indeed the Israelites gave the place this name, because the waters they found here were bitter, the word *Marah* in their language signifying *to be bitter*: but the best heathen writers agree, that there were lakes of bitter waters

^g See Pool's Synops. in loc.

^h We meet many instances in the Scriptures of God's appointing persons applying to him for favours, to do some act as a proof of their entire submission and obedience to him. Jacob was ordered to use peeled rods, Gen. xxx. Naaman to wash in the river Jordan, 2 Kings v. And in Exodus xvi. the Israelites were proved in this

manner: They were ordered to gather of the manna a certain rate every day, that God might prove them, whether they would walk in his law or no. Thus was Moses here proved; he was ordered to put a bough into the water; a thing in itself insignificant; but his doing it testified his readiness to observe any injunction which God should think fit to give him.

in the parts where the Israelites were now travelling. Diodorus informs us, that there were such waters at some little distance from the city Arsinoe¹; Strabo says the same thing^k; and Pliny carries on Trajan's river from the Nile to the bitter fountains^l; and these bitter fountains, and the bitter lakes mentioned by Strabo and Diodorus, and the bitter waters which the Israelites found at Marah, may easily be conceived to be the same. The city Arsinoe, agreeably to both Strabo's and^m Diodorus's position of it, was situate near the place of the present Suez; and not far from the neighbourhood of this place reached Trajan's river, which was carried on to the bitter lakes; and hither the Israelites may be conceived to have wandered. They went from the Red sea into the wilderness of Shur; they could not pass through towards Canaan for want of water; they turned about towards Egypt, where they hoped to find a plenty, and came to Marah upon the coast of Suez.

Josephus gives a very idle account of the change of the taste of the waters of Marahⁿ. He supposes that the country they were now in afforded no water naturally: that the Israelites sunk wells, but could not find springs to supply enough for their occasions; and that what they did find was so bitter that they could not drink it: that they sent out every way to search, but could hear of no water: that there was indeed a well at Marah, which afforded some water, but not a quantity sufficient for them, and that what it supplied them with was so bitter that even their cattle could not drink it: that upon the Israelites' uneasiness with Moses, he prayed to God, and took his rod and split it down in the middle, and persuaded the people that God had heard his prayers, and would make the water fit for them to drink, if they would do as he should order them. Upon their asking what he would have them do, he directed them to draw out of the well, and pour away the greatest part of the water; the doing this, he says, stirring and dashing

¹ Diodor. Sic. l. iii. c. 39.

^k Strabo, Geog. l. xvii. p. 804. ed. Par. 1620.

^l Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 29.

^m Diodor. et Strabo ubi sup.

ⁿ Josephus Antiq. l. iii. c. 1.

about the waters by the buckets they drew with, purged, and by degrees made them potable. But, 1. This account of Josephus differs from what the profane writers, as well as Moses, relate of the country where the Israelites now were. Josephus represents it as a place where no water was to be had; but according to Moses, the people were in extremity at Marah, not for want of water, but of good water; and to this Strabo agrees; he supposes water enough in this place, many large lakes and fosses^o, though he tells us they were in ancient days bitter, until, by a communication^p of the river, the later inhabitants of the country found out a way to meliorate the taste of them. 2. Had the Israelites found a well, as Josephus supposes, if the supply of water it afforded was too scanty for their occasions, what relief would it have been to them to draw off and throw away the greatest part of their defective supply, in order to sweeten a small remainder? Or, 3. How could the dashing water about at the bottom of a well sufficiently purify it from its mineral taste, which most probably was given it from the very earth against which they must thus dash it? But it must be needless to refute at large this fancy of Josephus.

The writer of the book of Ecclesiasticus hints a different reason for the cure of those bitter waters. He suggests, that the wood which Moses was directed to use had naturally a medicinal virtue to correct the taste of the waters at Marah: *Was not*, says he, *the water made sweet with wood, that the virtue thereof might be known*^a? But I cannot think that the opinion of this writer can be admitted: for, 1. It does not seem probable that Moses here used a whole and large tree; rather he took a little bough, such as he himself could put into the water, and immediately the taste of the waters changed. 2. If it could be thought that Moses employed the people to take down a very large

^o Διάρυγες πλείους καὶ λίμναι πλησιάζουσαι αὐταῖς. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804. ed. Par. 1620.

^p Τῶν πικρῶν καλουμένων λιμνῶν, αἱ

πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν πικραὶ, τμηθείσης δὲ τῆς διάρυγος μετεβάλλοντο τῇ κράσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Id. *ibid.*

^a Ecclus. xxxviii. 5.

tree, and convey it into the water, can we suppose that even the largest tree, steeped in a lake, should immediately communicate a sufficient quantity of its natural sweetness, to correct the taste of water, enough for the occasions of so many hundred thousands of people? But, 3. We have great reason to think that there was no tree in these parts of this virtue. Had there been such an one, after *the virtue of it* was thus *known*, especially Moses having recorded this his use of it, it would certainly have been much used by others, and as much inquired after by the naturalists: but though Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny, have all remarked, that there were bitter waters in these parts of the world, yet they knew of no trees of a medicinal quality to correct the taste of them. Pliny tells us of a method afterwards invented to meliorate the taste of such waters^r: but though he has treated largely of the powers and virtues of trees and plants^s, and of the trees in these parts of the world particularly^t; yet he never heard of any of this sort, and therefore undoubtedly there were not any. The author of Ecclesiasticus was a very learned man, and had much given himself to the reading the writings of his fathers, and had carefully collected their sentiments, and added some observations of his own to them^u; and this seems to have been his own: had it been a received opinion of the Jewish writers, I should think Josephus would have had it; or had there really been a tree of this nature, the heathen naturalists would have observed it; but from their entire silence, I imagine that the author of Ecclesiasticus, speculating, in the chapter where we find this hint, upon the medicines which God hath created out of the earth^x, offered this hint purely from his own fancy, without any authority for it. The book of Ecclesiasticus is but a modern composure in comparison of Moses's writings; it was first published in Egypt about one hundred and thirty-two years before Christ^y, and, being published in Egypt,

^r Nitrosæ aut amaræ aquæ polenta addita mitigantur, ut intra duas horas bibi possint. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxiv. c. 1.

^s Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxiv. per tot. lib.

^t Ibid. c. 12.

^u Prologue to Ecclus.

^x Ecclus. xxxviii. 4.

^y Prideaux, Connect. p. ii. b. i. vol. iii. §. 7.

was much read by the Jews of Alexandria; and accordingly Philo, who lived there about our Saviour's time, was acquainted with the opinion of this author; but he very justly doubts the truth of it, and queries whether the wood here used had naturally, or whether God was not pleased to give it its virtue for this particular occasion^z.

From Marah the Israelites removed to a place where they found twelve fountains of water and threescore and ten palm trees. A place not unlike this is described by Strabo^a; the Israelites called it Elim. From hence, after some days rest, they marched first to the Red sea^b, perhaps to the very place where they came over out of Egypt, and from thence they went into the wilderness of Sin, *on the fifteenth day of the second month after their departing out of the land of Egypt*^c; i. e. exactly a month after their leaving Egypt; for they left Egypt soon after midnight of the fourteenth day of the first month^d. The wilderness of Sin was a barren desert, not capable of supplying them with provision, which as soon as they felt the want of, they were ready to mutiny, and most passionately wished themselves in Egypt again^e. But God was here pleased miraculously to relieve them by great flights of quails, a sort of birds very common upon the coasts of the Arabian or Red sea^f; and, besides sending these, *he rained them bread from heaven*. Every morning, when the dew was off, *there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost upon the ground*^g; it was like coriander seed, of a white colour, and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey^h. The Israelites, when they saw it, knew not

^z Philo de vita Mosis, l. i.

^a Φοινικῶνα εἶναι ἔνυδρον, τιμᾶσθαι τε κομιδῆ, διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν κύκλῳ καυματηρᾶν τε, καὶ ἔνυδρον, καὶ ἄσκιον ὑπάρχειν. Strabo, Geog. l. xvi. p. 776. ed. Par. 1620.

^b Numbers xxxiii. 10.

^c Exodus xvi. 1.

^d Exodus xii.

^e Exodus xvi. 3.

^f Joseph. Antiq. l. iii. c. 1. §. 5. Athenæus Deipnos. l. ix. c. 11.

^g Exodus xvi. 13, 14.

^h The Hebrew writers have had various conceits about the taste of

manna, some of them perhaps deduced from some expressions in the Book of Wisdom. That Apocryphal author says of the manna, that it was *able to content every man's delight, agreeing to every taste, and that, serving to the appetite of the eater, it tempered itself to every man's liking*. Wisdom xvi. 20, 21. Lyra, from the Rabbins, represents, that it had the taste of any sort of fish or fowl, according to the wish of him that eat it; but then with St. Augustin he restrains the privilege of finding in the manna the taste of what they most loved, to the righteous only.

what it was, and therefore asked one another *מַה הִוא man hua*, for they are two Hebrew words, and signify *what is this?* *man* signifies *what*, and *hua* *this*; and not knowing what name to give it, they called it *man*, or *what*, i. e. *is it*, ever after¹.

The Israelites were ordered, every head of a family, to gather as many omers^k of this manna every morning as he had persons in his family¹; but as they went out to gather without taking measures with them, it so happened that some gathered more than their quantity, and some less; but they corrected this before they carried their gatherings home; for they measured what they had gathered with an omer, and he that had gathered more than his quantity gave to him that had gathered less, so that every one had his just quantity made up, and no more. The words of the 18th verse, as our English version renders them, seem to imply, that God was here pleased miraculously to adjust the several quantities that were gathered. We translate the place, *The children of Israel gathered some more, some less: and when they did mete it with an omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack*; which words may be thought to hint, that God was pleased miraculously so to order it, that when they came to measure, the store of him that had gathered too much was diminished to the exact number of omers which he was to

The authors of Talmud Joma and Lib. Zohar say, the manna had all sorts of tastes, except the tastes of the plants and sallads which grew in Egypt. But there is no end of pursuing or refuting the fancies of these writers. Moses says of the manna here in Exodus, that its *taste was like wafers made with honey*. In Numbers xi. 8. he says, the cakes made of it had the *taste of fresh oil*; so that we may conjecture, that it had a sweetness when gathered, which evaporated in the grinding, beating, and baking. It tasted like honey when taken off the ground, but the cakes made of it were as cakes of bread kneaded with oil. The Israelites used it as a sort of bread; they had the quails instead of flesh, Exodus xvi. 12. Numbers xi. The manna is represented to have had no

high taste, Numbers xi. 6. and we have not any hint from Moses of its being so variously delightful to the palate, as the author of the Book of Wisdom seems to suggest.

¹ Our English word *manna*, Exod. xvi. 15. seems to intimate, that the Israelites put the two words *man hua* together, as the name of this food: but they used but one of them; for they called it *man*, and not *manhua*. See Exod. xvi. 15, 31, 35. Numb. xi. 6, 7, 9. Deut. viii. 3, 16. Joshua v. 12. Nehem. ix. 20. Psalm lxxviii. 24, &c.

^k An omer is the tenth part of an ephah, probably about three pints and a half of our measure.

¹ Exod. xvi. 16.

have, and the defective quantity of him that had not gathered his due quantity was miraculously increased to the just measure of what he was to have gathered; so that *he that had gathered much had nothing over, and he that had gathered little had no lack*, the divine Providence causing the quantity which every one had gathered to answer exactly to the appointed measure. Josephus, I think, took this to be the fact^m. But, 1. to what purpose could it be for God to command the people to gather an omer for each person, if he designed miraculously so to order it, that, let them gather what they would, they should find their gatherings amount to an exact omer, neither more nor less? 2. The words of Moses, if rightly translated, express the fact to have been very different from this representation of it. The word which we translate *had nothing over*, should be renderedⁿ, *he made to have nothing over*; and in like manner the word translated *had no lack*, should be rendered, *he caused to have no lack*; and Moses was the person who thus ordered it: and the 17th, 18th, and 19th verses should be word for word thus translated:

Ver. 17. *And the children of Israel did so, and gathered some more, some less.*

Ver. 18. *And they measured with an omer, and Moses^o caused him that had more not to abound, and him that had less not to fall short, [for they gathered each one according to^p his eating.]*

Ver. 19. *And said, Let no man leave of it till the morning.*

So that the fact here was, that Moses directed them to give to one another, they that had more than their measure to make up what was wanting to them that had less, that

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 1. §. 6.

ⁿ This is the true sense of the Hebrew verbs in the conjugation they are here used in. עָרַף in the conjugation Kal signifies, *to abound, or to have over*; but הֵעֲרִיף in Hiphil is *to cause to abound*. Thus חָסַר in Kal signifies, *to fall short, or to want*; but הֵחֲסִיר in Hiphil is *to diminish, or to cause to want*. See Isaiah xxxii. 6.

^o In the Hebrew text, *Moses*, the nominative case to three verbs, is put

after the last, a construction very common in the ancient languages.

^p The words, *they gathered each one according to his eating*, are a remark by way of parenthesis, to give a reason for what Moses directed. He caused them that had over much, to give to them that had less than they were to have, because they gathered, as we say, from hand to mouth, and it would have been of no service to have laid up what they had to spare.

all might have their full quantity, and no more. 3. St. Paul very plainly intimates this to have been the fact, by alluding to what the Israelites here did with their manna, in order to induce the Corinthians to contribute a relief to the poorer Christians, such as the Corinthians could at that time well spare out of their abundance. *I mean not, says he, that other men be eased, and you burthened: but by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want: that there may be an equality: as it is written, He that had gathered much had nothing over; and he that had gathered little had no lack*^q.

Another order given the Israelites about the manna was, that they were every day to eat what they had gathered, and to leave none all night for the next day's provision^r. Some of the people were not strictly careful in this point, but left some of their manna until the morning, and *it bred worms, and stank*^s. Every sixth day they were to gather twice as much as on any other days, because the seventh day was the sabbath; and on that day they were to gather no manna, nor do any sort of work^t: and accordingly on the seventh day there fell no manna; for there went out some of the people to gather, but they found none^u; and what remained of the double quantity which the people gathered on the sixth day, and reserved for the seventh, did not stink, neither was there any worm therein; though if any part of any other day's gathering was not eaten on the day it was gathered in, it would not keep, nor be fit to be eaten on the day following^x. Thus miraculously did God feed the people in the wilderness for about forty years; for they had this supply of manna until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan^y. Aaron, directed by Moses, in obedience to God's express command, put an omer of manna into a pot, in order to keep it in memory of the wonderful supply of food which God had thus given them.

^q 2 Corinth. viii. 13, 14, 15.

^r Exodus xvi. 19.

^s Ver. 20.

^t Ver. 23.

^u Ver. 27.

^x Ver. 24.

^y Exodus xvi. 35. Joshua v. 12.

From the wilderness of Sin, Moses led the Israelites to Rephidim, making two short halts by the way, which are not mentioned here in Exodus; one of them was at Dophkah, the other at Alush^z. From their encampment in the wilderness of Sin to Rephidim might be, I imagine, about twenty miles. At Rephidim they were distressed for want of water, and murmured against Moses for bringing them into extremity. Moses cried unto the Lord, and received directions to smite a rock at mount Horeb with the rod, which he had used in performing the wonders wrought in Egypt; and upon his doing this in the sight of the elders of Israel, God was pleased to cause a river of water miraculously to flow out of the rock, to supply their necessities^a.

The most learned archbishop Usher remarks, that the rock out of which Moses thus miraculously produced the water, followed the Israelites throughout the wilderness^b. Tertullian is said to have been of this opinion^c. The Jewish Rabbins were fond of it. The most learned primate says expressly, that the rock which Moses smote followed them: but some other writers soften the prodigy, and assert, that the water from the rock became a river, and was made to flow after the camp, wherever the Israelites journeyed, until they came to Kadesh. The reasons given for this opinion are, 1. It is remarked, that from the time of this flow of waters from the rock at Horeb, until they came to Kadesh, the Israelites are not said to have ever wanted water^d; and it is argued, that they must continually have wanted it in their passage throughout the wilderness, if God had not thus miraculously supplied them. 2. Some passages in the Psalms are thought to imply, that a river from the rock attended them in their journeyings. 3. It is hinted, that a text in Deuteronomy confirms this opinion.

^z I may here hint once for all, that these and the other names we have of the several places where the Israelites made their encampments in the wilderness, are generally names given by them to the places they stopped at; and that the places were not called by any particular names, except by the

Israelites, upon account of their encamping at them.

^a Exodus xvii. 5, 6.

^b Usher's Annals.

^c Hæc est aqua, quæ de comite Petra populo defluebat. *Tertullian. de Baptismo.*

^d Numbers xx.

And lastly, it is pretended, that St. Paul says expressly, that the rock followed them.

I. "It is said that the Israelites never wanted water after " this supply from the rock at Horeb, until they came to " Kadesh; though the wilderness they travelled through " was so dry a place, that they could not have found water " in it without some continual miracle." To this I answer. 1. We are nowhere told in Scripture, that God wrought this particular miracle upon the rock, in order to continue a supply of water for the Israelites, during the whole time of their journeying in the wilderness; and if a miracle was really necessary, why this rather than some other? The Israelites knew how to dig wells when they wanted water, and it is probable that they digged many in their passage through the wilderness, as we read they digged one at Beer^e; and it is more reasonable to imagine that God might frequently *give them water*^f, by causing them, when they digged for it, to find *water-springs in a dry ground*^g, than to suppose that a mountainous rock moved after them in their journeyings, or that any streams from it became a river, and was made to form itself a channel to flow to them in all their movements. But, 2. Though the wilderness was indeed a dry place, and may in general terms be called *a dry and thirsty land, where no water is*^h; though the Israelites complained of it as suchⁱ, and the heathen writers give it this character^k; yet we must not take their expressions so strictly, as to imagine that no water was to be found in any parts of it. Strabo speaks of fosses of water in the driest of these deserts^l; and from Diodorus we may collect, that in the most unpromising parts of this country there were proper places to sink wells in, which would afford abundance of water^m. The Israelites might be reduced to difficulties in many places, but unquestionably in

^e Numbers xxi. 16.

^f See ver. 18.

^g Psalm cvii. 35.

^h Psalm lxiii. 1.

ⁱ Numbers xxi. 5.

^k Ἐρημος καὶ ἄνυδρος ἐστὶ. Diodor. Sic. l. ii. c. 54. vid. Strab. Geog. l. xvi.

^l Δάμμος γῆ καὶ λυπρὰ φοίνικας ἔχουσα ὀλίγους—καὶ ὄρυκτα ὕδατα. Strab. Geog. l. xvi.

^m Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἄνυδρον χώραν λεγομένην κατασκευάζοντες εὐκαιρα φρέατα—χρῶνται δαψιλῆσι πότοις. Diod. l. ii. c. 48.

others they found receptacles of water of divers sortsⁿ; so that the true reason why we read of no miraculous supply of water, from the time of their leaving Horeb until they came to Kadesh, may be their not necessarily wanting such a supply in that interval. But,

II. It is represented, that from Psalms lxxviii. 16—20. cv. 41. it may be justly inferred, that rivers of water flowed from the rock after the Israelites in their several marches. I answer: The expressions cited from the Psalmist prove only that the rock smote by Moses poured forth a large quantity of water. God *brought streams out of the rock, and caused waters to run down like rivers. He opened the rock, and the waters gushed out; they ran in the dry places like a river.* Philo the Jew relates, that, upon Moses striking the rock, the water poured out like a torrent, affording them not only a sufficient quantity for the allaying their present thirst, but to fill their water-vessels, in order to carry away water with them, when they marched forwards^o. A very considerable supply must be wanted by so large a multitude, and the words of the Psalmist do well describe such a supply; but they do in no wise intimate, that rivers from the rock followed them, when they left the place where the supply was given them. But,

III. Moses, Deut. ix. 21. mentions a river, or brook, which descended out of the mount, and flowed near the camp, after the Israelites were departed from Rephidim, and were encamped at mount Sinai^p. Now if this brook was a river which flowed from mount Horeb, it could be none other than that which was caused by Moses striking the rock; for before that miracle there was no water; and if it came from hence, it seems evident that the stream of this water flowed near the camp, after they had left Rephidim, the place where the supply was first given. But a few observations will set this fact in a clear light. And, 1. I think

ⁿ Πολλαχοῦ συστάδες τῶν ὀμβρίων ὑδάτων.

^o Παίει πέτραν, ἣ δὲ κρουνηδὸν ἐκχεῖται, ὡς μὴ τότε μόνον παρασχεῖν ἄκος δίψους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πλείω χρόνον τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἀφθονίαν πότου· τὰ γὰρ

ὑδρεῖα πάντα ἐπλήρωσαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν, αἱ πικραὶ μὲν ἦσαν φύσει, μετεβάλλοντο δὲ ἐπιφροσύνη θεῶν πρὸς τὸ γλυκύον. Philo de vit. Mosis, l. i.

^p Exodus xix. 2.

it evident that no supply of water was given to the Israelites from any rock at Rephidim. The direction to Moses, when he cried unto the Lord, was, to take the elders of Israel with him, and to go from Rephidim, the place where the Israelites were encamped, unto Horeb, and there to smite a rock, in order to obtain water^q; so that the supply of water was not obtained at Rephidim, where the Israelites were encamped, but at a place some distance from Rephidim, whither not the people, but the elders of Israel, accompanied Moses, and where what he did was done, not in the sight of the congregation, but in the sight of the elders of Israel^r.

2. Horeb and Sinai were near and contiguous to one another, being only different cliffs of one and the same mountain. This appears evident from several passages in the books of Moses. When God delivered the commandments in an audible voice from mount Sinai^s, he is said to speak unto them in Horeb^t: and when the people stood before the Lord their God under the mountain, and the mountain burned with fire^u, which mountain was unquestionably mount Sinai^x, they stood before the Lord at Horeb^y; and in the day of their assembly, when they desired not to hear the voice of the Lord any more^z, which petition was made when they were assembled at mount Sinai^a, they are said to be at Horeb^b: so that from these and many other passages that might be cited, it appears, either according to St. Jerome, that Horeb and Sinai were but two names for one and the same mount^c, or rather they were two mountains so contiguous, that whilst the people lay encamped at the foot of them, they might be said to be at either. And therefore, 3. The water which Moses obtained from the rock at Horeb might supply the camp all the time the Israelites were at Sinai, without the rock's moving from its place; for they were encamped very near the rock from whence the supply of water was given all the time they

q Exodus xvii. 5, 6.

r Ibid.

s Ibid. xx.

t Deut. i. 19.

u Deut. iv. 10, 11.

x Exodus xix. 18.

y Deut. iv. 10.

z Deut. xviii. 16.

a Exod. xx. 19.

b Deut. xviii. 16.

c Mihi autem videtur, quod duplici nomine idem mons, nunc Sina, nunc Choreb vocetur. *Hieron. de locis Heb.*

were at Sinai. 4. We need not suppose that the water which God was pleased to give at Horeb, ceased to flow as soon as the Israelites were relieved by it. It is more reasonable to imagine that God directed Moses to strike a place where there was naturally a spring, though, until the rock was opened, the water was bound down to subterraneous passages; but after it had taken vent, it might become a fountain, and continue to flow, not only whilst the Israelites continued in these parts, but to future ages. It might cause *the brook, which descended out of the mount*, and supplied them with water all the time they lay encamped here, and the brook caused by it may perhaps run to this day^d; but though this may be true, yet it will not hence follow that the streams of this brook flowed after the camp when they departed from Horeb, and *took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai* into the wilderness of Paran.

But, IV. The chief argument for supposing the rock to have followed the Israelites in their journeys through the wilderness is taken from the words of St. Paul, 1 Corinthians x. 4. The Apostle says, *Our fathers did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock which followed them; and that Rock was Christ*. But I think it is very evident that the Apostle here speaks not of the rock of Horeb, but of Christ, who, though invisible, was the *spiritual* support of the Israelites in the wilderness. In ver. 3, he alludes to the manna which was given them; but then treats of the *spiritual meat* which sustained them, designing to turn the thoughts of the Corinthians from the manna to God, who gave the manna, and made it a sufficient nourishment to his people: *Man liveth not by bread alone*^e. The manna of itself had been but a very slender provision; but, by the direction of God, the morning-dew would have been an abundant supply; or he could, if he had pleased, as

^d We find from the accounts of modern travellers, that there runs now a brook from mount Horeb, which supplies water to the monastery, called St. Saviour's, being a Greek convent situate at the foot of the mountain. *Chorebus*, says Belonius, lib. ii. c. 63.

commodissimo fonte instructus est. And in c. 62. speaking of the convent, he says, *Monasterium aqua abundat: rivus enim ex monte defluens monachorum cisternam replet aqua limpida, frigida, dulci, denique optima, &c.*

^e Matt. iv. 4. Deut. viii. 3.

well have sustained them the whole forty years without any food at all, as he did Moses in the mount forty days and forty nights, without his eating bread or drinking water. We must not therefore look at the manna, as if that was sufficient^f to nourish the people, but consider the power of God, who was their *spiritual meat*, and invisibly supported them. In the same manner we must consider the supply they had of drink: the rock at Horeb, struck by the rod of Moses, sent forth waters, but the benefit was not owing to the rock, but to Christ, who was the *spiritual* and invisible rock of his people; who by his power gave them this supply, and whose presence was with them, not at this time only, but in all their journeyings. The meaning of St. Paul is very plain and easy, and we evidently play with the letter, instead of attending to the design of his words, if we infer from them, that the rock at Horeb, or any water from it, followed the Israelites through the wilderness. Upon the whole, if we had any authority from Scripture to say that the rock at Horeb followed the camp, or that the waters from Horeb flowed after the Israelites, we should have no reason to question the fact; the power of God could have caused either: but neither Moses, nor any other sacred writer, says any thing like it, nor was any such fact known to either Philo or Josephus; so that I should think it a mere fiction^g of the Rabbins, and that it ought to be rejected. A due application will enable every sober querist to vindicate the miracles recorded in Scripture. But it is an idle labour, and will prove of disservice to religion, to add miracles of our own making to those which the Scriptures set before us.

Whilst the Israelites were at Rephidim, the Amalekites, near unto whose country they then encamped^h, attacked

^f Deut. viii. 3. xxix. 6.

^g The Rabbins were fruitful inventors of this sort of miracles. Jonathan B. Uziel says of the well, which the Israelites digged at Beer, that Abraham and Isaac and Jacob first digged it: but that Moses and Aaron drew it after them into the wilderness by the rod, and that it followed them up high hills, and down into low valleys, and

went round about the camp of the Israelites, and gave every one drink at his tent-door, and that it followed them until they came to the borders of the land of Moab; but that they lost it upon the top of an hill over against Beth-Jeshimon. See Targum Jonathan on Numbers xxxi.

^h The country of the Amalekites lay next to Scir. Gen. xiv. 7.

themⁱ; whereupon Moses ordered Joshua to choose out a number of the ablest men to sustain the assault, and he himself went up the hill with his rod in his hand, and Aaron and Hur with him^k. The battle had many turns: whilst Moses held up his hand, the Israelites had the better; but whenever Moses let his hand fall, the Amalekites prevailed^l. Upon observing this event, Aaron and Hur, Moses being quite tired, caused him to sit down upon a stone, and they, one on each side of him, supported his hands all the remainder of the day until the evening, and upon this Joshua obtained a complete victory over the Amalekites^m. And the Lord ordered Moses to leave it upon record, and to remind Joshua of it, that it was his design utterly to extirpate the Amalekitesⁿ; and this purpose of God was afterwards revealed to Balaam^o; and Moses, according to the directions given him to write it in a book^p, took care to record it in his book of Deuteronomy in the most express terms^q. And because God had vouchsafed the Israelites this victory upon the holding up his hands, he, in order to give God the glory, and not to take the honour to himself, built an altar in memory of it, and called it *Jehovah-Nissi*, or, *The Lord is he who exalteth me*^r; and he declared to the Israelites, that, for this base attempt against them, the Lord would war against the Amalekites from generation to generation^s; for

This certainly must be the meaning of the 16th verse of the 17th chapter of Exodus: the Hebrew words are difficult to be translated, and I think none of the versions express clearly the sense of them. We render the place, *for he said, Because the Lord hath sworn that the Lord will have war with Amalek, &c.* The vulgar Latin translation runs thus, *Quia manus solii Domini, et bellum Domini, erit contra Amalek*: i. e. *Because the hand of the throne of the Lord, and the war of the Lord, will be against Amalek*^t. This version

ⁱ See Deut. xxv. 18.

^k Exodus xvii. 9, 10.

^l Exodus xvii. 11.

^m Ver. 11, 12, 13.

ⁿ Ver. 14.

^o Numbers xxiv. 20.

^p Exodus xvii. 14.

^q Deut. xxv. 17, 18, 19.

^r Exod. xvii. 15.

^s Exod. xvii. 16. Deut. xxv. 17, 18.

^t 19.

^t Ecce manus super sedem, bellum Domini cum Amalek, &c. *Vers. Syriac.* Nunc est mihi quod jurem per

rather shews the translators to have been at a loss how to render the place intelligibly, than expresses the true meaning of it. The LXX. say, *ὅτι ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαία πολέμῃ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἀμαλήκ* i. e. *That the Lord fights* [with an hidden hand] i. e. *secretly against Amalek*: the sense here is clear and plain; but there are no words in the Hebrew text to answer to *ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαία*, *with an hidden hand*^u. The Hebrew words are, *U'jad nal Ces Jah Milcamah Lahovah ba Namalek*; which verbally translated are, *Because the hand upon the throne of the Lord, war to the Lord against Amalek*^x. The place has evidently the following difficulties: 1. There must be some words understood to fill up the sentence. *The hand upon the throne of the Lord war against Amalek* must be supposed to be the same as, *The hand of the Lord is upon his throne*, that there shall be *war against Amalek*. The sentence must be thus transposed and filled up to make it bear any sense. 2. In order to its bearing the sense which our English version puts upon it, *The hand of the Lord is upon his throne*, must be supposed to signify, *God has sworn*; his laying his hand upon his throne must import his taking an oath. But, 3. In all the Old Testament, though the expression of God's having sworn occurs almost thirty times, yet it is not, I think, once expressed in words like what we here meet with, but always by the verb [שבוע] *Shaban*. *The Lord hath sworn*, is [נשבע יהוה] *Nishban Jehovah*^y. The annotators are at a loss to ascertain the sense of the place; and certainly the Hebrew

solium, quod erit Deo bellum in Amalekitas. *Vers. Arabic*. Cum juramento dictum est hoc a facie terribilis, cujus Majestas est super solium gloriæ, fore, ut committatur prælium a facie Domini contra viros domus Amalech. *Targum Onkelos*.

^u It has been suggested to me by a very learned friend, that the two words נסיה, which in the present Hebrew text stand next to one another, might perhaps be taken by the LXX. to have

^x The Hebrew words are.

כִּי יָד עַל נֶסֶם יְהוָה מִלְחָמָה לַיהוָה בְּעַמְלֵק

Amalek contra Jehovah bellum Domini thronum supra manus quia.

^y Gen. xxii. 16. Judges ii. 16. 1 Sam. iii. 14. 2 Sam. iii. 9. Psalm cx. 4. Isaiah xiv. 24. lxii. 8. Amos iv. 2, &c.

been originally but one word, כְּסוּיָה and they might derive such a word from כָּסַה *Cusah*, to cover, and imagine that עַל־כְּסוּיָה might be rendered *in secret*, or *covertly*. But if this may be a just correction and translation of the text, the LXX. should have rendered the verse to this purpose, rather than as they have translated it. *Because his* [i. e. Amalek's] *hand has been covertly against you, the Lord will have war with Amalek.* &c.

words, as our present copies run, are very hard to be reconciled to any sense whatsoever, unless we admit a very unusual expression for *God hath sworn*, not to be met with in any other place of Scripture. As to the LXX. they might perhaps think the place corrupted by transcribers; and by putting in *ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαία*, instead of rendering the Hebrew words, they rather guessed what might make the passage good sense, than had authority for their translation. If I may be indulged the liberty, I could conjecture what would give the place a clear meaning without varying much from the present Hebrew text. The reason given in Deuteronomy why Amalek should be utterly destroyed is, because he here attacked the Israelites: the words of Moses are, *Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way—how he met thee, and smote the hindmost of thee, &c. Therefore it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath given thee rest—that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven: thou shalt not forget it*^z. This was the reason why God determined to have war with Amalek; because he here basely assaulted the Israelites. And now suppose the true reading of the passage before us should be thus: *Ci Jad nal Cem, jehi Milchemah Lahovah be Namalek^a*, which translated word for word is, *Because his hand hath been against you, the Lord will have war with Amalek, &c.* The emendation of the text is very little: *נַם* might be easily written for *נַם*; the letters are so similar, that the difference is scarce perceptible: *יֵה* might be written for *יְהִי*; for the final *י* might easily be omitted by no very careless transcriber: and this very small emendation will restore the text to admit an easy and clear meaning, and supposes Moses to hint here the very thing which he expressed after-

^z Deut. xxv. 17, 18, 19.

^a כִּי יֵה עַל נַם יֵהי מִלְחָמָה לַיהוָה בְּעַמְלֹק
Amalek contra Jehovah bellum erit vos contra manus quia.

i. e.

ejus

is vobis, Exodus xvi. 23. In like manner *עַל* signifying *contra*, *עוֹבֵם* may be *contra vos*, or perhaps it was written *עַל־נַם* more agreeably to the Hebrew regimen. It may perhaps be here remarked, that *Milchemah* is a noun feminine, that I put the verb *jehi* in the

masculine termination, contrary to true syntax. But to this I think I may answer, that the Hebrew language is not always critically exact in this particular. Vid. Capell. Crit. Sac. l. iii. c. 16. et l. vi. c. 8.

wards more copiously, when he came to write what he was directed to transmit to posterity upon this occasion^b.

Soon after this victory over the Amalekites, Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses's father-in-law, came with Zipporah his daughter, the wife of Moses, and her two children, Gershom and Eliezer, into the wilderness to the camp at mount Horeb^c. Moses received him with the utmost respect, and told him all the wonderful works which had been wrought for their deliverance^d. Jethro, full of joy, gave praise to God for his favours to them^e, and offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and invited Aaron and the elders of Israel to it^f. The day after, seeing Moses engaged all day long in determining little controversies, he observed to him, that he was fallen into a way that would be full of fatigue to himself, and not give a due dispatch to the public business; and therefore he advised him to range the people in classes of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, and to appoint proper officers over the several classes, and reserve only matters of appeal and of the highest moment to his own decision^g. Moses approved of this advice of Jethro, and according to it appointed such officers as he had directed, to hear and decide the lesser controversies, and to dispense justice under him unto the people^h.

A noble author makes the following reflection upon Jethro's advice here given to Moses: he says, that "the great founder of the Hebrew state had not perfected his model, until he consulted the foreign priest, his father-

^b Deut. xxv. 17, 18, 19.

^c Exodus xviii. I find some writers imagine, that Jethro's coming to Moses was not thus early. F. Simon says, that Jethro seems not to have come till the second year after the finishing of the tabernacle, as may be proved out of Deuteronomy. The learned father has not cited any passage in Deuteronomy to support his opinion, and I cannot find any which appears to me to favour it. Aaron and the elders of Israel's coming to Jethro's sacrifice, hints to me, that the law was not yet given, nor Aaron consecrated to the priesthood; for if it had been given,

Jethro might perhaps have been admitted to Aaron's sacrifice, but Aaron and the Israelites would not, I think, have partook of Jethro's; and therefore Jethro's coming to Moses must have been just after the victory over the Amalekites, as soon as they came to Sinai; and to this time, I think, the account of Moses, Exodus xviii. 5. does well fix it.

^d Exodus xviii. 8.

^e Exodus xviii. 9.

^f Ver. 12.

^g Ver. 13—24.

^h Ver. 25.

“in-law, to whose advice he paid such remarkable deferenceⁱ.” The reflection insinuates, that a part of the Jewish polity was a contrivance of Jethro’s, and therefore that the whole cannot be pretended to be a divine institution. In answer hereto, I would observe, 1. That the advice which Jethro gave Moses, and what Moses did upon it, was not to *perfect his model*, as this noble writer is pleased to call it; for the advice was given, and first executed, before there were any steps at all taken towards forming the Jewish polity; before God had given Moses any laws at all for the constitution of the Jewish state. But, 2. What Jethro here advised Moses to, though Moses followed the advice at the time it was given, nay and afterwards made use of it again, when circumstances required, was yet never made an essential part of the Jewish constitution. If we look for the institutions which Moses has delivered down to us as dictated by God for the government of the people, we shall find these only: Moses was at first their sole leader and governor, and Jethro found him acting without assistant in this capacity^k. When Moses was called up into mount Sinai, Aaron and Hur were to supply his place^l. After this, Aaron and his sons were appointed to the priests’ office^m. Some time after, twelve persons were named, one out of every tribe, to be princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of thousands in Israel, and assistants to Moses and Aaron in the government of the peopleⁿ. The Levites were selected to be over the tabernacle, and to minister unto it^o; and upon Moses’s complaint, that his burthen was too great, and that he wanted more assistance, God appointed seventy elders, and put his spirit upon them, that they might bear the burthen of the people with Moses, that he might not bear it himself alone^p. These all were indeed appointed to their respective offices by divine institution, and these were all the officers that were really so appointed. As to the rulers of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens,

ⁱ Lord Shaftesbury’s Charact. vol. iii. Mis. ii. ch. i.

^k Exod. xviii. 14.

^l Exod. xxiv. 14.

^m Exod. xxviii.

ⁿ Numbers i. 4—16.

^o Ver. 50. See ch. iii.

^p Ch. xi. 16, 17.

when Jethro advised Moses to appoint them, he indeed intimated to him to consult, if God would command him to institute^q them: but we are not told that Moses did so; but that he *hearkened to the voice of his father-in-law, and did all that he had said, and chose able men, and made them rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens*^r; so that the text evidently suggests to us that Moses first instituted these officers, not by divine command, but by Jethro's direction. In like manner, when Moses afterwards revived these officers; (for upon God's giving the law, and appointing priests and Levites, heads of tribes, and princes of the congregation, the people must have been new modelled; and whatever appointments Moses had before made prudentially, must of course have gone out of use, and been abolished by the newer institutions;) I say when Moses found it expedient to revive the offices of the rulers of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens, he in no wise hints that he had any direction from God for so doing, but entirely represents it as a scheme agreed upon by himself and the people. Moses found the people so multiplied, as to be too many^s to be well managed in the hands of those he had to assist him: this he represented to the people, and recommended to them to choose proper persons for him to make rulers over them^t. The people approved of what he had recommended^u; and accordingly, with their consent, he appointed these officers^x. Moses *spake unto the people, saying, I am not able to bear you myself alone: the Lord your God hath multiplied you—How can I bear your cumbrance, and your burthen, and your strife? Take ye wise men and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you. And ye answered me, and said, The thing which thou hast spoken is good for us to do. So I took the chief of your tribes, wise men and known, and made them heads over you, captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, and captains over fifties, and captains over tens, and officers among your tribes. And I charged your judges at that*

q Exod. xviii. 23.

r Ver. 24, 25.

s Deut. i. 9, 10.

t Ver. 12, 13.

u Ver. 14.

x Ibid.

time, saying, *Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously, &c.* Moses has pretty well fixed for us the time of his thus reinstating these officers. It was upon the removal of the camp from Sinai to go into the wilderness of Paran^z. *The Lord spake unto him, saying^a, Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount; turn you and take your journey, and go to the mount of the Amorites, and unto all the places nigh thereunto: and at that time Moses^b spake unto the people about appointing these officers.* A few days after this, the seventy elders were appointed, for they were appointed at Taberah, or Kibroth Hattaavah^c, and the camp had marched three days successively before they came hither^d. Moses found the appointment of the officers agreed upon by the people not fully to answer their occasions, and that he wanted not only officers under himself to execute his orders, and determine smaller matters, but assistants of more influence, that might with himself direct in matters of greater moment. But for these he does not apply to the congregation, as he did for the others, but immediately to God, and these were not instituted upon the people's approving the thing he had spoken to be good for them to do^e; but here God expressly ordered him to gather to him seventy men of the elders of Israel, and told him, that he would come down and talk with him, and give them of his spirit to make^f them sufficient for the employment they were to be appointed to. And thus we may see a very remarkable difference in the institution of the officers our noble author has remarked upon, if compared with those who were appointed by divine direction. I might go further, and observe, that the several officers, whom God had appointed, continued to have their name, title, and authority through all the changes of the Jewish state. The priests, the Levites, the heads of tribes, the seventy elders, had, all of them, their stated and respective offices and employments, not under Moses only, but under Joshua, in the time of the judges, under the kings, in all

^z Compare Deut. i. 6, 7. with Numb.

x. 11, 12, &c.

^a Deut. i. 6, 7.

^b Ver. 9.

^c Numbers xi.

^d Numbers x. 33.

^e Deut. i. 14.

^f Numb. xi. 16, 17.

times, and under all revolutions. But as to the captains of thousands, hundreds, of fifties, and of tens, as their institution was not of divine authority, so their office was not thus fixed nor lasting. Moses did not bind his successors to the use of them: God had not prescribed them to him, neither did he prescribe them to them; for he only gave the Israelites a general rule, to make themselves judges and officers in all their gates throughout their tribes, to judge the people with just judgments; and accordingly, though indeed we find officers of these names in every age, yet we shall not find that the Israelites kept them up in the manner and to the purpose for which Moses appointed them, but rather that they varied both their number and their office, as the circumstances of the state required, or the persons who had the appointing these officers thought fit to employ them. Here therefore is the failure of our noble author's reflection. He designed to prove some part of the Jewish polity to be a contrivance of Jethro's, and consequently a mere human institution; but his instance is a point, which was indeed an human institution, but not an essential and established part of the Jewish polity. There are indeed some learned writers, who have thought these officers of divine appointment^h: but whoever will carefully examine, will find no good foundation for their opinion, and may thereby effectually silence a cavil, which our modern deists, from the hint I have considered, think to raise against the Jewish polity. Jethro made but a short stay with Moses; for before they departed from Rephidim *he went his way into his own land*ⁱ.

The Israelites, on the fifteenth day of the third month after their leaving Egypt, marched from Rephidim into the wilderness of Sinai, and pitched their camp at the foot of mount Sinai^k: they stayed almost a year in this

^g Deut. xvi. 18.

^h Vid. Sigon. de Rep. Heb. l. vii. c. 7.

ⁱ Exod. xviii. 27.

^k Exod. xix. 1, 2. The words of Moses seem to me to intimate, that the Israelites came to Sinai on the 15th day of this month. They came hither, Moses

says, in the third month of their exit from Egypt, [ביום הוֹדָה] *bejom hazzeh*, on the very day, i. e. of their exit, or on the 15th; for on that day of the first month they came out of Egypt. The most learned archbishop Usher indeed took the words otherwise. He supposes *bejom hazzeh* to refer to the

place^l. In the first three days was transacted what is recorded in the 19th, 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d chapters of Exodus^m. And Moses probably spent some days in writing down the laws and the judgments which God had given themⁿ; after which he built an altar, offered sacrifices, and read what he had written in the book^o, and the people entered into the most solemn engagement to perform what was written in it^p. After this, Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, went up some part of the mountain^q, *and they saw the God of Israel^r, and worshipped him^s*. And Moses, upon God's commanding it, having given Aaron and Hur the charge of the people, went with Joshua up to the top of the mount, and was on the mount forty days and forty nights^t; during which time he received the directions and commands contained in Exodus 25th, and in the following chapters to the end of the 31st.

It may be here asked, how and in what sense did Moses, Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and the elders, see the God of Israel? *No man hath seen God at any time^u*. It seems hard to imagine how the infinite God can be clothed

month, and to intimate that the Israelites came to Sinai on the day of the month the same in number with the month, or on the third day of the third month. See his Annals. Other writers imagine the words *bejom hazzeh* to signify no more than that they came to Sinai on the very day they left Rephidim, and that the intimation here intended is, that from Rephidim to Sinai was the journey of but one day. Vid. Pool's Synop. in loc. There are some who would render the verse to this purpose; *On the third new moon after the exit, on the very day*, i. e. of the moon, &c. so as to fix the coming to Sinai to be on the first day of this third month. But to this it is obvious to answer: the word *חַדֵּשׁ* must be here translated *month*, and not *new moon*; for, 1. The Israelites coming out of Egypt in the middle of the first month, the first day of the third month could be only the second, and not the third new moon after their exit. 2. The sacred writers never use such an ex-

pression as is here before us; *for on the first day of a month*, *beachad lachdesh*, is *on the first day of the month*. See Gen. viii. 5, 13. Exodus xl. 2. Levit. xxiii. 24. Numbers i. 1. xxix. 1. xxxiii. 31. Deut. i. 3. Ezra iii. 6. Nehem. viii. 2. Ezek. xxvi. 1. xxxi. 1. xlv. 18, &c. and thus Moses would most probably have here written, if the first day of the month had been here intended by him.

^l They came to Sinai on the 15th of the third month, in the first year of the exit, and they left Sinai on the 20th day of the second month of the second year; so that they stayed here eleven months and five days.

^m Exod. xix. 11.

ⁿ Exod. xxiv. 4.

^o Ver. 7.

^p Ver. 7, 8.

^q Ver. 9.

^r Ver. 10.

^s Exod. xxiv. 11.

^t Ver. 12—18.

^u 1 John iv. 12.

in shape, and bounded within the limits of a form or figure, so as to become the object of sight to a mortal eye. The wise heathens apprehended insuperable difficulties in any such supposition^x; and it must be confessed, that some of the versions of the Bible do not render the passage literally. The LXX. translate it, *They saw the place, where there stood the God of Israel*^y; and Onkelos, *They saw the glory of the God of Israel*^z: and the commentators, from what Moses in another place remarks to the Israelites, that they had seen *no manner of similitude*, do generally conclude, that he did not intend here to intimate, that he or the nobles of Israel did really and visibly see God. But I would beg leave to offer to the reader some thoughts that occur to me whenever I read this passage :

1. I cannot but observe that Moses does not say, that he and the nobles of Israel saw the invisible God; the expression is, that they saw *the God of Israel*^a. *No man indeed hath ever seen the invisible God*^b, *nor can see him*^c; but *the God of Israel*, the divine Person, who is many times styled in the Old Testament *the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*^d, frequently appeared to them, and was in after-ages *made flesh*^e, and for about three and thirty years dwelt on earth *amongst* men. 2. That this person appeared to the patriarchs of old in a real body, was evident to them by the same *infallible proofs* as those by which *he shewed himself alive* to his disciples *after his passion*^f. After he was risen from the dead, he was seen of the disciples, speaking to them^g: and so he was in divers places and at sundry times to Abraham^h, to Isaacⁱ, and to Jacob^k. The disciples not only beheld him, but they felt him, and handled him, and were as sure that he was really with them, as they were that *a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as they saw*

x Ὅς δὲ καὶ σώματος ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ ὄρας ἐστὶ τις θεῷ καὶ δαίμονι κοινωνία καὶ χάρις, ἔργον ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο πεισθῆναι. Plut. in Numa, p. 62. ed. Par. 1624.

y Ἴδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ἐκεῖ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. MS. A.

z Targum Onkelos.

a Exod. xxiv. 10.

b Coloss. i. 15.

c 1 Tim. vi. 16.

d Gen. xxvi. 24. xxviii. 13. Exod. iii. 6. See vol. ii. b. ix. Acts vii. 2. and Gen. xvii. 1.

e See vol. i. b. v. John i. 14.

f Acts i. 3.

g Ibid.

h Gen. xii. 7. xvii. 1. xviii. 1.

i Gen. xxvi. 24.

k Gen. xxxii. 30. xxxv. 9.

him have^l. In like manner Jacob experienced as sensible a presence when he wrestled with him^m. *Whilst the disciples believed not, but wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here any meat? And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb. And he took it, and did eat before them*ⁿ. And agreeably hereto, when THE LORD^o, with two angels accompanying him, appeared unto Abraham in the plains of Mamre, after Abraham had the calf dressed, and set it before them, whilst he stood by them under the tree, *they did eat*^p. And now from all these passages, I think, I see it to have been real and indisputable fact, that the person who is here styled *the God of Israel* did frequently for a short or a longer space of time, according to his own good will and pleasure, assume and unite himself to a real body, and thereby appear visible to such persons as he thought fit to manifest himself to in this manner; and consequently that he might be thus seen by Moses and the elders on the mount. His appearance on the mount was indeed glorious^q, attended with a splendour he had not before been seen in to man; and perhaps something like it afterwards was his transfiguration before the three disciples^r: but the text of Moses does in no wise suggest that he and the elders saw *the God of Israel* in all his glory. Moses indeed did afterwards desire thus to see him^s; but was answered, that he was not capable of it^t; and accordingly at that time, while the glory of the Lord passed by him, Moses was put in a clift of the rock, and the Lord covered him with his hand, while he passed by^u. But here *upon the nobles of Israel he laid not his hand*^x: they had an unintercepted view of his appearance, and consequently he appeared to them with a lesser degree of glory, such as men might see and live.

As to what may be pretended of the wise and learned heathens, that they by the light of nature would have judged such an appearance as is here spoken of absurd and impossible, I would observe of them, that it is indeed true,

^l Luke xxiv. 39.

^m Gen. xxxii.

ⁿ Luke xxiv. 41, 42, 43.

^o Gen. xviii. 1.

^p Ver. 8.

^q Exod. xxiv. 10.

^r Matt. xvii. Mark ix.

^s Exod. xxxiii. 18.

^t Ver. 20.

^u Ver. 22.

^x Exod. xxiv. 11.

that their earliest philosophy led them to think, that *the lights of heaven were the gods that governed the world*; and to ascribe no human shape to these divinities, nor to set up idols of human form in their ancient image-worship, but rather to consecrate sacred animals, and to dedicate *their images, the images of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things*^z; these they imagined to be proper objects or directors of their worship, and they have left us what they thought a philosophical reason for the use they made of them^a: but notwithstanding all this, in time a newer theology succeeded among them, and in all nations, except the more eastern, which had but little knowledge of, or concern in, what happened in Canaan, and the countries adjacent to it, or which were instructed from it, gods of human form were introduced into every temple, and human images were erected to them: and yet in after-times, when their philosophers came to speculate upon this subject, both this worship and theology was thought by them to have been the invention of fabulists and poets, and not to have been derived from reason and truth^b; they thought it mythic or popular, but in no wise agreeable to their notions of the nature of divine beings^c, but rather contrary to them. It is remarkable, that this their later theology was never thought of in any nation, until after *the Lord* had appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, unto Jacob, unto Moses; until after an angel had appeared unto Balaam^d, unto Joshua^e, and to divers other persons; not until after the fame of these appearances had spread into and obtained credit in divers countries. From all which I am apt to conclude, that not science or speculation, but a belief of facts well attested, led the heathens into this their newer theology^f. What was

^y Wisdom xiii. 2. See vol. i. b. v. vol. ii. b. viii.

^z Vol. ii. b. viii.

^a Ἀγαπητέον οὐδὲν οὐ ταῦτα τιμῶντας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἐναργεστέρων ἐσόπτρων καὶ φύσει γεγονότων. Plut. de Iside et Osiride, p. 382. ed. Par. 1624.

^b Vid. Plat. de Rep. l. ii.

^c Tria sunt genera theologiæ, eorumque unum Mythicon appellatur, alterum

physicon, tertium civile. Mythicon appellatur, quo maxime utuntur poetæ; physicon, quo philosophi; primum quod dixi, in eo sunt multa contra dignitatem et naturam immortalium ficta, &c. Varro in *Fragment*. p. 31.

^d Numbers xxii.

^e Josh. v. 13.

^f There are many passages in the heathen writers, which intimate them to have thought it a fact, which could

said of the appearances of angels unto men amongst the Hebrews, and to some other persons of other nations, was known to have been fact, beyond a possibility of contradiction: and hence it came to pass, that though philosophy suggested no such innovation; yet the directors of the *sacra* of heathen kingdoms could not well avoid an imitation, of what, as fact, could not be denied to have happened in the world; and this by degrees led them to their new gods. And thus if we consult the ancient heathens, instead of finding from their philosophy objections sufficient to weaken the credibility of what the Scriptures record concerning the appearances of divine and superior beings, we may, from the alteration which they made in their sacred institutions, be induced to think these Scripture facts to have been so well attested to the world, that even nations not immediately concerned in them could not but admit the truth of them, and think them of weight enough to cause them to vary from what they had before esteemed the principles both of their science and religion. But

Moses is said to have remarked to the Israelites, that they had *seen no manner of similitude*. I answer; Nothing can, I think, be concluded from the passage alluded to^ε, to contradict what Moses relates Exod. xxiv. that he and the elders *saw the God of Israel*. The passage cited from Deuteronomy expressly refers to the day in which God delivered, in an audible voice, the Ten Commandments from the mount to the people: and Moses's design in it was, to caution them, by a due regard to that day's transactions, to be exceeding careful not to fall into idolatry. He exhorts them, ver. 9, 10. never to forget *the things which their eyes had seen, on the day that they stood before the Lord in Horeb*. He reminds them, ver. 12, that in that day *the Lord spake unto them out of the midst of the fire: that they heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude; only they heard a voice*. He then again

in no wise be denied, that the gods had appeared unto men. Thus, *Sæpe visæ formæ Deorum quemvis non hebetem aut impium Deos præsentés esse confiteri coegerunt*. Tullius De Nat. Deor. l. ii.

c. 2. Again, *Præterea ipsorum Deorum præsentia, quales supra commemoravi, declarant, ab his et civitatibus, et singulis hominibus consulti*. Id. ibid. c. 66.
ε Deut. iv. 15.

charges them to take good heed to themselves, lest they should *make the similitude of any figure*; by observing again to them, ver. 15, that they *saw no similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto them in Horeb out of the midst of the fire*. On this day it was that God instructed them how he would be worshipped, and commanded them to make to themselves no manner of image^h; and therefore to this particular day's transaction Moses might well appeal, in order to charge them in the strictest manner to be careful to observe this commandment: and accordingly, what he here offers is by his own express words limited and confined to the transactions of the day here referred to; and I do not see how any thing can be concluded, from what is here said, against what he may have suggested to have happened on any other day whatsoever.

About these times, Lelex, who was the first king of Laconia, flourished in that country. Lelex seems to have been somewhat elder than Moses: he came originally from Egypt^l, made divers settlements in many places; in Caria^k, in Ionia^l, at Ida near Troy^m, and afterwards in Greece, in Acarnaniaⁿ, in Ætolia^o, in Bœotia^p, and last of all in Laconia. When Lelex began his travels, he took the same rout that Cecrops and the father of Cadmus had before taken: he went up into Phœnicia, thence into the lesser Asia, and from thence he crossed over into Greece, and made settlements in many places, until at length he came into Laconia. In all parts where he made any stay, he endeavoured to form and civilize the uncultivated people; and probably, when he removed, he left some of his followers to complete his designs, and upon every procession to a new country, he took with him such new associates, as had a mind to accompany him from the places where he had last resided. By these means the company he commanded would in a few years be a mixed multitude, gathered out of different na-

^h Exod. xx. 4, 5.

^l Λέγουσιν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Δέλεγα ἀφικόμενον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι. Pausan. in Atticis, c. 39.

^k Vid. Strab. Geog. lib. vii. p. 321. lib. xiii. p. 611. ed. Par. 1620. Homer.

Il. φ. 86, 87.

^l Strab. lib. xiv. p. 640.

^m Id. lib. vii. p. 321.

ⁿ Id. ibid.

^o Id. ibid.

^p Id. ibid. et in lib. ix. p. 401.

tions : and his followers having been of this sort, seemed to Strabo to be the reason for the Greeks calling him Lelex, and them Leleges^q. It was found in writing in the times of the Maccabees, that the Lacedæmonians and the Jews were brethren, and that the Lacedæmonians were descended of *the stock of Abraham*^r. I should imagine that this Lelex was an Israelite ; and that as divers eminent persons of the Egyptians, upon the conquest the Pastors made of their country, fled with as many as would follow them into foreign lands^s ; so some of the Hebrews, when they were pressed with slavery, might do the same thing, and this Lelex might be one of them ; and when he had obtained a settlement in Laconia, both what we find in Pausanias of his coming out of Egypt^t, and this hint of his relation to the Hebrews, might be recorded of him. Some of the Greek writers mistake the time of his coming into Greece ; they report it to have been about thirteen generations after Phoroneus king of Argos^u : but we must not imagine it so late ; for from Menelaus who warred at Troy up to Lelex, we find ten successive kings of this country, exclusive of Menelaus^x ; and in Castor's list we have but fourteen successions from Phoroneus down to Agamemnon, the leader of the Greeks, contemporary with Menelaus^y ; so that Lelex cannot have been at most above three or four reigns later than Phoroneus. We find an hint in Strabo, which may well fix for us the time of Lelex's entering Laconia : he records, that the Leleges were in Bœotia when Cadmus came thither, and that Cadmus expelled them that country^z : they were hereupon compelled to a further travel ; and therefore at this time they and their leader marched to Laconia, and began the kingdom of Lacedæmonia. Cadmus came into Bœotia, A. M. 2486^a, and therefore to this year I should fix Lelex's going into Laconia ; and according to this computation he came into Laconia in the reign of Triopas or Crotopus, the fourth

q Vid. Strab. lib. vii. p. 322.

r 1 Maccabees xii. 21.

s See vol. ii. b. viii.

t Pausan. in Attic. c. 39.

u Id. *ibid.*

x Id. in Laconic.

y Euseb. in Chronico.

z Strab. Geog. l. ix. p. 401. ed. Par. 1620.

a See vol. ii. b. viii.

or fifth king of Argos^b from Phoroneus; and agreeably to this computation, we may well suppose ten kings of Lacedæmonia from Lelex to Menelaus; but if we place Lelex lower, there can be no room for such a succession. I might add, that it further appears that Lelex lived about these times, from what Pausanias records of Polycaon, his younger son, that he married Messene the daughter of Triopas^c; so that Lelex and Triopas were about contemporaries. I suppose Lelex somewhat elder than Moses; his coming into Laconia, after so many travels, must have been towards the end of his own life; but the year 2486, in which he entered that country, falls about the middle of Moses's days, in Moses's 53d year, 27 years before he led the Israelites out of Egypt. We are nowhere told how long Lelex governed his new settlement; his eldest son Myles succeeded him^d, and at Myles's death, Eurotas son of Myles became king^e: Eurotas at his death left no male heirs^f, and Polycaon the younger son of Lelex was settled in another country^g; and hence it happened, at the demise of Eurotas, that the crown of Laconia went into another family, and Lacedæmon son of Jupiter and Taygete was promoted to it^h. Pausanias has recorded the names of the Lacedæmonian kingsⁱ; and from Lelex to Menelaus who warred at Troy they are as follows; Lelex, Myles, Eurotas, Lacedæmon, Amyclas, Argalus, Cynortas, Œbalus, Hippocoon, Tyndareus, and Menelaus. Castor and Pollux were the sons of Tyndareus^k, and engaged in the Argonautic expedition^l; but they were never kings of Lacedæmonia, but died before their father^m; and upon their deaths Tyndareus sent for Menelaus to succeed him in his kingdomⁿ.

The famous Jupiter of the Greeks was also contemporary with Moses. He was son of Saturn, a king of Crete^o: the

^b Triopas was noted by the ancient writers to live about the times of Cærops. See vol. ii. b. viii.

^c Pausan. in Laconic. c. i. et in Messenic. c. i.

^d Id. in Laconic. ubi sup.

^e Id. ibid.

^f Id. ibid.

^g Id. in Messenic. ubi sup.

^h Id. in Laconic.

ⁱ Id. ibid.

^k Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 9.

^l Apollon. Argon. et Val. Flacc.

^m Apollod. l. iii. c. 10.

ⁿ Id. ibid.

^o Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 68. Apollod. Biblioth. l. i.

remains we now have of the ancient writers seem to give but a confused account of the early history of the Cretans; though it is remarkable, that the Cretans were formerly so famous for their history, as to have the wisest of men think it worth while to travel to them to peruse their records^p: but of what now remains about them, almost all is fable; though I cannot but think a careful inquirer may still collect particulars, and give them more light than they are generally thought capable of receiving. Cres was king of Crete about the 56th year of Abraham^q; Talus was son of Cres, Vulcan of Talus, and Rhadamanthus of Vulcan^r: about the times of this Rhadamanthus^s, we may place the Dactyli Idæi^t: they were five brothers, as many in number as the fingers of a man's hand, and for that reason called Dactyli^u. One of these Dactyli was probably named Jupiter; for there was a more ancient Jupiter than the son of Saturn^x, who was father of the Curetes^y, and brother of Ouranus^z; so that Ouranus might be another of the Dactyli: Saturn was son of Ouranus^a, and Jupiter was son of Saturn^b. From Abraham to Moses are seven descents; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Cohath, Amram, Moses; and there are about as many from Cres to Jupiter; namely, Cres, Talus, Vulcan, Rhadamanthus, Ouranus, Saturn, Jupiter. If Ouranus and the rest of the Dactyli were of the same descent with Rhadamanthus, we have but six; but if they were in the descent next after him, we have exactly seven, as in the family of Abraham. Diodorus Siculus mentions no kings of Crete between Cres and the Dactyli; but it is observable, that he does not say that the Dactyli flourished in or

^p Ἐγώ τε καὶ Σόλων δ' Ἀθηναῖος πλώσαντες μὲν εἰς Κρήτην κατὰ τὴν κείθι ἰστορίαν. Diogen. Laert. in vit. Thalet.

^q Euseb. in Chronic.

^r Cinæthon. in Pausan. Arcad. c. 53.

^s We are not to suppose the Rhadamanthus here spoken of to be the same person with one of that name, who was brother of Minos; nor the Vulcan here mentioned to be the same with Vulcan son of Jupiter: persons of later ages frequently had the names

which their ancestors had borne ages before them.

^t Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 64.

^u Id. *ibid.* Strabo Geog. l. x. p. 473. ed. Par. 1620.

^x Diodor. l. iii. c. 61.

^y Id. *ibid.*

^z Id. *ibid.*

^a Id. l. v. c. 66. Apollod. Bibl. l. i.

^b Diodor. l. v. c. 69, 70, 71. Apollod. *ubi sup.*

next after the times of Cres: Diodorus reckoned up the worthies that lived between Cres and Saturn, whom the ages which succeeded had mentioned with honour; and it is easy to imagine, that there might be two or three descents between the times of Cres and the Dactyli, in which nothing memorable was done, in the way of either great actions or useful inventions, to bear their fame down to posterity; and so the names of those that lived in these generations might either not come to Diodorus, or he not think it worth while to mention them. If Cres himself had not excelled those that lived before him, in teaching his countrymen many things conducive to their public welfare^c, Diodorus had probably taken no notice of him: and had his successors been as eminent as he was, their names perhaps had been recorded by him. But after the death of Cres^d, no advance being made either in arts or government, until the Dactyli, the names between Cres and their times were omitted by Diodorus.

Ouranus lived in the eastern parts of Crete; for his son Saturn afterwards removed westward^e: Ouranus married Titæaf, who, according to the custom of these times, which was, to give the names of the elements and lights of heaven (they being the deities now worshipped) to eminent persons, took the name of Terra or Tellus, as her husband was called Cœlum or Ouranus. The children born of these two parents were first the Centimani; namely, Briareus, Gyes, and Cæus^g: the fabulous writers say, these men had an hundred hands and fifty heads apiece^h: they were of bigger size, of greater strengthⁱ, and perhaps of more cunning and contrivance than common men; and fable has given them the hands and heads of multitudes, for their being superior to single men in their wisdom and their valour. Ouranus

^c Τὸν μὲν βασιλέα Κρήτα καλούμενον πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον εὐρεῖν τὰ δυνάμενα τὸν κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ὠφελεῖσαι. Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 64.

^d Perhaps Cres having none to second him, the useful designs he attempted might drop at his death; and though he had the descendants we have mentioned, yet none of them might be

kings, nor any government set up in Crete in their names.

^e Diodor. c. 66.

^f Id. *ibid.*

^g Apollod. Biblioth. l. i. c. 1.

^h Id. *ibid.*

ⁱ Μεγέθει τε ἀνυπέρβλητοι καὶ δυνάμει καθειστώκεσαν. Id. *ibid.*

sent them to inhabit the land of Tartarus; for here we find them in power and command in the days of Jupiter^b: what or where the country was which was thus named, may be difficult to determine: Pluto was afterwards king of it^l, and I should imagine it to be no part of Crete; for when Pluto took away Proserpine from her mother Ceres, Ceres sought her, *κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν*, i. e. all Crete over, but could not find her^m; afterwards she heard that she was with Pluto; so that Pluto's dominions were not in Crete, but in some foreign country. We are told by Apollodorus, that the Cyclopes were sent into this land of Tartarusⁿ, and Homer appears to think they lived in the island of Sicily^o; and Strabo imagined him in this point to have given us not fiction, but true history^p: and we find Thucydides, though he had nothing to offer about the rise or exit of this set of men, whence they came hither, or whither they removed; yet not doubting but that they were of the most ancient inhabitants of this island^q; and agreeably hereto, Tartarus the father of Typhon appears from Apollodorus to have lived in Sicily in the age I am treating of^r; and in these days probably this island was called after his name. This land of Tartarus was said to be as far distant from the earth, as the earth is from heaven^s: this might be the ancient Cretan account of it, and by the earth they might mean their own island, and intend only to assert that Tartarus was at an unmeasurable distance from their shore; and unquestionably from Crete to Sicily was a considerable voyage in those ages. As Pluto, from his having been the person who invented the rites and ceremonies that were used at funerals^t, came in after-ages to be called the god of the dead; so the country where he had been king was reputed to be their

^k Apollod. Biblioth. l. i. c. 2.

^l Id. *ibid.*

^m *Δήμητρα δὲ μετὰ λαμπάδων νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ζητοῦσα περιήει.* Apoll. Bibl. l. i. c. 5.

ⁿ Id. *ibid.* l. i. c. 1.

^o Odyss. ix.

^p Strabo Geog. l. i. p. 20. ed. Par.

1620

^q Thucyd. Hist. l. vi.

^r Id. *ibid.* l. i. c. 6. §. 3.

^s *Τόπος δὲ οὗτος τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχων διάστημα ὅσον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ γῆ.* Apollod. l. i. c. 1. §. 1.

^t *Τὸν δ' Ἄδην, λέγεται, τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς, καὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς καὶ τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καταδείξαι—διὸ καὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὁ θεὸς οὗτος παρείληπται κυριεύειν.* Diodor. Sic. l. v. p. 233.

region, and all the gloomy fictions imagined to belong to the state of the departed were related to have their place in this land of Tartarus: but it is obvious to remark, that these fables were not invented until ages after the times of the Centimani, and not until long after Sicily ceased to be called by this its ancient name. 2. The Cyclopes were also sons of Ouranus and Tellus^u: their names were Harpes, Steropes, and Brontes: they were said to have but one eye apiece, and that situate in the middle of their foreheads^x: these men were the archers of their times, and they usually shut one eye to take their aim in shooting^y; and this occasioned the fable of their having one eye only: Ouranus sent them to Tartarus unto their brethren^z. 3. Ouranus and Tellus were the parents of the Titanes also, whose names were Oceanus, Cæus, Hyperion, Crius, Iapetus, and Saturn^a; and of the Titanides, who were Tethys, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phœbe, Dione, and Thia^b. Tellus the wife of Ouranus had also other children, namely, Phorcus, Thaumás, Nereus, Eurybœa, and Ceto, by a person named Pontus, who perhaps after Ouranus's death was her second husband^c; and Ouranus had several children by a concubine named Ops; they were Porphyrion, Halcyoneus, Ephialtes, Clytius, Enceladus, Polybotes, Gratian, and Thoon. Tellus made a voyage into Sicily, and stayed there some time, until she had a son named Typhon, by Tartarus, a person of the highest eminence in Sicily in these ages^d. Ops was no

^u Apollod. l. i. c. 1.

^x Id. *ibid*.

^y I have forgot from whom I had this conjecture: I think it is Eustathius's. But I would observe, that the ingenious annotator upon the English Homer, whose real worth, as well as learning, makes it a pleasure to me to say I have a friendship with him, gives a better account of this fable of the Cyclopes; ascribing it to their wearing an head-piece, or martial vizor, that had but one sight through it. "The vulgar," says he, "form their judgments from appearances; and a mariner who passed these coasts at a distance, observing the resemblance

"of a broad eye in the forehead of one of these Cyclops, might relate it accordingly, and impose it as a truth upon the credulity of the ignorant. It is notorious, that things equally monstrous have found belief in all ages." See Dr. Broome's notes upon Homer's *Odyssey*, b. ix. 119.

^z Apollodor. *ubi sup*.

^a Apollodor. *ibid*. Diodor. l. v. c. 66.

^b Apollodor. *Bibl.* l. i. c. 1. Diodorus mentions only five, and calls them Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phœbe, and Thetis, l. v. c. 66.

^c Apollodor. l. i. c. 2. §. 5.

^d Id. c. 6.

Cretan, but a foreigner; she came into Crete out of a more northern nation^o: she is often taken to be the same person as Tellus; but it is evident she was not so; probably she was the Cybele of the ancients.

At the death of Ouranus, his son Saturn had his kingdom. It is said that Saturn castrated and deposed his father^f: but we have no reason to imagine that he did so, or that what is told us of the birth of the furies from Ouranus^s was real fact. Varro judiciously thought these relations to be parts of what he calls the Mythic theology^h, which afforded many narrations of imaginary actions never really done, but founded upon the ancient philosophy and religion historically put togetherⁱ. Saturn married his sister Rhea, and had by her three sons and three daughters, Jupiter, Neptune, Pluto, Vesta, Ceres, and Juno^k. It is said of Saturn, that he eat up his children as soon as they were born; that Jupiter only escaped, by a contrivance of his mother Rhea, who bundled up a stone in his clothes, and sent it to Saturn, which, he not doubting but that it was his new-born son, took and eat up instead of him. Jupiter, they tell us, was put out to nurse by his mother to the Curetes. In time, they bring Saturn's children all upon the stage again, and represent Jupiter as compelling his father, by a drink, to discharge his stomach of them, and of the stone with them^l. Varro has given us a philosophic solution of this fable also^m: but I would observe, that Saturn was the first in these parts that introduced a regularity of diet amongst his peopleⁿ, and he might perhaps think it a matter of moment to begin

^e Ὀπιον, μιαν τῶν ἐξ ὑπερβορέων παραγενομένων παρθένων. Apoll. c. 4. §. 4.

^f Apollodor. c. 1.

^g Id. ibid.

^h Vid. Varron. Frag. p. 31. ed. Scal. 1619.

ⁱ See what I have offered upon this subject, vol. ii. b. viii. *Saturnus—fal-cem habet ob agriculturam. Quod cælum patrem Saturnus castrasse in fabulis dicitur, hoc significat, penes Saturnum, non penes cælum, semen esse divinum; hoc propterea quantum intelligi datur, quia nihil in cælo de*

seminibus nascitur. Varro in Frag. p. 42. ed. Scal. 1619.

^k Diodor. Apollodor. ubi sup.

^l Apollodor. Bibl. l. i.

^m Saturnum dixerunt, quæ nata ex eo essent, devorare solitum, quod eo semina, unde nascerentur, redirent; et quod illi pro Jove gleba objecta est devoranda, significat manibus humanis obrui cœptas serendo fruges antequam subtilitas arandi esset inventa. *Varro in Fragment.* p. 42. ed. Scal. 1619.

ⁿ Diodor. l. v. c. 66.

from the first with his own children. We find the nursing and feeding infants with proper food became a sort of science in the generation next after him, and had directors appointed to take care of it°. If Saturn had formed any scheme of this sort, and upon this account took his children as soon as born from their mother; if, as soon as they were fit for it, he sent them abroad for education into some foreign land; and the figure they all afterwards made in life renders it highly probable that they had had better instruction than Crete was at this time able to give them; this might be a sufficient foundation for the fable handed down to us concerning Saturn. Rhea sent Jupiter to the Curetes; and a bundle of clothes, with a stone wrapped up in them to make them heavy, was carried where Saturn ordered, instead of him; and when Jupiter was grown up, and came home to his father, and Saturn thought fit to have his other children recalled from their foreign education; as he was before said to have eat them, so now he might be represented to have vomited them up again. The fancy of the mythologists was extravagant beyond measure; and no representation could appear so monstrous or ridiculous, but they could think it ingenious to dress up and disguise the plainest and most common transactions of life in it^p.

When Saturn died, Jupiter succeeded to his kingdom^q. Here again the mythologists give us fable, and suggest to us, that Jupiter deposed his father, and parted his dominions between himself and his brethren^r: but Diodorus informs us that there were other accounts of him; that he came to his crown at Saturn's death as his rightful heir, without attempts of his own to obtain a succession, or endeavours of others to prevent it^s. He married his sister Juno^t, and by

ο Ἄρτεμιν δὲ φασὶν εὐρεῖν τὴν τῶν νηπίων παιδίων θεραπείαν, καὶ τροφάς τινας ἄρμοζούσας τῇ φύσει τῶν βρεφῶν. Diodor. c. 72.

p See vol. ii. b. viii. Ἐν τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι πολλὰ μὲν πάλαι συμβάντα ἄπιστα εἶναι πεποιθήκασιν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς, οἱ τοῖς ἀληθέσιν ἐποικοδομοῦντες ἐψευσμένα. Pausan.

q Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 71.

r Apollod. l. i. c. 2.

s Τινὲς μὲν φασὶν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τοῦ Κρόνου μετὰστασιν εἰς θεοὺς διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, οὐ βίβη κατισχύσαντα τὸν πατέρα, νομίμως δὲ καὶ δικαίως ἀξιοθέντα ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς. Diodor. l. v. c. 70.

t Diodor. *ibid.* Apollod. *Bibl.* l. i. c. 3. Hesiod. *Θεογον.*

her had children, Hebe, Ilithya, Argos, Mars, and Vulcan^u. He had several other wives; 1. Metis, by whom he had Pallas^x. 2. Themis, who bare him Irene, Eunomia, and Dica, who were called the Horæ, and Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, who were called the Fates^y. 3. Euronome was the mother of Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia^z. 4. Of Styx, or rather Ceres, was born Proserpine^a. 5. Of Mnemosyne were born the Muses, who have commonly been said to be nine in number: Varro thought they were originally three only^b. 6. Latona bare him Diana and Apollo^c. 7. Venus was born to him of Dione^d. 8. Mercury of Maia^e. 9. Bacchus of Semelef: and he had several other children, both sons and daughters, by divers other women. But let us endeavour first to fix with a little more certainty the times in which Jupiter lived, and after that we may take a further view of the transactions of his life.

Jupiter lived about eight or nine generations before the Trojan war: this may be very clearly computed by going through the genealogies of those who are recorded to be his descendants. Thus Æthlius, king of Elea in Greece, was son of Jupiter, and of Protogenia, the daughter of Deucalion^g; his son Endymion succeeded him^h: Epeus son of

^u Diodor. l. v. c. 70. Apollod. Bibl. l. i. c. 3. Hesiod. *Θεογον.*

^x Hesiod. *ibid.* Apollodorus supposes Thetis the daughter of Nereus to have borne him Pallas. Bibl. l. i. c. 3. §. 6.

^y Hesiod. Apollod.

^z *Ibid.*

^a Diodor. lib. v. c. 2. Hesiod. *Θεογον.* Apollod. l. i. c. 3. et c. 5.

^b Apol. l. i. c. 3. Varro dicit, Civitatem nescio quam (neque enim recorder nomen) locasse apud tres artifices terna simulachra Musarum, quæ in templo Apollinis, Deo poneret, ut quisquis artificum pulchriora formasset, ab illo potissimum electa emeret. Itaque contigisse, ut opera sua quoque illi artifices æque pulchra explicarent, et placuisse civitati omnes novem, atque omnes emptas esse, ut Apollinis templo dicarentur, quibus postea dicit Hesiodum poetam imposuisse vocabula. Non ergo ait, Jupiter novem Musas genuit, sed tres fabri ternas fecerunt. Tres autem non propterea ci-

vitâ illa locaverat, quia in somnis eas viderat, aut tot se cujusquam illorum oculis demonstraverant, sed quia facile erat animadvertere omnem sonum, qui materies cantilenarum est, triformem esse natura; aut enim editur voce, sicut est eorum, qui faucibus sine instrumento canunt, aut flatu sicut tubarum et tibiæ, aut pulsu sicut in cytharis, et tympanis, et quibusdam aliis, quæ percutiendo sonora fiunt. *Varro in Fragment. p. 207. Vid. Augustin. de Doctrin. Christian. l. ii. c. 17.*

^c Apollodor. l. i. c. 4. *Δήμητρος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν θυγατέρα εἶναι, καὶ οὐ Λητοῦς, ὄντα Αἰγυπτίων τὸν λόγον, Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδαξεν Εὐφορίωνος τοὺς Ἕλληνας.* Pausan. in Arcad. c. 37.

^d Apollod. c. 3.

^e *Id.* l. iii. c. 10. §. 2.

^f *Vid. quæ sup. Strab. Geog. l. x. p. 473. ed. Par. 1620.*

^g Pausan. l. v. c. 1. Apollod. Bibl. l. i. c. 7. It ought to be here remarked, that Æthlius was by some of the

Endymion succeeded himⁱ: Ætolus brother to Epeus was his successor^k, and after Ætolus reigned Eleus his nephew^l: at Eleus's death, Augeas son of Eleus had the kingdom^m: Agasthenes, son of Augeas, succeeded his fatherⁿ, and Polyxenes, son of Agasthenes, grandson of Augeas, commanded at Troy^o: and thus, if we count from Jupiter to the Trojan war, we find nine successions, or computing Epeus and Ætolus, who were brothers, to be in the same line of descent, eight generations. In the family of Thoas the son of Andræmon, who commanded the Ætolians in the Trojan war^p, there are ten descents; for Thoas was six from Ætolus^q, and Ætolus as above was four from Jupiter. In like manner we find ten descents from Jupiter to Diomedes, four to Ætolus as before; Pleuron was son of Ætolus^r, Agenor of Pleuron^s, Ceneus of Agenor^t, Tydeus of Ceneus^u, and Diomedes of Tydeus^x. If we go into another branch of Jupiter's family, we shall find accounts much the same. Arcas was son of Jupiter, born of Callisto daughter of Lycaon^y: Arcas succeeded Nyctimus the eldest son of Lycaon in the kingdom of Arcadia^z: Azanas son of Arcas succeeded him^a: Clitor son of Azanas succeeded his father^b: Epitus a nephew of Azanas succeeded Clitor^c, and Aleus another nephew succeeded Epitus^d; at Aleus's death his son Lycurgus had the crown^e, and at his death he left it to Echemus^f: Agapenor grandson of Lycurgus succeeded Echemus^g, and led the Arcadians to Troy: and thus from Nyctimus, who may be supposed to be coætaneous with Jupiter, to Agapenor, are nine successions; and, counting Clitor, Ipitus, and Aleus, who were brothers' children, to

ancients thought the son of Æolus. See Pausan. l. v. c. 8.

^h Apollod. *ibid.* c. vii. §. 5. Pausan. ubi sup.

ⁱ Pausan. *ibid.*

^k Apollod. §. 6. Pausan. ubi sup.

^l Pausan. *ibid.*

^m Pausan. *ibid.*

ⁿ Pausan. *ibid.* lib. v. c. 3.

^o Pausan. *ibid.* Hom. Il. β'. 623.

^p Pausan. ubi sup. Hom. Il. β'. 638.

^q Pausan. ubi sup.

^r Apollod. lib. i. c. 7. §. 6.

^s *Id. ibid.*

^t *Ibid.*

^u *Ibid.*

^x *Ibid.*

^y Hyg. Fab. 155. Apoll. Bibl. l. iii. c. 8. §. 2. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 3.

^z Pausan. *ibid.* c. 4.

^a *Id. ibid.*

^b *Ibid.*

^c Pausan. in Arcad. c. 4.

^d *Ibid.*

^e *Ibid.*

^f *Ibid.*

^g *Id. c. 5. Hom. Il. β'. 609.*

be in the same line of descent, at least seven generations. In Laconia we find Lacedæmon, king of that country, was son of Jupiter, and of Taygete daughter of Atlas^b: Amyclas the next king was his sonⁱ: Argalus succeeded his father Amyclas^k; and Cynortas Argalus^l; and Cynortas left his crown to Œbalus^m: when Œbalus died, Hippocoon gat possession of the throne, and for a time defeated Tyndareus the son of Œbalusⁿ; but after some years Tyndareus ejected him^o, and recovered the kingdom. Tyndareus had two sons, Castor and Pollux^p, but they both died before him^q: he married his daughter Helen to Menelaus the son of Atreus^r; and at his death Menelaus succeeded him in his kingdom^s: and thus from Lacedæmon the son of Jupiter to Helen and Menelaus, for whom the Greeks warred at Troy, are eight reigns and seven descents; or eight descents from Jupiter. Again, Dardanus king of Troy was son of Jupiter and Electra, daughter of Atlas^t, Erichthonius of Dardanus^u, Tros of Erichthonius^x, Ilus of Tros^y, Laomedon of Ilus^z, Priamus of Laomedon^a: Priamus was an old man when the Greeks warred against him; his son Hector was then in his full strength, and about the age of the Greek commanders; and from Jupiter to Hector are eight descents. We might examine the accounts we have of other families, and in all, of whom we have sufficient remains, we should find Jupiter about eight or nine generations before the Trojan war. Successions in families vary enough to cause this difference of a descent or two, but we have no genealogies that will allow us to place him later than the times of Moses; for Moses lived from A. M. 2433, to A. M. 2550^b: take the middle of his life A. M. 2493; from thence

^h Hygin. Fab. 155. Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 10. §. 3. Pausan. in Laconic.

c. 1.

ⁱ Pausan. *ibid.*

^k *Id. ibid.*

^l *Id. ibid.*

^m *Id. ibid.*

ⁿ *Id. ibid.*

^o *Id. ibid.*

^p Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 9. §. 7.

^q *Id. c. 10.*

^r Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 9. §. 8.

^s *Ibid. c. 10.*

^t Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 11. Diodor. Sic. Hist. l. v. c. 48. Hom. Il. v'. 215.

^u Diodor. l. iv. c. 75. Hom. Il. v'.

219.

^x Diodor. *ubi sup.* Hom. Il. v'. 230.

^y Diodor. Hom. *ibid.*

^z *Iid. ibid.*

^a *Iid. ibid.*

^b See vol. ii. b. ix. Deut. xxxiv. 7.

to the war at Troy are about 300 years, supposing Troy to have been taken about A. M. 2796^e; and if we count eight or nine descents in this space of time, we go between 30 and 40 years to a descent, and the generations we have examined being for the most part by the elder sons, this may pretty well agree with the length of such generations in these times.

As what I have offered does abundantly hint that Jupiter lived about the age of Moses; so the particulars of his life do further confirm it, and may perhaps enable us to settle more exactly the time when he flourished: for, 1. Jupiter visited Lycaon king of Arcadia^d, and had a son named Arcas born of Callistho, Lycaon's daughter^e. Now Lycaon was contemporary, and of about the same years with the elder Cecrops^f. Cecrops reigned in Attica from A. M. 2423 to A. M. 2473^g. Lycaon was advanced towards old age when Jupiter visited him, for his children were all grown up, and of age to build cities and govern nations^h: Jupiter therefore visited him about the end of the life of Cecrops, and not earlier than the 40th year of Moses's age. But we may fix this matter with still greater certainty: Lycaon died by the hand of Jupiterⁱ; at his death Nyctimus his eldest son had his crown^k: Nyctimus was made king of Arcadia just upon the time of Deucalion's flood^l, and the ancients imagined that flood to have happened A. M. 2476^m; so that about this year Jupiter was in Arcadia, namely, three years after the death of Cecrops, and in the 43d year of Moses. Jupiter was undoubtedly of years of wisdom, authority, and experience of the world, when he transacted the affairs of Lycaon's kingdom; and to this agrees, 2. What we further find from the marble, that Mars the son of Jupiter was tried at Athens for the death of Halirrothius the son of Neptune, A. M. 2473ⁿ; so that

^c See vol. ii. b. viii.

^d Hygin. Fab. 176. Apollodor. Biblioth. l. iii. c. 8.

^e Ibid. ibid. Pausan. in Arcadic. c. 3, 4.

^f Δοκῶ δὲ ἔγωγε Κέκροπι ἡλικίαν τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λυκάωνι εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 2.

^g See vol. ii. b. viii.

^h Vid. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 3.

ⁱ Apollod. ubi sup.

^k Pausan. ubi sup. Apollod. Id.

^l Νυκτίμου δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος δ' ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο. Apollod. ubi sup.

^m Marmor. Arundell. Ep. iv.

ⁿ Id. Ep. iii.

before Jupiter's expedition to Arcadia, his sons were grown up and engaged in the world. 3. Epaphus was son of Jupiter, born of Io^o. Here indeed some of the genealogists make a mistake; for they suppose Io to be the daughter of Inachus: this would argue Jupiter to have lived 300 years earlier than the times we are treating of, for Inachus reigned at Argos about A. M. 2154^p. But Apollodorus has observed and corrected this error: he remarks, that Io the mother of Epaphus was not daughter of Inachus, but of Jasus^q: Jasus, the father of Io, was son of Triopas king of Argos^r, so that Io was Triopas's grand-daughter. Triopas was the sixth king of Argos from Inachus^s; for Apis ought not to be inserted amongst the Argive kings^t; and if we count the number of years from the first year of Inachus to the last year of Triopas, we shall find them to amount to 315^u; compute then 315 years from A. M. 2154, the first year of Inachus, and we come down to A. M. 2469, and in that year Triopas died: if Triopas lived to see his grand-daughter matched to Jupiter, as certainly he well might, then Io might marry to him about seven or eight years before Jupiter's expedition into Arcadia; or if she was not grown up until some years after her grandfather's death, yet Jupiter's acquaintance with her proves very well his living in these times. 4. Minos is said to have been the son of Jupiter, born of Europa daughter of Agenor^x. This I am sensible is a false account of Minos; and therefore though it might easily be made to coincide with the times of Jupiter, as Europa is generally said to have been the sister of Cadmus; yet, as it would not be a true account of Minos's ancestors, it would be trifling to offer any thing about it. The Minos so much talked of amongst the Greeks was contemporary with Dædalus^y, and Dædalus was the son of Eupalamus^z, who had a daughter that was married to the

^o Hygin. Fab. 155. Apollod. l. ii. c. 1. §. 3.

^p See vol. ii. b. vi.

^q Apollodor. Bib. l. ii. c. 1.

^r Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 16.

^s Castor. in Euseb. Chron.

^t See vol. ii. b. viii. p. 418.

^u Vid. Castor. in Chron. Euseb. p. 27. ed. Scal. 1658.

^x Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 1. Hygin. Fab. 155.

^y Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 14. §. 5. Diodor. Sic. l. iv. c. 77.

^z Apoll. *ibid.*

second Cecrops^a, and his son Dædalus with Minos flourished about the times of Ægeus^b, who reigned at Athens from A. M. 2697 to A. M. 2745^c; so that this Minos lived about 150 years after Moses's death. The placing this Minos about these times agrees perfectly well with the accounts we have of his descendants down to the Trojan war; for he was in the third generation before that expedition; for the sons of Minos were Deucalion and Molus, and their sons Idomeneus and Meriones warred at Troy^d. Sir John Marsham very judiciously observes, from the hints of the ancient writers, that there were two Minos's; that the former was the grandfather of the latter; that length of time and the inaccuracy of writers had caused them to be both taken for but one man, and that their genealogy rightly stated would stand thus. Tectamus son of Dorus, Asterius son of Tectamus, Minos of Asterius, Lycastus of Minos, the second Minos of Lycastus, Deucalion of Minos, Idomeneus of Deucalion^e: this is the true account of this family, and according to this account the first Minos stands five generations before the Trojan war; in the same line of descent before Idomeneus who warred at Troy, as Tros king of Troy does before Hector: and this agrees with what is related of this Minos, that he stole Ganymedes from Tros his father; for not Jupiter, but this Minos, was anciently recorded to have committed that rape^f. Further; this time of Minos agrees to what the marble records, that he reigned at Apollonia, A. M. 2573^g: Hellen, who was father of Dorus^h, and therefore grandfather of Tectamus the progenitor of this family, was about Jupiter's age; for Amphictyon, who was brother of Hellenⁱ, succeeded Cranaus, and reigned at Athens in the year 2484^k, i. e. about

^a Apoll. Bibl. l. iii. c. 14. §. 5.

^b Apoll. *ibid.*

^c Cecrops began his reign in Attica A. M. 2423. See vol. ii. b. viii. Count the years of the several reigns of the Attic kings in Chronic. Euseb. down to Ægeus, and Ægeus's reign will fall in the years I have allotted to it.

^d Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 79. Homer. Il. v'. 245. β'. 650.

^e Marsham, Can. Chronic. p. 243. ed. Lond. 1672.

^f Έχεμένης γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς, οὐ τὸν Δία φησὶν ἄρπάσαι τὸν Γανυμήδην, ἀλλὰ Μίνωα. Athenæus Deipnosophist. l. xiii. p. 601. ed. Lug. 1612.

^g Marmor. Arundell. Epoch. 11.

^h Apollodor. Bibl. l. i. c. 7.

ⁱ Apollodor. *ibid.*

^k See vol. ii. b. viii.

eight years after Jupiter's being in Arcadia: now count down from Hellen to Idomeneus, who warred at Troy, and we have Hellen, Dorus, Tectamus, Asterius, Minos, Lycastus, Minos the second, Deucalion and Idomeneus, that is, nine generations from Hellen who was contemporary with Jupiter to the Trojan war. We find a generation more in the families of Thoas and of Diomedes above-mentioned, and a generation less in the family of Agathenes. In the Arcadian roll of kings we have but seven descents from Nyctimus to Agapenor; but, agreeable to this, in another line of Hellen's descendants we have exactly seven down from Hellen to Glaucus, who exchanged armour with Diomedes in the fields of Troy¹, namely, Hellen, Æolus, Sisyphus, Glaucus, Bellerophon, Hippolochus, and Glaucus^m, who commanded the Lyciansⁿ: and thus, allowing the difference arising from descents happening by the elder or the younger children, the true account of Minos's genealogy synchronizes with the descents in other families, and confirms the times of Jupiter agreeably to them. 5. Lacedæmon was son of Jupiter and Taygete daughter of Atlas^o: according to the marble, Lacedæmon reigned at Laconia about A. M. 2489^p. The marble joins Eurotas and Lacedæmon together^q; but Eurotas was really Lacedæmon's predecessor: whether the composer of the marble Chronicon apprehended his epoch something too early for the reign of Lacedæmon, and by joining Eurotas with him, intended to hint that the year he fixed on fell in Lacedæmon's, or at most in Eurotas's reign; or whether he imagined that Eurotas, at the time he mentions, took Lacedæmon into partnership of his kingdom, I cannot say: but take it either way, and the time of Lacedæmon's birth must prove Jupiter to have lived in these times. If Lacedæmon was taken partner with Eurotas in his kingdom A. M. 2489, he might be a young man when thus ad-

¹ Hom. Il. ζ'. 235.

^m Id. Il. ead. 150—205.

ⁿ Il. β'. 876.

^o Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 10. Hygin. Fab. 155. Pausan. in Laconic. c. 1.

^p Marm. Arundell. ep. viii.

^q 'Αφ' οὗ Εὐρώτας καὶ Λακεδαιμῶν
 Λακωνικῆς ἐβασίλευσαν ἐτη ΧΗΗ|Δ|ΠΓ.
 βασιλεύοντος 'Αθηνῶν 'Αμφικτύονος.
 Marmor. ibid.

mitted to reign with him, perhaps not thirty, and so might be born about A. M. 2460; and this year falls sixteen years before Jupiter's expedition to Arcadia. If the epoch rather belongs to Eurotas than to Lacedæmon's reign, Lacedæmon still must have been born about the time above mentioned, though he waited some years, and was of riper age, when Eurotas left him his kingdom^r. 6. Bacchus was son of Jupiter and of Semele, daughter of Cadmus^s: now Cadmus came to Thebes A. M. 2486^t: Cadmus did not marry Harmonia, the mother of Semele, until after he was settled there^u: Apollodorus suggests eight years to have passed before he married^x. Semele born of these parents could not be grown up for Jupiter until above twenty years after: suppose her twenty-one when Jupiter fell in love with her, and we shall fix the time of this amour to about thirty years after Cadmus came to Thebes, to A. M. 2516. Jupiter was now an old man; for his son Mars was grown up, and tried, as has been said, before the court of Areopagus, forty-three years before this time: Jupiter therefore must now have been above ninety, perhaps about ninety-five; an age, we may think, too advanced for so gay an amour. But we must recollect the length of men's lives in these ages, and consider that when Moses, who was Jupiter's contemporary, died at 120 years of age, he had not lived until either *his eye was dim*, or *his natural force abated*^y. And thus we find reason to imagine Jupiter to have been about 95 years old A. M. 2516, i. e. in the third year after the Israelites' exit out of Egypt, and consequently that he was born about A. M. 2421; that he was about fifty-two when his son Mars was tried at Athens; about fifty-five when he made his expedition into Arcadia; about forty-eight when he courted the mother of Epaphus; and about thirty-eight when he addressed Taygete, of whom was born Lacedæmon: and these particulars are all so probable in themselves, so consistent

^r — Εὐρώταν, ὅτε δὲ, οὐκ ὄντων αὐτῷ παίδων ἀρρένων, βασιλεύειν καταλείπει Λακεδαιμόνα. Pausan. in Lacon. c. 1.

^s Hygin. Fab. 155. Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 4. §. 2. Diodor. Sic. l. iv. c. 2.

^t See vol. ii. b. viii.

^u Diodor. Sic. l. iv. c. 2.

^x Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 4. §. 2.

^y Deut. xxxiv. 7.

with one another, and supported by concurrent hints from such different writers, that, instead of imagining a want of proof of the times of Jupiter, we have rather reason to be surprised that so many such reasonable and concurring intimations can be picked up, to fix with any appearance of probability, the epoch of a man, whose whole life and actions have been for ages disguised by an almost infinite heap of fable blended with them, not to mention the defects of the ancient profane history, and the thousands of years that are between us and him.

I know of nothing that can be objected to the placing Jupiter in this age, but some accounts we have in the mythological writers of persons said to be descended from him, who lived ages later. Thus Jupiter is said to be the father of Hercules, born of Alcmena wife of Amphitryon^z; of Castor and Pollux, born of Leda wife of Tyndareus^a; of Perseus, born of Danae daughter of Acrisius^b; of Æacus, the father of Telamon and Peleus^c; of Arcesius, the ancestor of Ulysses^d; and of many others: now if he really was the father of any of these persons, he must have lived about three generations only before the Trojan war: Perseus was indeed about five descents before that expedition; but the other heroes I have named were grandfathers or contemporaries with the grandfathers or fathers of the warriors at Troy. But let us observe, that the mythologists recorded many of their heroes to be descended of the gods, though other persons were their real parents: thus Autolycus was said to be the son of Mercury, when in truth Dædalion was his father^e; and this happened either, 1. when an hero had borne the name of one who had lived ages before him: in length of time the father of the former came to be reputed the father of the latter, both being taken for but one and the same man. This was the case of Hercules: there were two of that name, one indeed a son of Jupiter^f: he

^z Hyg. Fab. et al.

^a Id. *ibid.*

^b Id. *ibid.*

^c Apollod. l. iii. c. 11. §. 6. Ovid. *Metam.*

^d Ovid. *ibid.*

^e *Αὐτόλυκος—λεγόμενος δ' Ἑρμοῦ παῖς εἶναι, Δαιδαλίωνος δὲ ὄν τῷ ἀληθείᾳ λόγῳ.*

Pausan. in *Arcad.* c. 4.
^f Diodor. l. v. c. 76.

lived ages before the son of Alcmena^g; but the latter Hercules having copied after the illustrious actions of the former, in length of time both were taken for one and the same person, and the history and parentage of both ascribed to him^h; and a fable was easily invented for the wife of Amphitryon's being with child by Jupiterⁱ. Or, 2. When Jupiter, Neptune, Mercury, and the other persons ranked with them, came to be deified, princes and rulers thought it not only an honour, but good policy, and conducive to the management of their affairs, to derive their pedigree from some of them. Alexander the Great would have done it in his day^k, and reasons of state were his motives to it^l; and Arrian thought him to have as good a title to it as the more ancient heroes^m, and, if the matters were rightly considered, not to be blamed for attempting itⁿ: it raised them high in the common estimation, and they were reputed to have the greater influence, powers, and protection, the greater the god was they could derive their descent from^o. Thus Pausanias thought that he might assert, that the son of Phoroneus would never have been esteemed equal to the son of Niobe, upon a supposition that Jupiter was Niobe's son's father^p; and this was Homer's reason for Asteropæus not being able to cope with Achilles; Asteropæus was said to be the descendant of a river-god only, but Achilles's pedigree

^g Ἡρακλέα ἐκ Διδὸς γενέσθαι παμπόλλοις ἔτεσι πρότερον τοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης. Diodor. l. v. c. 76.

^h Τὸν δὲ ἐξ Ἀλκμήνης Ἡρακλέα παντελῶς νεώτερον ὄντα, καὶ ζηλωτὴν γενόμενον τῆς τοῦ παλαιοῦ προαιρέσεως, διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας τυχεῖν τε τῆς ἀθανασίας, καὶ χρόνων ἐγγενομένων, διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν δόξαι τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὰς τοῦ προτέρου πράξεις εἰς τοῦτον μεταπεσεῖν, ἀγνοούντων τῶν πολλῶν τ' ἀληθές. Id. *ibid.*

ⁱ Vid. Apoll. Bibl. l. ii. c. 4. §. 8.

^k Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. iii. c. 3. Plutarch. in Alexand. Quint. Curt. l. v.

^l Illud pene dignum risu fuit, quod Hermolaus postulat a me, ut aversarer Jovem, cujus oraculo agnoscor.—Obtulit nomen filii mihi: recipere ipsis rebus quas agimus haud alienum fuit: utinam Indi quoque Deum esse me

credant: fama enim bella constant, et sæpe etiam, quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit. Curtius, l. viii. §. 8.

^m Arrian. l. vii. p. 504. ed. 1658.

ⁿ Ὅτι δὲ εἰς θεὸν τὴν γένεσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνέφερον, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ εἶναι πλημμέλημα, εἰ μὴ καὶ σόφισμα ἦν τυχὸν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοῦ σεμνοῦ ἕνεκα. Arrian. *ibid.*

^o —χαλεπὸν τοι ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος

Παισὶν ἐριστέμεναι, Ποταμοῖο περ ἐκγεγαῶτι.

Τῷ κρείσσων μὲν Ζεὺς Ποταμῶν ἄλιμυρηέντων,

Κρείσσων δ' αὐτε Διδὸς γενεῆ, Ποταμοῖο τέτυκται.

Hom. Il. φ'. 184.

^p Ἐγὼ δὲ εἶ οἶδα, ὡς οὐκ ἐμελλεν ὁ παῖς αὐτῷ Νιόβης παιδὶ Ἴσα οἴσσεσθαι, Διδὸς τε εἶναι δοκοῦντι. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 34.

was deduced from Jupiter^q. It is easy to imagine that when these opinions were in repute, kings and governors would be fond of ennobling themselves by the divinity of their ancestors, and they might find it no hard matter to succeed in their claims, when their statesmen and officers in the highest employments might think pretences of this sort, how ill-grounded soever, yet capable of promoting the public good, by the effect they might have upon both prince and people^r: their *vates* or their oracles could secure them their title^s, or history and genealogies being but little known in these times, it was easy to insert a god at the head of a family, and there might be no necessity of going far back to do it with security, and some families were so fortunate, as to be divine this way by both parents; Ulysses's descendants shone with this double lustre^t. Or, 3. The gods were introduced into families to preserve their honour, to prevent the infamy of their ancestors coming down to posterity. Thus Tyro the daughter of Salmeoneus had two children before she married, namely, Pelias and Neleus, the father of Nestor^u: she loved to walk upon the banks of Enipeus^x; but we are not told who the gallant was she so often met there. When she came to be delivered, she took care to be in private^y, and got rid of the children in the best manner she could^z, and was afterwards reputably married^a; thus she behaved in every step like a person sensible of having exposed herself to infamy, but desirous to avoid it. Posterity derived honour to her descendants from the accident: Nep-

^q Homer. ubi sup.

^r Utile esse civitatibus, ut se viri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, ex Diis genitos esse credant: ut eo modo animus humanus, velut divinæ stirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas præsumat audacius, agat vehementius, et ob hoc impleat ipsas securitate felicitus. *Varro in Fragment.* p. 45, ed. 1619. λέγει δὴ καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀληθεία χρώμενος, ὡς ὄσων ἂν πόλεων μὴ θεός, ἀλλὰ τις ἀρχὴ θνητῶν, οὐκ ἔστι κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ πόνων ἀνάψευξις. *Plato de Legib.* l. iv. p. 830. edit. Ficini. 1602.

^s Οὐδὲ ζῶντι Ἑρακλεῖ θεῖαι τιμαὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντι, πρόσθεν ἢ πρὸς

τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιθεοπισθῆναι ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν Ἑρακλέα. *Arrian. de Expedit.* Alex. l. iv.

^t *Nam mihi Laertes Pater est, Arcesius illi,*

Jupiter huic——

Est quoque per matrem Cyllenius addita nobis

Altera nobilitas: Deus est in utroque parente. *Ovid. Metam.*

^u *Apollod. Bibl.* l. i. c. 9.

^x *Ibid.*

^y *Γενήσασα κρύφα διδύμους.* *Ibid.*

^z *Παῖδας ἐκτίθησιν*—— *Ibid.*

^a *Id. ibid.*

tune was said to have been in love with her, and in the shape of the river Enipeus to have been the father of her two children^b. Thus again, Danae, the daughter of Acrisius, played the harlot with Prætus^c; and her father, enraged at the dishonour done his family, would admit of no excuse for her misbehaviour, but exposed at sea both her and the infant^d: in after-ages a fable was sufficient to clear her character: Jupiter was said to have been the father of her child, and to have wrought a miracle to gain access to her^e. The Greeks were not historians in the early times, and when their poets and mythologists began to dip into the registries of families, it would not have been borne to have had the vices of the ancestors of the great brought into open view, especially when writers of genius could readily, from the theology then in vogue, and the fable of the age, find a reputable and secure cover for them: and one or other of these reasons may evidently be assigned for the instances to be met with of any of the reputed gods of the heathens being engaged in gallantries with the ladies of later ages, than about the times of Moses, and in particular for the several pretences of Jupiter's having descendants later than can be consistent with the time of life above supposed to belong to him.

There is, I think, one instance, which should not be entirely passed over without taking notice of it: it would place Jupiter not later, but a great deal earlier than his true age. Jupiter is said to have been the father of Argus by Niobe daughter of Phoroneus^f. This Argus succeeded Phoroneus, and was king of Argos^g, and he began to reign there 110 years after the first year of Inachus^h, i. e. A. M. 2264ⁱ, which are 169 years before the birth of Moses: so that to suppose Jupiter to be the father of this Argus, would be to place him above a century and half earlier than the times we have contended for. I might observe, that

^b Apollod. Bibl. l. i. c. 9.

^c Id. l. ii. c. 4.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid.

^f Hygin. Fab. 155.

^g Apollod. Bibl. l. ii. c. i. §. 2.

^h Vid. Castor. in Euseb. Chronic.

ⁱ For the first year of Inachus's reign was A. M. 2154. See vol. ii. b. vi.

the most exact writers took this account of Argus's descent to be rather common opinion than real fact^k: but there were two Argus's, one a king of Argos, who reigned there ages before Jupiter was born; the other was surnamed Panoptes, and lived in Jupiter's times, and Juno is said to have committed Io to his custody^l; but neither of them were descended from Jupiter: the former Argus was the son of Arestor; and hence Ovid was probably led into a mistake, to think Panoptes Argus, whom he calls Arestorides^m, the son of this parent. Arestor married Inachus's daughterⁿ, and by her had Argus, who, upon Phoroneus leaving no son^o, succeeded to his kingdom. The latter Argus was son of Agenor, the son^p, or perhaps brother, of Jasus^q: Jasus, as has been said, was father of Io, one of Jupiter's concubines; so that this Argus and Jupiter were indeed contemporaries; though Argus was not descended from him. We must expect to meet some seeming contrarieties in the genealogies of these times^r: but whoever will search may find such a concurrence in the accounts of so many different families, for the placing Jupiter where we have supposed him, and the solution is so easy of most, if not of all, that can be offered to contradict it, that if this of Argus, or any other single instance, could not be clearly refuted, yet it would not weigh against the number that agrees to it.

When Jupiter succeeded his father in his kingdom, he found his people in some measure disposed for civil life. Saturn had reduced them to some regularity, both of diet and of manners^s: rites of religious worship were instituted, and rules thought of to promote the peace of society^t. Care had been taken to form their language and their sentiments^u, and by these means a sense of duty to their gods,

^k Vid. Pausan. in Corinth. c. 22. 34.

^l Apollod. ubi sup.

^m Ovid. Metam. l. i. 624. *Arestorida servandam tradidit Argo.*

ⁿ Pausan. in Corinth. c. 16.

^o Id. c. 34.

^p Apollod. Bibl. l. ii. c. 1.

^q Pausan. in Corinth. c. 16.

^r Οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι διάφοροι τὰ πλεονα, καὶ οὐχ ἥμιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς γέ-

νεσιν εἰσί. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 53.

^s Τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ἐξ ἀγρίων διαίτης εἰς βίον ἡμερον μεταστήσαι. Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 66.

^t Μαντείας καὶ θυσίας καὶ θεσμούς τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰσηγήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν εὐνομίαν καὶ εἰρήνην καταδείξαι. Id. ibid.

^u Λογισμούς εὐρεῖν, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνομάτων θέσεις. Id. c. 67.

and a good understanding, and spirit of justice and integrity were promoted amongst them towards one another^x; and all this Saturn had done, not by rigour of power and compulsion, not by laws established with penal sanctions^y, without magistrates to enforce his dictates^z, or to execute vengeance upon, or restrain, offenders. He had trained them to a simplicity of manners, and they were led, by the influence and authority of his direction only, to pursue and practise what he dictated for the public good^a; and the great peace and quiet, ease and content, in which they lived, sensible of no wants but what they had a supply for, induced posterity to call their times the golden age^b. When Jupiter became king, he brought in a new scene of life and action: he taught his people to build houses^c; to gather corn, which till then had grown wild amongst the other fruits of the earth^d; and to preserve and use it for food, and afterwards to sow and reap it in its season^e: he introduced a sense of property, appointed magistrates to dispense justice, and directed his subjects to bring their differences and disputes before them, and to submit to their determinations^f: under his encouragement the arts of working divers sorts of metals were attempted^g, arms were invented for a soldiery,

^x Εισηγήσασθαι ἅπασι τήντε δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς ψυχῆς. Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 66.

^y Sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat,
Pœna metusque aberant; nec vincla minantia ferro
Ære ligabantur——

Ovid. Metam.

^z ——nec supplex turba timebat
Judicis ora sui, sed erunt sine
judice tuti. Id. ibid.

^a Διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐνομίας, ἀδίκημα μὲν μηδὲν ὄλως ὑπὸ μηδενὸς συντελεῖσθαι, πάντα δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τούτου τεταγμένους μακάριον βίον ἐζηκέναι, πάσης ἡδονῆς ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαύοντας. Diod. Sic. l. v. c. 66.

^b Ovid. Metam. Hesiod. Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμερ. Diodor. ubi sup.

^c Τῶν οἰκιῶν κατασκευὴν εὐρεῖν. Diod.
Tum primum subiere domos, domus untra fuerunt,
Et densi frutices, et junctæ cortice virgæ.
Ovid. Metam.

^d Diod. l. v. c. 66. In Saturn's days,
Contenti cibis nullo cogente creatis,
Arbuteos fœtus montanaque fraga
legebant,
Cornaque, et in duris hærentia
mora rubetis,
Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis
arbore glandes. Ovid.

^e Καὶ τὴν κατεργασίαν αὐτοῦ [σίτου]. καὶ φυλακὴν ἐπινοήσαι, καὶ σπείρειν καταδεῖξαι. Diodor. ubi sup.

Semina tum primum longis Cerealia sulcis
Obruta sunt.—— Ovid.

^f Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων καταδεῖξαι περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τὸ δίκαιον ἀλλήλοις διδόναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τοῦ βίᾳ τὴν πρᾶττειν ἀποστήσαι, κρίσει δὲ καὶ δικαστηρίῳ τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις διαλύειν. Diod. l. v. c. 71.

^g Λέγουσιν εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι τῆς περὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐργασίας ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ χρυσοῦν καὶ ἄργυρον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐργασίαν ἐπιδέχεται. Diodor. l. v. c. 74.

and men were trained and disciplined for war^h: shooting with the bow was much practisedⁱ, improvements were made in navigation^k, and endeavours used for the taming and managing of horses^l: rules were agreed upon for the nursing and educating of children^m, music and physic were considerably advancedⁿ, and decent rites appointed for the funerals of the dead^o: and thus, by a variety of useful designs, he was adding strength and beauty, ornament and politeness to his kingdom; for the increase of which he in the next place attempted a correspondence with foreign states, and to this end assigned to one of his sons the office of embassies, and made him his herald to proclaim peace or war, and to conduct his treaties and alliances with the neighbouring kingdoms^p. These were the arts by which Jupiter endeavoured to cultivate his people; though we must not imagine that any of them were in his days carried up to a perfection like what they were brought to in after-ages, nor that so many and such divers designs could be at once set on foot by him. The persons that are recorded to have been assistant to him, and to have presided in their respective provinces over the designs committed to their management, were Neptune and Pluto his brothers, Juno his wife, Vesta and Ceres his sisters, Vulcan, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, Diana, and Minerva, his children^q, and afterwards Bacchus became the author of inventions, which caused his name to be added to them^r. Jupiter must have been of years of maturity, before he could be ripe for the

^h Πρῶτον κατασκευάσαι πανοπλίαν, καὶ στρατιώτας καθοπλίσαι, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐναγώνιον ἐνέργειαν εἰσηγήσασθαι. Diodor. l. v. c. 74.

ⁱ Εὐρέτην δὲ καὶ τοῦτόξου γενόμενον διδάξαι τοὺς ἐγγχωρίους τὰ περὶ τὴν τοξείαν. Id. ibid. c. 69.

^k Πρῶτον χρήσασθαι ταῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίαις. Id.

^l Προσάπτουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἵππους δαμάσαι πρῶτον. Ibid.

^m Εὐρεῖν τὴν τῶν νηπίων παιδίων θεραπείαν. c. 73.

ⁿ Τῆς κιθάρας εὐρέτην ἀναγορεύουσι, καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν μουσικῆς: ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐξενεγκεῖν. c. 74.

^o Λέγεται τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς καὶ τιμὰς τῶν θενεώτων καταδείξαι, τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον, μηδεμίαν οὐσῆς ἐπιμελείας περὶ αὐτοῦς. Ibid.

^p Τῷ καὶ προσάπτουσι τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γινόμενας ἐπικηρυκείας καὶ διαλλαγὰς καὶ σπονδὰς. Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 75.

^q Id. c. 69, 70, &c.

^r Διόνυσον δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν εὐρέτην γενέσθαι τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τῆς περὶ ταυτὴν ἐργασίας, ἔτι δὲ οἰνοποιίας, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὄπώρας καρπῶν ἀποθησαυρίζειν, καὶ τὰς χρεῖας, καὶ τὰς τροφὰς παρέχεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον. Id. c. 75.

forming such a kingdom as he projected, and consequently his children must be grown up for the employments he designed them; and we must imagine him not to have assigned them their provinces, and consequently the arts, which they were the directors of, not to have been remarkably advanced, until they were of age to cultivate and conduct them; and, if we examine, we may find that a due time for all these particulars may be very well pointed out in the term of Jupiter's life, as we have above settled it. Pluto, one of Jupiter's brothers, was appointed not only to direct what rites and ceremonies should be used at funerals, but also to declare what honours should be paid to persons deceased^s, in order to convey their names, according to their deserts, down to posterity. And as Jupiter took care himself to settle the measure of his own fame^t, and of the illustrious^u persons engaged with him in the execution of his designs, as well as to determine what sort of honours should be decreed to those who should come after them^x, it might well happen that Jupiter and his associates should come down to after-ages in a degree of honour higher than what any that lived after them could attain to, or than what would be given to any of his ancestors or other contemporaries, he having thus settled both his own and their fame in such manner and measure, as he and the person under his direction thought fit to record it. And from hence it might happen, that when the ancient Greek heroes came to be reputed gods, twelve only attained the highest honours. They had their one common altar at Athens^y, and it was usual to swear by them^z; the Romans called them the *Di consentes*^a, which word is supposed to mean the same as *consentientes*, and to intimate, that these gods consulted and agreed together about what was to be done; and so, as has

^s Λέγεται τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καταδειξαι. Diod. lib. v. c. 69.

^t Vid. Diodor. c. 69.

^u Eund. ibid.

^x Τὸν οὖν Δία, λέγεται, τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν τε θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων, ἔτι δὲ ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἀξίας ἀπονεῖμαι τιμὰς, &c. Diodor. c. 71.

^y Περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν. Plut. in Nicia, p. 531. ed. Xyl. 1624.

^z Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς. Aristoph.

^a Et quoniam (ut aiunt) Dei facientes adjuvant, prius invocabo eos: nec ut Homerus et Ennius, Musas, sed xii Deos consentes. Varro de Re Rustica, l. i. c. 1.

been hinted, the twelve Cretan worthies did about their public institutions. The Cretan worthies above mentioned were six men and six women, and thus the *Dî consentes* were generally distinguished, as Varro suggests to us^b. Ennius has put the names of the twelve *Dî consentes* into the following distich,

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

And these are the very names of the twelve illustrious persons, by whose joint endeavours the ancient Cretan^c polity was formed. They were enrolled with and subordinate to Jupiter their president, in the roll of fame, settled for him and them in the age they lived in; and hence it came to pass, that when he in after-ages came to have divine honours paid to him, they also, next to him, were revered above other deities.

We must not imagine that Jupiter found a ready and universal concurrence of all the Cretans to submit to his institutions: undoubtedly he met with many oppositions, though in time he surmounted all: this, I think, we may well imagine, from the character of his times handed down to us. He was at the head of but the silver age^d: the commotions that were in his days gave the poets a pretence to paint in the best of colours the great peace of his father's reign, when wars and fightings^e were not heard of, and to say of Jupiter's times, *that the former days were better*, though they did not judge *wisely concerning this matter*^f. After-ages felt still greater troubles; so that Jupiter's times were happier than what followed^g, though they were not thought to be without alloy: the ancient writers hint to us,

^b —Eos urbanos, quorum imagines ad forum auratæ stant, sex mares et fœminæ totidem. *Id. ibid.*

^c For Juno is the person whom Diodorus calls Εἰλείθνια or *Lucina*. Εἰλείθνια δὲ λαβεῖν τὴν περὶ τὰς τικτούσας ἐπιμέλειαν. Diodor. c. 73. *Juno Lucina, fer opem.* Ter. in *Andria*, Act. iii. Scen. 1.

^d *Sub Jove mundus erat, subiitque argentea proles.* Ovid. *Metam.*

^e In Saturn's reign,

Non tuba directi, non æris cornua flexi,

Non galeæ, non ensis erat, sine militis usu

Mollia securæ peragebant otia gentes. Ovid. *Metam.*

^f Eccles. vii. 10.

^g Though Jupiter's age was thought to be *auro deterior*, yet it was *fulvo pretiosior ære.* Ovid. *ubi sup.*

that many of the descendants of his ancestors lived under his government, or were in alliance with him. The Curetes, who were descended from his grandfather's brother^h, lived with their families in his kingdom: their dwellings were in the groves and shady valleys: they were shepherds and managers of cattleⁱ: he had part of his education among them^k, and we may suppose them well affected to him, and ready to support him with all their influence and strength in executing the designs, for which they in some measure had perhaps formed him^l. The Centimani lived, as I have observed, in Tartarus^m: they were in alliance with Jupiter; for he sent his captives in war to them, and they sent him outⁿ of their dominions such persons as he might want, or could be of service to him. The Cyclopes were his artificers, and made him armour, and instruments of war, for his soldiery^o. The only considerable families that opposed him were the Titanes, who were brothers of his father Saturn^p, and their dependants, and the children of Ops, who were the giants of their age and country^q: with the Titanes, we are told, he had a ten years war^r; but that at length he took them prisoners, and sent them to Tartarus^s. Diodorus Siculus gives an excellent character of these men^t, and Homer feigns them to have become the gods of the country^u into which they were thus sent as captives. Pausanias indeed remarks, that Homer was the first that said this of them^x: but probably he might be led to it by some opinion of their having been useful persons in the place they

^h Diodor. l. iii. c. 61.

ⁱ Id. l. v. c. 65.

^k Id. c. 70. Apollod. Bibl. l. i. c. 1.

§. 3.

^l The pastoral life was in high esteem in the early times, and it was thought not foreign to the education of a prince for him to be in some measure acquainted with the arts of it. Xenophon says, Παραπλήσια έργα είναι νομέως αγαθού και βασιλέως αγαθού. τότε γάρ νομέα χρήναι, ἔφη, εὐδαίμονα τὰ κτήνη ποιούντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, τότε βασιλέα ὡσαύτως εὐδαίμονα πόλεις και ἀνθρώπους ποιούντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. Xenoph. de Institut. Cyri, l. viii.

^m Vid. que sup.

ⁿ Apoll. l. i. c. 2.

^o Ibid.

^p Diodor. l. v. c. 66. Apoll. l. i.

^q Apoll. l. i. c. 6.

^r Apoll. l. i. c. 2.

^s Ibid.

^t —ὃν ἕκαστον τινῶν εὐρετὴν γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, και διὰ τὴν εἰς ἅπαντας εὐεργεσίαν τυχεῖν τιμῶν και μνήμης ἀενάου. Diodor. l. v. c. 66.

^u —Θεοὺς δ' ἠνόμησεν ἅπαντας

Τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους, οἱ Τιτῆνες καλέονται. Il. ξ'. 279.

^x Τιτῆνας δὲ πρῶτος ἐς ποιήσιν ἐσήγαγεν Ὀμηρος, θεοὺς εἶναι σφᾶς ὑπὸ τῷ καλουμένῳ Ταρτάρῳ. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 37.

lived in, agreeable to what Diodorus afterwards thought of them. When the Titanes were no longer able to head the opposition, Jupiter soon composed matters with their children: he married several of their daughters; and their sons removed out of Crete, and planted kingdoms in other lands. With the giants Jupiter had several engagements: these men would not be tied down to any social laws; they took for their subsistence what the earth afforded, wherever they could find it; and the improvements made in Jupiter's dominions invited them to frequent incursions, to plunder the inhabitants. They would come under no direction of Jupiter's appointments for the preservation of property; but took away from those, who lived near their dwellings, whatever they had a mind to^y; so that there could be no public safety, until a stop could be put to this licentiousness, which in a little time was effected by the deaths of these men, who were all slain by Jupiter and his associates^z.

When Jupiter had settled his affairs in Crete, he and his worthies obtained themselves great fame in foreign lands: Diodorus says, they travelled over almost all the world^a; but their visiting the cities and states of Greece was enough to cause this report of them: there were several kingdoms growing up in these countries at this time; but the political arts were here but in their infancy, and so great a master of them as Jupiter, from what has been said of him, must appear to have been, may very well be supposed to be capable of instructing others in many points conducive to their public welfare: he and his agents were at all times ready to assist, with their persons or advice, any kingdom that thought fit to apply to them, and they always acquitted themselves so honourably, to the several states that had made them application, and were so signally useful and beneficial to them, that a great sense of the good they had done went down to posterity; and in after-ages, when they were deified,

^y Σώματος ὑπεροχῆς καὶ βόμῃς πεποιθότας, καταδουλοῦσθαι μὲν πλησιοχώρους, ἀπειθεῖν δὲ τοῦ δικαίου τιθεμένοις νόμοις. Diod. l. v. c. 71.

^z Apollod. Biblioth. l. i. c. 6.

^a Ἐπελθεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην σχεδὸν ἅπαν. Diodor. l. v. c. 71.

each city took for its tutelar divinity some one of these Cretans, him or her, to whom their ancestors had been obliged in this manner. And this is what Apollodorus suggests to us: he says, the gods chose their cities, in which each was to have their particular honours^b; and thus Minerva became the deity of the Athenians^c, Juno of Samos^d, and others of them the gods of other cities. I would observe, that the time, which Apollodorus fixes for this choice of their favourite cities, suits exactly with the age in which we place Jupiter: he says it was in the days of Cecrops^e, probably a little before his death, about A. M. 2472^f. Neptune and Minerva went at this time to Attica; but they differed when they came there in their advice to the Athenians: Neptune thought their situation ought to direct them to sea affairs; Minerva was for having them lay the foundation of their prosperity upon other arts. We are told that Neptune and Minerva were so warm in this contest, that Jupiter came over to decide it^g; and that Minerva's advice was at length agreed to be taken, and thus Athens came to be reputed to be her city^h. Mars at this time was probably amongst other attendants upon Jupiter, as Halirrothius, the son of Neptune, might come with his father: Agraulos, one of the daughters of Cecrops, was given to Mars to be his wife, and Halirrothius attempted to force her, upon which Mars killed himⁱ, and this was the crime for which Mars was tried in the court of Areopagus A. M. 2473^k; and thus, as to time, the several hints we have of the lives and actions of these men do perfectly well agree to what is above fixed for the epoch of them.

About the year of the world 2476, Jupiter, as has been before hinted, made an expedition into Arcadia: Lycaon was king there, a prince of some fame, and surrounded with

^b Ἐδοξε τοῖς θεοῖς πόλεις καταλαβέσθαι, ἐν αἷς ἔμελλον ἔχειν τιμὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστος. Apollod. l. iii. c. 13.

^c Id. *ibid.* Plutarch. Sympos. l. ix. Qu. 6.

^d Plutarch. *ibid.*

^e Apoll. *ubi sup.*

^f Cecrops died A. M. 2473. See vol. ii. b. viii.

^g Apollod. *ubi sup.*

^h Id. *ibid.*

ⁱ Id. *ibid.*

^k Id. *ibid.* Marm. Arundell. Ep. iii. See vol. ii. b. viii.

a numerous offspring^l, but of most savage manners : he shed human blood at his sacrifices^m. He received Jupiter with an appearance of hospitality, but at the entertainment the body of a child was served up to the tableⁿ : Jupiter, moved at the sight of such a preparation, with the help of his attendants attacked Lycaon^o. Lycaon is said to have been turned into a wolf^p; and some learned writers have imagined that a frantic madness seized him, and that he died of a distemper that might countenance this fiction^q: I should rather think that he fell by the hand of Jupiter^r, and that the fable of his being turned into a wolf was invented ages after his death. By an hint we have in Pausanias, it looks as if the Arcadians did not leave off their barbarous custom of eating human flesh at the death of Lycaon; for he tells us of a man, some years after Lycaon, who was turned into a wolf for ten years, upon his partaking of a banquet of human flesh; and adds, that if in that ten years he had not entirely abstained from such food, he must have continued a wolf all his life after^s. Plato treats the representation of this person being turned into a wolf as a fable, and moralizes it to express his having been a tyrant, such an one being indeed as a wolf to his people^t. In length of time the Arcadians extinguished from amongst their people the savage appetite above mentioned; and perhaps the method by which they reformed them was by an annual commemoration of the benefits they had received from the hands of Jupiter. In after-ages they erected an altar to him by the name of Lycæus, and instituted the Lupercalia to his honour; and when they performed the services appointed at this solemnity, perhaps the barbarities of Lycaon, and of some other person, who was afterwards for ten years not unlike him, might be recited to the people in such a manner, as to oc-

^l Pausan. in Arcadicis. Apollod. Bibl. l. iii. c. 8.

^m *Ibid.* *ibid.*

ⁿ Pausan. in Arcad. Apol. *ibid.*

^o Apollod. *ubi sup.*

^p Pausan. *ubi sup.*

^q The learned writers who were of this opinion are cited by the present

lord bishop of Durham, in his most excellent Vindication of his Defence of Christianity, p. 25.

^r *Vid.* Apollod.

^s Pausan. in Arcadicis, c. 2.

^t Plato de *Repub.* l. viii. p. 724. ed. Francof. 1602.

casation the fable that was told afterwards of both of them. Pausanias, as well as Apollodorus, imagined Jupiter to have really been a deity at the time of these transactions^u: Pausanias supposes Lycaon himself to have at this time been a worshipper of Jupiter; that he had dedicated the altar, and instituted the Lupercalia^x: but the marble suggests a more probable time for the rise both of the games and altar; namely, in the reign of Pandion the son of the second Cecrops, who was king of Athens above 200 years after the times of Lycaon^y. Pausanias and Apollodorus had neither of them formed a true judgment of the progress of the heathen idolatries, nor were they apprised that the Greeks did not worship hero-gods in these ages; but that the elements and lights of heaven were at this time the objects of their devotion^z. Jupiter himself paid his worship to these gods: he offered his sacrifices to the sun, to the heaven, and to the earth^a; so that it must be impossible, that, whilst Jupiter was alive, and known to be but a mortal man, and was himself a worshipper of divinities of a superior nature, any king or people whatever could imagine him a god, and erect altars and offer sacrifices to him. We cannot at this distance of time form any certain judgment of the then state of the Arcadians: but from the stay Jupiter made in this country, from the appearing good understanding between him and Lycaon's children, and from the honour which the Arcadians paid to his memory in after-ages, we may justly imagine, that Lycaon's cruelties had made both his children and subjects weary of him; that they were all ripe for a revolt, and that Jupiter found it no hard matter to deliver his subjects out of his hand, and to settle their affairs to their universal satisfaction. Apollodorus indeed reports all the sons of Lycaon, except Nyctimus, to have been killed by Jupiter^b; but from Pausanias this appears not to have

^u Pausan. in Arcadic. Apollod. Bibl.

l. iii. c. 8.

^x Ibid.

^y Marmor. Arundell. Ep. xviii.

^z Φαίνονται μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους θεοὺς ἡγείσθαι, ὥσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν

βαρβάρων, ἥλιον, καὶ σελήνην, καὶ γῆν, καὶ ἄστρα, καὶ οὐρανόν. Plat. in Cratylō.

^a Πρὸς δὲ τῆς μάχης πρὸς τοὺς γίγαντας τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ, λέγεται τὸν Δία θῦσαι ἥλιον καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν. Diodor. l. i. c. 71.

^b Apollod. ubi sup.

been fact; for after Lycaon's death they separated into divers parts of the country, and built each his city, except Œnotrus, who went away with a colony into Italy^c. Nyctimus succeeded Lycaon in his kingdom^d, and Jupiter stayed some time with him, and probably assisted him in the settling his affairs, and during his stay courted Callistho, sister of Nyctimus^e, of whom was born Arcas, who, at the death of Nyctimus, was made king of Arcadia^f.

Jupiter and his whole family were at Thebes in Bœotia at the wedding of Cadmus^g. Jupiter then gave Harmonia to Cadmus to be his wife; for Harmonia was not the daughter of Mars and Venus, as many of the ancient writers suggest^h; but the daughter of Jupiter and sister of Dardanusⁱ. Cadmus married about eight years after he came to Thebes^k; so that his wedding was celebrated about A. M. 2494, and in this year therefore Jupiter and his Cretan worthies made him this visit. About one or two and twenty years after, when Semele, who was born of this marriage, was grown up, Jupiter came to Thebes again, and grew enamoured of Semele: the mythologists say of Semele, that she wished to find Jupiter's embraces such as Juno had experienced them^l: Semele was very young when Jupiter addressed her; but Jupiter was above ninety years old^m: Semele might not be fond of the disparity of his years; but would have liked him better if he had been no older than when he married Juno: however, she was with child by him, and probably died of hard labour at the birth of Bacchus; and her being thus lost, and the child preserved, added to some such story, as I have suggested, about the difference between her age and Jupiter's, was ground enough for the mythologists to invent all they offer about the death of Semele and the birth of the Grecian Bacchusⁿ.

^c Pausan. in Arcad.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid.

^f Pausan. et Apollod.

^g Apollod. l. iii. c. 4.

^h Apollod. l. iii. c. 4. §. 2. Pausan.

in Bœotic. c. 5. Hygin. Fab. 148.

ⁱ Vid. Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 48.

^k Vid. Apollod. l. iii. c. 4.

^l Vid. Diodor. Sic. l. iii. c. 64.

— *Qualem Saturnia, dixit,*

Te solet amplecti, Veneris cum

fœdus initis,

Da mihi te talem — Ovid. Met.

^m Vid. quæ sup.

ⁿ Diodor. ubi sup. Ovid. Metam.

We are not told how long Jupiter lived, nor who succeeded him in his Cretan dominions; and I am apt to imagine that when he died, no one person became king of the whole island. The brazen age came next after the silver times of Jupiter^o; an age of great wars and commotions in the then known world^p. Colonies about this time marched from many countries to find settlements; and Crete seems to have been invaded by some of them^q, and not to have been united again under one head until the days of Minos^r: and the unsettled state the island might come into by this new scene, might occasion a failure of its history as to the deaths of Jupiter, and the illustrious persons who had acted with him; though the records of their great exploits settled before their deaths might come down to all posterity. After-ages took Jupiter for a god, nay, for the supreme God of both heaven and earth^s; and when these notions of him took place, whatever memoirs there might have been found of his having once been a mere man, would of course be disregarded, and in time lost. The Cretans pretended, that they had in their country the tomb of Jupiter^t; but Callimachus thought the divinity of Jupiter to be a sufficient confutation of all they had to offer about it: he says,

Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύδονται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ᾧ ἄνα, σείο
Κρήτες ἐτεκμήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάβες, ἔσσι γὰρ αἰεὶ^u.

Whether the Cretans had really such a monument as was pretended, or whether what the Scholiast writes was the fact, we cannot say: the Scholiast upon Callimachus remarks, that the inscription of the monument was originally ΜΙΝΩΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ, i. e. *The tomb of Minos son of Jupiter*; that length of time had worn out the word ΜΙΝΩΟΣ, so that the remaining part was only ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ, or what we in English should render, *The tomb of Jupiter*, and that the unobserving reader, not taking notice of the word which time had defaced, took it for Jupiter's

^o Hesiod. *Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμέρ.* lib. i.

^p Ibid.

^q Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 80.

^r Ibid.

^s Vid. Hesiod. Homer. et al.

^t Cretensem, Saturni filium, cujus in illa insula sepulchrum ostenditur. *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* l. iii. c. 21.

^u Callimach. Hymn. i. in Jovem, v. 8.

sepulchre, when it was only Minos's, who had the honour to be thought to be descended from him^x.

If we consider Jupiter's politics, we must allow him to have been a man of as great natural wisdom and sagacity, as perhaps any age ever produced: his father Saturn had taken some steps towards civilizing the people: in Saturn's days, the forming a language and introducing a method of reasoning was made a science^y, and undoubtedly a rational foundation might be thus laid for government and society: good maxims^z might be agreed upon for a right way of thinking; or, in other words, good principles instilled, and an uninformed populace led insensibly to sentiments conducive to peace and good order: but all the happiness that might this way be promoted, would not, without further methods to establish and support it, have been either of a large extent or a long continuance. When Saturn opened to his people the prospects of the golden age, the scene was new, and it was a scene of plenty without trouble, and I can apprehend no great difficulty there could be, to lead men to like it; he reduced them from a savage to an human diet^a,

Sylvestres homines——

Cædibus et fœdo victu deterruit^b.——

He persuaded them not to eat and devour one another; but to live in peace and security, and enjoy the plenty, which, from the living creatures^c, and the natural fruits of the earth, their island would afford in abundance for all of them: but this happiness must have had an end. As their num-

^x Vid. Marsham. Can. Chronic. p. 243. Lond. 1672.

^y Φασί Μνημοσύνην λογισμὸν εὐρεῖν, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεις ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἡμερῶν τάξαι. Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 67.

^z Αἱ γὰρ ἄμεσοι προτάσεις ἀρχαί. Aristot. Analyt. post.

^a Ἀνθρώπους ἐξ ἀγρίου διαίτης εἰς βίον ἡμερῶν μεταστήσαι. Diodor. c. 66.

^b Horat. de lib. Arte Poetic.

^c The poets imagine that men eat no flesh in their golden age. Thus Ovid,

*At vetus illa ætas, cui fecimus aurea nomen,
Fætibus arboreis, et quas humus educat herbis
Fortunata fuit, nec polluit ora cruore.* Metam.

But I should imagine that this was not true of the days of Saturn: the heathen writers found memoirs of men's having anciently lived on a vegetable diet, and for want of true history they affirmed of many subsequent ages, what perhaps was fact only until the days of Noah.

bers increased, their flocks and herds not duly managed would have failed; the natural produce of the isle, not improved by tillage, would have been eat up, and *the land* in time would not have been sufficient *to bear them*. This was what Jupiter had to provide against, and in order to it he settled property, introduced arts, brought his people to be willing to quit the ease and inactivity of Saturn's halcyon-days, and to engage in a variety of cares and labours each in his own province, that improvements might be made, a plenty produced of all the conveniences of life, and a due course settled for their circulating in a proper method to all sorts and ranks of men; and this was a scene of life, which, though reason would clearly point to, yet argument alone would not have been able to maintain against opposers. We find, that, when the limitations of property were introduced into society, the ἀσεβείς and the λησται^d, men, that would not be tied down to them, appeared in every country: these men would have argued themselves to have had *natural rights* to the *common life*, and all Saturn's art of reasoning and persuading might not have prevailed upon them to depart from it. But Jupiter had a genius for business as well as for speculation, and knew how both to project what was proper to be agreed upon, and to give his schemes a full effect amongst the people; and in order hereto, 1. He married the lady, who had the province of forming the reasonings of the Cretans^e; and this undoubtedly was a wise step; for hereby he secured himself, that nothing should proceed from her art to oppose or contradict him; rather he became able to dispose all her influence and art to promote the purposes which he intended. 2. In the next place he gathered a soldiery, and disciplined them for war^f. He provided himself a power, to give weight to his directions, to protect all that would come into them, and to discourage and suppress those that might oppose him. But, 3. he did not exercise this power so as to render himself odious, but rather he gained the

^d Diodor. Sic. l. v.

l. i. c. 3. Hesiod. θεογον.

^e Diodor. l. v. c. 68. Apollod. Bibl.^f Diodor. c. 74.

affections of his people by his use of it: he appointed magistrates, and communicated a share of his authority, and this in a manner so popular, that though he was the first that appears in this country to have had any true power to govern, yet he obtained the character of an opposer of tyranny, and was thought not to advance the prerogative of kings, but to be a promoter of the liberties of the people^f. 4. Jupiter appointed his wife Juno and his children to teach the several arts and sciences that were necessary for the improvement of his people; and Diodorus Siculus has recounted to us the several provinces that belonged to each of them^g. 5. His brother Neptune had the care of his navy^h. 6. Pluto had the province of determining what ceremonies should be used at funerals, what honours should be decreed to dead persons, who had deserved well of the publicⁱ; so that hereby all were excited to endeavour to promote the public welfare, and by rewards of the greatest influence over the most active spirits^k, and the most likely to raise an emulation to support the government^l, rather than to be a means to enable any to weaken and undermine it. 7. He diligently watched over and severely punished every attempt that might be made by any private man, to disengage his people from a strict adherence to the public institutions, and therefore made an example of the unhappy Prometheus, who ventured to teach men the arts he was master of, without having obtained a public appointment for his teaching them.

I am sensible that the mythologists have so disguised the story of Prometheus, by their manner of telling it, that it may be thought impossible to ascertain what was in fact either his crime or his punishment. But let us examine, and

^f Ἐπελθεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην σχεδὸν ἅπασαν—ισότητα καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν εἰσηγούμενον. Diodor. l. v. c. 71. Κρόνου δὲ γενόμενον υἱὸν Δία τὸν ἐναντίον τῆ πατρὶ βίον ζηλωσαι, καὶ παρεχόμενον ἑαυτὸν πᾶσιν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ φιλόφρωνον, &c. Diodor. l. iii. c. 61.

^g Diodor. l. v.

^h Ibid. c. 69.

ⁱ Τὸν δὲ Ἄδην λέγεται τιμᾶς τῶν τε-

θνεώτων καταδείξει. Ibid. Τὸν οὖν Δία λέγουσι μὴ μόνον ἄρδην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηροὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἀξίας ἀπονεύμαι τιμᾶς. c. 71.

^k Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις φαίνονται βουσημάτων βίον προαιρούμενοι.—οἱ δὲ χαριέντες καὶ πρακτικοὶ τιμῆν. Aristot. de Morib. l. i. c. 3.

^l Vid. Polyb. Hist. l. vi. c. 4.

then judge of what they say about it. Hyginus relates, that before Prometheus, men were wont to ask for fire from heaven, and did not know how to keep it from going out when they had it; that Prometheus brought it down to the earth on a *ferula*^m, and taught men to preserve it in ashes; that Mercury hereupon at the command of Jupiter nailed him down to Caucasus, and set an eagle to eat his heart, which grew by night as the eagle eat it by day; that after thirty yearsⁿ Hercules killed the eagle, and set Prometheus at liberty. Thus Hyginus relates the fable of Prometheus^o: he has enlarged it, in some circumstances, in his astronomy^p. According to this account, the teaching men how to kindle fire seems to have been what Prometheus was famous for, and this opinion may seem to be countenanced by an hint of Diodorus Siculus^q; by the account we have in Pausanias of an altar erected in the academy at Athens^r; and by what Plato said of Prometheus^s. But I cannot think this was the fact; for, 1. The ancient Greek mythologists, and those who copied from them, tell the story quite another way^t: their accounts are, that he made men, and animated them with fire. 2. The supposed fact, upon which Hyginus's fable depends, was not true, for it was not Prometheus, but Phoroneus, who first taught the Greeks to kindle fire^u. 3. The altar at Athens, mentioned by Pausanias, was either of no note, very modern, or more probably what was said of it in Pausanias's time relating to Prometheus was not true; for Lucian is express, that Prome-

^m The commentators upon the Greek poets seem to have thought the *νάρθηξ*, or *ferula*, a sort of tinder-box, *ἐστὶ γὰρ πυρὸς ὄντως φυλακτικὸς ὁ νάρθηξ, ἥτις ἔχων μαλακότητα καὶ τρέφειν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ μὴ ἀποσβεννῦναι δυναμένην*. Procl. ad Hesiod. "Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμερ. and perhaps Hyginus was of this opinion. He says, that Prometheus, after he had got the fire, *letus volare non currere videretur, ferulam jactans ne spiritus interclusus vaporis extingueret in angustia lumen*. Poetic. Astronom. c. xv.

ⁿ In another place he says 30000 years. Astronom. c. xv.

^o Hyg. Fab. 144.

^p Poetic. Astronom. c. xv.

^q Πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δ' εὐρετὴν γενόμενον τῶν πυρῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἐκαλεῖται τὸ πῦρ. Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 67.

^r Ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως βωμὸς, καὶ θεοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιόμενας λαμπάδας. τὸ δὲ ἀγῶνισμα, ὁμοῦ τῷ δρόμῳ φυλάξαι τὴν δᾶδα ἔτι καιομένην ἐστίν. Pausan. in Attic. c. 30.

^s Πῦρ μὲν παρὰ Προμηθέως. Plato in Politic. p. 539. ed. Francof. 1602.

^t Apollodor. l. i. c. 7. Fulgentii Mythol. l. ii. c. 9. Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. v.

^u Pausan. in Corinthiac.

theus never had temple or altar any where dedicated to him^x. 4. What Plato says of Prometheus's giving men fire, was not meant in the literal sense; but in allusion to the Greek fable of his having made men^y. 5. If his teaching men how to kindle fire had been the fact committed by him, how could this have deserved punishment? Lucian's ridicule of this notion is sufficient to induce any one to think, that the ancients could never have imagined a man condemned for an invention of such use and service to mankind. And for these reasons I should think, that this account of Hyginus was not the true ancient *mythos* about Prometheus; but rather an opinion of some later fabulists, who thought they could this way find an easier solution of what was said about him. The soul of man was thought by philosophers more ancient than the Stoics to consist of fire: it was an ancient opinion, that the Hebrew word [*aish*] for man, was derived from *aesh*, which in that language signifies *fire*^z; and very probably the philosophy of the times, in which what is said of Prometheus was first recorded, led those, who framed the *mythos* of him, to say he gave fire to his men; but not in that low and vulgar sense in which some writers of later ages imagined^a. But let us see what the Greek writers say of him. They tell us, that having made men of water and earth, he gave them fire, without Jupiter's knowledge; that Jupiter for this fact ordered Vulcan to nail him down upon mount Caucasus, where an eagle for many years preyed upon his liver, until at length Hercules delivered him^b. This is their account of him: let us now examine what they could design to intimate by it. Lucian indeed tells us that the Athenians called the potters, who made earthen vessels, and hardened them with fire, Prometheus's^c; but then he owns them to be the wits that talked thus^d; and this is indeed making a

^x Vid. Lucian, in Prometheo.

^y Vid. Platon. Protag. p. 224. ed. Francof. 1602.

^z Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. xi. c. 6.

^a Nec vero Atlas sustinere cœlum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucasos—traderetur, nisi cœlestium divina co-

gnitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset, Cic. Tusc. Disput. l. v. c. 3.

^b Apollod. Bibl. l. i. c. 7.

^c Lucian, in Prometheo.

^d They were the jesters upon Prometheus's materials, the ἐπισκώπτοντες ἐς τὸν πηλόν, καὶ τὴν ἐν πυρὶ ὀπτήσιον. Ibid.

jest of, but not explaining, the ancient fables. The philosophers treated these matters in a more serious way^e: we have in Eusebius what one of them would have said upon the subject^f: Prometheus, he says, was fabulously reported to have made men, because, being a wise man, he reformed by his instructions men who were in a state of the grossest ignorance: and Plato tells us what the fire was which he stole and added to them; namely, the arts which Vulcan and Minerva taught the peoples. Science is the fire, the life of man, though none but God did ever form *man of the dust of the earth, and breathed into him the breath of life*, so as to cause *man to become a living soul*^h; yet, what is said of Prometheus, taking it in the sense we have now offered, is not inelegant; though fables and similitudes are not to be too strictly taken; nor can instructing men be absolutely said to be making and giving life to them. And now we may see how Prometheus offended Jupiter, and why Jupiter put a stop to him: Jupiter had appointed proper persons to instruct his Cretans, and, agreeably to what was the sense of Joshua, who attended upon Mosesⁱ, he thought it politically unsafe to permit any to be their teachers, but those who derived their authority from him; and therefore Prometheus, who had no such authority, was treated by him as a corrupter and seducer of the people. It is not so easy to say what the punishment was which Jupiter inflicted on him: what is told of the eagle preying upon his heart or liver is indeed a mere fable, and we have hints that lead to the rise of it: Herodotus remarks, that the Greeks had the names of almost all their gods out of Egypt^k; and Diodorus observes, that there had been men in Egypt of all the several names which the illustrious Greeks were afterwards distinguished by; Sol, Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno Vulcanus,

^e Vid. Platon. in Protag. Cic. ubi sup.

^f Προμήθευς—ὅς πλάττειν ἀνθρώπους ἐμυθέετο· σοφὸς γὰρ ὢν εἰς παιδείαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄγαν ιδιωτείας μετέπλαττεν. Euseb. in Can. Chronic. an. 332.

^g Ἄνθρωπος σοφίαν τὴν πολιτικὴν οὐκ εἶχεν—εἰς δὲ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἡφαίστου οἴκημα τὸ κοινὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐφιλοτεχνεί-

την, [Προμήθευς] λαθὼν ἐσέρχεται, καὶ κλέψας τήντε ἔμπυρον τέχνην τὴν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν τῆς Ἀθηναίων, δίδωσιν ἀνθρώπων. Plat. in Protag. p. 224. ed. Francof. 1602.

^h Gen. ii. 7.

ⁱ Num. xi. 28.

^k Herod. l. ii. c. 50.

Vesta, and Mercurius, were names that had been given to famous Egyptians^l, and thus the Egyptians had their Prometheus^m, and he was one of their kingsⁿ: in his time the river Nile was called the *Eagle*^o; and great inundations happened in his reign from the overflowing of the river, and the concern he had for his country threw him into the deepest melancholy^p. But Hercules, an Egyptian so called; (for there were three Hercules's, and the first and most ancient was an Egyptian^q;) Hercules, I say, embanked the river, retrieved the country, and hereby^r relieved the king from the grief and concern that preyed upon him; and, from what was mentioned in the Egyptian records of this fact, the Greek fabulists took occasion to say that an eagle preyed upon the heart or liver of Prometheus, until Hercules delivered him^s. And thus this part of the *mythos* was not originally intended of the Greek Prometheus; nor does it at all belong to him. However, he was bound down to mount Caucasus: I imagine Jupiter banished him to some uncultivated mountain called by that name^t, where he was

^l Diod. Sic. l. i. c. 11. We must not understand either Herodotus to mean that the Greeks took the Egyptians' words for the names of their gods, or Diodorus, that the Egyptians had called their heroes by the Greek names: the fact was this: the Greeks formed names for their gods and heroes of the same import in their language, as the Egyptian names were in the Egyptian; as *homo*, the Latin word for *man*, expresses in Latin what *Adam*, the Hebrew word, does in Hebrew, both being of a like analogy to the word, which in each language signifies *the ground*; and this is what Herodotus and Diodorus intended of the Greek and Egyptian names; viz. that, as Diodorus expresses it, *μεθερμηνεομένων αὐτῶν ὁμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν*, they were analogous to one another.

^m Diodor. *ibid.*

ⁿ Diodor. *ibid.*

^o —Διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ τὴν βίαν τοῦ κατενεχθέντος δαύματος, τὸν μὲν ποταμὸν Ἄετον ὀνομασθήναι. Diodor. l. i. c. 19.

^p Τὸν δὲ Προμηθέα, διὰ τὴν λύπην κινδυνεύειν, ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν βίον ἑκουσίως. Id. *ibid.*

^q Diodor. l. iii. c. 73.

^r Lib. i. c. 19.

^s Διὸ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι ποιητῶν τινὰς εἰς μῦθον ἀγαγεῖν τὸ πραχθὲν, ὡς Ἡρακλέους τὸν ἄετὸν ἀνηρηκότος τὸν τὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἦπαρ ἐσθίοντα. Diodor. c. 19.

^t The mountain Caucasus is generally placed by geographers between the Euxine and Caspian seas: Apollodorus calls it a mountain of Scythia; but we cannot conceive Jupiter should dispatch Prometheus to such a distance from Crete: I should rather think some mountain of Crete was called by this name. As in after-ages very distant nations received the names of their deities from this island, so they might the names of mountains, cities, and rivers also. We find the fable of Prometheus travelled all the world over. In Alexander's time, mount Caucasus, the scene of his war, was said to be in India; (see Strabo, l. xv. p. 688. ed. Par. 1620.) as before it had been placed in Asia. The fable of one age perhaps removed it from Crete into Pontus; a still later, with as much truth, might carry it thence into India.

obliged to confine himself to live, until after some years Jupiter recalled him again^u.

The hints we have in the ancient writers are too short to enable us to pretend to give a large account of the respective lives of the several persons that engaged with Jupiter in the scenes of action, that made him and them conspicuous to the age they lived in, and created them that fame which has come down to all posterity. Fable has told us many particulars of all of them; but a deal of this may be set aside, by considering what can and what cannot belong to the age they lived in. I imagine they did not all settle in Crete for their whole lives. Apollo was a great traveller, he visited divers parts of Greece, endeavouring to form all he conversed with to an orderly and social life^x. Whether he began his travels before or at the death of Jupiter, I cannot determine: he came to Athens^y, went thence to Panopæus, a city of Phocis^z, where he killed Tityus, a man of huge stature and strength^a, and who oppressed and domineered over that neighbourhood^b. From hence he went to Delphos, where Themis then lived^c: she was the oracle of that place^d, being probably a very wise woman, capable of instructing the common people in many useful arts of life. Python governed here with violence and cruelty^e, and would not have had Apollo admitted amongst his people: but Apollo prevailed against him, and killed him^f. Python was also surnamed Draco^g; and hence the fabulous writers might take occasion to invent what they offer to us of Apollo's killing the huge serpent called Python^h. Apollo seems to have lived the rest of his life chiefly at Delphos; to have formed and instructed the people here; and to have been so much respected and admired by them, that posterity afterwards fixed him a temple in this place, and supposed him

^u Apollod. l. ii. c. 4. §. 11.

^x Καθ' ὃν χρόνον τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὴν γῆν ἐπιόντα, ἡμεροῦν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἀνημέρων καρπῶν καὶ τῶν βίων. Strabo, Geog. l. ix. p. 422. ed. 1620.

^y Id. *ibid.*

^z Id. *ibid.*

^a Apoll. l. i. c. 4.

^b Τίτιον ἔχοντα τὸν τόπον, βίαιον ἀν-

δρὰ καὶ παράνομον. Strabo ubi sup.

^c Apollod. ubi sup. Strabo *ibid.*

^d Apollodor.

^e Id. *ibid.*

^f Id. *ibid.*

^g Strabo ubi sup.

^h Ovid. *Metam.* Strabo, p. 423. ed. Par. 1620.

the god that gave the oracles here, which were so much sought to in after-ages.

We read of Pluto that he left Crete, and went to Tartarus, and carried away Proserpine the daughter of Ceres with himⁱ: Ceres herself, after her travels in search of her daughter^k, settled in Attica^l, where she became so famous for the method she taught for nursing Deiphon the son of Celeus king of Eleusis, as to be said by a particular regimen to have made him immortal^m. By agreement with Pluto, her daughter Proserpine was to live with her two thirds of the year, and the other third part in Tartarus; and this occasioned the fable that Proserpine lived a third part of the year with Pluto, and the rest of her time with the gods aboveⁿ. The Arundel marble may seem to fix the time of Ceres's being in Attica something late, namely, to A. M. 2596^o, which is about 80 years after the 95th year of Jupiter^p: but Ceres was sister of Jupiter^q, and therefore can hardly be supposed to have come into Attica so many years after Jupiter must have been dead. But I would observe, that the marble epoch records that Ceres taught Triptolemus the son of Celeus to sow corn, and sent him to teach other nations. It is not likely that Triptolemus began his travels before he was two or three and thirty, and his father Celeus might be born forty years before Triptolemus: now Ceres nursed Celeus when an infant^r: let us count back from Triptolemus's travels to teach the sowing corn, to the infancy of Celeus, when Ceres came into Attica, 73 years, and we shall fix her coming into that country A. M. 2523, i. e. near the time of Jupiter's death, seven years after his 95th year; and about this time she may indeed be thought to have settled in Attica. Perhaps nothing more was intended in the marble epoch than to fix the time of Triptolemus's travels, and it seems to have fixed them agreeably enough to what might be the true time of his life, and

ⁱ Apollod. l. i. c. 5.

^k Id. *ibid.*

^l Antonin. lib. *Metamorph.* c. 2.

^m Apollod. *ubi sup.*

ⁿ Id. *ibid.*

^o Ep. xii.

^p Vid. *quæ sup.*

^q Apoll. l. i. c. 1. §. 3. Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 68.

^r Apollod. l. i. c. 5.

Ceres might be said to teach him his art, merely because at the composing the marble *epoches*, Ceres was esteemed the goddess that presided over this part of husbandry. Neptune was the great master of the seas with Jupiter and his family; and we may suppose he managed and conducted all the voyages made by any of them. Plato tells us that he settled and planted his children in the island Atlantis^s, which seems from Strabo to have been either an island near Eubœa^t, or in the Ionian sea near to Elis^u, a city of Peloponnesus. In these and the adjacent seas Neptune had exercised his skill in sailing, and in some isle of these seas we may well suppose him to have lived, when he gave over a seaman's life. Mars and Minerva were frequently at Athens, if they did not constantly live there^x: Vulcan is supposed to have gone to Lemnos^y; Ops, who was also called Rhea, removed from Crete to Phrygia, and dwelt on mount Cybelum, and became famous there^z, and the Arundel marble fixes the time of her appearing there to A. M. 2499^a, which falls towards the latter end of Jupiter's life, and very well agrees to the times we have supposed him to live in. Ops was afterwards called Cybele, from the mountain she lived in: she brought arts and sciences from Crete into these parts, and hence it came to pass, that in after-ages divine honours were paid to her in this country, though in Crete no rites were ever instituted for her worship^b. Cybele's travelling from Crete into Phrygia might occasion some places as well as persons in Phrygia to have names given them, the same that had before been the names of persons and places in Crete. Thus we read of a mount Ida^c, and of the Idæi Dactyli in both countries. Juno, Vesta, Venus, Diana, and Mercurius, were occasionally in divers parts of Greece, and celebrated in all for the arts they excelled in:

^s Plato in Critia, p. 1103. ed. Francof. 1602.

^t Strab. Geog. l. i. p. 60, 61. ed. Paris 1620.

^u Lib. vii. p. 346.

^x Apollod. l. iii. c. 4. 13.

^y Apollod. l. i. c. 3. §. 5.

^z Diod. l. iii. Strabo, l. x.

^a Epoch. x.

^b Φησι δὲ πάλιν ὁ Σικηψιος ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τὰς τῆς Ῥέας τιμὰς μὴ νομίζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐπιχωριάζειν. Strab. l. x. p. 472. ed. 1620.

^c Ἴδη γὰρ τὸ ὄρος τὸ τε Τρωϊκόν, καὶ τὸ Κρητικόν. Ibid.

and thus, although I do not find it to have ever been fact that Crete obtained an universal empire over all the states of Greece, though Aristotle thought it well situated and qualified for the acquiring such dominion^d; yet it appears that its ancient inhabitants were most signally instrumental in introducing the first rudiments of polity into many of these nations, instructing both their kings and people to know how to be useful and beneficial to one another.

^d Δοκεῖ δ' ἡ νῆσος [ἡ Κρητικὴ] καὶ καλὸν κεῖσθαι καλῶς. Aristot. de Rep. i. πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πεφυκέσθαι ii. c. 10.

THE
SACRED AND PROFANE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
CONNECTED.

BOOK XI.

WHEN the Israelites saw that Moses did not *come down* to them *out of the mount*, they were greatly surprised, and gathered about Aaron, and required him to make them a god to be carried before them^a. Aaron asked them for their ear-rings, which they forthwith brought him, and Aaron had them melted down, and a golden calf was made of them; and the people made acclamations, *This is thy god, O Israel, who brought thee up out of the land of Egypt*^b. Aaron, when he saw the image received with such applause, built an altar before it, and proclaimed a feast unto the Lord^c; and accordingly next day they met, and offered sacrifices to their idol, and celebrated their feast, and rose up

^a Exodus xxxii. 1.

^b The Hebrew expression, ver. 4. rendered by our translators, *These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt*, may at first seem to hint that the Israelites had made gods in the plural number; but the word *Elohim* is known to be often

taken as a noun singular, and the image here alluded to was but one, namely, the calf, and it was dedicated to but one God, *the Lord*; so that the words ought to have been translated in the singular number.

^c Exodus xxxii. 5.

to the games with which they were to end it^d. Moses at this time came down from the mount^e, and when he entered the camp, and saw the calf, and the people dancing before it, he was exceedingly moved, and, throwing down the two tables of the law, which he had in his hands^f, he took the idol, and melted it; then he reduced the lump of gold to powder, and mixed the powder with water, and made the children of Israel to drink it^g. After this he expostulated with Aaron, what could induce him to lead the people into so great a sin^h: Aaron made the best excuse he could; represented the perverse disposition of the people; that they would not believe they should ever see *him* more, and that he could not avoid yielding to their importunityⁱ.

The Rabbins think they can entirely excuse Aaron^k: they say that he was forced to a compliance; that the people had massacred Hur for opposing their demands, and would have killed Aaron, if he had not yielded to them. What authority they had for these assertions I cannot say; I think we nowhere read of Hur as alive after the time of this affair: but if what they offer be true, yet I cannot see that Aaron was innocent: no obstinacy of the people could have forced him without his own fault^l, and he should have been willing to die, rather than to have consented to, and been partaker of, their sins. It may perhaps be imagined that Aaron's compliance was attended with some circumstances that mitigated the fault of it, from Moses not replying to the apology he made^m, and from what is said of the people in relation to the making of the calf; that *they made the calf which Aaron made*ⁿ; as if the making of it was imputed rather to them than to him. Aaron indeed endeavours to clear himself of having had an hand in the actual making the idol: *I cast it*, says he, i. e. the gold, which they gave me, *into the fire, and there came out this calf*^o. The ex-

d Exodus xxxii. 6.

e Ver. 15.

f Ver. 19.

g Ver. 20.

h Ver. 21.

i Ver. 22—24.

k Vid. Poole's Synops. in loc.

l *Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida, &c.*

Hor. Car. l. iii. ode 3.

m Exodus xxxii. 21—24.

n Ver. 35.

o Ver. 24.

pression is somewhat obscure, and the Rabbins tell us, that Aaron only cast the gold into the fire; that the calf came out by magic art, the melted gold being formed into the shape of an idol, not by Aaron, but by some invisible agent. This was one of their fancies; but Aaron could intend no such intimation: he designed only to plead that he was not actually the maker of the image; but that other persons, and not he, were the founders of it. He represents, that they required him to make them a god; that hereupon he asked them for materials; that they brought him their gold; *then*, says he, *I cast it into the fire*, I delivered it out of my hands to the use it was designed for, into the furnace in which it was to be melted, *and there came out this calf*; i. e. I was no further concerned in what was done; the next thing I saw was the calf: what was done further was done by others, not by me: the workmen made the calf, and brought it to me. And to this account, I should think, what is related in the 4th verse of this chapter should be agreeable: we render the verse, *And he received them at their hand, and fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it a molten calf: and they said, These be thy gods, &c.* The present Hebrew text does indeed require a translation to this purpose: but if the fact was as this verse seems to represent it, surely Aaron was the person chiefly concerned in the workmanship of the image, and there could be no room for him to pretend to plead, that not himself, but other persons were the makers of it. Upon this account I am apt to suspect, that the present Hebrew text in this verse has suffered a little, through the mistake or want of care of very ancient transcribers; that Moses most probably wrote the verbs, which we translate, and *he fashioned it*, and *he made it*, not in the singular, but in the plural number, like the verb *vejao-meru*, and *they said*, which follows them. The variation of the words thus miswritten is not so considerable, but that it might easily be made, without any great inattention in writing, especially, when the first verb in the period, [*and he took them,*] being singular, might lead to it. And if we

may take the liberty to make this correction, the verse would run thus: *And he recieved [it, i. e. the gold] at their hands; and they formed it in a mould^q, and they made a molten calf: and they said, This is thy god, O Israel^r. And thus this verse would agree to what is suggested in other places, that Aaron indeed received the gold that was brought him; but that the forming it in the mould, and the making it into a calf, and proclaiming it a god, was not done by Aaron, but by others, by the workmen or artificers, and the people. But notwithstanding all this, whatever may hence be offered in mitigation of Aaron's fault, yet certainly all will be too little to prove him innocent; and agreeably hereto we find a great share of the guilt was imputed to him: *The Lord was very angry with him to have destroyed him, but that Moses prayed for him^s.**

Moses was commanded to punish the people for the wickedness they had committed: and upon finding them unarmed, and upon no guard, incapable of making opposition, he stood in the gate of the camp, and said, *Who is on the Lord's side? let him come unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him. And he said unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Put every man his sword by his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses: and there fell of the people that day about three thousand men^t.*

Our English version does not entirely come up to the Hebrew expression in the 25th verse: we render the verse, *When Moses saw that the people were naked, (for Aaron had made them naked to their shame amongst their enemies).* The metaphor is indeed easy, to say they were naked, as being

^q I should take the word *כרס* to signify here not a *graving tool*, as we render it; that is indeed its general acceptation: but it is used in a very different sense, 2 Kings chap. v. ver. 23. It there signifies a *bag*, or *little chest*, and by an easy metaphor from this use of it, it may denote a mould made to

shut up like a chest, to contain and form the metal to be poured into it.

^r The words of the text would be *ויקה מידם וייצרו אעו בחרט ויתשו עגל מסכה ויאשרו אלה אלהיך ישראל.*

^s Deut. ix. 20.

^t Exodus xxxii. 26, 27, 28.

unarmed, and the Hebrew verb *paran* is capable of being thus used; but this is not its whole signification, and it hints more than this in the place before us. The first and natural signification of the verb *paran* is, *to free* or *to set at liberty*^u: it is thus used by Moses^x: *The king of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, [taprinu æth hanam mimmanashaiv^y] let the people, or set them free from their works?* From this sense the word was easily applied to express the freedom or liberty that people had on *holy-days*, or came to signify in general *to keep holy-day*; and we find it thus used in Judges v. 2; for a true translation of that verse would be, *Praise the Lord in [or at] keeping the feasts [or holy-days] of Israel*^z. To these *the people willingly offered themselves*^a: they came [*behithnaddeb nam*]^b every one as his spirit made him willing^c, i. e. every one without compulsion, just as his inclination led him; and they behaved at them with the same freedom; for we must not imagine that the public games of any nation were at first under the regulations which time introduced; but rather they were a sort of voluntary meetings, where authority of magistrates and subjection of inferiors were laid aside; and every one headed a party, or acted his part, or took his place to see the diversion as it happened, or as his fancy led him. And in an high scene of such diversion Moses found his people, [*ci paran hua*]^d; for they were *keeping high holy-day*, and at full liberty: the expression is remarkable: it is not *ci paran*, which had been enough to express that they were at liberty, or keeping holy-day, but *ci paran hua*^e. In the Hebrew tongue the use of this pronoun *hua* has sometimes a peculiarity, which I think has not been taken notice of: ge-

^u Vid. Avenar. et al. Lexicograph. in verbo פָּרַע.

^x Exod. v. 4.

^y תַּפְּרִינוּ אֶת־הָעָם מִמַּעֲשֵׂיוֹ Heb. text.

^z The Hebrew words are
בִּפְרַע פְּרַעוֹת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
Israel in ferias feriendo in.

^a Judges v. 2.

^b Text Heb. בְּהִתְנַדְּבָ עִם.

^c This is the signification of the verb נָדַב: it is thus used Exodus xxxv. 21. 29. where the people came voluntarily to make their offerings, every one giving, without any exaction, just what his inclination led him to.

^d בְּכִפְרַע הוּא Heb. text. Exod. xxxii. 25.

^e Ibid.

nerally it signifies no more than THIS or THAT, or HE or THE *emphatically*; but it is sometimes used to denote a person's doing a thing, *of his own head*, as we say in English, or without regard to the direction of any other. Thus, in the case of Balaam, when God had allowed him to go with the messengers of Balak, if they came in the morning to call him^f, because he was more hasty than he ought to have been, and went to them, instead of staying until they should come to him^g, it was said of him, not *ci halak*, that *he went*, but *ci holek hua^h*, i. e. that *he went of his own head*, or without being called: and thus in the plural number *hem* is used in the 95th Psalm. We translate the place, *It is a people that do err in their heartsⁱ*; but the Hebrew words express more: *In his heart* had been *belibbo^k*, or *bilbabo^l*: *In their hearts* had been *bilbabam^m*, or *belibbamⁿ*: but the words here used are *lebab hem*, which suggest, that people erred in heart, *from acting of their own heads*; from pursuing their own ways, or following their own imaginations; for this was the perpetual crime of the Israelites, and this was what the Psalmist here intended, as appears by the close of the verse, *for they have not known my ways*. And thus the word *hua* is here used in the passage before us: the people [*paran hua*] were at loose hand, under no command or control: distinctions and authority were laid aside, and every one at the games was his own man, and consequently the camp must have been in no condition of being called to order and a posture of defence, if a sudden exigence had required it.

From what I have said about the use of the word *paran*, it is easy to see what the verse I am treating of expresses to us; namely, 1. that the people were upon no guard; in no posture of defence; under no direction or command of their proper officers; but were scattered up and down the plain at their games, as their fancy led them. And this the LXX. took to be the meaning of the place, and accordingly trans-

^f Numbers xxii. 20.

^g Ver. 21.

^h Ver. 22.

ⁱ Psalm xcvi. 10.

^k Psalm xiv. 1.

^l Psalm xv. 2.

^m Psalm xxviii. 3.

ⁿ Psalm lxxiv. 8.

late it, Ἰδὼν Μωϋσῆς τὸν λαὸν, ὅτι διεσκέδασται^o, i. e. *Moses seeing the people to be scattered, or dispersed*. They were in no formed body to be able to make head against an enemy; and, 2. they were free of their armour, or unarmed, naked in this sense, not clothed to defend themselves against any violence that might be offered to them^p. This was the condition in which Moses found them exposed to *their shame*^q, or in a shameful manner *amongst their enemies*: and certainly Aaron's conduct was very inconsiderate in this particular; for their enemies were not far distant. The Amalekites had not long before attacked them^r. And what might have been the fate of the whole people, if any considerable attempt had been now made, when they were so unguarded, that a small body of men, such as Moses here appointed from amongst the Levites, might *go in and out from gate to gate of the camp*^s, and without difficulty kill as many as they would of them?

Some learned writers have wandered far from what Moses intended here to hint to us, by taking the expression of the people's being naked in too strict a sense, as if the people were indeed literally so when Moses came to them. Monceius imagines that Aaron had stripped them of their clothes; but the reasons he gives for the doing it are very whimsical: he supposes that the persons who had been guilty of the idolatry had a tumour upon their groin, occasioned by their drinking of the water into which Moses had strowed the powder of the idol^t, and that Aaron had

^o Exodus xxxii. 25.

^p The word *paran*, as I have observed, primarily signifies *to free or set at liberty*; and from hence by an easy metaphor it denotes *to free ourselves from, or put off*, any dress which we had upon us. Thus (*paran rosh*) *to free the head*, is the expression for the high priest's putting off the attire he wore upon his head, Levit. xxi. 10. and likewise for women's putting off their head-dresses. Numb. v. 18. And this use of the word intimates to us whence St. Paul took an expression in his Epistle to the Corinthians. *The woman*, he says, *ought to have power on her head*: he means, *ought to be*

covered; for *to have the head free*, under no restraint, authority, power, is the Hebrew expression for being *uncovered*; and therefore *not to have the head free*, ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, 1 Cor. xi. 10. *to have power on the head*, may denote the contrary, or *to be covered*. The Apostle seems to have put an Hebrew idiom into Greek words, which, unless we consider what a like expression in Hebrew would suggest to us, do not at first sight express very clearly what he intended by them.

^q Exodus xxxii. 25.

^r Exodus xvii.

^s Exodus xxxii. 27.

^t Vid. Pol. Synops. Critic. in loc.

stripped them, either, 1. to prevent an increase of their infection; or, 2. to discover to Moses who were guilty and who were innocent; or, 3. to cause the innocent to separate from the guilty, that they might escape their punishment. But the whole of this fancy is without foundation. It is like a whim of some of the fathers, who imagined that the beards of those who drank of the water above mentioned turned yellow. Bochart mentions a version, made in the thirteenth century, wherein the 27th verse of this chapter of Exodus is thus rendered: *Slay ye every one his brother, his friend, his neighbour, even all those who have golden beards.* And the gloss upon the text adds, that *those who worshipped the calf had their beards turned into a gold colour; for the powder stuck to the hair miraculously:* and Saurin tells us, that he had a Bible printed at Antwerp in the year 1531 with this gloss in it^u. But the reader may be furnished with many fancies of this sort, if it can be worth while to search for them^x. There are indeed other writers, who contend that the Israelites were found by Moses really naked; and they endeavour to defend their opinion with a better appearance both of argument and learning. They suppose that the Israelites were dancing naked before their idol, and that the Egyptians had very ancient rites in their religious institutions, in imitation of which the Israelites might celebrate their feast with this lewd diversion. They remark, that the Egyptians had dedicated a golden calf to one of their deities^y, from whence possibly the Israelites might take their pattern, and that both Plutarch^z and Diodorus^a hint very indecent practices in the Egyptian *sacra*; and that there is a passage in Herodotus^b, which suggests them to have solemnized games, such as might lead the Israelites into the naked dance here alluded to.

^u Dissert. 53.

^x Vid. Targ. Jonath. et Hierosol.

^y Βοῦν διάχρυσον—ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς θεοῦ δεικνύουσι. Plut. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 336. ed. Xyl. 1624. We may be allowed to translate *βοῦν* here by our English word *calf*, if it be considered that Herodotus called the Egyptian Apis so: *ἔχει δὲ δ μόσχος οὗτος δ' Ἄπις*

καλεόμενος. Herod. l. iii. c. 28.

^z In lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 358. ed. 1624.

^a Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 13.

^b Τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλὰ ἀνθρώπων. τὸν δὲ [οἱ τῶν δὲ] τύπτονται, οὐ μοι ἴσῳ ἐστι λέγειν. Herodot. l. ii. c. 61.

This is the utmost that can be offered for imagining Aaron to have really stripped the people. But to all this it is easy to answer: for, 1. the passage in Herodotus does indeed seem to hint some obscenity, which the historian thought it not decent to give a full narration of^c: but we must suppose a great deal more than is hinted by him, to make it come up to the purpose for which it is cited^d. But, 2. if what we find in Herodotus could be supposed to describe such a dance as the Israelites are by these learned writers said to have practised, yet it must be remarked, that what the historian alludes to, as well as the obscene *sacra* in the *Isiaca* and *Osiria* of the Egyptians, were all of later date than the times of Moses: they were said to be the institutions of Isis^e, and they were not introduced until after the Egyptians worshipped hero-gods, and that happened not until many years after the death of Moses^f. And therefore, 3. though the heathen nations, when they had deserted that knowledge of God, which by revelation God himself *had shewed unto them*, did in time *become vain* enough in *their imaginations* to admit shocking turpitudes into their religious institutions, yet they sunk into these things by degrees, and we have no reason to think the Egyptians were thus early so far gone, as to afford a precedent in any of their sacred games for such a dance as these writers imagine: nor can I see, if they had, how Aaron can be conceived to have been so lost to all sense of decency as to have copied after such a pattern.

In order to punish the Israelites for the idolatry they had been guilty of, we are told that *all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto Moses*^g; and we cannot but think,

^c Suspicietur aliquis rem turpem et obscœnam, quam aures honestæ, vix etiam in rebus profanis nominandam audire sustineant: quum Typhon inventum Osiridis cadaver in partes xiv. divisum disjecisset, Isis perquirendo singulas reperit præter pudendam, quæ in fluvium projecta mox a Phagro et Oxyryncho piscibus devorata fuerat: illius igitur loco ad ejus similitudinem factum τὸν φαλλὸν consecravit, cui etiam nunc diem festum Ægyptii ce-

lebrant. Hæc Plutarchus. Hoc etiam phallo percuti solitos in sacris illis execrandis Ægyptios probabile est. Vid. Gronov. Not. in Herodot. l. ii. p. 111.

^d Quod opinantur aliqui, Ægyptios in his sacris saltasse nudos et nudas, ut pudenda phallo percuterentur, hoc videtur gratis dictum.

^e Plutarch. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid.

^f Vol. ii. b. viii.

^g Exodus xxxii. 26.

from the strict order that was given them^h, that they must have killed every one a man; and yet the number of all that fell that day were but about three thousandⁱ. The Levites, men and children, were above two and twenty thousand^k: the children indeed could not serve in the employment; but they were more than eight thousand of them from thirty years old to fifty^l; and if but every one of these had killed a man, there must have fallen near three times the number above mentioned. The vulgar Latin translation has the number *three and twenty thousand*; but this is a variation from the Hebrew text, for which there is no colour from any copy or other version: some learned men have indeed imagined that St. Paul suggested the same thing; but they misrepresent the design of the place they refer to^m: St. Paul intended, in the verse they cite, to give the number, not of those who were slain for this idolatry, but who died of the plague for their fornicationⁿ, *in the matter of Peor and of Cozbi*^o. There is, I confess, a difficulty in supposing that but three thousand should fall, if so many hands, as the whole tribe of Levi afforded, had took up arms against them. But the real fact seems to have been this: not the whole tribe of Levi, but only all the sons of Levi, who were amongst those unto whom Moses called, came together to this service. That the whole tribe were not engaged in it, is evident from the charge which Moses gave them: they were to *slay every man his brother*^p, and *every man his son*^q, if any so nearly related came within their reach; but this could not have been supposed, if all the Levites had taken up the sword; for then all their brethren and children would have been with them, and there could have been none at the games so nearly related as a son or a brother, to have been slain by them. But further; Moses stood in the gate of the camp^r, and called to the persons whom he employed, and the persons he called

^h Exodus xxxii. 27.

ⁱ Ver. 28.

^k Numbers iii.

^l Numbers iv. 48.

^m 1 Corinth. x. 8.

ⁿ Numbers xxv.

^o Ver. 18.

^p Exodus xxxii. 27.

^q Ver. 29.

^r Ver. 26.

to were not within the camp; for he directed them to enter the camp, *to go in and out from gate to gate of it*^s: had he called to those who were at the games, he needed not have gone to the gate of the camp; he would rather have called upon the spot where they were playing them. I should therefore think that there were numbers out of every tribe, who had retired from the camp whilst this idolatry was acting in it: unto these Moses called from the gate, and from amongst these all the Levites, to about such a number as might, in executing what he directed, kill about three thousand men, *gathered themselves together unto him*. Moses had enjoined them to take up the sword for God's service^t, and, if they desired to acquit themselves so as to be accepted by him, to be careful not to make the work they were engaged in a scene of their own private passions and partialities, but to execute the vengeance strictly and indiscriminately upon all that should happen in their way, how near and dear soever they might be to them. On the next day Moses remonstrated to the people the greatness of their sin; but promised to endeavour to intercede for them^u: God was pleased so far to admit his intercession, as to order him to prepare the people to march for Canaan^x, telling him, that he would send an angel before them to put them in possession of the land^y; but that himself would *not go up* any further *in the midst of them*^z. Upon Moses's acquainting the people herewith, they were greatly dejected^a: God hereupon appointed them a solemn humiliation to avert his displeasure^b, and Moses erected a tent without the camp, and called it the tabernacle of the congregation^c, and upon this the cloudy pillar descended,

^s Exodus xxxii. 27.

^t The commentators seem to suspect a difficulty in this place, imagining the verb מלא to be here used not in its common acceptation; but I am at a loss to find out what could lead them to any such imagination. The Hebrew text verbally translated would run thus: for *Moses said, Fill your hands* [i. e. with the sword, or take up your sword] *to day for the Lord, for each man*

is to be *against his son and his brother, that he* [God] *may give you a blessing.*

The meaning of the verse must be obvious to every reader.

^u Exodus xxxii. 30.

^x Ver. 34.

^y Exodus xxxiii. 2.

^z Ver. 3.

^a Ver. 4.

^b Ver. 5.

^c Ver. 7.

in the sight of all the people; and here the Lord talked with Moses^d, and at length promised him, that his *presence* should *go with them, and give them rest*^e.

It cannot but at first sight seem a very monstrous thing to us, that the Israelites in the midst of what God was doing for them; whilst his presence amongst them was so visible to them; whilst *the sight of his glory was like a devouring fire on the top of the mount*; I say, whilst God was thus marvellously and evidently near to them, it may be thought very strange and unaccountable, that they should so presently fall away from what had been commanded them^f, and fall into what must appear to us a most gross and senseless folly: to set up a calf; to make it a god; to pay worship to it. It is generally said that the Israelites dedicated the calf in imitation of what the Egyptians practised in their religion: this was Philo's opinion^g, and St. Stephen confirms it^h; and therefore what some have supposed, that Aaron formed the calf to represent a cherubimⁱ, is not only a mere groundless fancy, but contradicts what the sacred writer hints to us; namely, that their turning their hearts back to Egypt, their inclining to have such *sacra* as were there used, was what led them to set up this object for their worship^k. It has been argued by some, that the Israelites intended here to fall entirely into the Egyptian religion, and that the deity they made the calf to was some god of the Egyptians^l. But I think it plain that this was not the fact: the Israelites evidently designed to worship in the calf the God who had brought them out of the land of Egypt^m, and their feast was accordingly proclaimed, not to any Egyptian deity, but to *the Lord*; to *Jehovah*ⁿ; to their own God; so that their idolatry consisted not in really worshipping a false deity, but in making an image to the true and living God: and this being the fact, and this fact being

^d Exodus xxxiii. 9, 10, 11.

^e Ver. 14.

^f Exod. xx. 4.

^g Phil. Jud. de vit. Mosis, l. iii. p.

677. ed. Par. 1640.

^h Acts vii. 39, 40.

ⁱ Spencer. de Leg. Heb. l. i. c. 1.

§. 1. Witsii Ægyptiac. l. ii. c. 2.

^k Acts vii. ubi sup.

^l Spencer. ubi sup.

^m Exodus xxxii. 4.

ⁿ Ver. 5.

expressly condemned as idolatry by the Apostle^o, the papists are from hence unanswerably charged with idolatry for their image-worship, and they can in no wise justify themselves; for what they can offer, if it might be admitted, would vindicate the Israelites as well as them. It will be still said, what, if the Egyptian religion was indeed full of these senseless superstitions, is it not strange that the Israelites should be so fond of continually imitating the rites and usages of that nation? I answer; this must indeed seem strange and unaccountable, if we can imagine that they were for copying after these patterns, merely because they were Egyptian: but the fact appears in another light, if we consider that the wisdom of Egypt was in these days of the highest repute of any in the world, and that the Egyptian institutions were not at this time suspected to be absurd, unreasonable, or superstitious^p; but, on the contrary, reason and philosophy were thought incontestibly to support the practice of them^q. I cannot imagine the Israelites to have been such servile imitators of Egypt, as some learned writers are apt to represent them: we see in fact they had rejected their gods; being convinced that the God who had brought them out of the land of Egypt was the only God to be worshipped by them^r; and had they been as sensible that the calf they made was a real absurdity, they would, I dare say, not have been at all induced to make it by any knowledge or imitation of the *sacra* of the Egyptians; but, according to *the rudiments of the world* in these ages, reason was thought very clearly to dictate, that images were necessary to a lively and significant service of the Deity^s, and such a sort of image as the Israelites now used was accounted to be by nature designed for this very pur-

^o 1 Corinth. x. 7.

^p Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλογον, οὐδὲ μυθῶδες, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας (ὥσπερ ἐνιοὶ νομίζουσιν) ἐγκατεστοιχειούτο ἱερουργίας. Plutarch. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 353. ed. Par. 1624.

^q Καλῶς οἱ νόμοι τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἔταξαν, διὸ δεῖ μάλιστα πρὸς ταῦτα λόγον ἐκ φιλοσοφίας μυσταγωγῶν ἀναλαμβάντας, ὁσῶς διανοεῖσθαι τῶν λεγομένων καὶ δρω-

μένων ἕκαστον. Id. ibid. p. 378.

^r Exodus xxxii. 4, 5.

^s Plutarch. ubi sup. Antiquos simulachra Deorum confinxisse, quæ cum oculis animadvertissent, hi, qui adissent divina mysteria, possent animam mundi ac partes ejus, id est, Deos veros videre. Varro in Fragment. p. 40. ed. Franc. 1619.

poset; and the wise and the learned thought they worshipped φυσικῶς, and esteemed it a part of natural religion to dedicate these *sacra*. And thus, I should think, I might justly say of the Israelites, that in all they did in this matter *there had no temptation taken them but what is common to man*^u. It is indeed true, God had made a covenant with this people^x, and the import and design of it was to engage them to *obey his voice indeedy*, and to *walk in the ways which he should command them*^z, that they might not walk in the counsels of their own hearts^a, but that they should *trust in the Lord with their whole heart, and not lean to their own understanding*^b: this was to have been their wisdom, this their understanding, in the sight of all nations^c, if they would have bowed their hearts to adhere to it: but when or where has mankind been truly ready to pay unto God this obedience of faith? Our first parents would not be restrained by a divine command from what they thought in reason was to be desired to make them wise^d: and thus the Israelites would have images, when they thought reason and natural science to be for them, though God had said expressly, *Make no image*^e. In the same spirit and way of thinking, the learned Greeks in their day would not admit the doctrine of the cross, though attested to come from God by *the demonstration of the spirit and of power*^f, because it seemed foolishness to them^g: and I need not remark how difficult it is at this day to persuade men to have their *faith stand, not in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God*^h. *Vain man would be wise, though man be born as the wild ass's colt*ⁱ. A restless inclination to pursue what seem the dictates of human wisdom, rather than strictly to adhere to what God commands, has ever been the *πειρασμός ἀνθρώπου*^j, I might say the human foible, the seducement, which has

^t Τιμῶντας διὰ τούτων τὸ θεῖον ὡς ἐναργεστέρων ἐσώπτρων καὶ φύσει γεγονότων. Plut. ubi sup.

^u 1 Corinth. x. 13.

^x Exodus xxiv. 5—8. Deut. v. 3.

^y Exodus xix. 5. Jerem. vii. 22, 23.

^z Jerem. *ibid.*

^a Jerem. vii. 24.

^b Proverbs iii. 5.

^c Deut. iv. 6.

^d Gen. iii. 6.

^e Exodus xx. 4.

^f 1 Corinth. i. 24.

^g Ver. 23.

^h 1 Corinth. ii. 5.

ⁱ Job xi. 12.

^j 1 Corinth. x. 13.

been too apt to prevail against us. Our modern reasoners think they argue right, when they contend, that “if we find any thing in a revelation that appears contrary to our reason, no external evidence whatsoever will be sufficient to prove its divine original; but that, upon observing any thing in it so opposite to our natural light and understanding, we ought to give up such a revelation as absurd, and therefore false, whatever extrinsic proofs may be offered in support of it.” But was not this the part which the Israelites here acted? To have no images to direct their worship was, according to the then theory of human knowledge, contrary to what they called science and reason: as soon therefore as Moses was gone from them, they regarded not the commandment that had been given them. The external proof which they had of its divine authority weighed but little with them, in comparison of what they imagined reason to dictate very clearly in this matter.

Some learned writers endeavour to argue, that if the Israelites had not fallen into idolatry by setting up the calf, God would not have given them the ritual or ceremonial part of the law^k: they say, that at first God *spake not unto them, nor commanded them concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices*^l; but gave them his statutes, and shewed them his judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live by them^m; adding to these only his sabbaths, to be a sign between him and them, that they might know him to be the Lordⁿ. They observe, that the ten commandments, and the statutes which follow to the end of the 33d chapter of Exodus, do well answer to these accounts of the prophets, and were indeed such a law of moral righteousness, as *that the man which doth those things shall live by them*^o, without any further observances to recommend him unto God. But when the

^k Antequam offenderent Dominum, idolum illud erigentes, Decalogum tantum acceperunt; post idololatram vero et blasphemias, ceremonias legales multas dedit, ad nihil aliud utiles, quam ut eos remorarentur a dæmonum cultu et sacrilega superstitione gentium. *Isidor.*

Clar. Schol. in Ezek. Vid. Spencer. de Legib. Heb. l. i. c. 4. §. 4.

^l Jerem. vii. 22.

^m Ezek. xx. 11.

ⁿ Ver. 12.

^o Rom. x. 5.

^p Ezek. xx. 24.

Israelites would not walk in God's statutes, but despised his judgments^p, and had their eyes after their fathers' idols^q, that then *the ceremonial law was added because of their transgressions*^r; then God *gave them also*, or over and above what he had before commanded them, *statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*^s; namely, the positive and ritual precepts, which Moses was then directed to deliver to them. We may find this opinion at large in the work called the Apostolical Constitutions^t; and there is an appointment in the 20th chapter of Exodus, which perhaps may be thought to favour it: an altar of earth, or of rough unhewn stone, was commanded at the giving the law for all their sacrifices^u; but at the institution of the ritual injunctions a different altar was appointed, of much workmanship, and of another nature^x; which may seem to hint to us, that the observances belonging to it were not a continuation of what was at first intended, but rather an addition of new rites, like the altar they belonged to, and of a different composition. But I answer,

I. What is contended for, that God did not intend and command the ritual part of the law of Moses, before the Israelites set up the calf, is not true in fact. The 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31st chapters of Exodus shew us undeniably that the tabernacle was ordered; the utensils and furniture of it directed; the order of the Levitical priesthood was appointed; the persons designed for the offices of it were named; their vestments and rites of consecration, the altars, and the daily offerings were prescribed; in a word, the foundation and frame of the whole Jewish law was laid and formed by the immediate designation of

^q Ezek. xx. 24.

^r Gal. iii. 19.

^s Ezek. xx. 25.

^t Δέδωκεν νόμον ἀπλοῦν εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ φυσικοῦ, καθαρὸν, σωτήριον, ἄγιον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα ἐγκατέθετο, τέλειον, ἀνελλιπέη, δέκα λογίων πλήρη, ἁμωμον, ἐπιστρέφοντα ψυχὰς—Νόμος δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ δεκάλογος, ἣν πρὸ τοῦ τὸν λαὸν μοσχοποιῆσαι—θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἐνομοθέτησεν ἀκουστικῆ φωνῇ, οὗτος δὲ δίκαιός ἐστι, διὸ καὶ νόμος λέγεται διὰ τὸ φύσει δικάϊας τὰς

κρίσεις ποιῆσθαι. Const. Apost. l. vi. c. 19, 20. ed. Whist. 1711. 'Ὅποτε δὲ οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου ἀμνήμονες ὑπῆρξαν, καὶ μόσχον ἀντὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπεκαλέσαντο—τότε ὄργισθεις ὁ Θεὸς ἐδησεν αὐτοὺς δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις, στιβάσει φορτισμοῦ, καὶ σκληρότητι κλοιοῦ. Ibid. —ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸς—τὰ ἐπέισακτα περιείλεν. c. 22. οὐκ ἀνελὼν τὸν φυσικὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ παύσας τὰ διὰ τῆς δευτερώσεως ἐπέισακτα. Ibid.

^u Exodus xx. 24.

^x Exodus xxvii.

God to Moses, before the people had corrupted themselves by their idolatry. Had these chapters followed after the making of the calf, or had we any reason to imagine that the contents of them were not dictated to Moses until his second going up into the mount^y, after he had made intercession for the people^z, there would be some appearance in favour of the argument above stated: but since the several directions contained in these chapters were all evidently given to Moses before the Lord intimated to him to get him down from the mount, for that the people had corrupted themselves^a; whatever men of learning may think to offer, to prove the ritual law not to have been intended until the Israelites fell into idolatry, it is indisputably plain that the fact was otherwise; and that God was delivering to and instructing Moses in all the parts of it, before the idolatry of the calf was contrived or intended by the people. And agreeably hereto we may observe,

II. That, after Moses had made intercession for the Israelites, and was commanded to renew the tables^b; to erect the tabernacle^c; and had a visible sign of God's approving it, by the cloud's covering it, and the glory of the Lord filling it, and God's speaking unto him out of it^d; we may, I say, observe, that in all these things nothing new or before undesigned was done; but the very law was now further completed, which God before the sin of the calf had in part delivered to them, and it was completed exactly according to, and without any deviation from, the directions which had before the commission of that sin been given unto Moses; and the visible signs of God's presence upon the erecting the tabernacle were exactly according to what God promised him the first time of his being with him on the mount, namely, that he would *meet him at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and speak there unto him; and there meet with the children of Israel, and sanctify the tabernacle by his glory*, to sanctify the tabernacle and the

^y Exodus xxxiv. 4, 28.

^z Ch. xxxii. 31. xxxiii.

^a Ch. xxxii. 7.

^b Ch. xxxiv. 1.

^c Exodus xxxv, xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix.

^d Ch. xl. 34. Levit. i. 1.

altar, and Aaron and his sons, and to *dwell amongst the children* of Israel, *and to be their God*^e. All these things were promised before the Israelites set up their idol, exactly according to what was afterwards performed; and therefore if there be indeed any passages in Scripture which represent the ritual part of the law to have been given upon account of the idolatry of the people, we must find some way to new model the history of Moses, or it will not agree with them. But,

III. There are no texts of Scripture which intimate the ritual law to have been given, because of the Israelites' idolatry. The abettors of this opinion do indeed commonly cite the words of St. Paul^f, or of the prophets Jeremiah^g and Ezekiel^h, to countenance their assertion; but it is easy to shew that the passages they refer to have no such meaning as they would put upon them. For, 1. St. Paul indeed says, *The law was added because of transgressions*ⁱ; but he does not here treat of the ritual part of the law in opposition to the moral, nor suggest that any one part of the law was added for the Israelites not having punctually observed some other part of it; but he speaks of the whole Mosaical dispensation, and argues it to have been instituted upon account of the wickedness and corruption of the world. When God brought the Israelites out of Egypt, true religion was almost perished from the face of the earth; men in all nations were greatly corrupted both in faith and manners: hereupon God was pleased to choose to himself the house of Jacob, to be a *peculiar treasure unto him above all people*^k; and he revealed himself unto them, and gave them a law to recall and to preserve them from going after the heathens to learn their ways, *until the seed should come*^l, and to *shut them up unto the faith, which should afterwards be revealed*^m, and to *bring them unto Christ*ⁿ. This is the argument of the apostle in the place cited, and it suggests to

^e Exodus xxix. 42—45.

^f Gal. iii. 19.

^g Jerem. vii. 22.

^h Ezek. xx. 11—26.

ⁱ Galat. ubi sup.

^k Exodus xix. 5.

^l Gal. iii. 19.

^m Ver. 23.

ⁿ Ver. 24.

us, not that God gave the Israelites first a moral law, *just and holy and good*, and afterwards, when they would not observe this, then a ritual, weak, and unprofitable law, to punish them for their wickedness and folly; but it represents that God gave them the law, the whole law, as Moses has related, consisting indeed of divers precepts, and various commands, but all excellently adapted to have had a great effect, if the Jews had not *behaved* themselves *strangely*, and defeated the benefits which they might have received from it. But, 2. the prophet Jeremiah remarks, that God *spake not unto the Israelites, nor commanded them, in the day that he brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices*^o; and from hence it is argued, that these were not a part of the religion that was at first enjoined them: but we shall best see the meaning of the prophet, by considering what it was that God spake unto them at the time he refers to. And we find that when *Moses went up unto God, the Lord called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel; Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then shall ye be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel. And Moses came and called for the elders of the people, and laid before their faces all these words which the Lord commanded him*^p. And thus it was indeed fact as the prophet represents, that God did not speak unto them, nor command them in that day concerning sacrifices or burnt-offerings; I might add, nor concerning the not being guilty of idolatry, of murder, theft or any other wickedness; but *this thing* he then *commanded them, saying, Obey my voice, and ye shall be my people*; for the covenant was not limited to particular, or to any set of precepts, but it was a general engagement to obey God's voice indeed, and to do and per-

^o Jerem. vii. 22.

^p Exodus xix. 3—7.

form all the statutes and judgments and laws which God should think fit to give them. When Jeremiah prophesied, the Jews were guilty of the highest abominations^q, and yet they came regularly to the worship at the temple, but without a reformation of their lives^r. Hereupon the prophet's message to them was, that if they continued in this course, they might *put their burnt-offerings to their sacrifices, and eat the flesh*^s; they might even break through, and not pretend to observe, the legal institutions for their burnt-offerings^t; for that God would not accept them for an exact performance of one part of his law only, when what he required of them was to *obey his voice, and to walk in all the ways that he had commanded them*^u. And thus the design of Jeremiah, in the words before us, appears evidently to be, not to suggest to the Jews that burnt-offerings and sacrifices were originally no part of their religion, but to remonstrate to them, that sacrifice and offering was but one part, and that a regularity of their lives and manners was another; and that a due care not of one or either, but of both these parts of their duty, was enjoined them, in the general command given to them, to obey God's voice in order to be his people. There remains to be considered, 3. a passage in Ezekiel^x. Ezekiel represents that God gave the Jews, first his *statutes* and his *judgments, which if a man do, he shall even live in them*^y; and afterwards, *because they had not executed these judgments, but despised his statutes, that therefore he gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live*^z. The former of these statutes and judgments are said to be the moral law, and the commands of the ritual law are supposed to be the latter^a. But I would observe, 1. That whatever the sta-

^q Jerem. vii. 8, 9.

^r Ver. 10.

^s Ver. 21.

^t The law of the burnt-offering was, that it was none of it to be eaten, but the whole burnt and consumed upon the altar, so that if the Jews had done what the prophet bids them ver. 21. they had acted contrary to the law for the burnt-offering; and his directing

them so to do, is only hinting to them that it was of no moment to be exact in their sacrifices, without amending their lives.

^u Jerem. vii. 23.

^x Ezek. xx. 10.

^y Ezek. xx. 11.

^z Ver. 24, 25.

^a Spencer. de Legib. Heb. l. i. c. 1. §. 2. c. 14. §. 3.

tutes were, which are thus said to have been *not good*, whatever were the *judgments, whereby they should not live*, it appears evidently from the prophet, that they were not given to that generation of men who received the ritual law, and consequently the ritual law could not be any part of these statutes. The prophet remarks that the Israelites, after receiving the law, rebelled against God in the wilderness^b; that God had said, he would pour out his fury upon them to destroy them^c; but that for his name's sake he had not executed this vengeance^d; yet, that he did determine not to bring THEM into the land of Canaan^e, though his eye had spared them from destroying and making an end of them^f. And thus in five verses he sums up what had happened in God's dispensations to the Israelites, from the giving the law, unto the punishment of their misbehaviour at the return of their spies out of Canaan^g, during which interval, *how oft did they provoke God^h!* Yet *many a time turned he his anger away, and did not stir up all his wrathⁱ*, until at length, though his *eye spared them^k*, and he would not *kill all the people as one man^l*, which had indeed been to destroy and *make an end of them in the wilderness^m*, yet he *lifted up his hand, that he would not bring them into the land which he had given themⁿ*, but denounced against them, that *all those that had seen his glory and his miracles, and had tempted him now ten times, and not hearkened to his voice, should surely not see the land, but fall in the wilderness*; but that their *little ones should be brought into it^o*. After this the prophet proceeds to relate what happened to their children; that God said unto them, *Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers—but walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them^p*: but the children rebelled against God^q, and *because they had not executed his judgments, but had despised his*

^b Ezek. xx. 13.

^c Ibid.

^d Ver. 14.

^e Ver. 15.

^f Ver. 17.

^g Numb. xiv.

^h Psalm lxxviii. 40.

ⁱ Ver. 38.

^k Ezek. xx. 17.

^l Numb. xiv. 15.

^m Ezek. xx. 17.

ⁿ Ver. 15.

^o Numb. xiv.

^p Ezek. xx. 18, 19.

^q Ver. 21.

statutes, therefore he gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live^r. And thus it must be undeniably plain, that the prophet could not, by the *statutes not good*, mean any part of the ritual law; for the whole law was given to the fathers of those whom the prophet now speaks of; but these statutes were not given to the fathers, but to their descendants. 2. If we go on, and compare the narrative of the prophet with the history of the Israelites, we shall see further, that *the statutes and judgments not good* are so far from being any part of Moses's law, that they were not given earlier than the times of the judges. On the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year after the exit from Egypt^s, Moses, after he had numbered the people in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho^t, and found that there was not left a man of those whom he had almost forty years before numbered in the wilderness of Sinai, save Caleb and Joshua^u, by the command of God made a covenant with the Israelites in the land of Moab, besides the covenant which he made with them in Horeb^x. The fathers, who had so often provoked God, were now all dead; and here it was that God said unto their children, *Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols—but walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them*^y. Here it was that God commanded them *not to be, as their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation, but to set their hearts aright, and to have their spirits stedfast with God*^z; for this was the purport of what Moses gave in charge to them, *that they might teach their children the same, that it might be well with them, and that they and their children might hear, and learn to fear the Lord their God, as long as they lived in the land, whither they were going over Jordan to possess it*^a. We do not find but that from this time to the death of Moses, the Israelites were punctual in observing what he commanded; and, after Moses was dead,

^r Ezek. xx. 24, 25.

^s Deut. i. 3.

^t Numb. xxvi.

^u Ver. 64, 65.

^x Deut. xxix. 1.

^y Ezek. xx. 18, 19.

^z Psalm lxxviii. 8.

^a Deut. xxxi. 12, 13.

they served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that over-lived Joshua^b: but when all that generation were gathered unto their fathers, then the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them, and provoked the Lord to anger, and served Baal and Ashtaroth^c: so that here the scene opens which Moses had forewarned them of^d, and which Ezekiel alludes to^e; and accordingly what Ezekiel mentions as the punishments of these wickednesses^f, began now to come upon them. The prophet remarks, that God said he would pour out his fury upon them, and accomplish his anger against them^g; and agreeably hereto we find, that *the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not any longer stand before their enemies. Whithersoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil, as the Lord had said, and as the Lord had sworn unto them*^h. The prophet observes, that nevertheless God withdrew his handⁱ: he did not proceed entirely to extirpate them; and thus the historian: *Nevertheless the Lord raised up judges, which delivered them*^k: many times indeed *did he deliver them*, but they went on to provoke him with their behaviour; so that he determined, for their transgressing his covenant, and not hearkening unto his voice, that he would not henceforth drive out any from before them of the nations which Joshua left when he died^l; and hereby the Israelites became mingled with the heathen^m, or, as the prophet expresses it, they were scattered among the heathen, and dispersed through the countriesⁿ; they had not a contiguous and united possession of the whole land, but *dwelt among the Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites, and Jebusites*^o. And thus

^b Joshua xxiv. 31. Judges ii. 7.

^c Judges ii. 10—13.

^d Deut. xxxi. 29.

^e Ezek. xx. 21.

^f Ibid.

^g Ibid.

^h Judges ii. 14, 15.

ⁱ Ezek. xx. 22.

^k Judges ii. 16.

^l Ver. 20, 21.

^m Psalm cvi. 35.

ⁿ Ezek. xx. 23.

^o Judges iii. 5.

what preceded the giving the *statutes that were not good*, brings us down to the days of the judges, and therefore these statutes were not given earlier than these times. But, 3. let us examine what these statutes and judgments really were, and when and how God gave them to the Israelites; and in order hereto let us observe, 1. that God does in no wise give these statutes and judgments the appellation by which he called the appointments he had made and designed for his people: of these he says, *I gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgments*^p: these were indeed God's laws, intended for the use and observance of his people; but of the *statutes not good*, and *judgments whereby they should not live*, he says, *I gave them also statutes [not my statutes] and judgments [not my judgments] whereby they should not live*^q; so that these statutes and judgments were not God's statutes, or God's judgments, though they are said to have been given by him. But, 2, the 26th verse suggests, that, in giving them these statutes and judgments, God *polluted them in their gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that he might make them desolate*: what the prophet here means is fully suggested by himself in another place. *Thou hast slain my children, and delivered them, to cause them to pass through the fire for them*^r: the fact was, they had *taken their sons and their daughters, and sacrificed them to be devoured*^s; or, as the Psalmist represents it, *They shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan*^t; and the institutions that directed such performances, these were the *statutes not good*, these were the *judgments whereby they should not live*; for these fully answer to the prophet's account: they *polluted* those who used them *in their gifts*; by the observing them *the land was polluted with blood*, and the people *defiled with their own works*^u; and they tended to *make them desolate*, by the destruction of their offspring. And God may be said to have given them these statutes, either because he *gave them up to their own hearts' lusts*, to walk *in their own*

^p Ezek. xx. 11.

^q Ver. 25.

^r Ezek. xvi. 21.

^s Ezek. xvi. 20.

^t Psalm cvi. 38.

^u Ver. 38, 39.

counsels^x, to learn these practices from their heathen neighbours: thus God is said to have hardened Pharaoh's heart^y, when Pharaoh really hardened his own heart^z; and in like manner to have given a lying spirit in the mouth of Ahab's prophets^a, when in fact they prophesied out of their own hearts^b; and followed their own spirit, when they had seen nothing^c; and in this sense the Chaldee Paraphrast took the passage of Ezekiel^d: or more emphatically, God may be said to have given them these statutes, because for their punishment he delivered them into the hands of their enemies, and empowered those who hated them to rule over them^e. These their enemies might set up their abominations amongst them, and make Israel to sin, as their own wicked kings did afterwards in divers reigns. They might give them statutes such as those of Omri^f, and by their power over them influence and oblige them to the observance of them: and God may in a strong sense be said to have given them these statutes, by his giving their enemies power to impose them upon them. I have now fully considered this passage of Ezekiel, and perhaps have been too large upon it; but I was willing to clear it as distinctly as I was able, because great stress has been laid upon it. Dr. Spencer imagined this text alone sufficient to support his hypothesis; but I cannot but think, if what has been offered be fairly considered, no honest writer can ever cite it again for that purpose. However, that I may leave no seeming objection to any part of what I have offered, I would further take notice:

I. Dr. Spencer imagines the 26th verse of the 20th chapter of Ezekiel, which we render, *I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make them desolate*, to refer, not to

^x Psalm lxxxi. 12.

^y Exod. iv. 21. vii. 3. ix. 12. x. 1, 20, 27. xi. 10, &c.

^z Exod. vii. 13, 22. viii. 15, 19, 32. ix. 7, 34. See vol. ii. b. ix.

^a 2 Chron. xviii. 22.

^b Ezek. xiii. 2.

^c Ver. 3.

^d Projeci eos, et tradidi eos in manum inimicorum suorum, et post concupiscentiam suam insipientem abierunt, et fecerunt decreta non recta, et leges in quibus non vivetis. *Targ. Jonath. in loc.*

^e Psalm cvi. 41.

^f Micah vi. 16.

their causing their children to pass through the fire to the idols of Canaan, as I have above taken it; but he supposes it to relate to God's rejecting the firstborn of the Israelites from the priesthood, and appointing the tribe of Levi to the sacred offices in their stead^g. He would translate the verse to this purpose: *I pronounced them polluted in their gifts, [i. e. unfit to offer me any oblations,] in that I passed by all that openeth the womb, in order to humble them, that they might know that I am the Lord.* I answer: This cannot be the meaning of the text; for the Levitical priesthood was instituted, as I have remarked, in the days of the fathers; but the prophet here speaks of something done in the days, not of the fathers, to whom the law was given, but of their children, of a generation that arose after the appointing the Levites to the sacred offices, and therefore cannot be here supposed to speak of that appointment^h. Farther; the expression here used [*behanabir col peter racham*] does not signify *to pass by* or *reject* the firstborn. The verb *nabar*, in the conjugation here used, does sometimes signify *to set apart* or *choose*ⁱ, but cannot have, I think, the sense the learned doctor would here give it. *Maas* מַאֵס is the Hebrew verb for *to reject*^k, and would most probably have been the word here used, if rejecting from the priesthood had been the matter intended by the prophet^l.

II. Another objection to what I have offered above may arise from the 21st and 23rd verses of the 20th of Ezekiel. The prophet may seem in them to hint, that God's anger against the children was whilst they were in the wilderness, and that it was in the wilderness that he lifted up his hand against them, to scatter them among the heathen; and if so, their provoking God to this anger must have been before

^g Spenc. de Leg. Heb. l. i. c. 8. §. 2.

^h Vid. quæ sup. Chorus est eruditorum virorum, qui de præceptis ceremonialibus hæc intelligunt, et remotione Israelitarum ab altari. Ego vero libere profiteor huic opinioni nunquam me potuisse consentire, ob rationes non leves sane et futiles, sed solidas prægnantesque ex serie orationis, φράσεως insolentia, verbis aliis

textui immixtis, antecedentium, consequentiumque nexu, et scripturarum ἀλληλουχίῳ petitas. *Vitringa Observat. Sac.* l. ii. c. 1.

ⁱ Exod. xiii. 12.

^k Vid. 1 Sam. viii. 7. x. 19. xvi. 1. 2 Kings xviii. 20. Jer. vi. 30. xiv. 19. et in sexcent. al. loc.

^l Vid. Hos. iv. 6.

they entered Canaan, and therefore not so late as the time I have fixed it to. I answer: 1. the history of the Israelites contained in Moses's books and those which follow, was wrote long before Ezekiel prophesied; and as his prophecy could not alter what had been done, so the best interpretation of what he related about them must be that which agrees to their history; and we must not invent facts, or change their history to suit it to any thing contained in his prophecy; and, according to their history, the children's provoking God was as I have above stated it. And thus the Psalmist fixes it. After God had *cast out the heathen before them, and divided them an inheritance by line*, then it was that the children *tempted and provoked the most high God, and kept not his testimonies, but turned back, and dealt unfaithfully like their fathers*^m. But, 2. the threatenings of God against the children of the Israelites, whenever they should provoke him, were indeed pronounced to them by Moses in the wilderness before they entered Canaanⁿ. 3. Perhaps this was all that the prophet intended to express by the word, *in the wilderness*, in the verses above cited. *Then I said, I would pour out my fury upon them, to accomplish my anger against them in the wilderness*. The words, *in the wilderness*, do not hint the place where the anger was to be accomplished, but rather refer to *anger*, and suggest the anger to be, as we might almost say in English, the *wilderness-anger*, or the anger which God had threatened in the wilderness. Or, 4, the word *be midbar, in the wilderness*, having occurred twice before, after words the same that are used in these two verses^o, I am apt to suspect that the transcribers, intent upon what they had a little before written, might insert the word again inadvertently in the 21st and 23d verses, when perhaps it was not there repeated in the original copy of the prophecy of Ezekiel.

Moses having made intercession for the people after their idolatry of the golden calf, at the command of God made two new tables of stone, like unto those which he had broken, and went up a second time with them to mount

^m Psalm lxxviii. 55—57.

ⁿ See Deut. xxviii., &c.

^o Ezek. xx. 13—15.

Sinai^p. He continued again on the mount forty days and forty nights, without eating bread or drinking water^q, during which time he wrote, as God directed him, the ten commandments upon the two tables^r, and received the commands set down in the 24th chapter of Exodus. After the forty days, he came down from the mount with the two tables in his hand, and gathered the congregation together, and instructed them in what had been appointed to him^s, and required them to make their offerings for erecting the tabernacle^t. In order to erect the tabernacle, he had been commanded to tax every Israelite above twenty years old half a shekel^u, or about fifteen pence of our money^x. The sum arising from this tax was appointed to be for the service of the tabernacle^y; and we find that Moses used it for the sockets of the sanctuary, and of the veil, and for hooks for the pillars, and for their chapiters^z. The number of those who were taxed were 603550 men^a; and the sum arising from assessing them half a shekel a man amounted to 100 talents, and 1775 shekels of Jewish money^b; so that a Jewish talent consisted of 3000 shekels; for from 603550 half shekels, or 301775 shekels, deduct an hundred times 3000, the number of talents, and the remainder will be 1775, which is the number of the remaining shekels over and above the talents; and the whole sum raised, at fifteen pence the half shekel, amounts in English coin to 37721*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* This sum therefore Moses first raised by the assessment, and after he had collected it, he moved the people to a voluntary contribution^c, as God had directed him^d, which brought in a sufficient quantity of all sorts of materials that were wanted, to the full of what they could have occasion for^e; so that Moses gave commandment to proclaim through the camp,

^p Exodus xxxiv.

^q Ver. 28.

^r Ibid.

^s Ver. 11—27.

^t Exodus xxxv. 4.

^u Exodus xxx. 12—16.

^x According to Brerewood the shekel was a silver coin of about 2*s.* 6*d.* value in our money. Dean Prideaux makes

it about 3*s.* See his *Connect.* vol. i. b. iii. p. 196. ed. 8vo. Lond. 1725.

^y Exodus xxx. 16.

^z Exodus xxxviii. 25—28.

^a Ver. 26.

^b Ver. 25.

^c Exodus xxxv.

^d Ver. 2.

^e Exodus xxxvi. 5.

that the people should make no further offerings^f. Bezaliel and Aholiab, being nominated by a special designation from God himself, began the tabernacle^g; and in some months against the end of the year, by their direction, and the assistance of the hands employed under them^h, the tabernacle and its appurtenances, the table of shew-bread, the priests' garments, the holy ointments, the golden candlestick, and all the vessels and utensils for the service of the altar, were finishedⁱ.

The marginal reference in our English Bibles at Exodus xxx. 12. seems to hint, that this numbering the people for the raising the tax for the tabernacle was the very same with that mentioned Numbers i. 2—5. The number of the poll appears indeed in each place to be to a man the same^k, and this possibly might lead those who made the reference to mistake, and think the people to have been in truth but once numbered; but it is evident, 1. that the poll mentioned in the first chapter of Numbers was not taken until the first day of the second month of the second year after the exit from Egypt^l. 2. The tabernacle was finished a month earlier; for it was erected on the first day of the first month^m. 3. The poll taken for raising the assessment was before the tabernacle was finished; for the silver which the assessment raised was applied to the making some parts of the tabernacleⁿ; so that the poll for the assessment must have preceded at least above a month earlier than that which is mentioned in the first chapter of Numbers. 4. I should imagine it some months earlier; for surely the numbering and assessing the people preceded the free offering of those who were willing^o, and was therefore before the workmen began the tabernacle; for when the persons employed in the work of the tabernacle found that the free offerings had supplied as much of all sorts of materials as were necessary, it was proclaimed through the camp, that no

^f Exodus xxxvi. 6.

^g Ch. xxxv. 30. xxxvi. 1.

^h Ch. xxxvi. 1. xxxix. 43. xl. 2.

ⁱ Ch. xxxix. 32—43.

^k Ch. xxxviii. 26. Numb. i. 46.

^l Numbers i. 1.

^m Exodus xl. 17.

ⁿ Ch. xxxviii. 27, 28.

^o Ch. xxxvi. 3.

one should offer any more^p; and therefore, had these voluntary offerings been made before the assessment, the assessment would have been superfluous; but we find it was not so, by the use made of the silver, which came in from it^q: I should therefore think it most probable that Moses first raised the assessment, then ordered the free-will offering, and when the materials were collected, he delivered them to the workmen, and appointed them to begin the tabernacle^r; and, if he proceeded thus, the poll mentioned in the first chapter of Numbers was near six months later than this numbering and assessing the people; for the tabernacle was probably about five months in making, and the poll in Numbers i. was taken a month after the finishing and erecting the tabernacle as above. But it may seem very odd, that two different polls of one and the same people, taken thus at two different times, should agree exactly to a man: one would rather imaginè, that, in a growing people, the number of deaths of the aged could not answer to the advance of young persons to the age they were polled at; but that in the space of one or of six or seven months, there must be a considerable variation in so great a company as the camp of the Israelites. And, if we duly attend to it, we find this was the fact in the case before us. The number of men indeed in each poll is the same exactly, there being 603550 men in each of them^s; but then the same persons were not allowed to be taken down in both the polls. To the first poll came all the Israelites, from twenty years old and upwards^t; but in the second poll the Levites were not numbered^u. When the first poll was taken, I say, all the Israelites were numbered, no tribe excepted; for the Levites were not then separated from the congregation^x; but at the taking the second poll, the Levites were to be numbered by themselves, and in another manner^y. And thus, at taking the first poll, the whole camp, Levites included, consisted of

^p Exodus xxxvi. 6.

^q Ch. xxxviii. 27, 28.

^r Ch. xxxvi. 3.

^s Ch. xxxviii. 26. Numb. i. 46.

^t Ch. xxx. 14.

^u Numb. i. 47.

^x The separation of the Levites was at taking the second poll, Numb. iii. 6. God having directed them not to be numbered in it, ch. i. 48, 49.
^y Numb. i. 48. ii. 33.

603550 men of and above twenty years old^z; at the second poll the camp consisted of the like number of 603550 men^a, of the age above mentioned, without any Levites in the computation; so that as many persons were grown up to the age of twenty years in the space of time between taking the two polls, as the number of Levites of twenty years old and upwards at the first poll amounted to, supposing, what I think may be allowed, that no one person died in the camp in this interval^b.

On the first day of the first month of the second year after the departure out of Egypt, i. e. about the middle of our March, A. M. 2514, Moses reared up the tabernacle, and placed the ark in it, and hung up the vail, and put the table of shew-bread in its place, and set the bread in order upon it, and put the candlestick in its place, and lighted the lamps, and placed the golden altar of incense in the tent before the vail, and he burnt sweet incense thereon, and he set up the hanging at the door of the tabernacle, and set the laver in its place, and reared up the court round about the tabernacle and the altar, and set up the hanging of the court-gate. This is what Moses is represented^c to have done this day^d: and all the parts of the tabernacle being ready to be put together, and the ark and altar com-

^z Exodus xxxviii. 26.

^a Numb. i. 46.

^b If we consider the whole body of the Israelites as under the protection of a particular providence, and in hopes, each person for himself and children, of living to go into the promised land: if we add to this, that sickness and an early death were not frequent in these ages, but were thought judgments for particular sins: see vol. ii. book ix. Numb. xxvii. 3. it will not be hard to imagine five or six months to pass without a death in the camp. And if we further reflect, that the younger part of the camp were so numerous, as in about eight or nine and thirty years to grow up into a body of 601730 men of twenty years old and upwards, without the Levites, and without any of the persons that were now twenty, except Joshua and Caleb, to be numbered amongst them, Numb. xxvi.

51—64. it may not seem improbable, that the persons at this time near twenty years old, but not completely so, should be sufficient to afford in five or six months an addition to the camp, not only equal to the number of Levites of twenty years old and upwards, who were taken from it, and who were, I conceive, in number not above 8 or 10,000; see Numbers iv. 48. but also to a farther number of aged men, if any such must be supposed to have died in this interval.

^c Exodus xl. 17—33.

^d What is mentioned ver. 31, 32. that Moses and Aaron and his sons washed their hands and feet at the laver, was not now done, but at such times as they went into the tent of the congregation, or approached the altar, and is here set down only to tell the use of the laver.

pletely finished, fit for their respective places, all this may very well be conceived to be done in the space of time allotted to it, an hour or two before night. And when Moses had thus raised the tabernacle, God was pleased to give the people a visible and miraculous demonstration, that it was erected according to his directions; for a cloud covered the tent of the congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle^e. And this visible evidence of the divine presence continued from this time, until the Israelites had finished their journeys through the wilderness; *for the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their journeys. And when the cloud was taken up from over the tabernacle, the children of Israel went onward in all their journeys: but if the cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not till the day that it was taken up*^f. And thus God was pleased to appoint himself, as it were, a visible dwelling amongst men; for the tabernacle was built that it might dwell amongst his people^g, that there might be a known and determined place, where he would at all times vouchsafe to meet them, and commune with them^h, and give them a sensible evidence of his being *nigh unto them in all things, that they might have occasion to call upon him for*ⁱ; and this was the first structure that was erected in the world for the purposes of religion^k. The Israelites had a most strict charge to *destroy utterly all the places wherein the nations of Canaan had served their gods, whether they were upon the high mountains, or upon the hills, or under green trees*^l; but we do not find that they had any buildings to erase; rather all they had to do was to *overthrow their altars, to break their pillars, to cut down and to burn their groves with fire, and to hew down the graven images of their gods, and to destroy the names of them out of the place where they had erected them*^m. In after-times, when houses were built for the idolatrous

^e Exodus xl. 34.

^f Ver. 36, 37, 38. See Num. ix. 15—23.

^g Exodus xxv. 8.

^h Ver. 22. xxix. 43—45.

ⁱ Deut. iv. 7.

^k See vol. ii. b. viii.

^l Deut. xii. 2.

^m Ver. 3. vii. 5. Exodus xxxiv. 13. xxiii. 24.

worship, we find express mention of the demolishing them, by the persons who engaged in reforming the people. Thus Jehu brake down the house of Baalⁿ, as did Jehoiada in like manner^o: and the Israelites would unquestionably have been as expressly commanded to demolish such structures, had there been any, when they entered Canaan; the heathen nations had no thought of building houses to their gods, until after the Israelites had their tabernacle.

When the glory first covered the tabernacle, Moses could not enter into it, because the cloud abode thereon, and the glory of the Lord filled it^p; and it continued to do so most probably for some days, during which *the Lord called unto Moses, and spake unto him out of the tabernacle of the congregation*^q, and delivered to him, in an audible voice, the several laws recorded in the first eight chapters of Leviticus; after receiving which, Moses proceeded to anoint the tabernacle, the altar, and all its vessels, and to consecrate Aaron and his sons to the priests' offices^r. Aaron first officiated as high priest on the eighth day after the beginning of his consecration^s; and his consecration might be begun on the fifth day of the month; so that he might enter upon his ministry on the twelfth. We cannot suppose his consecration sooner, allowing a due space of time for the giving and receiving and recording the laws above mentioned; nor can we imagine it later, upon account of celebrating the passover, which was to be on the fourteenth, and which was not celebrated until after the deaths of Nadab and Abihu; for we find at the passover that *there were certain men, who were defiled by the dead body of a man, that they could not keep the passover*^t; and these I think must have been Mishael and Elzaphan, who had carried Nadab and Abihu from before the sanctuary out of the camp^u; so that their deaths happened just before the passover, on the very first day of Aaron's ministration; for whilst he was ordering the bullock

ⁿ 2 Kings x. 27.

^o 2 Kings xi. 18. 2 Chron. xxiii. 17.

^p Exodus xl. 34, 35.

^q Leviticus i. 1.

^r Leviticus viii.

^s Leviticus ix. 1—8.

^t Numbers ix. 6.

^u Leviticus v. 4.

and the ram for the peace-offering^x, when the fire came out from before the Lord, and consumed the burnt-offering and fat upon the altar^y, Nadab and Abihu, two of Aaron's sons, took each of them a censer, and put fire therein, and put incense thereon, and offered strange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not; and there went out fire from before the Lord, and struck them dead^z. This unhappy accident could not but occasion some interruption in the ministration; Aaron and his two other sons were undoubtedly affected with it; but Moses applied to them, and required them to suppress their grief for the calamity, and not to accompany the dead bodies out of the tabernacle, lest the displeasure of God should arise against them^a. Aaron's heart seems here to have almost sunk within him; and, I imagine, he would have taken some refreshment to support his spirits against the load of sorrow that now pressed heavy upon him, and that this occasioned the command now given him, *Do not drink wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations*^b. Moses ordered the dead bodies of Nadab and Abihu to be carried out of the tabernacle and out of the camp^c, and then called upon Aaron and his sons that were left to finish the day's service^d; but upon inquiry he found that the sin-offering, which ought to have been eaten by the priests in the holy place^e, was burnt and consumed^f: he represented to the sons of Aaron their mistake in this matter^g; but Aaron made excuse for it, and alleged, that such judgments had been inflicted that day, as to give him reason to doubt whether it might be proper for him to finish the atonement. Aaron said unto Moses, *Behold, this day have they offered their sin-offering and their burnt-offering before the Lord; and such things have befallen me: and if I had eaten*

x Leviticus ix. 18.

y Ver. 24.

z Leviticus x. 1, 2.

a Ver. 6, 7.

b Ver. 8, 9.

c Leviticus x. 4.

d Ver. 12—15.

e Ch. vi. 26.

f Ch. x. 16.

g Ver. 17.

the sin-offering to day, should it have been accepted in the sight of the Lord^h? Some of the commentators represent that Aaron thought himself, upon account of the grief and concern he was then under, not to be in a fit disposition to eat the sin-offeringⁱ; others, that it would have been indecorous for him to have done it^k; but they do not consider the charge which Moses had given him. The Hebrew text suggests what I have hinted to be Aaron's apology: *Aaron said to Moses, Behold, this day have they offered their sin-offering and their burnt-offering, [וַתִּקְרְאֵנָה אֶתִּי כְאֵלֶּה], vattikrenah oti caelleh; the verb vattikrenah is the plural feminine, and refers to the offerings; and what Aaron suggests is, that the ministrations already performed had called down upon him the judgments that had been inflicted, and that for this reason he feared they had profaned the services of the day; and therefore that he did not presume to go on to finish them, but had burnt the goat, instead of reserving it to be eaten, according to the orders which he should have observed, if their officiating had been so conducted as to give him reason to think it would have been accepted in the sight of the Lord. This indeed seems a reasonable excuse, and we find Moses was contented with it^m, and pressed him no further to finish the remaining offices of that day's service.*

It may be here asked, what so great crime were Nadab and Abihu guilty of, that they paid so dear a price as to lose their lives by an immediate vengeance? But the answer is easy; the great end and purpose of the Mosaical dispensation was to separate unto God a chosen people, who should be careful to *obey his voice indeed*, and who, instead of being like other nations, following and practising, as parts of their religion, what men might invent, set up, and think proper and reasonable, should diligently and strictly keep to

^h Leviticus x. 19.

ⁱ They comment upon the words thus; *Agnosco quidem comedendum fuisse et cum lætitia, sed qui potui lætari? malui igitur convivium negligere, quam mæstus intire.* Vid. Pool. Synops. in loc.

^k Indecorum fuisset patrem convivari

carne victimæ, in qua offerenda duos filios subito amiserat. *Cleric. Comment. in loc.*

^l The verb קרא in the conjugation here used has this sense, Jer. xxxii. 23.

^m Leviticus x. 20.

what God had enjoined, without turning therefrom to the right hand or to the left, or without adding to the word which was commanded them, or diminishing ought from it. But herein these young men greatly failed; God had as yet given no law for the offering incense in censers; all that had been commanded about it was, that Aaron should burn it upon the altar of incense every morning and every eveningⁿ: afterwards he received further directions^o; so that these men took upon them to begin and introduce a service into religion, which was not appointed, they offered *what the Lord commanded them not*^p; and this, if it had been suffered, would have opened a door to great irregularities, and the Jewish religion would in a little time have been, not what God had directed, but have abounded in many human inventions added to it. Aaron and his sons were *sanctified to minister in the priest's office*^q, for this end, that they should *remember the commandments of the Lord to do them*, not that they should *seek after their own heart*^r. They could not have taken upon themselves the offices of their priesthood, if they had not been called of God to them^s; and as they were called of God to them, it was their indispensable duty to be *faithful to him that appointed them in all his house*^t, in every part of the dispensation committed to them. *This*, said Moses, *is that which the Lord spake, saying, I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me, and before all the people I will be glorified*^u. They then only sanctified and glorified God, when they dispensed to his people, as parts of his religion, what he had commanded: but when they varied from it, or performed or enjoined, as part of it, what he commanded not, then they assumed to themselves a power that belonged not to them; then they spake and acted of themselves; and *he that in these points speaketh of himself, seeketh not God's but his own glory*^x.

God had directed, that the Israelites should keep the pass-

ⁿ Exodus xxx. 7.

^o Leviticus xvi. 1—12.

^p Leviticus x. 1.

^q Exodus xxix. 44.

^r Numbers xv. 39.

^s Hebrews v. 4.

^t Hebrews iii. 2.

^u Leviticus x. 3.

^x John vii. 18.

over at its appointed season; and accordingly they prepared for it against the fourteenth day of the month at even, in order to observe it according to the rites of it^z: but on the fourteenth day there arose a doubt about the persons who had touched the dead bodies of Nadab and Abihu, whether they were fit to keep the passover^a; Moses inquired of God about them, and received an order, that all persons hindered by such an accident, or that were in a journey, should keep the passover a month after their brethren^b. We have no account of any thing done more, until the first day of the second month; so that we have here sixteen days interval, and in this space, I imagine, the laws recorded in Leviticus, from the beginning of the 11th chapter to the end of that Book, were given, except the laws contained in the three last chapters; for these were given to Moses, not at the door of the tabernacle, but upon the mount^c. The son of Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the tribe of Dan, was stoned for cursing and blaspheming about this time^d.

On the first day of the second month, A. M. 2514, Moses was commanded to take the number of the congregation by a poll of every male, of twenty years old and upwards^e, excepting the Levites, who were not to be here numbered^f: and, in order to the taking this poll, twelve persons were named to be princes of the tribes of their fathers^g; and they assembled their tribes, and gave in upon this first day of the month, each the names and number of the persons in the tribe he was set over^h. After this Moses received a command to appoint the order, in which the host of the Israelites was to march and encampⁱ. In the next place he was directed to take the number of the Levites, and to appoint to their several families their respective services, and to set apart the whole tribe for the ministry of the tabernacle^k. In the more ancient times, the firstborn of every family was

^y Numbers ix. 1, 2.

^z Ver. 6.

^a Ibid.

^b Ver. 10, 11.

^c Numbers xxv. 1. xxvi. 46. xxvii.

34. ^d Leviticus xxiv. 10.

^e Numbers i. 1, 2, 3.

^f Ver. 49.

^g Ver. 4—17.

^h Ver. 18.

ⁱ Numbers ii.

^k Numbers iii.

to be the minister of religion^l; but in the Jewish institution God thought fit to dismiss the firstborn from this service, and to direct the Levites to be dedicated to him instead of them^m. As many as there were Levites, over and above the firstborn of the Levites, who, by being the firstborn, were before this institution holy unto the Lord, so many of the firstborn of the other tribes were discharged from attending upon the service of the tabernacle; and accordingly, there being twenty and two thousand Levitesⁿ, these were accepted instead of so many of the firstborn males of the children of Israel. The whole number of the firstborn of the Israelites were twenty-two thousand two hundred threescore and thirteen^o: and the whole number of the Levites were, of the sons of Gershon, seven thousand five hundred^p; of the sons of Kohath, eight thousand six hundred^q; of the sons of Merari, six thousand two hundred^r; in all twenty-two thousand three hundred; and yet we are told that there were two hundred threescore and thirteen of the firstborn of the children of Israel more than the Levites^s, that is, more than there were Levites to be accepted instead of them: but this is a difficulty easy to be accounted for; for of the Levites many were the firstborn of their families, namely, three hundred of them; so that there remained twenty-two thousand only, who were not firstborn, and might therefore be accepted instead of the firstborn of the other tribes; and thus we must understand the 39th verse of the third chapter of Numbers. *All that were numbered of the Levites, which Moses and Aaron numbered at the commandment of the Lord, throughout their families, all the males from a month old and upward, were twenty and two thousand^t*. All that were numbered, i. e. in order to be taken instead of the firstborn, were so many; for if the firstborn Levites be included, if the sum of the whole tribe be taken, they amount to three hundred more, as any one may see by putting together the several sums of the three

^l See vol. i. book v.

^m Numbers iii. 12.

ⁿ Ver. 39.

^o Ver. 43.

^p Ver. 22.

^q Numbers iii. 28.

^r Ver. 34.

^s Ver. 46.

^t Ver. 39.

families^u; but there being three hundred firstborn Levites, and twenty-two thousand two hundred threescore and thirteen firstborn Israelites of the other tribes, there would indeed remain two hundred threescore and thirteen firstborn more than there were Levites to answer them; and therefore for these God ordered five shekels of the sanctuary apiece to be taken in lieu of each of them^x. The laws mentioned in the 5th and 6th and 8th chapters of Numbers were given about this time, and the Levites were consecrated to their ministry according to all that the Lord had commanded^y; and when all this was done, and the tabernacle hereby fully set up^z, all its officers and ministers being duly appointed, the princes of the tribes made their offerings^a: the princes offered each on a day by himself^b; so that they were twelve days bringing in their respective offerings. The camp began to march on the twentieth day^c; the offerings were therefore over probably a day or two before the twentieth, and must therefore have begun on the fifth or sixth day; and consequently what I have mentioned, as previous to the princes' offerings, from the polling the people to the finishing the consecration of the Levites, took up four or five days. About the eighteenth day of the month, Moses had two silver trumpets made^d, for the calling of an assembly^e, or to summon to a meeting the heads of the congregation^f, or for the blowing an alarm for marching the camp^g; and on the twentieth day the cloud was taken off from the tabernacle, and the Israelites prepared to march in due order^h, and by the direction of the cloud they journeyed three days together from the wilderness of Sinai into the wilderness of Paranⁱ. Before they began their march, Moses asked Hobab the son of Jethro his father-in-law to continue with them: but he was de-

^u Numbers iii. 22, 28, 34.

^x The shekel of the sanctuary is, as I have before computed it, about 2*s*. 6*d*. of our money; so that they paid each man about 12*s*. 6*d*. for his redemption.

^y Numbers viii. 20.

^z Numbers. vii. 1.

^a Ver. 2.

^b Numbers vii. 11.

^c Numbers x. 11.

^d Ver. 2.

^e Ibid.

^f Ver. 4.

^g Ver. 5.

^h Ver. 11.

ⁱ Ver. 12.

sirous to return into his own land and to his kindred^k: Moses was unwilling to part with him, and represented how serviceable he might be to them in their travels^l, and made him such offers as induced him not to leave them^m; and accordingly we find his posterity settled afterwards in Canaanⁿ.

Upon the cloud's resting in the wilderness of Paran, the camp being thereby stopped from marching any further, the Israelites grew uneasy^o, and complained, perhaps for their not being carried directly into Canaan. Their uneasiness was offensive to God, and he destroyed many of them with fire from heaven for it^p; but upon Moses's prayer the fire ceased^q. In a little time they murmured at their having nothing to eat but manna, and were very vexatious to Moses in soliciting him to obtain them some other diet^r. Moses, quite tired out with their restless humours, begged earnestly that God would be pleased, some way or other, to ease him of the great burthen which lay upon him^s: hereupon God ordered him to choose seventy elders out of the officers, whom he had employed over the people^t. After Moses had chosen them, God was pleased to give them a portion of his spirit to qualify them for the employment they were designed for^u: sixty-eight of the seventy came up unto Moses to the tabernacle, upon their being chosen: but Eldad and Medad, two whom Moses had nominated, seemed desirous to decline the honour that was offered them, esteeming themselves perhaps not equal to the undertaking;

^k There appears some little confusion in the Scripture accounts of Jethro, from the different names given him in different places; but it is no unusual thing to find many names given to one and the same person. From Numbers x. 29. it appears that Jethro was called Raguel; and from Judges iv. 11. that he was also called Hobab. He had a son also, whose name was Hobab, Numbers x. 29. but there is no room for a careful reader to mistake the one Hobab for the other. Some learned writers have indeed imagined that Jethro did not leave Moses, but went with him through the wilderness; but Moses

says expressly, that Jethro went his way into his own land. Exod. xviii. 27. Hobab indeed went on with Moses, but not Hobab, Moses's father-in-law, which had been Jethro; but Hobab the son of Moses's father-in-law, or the son of Jethro.

^l Numbers x. 31.

^m Ver. 32.

ⁿ Judges i. 16.

^o Numbers xi. 1.

^p Ibid.

^q Ver. 2.

^r Ver. 4—6.

^s Ver. 11—15.

^t Ver. 16.

^u Ver. 17.

and therefore they went not out unto the tabernacle, but remained in the camp^x: but God was pleased to convince them, that he could readily give abilities for any employment to which he should call them; and therefore he enabled them to prophesy in the camp, as the others did at the tabernacle^y. Eldad and Medad's prophesying in the camp was soon reported to Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun thought it would be expedient for Moses to forbid them^z, imagining it would lessen Moses's authority, if these two men, who, by their not coming up to the tabernacle, might appear to have no commission under him, should be thought to have, and be allowed to use this privilege. But Moses, having no aim to his own glory, remonstrated, that he wished *all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them*^a. This would have truly eased his burthen; for, if God would have thus immediately revealed his will to every Israelite, all Moses's labour would have been at an end, and the people, from the highest to the lowest, would all have known what they were to do as well as himself; and he, not seeking his own honour, nor having at heart his private interest, but sincerely desiring to be *faithful to him that appointed him*^b, would have sincerely rejoiced to see the purpose and design of God thus effectually taking place amongst his people. The elders went down with Moses into the camp^c, and God sent a wind, which brought great quantities of quails^d, which the people took

x Numb. xi. 26.

y Ibid.

z Ver. 27, 28.

a Ver. 29.

b Heb. iii. 2.

c Numb. xi. 30.

d Ver. 31. Our English version represents the quails to have lain round about the camp as it were two cubits [or a yard] high: but there is no word in the Hebrew text for the number *two*: the Hebrew word כַּמְחֵיב signifies, *as it were cubits high*, expressing no determinate measure, but in general a considerable height. In like manner we say, *he that gathered*

least, gathered ten homers, ver. 32. a surprising quantity, if an homer be, as is by some computed, five of our English bushels and a half. But perhaps the word we here render *homers*, was not intended to signify in this place the particular Jewish measure so called, but should rather have been rendered *heaps* in general, without defining the quantity which each heap contained. It is thus used Exod. viii. 14. and we may well imagine each man to gather ten heaps; but five and fifty bushels a man does not seem a quantity likely to have been gathered by them.

and dried, and salted for their eating^e. But though God sent them this food upon their impatience, yet he punished them for their mutinous temper^f, and by a plague cut off those that had required this provision; they called the name of the place Kibroth Hattaavah, because they buried the people here that lusted^g. After the plague ceased, they journeyed hence to Hazeroth^h.

At Hazeroth, Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses for his having married a foreigner, a woman, who was not of *the children of his people*; for he had married the daughter of Jethro the Cushite, or Arabianⁱ. *Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth^k*; and the exceeding goodness of his temper led Miriam and Aaron most warmly to oppose him upon this subject. There appears to have been no law given which could directly affect the case of Moses: whether Aaron inferred his marriage to be wrong, from what had been enjoined the priests^l, thinking Moses obliged in every respect to as great strictness as they could be, I cannot say: however, he and Miriam would admit of no plea in Moses's favour; but contended, that they knew as well as he what was lawful and what was not^m; for that God had revealed his will to them as well as to him. This dispute might have had a very unhappy effect upon the people; for if the persons, whom they all knew to have been favoured with immediate revelations of God's will, had thus evidently differed and contradicted one another about it, how should the congregation know by whom to be directed? Parties and divisions would have arisen from such contests: but God was pleased to interpose upon this occasion. *The Lord came down in the pillar of the cloud to the door of the tabernacle, and called Aaron and Miriamⁿ*, and observed to them, that he had never revealed

^e This management of quails, in order to preserve them, was usual amongst the heathens. *Athen. Deipnos.* l. ix. c. 11.

^f Ps. cvi. 15. lxxviii. 30, 31. Numb. xi. 33.

^g Numb. xi. 34.

^h Numb. xi. 35.

ⁱ Numb. xii. 1. See vol. i. b. iii.

^k Numb. xii. 3.

^l Leviticus xxi. 14.

^m Numb. xii. 2.

ⁿ Ver. 5.

his will to either of them, or to any others in so extraordinary a manner, as he had done to Moses^o, and that therefore they ought to have been afraid to speak against and contradict him^p; and, in order to justify Moses to the whole congregation, Miriam was struck with a leprosy, and ordered to be put out of the camp for seven days^q; after that, by Moses's prayer for her, she was recovered^r: upon her readmission into the camp, the Israelites removed from Hazeroth further on, in the wilderness of Paran^s.

From the place they were now encamped at, Moses by God's command sent twelve persons, having chosen one out of each tribe, to go as spies into the land of Canaan^t, to take a view, and to bring an account of the land and its inhabitants. The twelve persons appointed took their journey, and went over the land, and in forty days came back to the camp again^u. At their return the congregation was summoned to receive their report^x, which, as to the fruitfulness of the land, was very agreeable; but they represented the large stature and strength of the inhabitants, so as to intimidate the people, and to induce them to think themselves in no wise able to conquer it^y. The camp grew into a great ferment upon this representation, and a false report of the goodness of the country got about, and increased the discontent, notwithstanding all that Caleb, who had been one of the spies, could offer to appease it^z; and at last such a spirit was raised amongst the people, that they were for making themselves a captain to lead them back to Egypt^a. Moses and Aaron expressed the deepest concern at this strange infatuation^b, and Caleb and Joshua made the utmost efforts to reduce the camp to a better temper. They remonstrated, that the land was certainly exceeding good; that it was God's design to give it to them; that since God was for them, the strength of the Canaanites against them was not to be feared; that to return to Egypt would be a

o Numb. xii. 6—8.

p Ibid.

q Ver. 10, 14.

r Ver. 13.

s Ver. 16.

t Numb. xiii. 2.

u Numb. xiii. 21—25.

x Ver. 26—31.

y Ver. 27—31.

z Ver. 30—33.

a Ch. xiv. 4.

b Ver. 5.

rebellion against God, who had so miraculously delivered, preserved, and appointed them for this undertaking^c. What they said was far from having the designed effect: the people were rather transported by it to greater fury, and were for having Joshua and Caleb immediately stoned^d; but the glory of the Lord appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation, in a manner visible to all the people^e. Such an obstinacy as they were now guilty of was an exceeding great sin against God; however, Moses was admitted to intercede, that the whole congregation should not be destroyed^f: but God determined, that, for this offence, none of the persons who had seen his glory and his miracles done in Egypt, and had thus rebelled against him, should come into the land of Canaan; for their entrance into the land should now be deferred until forty years were expired from their exit out of Egypt; and that before that time all the generation that were twenty years old and upwards, when Moses and Aaron numbered them after the exit out of Egypt, except Caleb and Joshua, should die in the wilderness^h. Moses told the people these things, at the hearing whereof they mourned greatlyⁱ. They were now desirous to attempt to enter the land; but Moses cautioned them against it^k, assuring them, that God would not now give them success: however they would march; but the Amalekites and Canaanites smote them, and discomfited them unto Hormah^l. The laws contained in the 15th chapter of Numbers seem to have been given within the forty days the spies were travelling over the land of Canaan; and about this time I imagine the man to have been stoned who gathered sticks on the sabbath-day^m.

There is a passage in the speech of Joshua and Caleb upon which the Jewish Rabbins founded a most whimsical conceit. Joshua and Caleb represent, that, as to the Canaanites, *their defence was departed from them*ⁿ: the Hebrew

^c Numb. xiv. 6—9.

^d Ver. 10.

^e Ibid.

^f Ver. 11—20.

^g Ver. 22, 23.

^h Ver. 22—38.

ⁱ Numb. xiv. 39.

^k Ver. 41, 42, 43.

^l Ver. 44, 45.

^m Ch. xv. 32—36.

ⁿ Ch. xiv. 9.

word is צלם [tzillam] *their shadow*, upon which the Rab- bins thus comment: They say, that on the night of the seventh day of the seventh month, God shewed his people by the moonshine what should happen to them in the year following°. They pretended, that if any one went out into the moonshine in that night in a proper dress, he would see the shadow of his body diverse, according to what would happen to him. The shadow of his hand held out would want a finger, if he was to lose a friend that year: his right- hand would cast no shadow, if his son was to die; his left- hand, if his daughter: if the person himself was to die, then his shadow would appear an head, or perhaps his body cast no shadow at all, *his shadow being departed from him*. It would be trifling to endeavour to shew that Caleb and Joshua intended nothing of this sort. The use of the word *shadow* for *protection* is an easy metaphor. The strength of the Israelites was thought by Joshua and Caleb to be the Lord's being with them, and under this consideration they looked upon the Canaanites as deserted of God, and there- fore unable to bear up against them; and this was the whole of what they endeavoured to represent to the people: but no expression of Scripture can be so clear and express, but that superstition may turn it to fancy and fable. The Greeks had a whim about the shadow of those who entered the temple of the Arcadian Jupiter^p, not altogether unlike this fiction of the Rabbins; and the Monkish tale, which some of our vulgar people can still tell of their shadow in the night of St. Mark's festival, was perhaps derived from it.

Moses was ordered to lead the Israelites back towards the Red sea again^q; and after their unsuccessful attempt against the Canaanites^r, they began their retreat. We hear but little more of them for about thirty-seven years; during which time they marched up and down the wilderness, and made seventeen encampments^s, from their leaving Rithmah in the wilderness of Parant^t, to their coming to Kadesh in the

° Buxtorf. Synagog. Judaic. c. 16. p. 362. ed. Hanov. 1622.

^p Θεόπομπος φήσας, τοὺς εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἕβατον ἐμβάντας κατ' Ἀρκάδιαν ἀ- σκίλους γίγνεσθαι. Vid. Polyb. Hist. l. xvi. c. 11.

^q Numb. xiv. 25.

^r Ver. 44, 45.

^s Ch. xxxiii. 19—36.

^t Compare Numbers xii. 16. with Numb. xxxiii. 18.

wilderness of Zin^u. Their being obliged to make this retreat, and the deferring their entrance into Canaan, raised great discontents amongst them, and very probably occasioned the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, which happened about this time: two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly were concerned in it^x, and many thousands of the people, as may be imagined from the number of those who perished by the plague^y, were swallowed up in the earth^z, or consumed by the fire^a: the heads of the conspiracy were Korah, a Levite, Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On, the son of Peleth, of the tribe of Reuben. They contended, that there was no reason for so great a subjection to, and dependence upon, Moses and Aaron^b; that the priesthood ought not to have been appropriated to Aaron and his family; for that *all the congregation was holy, every one of them, and the Lord amongst them*^c; and they remonstrated against Moses, that he had brought them out of Egypt, a very plentiful country; that he had no real intention ever to bring them into Canaan; that he designed only to carry them about, through innumerable difficulties, until he could inure them to servitude, and make himself altogether a prince over them^d; that to deny this to be his aim, would suppose the people to have no eyes to see the situation of their affairs, and the prospects that were before them^e. Moses had by express command from God denounced to the congregation, that not one of them, except Caleb and Joshua, should enter into Canaan; that all the rest of them, who were above twenty-years old, when they were polled after their coming out of Egypt, should die in the wilderness, and the younger generation only should come into the land^f; and this had put them all into so great a ferment, that even a miraculous interposition of the divine power was not immediately sufficient to subdue the spirit of their rebellion; for we read, that on the morrow

^u Numb. xxxiii. 26.

^x Numb. xvi. 1, 2.

^y Ver. 49.

^z Ver. 32.

^a Ver. 35.

^b Numb. xvi. 3.

^c Ibid.

^d Ver. 3, 13.

^e Ver. 14.

^f Ch. xiv. 28—33.

after the earth had swallowed up Dathan and Abiram, and all that belonged to them^g, after Korah and his company were consumed with fire from the Lord^h, all the congregation murmured against Moses and against Aaron, and accused them of having killed the Lord's peopleⁱ: but hereupon God sent a plague amongst them, and took off fourteen thousand by it^k, and also gave them a further evidence by the blossoming of Aaron's rod, that he was the person whom God had appointed to be priest for his people^l. After the punishment of the plague, and the testimony of the further miracle in Aaron's rod, their opposition ceased^m; Aaron's rod was by divine command laid up in the tabernacle in memory of this miraculous confirmation of his priesthoodⁿ: and the people expressed themselves convinced, that whoever presumed to intrude into the service of the tabernacle would be pursued by divine vengeance unto death^o. The laws mentioned in the 18th and 19th chapters of Numbers were given about this time.

Whilst the Israelites were in the wilderness, some writers imagine that Sesostris was king of Egypt, and that he raised a powerful army, and conquered a great part of the then known world. They suppose him the son of Pharaoh, who in pursuit of the Israelites was drowned in the Red sea: archbishop Usher was of this opinion^p, and the late learned bishop Cumberland endeavours to support it^q. The substance of what he argues upon the subject amounts to, 1. That Sesostris was the brother of the Grecian Danaus; and therefore, since Danaus is confessed to have lived about the times of Moses^r, that Sesostris must be likewise placed in the same age. 2. That, according to the testimony of ancient writers, Sesostris was the son of Amenophis, the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red sea. If indeed either of these assertions can be supported, Sesostris must be placed in these times: but if both these arguments may be refuted,

^g Numb. xvi. 32.

^h Ver. 35.

ⁱ Ver. 41.

^k Ver. 49.

^l Ch. xvii.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Numb. xvii. 10.

^o Ibid.

^p Annals, A. M. 2522.

^q Sanchoniatho. sect. iv. p. 387.

^r See vol. ii. b. viii.

Aristotle's general opinion, cited by the learned bishop, that Sesostris lived before Minos^s, or Apollonius's imagining him to have planted colonies in Colchis before the Argonautic expedition^t, or Pliny's hinting him to have lived before the Trojan war, will be of no great weight; for it is known that very considerable writers have mistaken the true time of the reign of Sesostris^u.

1. Bishop Cumberland contends, that Danaus and Sesostris were brothers: but a supposed citation from Manetho in Josephus is the only proof of this fraternity^x. Manetho is supposed to have said, that Sethosis was called Ægyptus, and that Armais his brother was Danaus. I must confess, I suspect the passage: the words cited seem to me to be not Manetho's, but Josephus's^y. Josephus, after having set down a large citation from Manetho, adds, what I conceive he inferred from him to be true: and I the rather think so, because nothing, that comes up to what is here cited, appears in the remains of Manetho, as transmitted to us by either Africanus or Eusebius, though they have both of them given us the list of kings cited by Josephus, and one of them some words of Manetho, from which Josephus might probably make his inference. Africanus transmits to us the series of kings, but has not remarked any relation between any two of them^z: but Eusebius, at the name of Armes, or Armais, calls him also Danaus, and records that he reigned in Egypt five years, and then fled out of the kingdom from his brother Ægyptus, and went to Greece, and reigned at Argos^a; so that from Eusebius it looks probable, that Manetho had hinted Danaus and Ægyptus to be brothers. Josephus imagined Ægyptus and Sethosis to be one and the same person, and hence concluded, that Manetho had suggested Danaus and Sethosis to be so related: this seems to me to be the foundation of what is cited in and from Josephus. That Danaus was indeed the brother

^s Arist. Polit. l. vii. c. 10.

^t Apollon. Argonautic. l. iv.

^u See pref. to vol. ii.

^x Josephus contra Apion. lib. i. cap.

15.

^y The words in Josephus are, λέγει

γὰρ ὅτι ὁ μὲν Σέθωσις ἐκαλεῖτο Αἴγυπτος,
Ἄρμαϊς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός.

^z Vid. Syncell. Chronograph. p. 72.

ed. Par. 1652.

^a Id. p. 73. Euseb. Chron. p. 16. ed.

Scal. Amst. 1658.

of Ægyptus, may be proved from many ancient writers^b: but it appears evident, from divers circumstances recorded concerning each of them, that Ægyptus and Sesostriſ were not the ſame perſon. Belus the ſon of Neptune and Libya married Anchinoe daughter of Nilus, and had two ſons by her, Ægyptus and Danaus^c: thus it appears that theſe two perſons were brothers: but if we purſue the hiſtory of Ægyptus, we may evidently ſee that he and Sesostriſ were not the ſame perſon. Ægyptus had fifty ſons, as Danaus had fifty daughters^d; but Sesostriſ had but ſix children^e. Ægyptus was indeed treacherouſly dealt with by his brother Danaus, and ſo was Sesostriſ by a brother; but in a manner very different. It is a known ſtory, how the fifty daughters of Danaus were married, each of them to a ſon of Ægyptus, and how all of them, except one, killed their huſbands, by the order of Danaus their father: thus Danaus attempted to have his brother's family extinct^f. But the attempt upon Sesostriſ made by his brother was of another ſort: at Sesostriſ's return home from his conqueſts, his brother invited him, his wife and children, to an entertainment, and fired the houſe where he received them, with deſign to burn them^g. Sesostriſ enjoyed himſelf in Egypt after his conqueſts many years in peace, and died in his own country, and was ſucceeded in his kingdom by his ſon^h: but Ægyptus the brother of Danaus was an exile from Egypt as well as Danaus, and died and was buried in Achaia in Greeceⁱ; and his only ſurviving ſon Lynceus never was king of Egypt, but ſucceeded Danaus in the kingdom of Argos^k, and was buried in that country in the ſame tomb with Hypermneſtra his wife^l. And thus Ægyptus and Sesostriſ were two different perſons, the circumſtances of whoſe lives, deaths, and children, will in no

^b Apollodor. l. ii. c. 1. Chron. Alex. Cedren. l. i. Euseb. in Chronic. ib. Prideaux in Not. Historic. ad Chron. marmor. Ep. ix.

^c Apollod. l. ii. c. 1. Not. Eustath. et Didymi in Homer. Il. α'. 42.

^d Ibid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 25.

^e Herodot. l. ii. c. 107.

^f Apollodor. Eustath. et Didym. in loc. sup. citat. Pausan. in Corinthiac.

^g Diodor. Sic. l. i. c. 57. Herodot. l. ii. c. 107.

^h Diodor. ubi sup. et c. 59. Herodot. l. ii. c. 111.

ⁱ Pausan. in Achaic. c. 22.

^k Id. in Corinth. c. 16.

^l Id. ibid. et c. 21.

wise coincide, but are very diverse from one another; and therefore it cannot be conclusive to argue Danaus to have been brother of Sesostris, because Danaus and Ægyptus are recorded to have been thus related. Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus are very large in their accounts of Sesostris^m, and do both of them minutely mention the circumstances of his brother's treacheryⁿ; but they neither of them hint Danaus to have been his brother. Danaus lived about the times of Moses^o, and consequently Ægyptus in the same age; but as Ægyptus appears not to have been Sesostris, the fraternity between Ægyptus and Danaus can have no effect towards proving the time of Sesostris's reign.

II. Bishop Cumberland contends, that Sesostris was the son of Amenophis, who was the Pharaoh that was drowned in pursuit of the Israelites in the Red sea. He cites Manetho and Chæremon in Josephus to prove Amenophis to be the king in whose reign the Israelites went out of Egypt^p. This Amenophis, he says, was the father of Ramesses, who was also called Ægyptus, and had Danaus for his brother; and Ægyptus and Sesostris were the same person. But, 1. Amenophis was not the king in whose reign the Israelites left Egypt: Josephus does indeed remark, that Manetho in one particular place asserts it^q, and that Chæremon agrees with him in it^r: but then he remarks, that it was a mere fiction of Manetho's, contrary to what he himself had expressly owned in other parts of his works^s, and that Chæremon erred in agreeing with him in it^t; so that the very authorities upon which the learned bishop would argue Amenophis, his supposed father of Sesostris, to have been the Egyptian king, who reigned at the Jewish exit, have been long ago refuted by Josephus, the very author from whom the bishop had them, and in the very place where he found them. But, 2. if Amenophis was indeed the king who

^m Diodor. l. i. Herodot. l. ii.

ⁿ Diodor. l. i. c. 57, &c. Herodot.

l. ii. c. 107.

^o See vol. ii. b. viii. Photii extract.

^e lib. xi. Diodor. Sic. Photii Biblioth.
p. 1151.

^p Sanchoniatho, p. 398.

^q Lib. contra Ap. i. c. 26.

^r Id. c. 32.

^s Joseph. ubi sup.

^t Id. ibid.

reigned at the Jewish exit; if he was also the father of Ramesses, or Ægyptus the brother of Danaus; yet, as it appears from what I above offered, that Ægyptus the brother of Danaus and Sesostris were in no wise the same person, nothing can be concluded from the learned bishop's argument to prove Sesostris to have lived in these times. Here therefore I will leave this subject, though it might be more largely refuted in every particular belonging to it; but so nice a discussion of it must surely be superfluous. One thing I confess I am surprised at: I much wonder such learned and judicious writers, as the great authors I have mentioned, could ever entertain a thought of it. If Sesostris had lived in these times, and commanded such victorious armies, as he was said to be master of, would not the camp of the Israelites have fallen in his way? or should we not have had mention made of him amongst the hints we have in Scripture of the Canaanitish nations? He must have carried his forces through these countries; but they appear to have enjoyed an uninterrupted peace, until Joshua attacked them. But had the great Sesostris lived in these times, whence or how should he have raised his armies? When Pharaoh pursued the Israelites to the Red sea, he took his people with him, all his horses and chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and his horsemen, and his army^u: he and all these perished in the sea^x. The kingdom had been just before spoiled of its treasure^y, and every family weakened by the loss of the firstborn^z; and can it appear probable, that in such a deplorable crisis of affairs, a king of this country should attempt and pursue a variety of conquests of foreign nations? Egypt must at this time have been reduced so low, as that it might have been an easy prey to any invasion. The Israelites many times thought so, and were therefore frequently tempted to an inclination to return thither, when they met with discouraging difficulties in their expectations of Canaan. When the spies, that had been employed to search the land, had intimidated

^u Exod. xiv. 6, 7, 9.^x Ver. 28.^y Exod. xii. 36.^z Ver. 29, 30.

the congregation, by magnifying the strength and stature of the inhabitants, the Israelites were for making a captain to lead them back to Egypt^a: they knew the fruitfulness of this country, were sensible that it must be under a feeble government; and though they imagined themselves not able to conquer the Canaanites, who were in their full strength, yet they were not afraid of an exhausted nation. And this indeed was a natural way of thinking. But that Sesostris should be the son of Pharaoh, who was drowned in the Red sea, and that, in the state which his father's misfortunes must have reduced Egypt to, he should immediately find strength sufficient to subdue kingdom after kingdom, and to erect himself a large empire over many great and flourishing nations; this must be thought, by any one that duly considers things, to seem at first sight a most romantic fiction.

It may perhaps be expected, that I should not only say who was not, but who really was the Pharaoh that was drowned in the Red sea. But perhaps this is a point which I may not be able to determine, so as to have no doubts remaining about it. However, as the Egyptian antiquities have been the study of many learned writers in divers ages, and great pains have been taken to settle and deduce a reasonable and consistent account of them, it may not be unacceptable to such as have not opportunity of informing themselves better, if I here, once for all, set before the reader some account of the works, or remains, which are most commonly cited for these antiquities; after which he may judge for himself, how far we can fix the particular time of any reign or transaction which belongs to the history of this people. And the authorities most generally appealed to upon this subject are, 1. The old Chronographeon. 2. The tomes of Manetho. 3. The catalogue of Eratosthenes. 4. Some extracts from Manetho in Josephus. 5. The Chronography of Africanus. 6. The Chronicon of Eusebius. 7. The Chronographia of Syncellus. And, 8. The Canon Chronicus of our learned countryman, sir John Marsham.

^a Numb. xiv. 3, 4.

I. We are told of an old Egyptian Chronographeon, and Syncellus has preserved us some remains, or rather an imperfect account of it: but I may offer the whole of what he gives us of it in the following translation of his words. According to him it was thus worded^b:

“ Time we do not assign to Vulcan, for he is ever. Sol the son of Vulcan reigned 30000 years. Then Saturn, and the other gods, being 12, reigned 3984 years. Then the eight demi-gods, who were kings, reigned 217 years. And after these were set down 15 generations of the Cynic Cycle, taking up the space of 443 years. Then came the 16th dynasty of Tanite kings, containing 8 [generations or] reigns of 190 years. Next to these the 17th dynasty of Memphites, 4 reigns, 103 years. After them the 18th dynasty of Memphites, 14 reigns, 348 years. Then the 19th dynasty of Diospolitans, 5 reigns, 194 years. Then the 20th dynasty of Diospolitans, 8 reigns, 228 years. Next the 21st dynasty of Tanites, 6 reigns, 121 years. Then the 22d dynasty of Tanites, 3 reigns, 48 years. The 23d dynasty of Diospolitans, 2 reigns, 19 years. The 24th dynasty of Saitans, 3 reigns, 44 years. The 25th dynasty of Ethiopians, 3 reigns, 44 years. The 26th dynasty of Memphites, 7 reigns, 177 years. The 27th dynasty of Persians, 5 reigns, 124 years.^c...The 29th dynasty of Tanites....^d reigns, 39 years. The 30th dynasty completes the whole, consisting of one Tanite king, his reign 118 years.”

This is the account we have of the ancient Chronographeon; and I would remark concerning it, 1. that, excepting the three or four first lines, it cannot be thought to be given us in the very words of the Chronographeon; rather it is an abstract of what was supposed to be the contents of it. The Chronographeon itself, as it particularized the reign of Sol, and then of Saturn, so unquestionably it exhibited distinctly the reigns of the other gods, and distributed such

^b Οὕτω πῶς ἐπὶ λέξεως ἔχων. Ἡφαίστου χρόνος οὐκ ἔστιν—Syncell. p. 51. ed. Par. 1652.

^c Through some defect of the copy,

we have here an omission of the 28th dynasty.

^d We have here a like omission of the number of the reigns in the 29th.

a part of the 3984 years said to be the sum of all their reigns, as belonged respectively to, and was made up from, the course of each of them. In like manner, I imagine, it recounted the 8 demi-gods, and the 15 Cynic heroes, more distinctly, and in a larger narration, than we here find them; for in this account, I take it, we have only the beginning of the Chronographeon, and then the sum or heads of what followed, and not the particulars at large that were contained in it. But I would observe, 2. that we have reason to think, that the foregoing account was not originally intended for an account of the old Chronographeon only, but rather for an account of the Chronographeon, and of some other work accommodated and connected to it. From the beginning of the account, to the end of what is said of the heroes of the Cynic Cycle, we have the substance of the old Chronographeon: from what follows thus, *then the 16th dynasty of Tanite kings, &c.* we have the contents, not of the old Chronographeon, but of some later Chronicle, which was thought to supply what the old Chronographeon did not contain, towards the completing the Egyptian history. In the old Chronographeon, next to the Cynic Cycle, were lists of the kings of three kingdoms; first, of the Auritans; secondly, of the Mestræans; and, thirdly, of the Egyptians^e: and so many names of kings were probably contained in each list, as had reigned to the time perhaps when the Chronographeon was composed. But the author of the account above produced, not purposing to go on with the more obsolete names of the old Chronographeon, but taking the Auritans to be the same nation as were afterwards called Tanites, the Mestræans the same as Memphites, and the Egyptians the same as Diospolitans; and knowing that a later Chronicle at its 16th dynasty began its account of the Tanite kings; and in its 17th and 18th, its account of the Memphites; and in the next dynasty, its account of the Diospolitans; he thought this to be a point of time where he was sure the two registers he copied from coincided;

^e Πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Αὐριτῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν Μεστραίων, τρίτον δὲ Αἰγυπτίων. Syncell. p. 51.

and therefore, having given the contents of the more ancient one, down to this point, instead of going on in that any further, here, says he, we are come to the 16th dynasty, an epoch well known to those who had perused the accounts of Manetho; and from hence he adds dynasty to dynasty, down to what he took to be the end of the Egyptian history.

If we do not take the account I am treating of in this light, it will be hard to reconcile the several parts of it to one another. We have in it the contents of the Egyptian history of their gods, demi-gods, Cynic Cycle, and then comes the 16th dynasty.—It must be obvious here to ask, how comes this to be called the 16th dynasty; for where are the preceding 15? The learned editor of Syncellus was aware of this difficulty, and therefore suggests in his annotations, that Γενεαὶ ἑ' Κύκλου κυνικοῦ, should be read, δυναστείαι ἑ'; that, instead of 15 generations of the Cynic Cycle, we should read 15 dynasties^f: but this is to cut the difficulty, and not to solve it. This was certainly not the intention of the author of the account: he imagined the whole history, from the beginning of the Chronographeon to the end of the dynasties he added to it, to contain in all but 30 dynasties; and accordingly endeavours to sum up the amount of them all to be 36525 years^g: but if we begin the dynasties from the Cynic Cycle, the sum of them will fall short myriads of years of that number, and the Chronographeon will contain the history of the gods and demi-gods, besides the dynasties, which the composer of this account had no notion of its doing.

I might add further, that if we take the account above mentioned to give us the contents of the old Chronographeon only, we shall destroy the supposed antiquity of the Chronographeon; for as the 27th dynasty mentions the Persian kings^h, of whom Cambyses was the firstⁱ; so it is evident,

^f Vid. Annotat. Goar. ad Syncell. p. 51.

^g Vid. Euseb. Chronic. p. 7. ed. Amst. 1658. Syncell. p. 52. ed. Par. 1652.

^h Καὶ μετὰ τούτους κζ' δυναστεία Περσῶν ἑ'. ἐτῶν ρκδ'. Syncell. p. 52.

ⁱ Vid. Syncell. p. 76. Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. iii. ann. 519.

that the other 3 dynasties carry on the Egyptian history to about the time of Nectanebus^k, and there Manetho's tomes ended^l. Nectanebus was expelled his kingdom by Ochus king of Persia, about 350 years before Christ^m, A. M. 3654. Manetho dedicated his tomes to Ptolemy Philadelphus before A. M. 3757ⁿ, within about 100 years after Nectanebus; so that if the old Chronographeon reached down to Nectanebus, Manetho's work and that must have been of about the same antiquity. I ought here to take notice that some very learned writers have imagined this old Chronographeon to be nothing else but an abridgment of Manetho: this was Scaliger's opinion; and accordingly, in his Chronicon of Eusebius, he puts upon it the following title: *Θεῶν βασιλεία κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν χρονικὸν ἐκ τῶν Μανεθῶ*. Or, "The reign of the gods according to the old chronicle out of the books of Manetho." And this, I believe, was dean Prideaux's sentiment: he tells us, we have an epitome of Manetho's work preserved in Syncellus^p, taking, I suppose, this Chronographeon to be that epitome. But they were probably led to think it so, from Manetho's work and the Chronographeon's ending at the same period, and would perhaps have thought differently of it, had they duly observed how the account we have of the Chronographeon differs, the former part of it from the latter part, in a very remarkable particular, which argues it to have been an abstract of not one, but of two different works: the former part exhibiting the contents of a work which had not been divided into such dynasties as the latter part is made up of; the latter part containing the substance of one half of a work, which had comprehended in 30 dynasties the whole Egyptian history.

That the old Chronographeon was a different and distinct work from Manetho's, is evident from Syncellus; for he collected from it, that Manetho had committed errors^q;

^k Syncell. p. 76, 77. Prideaux, b. iii. ann. 519. b. vii. ann. 350.

^l Syncell. p. 256.

^m Prideaux, b. vii. ib.

ⁿ Id. part ii. b. ii. ann. 247.

^o Euseb. Chronic. p. 6.

^p Connect. part i. b. vii. ad annum

350.

^q Ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸν Μανεθῶ πεπλανῆσθαι νομίζω. Syncell. p. 51.

and suggests, that the period of time, which the old Chronographeon digested into dynasties, was not the same with that which Manetho sorted into divisions of a like denomination^r. From the old Chronographeon, Manetho took an hint, which led him to compose the Egyptian history in such sections^s; but the dynasties of the old Chronographeon were astronomical, not historical^t. The page of Syncellus, from which we might hope to form a judgment of this old Chronographeon, is printed very incorrectly, or perhaps never had the last hand of its author; for Syncellus died before he had completed and corrected his work^u; and, I should think, has left us in this page rather some hints, which he might purpose afterwards to perfect, than a clear and complete account of the old Chronographeon. As far as we can guess from his short and imperfect suggestions, the old Chronographeon divided a very large period of time, a space of 36525 years, first into 30 dynasties, then, ἐν γενεαῖς πάλιν ριγ', it subdivided it again into 113 generations^x. The Egyptians reputed a period of 36525 years to be the space of time, in which the luminaries of heaven performed what they called an entire revolution of the world^y; and perhaps, at the time of the composure of the Chronographeon, they might think their revolution of the Zodiac to be performed in 1217 years and 6 months, and so to be repeated 30 times in the course of years above mentioned^z; and this might lead them to divide that great period by 30 into dynasties. And if I could trace the fictions of their romantic astronomy, and determine precisely the particular lights of heaven, which in the first ages were called their gods, and calculate exactly how they measured the courses of each of them, I might probably deduce 113 other periods contained in the 36525 years, which they might call gene-

^r Περιέχον λ' δυναστειῶν—χρόνον ἄπειρον, καὶ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τὸν Μανεθῶ. Syncell. p. 51.

^s Ἐκ τούτων δηλαδὴ λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς. Id. p. 52.

^t Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν—τὰς περιόδους καὶ μυριάδας ἐτῶν, κατὰθεσίν τινα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀστρολογουμένων ἐξέθεντο. Id. p. 17.

^u Præfat. in Syncell.

^x Syncell. p. 51.

^y Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 9. Lond. 1672. See vol. i. b. i.

^z Afterwards they computed a revolution of the Zodiac more accurately to be 1460 years, still falling a little short of a true calculation. *Censorin. de Die Natali*, c. 18.

rations, and shew how in these their said gods completed again other courses, which had relations to one another. Of this sort were the 30 dynasties and 113 generations of the old Chronographeon, and belonged to the courses of the sun, moon, and stars, which were the gods of Egypt in these times^a. After these the Chronographeon gave account of the demi-gods and their times, but not in dynasties; and who these were, I have already considered^b. Next it related the heroes of the Cynic Cycle^c; and lastly, added the names of such Auritan, Mestræan, and Egyptian kings^d, as had reigned down to the times where the Chronographeon ended. Let us now consider in the next place the tomes of Manetho.

II. Manetho was a learned and noble Egyptian at the head of their *sacra*^e. About the time or soon after the Septuagint translation was made of the Hebrew Scriptures, he was ordered by Ptolemy Philadelphus to compile the history of his own country; and having consulted the sacred books of the Egyptians, and extracted, as he pretended, what had been transcribed into them from their most ancient monuments, and completed his undertaking in the Greek tongue, he dedicated it to Ptolemy, at whose command he had composed it^f. His work contained an account of the gods, demi-gods, heroes, and mortals, that had reigned in Egyptg; and herein the subject-matter of it bare a resemblance of the old Chronographeon; for that, as I have said, began with the reigns of Sol and the other gods, then gave account of the demi-gods, then of the Cynic heroes, and lastly of the Auritan, Mestræan, and Egyptian kings. Manetho divided his history into 30 dynasties and 113 generations^h; but he differed from the Chronographeon, in that the times he treated under these titles were not the same periods with those which the Chronographeon exhibited under

a See vol. i. b. i. b. v.

b Book i.

c Vid. book i.

d Syncell. p. 51.

e Syncell. p. 40. Voss. de Hist. Græc.

l. i. c. 14.

f Joseph. contra Ap. l. i. c. 14.

Syncell. p. 40.

g Ἐν τριάκοντα δυναστείαις ἱστορεῖ τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς θεῶν, καὶ ἡμιθέων, καὶ νεκρῶν, καὶ θνητῶν ἑτέρων βασιλέων. Syncell. p. 40.

h Ἡ ριγ' γενεῶν ἐν δυναστείαις λ' ἀναγεγραμμένων. Syncell. p. 52.

the like denominationsⁱ. The dynasties and generations of the Chronographeon were astronomical, prior to the reigns or lives of the demi-gods; but Manetho's began from the reigns of the gods, were carried on through the reigns of the demi-gods, heroes, and mortals, and terminated with Nectanebus. Manetho was unquestionably a great master of the Egyptian learning, and might think it a point of their doctrines, that all things had their period in 36525 years^k. He had lived to see the ancient glory of his country passed over: Egypt was in the possession of a foreign race of kings in his times. Nectanebus was the last Egyptian that sat on the throne of this nation^l: upon his flight from Ochus king of Persia, Egypt came over into the hands of the Persians, and afterwards was reduced by Alexander the Great^m; and at his death was a part of the provinces of Ptolemy, one of his captains, who in few years became king of it, and his son Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned when Manetho wrote his history. Thus Manetho had seen of the Egyptian race of kings, that their times had been fulfilled, and their kingdom departed from them; and upon the *dogmata* of the Egyptian learning, he conceived such a revolution might indeed happen at the end of 36525 years, and therefore deduced his dynasties according to it, and hereby made his work not dishonourable to his country, or to the stock of which himself was descendedⁿ; for it shewed the Egyptian reigns to have been carried down to a full and complete period, and it might be likely to give Ptolemy no disadvantageous sentiments of the Egyptian *sacra* and learning, if it could suggest to him, that his kingdom was founded near the beginning of a new order of ages^o, and might, under the protection of the same gods, be extended to as late a date.

ⁱ Οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν [χρόνον] τὸν Μανεθῶ.
Syncell. p. 51.

^k Vid. Jamblich. de Myster. Ægypt.
c. de Deo atque Diis.

^l Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. vii.
ann. 350.

^m Id. ibid.

ⁿ Manetho was of the Sebennite

race. Syncell. p. 40. A family which
in Nectanebus ascended the throne.
Prideaux ubi sup.

^o Virgil compliments the Augustan
age, in which the affairs of Rome were
come to a new settlement, in this
manner: *Magnus ab integro seclorum
nascitur ordo.* Eclog. iv. l. 5.

Syncellus has in several places, from Africanus and other writers, given us the numbers of years supposed to belong to the parts of Manetho's history: but the reader would have little satisfaction, if I were to collect and compare them; for they do not appear to be the true numbers, nor are they always consistent with one another^p. Syncellus unquestionably never saw the work of Manetho^q; no remains of it were extant in his times, other than what later writers had cited from him: and the several writers, that had cited Manetho, had so calculated, reduced^r, and disposed what they cited, to make it suit such schemes as themselves had formed of the Egyptian antiquities, that Syncellus could at best only guess what Manetho's scheme was, or what precise number of years he really assigned to the several particulars of it. Manetho composed his work in three tomes, volumes, or rather books^s: it contained, as above, 30 dynasties, deduced through 113 reigns, successions, or generations^t. In the former dynasties the history of the gods, demi-gods, and heroes was continued; in the latter, the history of the mortal kings^u; and, according to the supplement to the old Chronographeon above mentioned, the account of the mortal kings took up the last 15 dynasties^x; and in them were set down the reigns or successions of between 70 and 80 kings^y, in the space of 17 or 1800 years^z. If the number of kings were 77^a, add to these 15 Cynic

^p Syncell. p. 18, 19, 52.

^q Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 3.

^r Vid. Syncell. p. 19. Numeri isti non tam Manethonis sunt, quam Eusebii vel Panodori. *Marsham ubi sup.*

^s Syncell. p. 52.

^t Ibid.

^u Ibid.

^x Ibid.

^y The number of kings will be found to be 77, if we fill up the 28th dynasty with the reign of 1 king, and the 29th with 5, and suppose the 30th to contain the reign not of 1, but of 3 kings. And that these supplements and corrections are just, the reader may be satisfied from the accounts given of these dynasties by Africanus and Eusebius, Syncell. p. 76, 77, and

from the true history of Egypt, from Nectanebus's advancement to the throne, to the flight of Nectanebus. See Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. vii. an. 350.

^z If the reader counts up the numbers of years assigned to the reigns of the kings in the several dynasties annexed to the Chronographeon, supposing 6 years to be the reign of the king omitted in the 28th dynasty, (see this dynast. in African. et Euseb. Syncell. p. 76, 77.) and supposing the years of the 30th dynasty to be 25, not 18, (consult Prideaux's Connection for the reigns of the kings which belonged to that dynasty,) he will find the sum of years to be 1710.

^a Vid. quæ sup.

heroes^b, 8 demi gods^c, 12 gods^d, and Sol the son of Vulcan, and we have perhaps Manetho's 113 generations. In like manner I might attempt to fix the numbers of years which he assigned to the several generations. If the reigns of his kings amounted to between 17 and 1800 years, then the reigns of his gods, demi-gods, and heroes, filled up the space of almost 35000; for all together made 36525 years. The numbers of years of the reigns of the kings, as calculated in the supplement to the old Chronographeon, are 1710^e: the dynasties ended with Nectanebus, A. M. 3654^f; count back from hence 1710 years, and we begin the reign of the first king, A. M. 1944. Menes, or the Mizraim of Moses^g, went into Egypt about A. M. 1772, removed from the land of Zoan there into a further part of the country about A. M. 1881, and died about A. M. 1943^h; so that Manetho's accounts began the kings about Menes's timesⁱ. Of this sort, I believe, was the work of Manetho: and it is obvious to observe of it, that it did not appear to carry the accounts of the Egyptian kings so far backward, as the Greeks must imagine they ought to be carried, from what had been before published of them in the Greek tongue. Herodotus wrote about a century and half earlier than Manetho^k: and, according to what he collected, the Egyptians had had from Menes to Cambyses above 350 kings^l. When Herodotus was in Egypt, he was carried into a temple, where he counted the number of the statues of the priests, that were set up there, and he told 345^m; and the Egyptians informed him, that they had so many priests, and as many kings, from Menes their first king to Sethosⁿ. We cannot imagine that Herodotus should herein publish an

^b Chronograph. Syncell. p. 51.

^c Ibid.

^d Ibid.

^e Vid. quæ sup.

^f Syncell. p. 256. ed. Par. 1652.

^g See vol. i. b. iv.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ I cannot think the numbers are printed so accurately, or that we may be able perhaps to correct them with so much certainty and exactness, as to

determine absolutely that this was the real number fixed by Manetho: from this number we may form a general notion of his computations, and that is all we can pretend to endeavour at.

^k Compute the time of Herodotus from Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. vi. ad an. 444.

^l Herodot. Hist. lib. ii.

^m Id. ibid. c. 142.

ⁿ Ibid.

absolute falsehood ; and if Herodotus did indeed see such a collection of statues, how is it possible that there should have been no more kings of Egypt, than what Manetho seems to have suggested? But this matter may be easily cleared. The Egyptians had collected into this temple the statues of priests from a multitude of cities, and might, in shewing them to strangers, ostentatiously set off the number of their priests and kings, not telling how they had collected them, and they might hereby easily send into the world enlarged accounts of the Egyptian antiquities. But Manetho knew the affairs of his country too well to be led into this error : he supposed one continued empire to have subsisted and been maintained in Egypt from Menes to Nectanebus ; that the seat of it had in different ages been at different cities ; sometimes at This, sometimes at Memphis, sometimes at Diospolis, and sometimes at Tanis ; and accordingly he deduces and connects a series of those kings, whom he imagined to have had in their times the supreme command, omitting all others their contemporaries, whom he supposed to have governed but as deputies to these in their respective provinces or cities. However, Manetho's account does not seem to have given an entire satisfaction ; for in a little time after he had composed it, in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes the immediate successor of Philadelphus, who had employed Manetho, Eratosthenes was ordered to make a further collection of the Egyptian kings.

III. Eratosthenes was a Cyrenian, had studied at Athens, was of great eminence for his parts and learning, had an invitation into Egypt from Ptolemy Euergetes, who made him one of the keepers of the royal library at Alexandria^o, and commanded him to give him a catalogue of the Egyptian kings. Eratosthenes hereupon made a list of the kings who had reigned at Thebes or Diospolis, and to every king's name added the number of years in his reign. His catalogue is preserved in Syncellus^p, and the names of the kings, and number of years of the respective reigns set

^o Voss. de Histor. Græc. l. i. c. 17. Prideaux, Connect. p. ii. b. ii. ann. 239.
^p Syncell. p. 91—147.

down in it, are as follows: I. Menes reigned years 62. II. Athothes 59. III. Another Athothes 32. IV. Diabies 19. V. Pemphos 18. VI. Tægar Amachus Momcheiri 79. VII. Stæchus 6. VIII. Gosormies 30. IX. Mares 26. X. Anoyphes 20. XI. Sirius 18. XII. Chnoubus Gneurus 22. XIII. Ramosis 13. XIV. Biyris 10. XV. Saophis Comastes 29. XVI. Sen-Saophis 27. XVII. Moscheris Heliodotus 31. XVIII. Musthis 33. XIX. Pammus Archondes 35. XX. Apappus maximus 100. XXI. Achescus Ocaras 1. XXII. Nitocris 6. XXIII. Myrtæus Ammonodotus 22. XXIV. Thuosi Mares 12. XXV. Thinillus 8. XXVI. Semphruceates 18. XXVII. Chouther Taurus 7. XXVIII. Meures Philoscopus 12. XXIX. Chomæptha Mundus Philephæstus 11. XXX. Anchunius Ochy-Tyrannus 60. XXXI. Penteathyris 16. XXXII. Stamenemes 23. XXXIII. Sistosichermes 55. XXXIV. Mæris 43. XXXV. Siphos or Mercury 5. XXXVI. The name of the king is wanting, the years of his reign are 14. XXXVII. Pheuron or Nilus 5 years. XXXVIII. Amuthantæus 63. This is the remain we have of Eratosthenes, taken by Syncellus from the annals of Apollodorus^q. It begins from Menes, who was the Mizraim of Moses^r, 62 years before the death of Menes, 124 years, says Syncellus, after the confusion of tongues^s, that is, when Menes removed from the land of Tanis into Thebais, A. M. 1881^t. The sum of all the reigns contained in the catalogue amount, according to Syncellus, to 1076 years^u, and consequently the catalogue may be computed to end A. M. 2957. But before I leave this work of Eratosthenes, I would offer a few remarks upon it. 1. The nature and manner of it points out what were the reputed defects of Manetho's performance at the time of composing it: had Manetho's been esteemed a complete work, Eratosthenes would certainly not have been em-

^q Syncell. p. 91.

^r Gen. x. 13. vol. i. b. iv.

^s Syncell. p. 147.

^t Vol. i. b. iv.

^u If the reader sums up the reigns above recounted, he will find them amount to but 1050. But I must observe, that, in the margin of Syncel-

lus's Chronographia, at the name of Penteathyris the 31st king, it is remarked, that the years of his reign should be read $\mu\beta'$. not $\iota\sigma'$. 42, not 16; make this correction, and the sum of years of the catalogue will be 1076, as Syncellus writes it.

ployed so soon after him: but the number of Egyptian kings suggested by Herodotus, upon the appearance of a strict inquiry, and a very good information, could not but put the learned Greeks at Alexandria, as well as others, upon examining whether Manetho was not deficient in his number of Egyptian kings. With this view Eratosthenes collected the kings of one particular kingdom. There were in Manetho's dynasties but about 15 kings of the Theban kingdom^x: but, besides these, Eratosthenes collected 38, who had been omitted by Manetho. 2. The learned have very reasonably computed Eratosthenes's catalogue to be carried down to the times of the first Diospolitan king mentioned in the dynasties of Manetho^y, i. e. the king of Diospolis, who was the first of Manetho's 12th dynasty, was the immediate successor of Amuthantæus, the last of the catalogue of Eratosthenes. 3. It is something difficult to form a computation of the numbers of years belonging to the reigns in Eratosthenes, and in Manetho, suitable to the connecting Eratosthenes's catalogue to Manetho's dynasties in this manner: but I should think, we are so far from being sure that we have every number in either Eratosthenes or Manetho exactly as they left them, or that they themselves did not mistake sometimes in computing or transcribing the old Egyptian numeral characters, that great stress cannot be laid upon any seeming repugnancies of this nature. As Eratosthenes's catalogue now stands, from the beginning of the catalogue to the reign of Nilus the 37th king, are 982 years; so that Nilus began his reign according to this account about A. M. 2863. But Dicearchus computed the reign of Nilus to the 436th year before the first Olympiad^z; if we fix the first Olympiad to A. M. 3228^a, Nilus began his reign A. M. 2792, 71 years earlier than the catalogue suggests to us. But for errors of this sort, allowances must be given and taken in many parts of the ancient Egyptian history.

^x Vid. Chronograph. 19th, 20th, 23d dyn. Syncell. p. 51, 52.

^y Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 3. Priedeaux, Connect. part ii. b. ii. ad ann. 239.

^z Apollon. Argonaut. lib. iv. v. 272. in Schol. vetust. Hen. Steph. ed. 1584.

^a Vid. Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 423. Usher's Annals ad ann. Per. Jul. 3938.

IV. We have in Josephus some citations from Manetho, which ought in the next place to be examined. Josephus tells us from Manetho, that the incursion of the Pastors, who made themselves masters of Egypt^b, happened when Timæus was king^c; that the first Pastor king was Salatis, that he reigned 19 years: he was succeeded by Bæon, who reigned 44 years: after Bæon reigned Apachnas, 36 years and 7 months; then Apophis 61 years; then Janias 50 years 1 month; after whom Assis 49 years 2 months^d; and after these, other kings. Josephus informs us that the Pastors held Egypt in subjection 511 years^e; that at the end of that term Alisfragmuthosis, a Theban king, gave them a great overthrow, and that his son Thummosis reduced them to leave Egypt^f. After this, Josephus from Manetho gives us ^ga list of Theban kings. I. Tethmosis reigned 25 years 4 months. II. Chebron 13 years. III. Amenophis 20 years 7 months. IV. Amesses 21 years 9 months. V. Mephres 12 years 9 months. VI. Mephrammuthosis 25 years 10 months. VII. Thmosis 9 years 8 months. VIII. Amenophis 30 years 10 months. IX. Orus 36 years 5 months. X. Acencheres 12 years 1 month. XI. Rathotis 9 years. XII. Acencheres 12 years 5 months. XIII. Another Acencheres 12 years 3 months. XIV. Harmais 4 years 1 month. XV. Ramesses 1 year 4 months. XVI. Ramesses Miamon 66 years 2 months. XVII. Amenophis 19 years 6 months. XVIII. Sethosis 59 years^h. XIX. Rampses or Ramesses 66 yearsⁱ. Concerning what is thus offered by Josephus, I would observe,

1. That we have no reason to imagine that the first Pastor kings were a real part of Manetho's Egyptian dynasties. Manetho's purpose was to deduce the succession of the Egyptian kings; but the Pastor kings were not Egyptian; they were foreign invaders, who overran Egypt, and reduced a great part of the country into subjection. When therefore Manetho came down to the times where they made their

^b See vol. ii. b. vii.

^c Joseph. contra Apion. l. i. c. 14.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid.

^g Id. c. 15.

^h Id. c. 26.

ⁱ Ibid.

invasion, though he probably took notice of their incursion, their names, what part of the country they gained possession of; yet he probably continued down the history of the kings of Egypt in the Thebans, who were not reduced by the Pastors; accordingly, in the Epitome of Manetho we find no dynasty of Pastors^k, nor would Africanus^l or Eusebius^m, I should think, have supposed any, had they duly attended to what must have been the design of Manetho's performance: they might perhaps have remarked the Pastor kings over-against, and contemporary with, those kings of Thebais, in whose reigns they got possession of a great part of Egypt. 2. The Pastors came into Egypt about A. M. 2420ⁿ: until this time Egypt appears in Scripture to have enjoyed a long and uninterrupted peace from its most early ages^o: but now a new or foreign^p king arose, unacquainted with what had been transacted in it^q; and farther, the sacred pages suggest a people to have been about this time expelled their country^r, who probably might be these Pastors, who invaded Egypt. In like manner, if from A. M. 2420, we count down 511 years, the term during which the Pastors kept their conquests, we shall fix their leaving Egypt to about A. M. 2931: they had then leave to march into whatever country they liked to go, and that would receive them^s: they marched through the desert^t, and probably found a reception in some nation of Arabia; they went from Egypt not fewer in number than 240000ⁿ, and consequently the nation that received so considerable an addition to its people, must in a little time have grown very populous. Agreeably hereto, about A. M. 3063^x, within little more than a century, Zerah the Ethiopian or Cushite^y, a king in Arabia Petræa, invaded his

^k Vid. Chronograph.

^l Africanus supposes 3 Pastor dynasties, the 15th, 16th, and 17th. Syncell. p. 61.

^m Eusebius suggests but one Pastor-dynasty, namely his 17th. Euseb. Chron. p. 16. ed. Scal. Amst. 1658. Syncell. p. 61.

ⁿ See vol. ii. b. vii.

^o The learned writers, who would introduce the Pastors in another age, are forced to place them about the first planting of Egypt, in times when we

have no mention of the state of it in the Scriptures. See bishop Cumberland's Sanchoniatho, and his Origines Gentium.

^p Exod. i. 8. See vol. ii. b. vii.

^q Ibid.

^r Ibid.

^s Joseph. contra Apion. l. i. c. 14.

^t Ibid.

^u Ibid.

^x Usher's Annals.

^y See vol. i. b. iii.

neighbours with an army of a thousand thousand^z; so that the sacred pages offer us intimations of the state both of Egypt, and of the neighbouring countries, well answering to the thus fixing the times of the Pastors. 3. Josephus seems to me not to be consistent with himself, in the account he gives from Manetho of the Theban kings^a: in one place he says Tummosis the son of Alisfragmuthosis expelled the Pastors^b; this Tummosis was surely the king whom he afterwards calls Thmosis, and whom he sets down next to Mephramuthosis^c: and yet in recounting these kings, he sets Tethmosis, who, he says, expelled the Pastors, 5 reigns before Mephramuthosis^d. But probably Manetho had rendered this part of his work dark and confused: Manetho took the Israelites and the Pastors to be one and the same people^e, and by treating the Jewish exit, and the expulsion of the Pastors, as one event, he might mention the names of different kings, so as to lead Josephus into this contrariety. If we may form our notion of Manetho's work from the Epitome of it^f, Josephus mistook the number of Manetho's Theban kings: the Epitome suggests him to have mentioned only 15; five in his 19th dynasty, 8 in his 20th, and 2 in his 23d. And if I knew how to choose the 15 rightly out of Josephus's list, and to make the first five begin where Eratosthenes's catalogue ends, and continue to the expulsion of the Pastors; and then to choose eight more, whose reigns might carry on the history to Sesostris or Sethosis, who was Sesac, and came against Jerusalem A. M. 3033^g; I should take the last two of Manetho's Theban kings to be Sesostris and his son Ramesses: and I should imagine I had hereby set right Josephus's catalogue, and made Manetho's account agreeable, in this part of it, to true history.

V. Next to Josephus, we are to consider the work of Africanus. Sextus Julius Africanus was a Christian, lived in the third century, and wrote about an hundred and fifty years after Josephus: he composed a Chronography, consist-

^z 2 Chron. xiv.

^a Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. c. 15.

^b Ibid. c. 14.

^c Ibid. c. 15. Africanus and Eusebius call him Tuthmosis.

^d Joseph. cont. Apion. l. i. c. 15.

^e Ibid. c. 14, 16, 26.

^f Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 51, 52.

^g See pref. to vol. ii.

ing of two parts; in the former part he collected, from other more ancient writers, the materials he intended to make use of; in the latter part he formed from them a chronicle or historical deduction, beginning from the creation of the world, and carried down to the consulate of Gratus and Seleucus, to the year of our Lord 221, says sir John Marsham^h. Amongst other collections in the former part of his work, were the dynasties of Manetho; but not such as Manetho left them; for they were new modelled according to some scheme of them formed later than the times of Manetho. For, 1. Manetho's dynasties began with the reigns of the gods, demi-gods, and heroes, and then exhibited the reigns of the mortal kingsⁱ: but the dynasties given us by Africanus begin from the mortal kings^k, and omit all that related to the superior beings, who were said to have reigned before them^l. 2. Manetho's dynasties of the mortal kings were but 15; they began at the 16th dynasty, and ended with the 30th^m: but Africanus offers us 31 dynasties of Egyptian kings. Upon this account we must conclude, 3. that several of Africanus's dynasties were not in Manetho: thus the 31st dynasty was not Manetho's; for he carried down his history no farther than to the end of Nectanebus's reign; but this 31st dynasty contains the names of Persian kings, who reigned after Nectanebus was expelled his kingdomⁿ. In like manner Manetho's tomes seem to me not to have had Africanus's 2d dynasty of Thinite kings^o, nor the 5th of Elephantine, nor the 6th of Memphites, nor the 15th of Pastors, nor the 22d of Bubastites, as Africanus gives us them. Further, Africanus's 18th dynasty of Theban kings seems to be taken rather from Josephus than from Manetho; for Manetho had in all but 15 Theban kings, and those set

^h Can. Chron. p. 5.

ⁱ Syncell. p. 40.

^k Id. p. 54.

^l Africanus begins his dynasties thus, *Μετὰ νεκύας τοῦς ἡμῶς πρῶτη βασιλεία καταριθμεῖται βασιλέων ὀκτὼ*— Syncell. *ibid.*

^m Vid. Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 51, 52. *καὶ ἐπὶ πάσαις ἑξήκοντα δυναστείαις.*

ⁿ The kings of the 31st dynasty are Ochus, Arses, Darius. Syncell. p. 77.

^o It ought to be here observed, that Africanus perhaps did not in his first and second dynasty copy after Manetho: Manetho gave a list of *βασιλέων Τανιτῶν*. Vid. Chronograph. But Africanus's 1st and 2d dynasties are not of Tanite, but *Θεινιτῶν*, of the kings of This, or of Thinite kings; so that Africanus had found here a different catalogue of kings from Manetho's, and did not distinguish it.

down in 3 dynasties^p. As to Africanus's 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 17th, and 20th dynasties, they are mere numbers of years without any names of kings affixed to them^q, and unquestionably no such dynasties were to be found in Manetho.

It may be here asked, how can it be imagined that Africanus should take away from, and add to, Manetho's dynasties in this extravagant manner, or how or whence could he find matter or pretence to do it? I answer, 1. For his omission of what Manetho had recorded prior to the reigns of the mortal kings, it is easy to find a good reason: he thought all that Manetho offered of the reigns of gods, demi-gods, and heroes, to be fable, fiction, or false theology^r, and therefore superfluous, not worth his transcribing. 2. There might be in the tomes of Manetho the names of many kings, besides those which Manetho supposed his dynasties to consist of: Manetho accounted all Egypt, from its rise to Nectanebus, to have been but one empire; and in considering it as such, he deduced one continued history of the kings, who had had the supreme rule of it: but as he supposed the seat of this empire to have been at different times at different cities; and agreeably hereto, as his dynasties were sometimes of kings of Tanis, sometimes of kings of Memphis, and sometimes of Diospolis, according as he thought the kings who had the supreme command, reigned at this or that city: and as it might happen, whilst the kings of a Memphite or Theban dynasty were at the head of affairs, there might be in Manetho's account deputy rulers at Tanis, Bubastus, Elephantis, or other cities; so from hence Africanus might have an opportunity of making a Tanite dynasty, an Elephantine, a Memphite, and a Bubastite, more than Manetho ever supposed. The names of the kings suggested by Africanus in these dynasties were perhaps to be found in Ma-

^p Vid. 19th, 20th, 23d dynast. in Chronograph. in Syncell. ubi sup.

^q Meros numeros inaniter turgentis. *Marsham, Can. Chron.* p. 5.

^r Quæ Manetho *μυρῶν ἱερῶν ἀρχι-*

ερεὺς γράφει ψευδηγορῶν περὶ θεῶν οὐδέποτε γεγονότων, ista omnia tanquam scriptore Christiano indigna Africanus asperratur, et in illud tempus rejicit, quod præcessit diluvium. Marsham, p. 5.

netho's history: but Manetho might record them as tributary or deputy rulers to some of the kings of the dynasties he treated of: Africanus supposed them independent, and made dynasties appropriated to them. 3. Africanus's 15th dynasty contains the names of the Pastor kings, and the names of these were to be found in Manetho^s: but Manetho did not relate these Pastors to be a part of the Egyptian succession of kings, but rather noted them to have invaded and dispossessed some of the Egyptian kings of a great part of Egypt, and accordingly only mentions them as being in Egypt in the times of those kings. 4. Manetho had mentioned 15 kings of Thebais, 5 in his 19th dynasty, 8 in his 20th, and 2 in his 23d^t: Africanus has named as many in his 11th, 12th, and 19th dynasties; he further found several Theban kings' names in Josephus, said to be taken from Manetho^u; he collected these also, and made of them his 18th dynasty^x. But he should have observed, that Josephus has through some mistake multiplied the names of these kings beyond what Manetho intended; and further, there is such a repetition and similitude of names in this dynasty, and in Africanus's 11th, 12th, and 19th, that it seems most probable that they offer us only the same kings, with some small diversity in naming them, and that 15 kings rightly chosen out of the names mentioned in these four dynasties, would give us the true reigns that Manetho had recorded. 5. The dynasties, suggesting reigns without names of kings, were perhaps added by Africanus from the intimations of Herodotus^y; or, from the time that Manetho's account came to be generally esteemed deficient. Soon after Eratosthenes had published his catalogue, it might grow customary for the learned to annotate upon their copies of the tomes of Manetho, what kings' names, and what reigns they conceived him to have omitted in every part of his history; and from some transcripts of such enlarged copies of the tomes of Manetho, Africanus, who did not write until near 500

^s Vid. Joseph. contra Ap. l. i. c. 14.

^t Vid. Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 51, &c.

^u Joseph. ubi sup.

^x Syncell. p. 69.

^y Herodotus computes about 368 kings down to Cambyses. Vid. Histor. l. ii. l. iii.

years after him, might apprehend, that such dynasties as he has offered might be collected from the books of Manetho.

If the reader will take the pains to inspect Africanus's account of the dynasties, and to compute the number of reigns, and years of the reigns contained in them, he will find the kings, named and not named, to be together in number 473, down to the end of Nectanebus's reign, and that the sum of all their reigns amounts to 4823 years 4 months and 10 days. But Africanus could not purpose to bring such a length of Egyptian history within the compass that his work could allow for it; for whoever will consider the nature of his epochs and chronology, what year of the world he supposed Noah's flood to have happened in, and to what year he fixed the end of Nectanebus's reign, will see that he could not have above the space of 2880 years for the Egyptian history: and unquestionably in the second part of his work, when he came to use the collections he had made, he brought his dynasties down to about this measure; which he might readily do, if, in composing his chronicle, he rejected the reigns as fictitious, which have no names of kings annexed to them, and took into his history only the kings whose names he has given us; for the kings so named by him are in number but 128, and the times of their reigns amount to 2983 years^z: and Africanus might apprehend from Diodorus Siculus, who flourished in the times of Julius Cæsar^a, long after Herodotus and Manetho, and who had been in Egypt for information as well as Herodotus^b, that Herodotus's enlarged catalogue of kings of Egypt ought probably to be reduced to about this number^c: in this manner I would consider the work of Africanus, and think of him; not that he made imaginary dynasties, and altered and interpolated Manetho just as his fancy led him^d, for this

^z If we may suppose in this number a mistake of 100 years, which is no great matter, considering how often the transcribers might miscalculate, or write erroneously the old numeral characters, we shall have a number suited to Africanus's chronology.

^a Prideaux, Connect. part ii. b. vii. ad ann. 60. Voss. de Hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 2.

^b Diodor. l. i. c. 4. 44.

^c Diodorus suggests about 130 kings of Egypt. Histor. l. i.

^d Sir John Marsham says of him, *Maximus Manethonis interpolator Africanus vetustiores suas dynastias (siquid video) ex mero suo ipsius arbitrio disposuit: si penitus inspiciamus, alias illarum frustula tantum esse dynastiæ, alias reperiemus meros esse numeros in-*

would be to make him a most romantic writer; but rather, 1. That he took into his dynasties what he thought Manetho to have duly adjusted to true history, and of this sort we may suppose his 1st, 3d, 4th, 11th, 12th, 19th, 21st, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, answering to Manetho's 15 dynasties from the 16th to the 30th^e. 2. He added to these in other dynasties some names of kings mentioned in Manetho to have reigned in Egypt; but he differed from Manetho, I take it, in a material point about these kings. He deduced their reigns in dynasties made for them, as if they had continued and brought down the Egyptian succession. Manetho did not suppose any of these kings to have reigned in times distinct from the Egyptian, but rather that they were deputies to, or usurpers, who held and kept some parts of Egypt from the rightful sovereigns their contemporaries, kings of the true Egyptian line: of these Africanus perhaps made his 2d, 5th, 6th, 15th, and 22d dynasties. 3. Africanus found numerous additions of nameless reigns suggested by annotators to belong to Manetho's tomes, agreeably to what Herodotus had wrote of the Egyptian history: he took these into his collection also, and made of them his 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 17th, and 20th dynasties, though he discarded these again when he came to compose from the materials he had collected, esteeming Manetho to have really offered no more kings than what there were names to be found of in his books. 4. Africanus collected his 18th dynasty, as I have said^f, from Josephus. 5. The 31st dynasty might be added to Manetho by some later hand, who was minded to remark the Persian kings unto whom Egypt became tributary, and being thus wrote into some copies of Manetho, it might come down to Africanus, and not be rejected by him. If we consider Africanus's work in this light, we shall do justice to his character^g; allow him to have been a serious and considerate writer, who

aniter turgentes. Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 5.

^e Vid. Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 51, 52.

^f Vid. quæ sup.

^g *Julius Africanus accuratissimus*

temporum observator. Vossius de Hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 15. Ἀφρικανοῦ χρονολογικῶν σπουδᾶσματα ἐπ' ἀκριβῆς πεποιημένα Euseb. Ecclesiastic. Histor. l. vi. c. 31.

took true pains to give what he judged a reasonable account of Manetho's performance, such as might represent it agreeing to what he reputed the true chronology of the world.

VI. Pamphilus Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, wrote about a century after Africanus: his Chronicon was a work of the same nature with Africanus's Chronographia: he divided it into two parts; the former part contained the *materia chronologica* for an universal history; in the second part he ranged and synchronized such of the materials collected in the former part as he purposed to make use of; so as to offer in one view a concurrent plan of the sacred and profane history. Eusebius began this part of his work from the birth of Abraham, and carried it down to the 20th year of Constantine the Great^h: in his former part, amongst other collections, were the dynasties of Manetho, taken in a great measure from Africanus's account of them; though in some points he differed from Africanus sufficiently to shew us, that he did not think Africanus to have ascertained indisputably the dynasties of Manetho. Eusebius represents the dynasties down to Nectanebus to contain the names of but 93 kings, and the reigns that have no names of kings affixed to them to be but 259. But I would not carry the reader into a tedious discussion of every little difference between Africanus and Eusebius upon this subject; their dynasties are described at large in Syncellusⁱ; and whoever would examine this subject more curiously, may, by consulting his work, see and compare them with one another. However I cannot but observe, that Eusebius certainly took great liberty in order to form the dynasties to his own purpose, sometimes following Africanus, and sometimes the Epitome of Manetho added to the Chronographeon above mentioned, and making no scruple to vary from both, if his scheme required it: for, 1. his scheme was to synchronize the last year of Nectanebus, where Manetho's work ended, with the 1667th year from the birth of Abraham^k, and to fix to the birth of Abraham the beginning of the 16th Egyptian

^h Euseb. Chron. Marsham. p. 6.

ⁱ Syncell. p. 54—78.

^k Euseb. Chron. ad num. αχξζ'.

p. 175.

dynasty¹. He supposes that dynasty to contain 5 Theban kings^m: herein he followed neither the Epitome of Manethoⁿ, nor Africanus^o: however the Epitome suggesting Manetho to have ascribed 190 years to the 16th dynasty, Eusebius writes to it the same number. Having thus fixed in what part of the dynasties he should begin his account, and what interval of years he had to fill up with Egyptian reigns, he proceeded as follows: 2. He observed that the Epitome computed 103 years to be the contents of the 17th dynasty^p; accordingly he ascribes the same number of years to it: the Epitome styles this dynasty Memphite: but Eusebius knowing that Manetho had mentioned the Pastor kings, and counting down from the birth of Abraham, and computing this dynasty to reach the times of the Israelites being in Egypt, and conceiving that some of the Egyptian kings had been called Pastor kings, from their receiving and entertaining Jacob and his children, a family of shepherds; he took from hence his title to this dynasty^q, and called it the Pastor dynasty. 3. The Epitome supposes the 18th dynasty to be Memphite, the number of kings 14, the sum of their years 348^r: Africanus's 18th dynasty is Diospolitan, the number of its kings 16, the sum of the years of their reigns 284^s. Here Eusebius, as to the title of the dynasty and number of reigns in it, corrects the Epitome by Africanus: but in the sum of years in the reigns he corrects Africanus by the Epitome, making his 18th dynasty Diospolitan, and to contain 16 kings, and their reigns to amount to 348 yearst^t. 4. In the Epitome the 19th dynasty is Diospolitan, the kings in it are 5, the sum of years in their reigns 194^u: Africanus's 19th dynasty is likewise Diospolitan, the kings in it are 7, their reigns 210 years^x: but here Eusebius takes the num-

¹ Euseb. Chron. ad num. a'. p. 89.

^m Syncell. p. 61. Euseb. Chron. p. 15.

ⁿ Ταμιτῶν ις'. δυναστεία γενεῶν η' ἐτῶν ρζ'. Epit. Syncell. p. 51.

^o Ἐκκαίδεκάτη δυναστεία ποιμένες' Ἑλληνες βασιλεῖς λβ'. ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη φιη'.

African. in Syncell. p. 61.

^p Syncell. p. 51.

^q Reges Ægyptiorum Pastores con-

ijimus nuncupatos propter Joseph et fratres ejus, qui in principio pastores descendisse in Ægyptum comprobantur. Chron. Euseb. Lat. p. 64.

^r Syncell. p. 51.

^s Id. p. 62—72.

^t Euseb. Chron. a num. σζδ'. p. 101. ad num. χμβ'. p. 118.

^u Syncell. p. 51.

^x Id. p. 72.

bers of the Epitome, and sets down 5 kings and 194 years^y. 5. In the 20th dynasty his management is remarkable: the Epitome supposes this dynasty Diospolitanz, and Africanus gives it this title^a. The Epitome numbers in it 8 reigns of 228 years; Africanus 12 kings, but has no names of any of them; he supposes their reigns to amount to 135 years. Eusebius here copies after Africanus, both in the numbers of the kings, and in not having the names of any of them; but differs from him in the sum of their years, which he sets down 178. Eusebius seems to me to have chosen this dynasty to be the closure of his plan: all the other dynasties he made use of have the names of the kings belonging to them, and upon that account he was more obliged to fix them a number of years, such as he had some appearance of authority to justify, either from the Epitome, or from Africanus: but having here a dynasty without names of kings contained in it, he could affix to it, without hazard of contradiction, such a number of years, as his other dynasties would fall short of 1667, which was the term to be filled up by him. 6. The Epitome and Africanus agree to call the 21st dynasty Tanite; the Epitome gives it 6 reigns, 121 years; Africanus 7 reigns, 130 years^b: Eusebius takes here the numbers of Africanus. 7. The Epitome calls the 22d dynasty Tanite; its reigns are 3, years of reigns 48^c. Africanus makes here a Bubastite dynasty, and supposes its reigns 3, years 49^d: Eusebius takes the title of the Epitome, and the numbers of Africanus^e. 8. The 23d dynasty in the Epitome is Diospolitanz, contains 2 kings, their reigns amount to 19 years^f: in Africanus it is Tanite, consists of 4 kings, whose reigns make up 89 years^g: Eusebius gives it Africanus's title, but describes in it 3 kings, and computes their reigns to be 44 years^h. 9. The 24th dynasty is Saitan both according to the Epitome and Africanusⁱ. The Epitome supposes it to

^y Euseb. Chron. a num. $\chi\mu\beta'$. p. 118.
ad num. $\omega\lambda\epsilon'$. p. 128.

^z Syncell. p. 51.

^a Id. p. 73.

^b Syncell. ubi sup.

^c Id. ibid.

^d Id. p. 73.

^e Euseb. Chron. a num. $\alpha\rho\mu\delta'$. p. 144.
ad num. $\alpha\rho\zeta'\beta'$. p. 147.

^f Syncell. ubi sup.

^g Id. p. 74.

^h Euseb. Chron. a num. $\alpha\rho\zeta'\gamma'$.
p. 147. ad num. $\alpha\sigma\lambda\epsilon'$. p. 149.

ⁱ Syncell. p. 52, 74.

contain 3 reigns of 44 years; Africanus says, 1 reign of 6 years: Eusebius agrees with both as to the title of it, but ascribes to it Africanus's 1 reign, with 44, the number of years set down to it in the Epitome^k. 10. The Epitome and Africanus agree the 25th dynasty to consist of 3 Ethiopian kings, and their reigns to be 44 years^l; and herein Eusebius concurs with them^m. 11. The Epitome supposes the 26th dynasty to consist of 7 Memphite kings, who reigned 177 yearsⁿ: Africanus represents it to contain 9 Saitan kings, who reigned 150 years 6 months^o. Eusebius gives it Africanus's title and number of kings, but makes the years of their reigns 167^p. 12. The 27th dynasty is, according to the Epitome, Persian, and contains the reign of 5 kings in 124 years^q: Africanus reckons it also Persian, but computes 8 kings, reigning 120 years 4 months, to belong to it^r: Eusebius styles it Persian, and sets down in it 7 kings, reigning 111 years^s: but these differences are to be accounted for: Egypt came into subjection to the Persians when Cambyses was king of Persia^t, and recovered its liberty in the reign of Darius Nothus^u; and some writers, not taking into their accounts the Persian kings who did not reign a full year, might reckon but five kings from the one to the other: others might number, in their lists of Persian kings, Smerdes the Magian, who reigned some months, after him Darius Hystaspes, then Xerxes, then Artaxerxes, then the son of Artaxerxes, who reigned but two months, then Sogdianus, who reigned seven months, and then Darius Nothus^x, and so with Cambyses make 8 Persian kings in this dynasty. In like manner, if the years of this dynasty be computed from the first year of Cambyses's reign in Persia to the last year of Darius Nothus, they will amount to 124, the number in the Epitome: if they be reckoned from the fourth or fifth year

^k Euseb. Chron. a num. αολζ'. p. 149.
ad num. ασπ'. p. 152.

^l Syncell. ubi sup.

^m Euseb. Chron. a num. ασπα'.
p. 152. ad num. ακδ'. p. 155.

ⁿ Syncell. p. 52.

^o Id. p. 75.

^p Euseb. Chron. a num. ακε'.
p. 155. ad num. αυζα'. p. 164.

^q Syncell. p. 52.

^r Id. p. 76.

^s Euseb. Chron. a num. αυζβ'.

p. 164. ad num. ακγ'. p. 172.

^t Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. iii.
an. 524.

^u Id. b. vi.

^x Consult dean Prideaux's History
of these times

of Cambyses, the year in which the Persians conquered Egypt, they may amount to about Africanus's number, 120 years 4 months. If they be more strictly calculated, from Cambyses's conquest of Egypt, to Amyrtæus's being made king upon the revolt of the Egyptians from Darius Nothus, in about the 10th year of Darius's reign^y, the interval will be, as Eusebius reckons it, 111 years. 13. As to the 28th, 29th, and 30th dynasties, if we allow for little mistakes that may easily happen in transcribing numbers, and consider that Tanite, Mendesian, and Sebennite, may be terms synonymous, Mendes and Sebenneh having been cities of the land of Zoan or Tanis^z, these dynasties in the Epitome, in Africanus, and in Eusebius, may be conceived to have been the same. Of this sort the reader, if he examines it, will find the work of Eusebius, as far as it relates to the Egyptian dynasties. Manetho had left only 15 dynasties of mortal kings; for his other 15 treated of gods, demi-gods, and heroes of a superior race^a: upon this account Eusebius in composing his Chronicon rejected 15 of Africanus's dynasties, reputed them prior to the times of which he could hope to find any true history; and having selected the 15 dynasties of Africanus, from the 16th to the 30th, and new modelled them, by comparing them with the like dynasties added in the Epitome to the old Chronographeon; sometimes giving his dynasties titles and numbers from the Epitome, sometimes from Africanus, and now and then varying from both, if his purpose required it; and having thus formed such a series of Egyptian reigns as would fill up his interval between the birth of Abraham, and the flight of Nectanebus, he gave himself no further trouble; though one would think, he could not büt have seen that he might rather be said to have made a way to give the dynasties some appearance of an agreement to his chronology, than to have given any true and just account of them.

VII. Syncellus is the next writer we are to go to for the Egyptian antiquities: he composed his Chronographia

^y See Prideaux's Connect. part i. book vi.

^z Strabo Geograph.

^a Vid. quæ sup. de Manethone.

about the year of our Lord 800^a: he transcribed into it what remains he could find of the more ancient writers, and some extracts from others, who had composed before him a work of like nature with what he attempted. Accordingly we find in him the contents of the old Chronographer^b, of Manetho's dynasties^c, of Africanus's^d and Eusebius's^e, agreeably to what he judged to be the scheme and purport of each of them: and in many places we have his strictures and observations, as he goes along, upon the matters offered by them: he has also given us Eratosthenes's catalogue of the Thebæan kings^f. He remarks, that the dynasty writers must have supposed their 27th dynasty, which they call Persians, to have begun when Cambyses king of Persia conquered Egypt^g. Amasis was king of Egypt at that time^h: and to this Amasis he brings down a list of 86 kings of Egypt, from Menes their first king, setting against each king's name the years of his reign as follows: I. Me-straim or Menes reigned 35 years. II. Curudes 63. III. Aristarchus 34. IV. Spanius 36. V. VI. Two kings, whose names are lost; their reigns amounted to 72 years. VII. Serapis 23. VIII. Sejouchosis 49. IX. Amenemes 29ⁱ. X. Amasis 2. XI. Acheseptres 13. XII. Achoreus 9. XIII. Armiyses 4. XIV. Chamois 12^k. XV. Amesises 65. XVI. — 14. XVII. Use 50. XVIII. Ramesses 29^l. XIX. Ramessomenes 15. XX. Thusimares 31. XXI. Ramesse-seos 23. XXII. Ramesse-menos 19. XXIII. Ramesse-Tubaete 39^m. XXIV. Ramesse-Vaphris 29. XXV. Concharis 5ⁿ. XXVI. Silites 19^o. XXVII. Bæon 44^p. XXVIII. Apachnas 36. XXIX. Apophis 61^q. XXX. Sethos 50. XXXI. Certus, according to Josephus 29 years, according to Manetho 44. XXXII. Aseth 20^r. XXXIII. Amosis, who was also called Tethmosis, 22^s.

^a Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 7. Voss. de Historic. Græc. lib. ii. c. 24.

^b Syncell. p. 51.

^c Ibid. p. 52.

^d Ibid. p. 54—77.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid. p. 91, &c.

^g Ibid. p. 210.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 91. Vid. Euseb. Chron. p. 17, 18.

^k Χαμοῖς κς'. Euseb. p. 18.

^l Syncell. p. 96. Vid. Euseb. Chron. p. 18.

^m Syncell. p. 101. Euseb. p. 20.

ⁿ Syncell. p. 103. Euseb. 21.

^o Syncell. p. 104. Euseb. 21.

^p Βαιών λθ'. Euseb. p. 22.

^q Syncell. p. 108. Euseb. 22.

^r Ἀσῆθ κδ'. in margine Syncell. p. 123.

^s Syncell. ibid. Euseb. 23.

xxxiv. Chebron 13. xxxv. Amephes 15. xxxvi. Amenses 11. xxxvii. Misphragmuthosis 16. xxxviii. Misphres 23. xxxix. Tuthmosis 39^t. xl. Amenophtis 34^u. xli. Horus 48. xlii. Achencheres 25. xliii. Athoris 29. xliv. Chencheres 26^x. xlv. Acheres 8, or 30. xlvi. Armæus or Danaus 9^y. xlvii. Rameses, who was also called Ægyptus, 68. xlviii. Amenophis 8. xlix. Thuoris 17. l. Nechepsus 19. li. Psammuthis 13. lii. — 4^z. liii. Certus 20^a. liv. Rhampsis 45. lv. Amenses or Amenemes 26^b. lvi. Ochyras 14. lvii. Amedes 27. lviii. Thuoris 50^c. lix. Athothis 28. lx. Cencenes 39. lxi. Venephes 42^d. lxii. Sussachim 34^e. lxiii. Psuenus 25. lxiv. Ammenophes 9. lxv. Nephcheres 6. lxvi. Saïtes 15. lxvii. Psinaches 9. lxviii. Petubastes 44. lxix. Osorthron 9. lxx. Psammus 10. lxxi. Concharis 21^f. lxxii. Osorthron 15. lxxiii. Tacephes 13. lxxiv. Bocchoris 44. lxxv. Sabacon Æthiops 12. lxxvi. Sebechon 12^g. lxxvii. Taracas 20. lxxviii. Amaes 38. lxxix. Stephinates 27. lxxx. Nachepsus 13^h. lxxxii. Nechaab 8. lxxxiii. Psammitichus 14. lxxxiv. Nechaab the second, called Pharaoh 9. lxxxv. Psammuthis or Psammitichus the second 17. lxxxvi. Vaphres 34. lxxxvii. Amasis 50ⁱ.

It is queried by the learned whence Syncellus collected this series of Egyptian kings^k. Scaliger imagined him to have found it in the Chronicon of Eusebius, and accordingly, in his attempt to retrieve us that work, he has inserted these kings amongst others of Eusebius's collections. But in this point Scaliger must have been mistaken: we have no reason to imagine this catalogue to have ever been in Eusebius: it seems rather to have been, a great part of it, Syncellus's own composition, who imagined he could in this manner deduce the Egyptian kings. If the reader will

^t Syncell. p. 147. Euseb. 25.

^u Syncell. p. 151. Euseb. 26.

^x *Iid. ibid.*

^y Syncell. p. 155. Euseb. 29.

^z Ἐτη ε'. Euseb. p. 30.

^a Ἐτη β'. Euseb. *ibid.*

^b Syncell. p. 160. Euseb. 30.

^c Syncell. p. 169. Euseb. Chr. p. 32.

^d Syncell. p. 170. Euseb. 33.

^e Syncell. p. 177. Euseb. 34.

^f *Ibid.*

^g Syncell. p. 184. Euseb. 36.

^h Syncell. p. 191. Euseb. 38.

ⁱ Syncell. p. 210. Euseb. 46, 47.

^k Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 7.

strictly examine it, he will find, that the kings from the 49th to the 86th, might be taken from Africanus's 19th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th dynasties; only Syncellus has now and then added or repeated a name of a king or two, and given new numbers to all their reigns, such probably as suited the scheme he had formed for the Egyptian chronology. From the 33d king to the 48th, we have a catalogue of Theban kings formed from considering and comparing Josephus's list with Africanus and Eusebius's 18th dynasty. The kings from the 26th to the 32d are taken from Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius's account of the Pastor kings. From Mestraim or Menes the 1st king, to Concharis the 25th, Syncellus does indeed offer a series of reigns, which we do not now meet with in any writer before him: and perhaps, as Africanus mistook, and gave us a series of Thinite kings in his first and second dynasties, instead of Manetho's Tanite kings¹; so here Syncellus, from some ancient quotations or remains, has happened upon the succession of Tanite kings, which might begin Manetho's accounts of the mortal kings; though I dare say he had no true notion of the nature of it: for Syncellus had certainly formed no right judgment of the Egyptian history, as appears evidently from his declaring that he knew no use of, nor occasion for, Eratosthenes's catalogue of Theban kings^m. He found the fragment above mentioned; he saw it differed from all other collections, and intended himself to differ from all others who had wrote before him; for this reason, and probably for no other, he began his catalogue with it: he added to it the Pastor and Theban kings from Josephus, and completed it with taking as many names of kings from Africanus and other writers as he thought he wanted; and having taken the liberty to give to the several reigns of these later kings, not the numbers of years assigned them by the writers from whom he took them; but such as might bring down the succession in a manner suitable to his own chronology; this was his attempt towards clearing the Egyptian historyⁿ. The reader, if

¹ See the notes in page 144.
^m Vid. Syncell. p. 147.

ⁿ Sir John Marsham says very justly of Syncellus, *Reges comminiscitur an-*

he examines it, will after all find that Syncellus's catalogue is somewhat too long for the interval to which he intended to adjust it. But the learned are apprised that Syncellus's work is in many places inaccurate in this matter.

VIII. We are in the last place to consider what our learned countryman sir John Marsham has done upon this subject. And, 1. he considered Egypt to have been divided into four concurrent kingdoms in the most early ages, namely, into the kingdoms of Thebes, of This, of Memphis, and of Tanis, or lower Egypt^o. 2. He formed a canon, or table, that might offer the reader in one view the contemporary kings of each kingdom. And, 3. in the execution of his work in proper chapters, he endeavours to justify the position of the kings according to the succession in the respective columns of his canon assigned to them. The following tables will give the reader a view of sir John Marsham's succession of the Egyptian kings, from Menes, the first king over all Egypt, to the times of Sesac, who came against Jerusalem in the 5th year of Rehoboam^p.

nosque et successiones mutilat vel extendit, prout ipsi visum est, ut imprudentiam hominis non possis non mirari, qui cum aliis risatur, ipse cum sit reprehensioni maxime obnoxius. Can. Chron. p. 7.
^o Id. p. 24.
^p 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3.

I. TABLE OF SIR JOHN MARSHAM'S KINGS OF
EGYPT.

Kings of Thebes taken from Eratosthenes.	Kings of This taken from Manetho.	Kings of Memphis taken from Manetho.	Kings of Lower Egypt taken from Syncellus.
Reigned years, 1. Menes 62	1. Menes 62 1. Dynast. African. Syn- cell. p. 54.	Menes built Memphis Herodot. l. ii. c. 99. III. Dyn. Afric. Syncell. p. 56.	1. Menes or Mestram 35 Syncell. p. 91.
2. Athothes 59	2. Athothes 57	1. Tosorthrus 29	2. Curudes 63
3. Athothes 32	3. Cencenes 31	2. Tyris 7	3. Aristarchus 34
4. Diabies 19	4. Venephes 23	3. Mesochris 17	4. Spanius 36
5. Pemphos 18	5. Usaphædus 20	4. Soiphis 16	5. ***** 32
6. Tægar Ama- chus Momche- iri 79	6. Miebidus 26	5. Tosertasis 19	6. ***** 40
7. Stæchus 6	7. Semempsis 18	6. Achis 42	7. Serapis 23
8. Gosormies 30	8. Bienaches 26	7. Siphuris 30	8. Sesonchosis 49
9. Mares 26	II. Dyn. Afric.	8. Cerperhes 26	9. Amenemes 29 Syncell. p. 96.
10. Anopyhes 20	9. Bochus 38	IV. Dyn. Afric.	10. Amasis 2
	10. Keachos 39	9. Soris 29	11. Acheseph- thres 13
	11. Binothris 47	10. Syphis 63	
		11. Syphis 66	

Kings of Thebes.		Kings of This.		Kings of Memphis.		Kings of Lower Egypt.	
11. Sirius	18					12. Achoreus	9
12. Chnubus						13. Armiyses	4
Gneurus	22					14. Chamois	12
						15. Amesises	65
13. Ranosis	13	12. Tlas	17				
14. Biyris	10	13. Sethenes	41			16. ***	14
15. Saophis	29			12. Mencheres			
16. Sen-Saophis					63	17. Use	50
	27	14. Cheres	17			18. Ramesses	29
		15. Nephercheres	25				
17. Moscheris	31			13. Rataeses	25	Syncell. p. 101.	
		16. Sesochris	48	14. Bicheres	22	19. Ramessomes	15
18. Musthis	33			15. Sebercheres		20. Thusimares	31
		17. Cheneres	30		7		
19. Pammus				16. Thamptis	9	21. Ramesseos	23
Archondes	35			vi. Dyn. Afric.		22. Ramessemenos	9
		18. Necherophes	28	17. Othoes		23. Ramesse-Tubaete	39
20. Apappus				18. Phius	53	Syncell. p. 103.	
Maximus	100	Here the kingdom of This ended.		19. Methusaphis	7		
21. Achescus				20. Phiops	100	24. Ramesse-Vaphres	29
Ocaras	1	Sum of the Years	593			25. Concharis	6
22. Nitocris	6			21. Mentusaphis	1		
				22. Nitocris	12		
Sum of the Years	676			Sum of the Years	643	Sum of the Years	701

In this manner sir John Marsham deduces the account of the ancient kings of Egypt, down to the time of the Pastors' eruption^q. The Pastors invaded Egypt in the reign of Timæus^r. Sir John Marsham supposes Concharis to have been the king whom Josephus calls Timæus^s: and agreeably hereto Syncellus conceived Silites or Salatis, who was the first Pastor-king^t, to have succeeded Concharis, his 25th king of lower Egypt^u. Nitocris is thought to have been the last of the crowned heads of Memphis; for we find in Africanus no name of any king of this kingdom after her^x, and therefore here we are to fix the period or dissolution of it; and we find that the Pastors overran not only the lower Egypt, but they took Memphis^y, and possessed themselves of this kingdom also. Nitocris was queen not only of Memphis, but likewise of Thebes; for we find her name 22d in Eratosthenes's Theban catalogue. Sir John Marsham observes, that her predecessor in both kingdoms reigned but one year, and the king before him in both kingdoms exactly an hundred^z: he judiciously concludes from hence, that Apappus Maximus, king of Thebes, and Phiops, king of Memphis, were but one and the same person, as were also Acheschus Ocaras and Mentesusphis, who succeeded in each kingdom, and that the kingdoms of Memphis and Thebes were united two reigns at least before Nitocris^a. She is recorded to have reigned 12 years at Memphis, and but 6 at Thebes. I suppose Memphis was, at her coming to the throne, the seat of her kingdom: she was obliged to retire out of this country when the Pastors invaded it, and after this retreat she reigned six years at Thebes. The kingdom of This did not last until the invasion of the Pastors; very probably the Theban kings, when they grew powerful by

^q Marsham. p. 18, 20.

^r Josephus contra Ap. l. i. c. 14.

^s Marsham. p. 91, 98, &c.

^t Joseph. contra Ap. l. i. c. 14, &c.

^u Syncell. p. 103, 104.

^x Vid. Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 90.

^y Joseph. lib. i. contra Ap. c. 14.

^z Θηβαίων κ'. ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀπάππουσ μέγιστος· οὗτος ὡς φασιν παρὰ ἕραν μίαν ἔτη ρ'. ἐβασίλευσεν· Θηβαίων κα'. ἐβα-

σίλευσεν Ἀχεσκόσ Ὀκάρασ ἔτος α'. Eratosth. in Syncell. p. 104. Ἐκτῆ Δυναστεϊῶν βασιλέων Μεμφιτῶν δ'. Φίωφ ἕξαετῆσ ἀρξάμενοσ βασιλεύειν διεγένετο μέχρησ ἔτῶν ρ'. ε'. Μεντεσοῦφισ ἔτοσ ἕν. African. in Syncell. p. 58.

^a Ista regnandi æqualis inæqualitas nimis insolita est, ut illam bis et simul fortuito contigisse credamus. *Marsham.* p. 85.

the accession of the kingdom of Memphis, added this little domain to their territories^b. Upon these hints and observations sir John Marsham has opened us a prospect of coming at an history of the succession of the kings of Egypt, and that in a method so natural and easy, that it must approve itself to any person that enters truly into the design and conduct of it. He gives us Eratosthenes's Theban kings; he ranges with these, Syncellus's 25 kings of Mestræa, or lower Egypt^c; and by taking Africanus's dynasties in pieces, by separating the Thinite dynasties from the Memphite, by collecting the kings of each title into a distinct catalogue, he offers us two other concurrent lists of the names of the kings of the other two kingdoms.

There is one difficulty which I wish our very learned author had considered and discussed for us, and that is, that the catalogues of the kings of three of the four kingdoms are too long to come within the intervals of time which the true chronology of the world can allow for them. For to begin with lower Egypt. Menes, or the Mizraim of Moses^d, came into this country about A. M. 1772^e: it was a fen or marsh in his time^f, and he does not seem to have made a long stay in it. He went forward and built Memphis^g; afterwards, 124 years after the dispersion of mankind^h, A. M. 1881, he went into the country of Thebais: after having made settlements here, he seems to have come back, and formed a kingdom in lower Egypt 35 years before his death; for Menes stands recorded king of this country only 35 yearsⁱ; if so, then this kingdom was founded about A. M. 1908^k. The Pastors came into Egypt about A. M. 2420^l: the interval is 512 years: but the 25 kings of lower Egypt above mentioned reigned 701 years; i. e. 189 years longer than we can find a space of time for them. In like

^b Id. *ibid.*

^c Syncell. p. 91.

^d See vol. i. book iv.

^e *Ibid.*

^f Herodot. l. ii. c. 4.

^g Id. c. 99.

^h Apollod. in Euseb. Chron. p. 18.

Syncell. p. 147.

ⁱ Μεστραίμ δ' καὶ Μήνης ἔτη λϵ'. Syncell. p. 91.

^k Menes died A. M. 1943. See vol. i. book iv.

^l See vol. ii. book viii.

manner, 2. If we consider the Theban kings: Mizraim came into this country A. M. 1881^m, let us from this year begin the computation of his reign or kingdom: from this year to A. M. 2420, the year of the invasion of the Pastors, are 539 years; but the reigns of the Theban kings from Menes to the 12th year afterⁿ the decease of Achescus Ocaras, the predecessor of Nitocris, are 682 years; so that this catalogue reaches down beyond the incursion of the Pastors 170 years. 3. The kingdom of This is recorded to begin from the 62d year before the death of Menes^o; from the year of the rise of the kingdom of Thebes A. M. 1881: the reigns of the kings of This amount to 593 years^p; but from A. M. 1881 to 2420, the year of the Pastors are but, as I said, 539 years; so that this catalogue is too long by 54 years. As to the kingdom of Memphis, a better account of that seems to offer itself to us. Menes entered Egypt A. M. 1772^q: he stayed but a little while in the lower Egypt, perhaps about 3 years, until he had formed Zoan, a little town, which was built 7 years after Hebron in Canaan^r: here he might plant a few inhabitants, and go forward and build Noph or Memphis higher up the country, and designing to go himself a further progress, he might make his son Toserthrus, or Naphtuhim^s, the first governor or king of this city about A. M. 1777; accordingly the reigns in the Memphite dynasties begin not from Menes, but from Toserthrust. The sum of the reigns from the first year of Toserthrus to the 12th of Nitocris are 643 years, which, if we count down from A. M. 1777, will bring us to A. M. 2420, the year in which I suppose the Pastors entered Egypt, and reduced this kingdom. Thus the Memphite succession very fully accords to true chrono-

^m Vid. quæ sup. and vol. i. b. iv.

ⁿ We must compute in this manner, if we allow Achescus Ocaras to have been the same person with Mentesusiph, who was Nitocris's predecessor in the Memphite catalogue, and suppose Nitocris to have reigned 12 years at Memphis, and then, being obliged to quit that country by the Pastors, to

have reigned afterwards 6 years at Thebes.

^o African. in Syncell. p. 54.

^p Vid. Tab. seu Can.

^q Vid. quæ sup.

^r Numb. xiii. 22.

^s See vol. i. b. iv. Gen. x. 13.

^t African. in Syncell. p. 56.

logy, and probably, if the other successions were carefully examined, a little pains would enable us to bring them to an agreement with it. For

The catalogue of Mestræan kings exceeds indeed in length about 189 years; but I apprehend some interpolations made by Syncellus are the cause of it. Three of the reigns, the 5th, 6th, and 16th, are mere numbers, without names of kings annexed to them: and Serapis the 7th king, Sesonchosis the 8th^u, Amanemes the 9th^x, and Amasis the 10th^y, are all names of kings inserted here by Syncellus to lengthen the catalogue, so as to make it suit his scheme of chronology. Syncellus took great liberties in this manner^z. The numbers of years affixed to all these reigns amount to the 189: if we therefore strike out these reigns, we reduce the catalogue to a true measure. I would not be too tedious to the reader, and shall therefore leave it to him, if he cares to enter deeper into this subject, to consider, whether the Theban and Thinite catalogues may not be as well adjusted, if they be examined and corrected in a proper manner.

From the Pastors invading and completing their conquests in Egypt, our learned author considers the country as parted into but two kingdoms: the Pastors possessed the land of Memphis, and of Tanis, or lower Egypt; the Thebans, whom the Pastors did not conquer, held their own country, and had added the land of This to it. Africanus indeed suggests a dynasty of Elephantine kings, supposing nine successions of them^a: Elephantis was a remote city in the most southern parts of Egypt^b, above 200 miles higher up into the country than Thebes or Diospolis^c. The names of kings supposed to be of this kingdom have a great similitude with those of the kings of This, and perhaps some

^u Sesonchosis was the same person as Sesostris, vid. Scholiast. in Apoll. Argonaut. lib. iv. v. 272. and lived in a much later age.

^x Amanemes is again repeated by Syncellus, and is his 55th king.

^y Amasis is his 88th. He disguises the repetition of the names of Amanemes and Amasis, by giving different numbers of years to their reigns: but we have no reason to think there were

such kings in this age.

^z Reges comminiscitur, annosque et successiones mutilat vel extendit, prout ipsi visum est, magna nominum, maxima numerorum interpolatione. *Marsham. Can. Chron.* p. 7.

^a African. *Dynast.* v. in Syncell. p. 57.

^b Herodot. lib. ii. c. 17, 18, 29.

^c Id. c. 9.

little companies of Thinites, when the Thebans conquered their country, might travel into this distant region, and plant themselves here, and build a city, and have a quiet enjoyment of it for above two centuries^d. We find no history, nor any thing recorded of these Elephantines; and probably after having lived for the space above mentioned in a little independent society, at the end of that term, the Thebans extending and enlarging their country, they might at last become a city or district of their kingdom. The following table will give the reader a view of sir John Marsham's continuation of the Theban kings, and of the succession of the Pastor reigns, until the Pastors were expelled Egypt.

^d The reigns supposed by Africanus to belong to this dynasty amount to 218 years.

II. TABLE OF EGYPTIAN KINGS.

Continuation of Eratosthenes' Theban Kings.	Pastor Kings from Manetho, &c. See Joseph. and African. xv. Dynast.
23. Myrtæus 22	1. Salatis.. 19
24. Thuosi Mares 12	2. Bæon 44
25. Thinillus 8	m
26. Semphrucrates 18	3. Apachnas 36 7
27. Chouther Taurus 7	m
28. Meuros Philoscopus 12	4. Apophes 61
29. Choma Eptha 11	m
30. Anchunius Ochy Tyrannus 60	5. Janias 50 1
31. Pente-Athyris 16	m
32. Stamenemes 23	6. Assis 40 2
33. Sistosichermes 55	xxi. Dyn. African. ^b in Syn-
34. Mæris 43	cell. p. 123.
35. Siphaoas or Mercury 5	7. Smedes 26
36. _____ ^a 14	8. Psusenes 46
37. Phruron or Nilus 5	9. Nephelcheres 4
38. Amuthantæus 63	10. Amenopthis 9
Here ends the Catalogue of Eratosthenes.	11. Osocher 6
From Manetho xviii. Dynasty of Africanus. See Josephus.	12. Pinaches 9
m	13. Susennes 14
39. Amosis 25 4	xxiii. Dyn. Afric.
40. Chebron m	14. Petubates 40
41. Amenophis 27 7	m
m	15. Osorcho 8
42. Amesses 21 9	m
m	16. Psammus 10
43. Mephres 12 9	m
m	17. Zoet 31
44. Misphragmuthosis 25 10	

^a Sir John Marsham passes over this reign, there being no name annexed to it, and supposes Nilus to succeed Mercury, and Eratosthenes's catalogue to contain but 37 kings. Can. Chron. p. 94. 238.

^b It may be here remarked, that

both Manetho and Africanus (see Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 52. African. Dyn. p. 74.) style this dynasty Tanite: but to this it may be answered, that the Pastors, possessing the land of Tanis, or lower Egypt, were the Tanite kings of these times.

Misphragmuthosis, or Alisfragmuthosis, gave the Pastors a great overthrow in battle, and shut them up in Abaris, where he confined them by a close siege^c. His son was

45. Tuthmosis—9 years 8 months.

The Pastors capitulated with this king at his coming to the crown, and surrendered upon condition to be suffered to march out of Egypt^d. Next to Tuthmosis or Tummosis reigned

46. Amenophis 30 years 10 months.

In the reign of this king the Pastors invaded Egypt again, and for 13 years dispossessed him of his kingdom; but at the end of that term Amenophis came with an army, and entirely conquered them, and expelled them Egypt for ever^e; and at this their second expulsion, the 511 years are computed to end, during which the Pastors are said to have held Egypt^f.

After this second expulsion of the Pastors, sir John Marsham adds the following Theban kings sole monarchs of all Egypt.

	Yrs.	M.
47. Orus <i>reigned</i>	36	5
48. Achenchres	12	1
49. Rathotis	9	0
50. Acencheres	12	5
51. Acencheres	12	3
52. Armais	4	1
53. Ramesses	1	4
54. Ramesses Miamun	66	2
55. Amenophis	19	6

XIX. Dynast. African.

56. Sethosis, Sesostris, or Sesac.

^c Joseph. contra Ap. l. i. c. 14.

^d Id. *ibid*.

^e Id. *ibid*. 26, 28. Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 318.

^f The Pastor reigns above mentioned from Salatis to Zet amount to 478 years 10 months; the reign of

Tuthmosis is 9 years 8 months: if the Pastors invaded Egypt again in the 10th year of Amenophis, and were totally conquered 13 years after, this conquest of them will indeed fall 511 years from the first year of Salatis.

The reader has now before him a view of sir John Marsham's scheme from the beginning of the reigns of the Egyptian kings down to his Sesostris or Sesac: and if he will take the pains throughly to examine it, if he will take it in pieces into all its parts, review the materials of which it is formed, consider how they lie in the authors from whom they are taken, and what manner of collecting and disposing them is made use of, he will find, that however in some lesser points a variation from our very learned author may be defensible, yet no tolerable scheme can be formed of the ancient Egyptian history, that is not in the main agreeing with him. Sir John Marsham has led us to a clear and natural place for the name of every Egyptian king, and time of his reign, who is mentioned by either Eratosthenes, Africanus from Manetho, Josephus, or Syncellus, that we can reasonably think had a real place in the Egyptian history; for as to the name of the king in Africanus's 9th dynasty, called a dynasty of kings of Heracleopolis^g, Manetho made no such dynasty^h. Africanus found out one of the names of the kings of itⁱ. Heracleotis, Heracleopolis, or Heroopolis, was a city of lower Egypt, near one of the mouths or outlets of the Nile into the sea^k: perhaps it was a town not immediately reduced by the Pastors, and its holding out, and preserving its liberty for some time, might occasion the writers of after-ages to think it had been an independent kingdom, and to endeavour to form dynasties of the kings of it. In like manner we may remark concerning Africanus's 22d dynasty, which he calls Bubastite: Bubastus was a city of lower Egypt^l, probably governed by magistrates, deputies to the Pastors; or it might perhaps revolt from the Tanite or Pastor kings, when the Thebans began to weaken and distress them, and become a free town, and have governors of its own for some successions towards the end of the times of the Pastors being in

^g African. in Syncell. p. 59.

^h Vid. Chronograph. in Syncell. p

52.

ⁱ African. ubi sup.

^k Strabo, Geograph. l. ii. p. 85. ed. Par. 1620.

^l Strabo, Geograph. l. xvii. p. 805.

Egypt; and some mention of this sort having been made of it, might occasion after-writers to number its magistrates amongst the kings of Egypt. But Manetho made no such dynasty; accordingly sir John Marsham does not collect these kings. Were there indeed any such kings, a place might be found them, by setting them down contemporaries with some of the last Pastor or Tanite kings. Sir John Marsham has not taken into this part of his Canon the kings of the 11th, 12th, and 19th dynasties of Africanus: the reader may see his reasons for omitting them^m. I should think a different account from that of our most learned author may be given of themⁿ; but I shall offer what I conceive to be the true account of these kings, when I come down to the times succeeding after the reigns of Sesac, where I shall be also able with less trouble and more perspicuity to adjust Eratosthenes's Canon of Theban kings, and sir John Marsham's supplement of reigns added to it to a true length. As they now stand in his Canon, Nitocris the 22d in Eratosthenes must be thought to have reigned about A. M. 2420. The 16 reigns succeeding hers to the end of Eratosthenes's catalogue contain 374 years; the 17 reigns added to these by sir John Marsham, from Amosis to Sesothis, Sesostris, or Sesac, contain 354 years^o; add these together, and we come down to A. M. 3148: but Sesac came against Jerusalem A. M. 3033^p; so that here again the Theban list of kings appears to be of too great a length by above 115 years.

If the Pastors came into Egypt as above about A. M. 2420, and their first king Salatis reigned 19 years, their second king Beon reigned 44, and their third king Apophis 36 years and 7 months^q, the end of Apophis's reign falls A. M. 2520; so that he was the Pharaoh or king of lower Egypt, who pursued the Israelites and perished in the Red sea. The exit of the Israelites out of Egypt, and their

^m Can. Chron. p. 391, 392.

ⁿ Vid. quæ supra.

^o Vid. Eratosth. vid. Marsham. p.

^p Usher's Annals.

^q Vid. Joseph. contra Ap. lib. i.

c. 14. Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 94.

passing over the Red sea, happened A. M. 2513. But the judicious reader will not expect to be ascertained of our having all the numeral characters in the Egyptian reigns so truly calculated or conveyed down to us, that the difference between A. M. 2513 and 2520, of 6 or 7 years, can want to be accounted for.

THE
SACRED AND PROFANE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
CONNECTED.

BOOK XII.

IN the first month of the fortieth year after the exit out of Egypt, A. M. 2553, the Israelites came into the deserts of Sin^a, and pitched their tents at Kadesh. Mizraim died soon after their coming hither^b. They found little or no water in these parts, and as soon as their wants made them uneasy, they murmured against Moses and Aaron^c. Moses and Aaron consulted God for a supply, and Moses was ordered to go with Aaron, and gather the assembly: Moses was then to take Aaron's rod, and he and Aaron were to speak unto a rock in the desert, and the rock was to pour out water in the sight of all the Israelites^d. We have had no mention of the Israelites from the time of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, until they came into this difficulty. There had passed six or seven and thirty years in this interval; during which time Moses had led them up and down

^a Numb. xx. 1.

^b Ibid.

^c Numb. xx. 3, 4, 5.

^d Ver. 8.

from place to place^e, as God had thought fit to direct their journeyings by the cloud that moved before them^f: and it is probable that during all this space of time the people had been very obedient; for we hear of no discontents or oppositions amongst them. This was their first emotion. Now they began to be refractory again; but Moses now could not so well bear it: he was here transported beyond his usual temper: the murmurings of the people *provoked his spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips*^g. He and Aaron here committed a fault, for which God pronounced against them, that they should not bring the people into the land, which he had given them^h. The commentators appear in some doubt, what the fault was which Moses and Aaron were here guilty of; but I should think it a point not hard to be determined. When Moses undertook the charge of the people after they were over the Red sea, it was strictly required of him, that he should be punctually obedient to all the directions which God should give himⁱ: he was to be a minister of the power of God unto his people, and in all his actions to be *faithful to him that appointed him*^k, to promote his glory; to convince the people that the Lord was really their God, and that there was none else besides him, who could protect and assist them, or whom they ought to worship. And this Moses had hitherto observed in all his conduct: but in the instance before us there is a failure in his behaviour. When the people were in distress here by want of water, God vouchsafed to hear their complaint, and directed Moses and Aaron to give them a demonstration, that his power was ready at hand miraculously to relieve them. They had been once before in the same strait: then God thought fit to cause a rock, upon Moses's striking it with his rod, to pour forth water^l. But here Moses and Aaron were commanded to take the rod; to go and stand before a rock appointed them, having summoned the people to see how God would relieve them; then they were

^e Numb. xxxiii.

^f Exod. xl. 36, 37.

^g Psalm cvi. 33.

^h Numb. xx. 12.

ⁱ Exod. xiv.

^k Heb. iii. 2.

^l Exod. xvii.

to speak only to the rock, and the rock was to give forth water. Had the Israelites been here prone to entertain any superstitious fancy of the virtue of that rod, which had been the instrument of so many miracles, what an opportunity had Moses of convincing them of their folly, and evidencing to them, that neither himself nor Aaron nor the rod was of any importance, but that God could have perfected the same wonders by a word only, if he had thought fit to have done them in that manner! But, instead of thus discharging himself, he took the rod, and he and Aaron gathered the congregation, and he said unto them, *Hear now, ye rebels; must we fetch you water out of this rock? And Moses lift up his hand, and smote the rock twice; and the water came out abundantly*^m. In this he spoke and acted unadvisedlyⁿ; for he did not speak nor act according to the commission which God had given him; but he spake and acted of himself, too great an argument of an affectation of raising his own credit; for *he that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory*^o. Moses expressed himself to have had this sense of things upon another occasion. When Nadab and Abihu offered strange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not, Moses remonstrated their crime to Aaron in the clearest terms, and declared that God would be *sanctified in them that come nigh him, and glorified before all the people*^p. But here he and Aaron joined in a part very different from these sentiments: their duty was to have glorified God in the sight of the congregation, by punctually performing what he had directed: but, instead of this, they did and said what he commanded them not, and thereby gave the Israelites an opportunity to imagine the supply might come from them; from their power and ability to procure it: and for this reason, because they were not strictly careful to promote the glory of God, instead of raising their own credit^q among

^m Numb. xx. 10, 11.

ⁿ Psalm cvi. 33.

^o John vii. 18.

^p Levit. x. 3.

^q The 12th verse of the 20th chapter of Numbers should be thus trans-

lated: *Because ye were not faithful to me, to [sanctify or] glorify me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them.*

the people, they were sentenced not to lead the Israelites into the land of Canaan.

Kadesh, near which the Israelites were at this time encamped, was a city upon the border of the land of Edom^r; and from the neighbourhood of this place Moses sent messengers unto the king of Edom, to ask leave to march through his country^s. The Israelites had received a strict charge not to 'make any attempt against this people, and Moses's message was in terms of the greatest assurance of friendship to them: he acknowledged the relation between them and Israel, and promised in the most explicit manner, that he would only pass through their country, without foraging any part of it, or injuring any person inhabitant of it^u. But the Edomites were not willing to run the venture. Hitherto they had been governed by dukes^x; but about this time, apprehending danger, they made a king, thinking it necessary to unite under one head for their common preservation: and this king of Edom refused to admit the Israelites into his territories, and guarded his frontiers with numerous forces^y: hereupon the Israelites were obliged to march another way, and therefore moved from Kadesh to mount Hor. Upon mount Hor Aaron died, and Eleazar his son was appointed high priest in his place^z. Aaron was an hundred and twenty-three years old when he died in mount Hor^a, and died there in the fortieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt^b, and so died A. M. 2553.

The king of Arad, a city in the southern parts of Canaan, upon the Israelites' coming near his borders, attacked them, and took some of them prisoners^c. The Israelites had offered no violence to his country, and were so provoked at this attempt upon them, that they vowed a vow unto the Lord, that, if they should hereafter be able, they would utterly destroy this people^d: and they were enabled, and did per-

^r Numb. xx. 16.

^s Ver. 14.

^t Deut. ii. 4—6.

^u Numb. xx. 17—19.

^x See vol. ii. b. vii.

^y Numb. xx. 18. 20.

^z Numb. xx. 22—29.

^a Ch. xxxiii. 39.

^b Ver. 38.

^c Ch. xxi. 1.

^d Ver. 2.

form this vow in the days of Joshua^e, or in a little time after his death^f. The 3d verse of this 21st chapter of Numbers seems to intimate, that the Israelites at this time conquered these Canaanites, and utterly destroyed them and their cities: but this was not fact; for the king of Arad is one of those who were conquered by Joshua^g; and the vengeance here threatened was either executed upon this people by his hand, or completed by Judah and Simeon, when they slew the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath, and utterly destroyed it^h. The kingdom of Arad was not conquered in the days of Moses, and therefore we cannot imagine that the remark here inserted, that *the Lord hearkened unto the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites, and they utterly destroyed them and their cities*, was of his writing. I should think Moses left the text thus: *And Israel vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy their cities; and called the name of the place Hormah*; i. e. Israel called the place so in token, that, if ever it should be in their power, they designed to make it desolateⁱ. As to what is added in the third verse, that *the Lord hearkened unto the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites, and that they utterly destroyed them and their cities*: the thing was not done, and therefore the remark could not be made in the days of Moses. The words perhaps might be written, by way of observation, in the margin of some ancient MS. of the Pentateuch, after the Israelites had destroyed the Canaanites; copiers from such a MS. might afterwards transcribe it from the margin into the text, and thereby occasion it to come down to us as part of it.

The king of Edom refusing to admit the Israelites to pass through his country, and the king of Arad opposing them upon the frontiers of his kingdom, they were obliged to retire back into the wilderness, and therefore decamped from mount Hor. They were ordered to march towards the Red

^e Josh xii 14.

^f Judges i. 17.

^g Josh. xii. 14.

^h Judges i. 17.

ⁱ The word *Hormah* signifies a place devoted to destruction.

sea, and to fetch a compass round about the land of Edom^k. They began this expedition, but the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way^l: they remonstrated to Moses all the difficulties that would attend it; complained that they should be distressed for want of water, and that, as to the manna, they loathed it^m, and therefore were not willing to go again through a desert, where they could expect no other provision. They began hereupon to be too mutinous for Moses to lead them any further, had not God been pleased to correct them for their obstinacy, by sending amongst them fiery serpents, which destroyed many of themⁿ. This calamity soon humbled them, and upon their intreating Moses, he prayed for them, and obtained them a cure of the malady that afflicted them. God directed him to make a serpent, and to set it up in the camp, and promised, that whoever would look upon it should, though bitten with a fiery serpent, recover and live^o. Moses made a serpent of brass, as he was commanded, and the people found it a remedy against the calamity that had destroyed great numbers of them^p.

Sir John Marsham is very particular in his remarks upon the setting up the brazen serpent^q: he has collected several passages from the profane writers, which hint at charms and enchantments to cure the bite of serpents; and he says, the Hebrews made use of enchantments for this very purpose; which assertion he endeavours to support by a citation from the Psalms, by another from Ecclesiastes, and by a third from Jeremiah; and from the whole of what he offers he would intimate, that the cure of the Israelites here, that were bitten, was not miraculous; but that the brazen serpent *venenum extinguebat* — *et morsus arte levabat*, was a charm for the calamity^r, or an amulet for the distemper^s, ἀλεξήριον τῆς τοσαύτης πληγῆς. It would be trifling to endeavour to refute this opinion: no one acquainted with

^k Numbers xxi. 4

^l Ibid.

^m Ver. 5.

ⁿ Ver. 6.

^o Ver. 8.

^p Ver. 9.

^q Can. Chron. p. 142.

^r Id. p. 144.

^s Ibid.

sir John Marsham's way of thinking can imagine he believed it: I dare say he thought a charm for the biting of a serpent as ridiculous on the one hand, as the opinion of some learned commentators is on the other; who, in order to make the miracle appear the greater, contend that brass is of a virulent nature, and that the looking upon a serpent made of that metal would by way of sympathy add rancour to the wounds, instead of curing them^t. To a reasonable inquirer the brazen serpent cannot appear to have been, of itself, of any effect at all: this unquestionably was sir John Marsham's opinion; and what he cites from the heathen writers was intended by him to prove, not that charms had ever been a real cure for the bitings of serpents, but that the world had been amused with such fancies: and he cites the sacred writers in order to hint, that they admitted and countenanced these popular superstitions; and his real thoughts about Moses and the Israelites in the case before us appear to me to have been, that the bitings of the serpents which the Israelites were infested with were not mortal; that Moses set up the brazen serpent to amuse the people, that those who were bitten might make themselves easy by looking at it, in hopes of a cure, until the poison spent itself, and the inflammation ceased; that when they grew well, Moses might teach them to ascribe their cure to a secret efficacy of the brazen serpent, in order to raise and support his credit amongst them. This must be our learned writer's sentiment, in its full strength and latitude; and to this I answer,

I. There were indeed serpents of divers sorts in many parts of the world, and some not so venomous but that their bite was curable. Diodorus Siculus informs us, that in the island Taprobane, now called Ceylon, there were serpents of a large kind, of no noxious quality^u; and Herodotus mentions a lesser sort as free from venom in the parts near Thebes in Egypt^x. The inhabitants of Epidaurus in Greece were well acquainted with these sorts of serpents^y, and such abounded in Ethiopia^z. Pausanias was of opinion that the

^t Vid. Pol. Synops. Crit. in loc.

^u Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. c. 59.

^x Herodot. lib. ii. c. 74. Id. lib. iii.

c. 109.

^y Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 28.

^z Herodot. lib. iv. c. 183.

same sort of serpents would not be equally venomous in different countries; for that a different pasture may add to or diminish the virulence of their poison^a: and thus it may be true in fact, that there anciently were, and now are in the world, many sorts of serpents not thought capable of biting mortally, but that a little time and patience, without much help of medicine, might heal the wounds received from them. And we may imagine, that the nature of the more noxious sorts might be mitigated by removing them into a climate, or managing them with diet not apt to supply them with a too potent poison^b: and physic and surgery are now brought to such perfection, that perhaps there is no poison of serpents so deadly, but that, if application be made in due time, a sufficient remedy may be had for it. But though we allow all this, let us observe,

II. That as Moses represents the serpents which bit the Israelites to have caused a great mortality^c; so the heathen writers concur in testifying that the deserts, wherein the Israelites journeyed, produced serpents of so venomous a kind, that their biting was deadly, beyond the power of any art then known to cure it. The ancients observed in the general, that the most barren and sandy deserts had the greatest number and most venomous of serpents. Diodorus makes this remark more particularly of the sands in Africa^d; but it was equally true of the wilderness wherein the Israelites journeyed: serpents and scorpions were here, according to Moses, as natural as drought and want of water^e; and Strabo's observation agrees with Moses^f, and both Strabo and Diodorus concur that the serpents that were so numerous here were of the most deadly kind, and that there was no cure for their biting^g. Some writers have imagined the serpents which bit the Israelites to have been of the flying kind: Herodotus informs us, that Arabia produced this sort^h; and the time of year in which the Israelites were under this calamity was in the season in which these serpents

^a Pausan. in Boeotic. c. 28.

^b Diodor. lib. iii. c. 37.

^c Numb. xxi. 6.

^d Diodor. lib. iii. c. 50.

^e Deut. viii. 15.

^f ——— πάλὸ τὸ τῶν ἔρπετων ἐν αὐταῖς
πληθος. Strab. Geog. l. xvi. p. 759.

^g Strab. l. xvi. Diodor. l. iii.

^h Herodot. l. iii. c. 109.

are upon the wingⁱ, and visit the neighbouring and adjacent countries; so that these might at this time fly into the camp of the Israelites in great numbers. But Moses does not hint them to have been flying serpents; he calls them *ha nechashim haserapim*^k: had he meant flying serpents, he would have said, *nachashim serapim meno pepim*; for they are so described where they are mentioned in the Scriptures^l. Strabo has taken notice of a kind of serpents produced in or near the parts where the Israelites journeyed, which might be called fiery from their colour^m; and both he and Diodorus were of opinion that the bitings of these were incurableⁿ; and of this sort probably were those which assaulted the Israelites. But whether we can fix this point is not very material; it is enough for our purpose, that from what has been offered it may be observed, that after all the knowledge which the heathens had of cures and enchantments for the bitings of serpents, yet they would not have judged any of their arts sufficient to have recovered the Israelites, whose malady was occasioned by a sort of serpents against whose venom they had no remedy. But,

III. Let us see what charms the heathens pretended to have to cure the bitings of serpents. The profane writers do indeed celebrate the Marsi, a people in Italy^o, the Psylli in Africa^p, and the Ophiogenes in lesser Asia^q, as very eminent for their abilities against the poison of serpents; and they give us many wonderful stories of each of them. But we may remark upon their performances, as Strabo does upon Alexander's curing the wounds of Ptolemy^r; and it will appear that the persons of whom we have such marvellous accounts were perhaps possessed of some physical recipes

ⁱ Λόγος δέ ἐστι ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερωτοῦς ὄφεις ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι. Herodot. l. ii. c. 75.

^k Numb. xxi. 6.

^l See Isaiah xxx. 6.

^m Ὅφεις φοινικολίτην χροάν. Strab. Geog. l. xvi. p. 778.

ⁿ Τὸ δῆγμα ἔχοντες ἀνήκεστον. Strab. ibid. Diodorus says, δῆγματα ποιοῦνται παντελῶς ἀνίατα. Hist. l. iii. c. 47. Eud.

^o Virg. Æn. vii. 750. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vii. c. 2.

^p Plin. ibid. Pausan. in Boeotic. c. 28. Strab. Geog. l. xiii. p. 588. ed. Par. 1628.

^q Ibid. Plin. ubi sup.

^r ——— τρωθέντα δὲ Πτολεμαῖον κινδυνεύειν ἐν ὕπνῳ δὲ παραστάτα τινα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, δεῖξαι ῥίζαν ——— καὶ χρῆσασθαι ——— ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους εὐρημένον τὸ ἀλέξημα, ὑπηκόους γενέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ. Εἰκὸς δὲ τινα μηνύσαι τῶν εἰδῶτων τὸ δὲ μυθῶδες προσετέθη κολακείας χάριν. Strab. l. xv. p. 723.

for the venom of serpents, and that the mythologists, as was their usual way, invented fables to raise their fame, instead of recording their skill in a true narration. It is remarkable, that the persons above mentioned are acknowledged by those who speak most fabulously of their art, to have used external and medicinal applications. The *Psylli* began the cure by anointing the wound with their spittle^s; and this was thought no mean medicine both by *Varro* and *Pliny*^t; and it might have more effect than we may be apt to think of, if the artists that applied it had prepared their mouths by chewing such herbs as they thought proper to use upon the occasion. If this application did not answer, then they endeavoured to suck out the poison^u. It may be said, these were but poor attempts for the cure of so dangerous a malady. I answer; the knowledge and use of physic was not carried to a great perfection in these ages. *Pliny* has given us above an hundred different remedies for the venom of serpents^x: most, perhaps all of them, would be now thought to be but trifling prescriptions, and yet probably twenty of the meanest of them would have raised any person to the reputation of an extraordinary magician in the days of the *Marsi*, *Psylli*, and *Ophiogenes*. *Pausanias* had no very high opinion of the powers of the *Psylli*; for he seems to doubt whether they could cure the bite of a serpent, unless the serpent before its biting had accidentally eat some food which might abate its venom^y. However, these men had their medicines, which sometimes proved successful; and their skill, though it would not have gained them the title of good surgeons in an age of more experience, was enough, in the times they lived in, to convey them down to the fabulous writers as more than mortal: and these writers, fond of the marvellous, were apt to omit relating every thing in their practice which did not appear surprising, and to give us that part only which might look like magic and enchantment. The philosophy of these times led those who thought themselves most rational

^s *Lucan. Pharsal. l. ix. 925.*

^t *Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vii. c. 2.*

^u *Lucan. ubi sup.* We are told by some of our English historians, that queen *Eleanor* sucked the poison out of

the wound, which a *Saracen* had given to *Edward the First* with a poisoned knife.

^x *Plin. Nat. Hist. in var. loc.*

^y *Pausan. in Bœotic. c. 28.*

into many superstitions^z; and the practitioners of medicine thought it necessary to use some rites to gain a favourable influence of the planetary powers upon their endeavours, and to put the mind of the patient into an harmonious temper for their operations having success upon him. And hence music was thought to have its use at the time of their giving medicine, and sometimes proper words were muttered^a; for words duly compounded were thought to have great power^b to charm the elements to favour the cure: and what they did of this sort appearing more prodigious than their applications of the juices of herbs and other medicaments, the fabulous writers omit to speak of the latter, but mention at large their other performances, and lay great stress upon them. Thus the Indians were said to have itinerant inchanters, who were thought to cure the bitings of serpents by their singing^c: but Strabo remarks, that what they did was almost the only practice of physic in use in India in their days^d; so that I should imagine they used medicines as well as music. Upon the whole; all the accounts we have of the heathen cures of the malady we are treating of, carry, if duly considered, the appearance of as much medicinal art as these ages were acquainted with; and they have no further show of magic and incantation, than what the philosophy of these times, and the religion built upon such philosophy, taught the learned to think necessary to give medicine its due and natural effect upon the human body: and whoever will judiciously consider the whole of what the profane writers offer upon this topic may abundantly see, that none of the heathen magicians would have admitted that a brazen serpent set up, as Moses set up that in the wilderness, could possibly have had any effect towards curing the people.

But, IV. Let us consider whether the texts of Scripture cited by sir John Marsham do indeed support the point for

^z See vol. ii. b. ix.

^a — *Par lingua potentibus herbis.*
Plurima tum volvit spumanti car-
mina lingua.

^b See vol. ii. b. ix.

^c Ἐπωδὸς περιφοιτῶν πιστευμένων
ἰᾶσθαι. Strab. Geog. l. xv. p. 706.

^d Καὶ εἶναι σχεδὸν τι μόνη ταύτη
ἰατρικὴν. Id. ibid.

which he cites them. He remarks, that David mentions *the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the voice of the charmers, charming never so wisely^e*; and that Solomon hints at *a serpent that would bite without enchantment^f*; and that Jeremiah speaks of *cockatrices and serpents which will not be charmed^g*; and from hence he insinuates, that the sacred writers were sensible that charms were a sufficient cure for the bitings of some serpents; though there were others, whose poison was not to be controlled by the influence of them. I answer; two of these texts, if duly examined, are very foreign to sir John Marsham's purpose; for there is nothing of *charming* or *enchantment* suggested in them. The words of David, Psalm lviii. truly translated, are; *As^h the deaf adder will stop her ear, which will not attend to the voice of the eloquentⁱ, putting together the sayings^k of the wise.* David had no thought of charms or enchantments, but in a noble expression represents wicked men to be deaf to the best instructions offered to them in the most engaging manner. We have an English proverb, which in some measure expresses the import of David's words, though not with such a dignity of diction: when good advice is given, but not attended to, we compare it to *a song sung to an horse.* An horse or an adder are not to be moved by the wisest intimations: wicked and dissolute men are, morally speaking, like these

^e Psalm lviii. 4, 5.

^f Ecclesiastes x. 8.

^g Jer. viii. 17.

^h The Hebrew text is in these words:

13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
מחכם	חבר											

i. e.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sicut aspis surda obturabit aurem suam, quæ non auscultabit voci eloquentium									
11	12	13							
connectenti connexiones sapientis.									

ⁱ The word להש may sometimes be used to *mutter*, as inchanters did. It is a word not often used in Scripture; but it has not always this *magic* meaning: in 2 Sam. xii. 19. it signifies to *whisper*, without any reference to sorcery or enchantment. In Isaiah iii. 3. נבון להש is translated the *eloquent orator*. *Eloquii peritum* in the interlinear translation of the Hebrew.

Prudent in giving counsel, says Jonathan in his Targum, and so it is rendered in the Syriac version. And thus I take the word in the passage before us to signify those who offer what they have to say in the best, softest, and most engaging manner.

^k חברים. *Connexiones*, in Quintilian's sense of the word: *the conclusions of the wise.*

animals; the best things that can be said to them are lost upon them; and this is what David very elegantly represents, without any view or hint of the possibility of charming any serpent whatsoever. In like manner, nothing can be concluded to sir John Marsham's purpose from the words of the Preacher. We translate the verse, *Surely a serpent will bite without enchantment, and a babbler is no better*: but the Hebrew words truly rendered would be thus; *A serpent will bite without any warning, and a babbler [or one that loves to prate] is no better*¹. The word *lachash* is here used as in 2 Samuel xii. 19. and the expression *be loa lachash* is *without a whisper*, i. e. without the least noise or intimation; *in silentio*, says the vulgar Latin; the LXX. ἐν οὐ ψιθυρισμῶ, *without a whisper*; the Targum, *in taciturnitate, silently*. The sacred writer hints beautifully, that a prater wounds you before you can be aware of him; and we entirely lose his sentiment if we take the verse to hint what sir John Marsham would infer from it. The last text cited by our learned author is Jeremiah viii. 17. The prophet threatens the Israelites with serpents, *cockatrices, which will not be charmed*. It is evident to any one that considers the context, that the prophet here uses an allegory, and does not mean that the Israelites should be infested with serpents; but that God would bring upon them the armies of their enemies, and calamities against which they should find no remedy. However, since the allegory may be said to be founded upon the sentiment of the speaker, and the prophet, from his using the expression of *serpents that will not be charmed*, to signify irremediable calamities, may be argued to have thought some serpents capable of being charmed, as some calamities may have a cure, I would enter a little more exactly into his sentiment and expression; and in order hereto let us observe, 1. That the Hebrews applied to no physicians in the most early times; but, when under any ma-

¹ The Hebrew words are, אִם יִשָּׁךְ הַנַּחֵשׁ בְּלֹא לַחֵשׁ וְאִין יִתְרוֹן לְבַעַל הַלְשׁוֹן
 1 2 3 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 i. e. Si mordeat serpens sine susurro: et non præstantia adamantis linguam, or non melior est, qui amat loqui.

lady^m, they sought unto God for a cure. 2. There was an art of physic known both to Jews and heathens before the days of Jeremiahⁿ. 3. The heathens had introduced into their practice of it such rites as their learning and religion dictated, and these rites were the charms, magic, and incantation they made use of^o: they were charms of no real influence, nor truly productive of any supernatural effect; but they were thought significant by the learned of these ages, who built upon the rudiments of a vain and mistaken philosophy. 4. The Jews were not so careful to adhere strictly to the true God and to his religion, but that in many things they frequently admitted the practice of the heathen superstitions, and learned their ways; and as Asa when sick, almost 300 years before the days of Jeremiah, sinned in this manner, by applying to the physicians^p; so very probably in the prophet's days much of the heathen physic might, in the corrupted state they were then in, be admitted and admired amongst them. But this is not all: in the days of Jeremiah, the Jews were greatly corrupted in both their religion and politics; they had departed far from God^q; walked after vanity, and were become vain^r; set up idols as numerous as their cities^s. They had *changed their glory for that which could not profit them^t; turned their back upon God^u; burned incense unto Baal^x; kneaded their dough to make cakes unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto other gods^y*: and now distress was coming upon them, and a dread and fear of being ruined, sometimes from the armies of the kings of Assyria, at other times from the invasions of the kings of Egypt, they thought to be preserved under the protection of their false gods by a vain policy in confederating with one or other of these powers, as circumstances might require, in order to be supported by one or the other of them. And to this end, before Jeremiah

^m See vol. ii. b. ix.

ⁿ See 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

^o This their method for the cure of the bitings of serpents abundantly suggests to us.

^p 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

^q Jer. ii. 5.

^r Jer. ii. 5.

^s Ver. 28.

^t Ver. 11.

^u Ver. 27.

^x Ch. vii. 9.

^y Ver. 18.

applied to them, they had made a league with the king of Assyria, and they had suffered by it, and been ashamed of it^z. At the time of his address to them, they were in alliance with Egypt^a; but of this the prophet tells them they would in a little time be ashamed also^b; for that God had *rejected their confidences*, and that they should not *prosper in them*^c. The design of Jeremiah was to set before the Jews, that *in the Lord their God* was the only true *salvation* of Israel^d; that from all other helps they hoped for it but in vain; that destruction upon destruction would come upon them^e; a nation from far be brought against them^f; and that if they did not amend their ways and their doings^g, turn from their wickednesses and idolatries, they should find that they put their trust in lying words, that could not profit^h, and that the evils that were coming upon them would be as *serpents, cockatrices, which could not be charmed*: i. e. would be calamities really fatal, not to be remedied by the trifling and insignificant amusements on which they so much depended. This is the argument and reasoning of the prophet; and, if duly attended to, it is so far from ascribing any true efficacy to charms and enchantments, that it strongly intimates them to be *a doctrine of vanities*ⁱ. Jeremiah compares charms and enchantments, and the false confidences of the Israelites, to each other, and thereby declares his opinion of both to be, that they were insignificant and vain. In cases of no certain danger, those who were to be deceived with vain and imaginary expectations might amuse themselves, and think they received benefit from them; but where the evil was real, and truly wanted a redress, there they would be found not able to profit, there no help was to be had from them.

I have now considered to the bottom what sir John Marsham intimates concerning the brazen serpent, and should hope it must be evident that there are no foundations for

z Jer. ii. 36. See Prideaux, Connect.
vol. i. b. i.
a Id. *ibid.*
b Jer. ii. 36.
c Ver. 37.
d Ch. iii. 23.

e Jer. iv. 20.
f Ch. v. 15.
g Ch. vii. 3—15.
h Ch. vii. 8.
i Ch. x. 8.

his suggestions ; but that every sober querist must see reason to consider both the calamity that was inflicted upon the Israelites, and the miraculous cure of it, in the light in which the author of the Book of Wisdom long ago set it ; *They* [i. e. the Israelites] *were troubled*, says he, *for a small season, that they might be admonished, having a sign of salvation, to put them in remembrance of the commandment of thy law. For he that turned himself towards it was not saved by the thing that he saw, but by thee, that art the Saviour of all*^k. The Israelites were unmindful of the obedience they owed to God, unwilling to march where God directed them: hereupon they were punished, to bring them to a better mind, and their punishment was in a little time removed in a miraculous manner: they were commanded to come and look up to a brazen serpent; a thing evidently of itself of no importance, but by God's power and good pleasure made so effectual to their recovery, as abundantly to remind them, that whatever God should think fit to command them, was importantly necessary to be performed by them.

Moses omits in the 21st chapter of Numbers two incampments of the Israelites; one at Zalmonah, the other at Punon: they are both mentioned in chapter xxxiii. The brazen serpent was set up at Punon; for after they were cured, they moved forwards to Oboth^l, and thence to Ijeabarim, on the border of the land of Moab^m. They were warned not to attack the Moabites, and therefore did not enter their country, but marched forward on their borders into the valley of Zared, and pitched there at a place which they called Dibon-Gadⁿ. From hence they marched to the river Arnon, which parts the land of Moab from the country of the Amorites^o: they passed over this river, and pitched in the wilderness of the Amorites at Almondiblathaim^p: from hence they removed to the mountains of Abarim before Nebo^q. They made five several incampments here; one at Beer, where they digged a well^r, another at Matta-

^k Wisdom xvi. 6, 7.

^l Numb. xxi. 10.

^m Numb. xxi. 11. xxxiii. 44.

ⁿ Deut. ii. 9. Numb. xxi. 12. xxxiii.

^o Ch. xxi. 13.

^p Ibid. et xxxiii. 46.

^q Ver. 47.

^r Ch. xxi. 16.

nah^s, a third at Nahaliel^t, a fourth at Bamoth^u, and the last at Pisgah^x. These were the several incampments from Kadesh to Pisgah; and by fixing them thus, we may perfectly reconcile the seeming difference between the 21st chapter of Numbers, ver. 11—13, 18—20, and the 33d chapter, ver. 44—47.

From the camp at Pisgah, Moses sent to Sihon, king of the Amorites, to ask leave to pass through his country^y: but Sihon was so far from being willing to permit them to march farther into his kingdom, that he determined to oblige them entirely to quit it: he therefore summoned together his forces, met the Israelites at Jahaz^z, and gave them battle, but was routed by them^a: the Israelites pursued their victory, and forced Sihon out of all that country, from the river Arnon unto Jabbok^b. This tract of land had formerly been the Moabites', until Sihon conquered it^c; now the Israelites came into possession of it. The several victories which the Israelites obtained in the land of the Amorites^d were gotten by detachments from their main body; for the camp continued at Pisgah, until they removed to the plains of Moab^e: but they sent out select companies, such as they afterwards chose to fight the Midianites^f; for the whole camp was too great to move after every expedition: and by these they reduced this whole country; and after this they conquered and took possession of the kingdom of Bashan^g, and then Moses removed the whole camp, and pitched in the plains of Moab, near the banks of Jordan, over-against Jericho^h. So large a body as the camp of the Israelites took up a considerable tract of the country, and reached from Beth-jesimoth unto Abel-shittimⁱ.

Balak, the son of Zippor, was king of Moab at this time: he was much alarmed at the march of the Israelites, and his people had great fears upon account of them^k. For this

^s Numb. xxi. 18.

^t Ver. 19.

^u Ibid.

^x Ver. 20.

^y Ver. 21.

^z Ver. 23.

^a Ver. 24.

^b Ibid.

^c Ver. 26—29.

^d Ver. 25.

^e Ch. xxii. 1. xxxiii. 43.

^f Ch. xxxi. 3, 4, &c.

^g Ch. xxi. 33—35.

^h Ch. xxii. 1. xxxiii. 49.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k Ch. xxii. 2—4.

reason he sent an embassy to the elders of Midian, and represented the common danger they were all in, and agreed with them to send to Balaam, the son of Beor, a prophet, whose fame probably had been much talked of, to know if he could so curse this people as that they might attack and destroy them^l. Balaam's country was far distant from the land of Moab; he came from the most eastern parts of Syria^m; he lived at Pethorⁿ near the Euphrates; for he was of Mesopotamia^o. The ambassadors of the king of Moab, together with the elders of Midian, came hither to him, and delivered their message: Balaam required them to stay all night, until he should inquire of God what answer to give them: in the morning he acquainted them that God would not give him leave to go with them^p. Upon the ambassadors' reporting this to Balak, he thought he had not made the prophet sufficient offers to induce him to take so long a journey, and therefore sent again by persons of higher rank, and offered him any advancement in his kingdom^q: but the prophet answered, that no temptation should prevail upon him to do any thing but what God directed; and therefore he required them to stay all night, until he should again consult God, and know what answer to give them^r. Upon this his second inquiry, God gave him leave to go, if the men came in the morning to call him^s; but strictly charged him if he went, to say nothing but what he should direct^t. The offers of Balak had made impression upon Balaam, and he grew fond of the journey and of the prospects of it; and in the morning he stayed not to be called, but got up early, and saddled his ass^u, and went with the princes of Moab. This was his fault; the wages that were offered tempted him^x, and he was greedy after the reward^y: he did not preserve a due indifference to the journey, but pressed

^l Numb. xxii. 4—6.

^m He came from Aram out of the mountains of the east, Numb. xxiii. 7. Aram is Syria. See vol. i. b. iii.

ⁿ Numb. xxii. 5. The river Euphrates might be called the river of his land: Mesopotamia from this and the river Tigris is denominated Aram Naharaim. See vol. i. b. iii.

^o Deut. xxiii. 4.

^p Numb. xxii. 7—13.

^q Ver. 14—17.

^r Ver. 18, 19.

^s Ver. 20.

^t Ibid.

^u Ver. 21.

^x 2 Pet. ii. 15.

^y Jude, ver. 11.

into it with a covetous or ambitious heart: and God's anger was kindled at his going in this manner^z. The commentators do not, I think, clearly determine what Balaam's fault was; and our modern deists, with great assurance, ridicule the fact here related: they remark, that his going upon Balak's second message was by God's express command, and yet that the text says, God's anger was kindled *because he went*^a. I answer: Our translators do indeed thus render the text; but the Hebrew words are clear of this absurdity. The Hebrew text is, *And the anger of God was kindled*, not [כי הלך] *ci halak, because he went*, but [כי הלך הוא] *ci halak hua*^b, *because he went of himself*^c, i. e. without staying for Balak's messengers to come in the morning to call him. He had no leave to go at all, unless the messengers came in the morning again to him^d; and perhaps if he had not thus gone to them, after having promised them an answer, they might have thought their master's great offers neglected, and have gone away without him. But his head and heart were too full of expectations from the journey, to run the hazard of not being further invited into it, and so he rose early in the morning, and went to them, directly contrary to God's express order^e, and was opposed by the angel for this breach of his duty^f. What follows in Moses's narration has appeared to many writers a great difficulty. Philo seems not to have thought that Balaam's ass did really speak to him; for he gives a large account of all Balaam's proceedings, but is absolutely silent as to this particular^g. The Jewish Rabbins represent Balaam to have heard and answered to what the ass is related to have said to him in a trance or vision^h, and our modern rationalists are very free in their remarks upon the fact as related by Moses. But,

1. An inspired writer in the New Testament assures us, that it was real fact as Moses relates it. Moses says, that

^z Numb. xxii. 22.

^a Ibid.

^b Our Hebrew Bibles have the place, כי הלך הוא: but the Samaritan text is, I think, more accurate.

^c See book xi.

^d Numb. xxii. 20.

^e Ibid. and ver. 21.

^f Ver. 22, 32.

^g Philo Jud. de vit. Mosi, lib. i. p. 643. ed. Turn. Par. 1640.

^h Maimonid. More Nevoch. p. ii.

c. 42.

*the Lord opened the mouth of the ass, and she said unto Balaam*ⁱ: and St. Peter tells us, that *the dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, forbid the madness of the prophet*^k. 2. It is a fact in no wise impossible: some writers represent, that the very nature of the ass must have been changed, to make her capable of what is related. They argue, that not only a power of speaking must have been given to her, but that her mind must have been enlarged also, to enable her, first, to know an angel when she saw one, and in the next place to recollect backward how she had carried her master until that time, and to remonstrate this, so as to suggest to him, that if something extraordinary had not happened she had undoubtedly still carried him in the same manner^l. The brute creatures are not conceived to have these powers of reasoning: they do not pursue, connect, and compare their ideas in this regular manner. Had Balaam's ass not been endued with a greater compass of reason than creatures of this species ordinarily have, she would not have spoken what Moses relates, even though the power of speech had been miraculously given to her: she might have represented, that she was affrighted, but she would not have connected and compared her former services with her present miscarriage. But to this I answer; Moses does not say that the ass knew an angel: an angel appeared to her in the way with a drawn sword to oppose their passage; she endeavoured to avoid him when she could, and when she could not, she fell down. She might have done the same, if a man had opposed them in the same manner: or the appearance of the angel might very much affright her, without her knowing it to be an angel. As to her reasoning above the capacity of a brute animal, and speaking the result of such reasoning; God undoubtedly could, if he had pleased, have instantly capacitated any of the inferior creatures for this, or for much greater things. But even this does not appear to have been done. An human voice came out of the mouth of the ass^m; but I do not apprehend that what the voice

ⁱ Numb. xxii. 28.

^k 2 Pet. ii. 16.

^l Numb. xxii. 28, 29, 30.

^m 2 Pet. ii. 16.

uttered proceeded from her sentiments; rather it was what God would have to be uttered to rebuke the prophet: the tongue of the ass was miraculously moved, not by any natural power of hers so to move it, and it spake what it was moved to utter, without any connection of the words spoken with the sentiments of the ass, and without her understanding the words which she uttered upon this occasion. This seems to me to have been the fact, and herein there is a real miracle; but no appearance of the absurdity that is pretended. I would consider, 3. that the miracle of the ass's speaking was not superfluous and unnecessary, but very pertinent and suitable to the design which God intended to promote by it. It is imagined by some, that this miracle might well have been spared; that the angel's appearing was abundantly sufficient to have recalled Balaam to his duty; that he was not much moved by the ass's speakingⁿ, it was the seeing the angel that affected him^o: and, they say, why should God cause so unusual a miracle, as a dumb creature's speaking, to so little purpose, and so little wanted? I answer; Balaam was perhaps much surprised at the ass's speaking, though Moses has not reported it to us: the ancient Jewish writers imagined he was so, and accordingly Josephus represents him to have been greatly astonished at it^p. But Moses's narration is short and concise; and he may have omitted this and other particulars of Balaam's story that were not of great moment to be told by him: for, what if the heat and obstinate bent of Balaam's temper caused him not to pay a due regard to this miracle, shall the miracle be therefore argued to be in itself insignificant, because he did not suffer it to have its due effect upon him? Many miracles were wrought in Egypt, which Pharaoh paid little regard to; but we cannot censure them as extravagant or superfluous, because Pharaoh did not apply his heart duly to consider them^q: they might any one of them have been of great service to him, if he would have made them so; and that justifies the wisdom and good-

ⁿ Numb. xxii. 29. ^o Ver. 34. ^p Joseph. Antiq. lib. iv. c. 3. ^q Exodus vii. 23.

ness of God in causing them to be wrought before him. And this may be remarked in the case of Balaam: God did not design to permit a war between the Israelites and Moabites at this time: he had warned the Israelites not to distress or war against them^r, and he would not suffer Balaam to curse the Israelites, because the Moabites would have paid so great a regard to what he had promised, that they would thereupon have attacked them, in hopes of being able to *overcome and drive them out*^s of the neighbouring country. God could indeed, if he had pleased, have overruled Balaam's heart, and disposed him for his duty, without the appearance of any miracle, or have caused any one miracle to have been as effectual as ten thousand: but he dealt with Balaam as with a free agent: he did not take away his liberty, but set before him very considerable motives to induce him to make a right and virtuous use of it. If we consider the whole process of this affair, we shall not see reason to judge any part of what God was here pleased to do to be superfluous or extravagant, but must allow, that, in every particular, God was exceedingly merciful unto Balaam, though the corruption of his heart was very great. When he was first sent for by Balak, and inquired whether he should go, God did not direct him into a temptation too hard for him^t: upon the second inquiry, *a way* was still made for him *to escape*^u; for had he not gone until he had been called in the morning^x, probably Balak's high and more honourable messengers^y would not have been so attendant upon what they might have thought his humour, but would have gone away without him. But he would go, and he went with a corrupt heart, not likely to be duly mindful of the charge which God had given him^z; but liable to be tempted to gratify the king, in order to obtain the advancement that was offered him^a. And here God was

^r Deut. ii. 9.

^s Numb. xxii. 11.

^t Ver. 12.

^u Ver. 20.

^x Ver. 21.

^y Ver. 15.

^z Balaam's heart was known unto God, and he intended not to be strictly careful to speak only what God should direct, and therefore this point was given again in charge to him, ver. 35.

^a Numb. xxii. 17.

pleased to correct his intention by two miracles: by the one of which he evidenced to him, that he could so control him, that it should not really be in his power to falsify, if he would, what God had designed to direct him to say. By the other he threatened him not to attempt it upon pain of death. The ass he rode on was made to speak to him; a convincing demonstration, that it would be a vain thing in him to endeavour to speak otherwise than God should order him; since the same power, that here caused even a dumb animal to move its tongue very differently from what it was naturally capable of, could certainly overrule even his tongue, and make him say just what, and no more than what was dictated to him, whether he was willing or designed to speak it or no. Some writers, Philo in particular^b, and Josephus^c, represent Balaam as actually overruled in the use of his tongue, when he blessed the Israelites, and that he would have cursed instead of blessing them, if he could have made his tongue speak what he designed. But I see no reason to go into this opinion: God abundantly apprised Balaam by the miracle of the ass's speaking, that he could thus overrule him if he pleased; but I believe he still left him the liberty of a free agent, after having assured him by the angel, that, if he abused his liberty in this particular, he would destroy him: and, I think, both these miracles appear to have affected the prophet. He seemed after this to bear in mind a due sense of his inability to speak otherwise than God should permit him^d; and though he used endeavours, and had it at heart, if he could any ways do it, to gratify Balak^e, yet at last he did not dare to venture, but told the king without reserve, all that God, and nothing but what God had been pleased to reveal to him^f. But, 4. though the miracle of the ass's speaking was not superfluous and insignificant to Balaam; yet if it had not been a real fact, Moses could have no inducement to relate it: he could have no purpose to serve by it: the

^b Phil. Jud. lib. i. de vit. Mosis, p. 645, &c. ed. Turn. Par. 1640.

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. iv. c. 6.

^d Numb. xxii. 38. xxiii. 26.

^e Ch. xxiii. 23. xxiv. 1.

^f Ch. xxiii. 3—9. 17—24.

Israelites would have appeared under the especial protection of God's providence as well without it: and Moses, as a wise and prudent man, if he had had no other restraint, would not have invented such an unheard of and needless prodigy; for it would have been to no purpose if it had been his invention, because he could have no scheme or end to serve by it.

Balaam's behaviour after he came to Balak; how he endeavoured to find enchantments to curse the Israelites, but could not succeed in them; and therefore, instead of cursing them, blessed them three times, and gave thereby great offence to Balak; what he prophesied to Balak, and how Balak dismissed him, are points related at large in the 23d and 24th chapters of Numbers: and, I may add, what may be remarked upon them, if I inquire who Balaam was, and what character we ought to give him. I have before mentioned where he lived when Balak sent to him: it does not seem as if he lived there in great circumstances of wealth and dignity; for if he had been in so easy a situation, Balak's offers of advancement would not have been so tempting to him: or, when he could not obtain the advancement that had been proposed to him, he would have returned home again, and not have thought it worth his while to have stayed in Midian. But when Balak dismissed him, he behaved like a man in little fortunes, and of an ambitious spirit; was willing to ingratiate himself with the Midianites, and gave them the most wicked advice to ensnare the Israelites into ruins, and was found and slain in this country when the Israelites warred against it^h. Pethor in Mesopotamia was most probably situate near or in Chaldea, under the government of the kings of Assyria; and as these nations had been long infected with idolatryⁱ, and were under a government that established and supported the idolatrous worship, it is not probable that Balaam, if he was a prophet of the true God, could have any prospects of advancement in his own country. The ancestors of Abraham and his family were expelled this land for worshipping the

^g Numb. xxxi. 16. Rev. ii. 14.

^h Numb. xxxi. 8.

ⁱ See vol. i. b. v.

God of heaven^k; and if Balaam pursued the worship of this true God, whatever reputation he might have as to his private character, no public advantages in his own country were likely to accrue to him from it; and this might make him so desirous to accept an invitation into another land.

It is disputed by some, whether Balaam was indeed a prophet and a worshipper of the true God: they imagine him to be a mere magician or enchanter, one that prophesied by the rules of vaticination in use in these days amongst the worshippers of false gods. If this opinion be true, then the revelations that were made to him from the true God must have been made to him in a manner he had not been accustomed to, and beyond his expectation, in like manner as the Egyptian magicians were enabled to work real miracles^l. But I should think this notion of Balaam is not consistent with what Moses relates of him. When the messengers of Balak came first to him, he immediately applied to God for direction^m; and the God he applied to was not Baal, nor any of the gods of the idolatrous nations, but Jehovahⁿ; the true and living God was his God: and he does not appear to have been at any time surprised at the answers God was pleased to give him, or at the angel's appearing to him, or at the word of prophecy put into his mouth^o, being well apprised of, and acquainted with, God's communicating his will to his servants in these several manners. The only dubious appearance in his behaviour is his having sought for enchantments^p. If he was a prophet and servant of the true God, why should he seek for enchantments? or what service could he think to receive from them? I answer; the arts of magicians, and their enchantments to procure prodigies and oracles, though the vulgar people did not understand the foundation they were built on, were to the wise men and philosophers the produce of learning and natural *science*, *falsely* indeed *so called*, but really

^k Josh. xxiv. 2. Judith v. 6, 7, 8.

^l See vol. ii. b. ix.

^m Numb. xxii. 8.

ⁿ Ver. 8, 13, 18, 19, &c.

^o Num. xxii. 9, 10, 12, 20, 31, 34.
xxiii. 4, 5, 16.

^p Ch. xxiv. 1.

esteemed by them to be true^q: and, as Moses was *learned in all the learning of the Egyptians*^r, though he did not practise any of the arts that were the basis and support of false religion^s; so Balaam, though he had hitherto virtuously adhered to the true God, might, as a learned man, not be entirely a stranger to the theory of what human science and the then reputed natural knowledge had advanced upon these subjects. And as Saul, though he had before *put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land*^v, was yet induced, *when the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets*, to go to a woman that had a familiar spirit, and inquire of her^u; so Balaam, finding nothing but a full disappointment of all his views, in the several revelations which God was pleased to make to him, and being warmly inclined to purchase, if he might with any colour be able to do it, the advancement which Balak had offered him, was tempted to try what might be the event, if he used some of the arts which the most learned nations held in the highest repute, and esteemed to be of the greatest efficacy^x: he tried, but found *no enchantment against Jacob*, nor *any divination against Israel*^y. What particular arts he used, or upon what rules of science he proceeded, I cannot say; Moses has not told us. But if his building seven altars was, as I have supposed, one of his artifices^z, it will hint him to have copied after the Egyptian theology. For, as they worshipped at this time the lights of heaven, so they first imagined the seven days of the week to be under the respective influences of seven of these luminaries^a. The Chaldeans are thought to have come into this doctrine next after the Egyptians^b; other nations did not admit it so early^c: Belus the son of Neptune had ob-

^q See vol. ii. b. ix.

^r Acts vii. 22.

^s See vol. ii. b. ix.

^t 1 Sam. xxviii. 3.

^u Ver. 6, 7.

^x They imagined that oracles and prodigies might be procured by these arts *sine Deo*. See vol. ii. b. ix.

^y Numb. xxiii. 23.

^z Vol. ii. b. ix.

^a Καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστί

ἔξευρημένα· οὐκ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅθεν ἐστί. Herodot. l. ii. c. 82. Dio Cassius dicit, *Dispositionem dierum ad vii. planetas inventum fuisse Egyptianorum. Philastrius Brixianensis expresse asserit, Hermen definivisse secundum vii. stellas hominum generationem consistere*. Vid. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 448.

^b Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. i.

^c Marsham, ubi sup.

tained leave for himself and some Egyptian priests to make a settlement at Babylon about half a century before Balak sent for Balaam^d. Belus and his followers taught the Chaldeans their astronomy, and probably introduced this Egyptian notion of the influence of the seven ruling stars, and it might now be the reigning doctrine in Balaam's time; and he, not being a stranger to the learning of the age and country he lived in, might know enough of it to make a show before Balak of proceeding to his auguries by the rules of it^e. And if the sacrifices of Balak had been attended with any such circumstances as those, upon inspection of which the idolatrous prophets formed their divinations, I question not but Balaam had a disposition to take occasion to speak from them: but the providence of God seems not to have permitted him to have a possibility of being mistaken: if he would have cursed the Israelites, he must have done it, and at the same time have had a full sense that they were blessed, without any room for doubt or suspicion that it could be otherwise; and he was not hardy enough to be guilty of such an abandoned prostitution; but, upon offering his third sacrifice, he gave over: *he went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments*^f. The place, I think, is not well rendered: the Hebrew words intimate to us, that he did not perform the ceremonies in walking or dancing round the altar, by which the idolaters endeavoured to procure vaticinations^g; but he set his face towards the wilderness, and

^d See vol. ii. b. viii.

^e Some critics have imagined, that Balaam built and offered upon seven altars upon account of the states he offered for, being in number seven. The Moabites indeed were under one head, Balak being their king; but the Midianites were under elders; and it is conjectured, that they were divided into seven principalities: but this imagination is entirely groundless. The kings or heads of Midian were five, not seven, Numb. xxxi. 8. and had the number of Balaam's altars been owing to the number of states he sacrificed for, he must have built not seven, but six only; five for the states of Midian, and one for the king of Moab.

^f Numb. xxiv. 1.

^g One of the heathen rites made use of to procure success to their sacrifices, was their dancing or moving in set steps backwards and forwards, from side to side, round about their altars: this the priests of Baal did in order to procure fire from heaven in the days of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 26. And this ceremony Balaam seems to have performed at each of the preceding sacrifices; at his last sacrifice he gave over. Our translation of the words would induce one to imagine, that his going away from Balak to meet or invoke the Lord, was his going to seek enchantments: but the Hebrew text suggests no such thing. The Hebrew words are,

lift up his eyes and saw *Israel abiding in his tents according to his tribes; and the spirit of God came upon him*, and he told Balak, without reserve, all that God was pleased to reveal to him^h. Balak was provoked at what Balaam now delivered to himⁱ; for Balaam spake now in a higher strain than ever in favour of the Israelites; but as he had now omitted some ceremonies, which he had before used to give effect to his sacrifices, and had not gone aside, as he twice before had done, to meet or invoke God; Balak could see no cogent reason for his so speaking. Balaam indeed prefaced what he delivered with declaring them to be *the words* which he heard from God, when he *saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open*^k. Certainly no such vision was ever seen by Balaam whilst Balak was with him, so that this revelation was made to him when he was alone, probably before he had attended upon Balak's sacrifices; and now, upon his giving over all further thoughts of amusing or gratifying Balak, God inspired him to recollect and deliver all that had been revealed to him: and Balak was so offended at his now speaking in so extraordinary a manner in favour of his enemies, because, to his apprehension, nothing had happened to cause his so doing. The prophet however proceeded and advertised him what Israel should do to his people in after-ages^l. Balak paid but little regard to what he said, dismissed him with contempt, apprehending him in no wise to answer the character that had been given of him^m. Hereupon Balaam left him, and went to the Midianites, and formed a project to obtain their favour. He well knew that the prosperity of the Israelites depended upon their continuing to serve the living God, and he apprised the Midianites,

ולא הלך נפעם נפעם לקראת נחשים
 In Latin thus: *Et non ambulavit secundum vicem in vice*, &c. The Greeks afterwards performed these ambulations thus: first, they moved towards the west, turning from the east, singing a sacred hymn; then they returned from the west back to the east again; and such turns or vices as these, I

imagine, Balaam had practised at Balak's sacrifices before and round the altars.

^h Numb. xxiv. 2—9.

ⁱ Ver. 10.

^k Ver. 4.

^l Ver. 14—24.

^m Ver. 11.

that if they could seduce them to idolatry, they might then have hopes of prevailing against themⁿ. This was that counsel which Balaam gave the Midianites to cause the children of Israel to commit trespass against the Lord^o. And it is possible that he might amuse himself with the pretence of even a good view in it; for had it succeeded, and had the children of Israel been ruined by his scheme, why might he not have hoped, after so signal a success, to have had interest and influence enough over the Midianites to have perhaps brought them by degrees into the service of his own God, and so to have promoted both God's glory and his own advancement together. All this might look well in the eye of a politician: but much better had it been for Balaam to have lived at home at Pethor, than to be laying out these projects amongst the elders of Midian. Had there been any design of providence to be carried on by his coming out of private life, God both could and would have appointed events, which by natural steps would have raised him to the station in which he intended him to be useful to the world. And if the providence of God had no employment for him, how could it be worth his while to attempt the ruin of a very numerous people, in order to gratify his own ambition? He might have lived at Pethor in peace and quiet, innocence and content; and if he had never been great in the world, he might have died *the death of the righteous*, and his *last end* have been like his^p. But he warmly pursued other views, and was drawn away far into a foreign land, where he lost his integrity, and brought himself to an unhappy and untimely end.

Whilst the Israelites were at Shittim, the Moabites became acquainted with them, made them visits in their camp, and invited them to their feasts; and the Israelites fell in love with the daughters of Moab^q, and an evil communication corrupted their manners and led them into idolatry^r: many of them went to the Moabites' sacrifices, and partook of them, and joined in the worship^s. Whereupon the anger

ⁿ Rev. ii. 14.

^o Numb. xxxi. 16.

^p Ch. xxiii. 10.

^q Numb. xxv. 1.

^r Ver. 2, 3.

^s Ver. 1.

of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he commanded Moses to order the judges to put to death those who had committed this wickedness^t. The Midianites were instructed by Balaam to draw the Israelites into this evil^u. They communicated the advice to Balak, and the Moabites joined with them in effecting it. Balaam is said to have *taught Balak to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication*^x. But we do not read where Balaam gave any counsel of this sort immediately to Balak: it seems more probable, that what he advised was to the Midianites, after he left Balak^y, though both nations joined to do what he directed. The one acquainted the other with the scheme he had taught them, and so either or both might, though not immediately, yet truly be said to be taught by him; because both followed his doctrine in what they did in this matter. Whilst the Israelites were under God's displeasure for this wickedness, and a pestilence raging in the camp, Zimri the son of Salu brought into his tent Cozbi the daughter of Zur, a prince of Midian, in the sight of all the congregation: but Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, took a javelin and went after them, and slew them both^z: at their deaths the plague stayed, after four and twenty thousand had died of it^a.

There may be several doubts raised about this act of Phinehas: it may be thought a very rash, irregular, and unjustifiable procedure. Zimri was a *prince of a chief house among the Simeonites*, say our translators: the Hebrew text styles him, *prince of the house of his father Simeon*^b. He was perhaps the head of that tribe^c, and not accountable to Phinehas for his behaviour. How then could Phinehas have a right to execute this vengeance upon him? or what could be the safety of even the highest magistrates in this œconomy, if private men might put on an officious zeal, and assassinate at

^t Numb. xxv. 4, 5.

^u Ch. xxxi. 16.

^x Rev. ii. 14.

^y Numb. xxxi. 16.

^z Ch. xxv. 6—8.

^a Ver. 9.

^b The Hebrew words are, ומרי בן

סלוא נשיא בית אב לשמעוני. *Sui Simeonis patris domus princeps Salua, filius Zimri.*

^c Numb. i. 4, 16. In this sense Josephus took the words. He styles him, Ζαμβρίας ὁ τῆς Συμεωνίδος φυλῆς ἡγούμενος. Antiq. l. iv. c. 6. §. 10.

pleasure those whose actions were unjustifiable, and deserved punishment? I answer; 1. that God had expressly ordered the persons that committed this wickedness^d to be punished with death; so that nothing was done to Zimri more than God had directed to be the punishment of the crime he was guilty of. 2. Before Zimri appeared in this action, Moses had ordered the people to be punished in the regular way of their administration, by the proper officers that were over them^e: but Zimri was, I think, one of the supreme judges, one of the renowned men of the congregation^f, a prince of a tribe, an head of thousands in Israel, and had a right to stand with Moses and Aaron in their government of the people, and consequently could not regularly be brought under sentence of the judges, who were inferior to him: and this must have been the foundation for the insolence of his behaviour. He *brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman, in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of all the congregation of the children of Israel, who were weeping before the door of the tabernacle*^g. He was so far from paying regard to what Moses had ordered, that he acted in open defiance of it; and, instead of appointing the judges of his tribe to punish those who were under their jurisdiction, as God had commanded, he openly and in the face of the congregation abetted by his own practice what he ought to have used his authority to correct and suppress; so that something extraordinary was here necessary to be done, to punish a crime, which appeared too daring to be corrected in the practice of a person, who seemed too great to be called to account for it. And indeed, 3. we do not read that the judges did at all exert themselves in executing the orders which Moses had given them. Moses had required them to *slay every one his men that were joined unto Baal-peor*^h: but we hear of none that fell for this wickedness, except this Zimri, and those that died of the plagueⁱ: the transgression was too universal to be corrected by a judiciary proceeding;

^d Numb. xxv. 4.

^e Ver. 5.

^f Ch. i. 16.

^g Numb. xxv. 6.

^h Ver. 5.

ⁱ Ver. 9.

and as Moses was once before obliged to summon the Levites in an extraordinary manner to punish a sin, in which great numbers of persons, and high in station and authority, had engaged^k; so in this case something of a like nature was absolutely necessary to bring the offenders to condign punishment. But, 4. since *there is no lawful and justifiable power but of God*^l; since in every government *the powers that have a right to command or to punish must be ordained of God*^m, either by deriving their authority from the constitution of such government; for thus *every ordinance of man*ⁿ may have a right of authority, and be *the ordinance of God*^o; or by being appointed by immediate revelation, and an express commission from heaven; and since Phinehas had no authority to punish Zimri from any law or constitution in the Jewish œconomy, I must confess that, unless he had a divine command for what he did in this matter, I should think his taking vengeance in the manner in which he signalized himself, must want a further justification than what he could offer for it, from the plea of a warm but well meant zeal to assert the glory of God, and to put a stop to the insolence and wickedness of the people; and he ought certainly, notwithstanding such a plea, to have been called to answer for it before the proper judges, if, 5. God had not in an extraordinary manner declared his acceptance and approbation of the death of Zimri. As soon as Zimri was dead, *the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, (while he was zealous for my sake among them,) that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy. Wherefore say, Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace: and he shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for the children of Israel*^p. God declared this to Moses by a special revelation: and that God did indeed reveal it, and that it was not a

^k Exod. xxxii. 26.

^l Rom. xiii. 1.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει, 1 Pet. ii. 13.

^o Rom. xiii. 2.

^p Numb. xxv. 10—13.

pretence of Moses to protect Phinehas, was apparent to the congregation, being sufficiently attested by the plague's ceasing as soon as Zimri was dead^q. I am sensible that what is already offered is sufficient to vindicate the behaviour of Phinehas: if God himself declared him to be acquitted, who should condemn him? and his example can lay no foundation for a dangerous imitation; for it will in no ways prove that an illegal action, though proceeding from a most upright heart, *zealously affected in a good thing*, is ever to be justified, unless God, by an express and well attested revelation from heaven, declares his patronage and acceptance of it. But, 6. I might add further, that what Phinehas did was not the effect of zeal only, but rather God revealed himself to him before he attacked Zimri, and required him to cut off that high offender, and consequently Phinehas had as clear and full a commission for what he did, as Moses had for the discharge of the offices unto which God appointed him, though Moses and the congregation were not at first apprised of it. Phinehas is said by the death of Zimri to have made an atonement for the children of Israel^r. But what merit could there be in the death of Zimri? how could that expiate the sins of the congregation? or what had Phinehas to do to pretend to make atonement, unless God had appointed him? for *no man taketh this honour to himself*, nor can perform this office with any effect, *but he that is called of God, as was Aaron*^s: or if Phinehas had been entitled to endeavour to procure a reconciliation of God to his people, he must surely have attempted it in some way which God appointed, and not by a *strange service, which God commanded him not*^t, and which must therefore have been more likely to offend than to please him^u. But all these difficulties are fully cleared by what Moses was ordered to declare to the Israelites: *Wherefore say, Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace*^x. The verse is injudiciously translated. The Hebrew words, *hin-*

^q Numb. xxv. 8.

^r Ver. 13.

^s Heb. v. 4.

^t Lev. x. 1, &c.

^u See the case of Nadab and Abihu; book xi.

^x Numb. xxv. 12.

neni nothen lo barithi shalom, signify, *Behold, it was I who gave to him my covenant of peace*^y; and the declaration was intended to inform the congregation that Phinehas had not done a rash action, moved to it by a mere warmth of heart, but that God had directed him to what he had performed; made him an express covenant upon his performing it; assured him, that the doing it should obtain pardon for the people; and that upon the death of Zimri and Cozbi, slain by his hand, the wickedness that had been committed in the camp should be forgiven. In this view of the fact all is clear, and it is easy to see how a covenant of peace was given to Phinehas; how he was enabled to make atonement for the people; and in what sense the death of the offenders slain by him was such atonement; and what he did stands clear of the objections that can be offered against an irregular zeal: for it was not an instance of such a zeal, but of one more defensible, namely, of a zealous and intrepid performance of what God by an express revelation had required of him.

God was indeed pleased to promise here, ver. 13, by Moses, an addition to the favour before granted to Phinehas: God before gave him his covenant of peace; but this extended no further than to the making him the instrument of obtaining pardon for the sin, upon account of which the people were under his displeasure. But now, because Phinehas was *zealous for his God*, and had performed the service he was called to with a ready heart, God was pleased to promise, that the grant made to him should stand in force until it conveyed the priesthood to him, and to his seed after him^z. Our translators render the 13th verse, *And he shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood*. But this version is far from expressing the true meaning of the place. The Hebrew words rightly translated are, *And it shall be to him, and to his seed*

^y The Hebrew text is thus written and pointed :

הַנְּנִי נֹתֵן לּוֹ אֶת בְּרִיתִי שְׁלֹמֹם

i. e. *Ecce me dantem illi pactum meum pacis. Ecce, me, dantem*, i. e. *Ecce me, qui dabam*. The participle is of the imperfect tense as well as of the present.

^z Numb. xxv. 13.

after him, a covenant [or grant] of the everlasting priesthood^a: i. e. my grant or promise shall not here expire, upon his having obtained what I agreed to give him, namely, a pardon for my people; but shall continue still in force, to assure him, that in due time he shall himself be high-priest, and his seed after him. God had before this time limited the priesthood to Aaron and his descendants, and it was to be to them *an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations*^b; it was ever to descend by inheritance in their families from generation to generation: and this it might have done, though neither Phinehas nor any child of his had ever been possessed of it; for Phinehas and his son or sons, whether he had one or more, might have died before Eleazar, and, in such case, Eleazar's next heir would have had the priesthood, and it would have gone down to his, and not to Phinehas's descendants: but the promise now made to Phinehas was an assurance to him of God's protection to preserve both him and his seed, so as that the priesthood should descend to them. The commentators have, I think, all of them run into a difficulty, which they are not able to get out of: they imagine the term *everlasting* to be here joined to the priesthood, to express the continuance of the priesthood amongst Phinehas's descendants, as if God here promised Phinehas and his seed after him the grant of an *everlasting priesthood*, or of a priesthood which should ever remain in their hands, without being at any time translated into any other branch of Aaron's family^c: but then they are at a loss how to make out the performance of this promise; for they observe that Eli, who was high-priest in the days of Samuel, was of the family of Ithamar, and that therefore the priesthood went out of the hands of the descendants of Phinehas when it came to Eli, and that it did not return again to them until, after some successions, it came again to Zadok in the days of David. But I think this difficulty might be avoided. We need not suppose the priesthood to

^a The Hebrew words are,

והיתהלו לורשו אחריו ברית כהנת עולם

Seculi sacerdotii pactum eum post ejus semini et ei erit et

^b Exod. xl. 15.

^c Vid Cleric. Comment. in loc.

be here called *everlasting*, to express a design of a perpetual continuance of it to Phinehas's descendants, but rather the term *everlasting* is the appellation annexed to the priesthood in its limitation to the family of Aaron^d; and suggests no more than that the priesthood of Aaron should descend to them. God made to Phinehas and to his seed after him, not an *everlasting grant* of the priesthood, as some commentators take it^e, nor a grant of *an everlasting priesthood*, as our English version renders the place, but rather a grant of *the everlasting priesthood*; of the priesthood limited to Aaron and his descendants by that appellation. And this promise would have been fulfilled, if the priesthood had descended to Eleazar and his son only. I am sensible that the Jews before and about our Saviour's time had a notion, that Phinehas had a grant of an everlasting priesthood to him and his posterity. The author of the Book of Ecclesiasticus seems to have been of this opinion^f, as well as Philo Judæus^g, and others; but in fact there was not such a perpetuity of the possession of the priesthood in this family; no inspired writer has, I think, hinted the passage to contain such a promise, and the text does not appear to imply it.

Upon the ceasing of the plague, God commanded Moses and Eleazar to take a poll of the Israelites^h, at casting up of which the people were found to be 601730 men of twenty years old and upwards, without the Levitesⁱ; and the Levites from a month old and upwards were 23000^k: and from this poll it appeared, that there was no one person now alive of those whom Moses and Aaron had numbered in the wilderness of Sinai, except Moses himself and Caleb and Joshua^l. At this time the daughters of Zelophehad represented the death of their father, and his having left no

^d Exod. xl. 15.

^e The critics write the text [*Barith Cehunnah le Nalam*] *Pactum sacerdotii sempiternum, A covenant of the priesthood for ever.* Le Clerc says, *Fœdus sacerdotii perpetuum.* But they mistake the word in the text. The Hebrew text is *Nolam*, and not *le Nolam*, for ever.

^f Eccles. xlv. 24.

^g Philo says, there was given to Phinehas, *παγκρατησίαν ιερωσύνης αὐτῷ, καὶ γένοι κληρονομίαν ἀναφαίρετον.* de Vit. Mosis, lib. i. p. 649. ed. Par. 1640.

^h Numb. xxvi. 1, 2.

ⁱ Ver. 51.

^k Ver. 62.

^l Ver. 64, 65.

sons^m, and Moses brought their cause before the Lord, and received a law for the settling their inheritanceⁿ. And now Moses was ordered to arm a thousand out of each tribe, and to send them under the command of Phinehas to war against the Midianites^o, and God delivered into their hand the rulers of Midian; and without the loss of one man they made an absolute conquest of all their territories^p. Balaam lived in Midian at this time, and fell by the sword of the Israelites^q.

The Israelites were now in possession of a considerable country, part of which the children of Reuben and Gad desired to have for their inheritance, and came to Moses and Eleazar to petition for it^r. Moses at first thought their request highly unreasonable, and remonstrated, that for them to desire to be settled, before Canaan was conquered, would be a refusal to serve in the war, unto which God had appointed them as well as the other Israelites, and might bring down the divine vengeance upon the congregation, if they should consent to it^s. Hereupon the two tribes explained their meaning; that they intended not to desert their brethren, but only to settle their families in these parts; that they designed themselves to march with the camp, and to assist in reducing the land of Canaan^t. Upon these terms Moses consented, and ordered Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the chief fathers of the tribes, to divide to the children of Gad and of Reuben, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, all the land which the Israelites had conquered on the east side of Jordan^u. After this he gave directions for dividing the land of Canaan, when they should have conquered it^x, charging them to expel the inhabitants, and to demolish all the monuments of their idolatries^y; declaring to them, that if they were remiss herein, terrible inconveniences would ensue^z. Then he described the land, telling

^m Numb. xxvii. 1, 2, &c.

ⁿ Ver. 5—11.

^o Ch. xxxi. 1—6.

^p Ver. 7—14.

^q Ver. 8.

^r Ch. xxxii. 1.

^s Ver. 6—15.

^t Ver. 16—27.

^u Ver. 33.

^x Ch. xxxiii. 54.

^y Ver. 52, 53.

^z Ver. 55, 56.

them the bounds and extent of it^a, and named the persons who should divide it when conquered^b. He appointed them to allot the Levites their cities^c, and to set out the cities of refuge^d: he settled an inconvenience arising from the inheritance of daughters, upon a remonstrance brought before him by the sons of Gilead^e. And now he was reminded that he was not to go into the land of promise^f: he prayed God to permit him to go into it; but his prayer was not accepted^g. He was ordered to go up to mount Abarim or Pisgah, and from thence to take a view of the land; but he was expressly told that he should not go over Jordan^h. Hereupon he begged of God to name a person to lead the people, and God directed him to appoint Joshuaⁱ: and at this time, I imagine, the laws mentioned in the 28th, 29th, and 30th chapters of Numbers were given.

On the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year after the exit out of Egypt^k, Moses began to exhort the Israelites in the words recorded in the first chapter of Deuteronomy: and he continued his exhortation daily, until he had offered to their consideration what we are told in that book he spake to them. Then he called for Joshua, and exhorted him to be of good courage in his leading the people, assuring him of the divine assistance and protection^l. In the next place he delivered the book of the Law which he had written to the priests and Levites, and unto all the elders of Israel, and commanded them to have it read once in seven years to the people^m. Then he presented himself and Joshua before the Lord in the tabernacle of the congregation, where the Lord appeared in the pillar of the cloud, and revealed to Moses, that the people after his death would forsake the law, and bring upon themselves many evilsⁿ. In order to warn them against so fatal a perverseness, he was commanded to write the song recorded in

a Numb. xxxiv. 1—16.

b Ver. 17—29.

c Ch. xxxv. 2—8.

d Ver. 9—34.

e Ch. xxxvi.

f Ch. xxvii. 12.

g Deut. iii. 25, 26.

h Deut. iii. 27. Numb. xxvii. 12,

13.

i Ver. 16—18.

k Deut. i. 3.

l Ch. xxxi. 7, 8.

m Ver. 9—13.

n Ver. 14, 18.

the 33d chapter of Deuteronomy^o: Moses therefore wrote this song, and taught it the children of Israel^p, and he added it, and an account of what had passed unto this time, to the book of the Law; and when he had thus finished the book, he ordered the Levites to put it in the side of the ark of the covenant, and there to keep it^q. After this he blessed the tribes^r, and then went up from the plains of Moab to the top of Pisgah^s; and the Lord having from thence given him a prospect of the land, said unto him, *This is the land which I swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither*^t. We do not read that Moses came any more down the mount, but rather, he died there in the mount, whither he went up, as Aaron died in mount Hor^u. He was an hundred and twenty years old when he died, but his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated^x: he died about the end of the eleventh month, A. M. 2553: the Israelites mourned for him one month, or thirty days^y, which I imagine concluded the year. He was buried in the valley over against Beth-Peor^z; but there being no monument erected to distinguish his grave, in a few years the particular place of it was forgotten^a.

^o Deut. xxxi. 19.

^p Ver. 22.

^q Deut. xxxi. 24, 26. See Prideaux, Connect. vol. i. b. iii.

^r Deut. xxxiii. Simeon is not mentioned in this chapter; but we must not think that Moses forgot or omitted to bless this tribe. The Alexandrian MS. of the Septuagint reads the 6th verse thus: *Let Reuben live and not die, and let the men of Simeon be many, or not few*. The word Simeon was wrote in this verse by Moses; but the copyists have omitted it by mistake in transcribing.

^s Deut. xxxiv. 1.

^t Ver. 4.

^u Ver. 5.

^x Ver. 7.

^y Ver. 8.

^z Ver. 6.

^a The Hebrew writers have had many fancies concerning the death and burial of Moses. Vid. Joseph. An-

tiq. lib. iv. c. 8. §. 48. Philo Jud. de vit. Mosis, l. iii. ad fin. And the present text of the 34th chapter of Deut. ver. 6. may seem to give some handle for them: it is there written, ויקבר אהו *vejekabber aotho*, i. e. *and he buried him*; as if Moses was not buried by human hands, but by God himself; and in a place unknown to the Israelites. But the LXX. render the place, *καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτόν*, not *he buried him*, but *they buried him*. The ancient original Hebrew text was, I should think, undoubtedly ויקברי in the plural number, and the transcribers inadvertently dropped the final letter. The Israelites were the persons who buried Moses, and the remark added to the end of the verse only hints, that no monument having been erected over him, the place where he was buried was not certainly known at the time when the 34th chapter of Deuteronomy was written.

After so large an account as I have given of the several transactions that Moses was concerned in, the reader must greatly anticipate me in what I might attempt to offer upon his conduct and character. He was remarkably eminent in a high station of life; had a great share of power and authority; an absolute command of above 600000 men fit to bear arms, besides their families; and he was advanced to this dignity, not from any schemes of his own politics and ambition; not from any accidental success of arms; not from the heats and chances which commonly give rise to and direct a popular choice; but by the special command and appointment of God himself: and herein, to use the hint of Philo^b, he acted in a post above any thing of this world, was superior in character to the most exalted of those who conduct the designs of the greatest princes of the earth; for he was the immediate minister of Almighty God to a chosen people, and he behaved himself so well in the discharge of the trust committed to him, as to be honoured with this testimony from his great Master, that he was *faithful to him that appointed him in all his house*^c. If we consider the administration of Moses, we shall, from the manner of it, see all reason to conclude that no views of his own, but an absolute submission and adherence to the will of God revealed to him, must have directed him in all the several parts of it. For what was the private advantage either to himself or to his family, that he endeavoured to acquire from all his labours? He had two sons, Gershom and Eliezer; but we do not find that in forming the Jewish polity he made any particular provision for either of them. His sons were of the children of Levi, and as Levites had their appointed courses in the work and service of the tabernacle^d, but no privileges above other Levites; the priesthood was settled upon the family of Aaron^e. As Moses had the supreme direction of the civil magistracy during his life, had he conducted his measures by the private rules of his own

^b Διαφερόντως τιμήσας τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ παντός, καὶ ἀντιτιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τιμὴ δὲ ἀρμόττουσα σοφῆ θεραπείῃ τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν. Philo de Vit Mosis, l. iii.

^c Numb. xii. 7.

^d 1 Chron. xxiii. 14.

^e Exod. xl. 12—15. Numb. xvi. 9, 10, 40.

wisdom, is it probable that he would have given away at his death the command of the people both from his own and from his brother's family into another tribe, to Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim^f? Where are instances of such a resignation to be found in the world? When indeed Alexander the Great was to die, and was solicited to name his successor, he is said to have made no provision for any of his own family; but to have declared it to be his will, that the most worthy of it should have his kingdom^g. I cannot but question what is thus reported; for Plutarch, who has been very exact in collecting the circumstances of Alexander's death, informs us, that he was speechless before the persons came to him, to whom others relate him to have made this disposition^h, although, if he did make it, it is obvious that not a disengagement of his private affections to his own family, but a true sense of the temper of his army and the state of his affairs might lead him to it. He knew his extensive empire was not so well established as to be likely to descend to his heirs; but that, at his death, the generals, who had commanded in his armies, and had a place in his councils, would form parties, and divide his acquisitionsⁱ; and he had no time to settle the claims of their several pretensions; but could only wish them all well, and the best success to the most deserving. But Moses's affairs were in another situation. If the will of God had not been his direction, he might have appointed himself a successor, and the person recommended by his nomination would, humanly speaking, have been as unanimously received and submitted to by the people as Joshua himself.

There are many particulars, that to a thinking person must abundantly prove Moses's conduct in leading the Israelites to have been directed by an immediate revelation. It is not likely that he should of his own head, when he

^f Numb. xiii. 8. Deut. xxxi.

^g Quint. Curtii Hist. l. x. c. 5. Arrian. de Expedit. Alex. l. vii. Diod. Sic. Hist. l. xvii.

^h Vid. Plutarch. in Vit. Alex. ad fin.

ⁱ Curtius says, *Quærentibus cui re-*

linqueret regnum, respondit, Ei qui esset optimus: cæterum prævidere jam, ob id certamen, magnos funebres ludos parari sibi. Hist. l. x. c. 5. Vid. Arrian. de Expedit. Alex. lib. vii. Diodor. Sic. lib. xvii. c. 117.

left Egypt, have made the march, which he led the people, to the Red sea^k; much less would he without a divine command have had a thought of attempting for forty years together such dangers and difficulties as the wilderness exposed him to, and out of which he could foresee no escape but by miraculous deliverances. The march of Alexander the Great over the sands of Libya to the temple of Jupiter Ammon has been variously censured as a very wild expedition^l; though certainly such a march, attempted and performed with the greatest dispatch, could be but one single trial at most of what Moses habituated the Israelites to for forty years together. Besides, Alexander had an aim visible enough, and political^m, to tempt him to his undertaking; but if we set aside the divine command, Moses could have no pretence for harassing and endangering his people with such perpetual extremities. We find many of the princes of the congregation thought Moses's conduct so palpably contradictory to all rules of human prudence, that they remonstrated it to be the greatest blindness for the people to be any further led on by himⁿ.

It may perhaps be suggested, that Moses's detaining the people so long in the wilderness might be to discipline them, to inure them to hardships; to give them a various experience, that dangers and difficulties, which at first sight seem insuperable, may by patience and good conduct be borne and conquered: and that he marched the Israelites here no longer than until he had formed them to a competent skill and courage for the conquest of Canaan: that the wilderness was a place well suited for his thus exercising his army, affording him a secure retreat from the attacks of all nations, and opportunities to try the temper and courage of the Israelites daily with the appearances of various dangers, into which he might lead them as far as he thought

^k See vol. ii. b. ix.

^l See Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. vii.

^m Illud pene risu dignum fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat me (says Alexander) ut aversarer Jovem, cujus oraculo cognoscor. An etiam quid Dii respondeant in mea potestate est? Ob-

tulit nomen filii mihi, recipere ipsis rebus quas agimus non alienum fuit: utinam Indi quoque me Deum esse credant: fama enim bella constant, et sæpe quod falso creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit. Curtius, lib. viii. c. 8.

ⁿ Numb. xvi. 14.

proper, and retire whenever he thought it expedient to attempt no further. But what may be thus intimated cannot possibly be allowed, unless it can be proved that the Israelites could have subsisted in those deserts, if they had not had the miraculous supply which God was pleased to give them from heaven^o. The camp which Moses led was, men, women, and children, a body of about two or three millions of people, and a country both of large extent and great plenty must at first sight appear necessary to bear and to maintain them: but the wilderness was *a land of drought, and of the shadow of death*; a land, where a parched turf and withered shrubs must, to any one that should enter it, give a perpetual picture of decay and desolation: it was a land, to use the words of the prophet, which *no man passed through, and where no man dwelt^p*: and if God had not directed it, it is not to be conceived that Moses could have projected to have sustained and kept together such an host as he led in so unpromising a country. Besides; if what is above offered was the reason of the encampments in the wilderness, how shall we account for Moses's not attempting to enter Canaan, upon his having as promising an opportunity, to all human appearance, as he could ever hope for? When the spies returned from searching the land^q, it was the opinion of some that the Israelites were able to conquer it, if they would march with courage and resolution to attack it^r; others indeed were of another mind, and were for returning back to Egypt again^s. There was great heat and debate in the camp upon this subject^t; but at last, after Moses had at large remonstrated to them, they were all willing to make the attempt, nay, and so resolutely bent upon it, that all he could say against it could not prevent their marching^u. And now would not one think the camp spirited up to a temper, such as a wise general would have wished for, and made use of? But we find Moses acted a part directly contrary to what in human prudence might

^o Exod. xvi.

^p Jer. ii. 6

^q Numb. xiii. 25.

^r Ver. 30.

^s Numb. xiii. 31. xiv. 4.

^t Ver. 6—10.

^u Ver. 41, 44.

have been expected from him: he assured the people, that no attempt they should now make would be crowned with success; that forty years must pass before they should be able to enter the land^x. Will it be here said, that probably Moses judged very wisely of his army; that he knew well the courage they pretended to be no more than a sudden heat, and that it would not support him through the war that was before him; and that many years' discipline was really necessary to form them for greater things than they were yet capable of, before he could hope to reduce by them so many and such warlike nations as possessed Canaan; and that therefore he assigned them forty years to fit them for it? But surely, if this had been his purpose, a shorter respite might have answered his intentions; and, above all things, he would never have denounced, that all the men of war, that were then the strength and flower of the camp, must be brought down to their graves before he could hope to be able to attempt what was the design of their expedition: but this was what Moses without any reserve now offered to them: *As truly as I live, saith the Lord, your carcasses shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward—doubtless ye shall not come into the land—your carcasses, they shall fall in this wilderness*^y. Here now is a view of things for a wise general to pretend to offer to his whole army: to assure almost every man amongst them capable of bearing arms, that he had now no hope of bringing them to any good end of all their labours; but that the only thing he could pretend to for them, was to carry them about for forty years together, from difficulty to difficulty, and bury them in the desert. God indeed might appoint them this punishment for their disobedience^z; and Moses, in confidence of an almighty support, might securely pronounce their doom to them; and the people, convinced that it was God's appointment, might submit to it. But unless we allow all this, what general would have shocked a whole army in this manner, or have suffered any attempt to have such impres-

^x Numb. xiv. 33.^y Ver. 28, 29, 30, 32.^z Ver. 28, 29, 30, 32.

sions made upon them? for what could such a view of things naturally produce, but numerous tumults, mutinies, and a total defection?

Our modern deists are indeed ready to allow Moses the character of a great and wise man; to suppose him far superior in all points of science to any of, or to all the people under his direction; and they imagine him to have given laws to the Israelites, and to have formed their commonwealth with great art and address; but to have had no more divine assistance towards it than Minos, Numa, Lycurgus, or other famous legislators of the heathen world. All these were as highly thought of by their followers as Moses by his Israelites^a, and they all pretended to have been favoured with revelations from heaven, in order to create a reverence of their establishments amongst their people; and some of them are recorded to have been supported with miracles in their undertakings. They were wise and learned men; they gave every appearance an artful turn, and made the ordinary course of nature seem full of miracles to persons of inferior understandings, for the carrying forward of their purposes amongst them. Quintus Curtius informs us that Alexander the Great erected over his own pavilion an artificial signal, to give notice for a decampment of his army; that it was contrived of materials so as to be conspicuous in the day-time by a great smoke issuing from it, that in the night-time it appeared to be on fire^b. A modern writer

^a Πείσαι φασί πρώτων ἀγράπτοις νόμοις χρῆσασθαι τὰ πλήθη καὶ βιοῦν τὸν Μνεῖην, ἄνδρα καὶ τῆ ψυχῇ μέγαν, καὶ τῷ βίῳ κοινότατον τῶν μνημονευομένων προσποιηθῆναι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑρμῆν δεδωκέναι τούτους, ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἐσομένους· καθάπερ παρ' Ἑλληνισι ποιῆσαι φασὶν ἐν μὲν τῇ Κρήτῃ Μίνωα, παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Λυκούργον· τὸν μὲν παρὰ Διὸς, τὸν δὲ παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος φήσαντα τούτους εἰληφέναι· καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ πλείοσιν ἔθνεσι παραδέδοται τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς ἐπινοίας ὑπάρξει, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτιῶν γενέσθαι τοῖς πεισθεῖσι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀρμασποῖς Ζαθραύστην ἱστοροῦσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ διδόναι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις Γέταις Ζάμολεξιν ὡσαύτως τὴν

κοινὴν Ἔστιαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσῆν τὸν Ἰαῶ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν· εἶτε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θείαν ὕλως ἔννοϊαν εἶναι κρίναντας τὴν μέλλουσαν ὠφελῆσειν ἀνθρώπων πλήθος, εἶτε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ δύναμιν τῶν εὐρέι λεγομένων τοῦς νόμους ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν ὄχλον, μᾶλλον ὑπακούσεσθαι διαλαβόντας. Diodor. Sic. lib. i. c. 94.

^b Tuba, cum castra movere vellet, signum dabat: cujus sonus plerumque tumultuantium fremitu exoriente haud satis exaudiebatur. Ergo perticam, quæ undique conspici posset, supra prætorium statuit, ex qua signum eminebat pariter omnibus conspicium. Observabatur ignis noctu, fumus interdiu. Quint. Curt. lib. v. c. 2.

insinuates the pillar of the cloud and of fire, which directed the marches of the Israelites^c, to have been a contrivance of Moses of a like nature: others have intimated it to have no greater miracle than the pillar of light which conducted Thrasylbulus and his followers from Phyla^d. But in answer hereto let us consider,

I. That if Moses has recorded nothing but what was real fact, it must be undeniably evident that the hand of God was most miraculously employed in leading the Israelites out of Egypt, in giving their law, in conducting them through the wilderness, and in bringing them into Canaan. If the miracles were wrought in the land of Egypt, and the judgments executed upon Pharaoh and his people, as Moses has related^e: if the Red sea was really divided before the Israelites, and Pharaoh and his host drowned in it, as Moses has recorded^f: if a miraculous supply of food was given daily to the Israelites in the wilderness for forty years together^g: if God did indeed speak to them in an audible voice from heaven^h: if their laws were given as Moses informs usⁱ: if their tabernacle was directed, and, when finished, if a cloud covered the tent, and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle, and rested upon it in a cloud by day and in fire by night^k: if this cloud removed visibly to conduct their journeyings^l: if the many oppositions of the people were miraculously punished in the several manners related to us^m, and the miracles that are recorded were wrought to testify the divine appointment of the institutions enjoined, when the people would have varied from themⁿ: if a prophet, even of another nation, corrupt in the inclination of his heart, and tempted by great offers to speak evil of this people, was by very astonishing miracles prevented from de-

^c Exod. xl. 38.

^d Ἄλλὰ καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τοὺς ἐκπε-
σόντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καταγαγόντι καὶ βουλο-
μένῳ λαθεῖν, στύλος ὁδηγὸς γίνεται διὰ
τῶν ἀτριβῶν ἰόντι τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ νόκ-
τωρ, ἀσελήνου καὶ δυσχειμερίου τοῦ κατα-
στήματος γεγονότος, πῦρ ἑωρᾶτο προη-
γούμενον, ὑπερ αὐτοὺς ἀπταίστως προ-
πέμψαν, κατὰ τὴν Μουουχίαν ἐξέλιπεν,
ἐνθα νῦν ὁ τῆς Φωσφόρου Βωμὸς ἐστί.
Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. i. c. 24. p. 418.

edit. Oxon.

^e Exod. vii.—xii.

^f Ch. xiv.

^g Ch. xvi. 35.

^h Ch. xix. xx. Deut. iv. 12, 33, 36.

ⁱ Exod. ubi sup. Deut. v. &c.

^k Exod. xxxv. xl. 34.

^l Ver. 38.

^m Numb. xi. [xii.] xiv. xvi. xxi.
xxv. &c.

ⁿ Levit. x. Numb. xvi. xvii. &c.

claring any thing about them diverse from what Moses had represented to be the purpose of God towards them^o: if all these, and other things of a like nature, that might be enumerated, were really and truly done as Moses has related, well might he call heaven and earth to witness for him^p; well might he observe, that no such things had ever been done for any nation^q; and we, who read them, cannot but conclude from them, that the power of God did indeed miraculously interest itself in the appointing the law and polity of this people, and in conducting them to their settlement in the promised land.

II. That the facts recorded by Moses were really done as he relates them, must be allowed by any one who considers, that Moses wrote his books in the very age in which the things he records were done, to be read by the very persons who had seen and known the facts to be true which are recorded by him; that they might testify and transmit their sense of the truth of them to their posterity. And this is a material circumstance, in which the reports we have of the heathen miracles are greatly deficient. Clemens Alexandrinus relates, that Thrasybulus led his company under the guidance of a pillar of light in the heavens^r; but Clemens Alexandrinus lived above six hundred years after the time of this supposed fact. Upon what authority he related it we are not told; but we find no such prodigy recorded in the best heathen writers, who, had it been fact, would surely have made mention of it. Xenophon^s, Diodorus Siculus^t, Cornelius Nepos^u, have related this expedition of Thrasybulus; but none of them mention any such miracle assistant to him: so that we have all reason to think there was none such; but that Clemens Alexandrinus was imposed upon in the account he received of it. And this is generally true of the miracles reported in heathen history. Subsequent writers, after large intervals of time, tell us things said to have been

^o Numb. xxiii. xxiv.

^p Deut. xxx. 19.

^q Ch. iv. 33, 34.

^r Stromat. l. i.

^s Vid. *Histor. Græc.* l. ii.

^t *Diodor. Hist.* l. xiv.

^u *Corn. Nep. in Vit. Thrasybuli.*

done, but without sufficient vouchers to attest the facts related by them: whereas Moses wrote of the things in which himself had been the chief agent, and required his books to be repeatedly read, and considered over and over^x, by the very persons who had seen and known the truth of what he wrote as clearly and fully as himself, in order to have the facts recorded by him go down attested to be true to the succeeding generations; so that Moses could not falsify the facts related by him, unless the generation he lived in concurred with him in a design to impose upon their descendants in all these matters; or were so over-reached and deceived by his superior skill and management, as to be made believe that they had seen and lived in a most surprising scene of things, which, all the time, were really not done in the manner they were taught to conceive and imagine. But,

III. If we consider the nature and manner of the miracles that bear testimony to Moses's administration, it is impossible to conceive the Israelites deceived in them: they could never have been led on, and for so long a time, in an imaginary belief of such things as Moses had recorded, if either the things were not done, or not done as he has related them. As to the signs and prodigies offered by the heathen writers to give a sanction to the foundations of their kingdoms, we may generally see, that the very writers which report them did not believe them, and that they were known artifices of their great legislators, calculated only to have weight upon their populates; but in no wise supported against the objections that a thinking person might easily find to offer to them. When Romulus died, the Roman historians tell us, that he was taken up into heaven^z; but we do not find that they ever had such proofs of his assumption, as to prevent a suspicion of his being murdered in the age when his death happened, or to cause

^x Deut. xxxi. 10.

^y Vid. Liv. Hist. Præfat.

^z Liv. lib. i. c. 16. Dionys. Halic.

Antiq. Rom. l. ii. c. 56. Plutarch. in Romul.

after-ages to give full credit to what they attempted to have believed about it^a. In like manner, when he was created king, we are told that a divine approbation, discovering itself by an auspicious lightning, attended his inauguration^b, and that it was an institution appointed to be for ever observed among the Romans, that no person should be admitted to command the people, unless the gods by such sign from heaven should confirm the election^c. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus is, I think, the only writer that reports the Roman magistracies to have had the countenance of such a confirmation, and he confesses their elections in his time to have fallen a great deal short of it^d; for he tells us, that at their elections a public augur was to declare the expected lightning to have happened, whether any appearance of it had been seen or no^e. Plutarch seems to have thought all that was offered about these^f lightnings to have been fabulous: and if we consider how uncertain it is whether Dionysius had any good vouchers to support what he writes to have been the facts of those times^g, we shall have just reason to imagine that the most early elections of the Roman magistrates had no more a divine sanction than the more modern, and that what Dionysius relates about them was one of those fictions by which the heathens endeavoured to give a lustre to their ancient institutions^h. In like manner, when Numa was to form the religion of the Romans, he affected a rural and retired life, was much alone, and pretended to have many conversations with a deity, who instructed him in his institutionsⁱ: but it is obvious to remark, that he

^a Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discernptum regem Patrum manibus taciti arguerent. Manavit enim hæc quoque sed perobscura fama. Liv. ubi sup. Dionys. Halicar. et Plutarch. in Romul. in loc. supra citat.

^b Dionys. Halicar. lib. ii. c. 5.

^c Halicar. lib. ii. c. 6.

^d Πέπανται δ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις πλὴν οἶον εἰκῶν τις αὐτοῦ λείπεται, τῆς ὁσίας ταύτης ἕνεκα γινομένη. Id. ibid.

^e Τῶν δὲ παρόντων τινὲς ὀρθοσκοπῶν μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φερόμενοι, ἀστραπὴν αὐτοῖς μνηνεῖν φασὶν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν τὴν οὐ γινομένην. Id. ibid.

^f Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ μυθώδη καὶ γελοῖα τὴν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδείκνυται διδθεσιν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἣν δ' ἐθισμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐνεποίησεν. Plut. in Numa, p. 70. ed. Xyl. Par. 1624.

^g Vid. Liv. Hist. lib. vi. c. 1.

^h Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat. Liv. Præf. ad Hist. l. i.

ⁱ Vid. Plutarch. in Numa, p. 61, 62. Omnium primum rem ad multitudinem imperitam, et illis seculis efficacissimam, deorum metum injiciendum ratus est: qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commentu

gave his people no other evidence of his having been assisted by a divine presence, than the testimony of his own saying it^k. And in this way we may observe of the Cretan Minos, of the Lycurgus of the Lacedemonians, of the Arimaspians Zathraustes, and of the Getan Zamolxis, compared with Moses by Diodorus^l; they were all said to have the will of their gods revealed to them; but there is so little appearance of proof of what is thus said, that Plutarch's observation cannot but be allowed to be true of them^m, they pretended to revelations in order to be better able to manage their people, though in truth no revelations had been made to them. But we cannot say thus of Moses; for Moses did not, after their manner, pretend to his Jews, as Diodorus expresses itⁿ, that the god Jao gave him his laws; but he made an open appeal to the senses of all the thousands of them, whether they did not all of them abundantly know it to be so as well as he. *The Lord our God, said he, made a covenant with us in Horeb. The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day. The Lord talked with you face to face in the mount, out of the midst of the fire*^o. If Moses had only told his Israelites, that their God had appeared to him in private, and given him the laws which he recommended to them: or if he had only related to them a confused account of some signs and prodigies known only to himself, and believed by them upon his reporting them, Moses and the heathen legislators might indeed be compared to one another. But the circumstances of Moses's administration are of another sort; and, as they are so, to say that Moses could make a camp of above 600000 grown up men, besides the women and children, believe they heard the voice of God out of the midst of

miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum Dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse, ejus se monitu, quæ acceptissima Diis essent sacra instituere. Liv. Hist. l. i. c. 19.

^k Vid. Plut. Liv. Dionys. Halicarn. ubi sup.

^l Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. i. c. 94.

^m Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄτερος λόγος ἔχει τι φαῦλον, ἢν περὶ Λυκούργου καὶ Νουμᾶ καὶ τοιοῦτων ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν λέγουσιν, ὡς

δυσκάρηκτα καὶ δυσάρεστα πλήθη χειρούμενοι, καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντες ταῖς πολιτείας καινοτομίας προσεποιήσαντο τὴν ἀπὸ θεοῦ δόξαν, αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις πρὸς οὐδὲ ἐσχηματίζοντο σωτήριον οὖσαν. Plut. in Num. p. 62. ed. ead.

ⁿ Προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ δίδόναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσῆν τὸν Ἰαῶ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν. Diodor. Sic. ubi sup.

^o Deut. v. 2—4.

the fire^p, if they did not hear it; that he could, day after day, and week after week, for about forty years together, make them all believe that he gave them bread from heaven, calling the heads of all their families every day to such a particular method of gathering it, as must make them all intimately acquainted with all the circumstances of it^q, if all the time he did not really give them bread from heaven, but only pretended it; to say that he could, in like manner, once or twice upon an accident, but for the long space of time above mentioned, for near forty years together, upon every movement of the camp, make the whole people believe they saw a miraculous pillar of light directing their marches, or abiding in a cloud of glory upon their tabernacle, when they were not to journey^r; if all the while no such thing was real, and Moses had only made some artificial beacon, of which the Israelites did not know the contrivance and composition^s:—to say these and other things of a like nature, in order to insinuate the miracles that attended the Israelites in the wilderness to be like the heathen wonders, pretended only, but not real, must be to say the most incredible things in the world. If Moses had been an impostor, he would never have attempted such miracles, nor have been so hardy as to venture his artifices in so open a light, and to daily examination for so many years together, of so many hundreds of thousands of people; or if he could have been so romantic as to hazard the exposing them to so many, such unlimited and repeated trials, he must have been but a weak and rash man, and consequently come off many times detected and defeated, unless we can think his Israelites to have been a camp of the most careless and inconsi-

^p Deut. iv. 11—16.

^q Exod. xvi.

^r Ch. xl. 34—38.

^s A beacon of this sort is said to have been made and set up over the royal tent in Alexander's army. Quint. Curtius in loc. supra citat. And as Alexander's forces were not at most above 35000, (see Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. vii.) it is conceivable that such a light might be an useful signal

to a camp of that bigness; but the camp of the Israelites consisted of many hundreds of thousands of people, and must have extended itself over many miles of the country, whenever they pitched it: and what one artificial light could have been either formed or managed, consisting of a body of fire of a size sufficient to be seen and recognized in every quarter of so great a nation of people?

derate people, blindly devoted to receive implicitly whatever he told them they saw, without opening their eyes, or making any trial whether the things he told them were so or no. But this cannot be pretended. For,

IV. If we look into the conduct of the Israelites, where do we find them disposed to any implicit belief of Moses? Did they not rather examine every thing he offered in the strictest manner, and endeavour indefatigably to oppose him in every part of his administration? They were but three days over the Red sea before they murmured against him at Marah^t; and though they were here miraculously relieved by him^u, yet at Elim they appear to have had but little expectation that he could lead them any further^x. When the manna was given, and the particular injunctions communicated for the method of gathering it, what disposition do we find in the people either to believe what Moses had told them, or to obey what he had directed? *They hearkened not unto Moses; but left of the manna until the morning, and it bred worms, and stank^y. And on the seventh day some of the people went out to gather manna, but they found none^z.* At Rephidim, when they wanted water, they were ready to stone him^a; and though at Sinai, the wonders that were seen and heard there seemed at first to have made a deep impression, yet it was not long before they were led away by their own imaginations into idolatry^b. They were dissatisfied at Taberah, even though the miraculous direction of the cloud had led them thither^c; and so mutinous at Kibroth-hattaavah, that Moses found himself unequal to the labour of bearing up against their oppositions, and begged to have a number of persons to assist him in endeavouring to promote amongst them a better temper^d; a work so far from having a promising appearance, that two of the persons nominated to it would fain have declined it, had they not been encouraged by a miracle to undertake it^e. When

^t Exod. xv. 22, 24.

^u Ver. 25.

^x Ch. xvi. 3.

^y Ver. 20.

^z Ver. 27.

^a Ch. xvii. 4.

^b Exod. xix. xx. xxiv. xxxii. See book xi.

^c Numb. xi. 1.

^d Ver. 14.

^e Ver. 26.

the people came to Kadesh, and might have entered Canaan, how averse were they to every thing that Moses would have directed, though they had the most reasonable application in the world made to them, to induce them to hope for success in their undertaking^f! But afterwards, when by a most obstinate opposition they had incurred the divine displeasure, and were warned by Moses that their attempt would surely fail, then nothing could prevent their marching to a defeat from their enemies^g. In the rebellion of Korah, two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation were engaged^h, and the defection was so obstinate, that even the miraculous destruction of Korah and all his company could not quell it; but, on the morrow, the congregation appeared in a new ferment, and accused Moses and Aaron of having killed the Lord's peopleⁱ: fourteen thousand were hereupon taken off by a pestilence before the camp could be brought into any temper^k, and another most surprising miracle was wrought before they came to have a due sense of their folly^l. And now what opposition could the most enterprising of our modern deists have made to Moses, which his Israelites did not make to him; or what measures were omitted that could possibly have been taken to make the utmost trial of his strength and authority in every part of his administration? I might add to all this, that we never find Moses to have had any considerable human confederacy to abet and support him; in their turns all tribes and orders of his people were hot in opposing him, and his nearest relations, his brother and sister, Aaron and Miriam, whenever they thought they had a pretence for it, were as ready as any others to withstand and condemn him^m; and were so positive in their contradiction to him, that nothing less than a miracle could silence themⁿ. A considerable part of his own tribe headed the fiercest mutiny that was ever raised against him; and can it be thought, after all these things, that if Moses had depended upon artifice, and measures con-

^f Numb. xiv. 7, 9.

^g Ch. xiv.

^h Ch. xvi.

ⁱ Ver. 41.

^k Numb. xvi. 49.

^l Ch. xvii. 1—10.

^m Ch. xii.

ⁿ Ver. 10.

certed between him and some partisans, to impose upon the people, some or other of these defections would not have brought the secret into open light, and have exposed it to the whole congregation? But instead of this, throughout all his administration, we see an evident series of the clearest miracles most openly performed, to give him weight amongst the people; and whenever they either would not attend to him, or conspired to oppose him, then the divine vengeance appeared in support of him, and gave the congregation no other choice but to obey, or be *consumed with dying*^o.

V. Will it be here remarked that Moses did not finish the writing his books, nor order the reading them, until the generation, with whom he had so much opposition, were all in their graves; that perhaps the children of these men being upon the borders of the land of promise, when Moses delivered his books to them, and, warm with hopes of seeing at last an end of all their labours, might be willing not to begin new contests to embarrass their affairs, but for peace and quiet's sake even consent to let him give what account he would of what was past, though they might know the substance of what he wrote not to have been transacted in the manner recorded by him? I answer; If this were true, should we not have found the Israelites, when Moses was dead and gone, not over-fond of paying, and obliging their posterity for ever to pay, a most sacred regard to all that he had left in writing to be transmitted to them? The account which Moses left of their journeyings in the wilderness, if it was not true in fact, was a most provoking libel upon every family, except one or two of the whole people; for, how strongly does it represent to them, that their fathers had all been a *stubborn* and a *rebellious generation*, a *generation that would not set their hearts aright*, nor have their *spirit stedfast with God*^p. At the first entrance upon forming the Jewish polity, the name of every male of twenty years old of the whole people was taken down after their families, by the house of their fathers after their poll^q: and this was

^o Numb. xvii. 12, 13.

Psalm lxxviii. 8.

^p Exod. xxxii. 21. Numb. xiv. 28,

^q Numb. i. 2.

29. xx. 10. Deut. i. 35. ii. 14—16.

again done almost forty years after in the plains of Moab, when all the persons except four, whose names had been taken in the former poll, were dead^r; so that Moses left them a most clear account of whom every one of them was descended: and the keeping and filling up their genealogies was necessary in their polity for ascertaining to each family and member of it the inheritance in the land that was severally to belong to them. And can we now think that, under these circumstances, they should all agree to a man to have Moses record with infamy the immediate father of almost every one of them; that, in after-ages, when their posterity should look back unto him that begat them, they might be told they were descended from one who had been a rebel against their God, and was cut off for his iniquity? The children of Korah were alive when Moses delivered his books, for we have a line of this family continued down from Korah and his son to the times of Solomon^s; and is it to be imagined that this family could have suffered an account, so prodigious in all its circumstances, of the rebellion and destruction of Korah and all his company, as that which Moses has given^t, to go down without contradiction to all posterity, if they had not known the whole, and every circumstance of it, to have been undeniably true, and notorious to the whole congregation? Men are, I might almost say, born with sentiments of more honour and respect for those of whom they are descended; and it is not to be conceived that a man of that excellent temper, which Moses was of^u, should offer, or any nation of people receive and adhere to, such an account of their ancestors as Moses gave the Israelites, if the truth of what he recorded had not been unquestionably known and confirmed to all of them. When Romulus, the first king of the Romans, became ungracious to his people, and probably fell a sacrifice to some secret conspiracy^x; though the unsettled state of their infant constitution was not thought strong enough to have the real senti-

^r Numb. xxvi.

^s 1 Chron. vi. 33—38.

^t Numb. xvi.

^u Ch. xii. 3.

^a Vid. Liv. Hist. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii. c. 36. Plutarch. in Romul.

ments, which the senate had of him, laid open to the people, but it was reputed good policy to have an honourable account of him go down to all posterity^y: yet we do not find that they took care to give an unalterable sanction to his institutions, or affected to have him thought the sole founder of their polity and religion; but rather, the more amiable prince that succeeded him had the reputation of completing what Romulus had attempted, and of giving a fulness and perfection to every part of their constitution^z. And something of this sort we should have found of Moses, if he had died in any disrepute with his people. But instead hereof, after he was gone, the Israelites abundantly testified of him, that his successor was not equal to him^a: and the generation, to whom he had given his books, took the utmost care to perform every part of what he had enjoined^b. It was known amongst their enemies, that his directions were the rule of all their treaties^c; and they themselves looked at every event of their wars as a completion of what Moses had foretold to them^d: they fully ratified every thing he had done^e, paid the utmost deference to any private claims founded upon any thing that he had said^f: they made all their settlements according to what he had prescribed^g, and observed of all their acquirements, that they had succeeded in them according to all that he had recorded^h, and they warned their posterity, that if ever they departed from doing *all that was written in the book of his law, to turn aside therefrom to the right hand or to the left*ⁱ, that they would surely fall under the displeasure of God, and have all the evils come upon them which he had in such case pronounced against them^k. And thus there appears all possible evidence that the men, to whom Moses delivered what he wrote, were so far from having a disbelief or doubt of what

y Deum, Dea natum, Regem, Parentemque urbis Romanæ salvere universi Romulum jubent. Pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet progeniem. Liv. lib. i. c. 16.

z Vid. Liv. Dionys. Halic. Plut. in Numa.

a Deut. xxxiv. 10.

b Josh. viii. 35.

c Ch. ix. 24.

d Ch. xi. 20.

e Ch. xii. 6, 7. Ch. xiii.

f Ch. xiv. 5—15.

g Ch. xx, xxi.

h Ch. xxi. 44, 45. xxiii. 14, 15.

i Ch. xxiii. 6.

k Ver. 13—16.

he had recorded, that they took a most abundant care to have, as I might say, no part of it *fall to the ground*. We do not find that in any one thing they added to it^l, neither did they diminish aught from it^m, not even the disadvantageous account he had given of their fathers; as is evident from the appeal of their prophets in succeeding ages to these very facts recorded by himⁿ.

But I might observe one thing further of Moses. He must have wrote with a strict regard to truth indeed, when we do not find in him a partiality even to his own character. When the elder Cyrus was about to die, Xenophon represents him to have suggested to his friends the circumstances that had completed the happiness of his life: "I do not remember," says he, "that I have ever aimed at or attempted what I did not compass: I have seen my friends made happy by me, and I leave my country in the highest glory, which was heretofore of but little figure in Asia^o." And how natural is this sentiment! What wise man would not wish to close his day after this manner? And is it not obvious that Moses might with much truth have sent his life down to posterity adorned with many hints of this nature? For how easy had it been for him to have observed to his people to this purpose: "I was born amongst you when you were slaves in the land of Egypt: I brought you forth from the house of bondage: I have for forty years supported you in the great wilderness: I have preserved you in all the heats and intestine divisions we have unhappily had amongst us: I have at last entered you into a part of the country where you are to settle: I am now old, and cannot hope to be much longer with you; but I think myself happy, and can now leave you with joy, having lived to shew you, by experience, that you have your settlement in your hands. You have seen already the success you may have against your enemies: go on in the way I have opened to you, and you shall soon triumph over the remainder of them." But, instead of any thing of this

^l Deut. iv. 2. xii. 32. Josh. i. 7.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Psalm lxxviii. xcv. 9, 10. Ezek.

xx. 10—17.

^o Vid. Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. viii.

p. 649. Ed. Hutchin. Ox. 1728.

sort, Moses records of himself and Aaron, that the Lord had said unto them, *Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them*^p. He repeats it to them that he had offended God^q, turns their eyes from himself to his successor^r, fully acquaints them that not he but Joshua was to lead them into the land^s; confessing at the same time that he had a most passionate desire to conduct their conquests, but that God would not hear him in this matter^t. And thus Moses, though those who came after him highly extolled him above any of his successors^u; though, from the general character which God had given of him^x, he might certainly have covered his dishonour in the one only circumstance there ever was to be the cause of it; though, surely, if any man ever had whereof to glory, in the many revelations made to him, and the mighty works that had been done by him^y, he might be thought to have had so more abundantly; yet, from a most sacred regard to truth, he was after all content to lay himself down *numbered with the transgressors*. And now where in all history can we find an instance of the like nature? A wise man would not indeed be so vain as to wish to have a lustre given to his actions which they will not at all bear; and yet it is but natural for an honest man, if he is to be known to those who are to come after him, to wish to be seen in the best light; to desire to have the good that may be said of him offered as much to his advantage as the cause of truth can fairly admit of, and as much of what may be said to his disadvantage not told as may be omitted of him. This was the sentiment of the younger Pliny^z, and unquestionably Moses would not have treated his own character with a greater rigour, if he had not made it the great point of his work, to write with all truth a full account of the proceedings of God's dispensations rather than his own history.

^p Numb. xx. 12.

^q Ch. xxvii. 14. Deut. i. 37. xxxi. 2.

^r Deut. xxxi. 7.

^s Ver. 14, &c.

^t Deut. iii. 23—27.

^u Ch. xxxiv. 10.

^x Numb. xii. 7.

^y Ver. 6—8. Deut. xxxiv. 10, 11.

^z Vid. Plin. Epist.

If Moses had not had the direction of an immediate revelation, I do not think he would have left the Israelites any body of written laws; at least he would never have thought of tying them and their posterity in all ages, whatever changes and chances might happen to their affairs, to so minute and strict an observance of so various and extensive a body of laws, without leaving them at any time a power to add to them or diminish from them^a. Lycurgus reformed the Lacedemonian state, and he pretended himself to have had the direction of Apollo^b; but he did not venture to give his people a body of written laws for them to live by without variation^c: if he had, the shortness and imperfection of human wisdom would unquestionably in a few ages have appeared throughout any such code in many particulars contained in it. And this Lycurgus seems to have been well aware of; and therefore, in one of his *Rhetoræ*, recommended it to his people not to tie themselves down to written laws at all^d. He thought the affairs of all states subject to such a variety of contingencies, that what could be appointed at one time might be very improper at another; and that therefore a civil polity would be more stable that was founded only upon general maxims, with a liberty to direct particulars as occasion should require, than where a set of laws are composed to be inviolably maintained, minutely to prescribe and limit the incidents of political life^e. We read of Numa, that, whilst he lived, he instructed the *Pontifices* in all the rites and appointments of his religion; but he was not willing to leave the twelve volumes he had written to the perusal or for the direction of posterity, but ordered his sacred books to be buried with him^f. Some ages after, the place where they had been buried was accidentally broken up, and the books taken out of the stone-chest in which they had been repositied, and Petilius, the then prætor, was appointed to peruse them: but he found them so far from being likely to be of service to the public,

^a Deut. iv. 2.

^b Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. i. p. 59.

^c Νόμους δὲ γεγραμμένους ὁ Λυκοῦργος οὐκ ἔθηκεν. Plutarch. in Lycurg. p. 47.

^d Plutarch. in Lycurg. p. 47.

^e Id. *ibid.*

^f Id. in Numa, p. 74.

that he made oath to the senate, that the contents of them ought not to be divulged; whereupon a public order passed to have them burned^g. Philo the Jew remarks, that in all other nations, time and accidents had made many alterations of their laws absolutely necessary; that the Jewish law was the only one on earth that was not grown obsolete in any of its branches^h. The Medes and Persians indeed affected to have the compliment, which they paid their kingsⁱ, thought to be a real perfection of their laws, that they were to *live for ever*^k; but their kings, we find, had a power to make decrees that might^l defeat the effect which laws, that *altered not and could not be changed*, might have been attended with, whenever an effect not approved of would have been the consequence of any of them. Human foresight cannot at once calculate and provide for all the changes and chances that must happen in a course of ages to the affairs of a people: and Moses must have been a weak man, too weak to be the author of the laws he has given us, if he did not know enough of human life to cause him to consider, that how well soever he might estimate the then state and views of his people, yet he could never be sure but that something very different from what he might form for them might in time be very proper to become their constitution, in order to attain the political prospects which might arise to them. But *known unto God are all his purposes, from the beginning of the world*^m; and he can secure them a full effect, as he pleases, even to the end of it: and if it was indeed the purpose of God to choose, as Moses represents, the house of Jacob to be *unto himself a peculiar people*ⁿ, and to give them a law, by a punctual ob-

^g Plutarch. in Numa, p. 74.

^h Τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων νόμιμα, εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῷ λογισμῷ, διὰ μυρίας προφάσεις εὐρήσει κεινημένα, πολέμοις, ἢ τυραννίσιν, ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις ἀβουλήτοις, ἢ νεωτερισμῷ τύχης κατασκήπτει· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τρυφῇ πλεονάσασα χορηγίας καὶ περιουσίας ἀφθόνοις, καθεῖλε νόμους, τὰ λίαν ἀγαθὰ τῶν πολλῶν φέρειν οὐ δυναμένων, ἀλλὰ διὰ κόρον ἐξυβρίζοντων ὕβρις δ' ἀντίπαλον νόμῳ· τὰ δὲ τούτου μόνου

βέβαια, ἀσάλευτα, ἀκράδαντα, καθάπερ σφραγίδι φύσεως αὐτῆς σσημασμένα, μένει παγίως ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐγράφη μεχρὶ νῦν. Philo de Vita Mosis, lib. i.

ⁱ Dan. ii. 4. iii. 9.

^k Dan. vi. 8. 15. Esther i. 19.

^l See Esther viii. 8. Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. v. ad an. 453.

^m Acts xv. 18.

ⁿ Exod. xix. 5. Deut. vii. 6. xiv. 2. xxvi. 18.

servance of which they were to be kept, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed^o; we may hence open a view of things that will fully account for Moses, under the immediate direction of a revelation from God, appointing to the Israelites all his institutions, and charging them not to turn therefrom, until the fulness of time was come^p, to the right hand or to the left^q.

Some writers inform us that Moses was the first that ever gave written laws to a people^r, and I do not find any thing valid to contradict this opinion; though the abettors of it have made mistakes in their attempts to support it. Justin Martyr cites Diodorus Siculus in favour of it^s; but Diodorus evidently speaks not of Moses, but of Mneves an Egyptian^t; for Moses is afterwards mentioned by Diodorus in the same passage, and with such different circumstances, as abundantly shew Diodorus to have thought Mneves and Moses not to be one and the same person^u. The learned editor of Diodorus Siculus thinks the word ἀγράπτοις in the text should be corrected ἐγγράφοις: the passage, he says, is so worded in Justin Martyr's citation of it^x. If this were the true text of Diodorus, we might gather from him, that Mneves taught his people to live by written laws^y; and this would hint such laws to have been in use centuries before the times of Moses: for Mneves can be no other than Menes, who was Moses's Mizraim, the first planter of Egypt^z. Mneves lived in the age next after the gods and heroes^a, and this was the time of Menes, or Mizraim's life^b. Mneves had his laws from Hermes or Mercury^c; and

^o Galat. iii. 23.

^p Deut. xviii. 15—18. John i. 45. Acts iii. 22—24. Gal. iv. 4.

^q Deut. v. 32. xxviii. 14. Josh. i. 7, 8.

^r Joseph. cont. Ap. l. ii. c. 15.

^s In Protreptic. p. 10. ed. Par. 1615.

^t The same passage is cited by St. Cyril, contr. Julian. l. i. Both Cyril and Justin Martyr cite Diodorus thus: Μανσῆν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆ ψυχῆ μέγαν, &c. But Diodorus's words are: Μνεύην ἄνδρα καὶ τῆ ψυχῆ μέγαν. Vid. Diodor. Hist. l. i. c. 94.

^u Diodorus says of Mneves, Τὸν Μνεύην προσποιθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸν Ἐριμῆν δεδωκέναι τοῦτους, i. e. νόμους. Of Moses he says afterwards, Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσῆν [προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ διδόναι] τὸν Ἰαῶ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν. Diodor. ubi sup.

^x Vid. Rhodoman. conjectur. in loc.

^y Πείσαι φασὶ πρώτων ἐγγράφοις νόμους χρῆσασθαι τὰ πλήθη τὸν Μνεύην.

^z See vol. i. b. iv.

^a Diodor. ubi sup.

^b See vol. i. b. i.

^c Diodor. ubi sup.

Hermes or Mercury was the surname of Thoth or Thyoth, who was secretary to Mizraim or Menes^d. In short, Mneves or Menes may reasonably be thought to be the same name, with only a little difference in writing it. And if we allow this, and take Diodorus to suggest that Mneves taught his people to use written laws; since Menes or Mizraim planted Egypt about A. M. 1772^e, we shall make written laws to have been in use in Egypt about seven hundred years before the times of Moses. But had they been so, we should unquestionably have found the Greeks forming their states with written laws much earlier than the times when they appear to have had their first notion of them; for the arts and sciences of Egypt found a way into Greece very early^f; and yet the inhabitants of this country seem to have had no knowledge of written laws, until after Homer's time; for, as Josephus has remarked, we find no word in all his poems that signifies a written law, the word νόμος having a different sense, wherever it is used by him^g. A due consideration of these points must suggest to us, 1. that both Cyril and Justin Martyr mistook the true meaning of Diodorus in the passage they cite from him: they suppose him to be speaking of Moses; but he was mentioning another person, the first planter and king of Egypt; accordingly, to accommodate his words to what they thought his intention, they interpolated his text, where he wrote Μνεύην, *Mneves*, they wrote Μωσῆν, *Moses*; and having made this emendation, Moses's law, being a written law, forced upon them another; and induced them, where he used the word ἀγράφους, *unwritten*, to imagine he meant ἐγγράφους, or *written*, and to cite him, not as he really wrote, but as they falsely judged him to have intended. Whereas, 2. Diodorus really meant to remark, that Mneves was the first person that taught the Egyptians the use of laws; but they were νόμοι ἀγραπτοι, *unwritten laws*. The early kings instructed their people by verbal edicts; and Diodorus, in the passage cited, intimates

^d See vol. i. b. iv.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid. and vol. ii. b. viii.

^g Joseph. cont. Apion. l. ii. c. 15.
Jos. Barnes in v. 20. Hymn. ad Apol-
lin.

this most ancient Egyptian legislator to have formed his people in this manner, before the use of written laws was introduced into the world; and he imagines him to have feigned Mercury or Hermes to have *given him*^h what he spake to them, in order to his words having weight amongst his peopleⁱ, that they might think *a divine sentence* to be *in the lips of their king*^k, and that *his mouth* transgressed *not* in the *judgments* which he delivered to them.

There are some particulars commanded in the law of Moses, which it is evident that Moses, at the time when he enjoined them, knew might be fatal to the welfare of his people, if God did not interpose, and by an especial providence preserve them from what the obeying such commands tended evidently to bring upon them. Of this sort is the law he gave them for all their males to appear three times in a year before the Lord^l; and the command not to sow or till any of their lands, or dress their vineyards, or gather any fruit of them every seventh year^m: and if, as some of the learned calculate, the year of Jubilee was a different year from the seventh sabbatical yearⁿ, then after

^h Προσποιηθῆναι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑρμῆν δεδωκέναι τούτους. The word δεδωκέναι here signifies to dictate to the mind what is to be spoken, as in Mark xiii. 11.

ⁱ Πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ δύναμιν τῶν εὐρεῖν λεγομένων τούτων νόμων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν ὄχλον μᾶλλον ὑπακούσεσθαι διαλαβόντας. Diodor. ubi sup.

^k Prov. xvi. 10.

^l Exod. xxiii. 17. xxxiv. 23.

^m Ibid. xxiii. 10, 11. Levit. xxv.

3—7.

ⁿ The learned have been much divided about the year of Jubilee, whether it was to be kept in the forty-ninth year, which, taken inclusively, may be called the fiftieth; or whether forty-nine years were to run out, and then the next, or fiftieth year, was to be the year of Jubilee. Vid. Cleric. Comment. in Levit. xxv. Petav. Rationar. Tempor. lib. ix. c. 29, &c. And we have so few, and such imperfect accounts of the practice of the Jews, in their observance of this or their sabbatical years, that it may be difficult to offer any thing certain upon this

subject. The most learned dean Prideaux thought the text, Levit. xxv. 8—12. to be in favour of the Jubilee year's being the next to the forty-ninth or seventh sabbatical year. Preface to vol. i. of his Connect. The words of the text are, *Thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the Jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month in the day of atonement.—And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year—a Jubilee shall that fiftieth year be unto you: ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it.* Levit. xxv. 8—11. We may perhaps come at the true meaning of this text, if we take it, 1. to direct the Israelites to observe, at their due intervals, seven sabbatical years. 2. To remark that a course of seven such years, with the six years of tillage belonging to each of them, duly observed, were to make up the full amount of forty-nine years; *the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and*

seven times seven years, on every fiftieth year, they were to have their lands and vineyards lie undressed and uncultivated two years together^o. The first of these laws obliged them to leave their cities and habitations exposed and without defence to any invaders, who might at such times make incursions upon them; for, at these three times in every year, all their males were to come up from all parts of the country into the place where the tabernacle was fixed before the temple was built^p, and afterwards to the temple at Jerusalem. The second must, ordinarily speaking, have brought upon them many inconveniences, as it required them to lose at once a whole year's produce of all their country: and if the Jubilee year was to be kept, as is above hinted, and they were not to sow nor reap in the fiftieth year, when the year immediately foregoing had been a sabbath year, this,

nine years; or, to render the Hebrew text verbatim, *the days of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years*. The meaning of which remark will appear, if we allow the text, 3. to suggest to them, that they were to begin the Jubilee year on the tenth day of the seventh month of the forty-ninth, or seventh sabbatical year; *thou shalt cause the trumpet of the Jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month*. The observance of each sabbatical year was, I imagine, to begin as soon as the sixth year's crop could be got off the ground in the beginning of the seventh year; for the harvest in Canaan fell in the first month. [See and compare Josh. iii. 15. with 1 Chron. xii. 15.] And when the Israelites had counted the seven times seven years, so as to be in observance of their seventh sabbath year, then on the tenth day of the seventh month they were to begin a year of Jubilee, only remembering, that they were not to reckon the sabbath year they were then keeping to end upon commencing the Jubilee; for the seven sabbaths of years were to contain the days of forty-nine years, which they would not have amounted to, if the seventh sabbath year was to have been thought finished on the tenth day of the seventh month, upon beginning the Jubilee. 4. As, according

to this account, the year of Jubilee did not begin and end with the sabbatical year, but commenced some months later, and extended a like space of time longer; so it was evidently not any one of the years contained in the seven sabbaths of years, though it was in part concurrent with the last of them: and accordingly it is properly styled in the text a fiftieth year, as not being any one of the forty-nine before mentioned. If what has been offered may be admitted, then, 5. though the Jubilee year began and ended some months later than a sabbatical year, yet, as the season for seedtime did not come on in Canaan before the fifteenth day of the seventh month was over, [see Levit. xxiii. 39.] the Jubilee year ending, as it began, on the tenth day of this seventh month, did not command a year's neglect of harvest and tillage, other than what the sabbath year in part concurrent with it enjoined: only perhaps the year of Jubilee obliged them to defer preparing their lands some months longer than a sabbatical year, not attended with a Jubilee, required; causing them hereby to end every forty-ninth or seventh sabbatical year, with, as I might say, a greater solemnity.

^o Levit. xxv.^o 8—12.

^p Deut. xvi. 1 Sam. i. 3.

one would think, must have distressed them with the extremities of a famine^q. Moses had a full sense that all these evils might attend the observance of these laws: he was well apprised that, as Canaan was an inland country, and his Israelites were to be surrounded with, and open to, many foreign nations, it could never be thought agreeable to good policy, three times a year to draw all the males from the frontiers of the land; for what would this be less, than to give every enemy they had so many remarkable and well known opportunities to enter their coasts without fear of resistance, and to plunder or take possession of them as they pleased? And can it be conceived that any state or kingdom could be long flourishing that should be bound by law to expose itself in this manner? But against these fears Moses assured his people that God would protect them. He sets before them God's promise: *I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God thrice in the year*^r; so that, in obeying this command, the Israelites were three times a year to expose themselves, contrary to all rules of good policy, in confidence of a marvellous protection of God, who had promised to prevent any enemies taking advantage of their so doing. In like manner Moses answers the objection to be made to the observing the law for the seventh or sabbatical year: *If ye shall say, [says he to them in the name and words of God,] What shall we eat the seventh year? behold, we shall not sow, nor gather in our increase: then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years*^s. A most extraordinary produce was promised all over

^q We find a sore famine in Samaria, in Elijah's time, from unseasonable weather, for three years together, 1 Kings xvii. xviii.

^r Exod. xxxiv. 24.

^s The meaning of the expression, for three years, is explained by what follows, Levit. xxv. 22. *And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat yet of old fruit until the ninth year; until her*

fruits come in ye shall eat of the old store.

The promise meant, not that the sixth year's produce should last the term of three complete years; but that it should suffice for the seventh year, for the eighth year, and for a part of the ninth year, namely, until the harvest, in the beginning of the ninth year, should bring in the fruits of the eighth year's tillage.

the land, at all times, the year before they were to begin their neglect of harvest and tillage. And now can any one imagine that Moses could ever have thought of obliging the Israelites to such laws as these, if God had not really given a particular command about them? or would the Israelites have been so weak as to obey such pernicious injunctions, if they had not had a sufficient evidence that the commands were of God, and that he would indeed protect them in their observance of them? or had they been so romantic as to have gone into an obedience to keep such institutions as these, if they had not been of God, and without an especial providence to protect and preserve them from the consequences that would naturally arise from them; would not a few years trial have brought home to them a dear-bought experience of so great a folly? Their enemies would unquestionably have many times made advantage of the opportunities they gave them to enter their country; and a sixth year's crop, no better than ordinary, must have perpetually convinced them that the observance of the sabbatical year was a mere idle fancy, not supported by such a blessing from God as they had been told was annexed to it. The Israelites fell indeed into a great neglect of observing their sabbatical years some centuries before their captivity^t; but it is remarkable, that they thought themselves to have had so little colour for this breach of their duty, from any failure of God's promise to them, that they looked upon the number of years which their land was to be desolate, when they were carried to Babylon, to be a particular judgment upon them, designed by God to answer to the number of the sabbatical years which had not been observed by them^u. After the captivity, the Jews were more observant of this injunction; we find them keeping their sabbath years in the times of Alexander the Great; for, upon account of their not tilling their lands in those years, they petitioned him for a remission of every seventh year's tribute^x. As to

^t Prideaux's Preface to Connection, part i.

^u 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

^x Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. c. 8. §. 6.

Thus they kept their sabbatical years in the times of the Maccabees, 1 Mac. vi. 49, 53.

the command for appearing three times in the year before the Lord, we find it practised by the Jews to their very latest times. When Cestius the Roman came against Lydda, he found no men in the city, for they were all gone to Jerusalem to the feast of tabernacles^y; and afterwards, when Titus laid siege to Jerusalem, he shut up in it, as it were, the whole Jewish nation; for they were then assembled there to keep the feast of unleavened bread^z. Josephus indeed remarks, that the keeping this feast at the time of Titus's coming to besiege Jerusalem greatly conduced to the concluding the fate of his country^a. But we are to observe, that this did not happen until after our Saviour's times; until the Jews were given up by God, and their city and polity were to be *trodden down of the Gentiles*^b.

Upon the death of Moses, A. M. 2554, at the beginning of the year, Joshua took the command of the Israelites; and when the days of mourning for Moses were over, he prepared, according to directions which God had given him, to remove the camp, and to enter Canaan^c. But before he began to march, he sent two spies to Jericho, a city over against the camp, on the other side the river Jordan^d: the spies, when they came to Jericho, went to the house of a woman named Rahab, and lodged there^e: she concealed them from the search which the king of Jericho made for them, and after three days they came back to Joshua, and reported to him what terror the inhabitants of Canaan were in upon account of the Israelites^f. The behaviour of Rahab to the spies was indeed extraordinary, and cannot but at first sight appear liable to objections; for upon what principle could she receive into her house the known enemies of her country, conceal them from the searchers, and dismiss them in safety, contrary to her duty to the public, and allegiance to the king of Jericho? We are told, that she professed her-

^y Joseph. de bello Judaic. lib. ii.

^c. 19. §. 1.

^z Ibid. lib. vi. c. 19. §. 2.

^a Ibid.

^b Luke xxi. 24.

^c Josh. i.

^d Ch. ii. 1. Numb. xxii. 1.

^e Josh. ii. 1.

^f Ver. 2—24.

self to know, that the God of the Israelites was *God in heaven above, and in earth beneath*^g, and that *the Lord* had given *them the land*^h: but we are not informed by the writer of the book of Joshua, whether she collected these things only from having heard, what she mentioned to the spies, how the waters of the Red sea were dried up, and the kings of the Amorites on the other side of Jordan were conquered and destroyedⁱ; or whether God had been pleased to give her any special direction to entertain the spies, in obeying which she was to save her family from ruin. However, the book of Joshua is but a short account of what the Israelites did, and of what happened to them whilst they were under the command of their leader of that name; and we may imagine, that many circumstances attending some facts recorded in it were perhaps registered by some other hands, and afterwards related more at large in other books that are now lost^k. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews says of Rahab, that *by faith she perished not with them that believed not, when she had received the spies with peace*^l: and if we compare what she did with the actions of other persons mentioned with her by the sacred writer, as influenced by a like faith, we must judge of her, that she had received some command from God, and that she acted in obedience to it. *By faith Noah, being warned of God of things not seen as yet, moved with fear*^m, *prepared an ark to the saving of his house*ⁿ: he received an express revelation that the world was to perish by water, and was instructed by God how he might save himself and family^o; he believed what God revealed to him, made an ark in obedience to the orders that were given him, and by thus believing, and acting according to his belief, he saved himself and family from perishing. In like manner Rahab undoubtedly was informed by some revelation of God's will, and acted in obedience to it, or she could not have been an instance of the faith which the in-

^g Josh. ii. 11.

^h Ver. 9.

ⁱ Ver. 10.

^k Ch. x. 13.

^l Heb. xi. 31.

^m Ver. 7. The word is *ἐνλαβηθεὶς*.

ⁿ Ibid.

^o Gen. vi. 13, 14, &c.

spired writer treats of in the chapter where she is mentioned. Had she proceeded upon a general report, or had she inquired and been assured, upon the best information, that the people, who were about invading the country she belonged to, had been wonderfully raised up and preserved by the miraculous power of God, and that they were likely to conquer and destroy all that would not submit to them, and been hence induced to think, that it would be prudent for her to ingratiate herself with them, if possibly she might thereby save herself and family from ruin ; all this, I think, would not have justified her conduct ; but her concealing the spies upon these motives would have been a treachery to her country, and might at last have proved a vain as well as wicked action ; for unless she certainly knew that God designed to give the Israelites possession of Jericho, his having hitherto protected them could be no argument that they would be enabled to destroy every city which they might have a mind to attack and depopulate. But if the design of God towards the inhabitants of Canaan had been made known to the king and people of Jericho, and he and they had been sufficiently warned to save themselves from the destruction that was coming upon them ; if they would not obey, but, upon their refusal, if Rahab believed, and obediently acted according to what was required of her, her whole behaviour will stand clear of every imputation. And this appears to me to have been her case : *Rahab perished not with them that believed not*^p ; the Greek words are, not τοῖς ἀπίστοις, *with the unbelievers*, but τοῖς ἀπειθήσασι, that is, *with them who were disobedient*^q. But how can the inhabitants of Jericho be said to have been disobedient, if God had required nothing of them ? Some sufficient information both they and Rahab must particularly have had, or they could not have been condemned as disobedient, refusing to obey what they were directed to ; nor could she have been an instance of one who was saved by her faith, i. e. by believing and acting according to the will of God made known to her. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews suggests nothing

^p Heb. ubi sup.

^q 1 Pet. iii. 20.

that contradicts any fact recorded in Joshua ; but by the mention he makes of Rahab's case, it is evident that there were some circumstances attending it, which in Joshua are not recounted. Admit these circumstances, and her behaviour is clear of every appearance of a crime ; nay, it is just and commendable : and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews needed not to have made Rahab an instance of the faith he was treating of, if he had not sufficient grounds for what he intimates about her ; especially when he had so many illustrious patterns in his mind, as not to have room particularly to treat of many of them^r. And thus, after all, what our modern reasoners think they have to insinuate against Rahab, as guilty of a treachery to her country, is but an unjust accusation, founded upon a partial view of the circumstances attending what she did, and the motives she had to do it.

The day after the return of the spies from Jericho, early in the morning Joshua removed the camp to the banks of Jordan^s : here they halted for three days^t. After the three days, the proper officers instructed the people for their passing the river, according to the directions which God had given^u ; and on the next day the waters of Jordan were miraculously divided ; so that the Israelites marched through the channel on dry ground^x. They were near a whole day in their march through the river, and they made their passage through the river on the tenth day of the first month of the year^y ; and it is easy to adjust the particular transactions, mentioned from the beginning of the month unto this tenth day, to the several days they belong to. On the first day of the month Joshua sent the spies to Jericho : the king of Jericho ordered the search for them the very night they came thither^z : Rahab, before they went to sleep, conferred with them, and let them down out of the city from the window of her house^a : they hid themselves in the mountain for three days^b, and therefore came to Joshua on the evening

^r Heb. xi. 32.

^s Josh. iii. 1.

^t Ver. 2.

^u Ver. 3, &c.

^x Ver. 16, &c.

^y Josh. iv. 19.

^z Josh. ii. 2.

^a Ver. 8.

^b Ver. 22.

of the fourth day: on the fifth day of the month the camp removed from Shittim to Jordan^c: after three days, or on the ninth day, the officers went through the host^d to instruct the people for their going over the river; and on the morrow they were to see the wonders which the Lord designed to do among them^e, and accordingly, on the tenth day of the month, the waters were divided, and they passed over Jordan.

*When all the people were clean passed over Jordan, God commanded Joshua to send twelve men, one out of each tribe, back to the place where the priests, that bare the ark, stood in the midst of the river^f, and to order them each man to take upon his shoulder a stone out of the river, and bring it on shore with him^g; and on the next day Joshua pitched these stones in Gilgal for a monument^h, to perpetuate to future generations a remembrance of the waters of Jordan being miraculously divided for the Israelites' marching through the river into Canaanⁱ. The ninth verse of this chapter seems to intimate, that, besides the twelve stones that were pitched in Gilgal, Joshua set up also twelve other stones in the midst of the river: the LXX.^k and the Chaldæe Paraphrast took the text in this sense^l; but the Syriac^m and Arabic translatorsⁿ thought otherwise, and Josephus seems to have had no notion of any more than one monument set up on this occasion^o. We read of no command to Joshua to erect any in the midst of the river: and, if he really designed any thing of this nature, what would twelve stones, no bigger than such as a man could carry, have signified, if they had been laid upon one another in the channel? *When the waters of Jordan returned to their place, and flowed over all his banks, as they did before^p*, such a monument would*

^c Josh. iii. 1.

^d Ver. 2.

^e Ver. 5.

^f Ch. iv. 1—3.

^g Ver. 5.

^h Ver. 8, 20.

ⁱ Ver. 7, 21—24.

^k Ἔστησε δὲ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἄλλους δώδεκα λίθους ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, &c. Versio LXX. Græc.

^l Vid. Targ. Jonathan. in loc.

^m Lapidēs, inquam, duodecim erexerunt, quos tulerunt e medio Jordanis desub pedibus sacerdotum. Versio Syriac. in loc.

ⁿ The Arabic Version leaves out the ninth verse.

^o Vid. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. v. c.

^p 1. §. 4.

^p Josh. iv. 18.

have been washed away by them. The Hebrew words do indeed imply, that *Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests, which bare the ark of the covenant, stood*^q. But I would submit it to the judgment of the learned, whether a small mistake of ancient copyists may not be supposed to have happened in this passage. *בתוך הירדן*, *be tok ha Jarden*, does indeed signify *in the midst of Jordan*: but if the text was originally written, not *בתוך*, *be tok*, but *מתוך*, *mittok*, the place will have quite a contrary meaning. The mistake of one single letter, the writing *ב* instead of *מ* before the word *תוך*, *tok*, might happen, and escape the correction of transcribers; and if we make this little emendation, the verse will run thus: *And Joshua set up twelve stones from out of the midst of Jordan, from under the station of the feet of the priests, who carried the ark*^r; and hints only, what is repeated more fully towards the close of the chapter, that Joshua set up in Gilgal those twelve stones which were taken up out of Jordan. As to the words which end this ninth verse, *and they are there unto this day*, these were originally no part of the text of Joshua, but rather a remark made in a later age in a MS. of this book: we find several of these in the sacred pages^s, which, having not been duly kept distinct, are handed down to us as if they were indeed part of the text in the places where they are added.

Some modern writers mention the river Jordan as a stream of no very considerable breadth or depth, and, from their notion of it, it may be thought that a miracle could not be much wanted to enable the Israelites to get over it. Sandys says, that it is “not navigably deep, nor above eight fathoms broad, nor (except by accident) heady^t.” But I would observe, 1. that the sacred books do constantly represent this river as not fordable, except at some particular

^q The Hebrew words of the text are, ושתיים עשרה אבנים הקים יהושע בתוך הירדן תחת מצב רגלי הכהנים נשאו ארון הברית.

^r If the learned reader thinks the prefix *מ* necessary before the word *תחת*, we may reasonably suppose the copyist,

having made the mistake above mentioned, to have here dropped this letter.

^s See Prideaux's *Connect.* vol. i. book v.

^t Sandys's *Travels*, b. iii. p. 141. ed. Lond. 1621.

places, made probably by art, that the countries on each side the water might have a communication. Thus the spies, who were sent by Joshua to Jericho, when they were pursued by the searchers, are not represented to have found any way to return to the camp but by the fords of Jordan^u. In like manner, when Ehud and the Israelites had taken the fords of Jordan, not a man of the Moabites could pass the river^x. And thus the Gileadites entrapped the Ephraimites: they took the passages of Jordan, and then the fugitives of Ephraim, having no way to get over the river, fell into their hands^y. Elijah passed over Jordan with Elisha, near unto the place where the Israelites entered Canaan^z, and Elisha repassed it when Elijah was taken from him; but a miracle was wrought by both of them, in order to their getting over^a; which undoubtedly neither would they have attempted, nor would God have enabled them to perform, if they could have passed over in that place without it. But, 2. we have modern testimonies sufficient to refute any one that should imagine the river Jordan to have been an inconsiderable stream, easily forded in any part of it. Sandys took his view of it at a place where, in length of time, the channel was landed up, and the flow of water nothing so great as it had been in former ages^b. Thevenot went to or near the place where the Israelites passed over it, and describes it to be “deep, half as broad as the Seine at Paris, “and very rapid^c;” and, according to Maundrell, the river is hereabouts “twenty yards over within its channel, deeper “than a man’s height, and runs with a current, that there “is no swimming against it^d.” But whatever be the now state of the river Jordan, how obvious is it to observe, 3. that all the parts of our globe are liable to great alterations; and the course of rivers admit of many changes in the revolutions of ages. Jordan was a much larger river than it now is, when the Israelites came into Canaan: in

^u Josh. ii. 2.

^x Judg. iii. 28.

^y Ch. xii. 5.

^z 2 Kings ii. 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 15.

^a Ibid.

^b Sandys’s Travels, p. 197.

^c Thevenot’s Travels, p. 193. ed. Lond. 1687.

^d Journey from Aleppo, p. 83. ed. Oxon. 1707.

Pliny's time it filled a larger channel than it now runs in^e; and, when Strabo wrote, vessels of burden were navigated in it^f. But, 4. Jordan *overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest*^g; and the time of harvest was in this first month, when the Israelites entered Canaan^h. Maundrell observes, that, upon this flow of Jordan, the waters had anciently covered a large strand, and washed up to an outer bank, about a furlong from the common channelⁱ. At this time there could be no passing it, and therefore the Israelites being now able to get over was very extraordinary; and it is no wonder, that when the kings of the Amorites on the west side of Jordan, and all the kings of the Canaanites by the sea, heard how the waters were dried up from before the children of Israel, their heart melted, and there was no spirit in them^k: because, whatever might have been attempted when the river ran in its ordinary channel, the passage of the Israelites was at the time of a known and annual flood, when the waters flowed to a great height, and an attempt to get over them was, naturally speaking, impossible.

After the Israelites were over the river, Joshua encamped at Gilgal on the east side of Jericho, and here God directed him to revive the rite of circumcision^l; for the Israelites had circumcised none of their children that were born after the exit out of Egypt until this time^m. What occasioned this neglect is not said expressly, but it is easy to guess it. The covenant which the Israelites made with God in Horeb was to do and observe all the things which the Lord should command themⁿ; and they were to be strictly careful not to make any thing a rite of their religion which the Lord commanded them not^o: and therefore, though God had ordered Abraham to circumcise himself and children, and to

^e Amnis, quatenus patitur locorum situs, ambitiosus. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 19.

^f Vid. Strab. Geog. l. xvi. p. 755. ed. Par. 1620.

^g Josh. iii. 15. 1 Chron. xii. 15. Eclus. xxiv. 26.

^h See 1 Chron. xii. 15.

ⁱ Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo, ubi sup.

^k Josh. v. 1.

^l Ver. 2.

^m Ver. 5, 7.

ⁿ Exod. xix. 8. xxiv. 3, 7. Deut. v. 27. xxvi. 17.

^o See book xi.

enjoin his posterity to use this rite; yet, when God was giving the Israelites a new law, in the manner which he now did by the hand of Moses, I imagine they could not warrantably take any rite, how ancient or usual soever, as part of it, unless God himself gave them a command for it. God indeed had given them a command for circumcision: we find it amongst the laws given after the death of ^p Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, who were killed by fire from the Lord, for offering incense in a manner which he commanded them not^q; an incident that could not but admonish the whole camp to be careful to obey God's voice indeed, and not to mingle their own fancies in the performance of any of his institutions: and the vengeance that had so lately fallen upon the two sons of Aaron seems to have given them a due caution in this matter. Though the pass-over was a feast which they were commanded to keep to the Lord throughout their generations, by an ordinance for ever^r; yet we see they did not attempt their second celebration of it without an express command from God for it^s; nor venture to proceed in a case of doubt, which arose about the men who were defiled by the dead body of a man, but stood still until Moses heard what the Lord would command concerning them^t. In like manner as the law for circumcision required the males to be circumcised at eight days old^u, and was not given until within the second year of the exit, when there must have been in the camp great numbers of children uncircumcised, who were past the day of age, at which this rite was appointed to be performed; there could not but arise great matter of doubt, when or how these were to be put *under the law*: and the Israelites not receiving directions from God how to proceed herein was, I should think, the reason that they *stood still* in this matter. The critics and annotators abound in assigning reasons for the omission of circumcision, in which the Israelites had lived hitherto^x; but I think they are not happy in

^p Levit. xii. 3.

^q Ch. x. 1.

^r Exod. xii. 14.

^s Numb. ix. 1—3.

^t Numb. ix. 6—8.

^u Levit. xii. 3.

^x Vid. Pool. Synops. Critic. in loc.

assigning the true one. We find no fault imputed to the Israelites for their neglect of it, and it was God that now *rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off them*^y; so that the Israelites had long esteemed it a reproach to them, that they did not practise this rite: but their misfortune was, God had not yet given them orders how or when to begin it, and therefore they were forced to live in an omission of it. Some writers misunderstand the expression here made use of: a state of uncircumcision is called *the reproach of Egypt*; that is, say they, the Egyptians thought it a reproach to them who lived in it. It is indeed necessary to take the words in this sense, if we would infer from them that circumcision was originally an Egyptian rite, and that the Hebrews learned from them the use of it. This is indeed a favourite point with these writers; but I have already proved it to have no foundation^z; and I would here observe, that the true meaning of the expression, *the reproach of Egypt*, is directly contrary to the sense which these writers would give to it: *my reproach, my shame, my dishonour*^a, do all signify, not what I may have to impute to others, but what others may object to me. In like manner, *reproach of Egypt*, or *Egyptian reproach*, signifies not what the Egyptians might think a disrepute to others, but what other nations esteemed a blemish and defect in them. We find an expression of like import thus used by one of the most elegant classics. The swallow is said to be, unhappy bird,

——Cecropiæ domûs

Æternum opprobrium^b——

the everlasting *reproach of the house of Cecrops*; not as hinting any thing for which the descendants of Cecrops might reproach others, but upon account of facts that were a lasting dishonour to this family. Not the Egyptians therefore at this time, but the Israelites thought uncircumcision a disreputable thing, and accounted all nations profane who did not use this institution; and the Egyptians at this time not ob-

^y Josh. v. 9.

^z See vol. i. b. v.

^a Gen. xxx. 23. 2 Sam. xiii. 13.

Psalm lxix. 19.

^b Hor. Carm. lib. iv. ode 12.

serving this rite, this, in the esteem of the Israelites, was their reproach, was a thing opprobrious, or a disgrace to them: and therefore, when God here appointed the Israelites to be circumcised, he *rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off* them; he removed from them that state of uncircumcision which they thought an infamous defect in the Egyptians. It may be here queried, whether the Egyptians could at this time be an uncircumcised nation, if, as I have formerly supposed, they received the rite of circumcision very near as early as the times of Abraham^c. But I think an answer hereto is not difficult; the Pastors overran Egypt some time before the birth of Moses, and overturned the ancient establishment in the parts they conquered^d, and many points both of the policy and religion of Egypt were neglected by them. These Pastors were, I think, the Horites, who fled from the children of Esau out of the land of Edom^e: they were an uncircumcised people; and, as they took all methods they could think proper, when they had got possession of the land, to oppress the ancient inhabitants, and to establish themselves; it is not likely they should pay so much regard to the institutions of the Egyptian religion, as once to think of submitting to a rite, the operation of which would for a time disable them for war; and give the Egyptians an opportunity to attack and destroy them^f. Here therefore we may suppose a neglect of circumcision introduced amongst the Egyptians. The Israelites were in Egypt before these Pastors invaded the land, and, though they suffered great oppressions from their tyranny^g, yet they did not, in compliance with these their new masters, part with this rite of their religion; and it might, in their opinion, be a matter of particular reproach to the Egyptians, that they had not only fallen under the power of foreign conquerors; but, in compliance to them, had altered and corrupted their religion. There are two points obvious to be remarked upon

^c See vol. i. b. v.

^d See vol. ii. b. vii. ad fin. 8. in Just.

^e Vol. ii. b. vii.

^f The Sichemites were destroyed by

the sons of Jacob, when they were sore, after having been circumcised. Gen. xxxiv. 25.

^g See vol. ii. b. vii.

the revival of circumcision by Joshua: the one, that the Israelites must hereupon have a convincing demonstration that all their fathers were to a man dead, against whom God had denounced that their carcasses should fall in the wilderness^h; for, upon this renewal of circumcision, none having been circumcised from the time of the exit until nowⁱ, it became evident how many of the camp had been in Egypt, and, by computing the age of those who had been there, it would appear that there were no persons then alive, except Caleb and Joshua, who were twenty years old when the poll was taken in the year after the exit^k. The other point is, that as the Israelites were now in an enemy's country, in the neighbourhood of a powerful and populous city, and could not be secure any one day that the Canaanites might not attempt to march against them; if God had not required it, Joshua could never have thought this a proper time to disable any part^l of the camp by circumcising them, and therefore that he most certainly had a command from God for what he did in this matter.

On the fourteenth day of the month at even, the Israelites kept the passover in the plains of Jericho^m, and on the fifteenth day they began the feast of unleavened breadⁿ, according to the orders they had received for keeping it^o; and it being now wheat harvest in the land of Canaan, they reaped of the corn, which was ripe in the fields, and made their unleavened cakes with it^p: and God having now brought them into the country, where provisions were plentiful, the miraculous food which he had hitherto given them ceased; for on the sixteenth day, and from thence forwards, there fell no manna^q. The commentators suggest a difficulty in determining what produce of the land the Israelites made use of: they remark, that the *sheaf* of the first fruits of the harvest was to be waved before the Lord, and a day set apart for the waving it, and performing the

^h Numb. xiv.

ⁱ Josh. v. 5.

^k Numb. xxvi. 64, 65.

^l Gen. xxxiv. 25.

^m Josh. v. 10.

ⁿ Josh. v. 11.

^o Levit. xxiii. 6.

^p Josh. v. 11.

^q Ver. 12.

offerings that were to attend it, before it was lawful to eat of the fruits of the ground^r; and the Israelites not having performed this injunction, they contend that they used in their feast of unleavened bread, not of the corn then growing and ripe in the fields, but rather of corn of a former year's produce^s. Our translators favour this opinion, and render the place, *they did eat of the old corn of the land*. And Drusius and Bonfrerius thought they could conjecture how a sufficient supply of such old corn might be had for them^t: Drusius imagines that they found corn-dealers to buy it of; Bonfrerius, that they seized upon stores of corn laid up by the Canaanites. But, 1. it seems far more reasonable to imagine, that the Israelites reaped the crop which the fields before them afforded, than that they should either find stores sufficient in the plains of Jericho, or merchants, that either could or would produce enough for the occasions of such a numerous hostile army. 2. It does not appear that the observance of the wave-sheaf offering was to commence immediately upon their entrance into the land: I should rather think they began this performance upon the first harvest from their own tillage: and this seems to have been Josephus's opinion, for, 3. he expressly asserts the Israelites to have reaped and used the crop they found ripe and standing in the fields of Canaan^u. 4. None of the ancient versions favour what our translators hint, that the Israelites used here the old corn of the land. Nor, 5. do the words of Joshua at all suggest it. It is indeed a common remark of the critics, that the Hebrew word מַעֲבֹרָה, *menabur*, here used, being derived from the verb *nabar*, to pass, must necessarily signify the crop, not of the present, but of the past year: but as the word occurs, I think, nowhere in the Bible, but in the passage before us, it is not so easy to be certain of its signification: the verb *nabar* not only signifies to pass, but, in the conjugation *pihel*, to cause to be

^r Levit. xxiii. 10.

^s Vid. Pool. Synops. in loc.

^t Ibid.

^u Josephus's words are, Καὶ τὴν φάσκα ἐόρταζον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, πάντων,

ὡν αὐτοῖς πρότερον συνέβαινε σπανίσειν, τότε βραδίως εὐποροῦντες, τὸν τε γὰρ σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα ἤδη Χαναανίων ἐθέριζον. Antiq. l. v. c. 4.

big with young. It is thus used in the book of Job^x; and, by a metaphor authorized by Tully^y in a Latin word of this signification, *nibber* may express to cause the earth to be impregnated or loaden with corn, and *menabur* may be a noun derived from the participle of this conjugation, and signify the burden or crop upon the ground; and the suggestion of the Israelites using old corn of a past year's growth will thus appear to have no foundation in the Hebrew text at all.

Upon the Israelites' encampment in the plains of Jericho, the inhabitants of that city shut up their gates, and kept close within their walls^z. The cities of the Canaanites were encompassed with walls so high, as to be said to be fenced up to heaven^a; and men had not yet invented proper engines of war for the assaulting such towns, so as to get possession of them. We shall find, ages after these times, cities impregnable to the greatest armies, by the strength and height of their walls: the city of Troy could never have been taken by the Greeks without a stratagem, and Joshua was obliged to invent an artifice, in order to gain entrance into Ai^b. The men of Jericho, having shut up their city, might reasonably think themselves secure from the Israelites, and Joshua and his army could have no hopes of reducing them, except by starving them into a surrender; unless they could allure them to make sallies, and thereby get an opportunity of beating back their forces to the city, and entering with them. But here the Lord appeared unto Joshua in the form of a man, with a drawn sword in his hand^c. The Person, who now appeared, called himself the prince, or leader, or *captain of the host of the Lord*^d; a very proper appellation for that divine Person who had frequently appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses: *for the*

^x Job xxi. 10.

^y Tully thus uses the word *gravidata*. He says, *Quod si ea, quæ a terra stirpibus continentur, arte naturæ vivunt et vigent; profecto ipsa terra eadem vi continetur et arte naturæ, quippe quæ, gravidata seminibus, omnia pariat,*

et fundat ex sese. De Nat. Deorum, lib. ii. c. 33.

^z Josh. vi. 1.

^a Deut. ix. 1.

^b Josh. viii.

^c Ver. 13.

^d Ver. 14.

Lord of hosts is his name^e, is one of his titles. That the Person who at this time appeared to Joshua was not an angel, but this God of Israel, seems evident from the worship which Joshua paid him^f, and from his requiring the same regard to be had to his presence as he before demanded from Moses, when he called himself the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob^g; and accordingly Joshua gives him the incommunicable^h name of God, calling him *Jehovah*, in his relation of what he said to himⁱ. He told Joshua, that he had given Jericho into his hand, and the king thereof, and the mighty men of valour^k; he instructed him what he expected the Israelites to do, to express their reliance on his promise^l; and when they had for seven days marched round Jericho, in the manner which *the Lord* had directed, the walls of Jericho, without any assault, fell down flat upon the ground, and they entered the town and sacked it, and put all the inhabitants, man, woman, and child, to the sword, except Rahab and her family, and destroyed all the cattle, and burnt the city; only the silver and gold, and the vessels of brass and iron, they reserved, according to the directions which had been given them^m. And Joshua pronounced the man to be accursed who should ever attempt to rebuild Jericho, and prophesied, that he should *lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest son set up the gates of it*ⁿ; and this prophecy was remarkably fulfilled above five hundred years after in the days of Ahab; for in his days Hiel the Bethelite built Jericho, and his eldest son Abiram died when he laid the foundations, and his youngest son Serug died at his setting up the gates of it^o. The taking of Jericho was much noised throughout all the country^p, and the Israelites prepared to attack Ai, a neighbouring city; but the detachments appointed for this service were entirely routed^q: whereupon

^e Jer. x. 16.

^f Josh. v. 14.

^g Ver. 15. Exod. iii. 5, 6.

^h See vol. ii. b. ix. Isa. xlii. 11.

ⁱ Josh. vi. 2.

^k Ibid.

^l Josh. vi. 3--5.

^m Ver. 16--25.

ⁿ Ver. 26.

^o 1 Kings xvi. 34.

^p Josh. vi. 27.

^q Ch. viii. 5.

Joshua and the elders of Israel consulted God, and were informed that a transgression had been committed in the sacking Jericho, for which they suffered this punishment^r; and, upon inquiry, Achan the son of Carmi, of the tribe of Judah, was found to be the transgressor, and he and his family were condemned to death, and all his substance burnt in the valley of Achor. After this exemplary punishment of Achan's transgression, the Israelites soon took Ai, and destroyed all the inhabitants of it, and they took the cattle and spoil of the city for a prey unto themselves; according to the word of the Lord which he commanded Joshua^s.

Moses had enjoined, that when they should have passed over Jordan, they should set up on mount Ebal great stones, and plaister them with plaister, and write the Law upon them^t; and they were to build an altar there unto the Lord their God, and to offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and to celebrate a feast unto the Lord^u; and they were to divide the people, and to place six of the tribes on Gerizim, a mountain opposite to Ebal, and six on mount Ebal, and then the Levites from mount Ebal were to read, with a loud voice, the curses set down by Moses for the transgressions of the law^x; unto each of which the people were to answer, Amen^y. Then the blessings promised to the observance of the law were to be pronounced from mount Gerizim^z, and hereby the Israelites were to make acknowledgment of their covenant with the Lord their God, and of their obligation to keep his commandments^a; and Joshua being now come to the place where these two mountains were situate, took care to have every part of what God had commanded herein punctually performed^b.

It may not seem at first sight easy to determine what it was that Joshua here wrote upon the stones which he set up on mount Ebal: the Samaritans indeed, if what they offer

^r Josh. vii. 6—11.

^s Ver. 11—26. viii. 1—29.

^t Deut. xxvii. 2—4.

^u Ver. 5—7.

^x Ver. 12, 13.

^y Deut. xxvii. 14, &c.

^z Ch. xxviii.

^a Ch. xxvii. 9, 10.

^b Josh. viii. 30—35.

might be admitted, determine the question very clearly; for in their Pentateuch, in the 20th chapter of Exodus, after the tenth commandment, they add these with other words; *And it shall be, when the Lord thy God shall cause thee to enter the land of the Canaanites which thou goest unto to possess it, that thou shalt set up great stones, and shalt plaister them with plaister, and shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law, &c.* So that, according to this account, the command for what was here to be done was originally given in an audible voice by God himself from mount Sinai to all the people, and what Moses directed about it afterwards must be understood with reference and agreeably to what God himself here first commanded about it; and accordingly the command here given being that the Israelites should write upon the stones all the words of *this law*, namely, of the law just then published, (for there had then been no other as yet given,) it will follow, that the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments, was what they were to inscribe upon the stones to be erected. This would unquestionably be the fact, if what the Samaritans here insert in their Pentateuch ought indeed to be inserted: but that it ought not is most evident; for Moses himself expressly testifies, that when God spake the Ten Commandments out of the midst of the fire^c from mount Sinai unto the assembly of the Israelites, that he spake only the Ten Commandments, and added no more; and, consequently, all that the Samaritans add here is a manifest interpolation. And it is a known imputation, which the Jews have ever charged them with, that they have tampered with this place, as well as changed the names of the two mountains Ebal and Gerizim; putting Gerizim where Moses wrote Ebal, and Ebal where Moses wrote Gerizim^d, in order to procure a veneration to mount Gerizim, such as might favour their choosing it in opposition to the Jews for their place of worship: and thus we have no information from the Samaritan Pentateuch about what Joshua inscribed, or was directed to inscribe, upon the stones set up on mount Ebal. The Jewish writers abound

^c Deut. v. 22. ^d See Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. vi. p. 606. Lond. 1725.

in fictions upon this point: some of them say that Joshua inscribed the whole five books of Moses; nay, they add, that he did it seventy times over, in seventy different languages, in order to leave monuments such as might instruct all the nations upon earth in the law, and that in their own tongue. And thus these writers were so far from seeing any difficulty in the query, which to others has seemed considerable; namely, whether Joshua could find either stones enow to contain, or had time enough to inscribe, so large a transcript as a copy of the whole five books of Moses, that they shew evidently, that nothing can be so marvellous but that their imagination can surmount it. If 700 or 7000 had been as favourite a number with them as 70, they would have had no scruple of multiplying the copies up to their humour: but 70 being the number of the elders of Israel chosen by Moses, and appointed by God to assist in the government of his people^e, they hence imagined that there were originally from the dispersion of mankind but 70 nations and 70 different languages in the world; though, considering that Moses and the high priest, joined with the 70, made two more, they should have made 72 their darling number, as it was afterwards, when Aristeas's fiction about the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures obtained amongst them^f. *Moses, with the elders of Israel, commanded the people, saying, Keep all the commandments which I command you this day; and it shall be on the day when you shall pass over Jordan,—that thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaister them with plaister, and thou shalt write upon them all the words of this law.* This was the command which Moses gave about what they were to do at mount Ebal; and I have often thought, that *all the words of this law* might be the words of the law he then at that time gave them; namely, the words which Moses has set down in the 27th and 28th chapters of Deuteronomy, beginning at the 15th verse of the 27th chapter, *cursed be the man*, and so on to the end of the 28th chapter. That this was what Joshua wrote, and consequently what Moses had enjoined to be written, seems

^e Numb. xi.

^f See Prideaux's Connect. part ii. book i.

evident to me from the account we have of Joshua's performance of this commandment: *Joshua built an altar unto the Lord God of Israel in mount Ebal—an altar of whole stones;—and he wrote there upon the stones, in the presence of the people^h, mishneh torath Moseh, i. e. a copy of the law of Moses; certainly not a copy of all the statutes of the Jewish law; for the stones of the altar could not be sufficient to contain such a large body of institutions; rather he wrote the several curses and blessings which Moses had charged to be here pronounced to the peopleⁱ: this appears to have been the fact from the 34th verse. Joshua, after he had wrote the law, read what he had written, *all the words of the law*; and what he read was only *the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law^k*; so that he transcribed only the several blessings and cursings that Moses had recorded; these he copied out from the book of the law, and wrote upon the stones *mishneh*, a copy or duplicate of them. As to the opinion of some writers, that Joshua might perhaps inscribe, not indeed all the law of Moses, but an abstract or compendium of it; the heads or titles, say others; the account we have of what Joshua wrote does not favour any such conjectures: he copied from the book of the law the several blessings and cursings which were here to be pronounced: the transcript of these is said to be *a copy of the law of Moses*; and so it was, as far as the particular case they were here concerned in obliged them to take a copy of it.*

The success of the Israelites against Jericho and Ai alarmed the neighbouring nations of Canaan, and caused them to form a confederate army for their common safety^l; but the Gibeonites, who were a people of the Hivites^m, declined the association, and sent ambassadors to Joshua, and by a

^g Joshua viii. 30—32.

^h The Hebrew text is,

ויכתב־שם על־האבנים אח משנה תורה
משה אשר כתב לפני בני ישראל.

i. e. *And he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the Law of Moses, which he [i. e. Joshua] wrote, [we should say in*

English, and he wrote it] *before the faces [in the presence] of the children of Israel.*

ⁱ Deut. xxvii. 11, &c.

^k Josh. viii. 34.

^l Ch. ix. 1, 2.

^m Ver. 19.

stratagem obtained a league with Israelⁿ. Joshua and the elders of Israel appear to have treated unadvisedly with this people; for they *asked not counsel* about them *at the mouth of the Lord*^o: and it may be questioned whether the treaty, which they went into with them, was not directly contrary to what God had commanded; for, with some particular nations, of one of which these Gibeonites were a people^p, God had strictly commanded them *to smite them and utterly destroy them, and to make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them*^q. In like manner there are doubts to be raised concerning the Israelites' performance of what they had promised. When they came unto the cities of this people, they *smote them not, because the princes of the congregation had sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel*^r: they apprehended that they might *not touch them, because of the oath* which they had sworn *unto them*^s; and yet one would think that they did not truly keep the public faith which they had given; for, though they did indeed let the Gibeonites live, yet they did not perform this promise in the public sense in which they seem to have treated with this people; they took from them the very being of a nation; reduced them to a state of servitude, which a brave and valiant people would probably have died a thousand deaths rather than have submitted to^t. These and other reflections, that do naturally arise from what the book of Joshua offers us upon this affair, would induce us to inquire, whether the Israelites were absolutely commanded utterly to destroy all the inhabitants of the seven nations of Canaan; whether they could upon no terms enter into a league with any of them; whether what the Israelites granted to the Gibeonites upon their embassy was contrary to what God had commanded; and how they at last acquitted themselves of the league they had made with them.

I. Were the Israelites absolutely commanded to destroy all the inhabitants of the nations, whose lands God had given

ⁿ Josh. ix. 4—15.

^o Ver. 14.

^p Exod. xxxiv. 12, &c.

^q Deut. vii. 2.

^r Josh. ix. 18.

^s Josh. ix. 20.

^t Libertatem (says Caius Manlius in Sallust. lib. de bello Catilinar.) quam nemo bonus nisi cum vita simul amittit.

them for an inheritance? I answer, No. The direction to the Israelites was this: *When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee an answer of peace, and open to thee, then it shall be, that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and shall serve thee*^u. Thus the Israelites were to behave unto all cities; unto the cities of the Hittites, of the Amorites, of the Canaanites, of the Perizzites, of the Hivites, of the Jebusites, and of the Girgashites^x; as well as unto the cities of other nations, as is intimated from what follows: *If, says Moses, it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it: and when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thy hands, thou shalt smite every male thereof with the edge of the sword: but the women, and the little ones, and the cattle, and all that is in the city, even all the spoil thereof, shalt thou take unto thyself.— Thus shalt thou do unto all the cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the cities of these nations. But of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy Goddoth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth: but thou shalt utterly destroy them; namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee*^y. In these verses Moses directs the Israelites how they were to behave towards the cities of their enemies that should attempt to hold out against them: and they were ordered to use a severity towards the nations of the land of their inheritance, if they refused peace, greater than towards the

^u Deut. xx. 10, 11.

^x Trinas (says Rabbi Samuel Ben Nachman) præmisit Josua epistolas in terram Israeliticam, seu potius litteris tria proposuit; qui fugam mallent, aufugerent; qui pacem, in fœdus venirent; qui bellum, arma susciperent. Unde Girgesæi credentes in Deum O. M. aufugerunt, in Africam se conferentes—Gibeonitæ in fœdus veniebant, adeoque terræ Israeliticæ incolæ manebant; reges triginta ac unus bellum susceperunt, et cecidere. Gem. Hierosolym. Vid. Selden de Jure Nat.

et Gentium, juxta disciplin. Hebræor. lib. vi. c. 13. p. 736. ed. Lond. 1640.

^y Deut. xx. 12—17. Our present Hebrew copies seem to have omitted the Girgashites, who were one of the seven nations that were to be destroyed; see Deut. vii. The Samaritan text supplies this defect in this place, and gives us the seven nations in this order; the Canaanites, and the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites.

cities of other nations for the like obstinacy; which there had been no room to enjoin, if these nations were to have been utterly destroyed, without any offers of peace to be made to them. But the Israelites were to proclaim peace to all the cities of their enemies; and whatever city accepted the offer, the inhabitants of it were to become their servants: but if the peace thus offered was refused, then, if the city that rejected it was not one of the land of their inheritance, the Israelites, as soon as they had reduced it, were to put all the men to the sword, and to spare the women, and little ones, and cattle, and to take the spoil: or, if it was a city of the land of their inheritance that had rejected their offers, then, as soon as they could reduce it, they were utterly to destroy all the inhabitants, and to save alive nothing that breathed belonging to it. That this is indeed the true meaning of what Moses directs, is confirmed from a remark of Joshua's. He observes, that as God had purposed utterly to destroy the nations of Canaan^z, so he did not dispose any of them to accept of peace from the Israelites, in order to their preservation: *there was not*, says he, *a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites, the inhabitants of Gibeon: all other they took in battle. For it was of the Lord^a to harden their hearts^b, that they should come against Israel in battle, that he might destroy them utterly, and that they might have no favour; but that he might destroy them, as the Lord commanded Moses^c.* Cunæus comments upon this text very justly to this purpose: "It is plain," says he, "from hence, "that these nations were therefore extirpated, because they "chose rather the chance of war, than to accept the terms "which the Israelites could offer them: but if they would "have surrendered when summoned, undoubtedly they had "not been destroyed^d."

^z See Wisdom xii. 3.

^a I cannot but observe how closely the reflection of Joshua here is copied by Homer. In all the evils that came upon the Greeks from the difference between Achilles and Agamemnon, Homer says, *Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή*. Il. i.

^b I have formerly observed in the

case of Pharaoh, what is the true meaning of the Scripture expression, of *the Lord's hardening any one's heart*. See vol. ii. b. ix.

^c Josh. xi. 19, 20.

^d Enimvero illud hinc efficitur, delatas propterea eas gentes esse, quia belli fortunam tentare, quam conficere pacem in Israelitarum leges malue-

There is a passage in the book of Deuteronomy, which may seem to intimate that these nations of Canaan were absolutely to be destroyed by the Israelites, without any terms of favour or mercy: *When the Lord thy God, says Moses, shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou: and when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee; thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them: thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them.—But thus shall ye deal with them: ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and burn their graven images with fire.—And thou shalt consume all the people which the Lord thy God shall deliver thee; thine eye shall have no pity upon them^e.* I would observe upon this text, that it is a direction to the Israelites what they were to do to these nations after they had attacked them and subdued them; but it gave them no charge to destroy any people who should choose to submit and surrender without engaging in a war against them. The directions given in this text were to be executed when the Lord *had brought the Israelites* into the lands of these nations^f, and *had cast out* the inhabitants before them^g: when the Lord had given the people of these nations into the hands of the Israelites^h, and had discomfited them, and caused them to fleeⁱ; then indeed the Israelites were to have no pity upon them, but to smite them, and utterly destroy them; to consume them, and make an end of them^k. This vengeance the Israelites

runt. Quod si fecialibus auscultassent, utique jam salus eorum neutiquam in dubio fuisset. Cunaeus de Repub. Hebraeor. l. ii. c. 20.

^e Deut. vii. 1, 2, 5, 16, &c.

^f Ver. 1.

^g Ibid.

^h Ver. 2.

ⁱ None of the translators of the Bible have, I think, carefully attended to the Hebrew text in rendering the words in the 2d verse, which we translate, *thou shalt smite them*. The He-

brew word is יהייתם, which I take to be not in the second person THOU, but to be the third person of the præterit Hiphil of the verb נכח, and that *the Lord thy God* going before, is the nominative case to it. I should imagine the word לפניך to be referred to this verb, and should render the place thus: *And when the Lord thy God shall have given them up, and smote them before thee, thou shalt utterly destroy them, &c.*

^k Deut. vii. 2.

had in charge to execute upon all these nations after they had entered into a war with them, and obtained a conquest over them. But nothing in the text intimates, that they were to have proceeded with this severity against any nation that chose to surrender, before they had tried the issue of war, and determined their fate by it. If any of them had not come out against the Israelites in battle^l, but had delivered up their cities upon summons^m, before the Lord had defeated and discomfited them, they might have had terms to save their livesⁿ. But let us inquire what terms the Israelites could give them, and whether,

II. They could make a covenant, or enter into a league with them. And this point may be clearly determined, if we consider distinctly the several injunctions laid upon them. And here, 1. they were evidently commanded not to tolerate the worship of the idols of Canaan in any part of the land. Wheresoever they could carry their victorious arms, they were to take care not to bow down to the gods of these nations, but they were *utterly to overthrow them, to break down their images^o, to destroy their altars, cut down their groves^p*; or, as it is expressed in another place, they were *utterly to destroy all the places, wherein these nations had served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree: they were to overthrow their altars, break their pillars, burn their groves with fire, hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of the place^q*. Thus they were entirely to abolish the religion that was embraced in these nations; and it is hard to be imagined that they could make a league with any of the states of them whilst they were so doing: for as a league between two nations implies, in the very notion of it, their having upon some terms given their mutual faith each to other to observe punctually what had been stipulated between them; and as such public faith was, according to the custom of these times, generally given

^l According to Joshua xi. 19, 20.

^m Deut. xx. 10, 11.

ⁿ Ibid. et Josh. ubi sup.

^o Exod. xxiii. 24.

^p Ch. xxxiv. 13.

^q Deut. xii. 2, 3.

and taken at a public sacrifice, where the parties to the treaty swore solemnly to each other by their respective gods^r; so it is hard to say how the Israelites, who were in no wise to allow the idols of Canaan to be gods, could take this public faith from the worshippers of them. And this, I think, is hinted in the command given them: *Thou shalt make no covenant with them and their gods*^s. According to the forms of these times, a covenant could hardly be made with a people without admitting their gods into it, to be their witnesses of it, and avengers of those who should break it: but the Israelites could not so far recognize the false objects of the worship of these nations, and therefore could not thus enter into covenant with them. But, 2. the Israelites were not only to demolish and destroy the idols of Canaan, but they were to take away from the people both their *place and nation*. All the lands and cities of the several nations that inhabited Canaan were to be divided by lot amongst the tribes of the children of Israel, to every family of each tribe a suitable part and portion of them^t; and in order hereto the Israelites were, as God should enable them, to dispossess the inhabitants, and to take possession of them. God had indeed determined not to drive out the Canaanites before the Israelites all in one year, immediately upon the Israelites entering into their land, because such a procedure would have had its inconveniences^u: but the Israelites were, as they increased, to be enabled by little and little to subdue them^x, and they were strictly commanded, as they grew able, to take from them their possessions, and not to suffer any of them to retain wherewith to live as a people amongst them^y. From the 20th of Deuteronomy, it may perhaps at first sight seem as if the Israelites had power,

^r See and compare Gen. xxvi. 28—31. with xxxi. 44—55. And in this manner the heathen nations made truces and leagues with one another, as might be proved from many places in Homer, and other ancient writers.

^s Exod. xxiii. 32. Our English version of the text is injudicious, and not strictly agreeable to the Hebrew particle. One thing only is here for-

bidden, the making or confirming a league with them, for the doing of which it was necessary to proceed according to the religious rites used for that purpose.

^t Numb. xxxiii. 50. and xxvi. 1—53.

^u Exod. xxiii. 29.

^x Ver. 30.

^y Ver. 33. Deut. vii. 22, 23. Josh. xxiii. 5, 7, 11—13.

when they summoned the cities of these nations, if they had an answer of peace from them, to let the inhabitants hold their cities upon condition of paying tribute for them^z; but the text duly considered gave no such liberty: if a city opened unto them, then it was to be, that *all the people that were found therein* were to be tributaries, and to serve them^a. It is not said that the Israelites were to *put* such cities *under tribute*, which would have been the expression, if they were to have treated them as political bodies, and to have continued them in that capacity, only raising a tax or tribute upon them^b; but all the people found therein were to be tributaries and servants: the terms to be given were, not to a city or people in their collective capacity, but to the individuals; to the several persons who had composed it: and they were to become tributaries and servants in the manner that Solomon afterwards dealt with their children in some particular cities where he found them^c; he *made them pay tribute*^d, or, as it is otherwise expressed in the book of Kings, he *levied a tribute of bond-service* upon them^e, the nature of which is sufficiently explained by what follows: *Of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondmen; but they were his men of war, and his servants, and his princes, and his captains, and bare rule over the people that wrought in the work*^f; and consequently the tributaries, those who paid him the *tribute of bond-service*, were, under the direction of these Israelites, obliged to perform the work and service that was required of them. And that this was the true intent of the direction to the Israelites in the text above cited^g, is evident from what appears to have been the failure, when afterwards they did not execute what had been given in charge to them. Thus, after the death of Joshua, the chil-

^z Deut. xx. 11.

^a Ibid.

^b When Pharaoh Necho, after the death of Josiah, sent for Jehoahaz, whom the people had made king at Jerusalem, and sent him prisoner to Egypt, and set up Jehoiakim king in his stead; as he did not take away from the Jews their being a people, though he raised a tax or tribute upon

them; so it is not said that all the people became tributaries unto him and served him, but that he put the land to a tribute. 2 Kings xxiii. 33.

^c 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8.

^d Ibid.

^e 1 Kings ix. 21.

^f Ver. 22, 23.

^g Deut. xx. 11.

dren of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites from Jerusalem^h; the children of Manasseh did not dispossess the inhabitants of Bethshean, and several other towns, of their respective citiesⁱ. Ephraim was faulty in like manner with regard to the Canaanites of Gezer^k, Zebulun to the inhabitants of Kitron and Nahalol^l, Asher and Naphtali to several other cities^m: though in all these cases, as the several tribes grew strong enough, they reduced these communities so far as to compel them to pay tribute for their possessionsⁿ. But because herein they came to terms with them, contrary to what God had commanded them, to *make no league with them*^o; therefore what Joshua had before threatened^p was now denounced against them; that God would not *drive these nations out from before them*; but that *they should be as thorns in their sides, and their gods a snare unto them*^q. This, I think, is a true representation of what the Israelites were enjoined, with regard to the treatment which the inhabitants of these nations were to have from them; and from all this, I think, it evidently appears, that the Israelites could enter into no alliance, could make no league^r, no covenant with them. They had indeed liberty to give them quarter, to grant them their lives upon condition they would become their servants: but this, I think, cannot properly be called making a league, covenant, or alliance with them; for a league is one thing, and servitude quite another^s. The word league is indeed used in a large sense by the Civilians; the Romans admitted it to signify a grant of any favours to conquered nations^t; and Diodorus Siculus uses a word of like

^h Judges i. 21.

ⁱ Ver. 27.

^k Ver. 29.

^l Ver. 30.

^m Ver. 32, 33.

ⁿ Ver. 30, 33, 35.

^o Exod. xxiii. 32. Deut. vii. 2.

^p Josh. xxiii. 13.

^q Judg. ii. 2.

^r Exod. and Deut. ubi sup.

^s Dedititii non proprie in fœdere, sed in ditione esse dicuntur, unde illud Latinorum de Campanis apud Livium; Campanorum aliam conditionem esse,

qui non fœdere, sed per ditionem in fidem venissent. Item de Apulis, ita in societatem eos esse acceptos, ut non æquo fœdere, sed ut in ditione populi Romani essent. Vid. Calvin. Lexic. Jurid. in verbo Fœdus.

^t—Esse autem tria genera fœderum: unum, cum bello victis dicerentur leges: ubi enim omnia ei, qui armis plus potest, dedita essent, quæ ex iis habere victos, quibus muletari eos velit, ipsius jus atque arbitrium esse. Livii Hist. lib. xxxiv. c. 57.

import, where a conqueror had reduced the persons he had subdued to accept such terms as he thought fit to give them^u. In like manner the men of Jabesh-Gilead were offered a league with the Ammonite, by which they were to submit to serve him, and to have all their right eyes thrust out, in order to be made a reproach to all Israel^x: and in both these cases, as the people treated with were to be continued a people, what was granted might be styled a league or covenant made with them. But the Israelites were not to suffer the nations of Canaan any longer to have a being: their cities, country, and possessions, were to be taken from them, and their persons to become the property of the new possessors of their lands and estates: and under these circumstances, whatever favour each Canaanite might meet with in his private capacity from the several Israelites into whose hands he might fall, yet no league or covenant could be lawfully concluded with any nation or community of them; because the Israelites were not at liberty to permit any such body-politic of them to remain in being, to receive and enjoy what by such league might be granted to them. Let us now inquire,

III. Whether the league concluded between Israel and the Gibeonites was contrary to what God had enjoined. And I should think it certainly was; for, unquestionably, the peace and the league made by Joshua with this people was of a public nature: it was confirmed to their ambassadors, who appeared to treat no otherwise than in their public character; as agents, not stipulating to save the lives of a few or of any number of private men, but as negotiating for the public, for the health and safety of the community that employed them: and to take occasion, from the words that tell us the nature of the league, which Joshua made with this people, to say, that he had only promised to let them live^y, and consequently that the Israelites had fully performed what they had engaged, inasmuch as

^u Ταύταμον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ κατα-
πληξάμενος, καὶ σπονδὰς οἷας ἐβούλετο
θέσθαι παρασκευασάμενος ἔδωκε χώραν

καὶ πόλιν ἐς κατοίκησιν. Diodor. Sic.
Ecl. p. 839. edit. Rhodoman.

^x 1 Sam. xi. 2. ^y Josh. ix. 15.

they did not put the men, women, and children of Gibeon and its cities to the sword, would be, I should think, a lower quibble than the Romans were guilty of to the Carthaginians; when, having granted by a public decree of the senate that Carthage should be a free state, enjoy its own laws, and possess its domains in Africa, if they immediately delivered hostages, and performed what the consuls had in charge to require of them^z; they explained to them that they thought the people, not the city, to be the state of Carthage^a, and demanded of them to raise their city, and to build themselves another in a situation higher up in their country^b. The Israelites were undoubtedly obliged by their treaty to stop the war when they came to the cities of Gibeon; they had disarmed themselves, and were not at liberty to touch or to smite this people, because of the oath they had sworn unto them; and as the saving alive the inhabitants, but demolishing or taking from them their cities and inheritance, would have been not keeping, but evading the public league that was made with this nation; so in this the Israelites had unadvisedly brought themselves into a great strait, having solemnly granted what they could not perform without a manifest neglect and violation of what God had in the strictest manner required of them. It will,

IV. Be asked, how then did the Israelites acquit themselves in this matter? And to this, I think, the answer is obvious; they remonstrated to the Gibeonites the fraud they had been guilty of to obtain the treaty; they proposed as an expedient, upon what terms they could give them their lives; the Gibeonites consented to accept the offer they made them, and their consenting hereto was what set the Israelites free from the embarrassments they were under in

^z Ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάρτοις τριακοσίοις τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους σφῶν παῖδας ἐς ἡμετέραν παράσχωσι, καὶ τ' ἄλλα κατακούσωσιν αὐτῶν, ἐξήει Καρχηδόνα ἐλευθέραν τε καὶ αὐτόνομον, καὶ γῆν ὅσην ἔχουσιν ἐν Λιβύῃ. Appian. de bello Punic. p. 43. ed. Steph. 1592.

^a Καρχηδόνα γὰρ ὑμᾶς, οὐ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἠγοῦμεθα. Id. p. 52. In voce, liberam relinqui Carthaginem, manifesta erat

captio: frustra vocem Carthaginis urgebant Romani, dicentes civium multitudinem, non urbem significari. Grot. de Jure Belli et Pac. lib. ii. c. 16. §. 15.

^b Ἐκστῆτε τῆς Καρχηδόνας ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀνοικίσασθε ὅπη θέλετε τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὁγδοήκοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης: τήνδε γὰρ ἡμῶν ἔγνωσται κατασκάψαι. Appian. p. 46.

this matter. Joshua said unto the Gibeonites, *Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, We are far from you; when ye dwell among us^c?* The Israelites had fully explained to this people, that they should be under difficulties in making a league with them, if they dwelt amongst them^d; and therefore Joshua had the highest reason to resent and expostulate the inexcusable baseness of their behaviour in the treaty. However, as the Israelites had power to receive any of these nations, if the people of them would become their bondsmen to serve them^e, upon these terms Joshua made them an offer of their lives^f. The Gibeonites embraced the proposal which he made to them; acknowledged that they expected that all their lands could not but be taken from them; and that they aimed at nothing more, in what they had done, than barely to save their lives^g, and that they entirely acquiesced in his disposal of them in any manner he could contrive for them^h. Accordingly, upon this second treaty or accommodation, *Joshua made them hewers of wood and drawers of water, for the congregation and for the altarⁱ*. Had the Gibeonites been unwilling to comply with what was thus proposed to them, I imagine Joshua would have *brought their cause before the Lord^k*; would have asked the special direction of God, before he and the elders of Israel would have thought themselves at liberty to proceed in it. Two things may be observed upon the manner of finishing this affair. 1. Joshua did not dissipate this people by allotting them to be servants to the families of the Israelites: he kept them together, as much a nation as he had power to allow them to be, a public body of servants for the occasions of the congregation. 2. He seems to have punished their perfidy by appointing them and their posterity to a perpetual bondage: and this, I think, he expressed to them: *Now therefore ye are accursed; and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen^l*. Had the Gibeonites treated openly and uprightly with the Israel-

^c Josh. ix. 22.

^d Ver. 7.

^e Vid. quæ sup.

^f Josh. ix. 23.

^g Ver. 24.

^h Josh. ix. 25.

ⁱ Ver. 26, 27.

^k Numb. xxvii. 5. ix. 8.

^l Josh. ix. 23.

ites, I imagine there was nothing in the law that would have prevented their being received upon such terms as that, after some generations, their children might have come into the congregation, and been free in Israel^m.

When the Canaanites heard that the inhabitants of Gibeon were gone over to the Israelites, they were uneasy at it: such a defection from their common cause gave them new fears; for Gibeon was a large and powerful cityⁿ. However, they resolved to take measures to deter other towns from following this example, and to defeat Joshua of the additional strength which the Gibeonites might be to him. And for this end they immediately marched their forces, under the command of five of their kings, against the Gibeonites^o: the Gibeonites sent unto Gilgal to Joshua for succour^p: Joshua with his army soon came to their relief, and obtained an entire victory over the five kings, took them all prisoners, and put them to death^q. Two very great miracles attended the battle this day, fought between the Canaanites and the Israelites: one, that God was pleased by a storm of hailstones to kill more of the enemy than fell by the sword of the Israelites^r; the other, that, at the word of Joshua, the sun and moon were seen to stand still for near a whole day, to afford the Israelites a continuance of daylight to pursue their victory^s. It is obvious to observe, how remarkably pertinent both these miracles were to the circumstances of the persons concerned in them. The elements, and the sun, moon, and lights of heaven, were the deities at this time worshipped by the inhabitants of Canaan^t; but the Israelites were the servants of a truer God, by whose command, and under whose protection, they were to war against these nations and against their gods; and what greater demonstration could be given of the power of their God to support them, or of the inability of the false deities of the Canaanites to assist their worshippers, than to see that the God of Israel could cause these to contribute to,

^m Deut. xxiii.

ⁿ Josh. x. 1, 2.

^o Ver. 3—5.

^p Ver. 6.

^q Josh. x. 7.

^r Ver. 11.

^s Ver. 13.

^t See vol. i. b. v.

instead of preventing, the ruin that was coming upon those who served them? We cannot imagine that Joshua should, without a special intimation from heaven, have addressed unto God the prayer concerning the sun and moon, which he is recorded to have made in the sight of Israel^u; for, of what an extravagance had he appeared guilty, if an effect had not been given to what he asked for! or how could he be so wild as to think of an accomplishment of so strange an expectation as this would have been, had it been only a thought of his own heart to wish for it? But unquestionably the same Lord, who spake unto him before the battle; who bade him not fear the armies of the Canaanites; who assured him that they should not be able to stand before him; directed him to ask for this wonderful miracle, and, in granting what he had asked for, gave a full testimony both to the Israelites and their enemies, that *the gods of the heathen were but idols*, and that *it is the Lord that made*, and that *ruleth in the heavens*^x. But there are some further observations that ought to be made upon this extraordinary miracle. For,

It is remarkable that what Joshua desired, and what was said to be done upon this occasion, is recorded in the sacred history in words not agreeable to what are now abundantly known to be the motions of the bodies that compose the mundane system. Joshua desired that the *sun might stand still upon Gibeon*, and the *moon in the valley of Ajalon*^y: and the event, said to be the effect of this his prayer unto the Lord^z, is thus related; *And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hastened not to go down about a whole day*^a; *and there was no day like that before it or after it.* The thing which Joshua here prayed for, was to have the day lengthened; and the manner, in which he desired to have this his prayer accomplished, was, by having the sun and moon stopped in their motions: and agreeably to his request, the text tells us, that the sun and moon were

^u Josh. x. 12.

^x Psalm xcvi. 5.

^y Josh. x. 12.

^z Josh. x. 12.

^a Ver. 13.

stopped, and did not move forward for about a whole day. But it is now sufficiently known, that day and night are not caused by any motion of the sun and moon, but rather by the earth's rotation upon its own axis; and consequently the sacred pages state this fact absolutely wrong, as to the circumstances that caused it: and if so, can we think them to have been dictated by God, who cannot err in this or in any matter? I answer, 1. though the succession of day and night is indeed caused by a real motion of the earth, and not of the sun and moon, as our modern astronomers can abundantly demonstrate; yet to appearance, not the earth, but the sun and moon seem to have those motions which are vulgarly ascribed to them: as to a mariner at sea, sailing within view of a distant coast, not the ship he sails in, but the land he sees at a distance, seems to be in motion as he passes by it. 2. In the early ages, both before and long after the days of Joshua, the most learned astronomers had no notion of the improvements which our modern professors have since attained to, but conceived the sun and moon to have their respective courses, according to what common appearance enabled them to judge and think of them; and agreeably hereto they formed their schemes, and thought themselves able to solve and account for all appearances by them. And, consequently, 3. had God enabled Joshua to form his desire of a longer day in a manner more agreeable to our new and more accurate astronomy, and dictated to him to record the miracle in terms suitable and agreeable to it, Joshua must have appeared both to have wished a thing, and expressed it to have been effected in a manner directly contrary to all rules of science then known; and his account of what had happened would have been decried, in the times he lived in, as false in astronomy, and no great regard would have been paid to it. It would have appeared rather a wild fancy or gross blunder of his own, than a true account of a real miracle; and so have been but little attended to by the persons for whom, and in the ages which succeeded that in which it was written. 4. We do not read in the sacred text that God declared the sun and moon to

have stood still upon this occasion: we may suppose that God might intimate to Joshua, that he would grant him a miraculous prolongation of the day, if he would, at the head of his army, ask publicly for it^b. Hereupon Joshua made his request in such terms as, according to his own conceptions, were proper to be used to ask such a miracle: "May the sun," said he, "stand still upon Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon." This he thought must have been caused, if such a length of day, as he was ordered to require, was to be given to him. God heard his request, and gave him the thing he was to ask for; a day of near twice the length of any other. The historians of the times recorded the fact according to what it appeared to be to them, and agreeably to what was then thought to be true astronomy; and, accordingly, the sun and moon appearing, and being thought for several hours together, not to have moved forward in their courses, both the author of the book of Jasher^c afterwards, and Joshua now in his history, relate to us, that *the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,—and hasted not to go down about a whole day*. And, 5. we may reasonably suppose, that though Joshua wrote his history under the direction of a divine assistance, yet that God would not interpose to prevent his recording this fact in this manner: for though *all Scripture is given by inspiration of God*, yet certainly it is given so no further than is necessary to make it *profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness*^d; and the narration of Joshua might fully answer this the great end of Scripture; might teach the Israelites the power of their God to direct and govern the heavens as he pleased; might reprove the idolaters of their vain worship of the sun and moon, whom they fondly called the king and *queen of heaven*^e, notwithstanding that it did not relate the fact exactly according to what might be the true astronomical manner in which God effected it. The most judicious writers have agreed, that "the sacred histo-

^b Joshua x. 12.

^c Josh. x. 13.

^d 2 Tim. iii. 16.

^e See vol. i. b. v. Jer. vii. 18. xliv. 17—25.

“rians were not usually inspired with the things themselves which they related, nor with the very words by which they expressed *what they have recorded*.” Their histories were wrote, not to satisfy our curiosity, but to be a standing proof of a providence to after-ages; to shew us the care that God always takes of good people, and the punishments he inflicts upon the wicked; to give us examples of piety and virtue; and, lastly, to inform us of matters of fact which tend to confirm our faith^g. And so far God was unquestionably pleased to direct and assist the composers of them, as to prevent their inserting in any of their narrations, through human frailty, any thing that might contradict or disserve these the purposes for which he incited them to draw up their compositions. And thus far Joshua appears, in every part of his history, to have had the benefit of a divine inspiration; though we have no reason to imagine that God dictated to him the very words he was to write in, or prompted him to record the miracle we are treating of, otherwise than his own natural conceptions disposed him to relate it, and that probably, amongst others, for this great reason; because, if God had inspired him to have related this fact in a manner more agreeable to true astronomy, unless he had also inspired the world with a like astronomy to receive it, it would rather have tended to raise amongst those who read it, and heard of it, *disputes and oppositions of science falsely so called*, than have promoted the great ends of religion intended by it.

It may be asked, if the miracle recorded by Joshua was indeed fact, and *one day* was hereby made *as long as two*^h; could so remarkable a thing have happened without being observed by the astronomers of all nations? Such a variation of the sun’s setting, as was hereby occasioned in the land of Canaan, must have made a longer day or a longer night than was natural in every other part of the habitable world: a longer day, wherever the sun was visible at the time of

^f Lowth’s Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Old and New Testament. p. 220.

^g Id. p. 221. Five Letters concerning

the Inspiration of the holy Scriptures, p. 28.

^h Eccus. xlvi. 4.

Joshua's making his request, and a longer night in every part of the opposite hemisphere. Astronomy was studied in these times with great application in many nations¹, and observations of the heavens were taken and recorded with as much exactness as the professors of that science were capable of attaining to; and is it probable, that, if so remarkable an alteration of the course of day and night, as this was, had really happened, we should not find some hint or remain of some heathen writer to concur with and bear testimony to the truth of what the sacred historian relates about it? But in answer hereto let us observe, 1. that it is highly improbable, I might say, morally impossible, that Joshua should attempt to record such a miracle as this, if it had not been done; for every one of his Israelites, as well as all their enemies, must have known and rejected the falsity of his narration: and he could never think of making the world believe a thing so conspicuously false, if it had not happened. 2. This fact might be recorded not only by Joshua, and afterwards in the book of Jasher^k, but also by divers other writers of other nations; and yet what they had registered about it may easily be conceived not to have come down to us. The most ancient heathen chronicles were very short and concise, and in a few ages were disfigured by mythology and false learning¹; so as to go down to succeeding times in a shape and sense quite different from what was at first the design of them: and the original accounts hereby becoming not suitable to the taste that succeeded, were soon neglected, and in time lost. But, 3. if we could unravel the ancient fables, we should find that the fact of there having been one day in which the course of the sun had been irregular, had been indeed conveyed down in the memoirs of the heathen literature: Statius had heard of it, and supposed it to have happened about the time of the Theban war, when Atreus made an inhuman banquet of

ⁱ See vol. i. book v. vol. ii. book vi. viii.

^k Josh. x. 13.

¹ See vol. ii. b. viii. Ὅταν οὖν ἂ μν-

θολογούσιν—δεῖ τῶν προειρημένων μνημονεύειν, καὶ μηδὲν οἶσθαι τούτων λέγεσθαι γεγονὸς οὕτω καὶ πεπραγμένον.²
Plut. de Isid. et Osirid.

Thyestes's children^m. Other writers imagined it to have been in the days of Phaeton; and Ovid has beautified the fable told of him, that it was he that occasioned it, by having obtained leave to guide the chariot of the sun for that day, which he was in no wise able to manage. And thus the heathen poets and mythologists dressed up and disfigured the hints which they found in ancient records. Atreus was father of Agamemnon, and lived but a generation before the Trojan war, and therefore the sun's standing still in the days of Joshua could not have happened in his time; so that Statius, or any writer from whom he took the hint, were not true in their chronology. But Phaeton lived much earlier; he was son of Tithonusⁿ, who was the son of Cephalus^o, the son of Mercury^p, who was born of Maia the daughter of Atlas^q: Atlas lived about A. M. 2385^r: his daughter Maia might have Mercury by Jupiter about A. M. 2441, about the 20th year of Jupiter's age^s: Mercury at 25 years old might beget Cephalus about A. M. 2466: Cephalus at 30 beget Tithonus A. M. 2496: Tithonus at 34 beget Phaeton, who would thus be born about A. M. 2530. The sun stood still in the days of Joshua, A. M. 2554^t: Phaeton was then about 24 years old, a young man, not of age to guide the chariot of the sun. And thus the time of Phaeton's life may synchronize with the year of the sun's standing still in the days of Joshua; and the fable told of him might have its first rise from a fact recorded to have happened in his youth, dressed up and diversified with the various fictions of succeeding mythologists, until it was brought to what Ovid left it. But, 4. if we go into China, we may there find something more truly histo-

^m Stat. in Thebaid. lib. i. 325. lib. iv. 307.

ⁿ Apollodor. lib. iii. c. 13.

^o Ibid.

^p Ibid.

^q Id. lib. eod. c. 10.

^r See vol. ii. b. viii.

^s Jupiter was born A. M. 2421. See book x.

^t Clemens Alexandrinus supposes Phaeton to have lived about the times

of Crotopus. Stromat. lib. i. c. 21. And so does Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. c. 60. Crotopus was the eighth king of Argos. Castor. Euseb. Chron. Crotopus, I think, died about A. M. 2525; so that Clemens Alexandrinus and Tatian seem to place Phaeton about 30 years earlier than Joshua's commanding the Israelites. But 30 years is no great variation in the chronology of these times.

rical relating to the fact before us. The Chinese records report, that in the reign of their emperor Yao the sun did not set for ten days together, and that they feared the world would be set on fire^u: Yao, according to Martinius, was the seventh emperor of China, Fohi being the first: and, as he computes, from the first year of Fohi's reign to Yao's are 587 years; for Fohi reigned 115 years^x, after him Xinum 140^y, Hoang-ti 100^z, Xao-haon 84^a, Chuen-hio 78^b, Cou 70^c, and next to him succeeded Yao^d. The first year of Fohi's reign in China was A.M. 1891^e; count down from hence 587 years, and the first year of Yao will be A.M. 2479: Yao reigned 90 years to A.M. 2569^f. The year in which the sun stood still, in the days of Joshua, was A.M. 2554, in about the 75th year of Yao's reign. And thus what is recorded in the Chinese annals synchronizes to the fact related in Joshua. The Chinese records are said to report that the sun did not set for ten days; but I suspect our European writers have not here exactly hit the meaning of the Chinese annals, and that the word they have translated *days*, may perhaps rather signify a space of time little more than one of our hours: if so, the sacred historian and the Chinese annalist agree minutely in their time of the duration of this miracle^g. If the sun's not setting at this time was thus observed in China, we may guess about what time of day Joshua desired this miracle: and we may be sure it was not towards the evening, as some writers have imagined^h; for had the day been almost over in Canaan, the sun would have been set in China before the miracle happened, and therefore could not have been there observed at allⁱ: it was therefore a little before noon in Canaan when Joshua desired

^u Per hæc tempora diebus decem non occidisse solem, orbemque conflaturum mortales timuisse scribunt. Martini Histor. Sinic. lib. i. p. 37.

^x Id. pag. 21.

^y Pag. 24.

^z Pag. 25.

^a Pag. 32.

^b Pag. 33.

^c Pag. 35.

^d Pag. 36.

• See vol. ii. b. vi.

^f Martin. ubi sup.

^g Josh. x. 13. *The sun hastened not to go down about a whole day. One day was as long as two*, Ecclus. xlvi. 4. i. e. The sun was stopped about ten or twelve hours, the space of about a natural day.

^h Cleric. Comment. in loc.

ⁱ Geographers know that the day begins and ends four or five hours earlier in China than in Canaan.

the sun might be stopped, and about this time the sun might be seen by Joshua in such a position as to seem to stand over Gibeon^k, or, as it is expressed in the next verse, *in the midst of heaven*^l; and it would be afternoon in China at this time of day in Canaan. If the Chinese saw and observed this miracle, then the light of day, which the Israelites were favoured with, was occasioned by the sun's really not going down as usual, and not from a vapour or *aurora* shining in the air, as Le Clerc and some others have imagined^m; for such a vapour would not have been seen from Canaan to China, and could not possibly have appeared near the time of sunset in both countries, nor would it have occasioned the heat that was felt in divers parts of the world during the time of the miracle. The Chinese annals intimate, that it was feared the earth would have been set on fire: the mythologists relate a conflagration to have really happened; and Ovid paints a poetical scene of it, as his fancy prompted himⁿ; and unquestionably the continuance of the sun in one position in the heavens, for about ten hours together, must affect with a very intense heat even places not under his meridian height all that time. The Israelites would probably have been greatly incommoded with the warmth of such a day, if God had not been pleased to give a temperature to the air proper to relieve them, and perhaps suitable to the producing the prodigious hail, which he caused at this time to afflict the Canaanites^o. I am sensible that such a suspension or retardation of the motion of the earth, moon, and perhaps of the other heavenly bodies that have relation to them, as is necessary to cause this miracle in the manner I imagine it to have been effected, may be calculated to be naturally productive of consequences fatal to our system: but then I cannot but think it easy to answer in this matter; that if we have sufficient reason to induce us to believe that God really wrought this miracle, it is not hard to conceive the great Ruler of the universe not only able to direct it beyond what we can imagine, but also as abundantly able

^k Josh. x. 12.

^l Ver. 13.

^m Comment. in lib. Jos. in loc.

ⁿ Ovid. Metam.

^o Josh. x. 11.

so to *uphold all things by the word of his power*^p, during the time of it, as to have no other effect follow than what he proposed to have done in the world. One design of the mighty works which God was pleased to do before his chosen people, was, if men would have paid a due attention and regard to them, to offer a reasonable conviction for the earth's being *filled with the glory and knowledge of the Lord*^q. What they might have *known of God, even his eternal power and godhead, he had* at divers times, and in various manners, before *shewed unto them by the things which he had done*^r *from the creation of the world*^s: but as these things had, ere this age, lost their influence in almost all nations, and the world was departed *from the living God* to go after the sun, moon, and stars, to serve them; what could there have been done more remarkably worthy of God's infinite power, to shew himself to be a God above all gods, than to have the sun and moon made to stand still in favour of his declared will, to support a people chosen to be distinguished by his worship? The time of day in Canaan, when this miracle happened, was such, that the sight of it could not but go forth through all the then known nations of the earth; so that *there could be no speech nor language*^t *where, had a due inquiry been made into it, the voice of it would not have been heard*; powerfully proclaiming, that however the world had been falsely amused *with the beauty, or astonished at the imagined power of the lights of heaven*^u; yet that there was a Being, who ruleth in the heavens, higher than them all, and who could overrule and dispose of any of them as he pleased.

After the defeat of the army of the five kings, Joshua reduced the nations of the south parts of Canaan; and, having broken every opposition that could here make head against him, he marched his victorious forces back to Gilgal^x.

Upon Joshua's return to Gilgal, Jabin king of Hazor, a city of great figure and command in the north parts of Ca-

^p Heb. i. 3.

^q Numb. xiv. 21.

^r Τοῖς ποιήμασι.

^s Rom. i. 19, 20.

^t Psalm xix. 3.

^u Wisdom xiii. 3, 4.

^x Josh. x. 28—43.

naan^y, sent unto the kings of the nations round about him, and proposed to them to unite their forces, in order to act with their whole strength against the Israelites^z. The kings he sent to agreed to his proposal, made their levies, and came together a numerous and well-appointed army^a: they rendezvoused at the waters of Merom^b. Joshua, on the other hand, led the Israelites against them, under a special promise of God's assistance and protection^c; and gave them battle, and obtained a great victory^d. After having given them this defeat, he turned back, took the city Hazor, and burnt it to the ground^e. From Hazor Joshua marched against the cities of the other kings, and in time became master of all this country^f; but it was the work of some years for him to reduce these nations^g. In about five years he entirely subdued them^h; and having now triumphed over, in all, one and thirty kingsⁱ, and obtained the Israelites full room to settle their families in all parts of the land, he was ordered to put an end to the war^k. Caleb the son of Jephunneh was forty years old when Moses sent him as one of the spies into the land of Canaan^l; the spies were sent into Canaan, after the tabernacle was erected, in the second year of the exit^m, A. M. 2514. Caleb was now, at the finishing of the war, eighty-fiveⁿ; so that the war was finished A. M. 2559, I suppose towards the end of the year. Joshua passed over Jordan on the tenth day of the first month, A. M. 2554^o, and began the war by the siege of Jericho a few days after. From this time to about the end of the year 2559, are near six years; and so long was Joshua engaged in his wars against the Canaanites. Almost one year was employed in his first campaign in the south parts of Canaan^p; the other five were spent against the king of Hazor and his confederates^q.

Upon giving over the war, Joshua was directed by God

y Josh. xi. 10.

z Ver. 1—3.

a Ver. 4.

b Ver. 5.

c Ver. 6.

d Ver. 7—9.

e Ver. 10, 11.

f Ver. 12—17.

g Ver. 18.

h Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. c. 1.

i Josh. xii. 24.

k Ch. xiii. 1—7.

l Ch. xiv. 7.

m See book xi. p. 298.

n Josh. xiv. 10.

o Ch. iv. 19.

p Ch. vi—x.

q Ch. xi.

to apply himself to the dividing the land of Canaan amongst the Israelites^r. Moses, before he died, had fixed the inheritance of two tribes and an half tribe on the other side Jordan^s: there remained nine tribes and an half to be now settled^t; and unto these Joshua and Eleazar the priest, and the heads of the tribes, were preparing to set out their inheritance. But before they began to make division of the land, the children of Judah came to them, and Caleb, who was of this tribe, represented that Moses had made him a solemn promise, which might determine the place of his particular inheritance^u. When the spies were sent by Moses into Canaan, they went to Hebron, *where Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were*^x; and at their return they took occasion from the largeness of the stature of these men to fill the camp with fears that the Israelites would never be able to make their way into the country^y. But Caleb endeavoured to animate the people with better hopes^z; whereupon, when God pronounced against the congregation, that the men who had seen his miracles and glory should not come into the land, but should die in the wilderness^a, he was pleased to promise that Caleb should be brought [*el ha aretz, asher ba shammak*] *into the land, to the very place he went to*^b, and that *his seed should possess it*^c. Now Hebron was the particular place they went to, and from whence they brought home the fears which had so disturbed the camp^d, for faithfully endeavouring to quell which, Caleb had this particular promise made to him^e; and upon this account Caleb argued, that this was the place at which God had promised that he should be settled; adding withal, that though the very men were then in possession of it who had so terrified his companions, yet that he should

^r Josh. xiii.

^s Ch. xiii. 8, 32. Numb. xxxii. Deut^t i. iii. 12—17.

^t Josh. xiii. 7.

^u Ch. xiv. 6—9.

^x Numb. xiii. 22.

^y Ver. 33.

^z Ver. 30. xiv. 6.

^a Ch. xiv. 22, 23.

^b Ver. 24. The Hebrew words are,

והביאתיו אליהארץ אשר בא שמה
illuc adiit quam in terram et introducam eum
ad ipsum locum illam

^c Numb. xiv. 24.

^d Vid. loc. supr. citat.

^e Numb. xiv. 24.

not at all doubt, but be enabled to eject them^f. Joshua admitted the plea of Caleb, and appointed his inheritance at Hebron^g, and then allotted the tribe of Judah the country from Hebron to Kadesh-barnea, as described in the 15th chapter of the book of Joshua. Next after Judah the children of Joseph were allotted their inheritance^h; and we have in the 16th and 17th chapters of Joshua a particular account of the boundaries of the lands assigned to them, namely, to the tribe of Ephraim, and to the half tribe of Manasseh, which was to inherit on this side Jordanⁱ. The families of this tribe and half tribe were settled on the north side the country, wherein the camp of the Israelites, which was formed at Gilgal, rested, as the tribe of Judah was settled on the south of it; so that the camp was, as it were, secured on either side from any sudden irruption: and having proceeded thus far, the whole congregation assembled at Shiloh, within the confines of the tribe of Ephraim^k, and there set up the tabernacle^l.

Josephus seems to represent the tabernacle to have been erected before they began to divide the land^m: but this I should think a mistake; for when they began to part the land, there were nine tribes and an half tribe that had no inheritanceⁿ. But at the time of erecting the tabernacle, seven tribes only were not provided for^o. Two tribes and an half tribe, besides those who were to inherit on the other side Jordan, had had their countries assigned to them according to what is above represented, as the book of Joshua very plainly intimates. Thus far therefore the Israelites had proceeded; but they began to find difficulties in the method they were taking: to Judah they had given too large a country^p, and Ephraim and the half tribe of Manasseh were not satisfied with what was allotted them^q: and for this reason, I ima-

^f Josh. xiv. 12.

^g We must here remark, that the city of Hebron was not the property and inheritance of Caleb; for Hebron was one of the Levitical cities. Caleb's inheritance consisted of some fields near adjoining to this town. See Josh. xxi. 11, 12.

^h Josh. xvi. 1, &c.

ⁱ Josh. xvii. 5.

^k See Judges xxi. 19.

^l Josh. xviii. 1.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. c. 1.

ⁿ Josh. xiv. 2. xiii. 7.

^o Ch. xviii. 2.

^p Ch. xix. 9.

^q Ch. xvii. 14.

gine, they now set up the tabernacle. Their enemies were so far subdued, and the place where they were to fix it so surrounded with the settlements already made, that they had no reason to fear any sudden invasion to oblige them to take it down again^r: and, by having the tabernacle erected, they would have power to apply to God for his immediate direction in all difficulties^s; so as both to prevent mistakes in their division of the land, and to leave no pretence for any tribe's being dissatisfied at the lot that should be assigned to them.

The directions which God had given for the division of the land were these; 1. They were to divide the land by lot^t: each tribe was to have that portion of it which by lot should fall to him^u. 2. When the lot of a tribe was fallen, the land so allotted to that tribe was to be divided amongst the several families of it^x; and this, I think, was to be done partly by the lot^y, and but in part by it. When they began to set out the particular inheritances of families, they threw the lot which family they should settle first, which next, and so on: and thus *every man's inheritance would be in the place where his lot fell*^z. But the place of it being thus fixed, they did not cast the lot for the quantity to be assigned to a family; for they were to set out more or less land to each family, according to the number of the names of the persons belonging to it^a. 3. Every private person was to have his inheritance within the bounds of the country assigned to the tribe^b he belonged to. 4. To prevent disputes or uneasinesses in or from the choice of the persons who were to manage and direct the division, God had expressly named who should divide the land unto the children of Israel^c; and, 5. he had also set them their bounds, described how far every way the land reached which was to be divided by them^d. We may now examine what method Joshua and

^r Josh. xviii. 1.

^s See Exod. xxix. 42, 43.

^t Numb. xxxiii. 54. xxvi. 55.

^u Ibid.

^x Ibid.

^y Ch. xxvi. 56.

^z Numb. xxxiii. 54.

^a Ibid.

^b Ibid.

^c Ch. xxxiv. 17—29.

^d Ver. 3—12.

the princes of the congregation took, when they began to execute the commission herein given to them.

And, I imagine, in the first place they cast lots to know what tribe they should begin with in making the division: and the lot came out for the tribe of Judah. The next question that could arise, must be where they should settle this tribe; and here Caleb offered his claim to have his inheritance at Hebron^e, the admitting which seems to have rendered all further inquiry about the situation of the country to be assigned to this tribe superfluous, and also to have led the Israelites to set out a tract of land for them, more at random, perhaps, than they would otherwise have done. The journey of the spies, upon which Caleb's claim was founded, began from Kadesh-barnea^f. Caleb's claim did not aim at any thing higher up into the country than Hebron: if Caleb was fixed here, the tribe he belonged to was to be settled contiguous to him. The tribe of Judah was the most numerous of all the tribes; it mustered 76000 men of twenty years old and upwards, when the sum of the congregation was taken in the plains of Moab^g; and consequently a pretty large country would be necessary for it. And these considerations seem to have induced them to set out at adventure for this tribe all the land between Kadesh-barnea and Hebron, according to the description and bounds that are given of it^h. Having thus fixed the tribe of Judah their country, they proceeded to allot each family a proper share and portion in it; but when they had done this, they found that *the part of the children of Judah was too much for them*ⁱ. After each family of the tribe had received an inheritance as large as they could be conceived to have occasion for, there remained a tract of the country to spare, and undisposed of; and this could not but suggest to the dividers, that if they did not go into some stricter method for the setting out the assignments to the several tribes, they might in time be brought into difficulties: they might set out to the tribes, which were first provided for, too much of

^e Josh. xiv. 6.

^f Numb. xxxii. 8. Josh. xiv. 7.

^g Ch. xxvi. 22.

^h Josh. xv.

ⁱ Ch. xix. 9.

the land, and not leave enough for those whose lot might come up to be last settled: and accordingly, in their next appointment, they appear to have a little altered their method of proceeding. For,

Here I think they first set out such a quantity of the land as they thought the country of Canaan might afford for a tribe: then for the eight tribes and an half they made eight lots, assigning but one lot to the tribe of Ephraim and half tribe of Manasseh, considering them under one appellation, namely, as the children of Joseph^k. After this, they cast the lots to determine who should have the inheritance put up to be disposed of: the lot of the children of Joseph came out for it^l. That but one lot was here made for the sons of Joseph appears evidently from their complaint to Joshua: *The children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me but one lot, and one portion to inherit^m?* The children of Joseph here concerned were more than a tribe; they were a tribe and an half tribe, and in all respects a flourishing peopleⁿ; and they thought that they ought not to have been put thus together, and represented in but one lot, when, if they had been a tribe only, one lot would have been assigned to them. And this complaint of the sons of Joseph intimates also that the quantity of land, which the lots were cast for, was settled, and the bounds of it agreed upon before the lots were cast for it; otherwise the complaint would have been groundless; for if this had not been the case, where would have been the hardship of the sons of Joseph's being represented by but one lot, when the dividers of the land might, upon finding them to be the persons to be provided for, have set them out as much land, and half as much land, as they would have portioned out to a tribe, if the lot of a single tribe had come up upon this occasion? But herein the sons of Joseph argued the inequality of the procedure. A tract of land was set out for the inheritance of a tribe: in the lots they were represented but as a tribe; and hereby they received not a portion and an half portion, which they

^k Josh. xvi. 1.

^l Ver. 1—4.

^m Josh. xvii. 14.

ⁿ Ver. 15, 17.

might think they had a just claim to, but one single portion only^o; for any other single tribe, if their lot had come up for it, would have had all the country which was assigned to them. After it was determined what country the sons of Joseph were thus to have, it remained to consider how to divide it to their families: and herein the lot was to be used^p; and the dividers, having perhaps fixed where they would begin to set out the lands, might cast the lots to know whether they should settle the families of Ephraim first, or of Manasseh. They began, I think, in the parts nearest to the camp, with the families of Ephraim^q; and having provided for them in order as their lot directed^r, and given them each family a greater or a lesser inheritance, as the number of persons belonging to it required^s, there remained the portion to be divided to the half tribe of Manasseh^t, which they distributed to them in like manner^u: adding to them, over and besides the residue of what was first allotted, some tracts of land taken from the coasts, that were afterwards assigned to the tribes of Asher and Issachar^x; for upon their repeated remonstrances^y Joshua did indeed confess that they were a great people, and that *one lot only* was not altogether enough for them^z.

There were seven tribes to be still provided for^a; but before they proceeded any further, the whole congregation assembled at Shiloh, and set up the tabernacle^b: and then Joshua proposed to the people to name to him seven men, one out of each tribe, that he might send them out to survey the country that remained still to be divided^c. What was already done he was for having ratified and confirmed; *that Judah should abide in their coasts on the south, and the house of Joseph in their coasts on the north*^d; each of these were to keep what had been assigned to them: and the persons appointed to make the survey^e of the lands not yet disposed

o Josh. xvii. 14.

p Vid. quæ sup.

q Josh. xvi. 5.

r Vid. quæ sup.

s Numb. xxxiii. 54.

t Josh. xvii. 2.

u Ver. 7, &c.

x Josh. xvii. 11.

y Ver. 14, 16.

z Ver. 17.

a Ch. xviii. 2.

b Ver. 1.

c Ver. 4.

d Ver. 5.

of, were to cast their survey into seven parts, and to bring their accounts of it in a book to Shiloh, where Joshua purposed to have the lots thrown *before the Lord*, at the tabernacle, to determine to each tribe his part of it^e. The proposal was received with an universal approbation: the men were appointed, and brought in their survey, and Joshua cast the lots in Shiloh, *before the Lord^f, and divided the land according to their divisions^g*; that is, he made no alterations in any of the seven parts, which the men that took the survey had agreed upon; but each tribe, as their lot came up, had the country for which the lot was drawn, as the surveyors had described it.

From the account we have in the book of Joshua of the order and part of the country in which each of these seven tribes were settled^h, we may easily apprehend in what manner the lots were drawn for them. First, it was agreed to draw for the land that lay between Judah and the sons of Joseph; the countries where the camp had been so long at Gilgal; and this fell to the tribe of Benjaminⁱ. The second lot was cast for the land that remained over and above what was occupied by the tribe of Judah; and this fell to the tribe of Simeon^k. The third lot was for a tract of land which at one end was bounded by the sea of Tiberias; and this fell to the tribe of Zebulun^l. Fourthly, they drew for the land between Zebulun and the sons of Joseph; and this fell to the tribe of Issachar^m. The fifth lot gave to Asher the country next to the north extent of the land to be dividedⁿ. The sixth lot assigned to Naphtali a country east to Asher^o. And the last lot remained for Dan, and placed him upon the coasts of the Philistines^p. It is remarked, that *the coast of the children of Dan went out too little for them^q*; an observation probably not made by Joshua: the words that follow it hint the expedition which the Danites made afterwards against Leshem; *Therefore the children of*

^e Josh. xviii. 6.

^f Ver. 9.

^g Ver. 10.

^h Ver. 11. to ver. 48. of chap. xix.

ⁱ Ch. xviii. 11.

^k Ch. xix. 1.

^l Josh. xix. 10.

^m Ver. 17.

ⁿ Ver. 24.

^o Ver. 32.

^p Ver. 40.

^q Ver. 47.

Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called it Dan, after the name of Dan their father^r. These words cannot be supposed to have been written by Joshua, for they speak of an expedition not made until after his death^s; and therefore I should think this whole verse an addition to the sacred pages, made in the manner of some others, which I have observed to be of a like nature^t. The children of Dan were indeed a large people; they mustered 64400 men of twenty years old and upwards, when the poll was taken in the plains of Moab^u: Judah only was a bigger tribe. But I should not imagine that the surveyors of the land had made their assignments so injudiciously as to have any very remarkable disproportion appear in any of them: *the coast of Dan was too little for them*^x, probably not that the country assigned them was not in itself large enough to receive and produce an abundant provision for all their families, but because *all their inheritance did not fall unto them*^y. The Philistines were in their full strength^z, and part of their territories were in this country^a, and the Amorites possessed other the most fruitful parts of it^b; so that the children of Dan had, comparatively speaking, possession of but a small part of what was intended to be their inheritance, and we do not find that they enlarged themselves^c; and therefore, as their families increased, they must have been in straits in a country of which they had so imperfect a tenure: otherwise, from the fruits^d and pasturage of this part of Canaan^e, not to mention that they had undoubtedly corn-fields as well as their neighbours on their very borders^f, nor to suggest how many of the tribe of Dan might *abide in ships*^g, and have the advantages of employment in a sea-life; we may judge, that had a full possession of their whole allotment

^r Josh. xix. 47.

^s Judg. xviii.

^t See Prideaux, Connect. part i. book v.

^u Numb. xxvi. 43.

^x Josh. xix. 47.

^y Judg. xviii. 2.

^z Josh. xix. 2.

^a Compare Josh. xix. 43. with xiii.

^{3.} ¹ Sam. v. 10. vi. 16, 17.

^b Judg. i. 35.

^c Ch. i. 34, 35.

^d Numb. xiii. 24.

^e Gen. xxxviii. 13.

^f Judg. xv. 5.

^g Ch. v. 17.

fallen to them, a mighty and a great people might have flourished and increased in it.

The sacred writer has given us a very particular account of the bounds and extent of the country assigned to each tribe^h; but we cannot hope to be able to trace out their borders with the same exactness: Canaan must have been too much altered from what it was in the days of Joshua, for perhaps the Jews themselves in their later days to have found the face of things that in these times appeared in it. Ten of the twelve tribes of Israel were lost in the captivityⁱ; two tribes only, Benjamin and Judah, with some few families of the other tribes incorporated with them, returned from Babylon^k: and the number that returned was comparatively so small^l, that if all Canaan had been restored to them, they would in nowise have been sufficient to enter upon a full possession of what had been the inheritance of the twelve tribes in their several divisions of it. Judea alone was a country more than large enough for them, and they were obliged to contrive means that Jerusalem itself should not want people^m. In this state of things the country of the ten tribes might not be much inquired after: other nations of people were become the possessors of itⁿ, and the bounds of the inheritances that had formerly been known in it might be, in a few ages, not to be ascertained with a great exactness, even before the times of a very late posterity. And accordingly, I think, we find not only Adrichomius, and other modern chorographers, giving us, in many particulars, very confused and unscriptural accounts of the situation of divers of the ancient towns of these countries^o; but even Josephus himself rather able to say at large whereabouts each tribe had been placed, than to describe with exactness the borders of their situations. He represents Zebulun to have had his country from the lake Gennesaret to mount Carmel, and to the sea^p; but we cannot, I think,

^h Josh. xiii. xv. xvi. xvii. xviii. xix.

ⁱ Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. ii.

^k Id. book iii.

^l Id. *ibid.*

^m Nehem. xi.

ⁿ Prideaux, *ubi sup.*

^o Walton. in Prolegom. ad Bibl. Polyglot.

^p Ζαβουλωνίται δὲ τὴν μέχρι Γεννησαρίτιδος, καθήκουσαν δὲ περὶ Κάρμηλον καὶ θάλασσαν ἔλαχον. Joseph. Antiq. l. v. c. i. §. 22.

conceive this tribe to have had this situation: that the country of Zebulun touched upon Gennesaret is indeed confirmed by St. Matthew^q; but how shall we extend it from thence to Carmel and to the sea? Asher reached to Carmel westward^r; Ephraim and Manasseh met together in Asher on the north^s. The only point where these two tribes could thus meet must be at the sea at Carmel^t; but they could not meet in this point, if the land of Zebulun lay here between them. I might observe further: Zebulun's inheritance, according to what Jacob had prophesied of him, was to reach, not unto Carmel, but unto Zidon^u; and undoubtedly, according to this account of what was to be his border, his portion was in due time assigned to him. We must therefore suppose the inheritance of this tribe to have been extended from Gennesaret, between the lands of Asher and Naphtali, up to the northern extent of Canaan; and in this manner the border of Zebulun might indeed *be unto Zidon*. Zidon was a town, perhaps, not of Zebulun, but of Asher^x; Zebulun's country then reached only to the borders of it^y.

When Joshua, and the persons in commission with him, *had made an end of dividing the land for inheritance by their coasts^z, the children of Israel gave an inheritance to Joshua: they gave him the city which he asked, even Timnath-Serah in mount Ephraim; and he built the city, and dwelt therein^a*. What he asked for was in a situation not occupied by any to whom inheritances had been given, for it was in mount Ephraim; probably in that part of the hill, of which Joshua had observed to his people, that it was a wood, and that they might cut it down, and open to themselves an enlargement of their borders *in the outgoings* of it^b. If Timnath-Serah was a town before Joshua built it, it might perhaps be an

q Matt. iv. 13.

r Josh. xix. 26.

s Ch. xvi. 10.

t Any map of the country will offer this to view.

u Gen. xlix. 13.

x Josh. xix. 27, 28.

y I might observe, that the giving

Zebulun this situation agrees to another hint of Joshua's; that Zebulun lay east, or to the sun-rising of Asher.

Josh. xix. 27.

z Josh. xix. 49, 50.

a Ibid.

b Ch. xvii. 18.

old ruined village, that had been long evacuated in this wild and overgrown country; so that Joshua asked a property such as might give him an opportunity of being an example to his tribe for the improving their inheritance, to instruct them how to make their allotment commodious for them: *Joshua built the city, and dwelt therein.* In so commanding a situation we may conceive him to have formed, as it were, a new and beautiful country round about him, and to have planted himself not inelegantly, and agreeably to a taste, which the ancients of almost all countries were not strangers to in their early times^c.

The inheritances being fixed, the Israelites appointed the six cities of refuge, and agreed upon the cities to be set out in every tribe for the Levites to dwell in^d; and all things being hereby settled for the Israelites of all the tribes enjoying their respective possessions in all parts of the land, Joshua called together the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, whose inheritances were on the other side Jordan, and having made a public acknowledgment of their assistance to their brethren, and of their having now punctually fulfilled all that Moses had required of them, he strictly charged them to resolve most steadfastly to keep the law; he ordered them their share of the spoil of the conquered nations, and dismissed them, in order to their going home unto their own possessions^e. The two tribes and an half drew off from the congregation, and began their march towards their own country^f: and, when they were come to Jordan, before they passed the river, they built a very large altar, near the place where the Israelites had formerly come over into Canaan^g, intending to leave here a lasting monument to all future ages, that they acknowledged themselves to belong to the tribes in Canaan, and that they had no separate altar in their own country; but that the altar, at which they were to sacrifice, was on the other side the river, before

^c Ἐκτίσθη πόλεις μικρὰς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὑπερ ἢν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τρόπος οἰκήσεως συνήθης. Dionys. Halic. l. i. c. 12.

^d Josh. xx. xxi.

^e Ch. xxii. 1—8.

^f Ver. 9.

^g Ver. 11.

the tabernacle of the Lord their God^h. A rumour of what they were doing soon came to Shiloh, and the congregation there were greatly alarmed at itⁱ: the Israelites in Canaan, not knowing their intention, were afraid they were setting up an altar for themselves, and that they intended to fall off from the worship which the law commanded, and resolved upon a war against them, rather than suffer an innovation which they apprehended would bring down the divine vengeance upon all Israel^k. Hereupon they sent an embassy^l. The two tribes and the half tribe explained their intention to the princes who were sent to them^m; so that they returned with an account that gave great satisfaction to the congregationⁿ, who thereupon blessed God that their brethren were not guilty of the defection from his worship, which they had imputed to them^o: and so with great joy they laid aside the preparations they were making for a war^p.

As the sword of Joshua had been fatal to the Canaanites wherever he had marched against them; for we read of all the nations conquered by him, that he utterly depopulated them, as the Lord God of Israel had commanded^q; so it is imagined that many companies fled before him out of every country, and escaped into foreign lands. Procopius, who flourished in the time of Justinian, mentions some pillars near the place where Tangier is now situate, with an inscription upon them in old Phœnician letters to this purpose; WE ARE THE FUGITIVES FROM THE FACE OF JOSHUA THE ROBBER, THE SON OF NUN^r: and the Hebrew writers tell us, that the whole nation of the Girgashites escaped into this country^s. But the sacred historian intimates the contrary: the Girgashites were one of the nations that fought with the Israelites^t. It is not indeed probable that, in the battles fought by Joshua, every person of every nation

^h Josh. xxii. 21—29.

ⁱ Ver. 11—20.

^k Ibid.

^l Ibid.

^m Ver. 21—29.

ⁿ Ver. 33.

^o Ibid.

^p Ibid.

^q Josh. x. 40.

^r Procop. in Vandalicis. Bochart. Præf. in lib. de Colon. et Sermon. Phœnic.

^s Rab. S. B. Nachman. Gem. Hierosol. vid. Selden. de Jur. Nat. et Gentium, l. vi. c. 13.

^t Josh. xxiv. 11.

subdued by him fell by the sword; some remains of every kingdom might escape, as Æneas and a few Trojans did in a succeeding age from the ruin of Troy: and if any little companies in this manner took their flight in Joshua's first campaign, when he overthrew the kings of south Canaan, they might make their route by way of Egypt into these parts of Africa, or they might fly into the land of the Philistines, which was not yet conquered^u; and from towns on these coasts, of repute for their shipping in these days^x, they might sail for foreign lands; and a voyage from these parts to Africa was suitable to the skill of these times in the art of sailing, it fell naturally down along the coast from Canaan to Egypt, to Libya, and without a necessity of going a great distance out of sight of shore. Such a voyage Dido made afterwards from Tyre to Carthage. When Alexander the Great was to make his entry into Babylon, there were embassies attending him from divers nations, who had employed their agents to offer to him a state of their several interests and affairs, and to beg of him to accept an arbitration of their differences^y. Arrian mentions ambassadors from Africa to have waited upon him at this time^z; and the Talmudical writers say, that the Canaanites above mentioned, who had fled into Africa, were the people who made him this compliment, and that their deputies were instructed to lay before Alexander, how the Israelites had expelled their ancestors, and to pray him to restore them back to their old country again^a. But whether this was not a mere fancy of these writers, and whether Procopius had a sufficient information of what he related, I cannot determine.

Other writers tell us that Canaan sent out many colonies into divers parts of the world in these times^b; and Bochart hints the states of Lesser Asia, of Greece, and the isles in the Ægean sea, to have received many companies of Canaanites who fled from their own country: but whoever will duly

^u Josh. xiii. 3.

^x Judg. v. 17.

^y Arrian. de Exped. Alexand. lib. vii. p. 476. ed. Jans. Amstel. 1668.

^z Id. *ibid.*

^a Vid. Gemar. Babylon. ad Tit. Sanhed. c. 11. f. 91. Selden. de Jure Natural. et Gent. lib. vii. c. 8.

^b Vid. Bochart. de Colon. et Serm. Phœnic.

examine the labours of this writer, will find his whole work upon this subject to offer rather a very learned appearance of arguments, than true and real argument to support his opinion. The foreigners who might come from or pass through Canaan into these countries, came earlier than the times of Joshua: and of this Bochart himself could not but feel a conviction in many particulars. There were no revolutions in Greece, or its neighbour islands, that happened after the days of Joshua, but which may be accounted for without any migrations from Canaan into these countries. In like manner the states in Lesser Asia, which were of figure in the succeeding times, and particularly the kingdom of Troy, which grew to be the mistress of these parts, were formed and growing up in their own strength before Canaan was in trouble: and the wars of Joshua seem to have been so far from having had any effect which extended itself towards these countries, that we find nations, through or nigh unto which great routs of exiles must have passed, if any considerable migrations had been made out of Canaan into Lesser Asia, in these days, open and unguarded against incursions; *careless, quiet, and secure*, under no apprehensions that any neighbouring people might want settlements, and be tempted to dispossess them^c, which they could not have been insensible of, if many troops had passed their borders in their flights to foreign lands. The Israelites had indeed reduced many kingdoms of Canaan, and divided their countries to each tribe their share of them; but they had not so entirely dissipated and destroyed the inhabitants, but that in a little time they got again together, formed themselves to a new strength, and were able to dispute with their conquerors, whether they should have the towns, which, when pressed by Joshua to a precipitate flight, they seemed to have evacuated and given up to them^d. I must add to all this, that there were many states and cities of Canaan *that stood still in their strength*, unattacked by the Israelites^e, who were able afterwards to bring into the field numerous armies^f: and to

^c Judg. xviii. 7.

^d Ch. i. 1. compared with Josh. xii.

^e Josh. xiii. 2—6.

^f Judg. i. 4.

these the scattered remains of the nations that were reduced did undoubtedly fly; and it is reasonable to imagine that the cities they fled to might be willing to receive and provide for them, in order to strengthen themselves by an addition of people, rather than to have them desert the country and leave Canaan. It is very probable an increase of people in this manner was what raised the strength of the Philistines in a few ages, so as to make them more than a match for all Israelg.

Joshua lived several years after he had fixed the Israelites their settlements in the land^h, and had the satisfaction of seeing them happy in a scene of great peace and quiet all the rest of his days. He was now *old and stricken in age*ⁱ: and as he did not expect to be much longer with them, he summoned a congregation of all Israel^k; represented the great things which God had done for them; observed to them, how he had been enabled to assign them their inheritance^l, and assured them, that if they would truly and strictly keep the law, and not associate themselves, contrary to it, with the nations which as yet were not expelled the land, that God would certainly, in due time, entirely drive them out, and give the Israelites a full possession of all Canaan^m. But, said he, on the other hand, if ye do not persevere, but shall incline unto the remnant of the nations that are left, and make marriages and alliances with them, then God will not drive them out, but the nations with whom ye shall have thus engaged yourselves shall be *snares and traps, scourges and thorns* to youⁿ; shall in various ways seduce and incommode, bring distress and calamities upon you, until ye shall perish from off this good land which the Lord your God hath given you^o. I, in a little time, shall die and leave you; but suffer me to remind you how punctually hitherto every good thing has befallen you, which God promised to you; and let me tell you, that every evil, which God has threat-

g Vid. Lib. Samuel.

h Josh. xxiii. 1.

i Ibid.

k Ver. 2.

l Josh. xxiii. 3, 4.

m Ver. 5—11.

n Ver. 13.

o Ver. 15.

ened, will as exactly come upon you, if you transgress the covenant of the Lord your God^p.

Some time after he summoned the tribes to Shechem^q, and sent thither *for the elders of Israel, and for their heads, and for their judges, and for their officers*, to attend him before the Lord^r; where he repeated to them all the mercies which God had vouchsafed to their fathers and to them, from the calling of Abraham down to that day^s: then he desired them to consider and resolve whether they would indeed faithfully serve God, or whether they would choose to fall away to idolatry^t. Upon their assuring him that they would not forsake the Lord to serve other gods^u, Joshua reminded them, that to serve their God was a thing not so easy to be done as said^x: for that God would be strict in demanding from them a punctual performance of what he had required, and that if they should be remiss or unmindful of any part of it, that his vengeance would most certainly fall upon them^y. Hereupon they repeated their resolution to serve the Lord^z. Well then, said Joshua, if after all this you do not do it, let your own declarations this day testify against you^a. Unto

^p Josh. xxiii. 14—16.

^q Ch. xxiv. 1.

^r Some copies of the LXX. read Shiloh, and not Shechem, in this place; and as Joshua and the elders are said to have *presented themselves before God*, i. e. at the tabernacle, agreeably to which sense of the expression it appears, ver. 26. that they were at their holding their meeting *by* or *at the sanctuary of the Lord*; and as the tabernacle was set up not at Shechem, but at Shiloh, chap. xviii. 1. it may be thought that here is some mistake, and that Shiloh, not Shechem, was the place to which Joshua convened the tribes of Israel. Some of the critics thought the ark and tabernacle were removed to Shechem against the holding this convention; but we have no hints of the fact having been so, nor occasion to suppose it. Shechem and Shiloh were about twelve miles distant from one another. Joshua lived at Timnath-Serah, a place almost in the midway between them. He summoned the tribes to meet in the fields of Shechem: from thence he called

the heads of the tribes and officers to attend him to Shiloh, to present themselves before God. All the tribes of Israel were gathered to Shechem; but not all the tribes, rather the heads, judges, and officers only, presented themselves before God. A meeting of all the tribes must form a camp, not to be accommodated but in a large and open country. Shechem had in its borders field enough for the reception of all the people. See Gen. xxxiii. 19. Here therefore they met, and from hence made such detachments to Shiloh, a place in the neighbourhood, as the purposes for which they were convened required. Take the fact to have been thus, and the difficulties which some commentators surmise in this passage do all vanish.

^s Josh. xxiv. 2—13.

^t Ver. 14, 15.

^u Ver. 16—18.

^x Ver. 19.

^y Ver. 20.

^z Ver. 21.

^a Ver. 22.

this the people readily assented^b: and thus did Joshua summon them to a most strict engagement of themselves, never to vary or depart from the law which God had given them^c: and, that a lasting sense of what they had in so solemn a manner agreed to might remain upon them, he wrote what had passed in the book of the Law^d, and set up a pillar in remembrance of it^e, and then dismissed the people. Not long after Joshua, being an hundred and ten years old, died, and was buried on the north side of the hill of Gaash, in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-Serah^f. Josephus informs us that Joshua governed the Israelites twenty-five years from after the death of Moses^g; accordingly we must fix the time of his death to about A. M. 2578.

It has been a matter of dispute amongst the learned, whether Joshua was himself the author of the book which is called by his name^h. But, 1. it is obvious to be observed, that the book of Joshua seems to hint that a person, one of the Israelites, who made the miraculous passage over Jordan, was the writer of it: this the first verse of the fifth chapter intimates to us: *When all the kings of the Amorites—heard that the Lord had dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until we were passed over—*ⁱ; the writer would not have here used the first person, *WE were passed over*, if himself had not been one of the persons who had passed the river^k. 2. It is evident that this book was written before Rahab died; for we are told that *Joshua saved Rahab the harlot alive, and her father's household, and all that she had; and she dwelleth in Israel unto this day*^l. The writer was here willing to record to posterity that Rahab had not only her life given her, but that she was so well received by the Israelites as to continue even then to

^b Josh. xxiv. 22.

^c Ver. 25.

^d Ver. 26.

^e Ver. 27.

^f Ver. 29, 30.

^g Joseph. Antiq. l. v. c. 1.

^h Vid. Pool. Synop. Critic. Cleric. in Dissert. de Scriptorib. Historic. Vet. Testam. Carpzov. Introduc. ad Libros Hist. Vet. Test. et al.

ⁱ The Hebrew words are, עָד־עֲבָרְנִי.

^k I ought not to omit that the marginal reference in the Hebrew Bibles reads the word עֲבָרְנִי; but the learned allow the Hebrew *Keri* and *Ketib* not to be of such authority, as that we must be absolutely determined by it. Walton. Bibl. Polyglot. Prolegom. viii. c. 26.

^l Josh. vi. 25.

dwell amongst them; a remark that could not have been made after Rahab was dead^m: and consequently the book that has it must have been composed whilst Rahab was yet alive. Rahab was afterwards married to Salmon, the son of Naassonⁿ, the head of the house of Judah^o: had she been so when the book of Joshua was composed, I should imagine the author of it, as he appears, by the hint above mentioned, inclined to intimate all the good circumstances of her condition, would not have omitted that; and consequently by her marriage not being mentioned, we have some reason to think the book of Joshua to have been written not late in Rahab's life. 3. We are expressly informed that Joshua did himself write, and add what he wrote to *the book of the Law of God*^p. 4. The words that inform us of this fact may, if taken in their natural sense, and according to the construction put upon words of the like import, when we find them upon ancient monuments or remains, be supposed to be Joshua's conclusion of his book, designed by him to inform posterity that himself was the writer of it: *Joshua wrote these words in the book of the Law, &c.* may fairly imply, unless we have good reason to think the fact was otherwise, that all that was found written *in the book of the Law*, from the end of what was penned by the hand of Moses, unto the close of the period, of which these words are a part, was wrote by Joshua: and this was the opinion of the Talmudists^q. Joshua was the only sacred penman which we read the Israelites to have had in his age; and after he had finished the division of the land, he had many years of great leisure^r: in these he probably applied himself to give account of the death and burial of Moses^s, and from thence continued a narrative of what had been transacted under his own direction^t, filling it up with a general terrier of the settlements of the tribes^u, such as it could not but be expedient

^m The remark is not that Rahab's family, descendants, or father's household, were then in Israel; but the verb is רחבה, in the third person feminine, and refers to Rahab in particular.

ⁿ Matt. i. 5.

^o Numb. i. 7.

^p Josh. xxiv. 26.

^q Bava Bathra, cap. 1.

^r Josh. xxiii. 1.

^s Deut. xxxiv.

^t Josh. i—xii.

^u Ch. xiii—xxii.

for the Israelites to have on record, to prevent confusions about their inheritances in future ages. After having done this he summoned the tribes^x, gave them his exhortations, and having added to what he had before prepared an account of the conventions he had held, and what had passed at them, he transcribed the whole into the book of the law^y, and then dismissed the people^z. Accordingly I take the work of Joshua to begin from where Moses ended; at the 34th chapter of Deuteronomy, and to end with the 27th verse of the 24th chapter of Joshua. As Joshua thus added at the end of Deuteronomy the account of Moses's death, so what we find from the 28th verse of the 24th chapter of Joshua to the end of that book was unquestionably not written until Joshua and all the elders his contemporaries, who overlived him, were gone off the stage^a, and was added to the end of the book of Joshua by some sacred penman, who was afterwards employed to record the subsequent state of the affairs of Israel.

As to the objections that are offered against Joshua's being the writer of the book so called, they are but inconsiderable. It is remarked, that there are many short hints and intimations in divers parts of the book, that appear evidently of a later date than Joshua's time. Of the stones which Joshua set up at Gilgal, it is observed that they were *there unto this day*^b; a remark very proper to be made in a distant age, but not likely to be hinted by Joshua of a monument designed by him, not so much for his own times, as for the information of a late posterity^c. Of the Canaanites in divers tribes it is suggested, that the Israelites did not drive them out, but admitted them to live amongst them, and made them pay tribute^d; and of the tribe of Dan, that they went up against Leshem^e: but this expedition was not undertaken until after Joshua's death^f, nor did the tribes of Israel come to agreement with the inhabitants of Canaan whilst Joshua was living^g; and therefore all these observa-

^x Josh. xxiii. 2.

^y Ch. xxiv. 26.

^z Ver. 28.

^a Ver. 31.

^b Ch. vii. 26.

^c Josh. iv. 21, 22.

^d Ch. xiii. 9. xvi. 10.

^e Ch. xix. 47.

^f Judg. xviii.

^g Ch. i.

tions must have come, not from Joshua, but from a later hand. We are told that what Joshua wrote about the sun and moon's standing still was also found in the book of Jasher^h. But the book of Jasher was more modern than these times: it contained hints of what David desired the children of Judah might be taughtⁱ, and therefore was a book probably not in being until David's age. In like manner a tract of land in the 19th chapter of Joshua is called Cabul^k; but this country seems not to have had this name until Hiram called it so in the days of Solomon^l. I might add to these some other observations of a like sort^m; but how obvious is it to reply to all of them, 1. That the observation of Rahab's being alive ⁿsuggests the book of Joshua to have been composed long before any of these more modern intimations could be given; and consequently that none of these could be in the original book of Joshua. 2. The learned are abundantly satisfied that there are many little strictures and observations of this nature, now found in divers parts of the sacred books, which were not written by the composers of the books they are found in^o. 3. Dean Prideaux says of them, that they were additions made by Ezra, when, upon the return from the captivity, he collected and settled for the Jews a correct copy of their holy Scriptures^p. What authority this most learned writer had for this opinion, I cannot say; I suspect it proceeded from a desire to preserve the same regard to these additions and interpolations as is due to the sacred writings; for, he says, Ezra was assisted in making these additions by the same spirit by which the books were at first wrote^q: but whether Ezra made his copy of the Scriptures from original books of them then extant; or rather, whether he did not make his copy from collecting and comparing such transcribed copies as were in the hands of the Israelites of his times; whether in the copies he consulted, the additions we are speaking of

^h Josh. x. 13.

ⁱ 2 Sam. i. 18.

^k Josh. xix. 27.

^l 1 Kings ix. 13.

^m Vid. Cleric. Dissertat. de Scrip-
toribus lib. Histor. Vet. Testam.

ⁿ Josh. vi. 25.

^o See Prideaux, Connect. part i.
book v.

^p Ibid.

^q Ibid.

might not stand as marginal hints made by private hands in their copies of the sacred books; whether Ezra could ever design either to add to the sacred books, or to diminish ought from them^r; though perhaps finding divers of these intimations of use to the reader, for illustrating and comparing one part of the sacred writings with another, or suggesting what might explain an obscure or antiquated name or passage in them, he might take such as he judged thus serviceable into his copy also; but whether he made them part of his text; or rather, whether he did not insert them in his copy, as marginal hints and observations only; and whether their being made, as we now find them, part of the text, has not been owing to the mistake or carelessness of later transcribers from Ezra's copy, are points which I submit, with all due deference, to the judgment of the learned.

^r Prov. xxx. 6.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE
CREATION AND FALL OF MAN:
A SUPPLEMENTAL DISCOURSE
TO THE
PREFACE OF THE FIRST VOLUME
OF THE
SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY OF THE
WORLD CONNECTED.

THE
P R E F A C E.

ALTHOUGH the ensuing treatise is not of a size or in a form proper for a part of any preface ; yet I call it a Supplement to the Preface of my first volume of *The Sacred and Profane History of the World connected*, because the subject-matter of it ought, and was intended to have been treated in that preface ; but was deferred, as I wished to see what others, who were writing after me^a, would offer upon a subject so variously thought of by divers able and valuable writers, rather than too hastily offer to the public sentiments upon it which I had a just diffidence of, as many of them seemed to be more peculiarly my own.

A supposed impossibility of reconciling a literal interpretation of Moses's account of the fall of man to any reasonable notions of God, and to what must in truth be his dispensations towards us^b, is, I believe, what has introduced the notion of explaining some parts at least of his narration into apologue and fable. The shadow of allegory seems to give us some appearance of knowing what we do not plainly understand ; and an unexamined hearsay of eastern sages, their mythology and literature, amuses us with a colour of being very learned, whilst perhaps we really mistake the rise and design of the very literature we have recourse to, in endeavouring to resolve into it Moses's narration, which most evidently sets before us particulars absolutely incapable of admitting any allegorical interpretation whatsoever.

That the great point of which Moses informs us is of this

^a The writers of the Universal History soon after began to publish their work ; and after their account of the creation, gave us, as I hoped they would, what they could collect of the

Fall of Man. See my preface to vol. i. p. xx.

^b See Middleton's allegorical and literal interpretation.

sort, absolutely incompatible with allegory, is, I think, evident beyond contradiction^c: and I hope the ensuing pages may as clearly shew of every part of what he has related upon the subject, that taken literally to be done, as he has recorded it, the whole very pertinently agreeing to the great design of all subsequent Scripture, must shew us that, in all that *happened* unto our first parents, nothing befell them improper for their being unto us *for ensamples*^d; and that the account we have of them, so far from being mythic or unintelligible, is most plainly *written for our admonition*; that we may indeed learn from it, in what manner and measure from the beginning it was, as it still is, *the one thing needful* for man truly and indeed to obey God. *All Scripture is given by inspiration of God; and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works*^e. If, in explaining Moses's narration of *the fall literally*, we can shew it to bear evidently all these characters of holy writ, as I trust from what is to follow it will be seen to bear them, we shew what must be of more real weight for a *literal* interpretation than all that is otherwise suggested against it.

But though what I have here intimated, and have further evinced in the ensuing treatise, will make it evident that Moses did not here write apologue and fables; whether what I am going to suggest be certain fact or not, yet it may not be disagreeable to the reader to remark, that the relating mythologically physical or moral truths concerning the origin and nature of things, was not perhaps, as modern writers too hastily imagine, the customary practice of Moses's age; but rather began after his times. The poet's rule may be a very good one to judge even of the style and manner of authors;

Ætatis cujusque notandi sunt tibi mores. Hor.

And a few intimations may possibly shew us, that a due use of it may not be altogether of no effect in the inquiry before us.

The wisdom of the east country, and its eastern sages, were in high esteem in the days of Solomon^f: but it is observed at the same time, that the wisdom of Egypt stood in competition with it^g: there were then western sages as well as eastern; and how readily *eastern sages* flows from the

^c See hereafter, ch. xi.

^d 1 Cor. x. 11.

^e 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

^f 1 Kings iv. 30.

^g Ibid.

pen of modern writers, as far as I can find, we must go to the western ones for the rise of mythologic writing. Mythology began in Egypt: it was new and recent there in the times of Sanchoniatho; the νεώτατοι ιερολόγων, the priests, who at that time were most modern, had then invented and introduced it^h. Sanchoniatho flourished about A. M. 2760ⁱ: Moses died A. M. 2553^k: in the interval of these 217 years, we have reason to suppose the rise of mythology.

It is remarkable, that in this interval the correction of the year was made in Egypt, when Aseth was king there^l. Aseth, or Assis, was the sixth Pastor king, the second after Apophis, who perished at the exit of the Israelites in the Red sea, A. M. 2513^m. Assis began to reign at the end of 50 years after the death of Apophisⁿ, i. e. A. M. 2563^o; the correction of the year was not until after the beginning of his reign; in what time of it we are not told; he reigned 40 years^p: we may well place it towards his death^q, about

^h When Sanchoniatho made his inquiries, we are told that οἱ μὲν νεώτατοι τῶν ιερολόγων τὰ μὲν γεγονότα πράγματα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπεπέμψαντο ἀλληγορίας καὶ μύθους ἐπινοήσαντες, καὶ τοῖς κοσμοκοῖς παθήμασι συγγένειαν πλασάμενοι μυστήρια κατέστησαν, καὶ πολλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπήγον τύφον, ὡς μὴ βραδίως τινὰ συνορᾶν τὰ κατ' ἀλήθειαν γενόμενα. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 9.

ⁱ Sanchoniatho flourished πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων, καὶ σχεδὸν τοῖς Μωσέως. Euseb. *ibid.* Troy was taken, according to archbishop Usher, A. M. 2820. according to the Arundel marble 2796. Agreeably hereto Sanchoniatho is said to have conversed with Jerombaal, a priest of the god Jevoh, in or near Phœnicia. The country of the Jews was often taken as a part of Phœnicia. The four letters of the word Jehovah may easily be so pointed as to be pronounced Jehvoh. Gideon, who was also called Jerubbaal, Judges vi. 32. was a prophet, a ruler, a great deliverer of his people, under the especial direction of this God, whose name was Jehovah, יהוה, Judges vi—viii. With the heathens, and in the most ancient times, the ruler was also priest unto his people; see Connect. vol. ii. b. vi. so that they might naturally deem Jerubbaal a priest of the god 'Ιεύω, Jehvoh, as they pronounced it, from his having been appointed by Jehovah

to rule and govern his people. Mr. Dodwell indeed wrote a treatise to prove Sanchoniatho not to have been thus ancient: but I cannot apprehend his endeavours to be at all conclusive. Take Jerombaal to be Gideon, and Gideon to have ended his war against Midian about A. M. 2760. (see Usher's Annals,) about that time Sanchoniatho might have access to him.

^k See Connect. vol. iii. book xii. p. 229.

^l Αἰγυπτίων ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀσῆθ—τοῦ δὲ κόσμου [ἔτει] γψις· οὗτος προσέθηκε τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν τὰς ε' ἐπαγομένας· καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ, ὡς φασι, ἐχρημάτισεν τξέ' ἡμερῶν Αἰγυπτιακὸς ἐνιαυτὸς, τξ' ἰμόνων πρὸ τούτου μετρούμενος. Syncellus, p. 123. According to Syncellus, Aseth lived about A. M. 2716. According to sir John Marsham, we must place him 2665. See Connect. vol. ii. book viii p. 450. But from the years of the Egyptian kings, as I deduce them, see vol. iii. p. 185, his times are from 2563, to 2603.

^m See Connect. vol. iii. b. xi. p. 185, 188.

ⁿ *Ibid.* p. 185.

^o The reign of Janius, the intermediate king between Apophes and Assis, or Aseth, brings us to begin Assis's reign at this year.

^p *Ibid.*

^q Connect. vol. ii. b. viii.

perhaps A. M. 2600^r, which is about 47 years after the death of Moses^s; 22 years after the death of Joshuat.

The fable that is handed down to us, along with the account of their correction of the year, very significantly points out that their mythology took its rise from this incident. They now found out that there were five days in the year more than they had thought of^u, and they mythologized that five gods were now born, Osiris, Orus, Typho; Isis, and Nephthe^x. They could not mean that these personages now first began to be; for they had been, ages before, mighty and renowned princes in their country; but they now first ascribed to them a rule and influence over all things sub-lunary, by supposing each to be the governing power in some star, thought to be animated by them. The dog-star was reputed the orb of Isis^y; to the others were allotted, in like manner, their respective spheres^z; and the philosophy of the Egyptians at this time seems to have been exerted in such a lustration of their year,

—————ἐσκέψατο εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
 Ἀστέρης————— Aratus.

as to assign ruling influences of the stars over the several parts of it, and to suppose their ruling stars animated by those who had been the early founders and supporters of their states and cities. What their former theories had been, shall be mentioned presently. What I would here hint is, that they now fell into a way of thinking, which the Roman poet took up afterwards to make his court to Germanicus Cæsar;

Cæsar's arma canant alii, nos Cæsar's aras,
 Et quoscunque sacris addidit ille dies. *Ovid. Fast. lib. i.*

They consecrated, and placed over their times and seasons, the venerable personages of their most ancient ancestors, who had laid the early foundations of all the Egyptian glory and prosperity; and they hoped, that if they with proper rites worshipped gods so auspicious,

—————felix totus ut annus eat, *Ovid. ubi sup.*

^r Assis died 2603. Vide quæ sup. . Connect. Pref. to vol. i.

^s Moses died 2553.

^x Connect. vol. ii. b. viii. p. 449.

^t Joshua died A. M. 2578. Connect. vol. iii. b. xii. p. 314.

^y Upon the pillar of Isis was inscribed, Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἀστρῷ τῷ Κυνὶ ἐπιτέλλουσα. Diodor. Sic. lib. i.

^u The Egyptian year was now first computed to be 365 days, being before reckoned 360 only. Syncellus ubi sup.

^z Connect. vol. ii. b. viii.

that ages of all national happiness might be renewed to them.

What had been the more ancient Egyptian theology, the inquiries of Sanchoniatho declare to us: he, having examined their ancient records, and set aside all the mythology that had been induced, gave us their true ancient dogmata^a; and what he has left us evinces that their doctrines were, that the origin of things happened from principles of nature effectuating, without choice or intelligence, what blindly by a mechanical event of things arose from them^b. He talks indeed of a τὸ πνεῦμα, what we might think to call a *spirit*; tells us, that it was in love with its own principles^c: but his *spirit* was such an one as a modern author exhibits to us; a spirit, “which, clothed with one
“set of material organs, is only capable of exerting its intelligence in the performance of attraction or repulsion,
“and, when jarring elements meet, breaks forth in thunder
“and lightning, and earthquakes, or any other mechanical operations; but may, when united to a different set of
“organs of a more exquisite and delicate contexture, be capable of exercising voluntary motion, may be enabled to
“think and to reason, to operate in love or hatred, and,
“when provoked by opposition, may be agitated with anger
“and resentment, and break forth in quarrels, contention,
“and war^d.” The Egyptian τὸ πνεῦμα, which generated all things, was an original, like this author’s *spirit*, unto which though Sanchoniatho ascribes operating principles, yet he expressly tells us they were insensate^e, and sometimes caused jarring elements, and broke forth in lightning and thunders^f; and, what is very wonderful, he also opined that these unintelligent operating powers produced some animal beings, which, being alive, but having no thought, procreated other beings that had both life and intelligences. These later productions must be surely conceived, like the *spirit* of our modern writer above cited, to have kindled

^a Ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐρεθέσιον ἀποκρύφοις Ἀμμουνέων γραμμασι συγκειμένους, ἃ δὴ οὐκ ἦν πᾶσι γνώριμα, τὴν μάθησιν ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ἥσκησε· καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεὶς τῇ πραγματείᾳ, τὸν κατ’ ἀρχὰς μῦθον, καὶ τὰς ἀλληγορίας ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενος, ἐξηνύσατο τὴν πρόθεσιν. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 9.

^b Id. Ibid. c. 10.

^c Ἡράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν. Id. ibid.

^d Essay on Spirit, p. 24, 25.

^e Ἐγένετο σύγκρασις ἢ πλοκή ἐκείνη

ἐκλήθη ΠΟΘΟΣ· αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἀπάντων· αὐτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὐτοῦ κτίσιν. Αὐτὸ, if the reader consults the place, he will see it refers to τὸ πνεῦμα preceding. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 10. in princip.

^f Ἐπειδὴν διεκρίθη, καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου τόπου διεχωρίσθη διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου πύρωσιν, καὶ πάντα συνήνηθησε πάλιν ἐν ἀέρι τάδε τοῖς δὲ καὶ συνέραξαν, βρονταὶ τε ἀπετελέσθησαν καὶ ἀστραπαὶ. Euseb. ibid.

^g Ἦν δὲ τινα ζῶα οὐκ ἔχοντα αἴθησιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῶα νοερά. Id. ibid.

into cogitation, by having bodies unaccountably formed to strike out this flame, and without which they could have made no collisions of a finer nature than what might cause the voice of thunder, and the flashes of lightning, to be heard and seen from them. These were the ancient dogmata of Egypt^h; and it is not so great a wonder they were so, considering the low state of their rudiments of knowledge: but that any writer should think of offering sentiments of this sort in an age of philosophy so clear and intelligible as all, who know philosophy, are now versed in, is, I confess, to me most amazing.

But this, as I have said, was, before Moses's age, the wisdom of Egypt: *Atheistic, sine Deo*ⁱ, supposing the world to have been made and governed without a God, by blind and unintelligent principles of nature; and their worship and religion was according to it. But Moses, though *learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*^k, was also better instructed; and taught, in opposition to the Egyptian literature, that *in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth*, and that *without him was not any thing made that was made*^l. And the God, whom Moses had thus declared, had most amazingly exalted his power against all the gods and religion of Egypt, by bringing his people, a nation, out of the midst of and from under their subjection to the Egyptians, by such *signs and wonders*, by such a *mighty hand and stretched-out arm*; by such amazing miracles, and entire overthrow of all the strength of Egypt, that if it were asked *of the days that were past, since the day that God created man upon earth, no such thing as this great thing had ever been, nor any thing heard like it*^m. Egypt was destroyed, greatly diminished, and brought low; its king and armies overwhelmed and lost in the Red seaⁿ; six hundred thousand slaves, besides women and children, had left this country, the Egyptians not being able in the least to oppose it. Where now, and what were the gods of Egypt? their elementary powers, or sidereal influences? Was it not too plain to be contradicted, that there was a power that ruled in the hea-

^h Ταῦθ' εὐρέθη ἐν τῇ κοσμογονίᾳ γεγραμμένα Ταύτων. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.

ⁱ See Connect. vol. ii. b. ix. It may be thought surprising that it should; but philosophy seems to have begun upon these blind principles in all countries. It appears to have been the old way of those of the first world, who perished in the flood, see Job xxii. 15—17. And in later ages, after the

deluge, the Greeks, copying after the first rudiments of Egypt, long philosophized, without supposing any intelligence to have made or govern the world. Anaxagoras is said to have introduced this principle: *πρῶτος τῆ ἕλη Νοῦν ἐπέστησεν*. Lært. in Anaxag.

^k Acts vii. 22.

^l Gen. i. 1. See hereafter, ch. i.

^m Deut. iv. 32—34.

ⁿ Exod. x. 7. xii. 29, 30. xiv.

vens, far mightier than they, who disposed of them as he pleased, and was able to do of himself whatsoever he would have done in the earth? Should the Egyptians that remained turn and inquire, and seek after to serve this God; would not state-policy, which always has and always will try to work its way, notwithstanding religion, have herein prevented them, and offered it to their consideration, whether, if they took this course, the Israelites might not *come and take away their place and nation*? It seems better to have satisfied them, to correct their year, and reform their own system; and what more likely reform of their religion might they fall into, than now to consider, that unquestionably they had been wrong in supposing elements to govern the course of nature, without a personal agent ruling in them? But, conceiving the Israelites to have their God, they reputed every nation to have its own^o, and, looking back to their most early progenitors, who had been *the glories of their times*, and under whom had been laid all the foundations of their public and private happiness, they opined them, after they had left the earth, to have taken their orbs, to govern and influence the things below, in some element, star, or sphere above, from heaven. The Greeks thus reputed Astræa, after long labours on earth, to do good to mortals, to have at last left the world, to give her light from the constellation called Virgøp. And we find it an ancient apophthegm of the Egyptians, that their most ancient kings, who had prosperously governed them, were divine^q; accordingly they now canonized these, and endeavoured to devote and consign themselves to their protection.

That mythology came in upon this alteration of their theology, is obviously evident: for the mingling the history of these men when mortals, with what came to be ascribed to them when gods, would naturally occasion it. And of this sort we generally find the *mythoi* told of them^r. I will go no further at this time into this topic, although I might much enlarge upon it, by considering how mythology spread

^o Micah iv. 5. 2 Kings xviii. 33—

35. ^p "Ἐπτα θ' ὑπουρανίη, ταύτην δ' ἄρα νάσσετο χώραν

^q Ἠχί περ ἐννυχίη ἔτι φαίνεται ἀνθρώποισι. Aratus Phœn. v. 134.

Thus the Egyptian heroes departed: τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς λάμπειν ἄστρα. Vid. Plut. de Iside et Osirid.

^r Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ψάμμωνος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ φιλοσόφου διακούσας ἀποδέξασθαι μάλιστα τῶν λεχθέντων, ὅτι πάντες ἄνθρω-

ποι βασιλεύοντα ὑπὸ θεοῦ· τὸ γὰρ ἄρχον ἐν ἐκάστω καὶ κρατοῦν θεῖόν ἐστιν. Plutarch. in Alexand. p. 680. F.

^r The Egyptians having called their heroes by the names of their sidereal and elementary deities, added to the history of the life and actions of such heroes a mythological account of their philosophical opinions concerning the gods whose names had also been given to such heroes, &c. See Connect. vol. ii. b. viii.

from Egypt into Phœnicia; was indeed a little checked by the inquiries of Sanchoniatho, but soon obtained again to be grafted upon his philosophy^s, infected even the Israelites, when, in their defection from their worship of the true God, they *took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of the god Remphan*^t; how it travelled into Greece, where new fables were invented, and added to the more ancient ones; and these varied, in different ages^u, until they grew too gross for philosophy to bear them, and occasioned those who speculated upon them to think many of them only tales of poets, to please and take the minds of the vulgar, although they saw in some a deeper and recondite meaning, which they endeavoured to explore and interpret, as their traditions furnished tenets for the solution of them. But having hinted that, in fact, the writings of Egypt, in Moses's age, were

^s Ἔως πάλιν οἱ ἐπιγεγόμενοι ἱερεῖς χρονοῖς ὑστερον ἠθέλησαν αὐτήν [i. e. πρόθεσιν beforegoing] ἀποκρίψαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ μυθῶδες ἀποκαταστήσαι. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 9.

^t The Israelites' worship of the calf at Horeb was in imitation of the Sacra of the Egyptians; for the Egyptians had consecrated animals to their sidereal and elementary divinities before the Israelites left them. See Connect. vol. iii. b. xi. vol. ii. b. viii. But St. Stephen, Acts vii. 43. does not say that they worshipped Moloch and Remphan in the wilderness; but, after the 40 years in the wilderness were over, at the expiration of which they came into Canaan, they were after this given up to worship these gods, who were hero gods of some of the countries round about them.

^u The Πόθος of Taautus, the blind mechanical principle so called by the Egyptian naturalists, became the Ἔρος of the mythologists, not meaning by that word, Cupid, the blind god of love; for this god of love is not named, or is, if mentioned, called Ἴμερος in Homer, never Ἔρος or Ἐρως: and Hesiod also names him Ἴμερος, and describes him to belong to Venus, and not to be Ἔρος. For of Venus or Cytherea he says,

Τῇ δ' Ἔρος ὠμάρτησέ καὶ Ἴμερος ἔσπετο καλός. Hesiod. Theog. v. 201.

Eros himself was not the blind and inconstant boy unto whom later fables ascribed a presidency over the

Res solliciti plena timoris amor—
Ovid.

over the fickle passion which admits, as Terence tells us, *neque consilium neque modum*, &c. but Eros was in the beginning from Chaos and Tellus, like Πόθος in Sanchoniatho, and is described,

—Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,

Λυσιμελῆς, πάντων τε θεῶν, πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων

Δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν. Hesiod. Theog. v. 120.

Eros, in the natural system called Πόθος, was the principle that brought things into the harmony of order out of chaos or confusion; and the person feigned by the fabulists to be this deity, was some eminent personage, who had excelled in ability to temper and moderate the minds of men; who had governed himself, and greatly taught others to have peace in themselves, and to live in peace and harmony with other persons. And that love should follow after, wherever such a person is acquainted with Venus, the goddess of all elegance and beauty, is no unreasonable supposition: but whether this *mythos* was more antique than Hesiod, I am uncertain; I think we find nothing like it in Homer: he supposes Venus to be the goddess, who subjected unto love both mortals and immortals; and Ἴμερος, whom Hesiod makes a person, is like φιλότης in Homer, not a proper name, but generally, I think always, a common noun. Hom. Il. ξ. 197, &c.

only plain narrations, as they conceived things to have been caused by operations of nature exerting themselves without any intelligent being creating and directing them; and that Moses, contrary hereto, set forth as plainly that there was a God, who created and governed all things; that in opposition hereto the heathen nations, not acknowledging the one God, and yet brought to think that agencies without intelligence could not be the powers that ruled the world, set up *gods many*, and those such gods that fable and mythology naturally arose from the institution of them, and consequently had their rise not until Moses's system was thus opposed, not until after his days; although I cannot herein pretend to any certainty of demonstration, yet, I think, I may venture to say, nothing so probable as what I have offered can be collected from any remains of antiquity to contradict it.

The objections I have replied to in the ensuing treatise are taken chiefly from Dr. Burnet, sometime Master of the Charter-House. He appears to have given us the substance of what can be offered against the literal interpretation: other writers do but copy after him: Dr. Middleton, I think, improves not any point he took from him. One indeed he states in a manner something different from Dr. Burnet; I will here consider it as Dr. Middleton represents it.

Dr. Middleton suggests to us, that it is not possible for any mortal "to give an historical narration, to describe the " particular manner, order, and time, in which, or the materials, out of which, this world and its principal inhabitant man were formed: that were any writer to pretend to it, we should apply to him what was said by God to Job, " *Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? declare, if thou hast understanding*^x. And we should think " the same of him, which Job confesseth of himself, that " he had *uttered what he understood not; things too wonderful for him, which he knew not*^y: we should conclude at once, " that the whole, which the wisest of men could write upon " the subject, must be the mere effect of fancy and imagination."—"From the nature of the story itself, we should " readily conclude, that no writer whatsoever could be so " sufficiently informed as to be able to give an historical " narration of it, or could have authority enough to make " it pass for such with any judicious reader^z." Dr. Middleton introduces the suggestion, not pretending directly to say that Moses could not possibly, supposing him an inspired

^x Job xxxviii. 4.

^y Job xlii. 3.

^z See Middleton's *Examinat.* p. 128.
Burnet's *Archæol.* p. 284.

writer, give an authentic account of the facts related by him; but desiring to have the reader weigh and consider what he would reasonably think of such facts so related, if the relator was believed not to have the warrant of a real revelation from God of the matters declared by him^r. What argument can be drawn from what he thus offers seems to me very obscure. The Apostle tells us, that *through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God^a*. He herein evidently refers to the Mosaic history. That the worlds were not eternal, but were made by the power of God, may be demonstrated from the reason and nature of things; but that God *spake the word, and they were made; commanded, and they were created^b*; that they were not made, without the word spoken by him; not made by the immediate purpose of his will; but that he *said*, Let them be, and they were so^c; as also that things did not instantly, all at once, take their being, as he might design them, but in six days were in their several orders *framed and fashioned, day by day*, such in every day as he was pleased to appoint, *when before there were none of them*; this we may have no reason to *believe^d* but upon the authority of Moses's history. And

^r Let us take a review of the story, as if it had been told us by Sancho-niatho. Middleton's Examinat. p. 128.

^a Heb. xi. 3.

^b Psalm cxlviii. 5. See xxxiii. 6, 9.

^c Gen. i. 3, 6, 11, 14, 20, 24, &c.

^d Nothing would give us so clear a view of the Apostle's reasoning in the 11th chapter to the Hebrews, as the carefully observing his distinction and definition of the word *faith*. *Faith*, he tells us, ver. 1. *is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen*. The word we translate *substance* is *ὑπόστασις*: how we came here to render it *substance*, is not easy to say: as derived from *ὑπὸ* and *ἵστημι*, it may signify what the logicians define *substance*, *res subsistens et substans accidentibus*; but *faith*, an act of the mind, is no such *substance*. There is a passage in the New Testament, which may lead us to render this place more pertinently. St. Paul tells us, 2 Cor. ix. 4. of the *ὑπόστασις* of his boasting: here we render the word *the confidence*. The apostle assuredly believed his boasting not to be groundless, and this *assured belief* he called *ὑπόστασις*. In this we have a clear meaning: *faith* is this *assurance*, an undoubting persuasion of the things hoped for. The Apostle adds, that it is

the evidence, ἔλεγχος, what argues to us *things not seen*. We are apt to be very indistinct in our notions of faith. In common speech we often take *faith* and *knowledge* the one for the other: the believing a thing upon good testimony, and the knowing it, are in a general acceptance reputed one and the same thing. But the Scriptures shew us a real difference between *faith* and *knowledge*: they are not the same attainments; for we are exhorted to add the one to the other: *Add*, says St. Peter, *to your faith knowledge*, 2 Pet. i. 5. *Faith* is the believing *things not seen*, not known to ourselves, but declared to us, and believed upon testimony that they are true. We are capable of information, without the testimony of others, two ways; by our senses, and by our understandings: things external strike our senses, and we immediately know what impressions we receive of them; and we have an ability of mind to see and compare our thoughts of things, and to form a judgment what to conclude of them. In this sense divers things, which, literally speaking, are *invisible*, may in the language of St. Paul be said to be *clearly seen, being understood*, Rom. i. 20. We have a knowledge, an intuition of

now shall we ask the question, What if we set aside all consideration of the authority of Moses, and suppose what is written by him as if written by Sanchoniatho, or any other ancient sage who wrote uninspired what he apprehended to be true, agreeably to his own sentiments of things? I answer: It will unquestionably follow, such sage not being infallible, if there be many as possible ways, in which the things related by him might have been done, besides the particular one he has adopted, we may have no reason to believe the particulars declared by him, exclusive of all others. But I see no point hence gained towards infidelity; because the authority of the inspired writer not being destroyed, but only, for argument's sake, put aside out of the question, *the foundation of God remaineth still sure*; the authority of the inspired writer, whenever we look back to it, brings its force along with it, to assure us that what is declared by such writer must be true, and ought to be believed by us. Our disputant therefore seems to me to be contriving rather how to beguile us, than substantially to confute us. To be desired, for argument's sake, to lay aside the authority of sacred writ, to examine how far the truth of what is declared, is such, that by reason alone, without other authority, we may prove it, is a specious proposal: but if, upon such examination, we find of the matter inquired after, that, had it not been authentically related to have been done in a particular manner, many other ways might be conceived, in which it might as reasonably have been effectuated, if we will not here reassume the authority of the relation made to us, to give it its just weight to determine our *belief*, we cannot be said to be reasoned out of our *faith*; for we inconsiderately give it up, without any reason for our so doing.

For man to tell how human life began
Is hard; for who himself beginning knew?

Milton's Parad. Lost, b. viii.

For man to pretend further to speak of his own actual knowledge of things done and past, before he had any being, is in the nature of the thing impossible; but for Adam, during

them in our mind, from our clear reasonings upon them, without information of them from another: but *faith* is not of this sort; *faith cometh by hearing*, Rom. x. 17. It is the belief of what we do not know of ourselves, but are assured is known by some other, and declared to us: and if we

would accurately distinguish between belief in the general, and that faith which is our religious concern, in the one we believe things which are testified to be known by men to be true; in the other we believe things that are well testified to have been declared from God.

the space of a life of above 900 years^e, to recollect all that he had experienced, from the time that he had a knowledge of his being; to conceive him to have had revelations from the voice of God, of all that God thought fit should be made known unto men; of his creation of the heavens and the earth, and of all the host and creatures of them; for Adam frequently to inculcate to his children all he thus knew; for authentic narrations of these things to have come down from before the flood to the posterities that were afterwards^f; and to have been, when Moses wrote his history, no such obsolete remains as we now may be apt to think them; are things in themselves not at all improbable.

From Adam unto Abraham, considering the then duration of men's lives, is, comparatively speaking, no greater length for even tradition, than from our father's grandfather unto us^g. Abraham lived to A. M. 2183^h, to see Jacob, the father of Joseph, about 15 years oldⁱ. Jacob had from his youth up been a diligent inquirer into, and observer of, the hopes^k and *fear* of his fathers^l, and had himself many revelations from God^m. He came down unto Joseph, and lived with him in Egypt seventeen years before he diedⁿ, and lived there full of the hope of the *promises*, and died in the belief of them^o; and left Joseph as fully embracing them, and persuaded of them, and testifying them unto his brethren when he also died^p. Joseph lived to see his son Ephraim's children of the third generation^q; and Moses was not lower than in the third generation from Levi^r. The father of Moses must have been well known personally to Joseph. Put these things together, and we may reasonably admit all that had been believed from the beginning in this family might have come down unto Moses so authentically testified, that all that he wrote of, from the creation to his own times, might unquestionably be received by his brethren and fathers as well warranted to be true. And agreeably hereto we find, that, notwithstanding all the oppositions he had from his Israelites, enow surely, during the whole forty years he had the charge of them^s, to make it

^e Adam lived 930 years, Gen. v. 5.

^f There might be among the faithful before the flood more express revelations than have come down to our times. Bishop of London's Dissert. ii. p. 237. See Jude, ver. 14. See Connect. vol. i. b. i.

^g See hereafter, ch. viii.

^h Connect. vol. ii. b. vi. p. 281.

ⁱ Jacob was born A. M. 2168. vol. ii. b. vii. p. 337.

^k Ibid. p. 384, &c.

^l Gen. xxxi. 53.

^m Ch. xxviii. xxxii. xxxv. &c.

ⁿ Ch. xlvii. 28.

^o He prophesied of them to his sons very largely, Gen. xlviii. xlix. 29.

^p Gen. i. 24.

^q Ver. 23.

^r 1 Chron. vi. 1—3.

^s See Connect. vol. iii. b. xii. p. 242, &c.

plain, that they were not a people disposed implicitly to believe him, but rather, wherever they could find the least pretence for it, most zealously asserting a liberty to gainsay and contradict him; notwithstanding, in all he had related to them from the creation to his becoming their leader, we have not any one hint that they disbelieved it in any one particular at all.

But, should I here rest this matter, and suppose Moses's history of the creation and fall to have no greater authority than what can be given it from its being reasonable to believe he might write it merely from the records of his fathers, I should most egregiously trifle; for, let but the conduct of Moses, what he said, and what he wrote, and what he did, be considerably examined, and it will appear beyond a possibility of contradiction, that God himself was in many things his infallible director^t: and if God was his director in other parts of his writings, what reason can we have to think he was not so from the beginning? In the history of the fall, Moses writes so emphatically, that one person should be descended from the woman, to be the capital subduer of the great enemy of mankind^u; he limited this person to be of the seed of Abraham^x; of Isaac^y; of the tribe of Judah^z; that *flesh and blood* only could not have assured him 1500 years beforehand that thus it should be^a. But the things he thus foretold were accomplished in a miraculous manner, when *the fulness of their time was come*: the prediction then, and the fulfilling it, bear an undeniable testimony to each other. Nothing but the immediate power of God could have brought to pass the things foretold, in the manner in which they were accomplished, so that the particular accomplishment of them could be none other than the work of God; and as no one could foresee what God would thus do, but *the spirit of God*^b; so no man beforehand could say of these things, that they should so be, unless it had been revealed from God.

Contrary to what the Scriptures inform us, and which I have had occasion to mention, that our Saviour was a descendant from David, Dr. Middleton would seem to argue that he was not really of the tribe of Judah; but rather of the tribe of Levi. I need not go through a long detail of what he offers; the whole of it may be comprised in a few particulars. 1. He observes that Joseph, the husband of

^t See Connect. vol. iii. b. xii. p. 231—256.

^u See hereafter, ch. xi.

^x Ibid. See Gen. xxii. 18.

^y Gen. xxi. 12.

^z Ch. xlix. 10.

^a Matth. xvi. 17.

^b 1 Cor. ii. 11.

Mary the mother of Jesus, was only the reputed father of our Saviour; he says our Saviour had really no share or participation of his blood^c. And yet, 2. that the Evangelists, whenever they deduce his pedigree, shew him to have been the son of David, by a line up from Joseph only^d. 3. That they never say that Mary the mother of Jesus, through whom alone his real genealogy could come from David, was descended of David^e. 4. That their silence herein seems to make it probable that Mary was not of such descent. 5. That Mary is observed to be the *cousin of Elisabeth*^f, and that Elisabeth being of the daughters of Aaron^g, Mary her cousin was most probably of the same tribe, namely, of the tribe of Levi, and not of the tribe of Judah^h. The answer to this is, 1. The Evangelists are particularly careful to observe, that Jesus was not descended from Joseph his reputed fatherⁱ. 2. Their deducing Joseph's pedigree from David was purely to remove the prejudices of the Jews. The Jews at first would look no further than to consider Jesus as the carpenter's son^k, and were scandalized at the meanness of his birth^l; thought him a fellow of so low an extraction, that there was no saying whence he was^m. Contrary to these their prevailing sentiments, the Evangelists, at the same time not concealing or disguising the truth, that Jesus really was of Godⁿ, that Joseph was only his supposed father; nevertheless took care to shew, that had his genealogy been, as they imagined, to be reckoned by or through Joseph, even thus also he would have been the son of David: and this either of the two ways in which the Jews counted their pedigrees: in one they reckoned the son to belong to the parent who begat him; in the other, where a man died without issue^o, and his brother or next of kin married the widow, and raised up seed to the deceased, the seed raised up was counted not to the real father who begat him, but to the deceased who died without issue^p. And this is allowed to have occasioned the difference between St. Matthew's and St. Luke's genealogies^q: both which considered were evidence to the Jews, that, although they were obstinate and would reckon our Saviour's descent through Joseph, yet even here, count which way they would, the ge-

^c Remarks on the Variations in the Evangelists, p. 29.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid. p. 30.

^f Luke i. 36.

^g Ver. 5.

^h It needs not be remarked, that David was of the tribe of Judah.

ⁱ Matth. i. 18—25. Luke i. 35. iii. 23.

^k Matth. xiii. 55.

^l Ibid.

^m John ix. 29.

ⁿ Vide quæ sup.

^o Deut. xxv. 5.

^p Ver. 6.

^q Matth. i. Luke iii.

nealogy would come up to David. But, 3. why was not the descent of Mary, of whom alone our Saviour's genealogy could truly come from David, as expressly said to be from that patriarch, as Joseph's? I answer, it was. St. Luke tells us, in recording the angel's salutation of Mary, that the son to be born of her should have the throne of his father David; so that he recognizes David to be the progenitor of Jesus: he immediately after allows that this child was to be born of Mary, without her knowing man^r. If he had not before hinted of the child thus to be born, that by his mother he was a descendant of David, his narration would evidently be a contradiction to itself: but this the Evangelist had sufficiently guarded against in plainly telling us, before he begins the salutation, that the *angel Gabriel was sent to a virgin of the house of David*^s. The words, *espoused to a man, whose name was Joseph*, inserted between *virgin*—and *of the house of David*^t, may be a parenthesis, indicating that *of the house of David* should not be attributed to Joseph: for, as I have observed, the sense and argument of the whole context must lead us to think otherwise; as indeed does also the manner of the expression: for as the genealogies of the Jews were deduced in the male line, it is most reasonable to think, that if the Evangelist had here intended what he said to be understood of Joseph, his expression would have been, as he elsewhere says of him, *of the house and lineage of David*^u; but women, though not said to be of the lineage, being with propriety recorded to be *of the house of their fathers*^x, the expression concurs with the reason of the narration, that the Evangelist herein spake of Mary only. But, 4. why was not this point more frequently, more clearly, more largely insisted upon? I answer; Because it was a point doubted by none, but allowed by all: it was, St. Paul tells us, *πρόδηλον, manifest*, without controversy, *that our Lord sprang of the tribe of Judah*^y. How sprang of that tribe? by his father Joseph? This the Apostles denied: it must then be thus undisputed, by the descent of Mary only. For, 5. as to what is said of Elisabeth being cousin to Mary, and therefore, Elisabeth being of the tribe of Levi^z, that Mary also was of that tribe; this way of arguing, for any one of letters to make use of it is a most indefensible trifling. It can have weight

^r Luke i. 32, 35.

^s Ver. 27.

^t The words of the text are, *προς πάρθενον, μεμνηστευμένην ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ, ἐξ οἴκου Δαβίδ*. An obstinate critic may fight this battle, but I apprehend ἐξ οἴκου Δαβίδ to belong to

πάρθενον.

^u Luke ii. 4.

^x Psalm xlv. 10. Gen. xxiv. 40. et in al. loc.

^y Heb. vii. 14.

^z Luke i. 5.

only with a mere English reader, who possibly may be deceived by the common acceptance of our English word *cousin*. The word used by the Evangelist is *συγγενής*^a: St. Paul uses the same, where he tells us of his *great heaviness* and *continual sorrow of heart* for his *brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh*, his *συγγενῶν κατὰ σάρκα*^b. Who they were that stood in this relation to him he informs us very clearly: they were not those of the tribe of Benjamin, his own tribe, only^c; but they were all the Israelites^d, all to whom pertained the adoption, the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law; the promises, unto which all their twelve tribes hoped to come^e: so that it is most evident that the relation specified between Mary and Elisabeth, in the word *cousin*, or *συγγενής*, did not at all mean that they were both of the same tribe, but that they were children of the same people; both of them Israelites of one and the same stock, namely, *of the stock of Abraham*^f. The reader cannot but see, that in this argument Dr. Middleton descended below every notion we can have of a man of learning, to *invent an expedient to puzzle* (to such readers as might not be able to consider the texts cited by him, in their original language) the most clear and allowed truths concerning our Saviour, of which he could not but know no real argument could be formed to contradict them: and this he came down to (what induced him I will not take upon me to determine) at a season of life, when he stood upon the very threshold of immortality.

The principles, which I have made the foundation of the following treatise, are, that *human reason* was not originally a sufficient guide for man, without some express revelation from God; and that positive precepts given by God, however we may be apt to conclude of them, from their not appearing intrinsically of real moment to the rectitude of our lives, are not therefore unreasonable and vain. The professed opposers of revelation must be herein unanimously against me: and some valuable writers, not apprehending a necessity, though allowing the expediency of a revelation, do not entirely think with me in these particulars. The reader will find their way of reasoning considered in the following pages^g. All I would here offer is, that if authority was of moment, I might cite even Dr. Middleton for me in these points. It is obvious to observe, that he knew there might

^a Luke i. 36. Ἐλισάβητ ἡ συγγενής σου.

^b Rom. ix. 3.

^c Ch. xi. 1.

^d Ch. ix. 4.

^e Acts xxvi. 7.

^f Ch. xiii. 26.

^g See chap. v.

be found "the testimony of all ages, the experience of all the great reasoners of the heathen world, that reason, *human reason alone*, had not light enough to guide mankind in a course of virtue and morality:"—that there was "such an universal conviction and experience," he says, "of the insufficiency of reason, as seemed to be the voice of nature disclaiming it, as a guide, in the case of religion^h." In like manner, treating of positive precepts, he deduces an argument from what may be observed of God's works; that "the wise of all ages have from the excellency of God's works collected the excellency of his nature: yet in those works all still agree that there are some particulars, not only whose nature, but whose use or reason of existence cannot be discovered by the most curious searchers into nature; nay, some things, which, considered separately, appear even noxious to the rest; all which, though not understood, are yet reasonably presumed to be good and perfect in their several kinds, and subservient to the general beauty and excellency of the whole systemⁱ." He proceeds: "It is full as unreasonable to charge all positive precepts supposed to come from God, whose use and relation to morality we cannot comprehend, to fraud and imposture; as in the visible works of God to impute every thing we do not understand, or even every thing that seems hurtful, to the contrivance of some malicious power opposite to the divine nature."—"As, on the one hand, we do not exclude from the catalogue of God's works all those particulars, in which we cannot trace the marks of divine wisdom; so, on the other, we cannot exclude from the body of his laws those few injunctions which seem not to have impressed on them the legible characters of morality^k."

In examining the text of Moses, I have proposed to the learned reader's disquisition, whether, in the 19th and 20th verses of the second chapter of Genesis, two words, *nepesh chajah*, have not been, by the mistake of transcribers, removed in the text from one line into another. The mistake is so easy to be made, and the true and clear meaning of the place is rendered so indisputable by allowing such a transposition, that I apprehend what I have suggested may perhaps carry its own vindication. If I had the opportunity, which a learned author is making a very commendable use

^h Letter to Dr. Waterland, edit. 8.
p. 49, 50.

ⁱ Id. p. 61.

^k Id. p. 62.

of^m, to search such manuscript copies as we have of the Hebrew Bible, I should very carefully have examined, whether any can be found which may justify my supposition. There are other texts I could name, which I would make a like inquiry into. I will mention two: one is the latter part of the 24th verse of the 49th chapter of Genesis. The inquiry should be, whether the words now printed **משם רעה** **בשם רעה אבן**, are not in any manuscript wrote, **אבן ישראל**, the supposed difference is in one letter only; whether the first letter in the first word be a *mem* or a *beth*; a difference so small, that a reader not very attentive may not see it; the least dash of a pen added or omitted (the letters are so similar) may make it the one or the other. The other text is Psalm cv. 28. *He sent darkness, and made it dark.* In our Bibles the translation of the latter part of the verse is, *and they rebelled not against his word.* The old version still used in our Common Prayer is, *and they were not obedient unto his word.* The two versions evidently contradict each other: the original words are printed **וּלְאָ מָרוּ דְבָרוֹ**. It would, I think, be of no moment to consider how the translators came thus to differ; the reader may see it by consulting the critics^o: I do not find any good way proposed for the bringing them to an agreement. Both the versions cannot be true; and it is therefore possible that neither may. I would hereupon inquire, whether what we make two words **מָרוּ**, **לְאָ מָרוּ**, and read *loa maru*, were not originally wrote in one word **לְאָמָרוּ**, to be read *læmoru*, the literal translation of the verse to be thus; *He sent darkness, and made it dark, and by his speaking his word.* In this correction we do not alter a letter: we only suppose what are now read in two words to be really but one, and we vowel the words to sound their syllables but very little differently in the one case or the other^p. But the fact alluded to being, that *God said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt.—And Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven, and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt*^q; and the intention of the Psalmist being to ascribe these miracles most expressly to the word of God; *he spake*, says he, *and there came divers*

^m See Kennicott's State of the printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament.

ⁿ The word is printed in the text **וּדְבָרוֹ**; but the marginal reference tells us it should be **דְבָרוֹ**.

^o Vide Poli Synops. in loc.

^p **לְאָ מָרוּ**. We read **לְאָמָרוּ**. We must punctuate the words instead of

לְאָמָרוּ **לְאָ מָרוּ**

^q Exod. x. 21, 22.

sorts of flies, and lice in all their coasts^r: again, *he spake, and the locusts came, &c*; both the manner of the Psalmist, and the clear meaning of the place, seem to lead us to the reading I am inquiring for.

I am sensible some very pious English readers may hastily conceive offence at every liberty of this sort: they will be ready to ask, May not a pretender to learning, at this rate, make what he will of our Bible? I answer, not at all; and may give a very plain sight, as it were, of the whole of this matter. Suppose our English tongue had been originally written, like the Hebrew, without inserting the vowels, which give us the sound of the syllables: let us consider the following paragraph; *He that taketh heed to the commandment offereth a peace-offering*^s. It may be seen, that if these words were to be written without vowels, the words *peace-offering* might be thus characterized, *p c f frng*: suppose, through some early mistake of transcribing, all printed copies had both divided erroneously these letters into words, and had not put the proper vowels under their respective letters; suppose the letters $\frac{p}{ie} \frac{c}{e}$, which make one word, had the vowels, being *ie e*, put under them as I have marked them; *ie* to be read between *p* and *e*, and *e* after *c*, a letter final; so as to read this word *piece*: suppose the first *f* was taken to be a word by itself, and *o* put under it to read it *of*; suppose $\frac{fr}{i} \frac{ng}{e}$ were voweled as I have underlined them; *i* to be sounded after *r*, *e* to be the final letter, the word to be thus read *fringe*; would any one rest satisfied to read the sentence, *He that taketh heed to the commandment offereth a piece of fringe*. And should any one shew that *of* is with the following letters but one word, and that the letters might be so voweled as to read *pc f fr ng*, a *peace offering*, would not the clear sense of the place vindicate this to be the true reading, and evince that the other, of what date soever, and how much soever followed, must be an error? and would any reasonable man be ready to think of him, that should offer so expressive an emendation, that it might be dangerous lest he should make the English tongue speak whatever he had a mind to, and not its certain and true meaning? I do not intend to insinuate that the case I have put exactly resembles either of our translations of the Psalmist above cited. It certainly does not, neither of our translations being in themselves absurd: and the Hebrew tongue is not so various in its number of words so far similar, as that instances can occur in it, such as may be in our English

^r Psalm cv. 31, 34.

^s Eccus. xxxv. 1.

if so written. But, although in the Hebrew the vowels put under the words in points may be necessary to pronunciation, to teach or remind us to give the word such syllables, and each syllable such sound, as the points put under them direct; yet, as such points were not originally in the sacred pages^t, so neither are they necessary to any one who tolerably knows the language, to ascertain to him the true meaning of a text; for if a word happens to be wrong punctuated, it may mislead him; and if it be not punctuated at all, the letters of the word, and the context, will better direct him to see the true meaning of the text, without any false bias to divert him from it.

The talking of various readings, transpositions of words, additions in some copies of the Scriptures, omissions in others, are indeed matters so managed by the artful, who desire to perplex and deceive, as to raise terrible appearances or apprehensions in the minds of the well-meaning, but unwary and unlearned; and I know of no writer that has endeavoured this point more unfairly than the late lord Bolingbroke: he roundly tells us, “that the Scriptures are “come down to us broken and confused, full of additions, “interpolations, and transpositions, made we neither know “when nor by whom; and such, in short, as never appeared “on the face of any other book, on whose authority men “have agreed to rely^u.” In another place he says, the Scriptures are “extracts of histories, not histories; extracts of “genealogies, not genealogies^x :” and, in a third place, that “it would not be hard to shew, upon great inducements of “probability, that the law and the history were far from “being blended together as they now stand in the Pentateuch, even from the time of Moses down to that of “Esdras^y.” It would not be decent in me to say how palpably untrue all these assertions are; the two last of them I some time ago considered very largely, and I hope with the utmost freedom and impartiality^z: and that the sacred books are far from having had a worse preservation than other ancient writings, has been unanswerably shewed by a more able hand, as far as concerns the New Testament^a; and should Mr. Kennicott proceed as he has began, and collate the manuscript and printed copies of the Old Testa-

^t See what the very learned dean Prideaux has wrote at large upon this subject, Connect. part i. b. v.

^u Of the Study of History, Letter iii. p. 95, 96.

^x Id. p. 102.

^y Id. pag. 100.

^z Preface to Connect. vol. iii. p. 16, &c.

^a Phileleuth. Lipsiens. p. i. p. 92—114.

ment, we should see the event come out in the one case, as it is known to have done in the other. Dr. Bentley would have told lord Bolingbroke, upon what he says of *additions, omissions, interpolations, variations, &c.* in the Scriptures, “that it filled him with disdain to see such common stuff brought in with an air of importance.” All his lordship offers has been before offered by even the lowest creatures of the unbelieving tribe; even the assertion his lordship seems to plume upon, that “the Scriptures would have been preserved entirely in their genuine purity, had they been entirely dictated by the Holy Ghost^b :” and they have been answered over and over^c.

These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel^d. It is commonly observed of this paragraph, that it could not be written until after there had been a king in Israel; until after the times of Saul, and consequently that it was not written by Moses. Suppose now that we can in no wise find out by whom it was written; admit that some private owner of a manuscript Pentateuch wrote it in the margin of his manuscript as a remark of his own, that a copier of such manuscript carelessly wrote it into the text of his transcript; is there any thing material in this interpolation? Must not the learned see the Scripture to be perfect without it, and can the unlearned see any detriment in having the observation? Of this sort are the interpolations so formidably talked of; they are very few in number, though said at random to be so many: and whatever apprehensions may be raised in the minds of the unlearned about them, nothing is more easy to be shewn, than that no point of our religion is materially affected by them at all.

But there are omissions in some texts of Scripture.—They who say this should produce their instances, deal openly and fairly with the world; let us see of what nature their objection is, that we may not be amused and alarmed where there is no reason. I will therefore give an instance or two, that even the unlearned reader may judge of this particular. In the 12th chapter of Exodus, ver. 40. we read, *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, (I should rather translate the Hebrew words, which they sojourned in the land of Egypt,) was four hundred and thirty years.* It is plain that the Israelites were not 430 years in Egypt, for

^b Lord Bolingbroke's Letter iii. p. 95. ^c See Phil. Lipsien. ^d Gen. xxxvi. 31.

they came into Egypt A. M. 2298^e, and their exit was A. M. 2513^f; so that their sojourning in Egypt was but 215 years. But the Septuagint give us this text as follows; *Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, was four hundred and thirty years^g*: the words here added are, *and in the land of Canaan*. Now Abraham came into Canaan to sojourn there A. M. 2083^h; count hence to the exit, and we find it exactly 430 years. What difficulty now can we have, even supposing that no Hebrew manuscript now extant has the words we render, *and in the land of Egypt*ⁱ; will any reasonable inquirer not think that these words were in the text which the Septuagint translated from, and that they really belong to the Hebrew text, though the manuscript copies we have may by some carelessness of copiers have omitted them? The observation of our learned critic is a very just one: "If emendations are true, they must have been once in some manuscripts, at least in the author's original. But it will not follow that, because no manuscript now exhibits them, none more ancient ever did^k."

No one can doubt but that Moses, in the 33d chapter of Deuteronomy, blessed the twelve tribes, every tribe particularly according to his blessing; and yet we are said to have no one copy of the original text, no one version in the general, which mentions the tribe of Simeon at all, the Alexandrian manuscript of the Septuagint only inserting the name Simeon in the 6th verse, writes that verse in that one word differently from all other copies^l. Here then is an omission that can be supplied from no Hebrew manuscript; will it follow here is no omission? No version that we now have amends this omission, except one copy of one translation: will it follow that originally all versions had not the name of Simeon? Is it not apparently more reasonable to conclude the Alexandrian manuscript was transcribed from

^e See Connect. vol. ii. b. vii. p. 383.

^f Ibid. book ix. p. 554.

^g Ἡ δὲ κατοίκησις τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ἣν κατέκησαν ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν γῆ Χαναάν, ἔτη τριακόσια τριάκοντα. Vers. Septuagint.

^h Connect. vol. i. b. v. p. 275.

ⁱ I ought not to omit, that in the Samaritan Pentateuch the Hebrew words are found, which we render, *and in the*

land of Egypt.

^k Philel. Lips. p. 106.

^l The Hebrew text is,

יְהוָה יְרַחֵם וְיַמְתֵּן וְיַחַי מִסְפָּר
The common Septuagint Version is
Ζήτησθε Ῥουβην καὶ μὴ ἀποθανέτω καὶ ἔστω
πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ. The Alexandrian
Manuscript is, Ζήτησθε Ῥουβην καὶ μὴ
ἀποθανέτω. Καὶ Συμεὼν ἔστω πολὺς ἐν
ἀριθμῷ.

some copy of some more ancient manuscript that had the word Simeon, that the original manuscript of the Septuagint translated from an Hebrew copy, that had it likewise; and that the word Simeon was originally in the Hebrew text, however, through some carelessness of transcribers, it came to be dropped, and to occasion great numbers of copies and versions to be without it. There is room in all cases of this nature for a reasonable consideration of inquiry: and I dare venture to affirm, that there is no Scripture difficulty of which a serious inquirer, able to make a proper search for it, may not find a proper solution. As for those who have not literature for the examination, if they read the Scriptures with a careful design to be made *wise* by them *unto salvation*, they will soon know enough not to be led away blindly by those who perhaps know little more than what may enable them to impose upon and deceive others in points, of which, whether they can say correctly what is the *right* or the *wrong*, may not be materially of moment to them.

The learned have raised a great dust about a text in St. John's first Epistle, whether, in chap. v. verses 7 and 8, For there are three that bear record [*in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth,*] the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one:—whether the words which I have written in a different character are in some manuscripts; and in what particular copies they are not. The reader may see the whole of what can be offered upon this point in Dr. Mills^m, and will probably not think there is any thing in the whole that will greatly affect him, when he considers, that what is here said of *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, that they *are one*, is a doctrine to be deduced from other texts of Scripture: and, if I may be permitted, I would inquire, whether it may not perhaps be shewn to be not a jot or tittle more than what even Moses had declared 1500 years before the writing any books of the New Testament were at all thought of.

The 39th verse of the 32d chapter of Deuteronomy has in our English version of it these words; *I even I am he, and there is no God with me.* I would hereupon observe, 1. That the Hebrew text is, *Ani Ani Hua, ve ein Elohim nimmadi*ⁿ. 2. There is no word in the text answering to the English word *even*, nor is there any verb expressed in the text, no

^m Vide Millii Testam. Nov. ad fin. Epist. primæ sancti Johannis.

ⁿ The Hebrew words are, אני אני הוא ואין אלהים עמדי.

word for *am*, nor for *is*. 3. That *Ani Ani* is not the usual way of expressing *I even I* in Hebrew: it should rather have been *Ani hinneni*, if *I even I* had been intended. *I even I* do bring a flood, is not *Ani Ani*, but *Ani hinneni*^o: for these reasons, ought we not to translate the words of Moses literally, *Ani Ani Hua ve ein Elohim nimmadi*^v; *I, I, He, but not gods with me*? The verb substantive here understood speaks itself to be, *There are: I and I and He*, are three personal pronouns: and the whole sentence is verbally rendered, *There are I, and I, and He^q, but not gods with me*. It was a doctrine before taught by Moses, that there were more persons than one called *Jehovah*, *God whom no man hath seen at any time, nor can see; and the Lord, who had appeared unto Abraham*^r. And yet he strictly charges Israel to hear, i. e. to observe it to be their *faith*, that *Jehovah their Elohim* was *one Jehovah*^s. May we not suppose him in the text before us declaring, in the terms of the same faith, that the three persons he here speaks of were not *Elohim*, gods in the plural number^t; for, to use the words of Scripture, they were *one Jehovah*? And now,

If what I have thus offered may be admitted, it must surely be a vain labour for any to endeavour to strike the words they are desirous to contest out of the New Testament, unless they could really put the doctrine intended in them out of the Old. But such is the harmony of Scripture, that nothing in it is really *ιδίως επιλύσεως*^u, of a *private interpretation*, so peculiarly differing from all other Scriptures, as not to have such a coincidence with them as may warrant it to be true: rather oftentimes what the prophets of a later age have said, when considered, opens itself to have such a foundation in what had been said before, though it be evident that the speakers had no intention of speaking the one

^o See Gen. vi. 17. *Behold I even I do bring a flood*—*is*,

אני הנני מביא את-המבול

And it is by some thought that הנני here should be wrote הנה, without the *suffix* pronoun, as in Exodus xxxi. 6.

אני אני הוא ואין אלהים עמדי
mecum Dii at non ille ego ego.

A like expression, I think, is found in Isaiah xliii. 25.

אנכי אני הוא מחה פשעיו

and in a like signification. It was God, who is *anochi*, *anochi*, *hua*; or *ani*, *ani*, *hua*, that blotted out the transgressions of his people.

^q The *comma* in English supplies the *copulative*, which cannot but be understood in the Hebrew, though not inserted.

^r See Connect. vol. ii. book ix. p. 528, &c.

^s See Deut. vi. 4. Connect. *ibid*. The Hebrew words in Deut. vi. 4. are, יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד.

^t The word אלהים is often used as a noun plural in Scripture; see יהוה אלהים 2 Sam. vii. 22. See Deut. vi. 13, &c.

^u 2 Pet. i. 20.

from the other, that herein appears some signature of what is said, that it is of God^x.

There remain to be considered some other variations of copies of the sacred books from one another. The books of the New Testament have, it seems, been collated with so scrupulous an exactness, that we have it marked as a various reading, if there is in different copies, or versions from copies, or in citations of texts by subsequent writers for near 500 years, the least difference of writing the smallest particle or article of speech; or if the order and collocation of words minutely differs, though the meaning is exactly and most clearly the same: and with all this indefatigable preciseness, the variations in the New Testament only are said to be 30000^y. But let us consider: Can we think of any book, that if it had been published so many years, and there were so many different copies of it, translations into different tongues, citations made from it in divers languages, and all these were to be ransacked, and it were remarked as a different reading wherever the word *and* was wrote in three letters, or in the character &, *this* was wrote ^s*y*, *that* ^t*y*, *therefore* ^r*yfore*, &c. with many other such minutenesses^z; abundance of variations beyond number might not be amassed in this manner? Our learned critic assures us, upon his own knowledge, that there is hardly a classic author, which, thus examined, would not afford more various readings than the Scriptures^a. I may perhaps be allowed to say very securely, that of the 30000 variations in the New Testament, not near one in a thousand are in themselves worthy to be in the least regarded; though the learned and laborious do well to collect them, that those who know how to use them may have full materials to shew, that all the fancies and surmises, of which the imaginations of the opposers of religion are ever pregnant, are rash, groundless, frivolous, and vain. And as to the few that are of any moment in either the Old Testament or the New, as far as my little inquiry has been able to carry me, I never could see one, of which such an account may not be given, as will shew that it neither deprives me of the instruction of any page of the sacred writings, nor extinguishes any article of *the faith*, nor alters or makes void any one duty of our religion: and may safely affirm to those who of themselves may not find out these particulars, or, if pointed to them, are not able readily to

^x 2 Pet. i. 20.

^y See Phileleuth Lips.

^z We might gather many of this kind of variations from books printed

in the old black letter, wherein are numbers of abbreviations different from any now in use.

^a Phil. Lips. p. 96, 97.

judge of them; that, although I would not prevent any from endeavouring to *add knowledge to their faith*, in whatever points they are able; being fully satisfied that no freedom of inquiry, justly conducted, can be of disservice to the truth, provided we do not give ourselves up to be *carried to and fro with every wind* of what seems new to us, beyond what we understand:—I say, even the lowest of our people, who can only read, mark, learn, and digest our Scriptures as our received English version offers them to us, to gather from them that *doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness*, which they plainly afford us, will find that they can want nothing more to make them *wise unto salvation*. And consequently how obvious to them will be the answer, long ago returned to such a surmise as is offered by lord Bolingbroke! That if the Scriptures were entirely the word of God, all of them absolutely given by inspiration, they would have been as absolutely preserved from all variations of copies, and mistakes of transcribers. The answer is,

What a scheme would these men make! What worthy rules would they prescribe to providence! That in millions of copies, transcribed in so many ages and nations, all the scribes or notaries, many of whom perhaps made it their trade and livelihood to transcribe, should, whenever they wrote out Scripture, be infallible and impeccable; that their pens should spontaneously write true, or be supernaturally guided, though the scribes were nodding and dreaming. And to what purpose should we require this miracle? to keep clear and indubious the articles of our *faith*, or the necessary rules for our *moral* lives? No: in all these we are safe, notwithstanding any imperfections of copies; but merely to silence every doubt and whim, which no man truly religious, drawn *by the cords of a man*, by rational, ingenuous, and moral motives, will have; but may be captiously taken up by the impiety and folly of such as will be pleased with any thing that but seems to be an objection against the Scriptures^b. Upon the whole,

Variations of Evangelists in their accounts of the same facts, the conduct of this or that particular Apostle, as also the differences of copies of the Scriptures, are topics that designing men, with very little examination and knowledge of what they confidently affirm, are extremely apt to take up; one saying just what another had said before him, only perhaps with a little more freedom and false assurance, not considering how fully all they say, or can say upon

^b See Phil. Lips. p. 112, 113.

these topics, has been answered over and over. To writers thus determined, *of saying the same things there is no end*: all we can do is to remind the candid and sincere, that the points so industriously propagated have been fully, freely, and impartially considered by the ablest writers not only of that profession, which it is become a fashion with some most unmercifully to speak against, but by gentlemen also of inquiry and impartiality; of abilities and characters, which no approbation of mine can add to: and that, as well from what they have particularly written^c, as from what others have more in the general considered upon these subjects, it may be sufficiently known by even the plainest reader, that the providence of God has permitted the Scriptures to have the lot of all other writings that have passed through the hands of men; and has suffered even the writers of these books sometimes so to differ, both in conduct and in matters related by them, as to give an evidence that there has been no confederacy of men to make the Scriptures what they *are*. But there is in the sacred pages, in the New Testament, a morality so perfect, that it cannot be conceived, humanly speaking, that the first preachers of the Gospel, men of such low parts and education as they were, could in all points, without any one error^d, have thus taught *the way of God in perfect truth*; there is a forgiveness of sin, exactly what is necessary for man^e, and yet determi-

^c No reader, that would judge of these subjects, should omit to consider and examine carefully Mr. West's Observations on the Resurrection of Christ: and another treatise, entitled, Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul.

^d It would have weight with any serious examiner to consider, that although the wise heathens endeavoured by the light of reason to trace out the lines of moral duty, and many excellent rules were given by many of them, and perhaps a careful collector might form a good system from them all; yet, as they were but men, so every one of them had their mistakes. But herein there is a difference: there are no defects, no one error in the morality of the Gospel: the first publishers of it were mean, illiterate, unlearned men, and yet they gave us moral precepts "all pure, all un-
" mixed; no conceits or false rules;
" nothing tending to the by-ends of
" any man, or any party; no tang of

" fancy or superstition; no footsteps
" of pride or vanity; no touch of
" ostentation and ambition; but all
" sincere: nothing too much, nothing
" wanting; but the whole is so per-
" fect and complete, tends so abso-
" lutely to the good of mankind, that
" all would be happy even in this
" world, if all would sincerely endea-
" vour to practise it: and, if we could
" come up to the full practice of it, we
" should be so whole as to need no
" physician to attain the bliss and
" glory of the world to come."

^e The Scriptures conclude every man to be under sin, Gal. iii. 22. affirming, that there is *no man that sinneth not*, 1 Kings viii. 46. And not only the Scriptures testify that we every one know this of ourselves, that, *if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us*, 1 John i. 8. but the very heathens allow it: *Quisque innocentem se dicit, respiciens testem non conscientiam*, says Seneca, de Ira, lib. i. The question then will occur,

nately indulging no one human corruption whatsoever^f; there is an atonement for sin, such as no invention of man would have proposed^g, but yet so foretold and prefigured

How can man be justified with God?

Job xxv. 4. A forgiveness of sin must be necessary for any flesh to be saved.

^f The point I would here offer to the reader's consideration is, Whether, if the pardon of sin offered in the Gospel had been the contrivance of men, it would not, like what human contrivance is for inventing, have offered indulgences for particular failings; and whether therefore, on the contrary, considered truly as it is, a doctrine that favours no one foible of human nature, admits no thought of our continuing in any one sin, that grace may abound, Rom. vi. 1. as there can be no deceit where there is no error proposed to us, a pardon of sin thus circumstanced, strictly commanding an impartial endeavour to perfect every thing that is right, though it gives us hopes, having sincerely endeavoured this, not to be called to an account, which the spirits of even *just men* cannot be equal to; whether, I say, such a pardon of sin dees not approve itself to be not only *grace*, but *truth*? John i. 17.

^g The sentiments which the inquisitive heathens had upon this subject were as follow: they agreed philosophy to be useful to correct what might be wrong in us: *Est profecto animi disciplina philosophia*, Cic. Tusc. Disput. lib. iii. c. 3. They did not see how they could purge or cleanse the conscience of sins that had been committed. All the known rites of ablution they knew to be unphilosophical: *Animi labes nec diuturnitate evanescere nec annibus ullis elui potest*. Cic. de Leg. lib. ii. c. 10. They did not think repentance could make them whole: *Quem penitet peccasse pene est innocens*, is, I think, said by the same writer; he does not wholly acquit upon repentance. They had notions that there might be purgations of sin in another world. Thus Virgil tells us of souls departed,

—*exercetur penis, veterumque malorum*

Supplicia expendunt: aliæ panduntur inanes

Suspensæ ad ventos: aliis sub gurgite vasto

Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni:

Quisque suos patimur manes—

Æneid. vi.

The construction in the last verse is, I think, clear and easy; though both our commentators and dictionaries seem to make it difficult. *Manes* signifies our *spirits departed* out of this life. It is the accusative case, signifying the part of us affected: like *doleo caput, I have pain in my head; patimur manes* is, *we suffer in our souls departed*. But others philosophized, that, when this life was over, they who had lived well should go into some star, such as they had made themselves meet to live in: *Qui bene et honeste curriculum vivendi a natura datum confecerit, ad illud astrum, cui aptus fuerit revertetur*. Cic. lib. de Universo.

Which state was not opined to be absolutely final; for that spirits in a future life might have a progress to perfection, and go from higher state to higher, until they arrived at their supreme good. Vide Platon. in Phædon. in lib. de Legib. &c. And some allowed the body a participation herein with the soul: *Μεταβολήν, τοῖς τε σώμασιν ὁμοίως ποιῶσι ταῖς ψυχαῖς—ἐκ μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἥρωας, ἐκ δὲ ἥρωων εἰς δαίμονας, αἱ βελτίονες ψυχαὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν λαμβάνουσιν ἐκ δὲ δαιμόνων ὄλγαι μὲν ἐτι χρόνῳ πολλῷ δι' ἀρετῆς καθαρθεῖσθαι παντάσῃ θεόγητος μετέσχον*. Plut. Orac. Defect. How different from all these schemes is what the Gospel proposes concerning Christ Jesus; that *this man offered one sacrifice for sins forever*; and, *through the offering of his body once for all, will perfect for ever those who come unto God through him*. Heb. x. 11, 12, 14. Whence now could the first preachers of the Gospel have these things? No wisdom then in the world would have suggested any such doctrine to them. That the prophecies indeed obscurely, like a *light shining in a dark place*, foretold them, is true; that their Master, beginning from Moses and all the prophets, had expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself, is acknowledged; but, as this exposition was entirely different from all that

from the beginning, throughout all ages, that it must be thought to have been appointed by God. In the Old Testament, a morality the very same, though not so fully explained and enforced to the perfection in which he who *came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them*, taught *with authority* how what they read in the law was to be understood, to direct both the thoughts of their hearts and the actions of their lives: there is a series of legal institutions, such as we may see many reasons to think no legislator from human wisdom would have thought of and contrived^h; yet in many points so plain a *schoolmaster* to bring those to whom they were given *unto Christ*ⁱ, so clearly referring to things that were to come and be revealed, as plainly to indicate, that there was more than human foresight and design in them. In a word, in both Testaments there are such prophecies of things that were to be, and of some that are yet to come; such a fulfilling of all that is completed, and thence so reasonable an assurance that there shall be a performance of what remains to be fulfilled in its season, as must give every considerate reader, whether learned or unlearned, a steadiness of belief better grounded than to be shaken by the disputes we can have concerning the *canon of Scripture*; when it was settled; by whom these or those books were particularly written; what *erratas* have crept into some copies in some texts; in all which, and many other disquisitions of a like nature that may be started, however we may find that the Scriptures, in their being committed unto men, have been a treasure so put into *earthen vessels*, as to furnish evidence enough that the *excellency of them is not of man*^k; yet there are contents in them, which, although the miracles done to bear testimony to them, were done in an age long since past, so that we may carelessly overlook them, nevertheless will force us to allow, that the

the Rabbies of the Jews had opined, and all their doctors, learned in their law and Scriptures, contended for; that *these things*, thus *hid from the wise and prudent*, should at once be brought to light by *babes*, be preached uniformly and consistently by a set of men that had no human learning; and the truth of them be attested by the author of them visibly raising himself from the dead, and going up into heaven, and by the preachers of his doctrines being approved of God, in the many miracles wrought by them at the time of

their preaching this Gospel; these things must put it out of all doubt that *this doctrine was not of man*, and that it was *of God*.

^h See Connect. vol. iii. b. xii. p. 253. Not to remark both of sacrifices of the living creatures, see vol. i. b. i. p. 50. and also of *circumcision*, that it is most impossible to give any probable reasonable grounds of their first institution, other than that they were appointed by God.

ⁱ Gal. iii. 24.

^k 2 Cor. iv. 7.

books of Scripture are such as could not have come merely from man, but must be from God.

The original and progress of language is a subject that has been treated by many writers. The learned seem mostly inclined to think, that God put into the minds of our first parents all such words, and a knowledge of the meaning of them, as could be necessary for their conversation with one another. They represent, that the allowing them to be made sociable creatures implies necessarily that they were in actual possession of all words instantly to communicate a variety of sentiments. But I confess I do not see the consequence to be a necessary one: they began life, I apprehend, without any stock of actual knowledge; they grew gradually into knowledge, and, by like advances, came to think of, and make words, to signify what they wanted to name and converse upon. The allowing them to be able to do this as early and as variously as they wanted it, and to improve it as fast as their knowledge increased, answers every social demand we can suppose as fully, and more naturally, than to imagine them full of innate words before they had acquired the sentiments, or observation of the things, which were to be intended by such words to be spoken of. But it is a subject I have at different times so far treated, that I do not see I need add any thing to clear it¹. As to the opinion of some writers, that our first parents' minds were filled with original words, that expressed to them (what they could not otherwise know) the very natures of things, so as to enable them to speak, and thence to think, philosophically of them; and that the Hebrew was originally a language of this sort—it is romantic and irrational. That there are words of a sound corresponding to what the ear hears, when the object denoted by them is presented to us, is unquestionable; and the using words of this make properly, is thought an elegance in many writers. Virgil is remarked to have thrown the sound of the thing he writes of sometimes over a whole line: thus in the following verse he is observed to sound, as it were, the trumpet he speaks of:

Ære ciere viros martemque accendere cantu.

Virg. Æn. vi.

And in another place, to express the very beat of the horses' feet on the ground, he supposes them to move upon:

¹ Connect. vol. i. b. ii. vol. ii. b. ix. See the following treatise, chap. iii.

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum.

Id. Æn. viii.

Homer's πολὺ φλοῖσβοιο θαλάσσης sounds to the ear both the hollow roar of the rising wave, and the crash of its waters breaking upon the shore. Single words may sometimes affect the ear in like manner. The Hebrew word רוּחַ, *ruach*, which signifies *wind*, may be thought to sound the rushing noise made by that element, and many like instances may be had from divers languages: but will any one say, that the philosophical natures of the things thus described are in any wise indicated by any word, part, or the whole of any such descriptions? Words are but sounds: it is easy to conceive how, by arbitrary agreement, different sounds may come to denote such things as are intended to be meant by them; but to say any particular sound has a necessary connection or relation to the essence or nature of one particular thing more than of another, is a confusion we could not fall into, if we did not overlook some particular in the train of thinking that leads us into it. Allowing the word *create* to denote the producing things out of nothing, *Creator* may signify Him who made all things, and is God: but the word can have no such reference from any thing in the nature of the word; but merely from its being first established, that to *create* shall be the sound to signify this act of making things have existence. From such known designation, *bara* in Hebrew^m; *creavit* in Latin; any other word in any other language, appointed to denote the exercise of this act of power, shall equally have this signification, and without such appointment no one sound can have it, in the nature of things, any one more than any other. The manner in which Adam and Eve were brought into the world, duly considered, will lead us to suitable thoughts of the rise and improvement of their language. If they could be conceived instantly to have talked copiously of all things, before time and experience had learned them to know them, there would be reason to think that they had words for such conversation not of their own inventing. But Moses hints to us nothing of this nature; the contrary appears most plainly throughout his narration: and accordingly many expressions occur in his Hebrew, of which I apprehend the following words, *The Lord is a man of war*, may be one instanceⁿ; which hint,

^m ברא, Gen. i. 1.

ⁿ יהוה איש מלחמה, Exod. xv. 3.
I may say of this expression, as also of another that occurs later, wherein God is represented to be like a *mighty man*

that shouteth by reason of wine, Psalm lxxviii. 65. that neither of them can be imagined to express any thing of the nature of the power of God: rather human imagination, struck with the

that in the most early times, the expressions used had their rise not from any innate sentiments of the natures of things, nor from words innate, that could speak to men concerning things further than what they had felt, seen, or heard, and agreeably thereto conceived and understood of them. As to such words as God was pleased to speak to our first parents in the beginning of their lives; I have considered what, I think, must be admitted concerning them^o: and that names made from words agreed to signify qualities of things, may denote the natures of things so named, so far as to tell us, that they are reputed to have the qualities expressed by the words which are given for names to them, may reasonably be allowed^p. If I know *nabal* in Hebrew to signify *to be of no value or moment*, I may possibly conclude a man called by that name to be one of that character^q; but had any other word than *nabal* been the verb to signify the having this character, the sound *nabal* might have conveyed a very different idea to me. It is the same of all other circumstances of things, which their names can hint to us. If *terra* be the allowed word to signify *earth*, the saying of a person, that he is *terrestris*, may speak him to be *earthy*; but had the first agreed idea, annexed to *terra*, been what we call *heaven*, it is evident nothing in nature would have prevented *terrestris* being of a signification opposite to what is now understood by it. What a learned writer very clearly thought upon this subject, he has expressed as intelligibly; “there is,” he says, “between sounds and things no relation^r: words signify things, from no other than the arbitrary agreement of men. It is evident that language is “not natural, but instituted:”—“that the human organs “being admirably fitted for the formation of articulate “sounds, these, with the help of reason, might in time lead “men to the use of language—; I own it imaginable that “they might^s.” The judicious author would, I think, after all this, not have imagined that, without an inspiration of language from God, mankind might have lived a series of generations not having a sufficient use of it, if he had happened to consider the steps and gradual progress, in which

terror of a *man of war*, coming forth armed to the battle; or of the terrible fury of a giant, awakened, refreshed with wine, furnished the ideas that occasioned these expressions. Other words, very different, would have been used, had a natural description of the tremendous power of God, terrible in

majesty infinitely beyond what these words convey to us, been at all intended.

^o See hereafter, chap. ii.

^p See Connect. vol. ii. b. ix.

^q 1 Sam. xxv. 25. Connect. *ibid*.

^r See Revelation examined with Candour, vol. i. p. 36.

^s *Ibid*. p. 37.

Moses represents our first parents coming into their knowledge of themselves and the world^t.

The reader will find me in the following sheets to have had great assistance from Mr. Pope's very excellent Essay upon Man. The poet himself confesses, that he could not have expressed his thoughts with that force and conciseness in prose as he could in verse^u. As to myself, I am sure I should have lost the reader a pleasure, and the subject an advantage, had I used only my own language: what

I oft had thought

would have come far short of being

so well express'd.

I wish I could have had the like assistance of this powerful pen for some other sentiments which I have endeavoured to defend; but in these I have ventured to desert the poet, thinking him to have some lines that require correction. Speaking of the primæval state of mankind, he seems to represent their only guidance to have been the light of nature; he says,

The state of nature was the reign of God^x.

He in no wise supposes man in his first estate to have began his being under the especial direction of a revelation, but rather, that

To copy instinct then was reason's part^y.

And he sends our early progenitors to learn arts and sciences from the animal world, sooner than we can think the animal world could be so considered as to afford them this knowledge^z. In like manner he appears to think, that sacrifices

^t See Revelation Examined, p. 51—61.

^u See what the author says in the design of the poem.

^x Ep. iii. v. 147.

^y Ver. 171.

^z Solomon indeed bids his sluggard *Go to the ant, consider her ways, and be wise*, Prov. vi. 6. And it is natural to think of Solomon, who had searched deep into nature, (see 1 Kings iv. 33.) that he should offer this instruction. But to think of mankind, that they had not *sought out many inventions*, but were without *work, device, and contrivance* of their own, until they had observed the instinct of the creatures, is extremely improbable. That he,

who, *primus per artem movit agros*, Virgil. *learned of the mole to plough*, Pope, ver. 178. or that Cain formed the plan or buildings of his city Enoch, Gen. iv. 17. from any observations of the bee, her little cells, lodgments, and structures, is a wild imagination; and, I dare say, had Solomon had no ships to send to Ophir until men had learned

—*of the little nautilus to sail,*
Spread the thin oar, and catch the
driving gale; Pope, ver. 179.

he would have brought no gold to Jerusalem. Men had invented a great many arts of their own before they could observe what in any wise cor-

of the living creatures were not offered in the first times: he represents, that *the shrine* was now *with gore unstained*^a, that *unbloody stood the harmless priest*^b. He has these and some other sentiments in the third epistle, which to me do not seem entirely to accord to other parts of his poem. If I might guess from one maxim hinted,

—go, and thus o'er all the creatures sway,
Thus let the wiser make the rest obey^c;

he seems to opine superior understanding to give a right of dominion; a thought spread so largely in the imagination of his admired statesman^d, whom he styles

responded to them in the creatures, though we may perhaps well allow, that when they thus came to look from themselves to the creatures, reflections might arise to teach them to correct art by nature, and to add to their own inventions a regularity and improvement which otherwise they might not have thought of.

a Pope, *ibid.* ver. 157.

b Ver. 158.

c Ver. 195, 196.

d Lord Bolingbroke hints to us, that “the Author of nature has mingled among the societies of men a few, and but a few, of those on whom he is graciously pleased to bestow a larger proportion of the *ethereal* spirit, than is given in the ordinary course of his providence to the sons of men. These are they who engross almost the whole reason of the *species*, who are *born to instruct, to guide, and to preserve*; who are designed to be the *tutors* and the *guardians* of human kind.” See Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism, p. 10. I am at a loss what to say of this random sentiment: it seems to me to want more explication, and the application of it to be guarded and regulated beyond what one would expect of any thing said by a wise man. If the *ethereal geni* of the age happen in any country not to have either *the reins of government, nor the chair, seat, or bench, to guide, direct, and give law* to mankind; and surely many of them often have not; and I can apprehend it sometimes for the good of the world that they have not; there is a far more useful principle to be thought

of, than that *these wise* should try to *make the rest obey*, namely, that *every one* should *study to be quiet, and mind his own business*, in the duties of that station in life that happens to belong to him. It must undoubtedly be a great blessing to the world, when those who have the power over others are the *truly wise*; but the happiness of mankind can never have any settlement, unless those who may not attain what they may happen to think their *genius* most fit for, know how to govern themselves wisely, and to be patterns to others to learn the same thing. The *ethereal* gentlemen, acting otherwise, have often occasioned great convulsions to the world: and many times, when they get the power they strive for, and make the rest obey, they are neither the public blessing they think, nor perhaps do they do any great and real good even to themselves. Our author's sentiment seems no better than a not-well-digested refinement of a notion to be found amongst the heathen disputants; viz. that mankind are born, some with endowments to rule and govern, others with capacities fit for servitude only: that, where the rulers of states find such as, born for servitude, will not submit to it, a war upon these is but a lawful hunting, to take men, as we do, by a like exercise, the beasts of the field, to sort and reduce them to their proper application. Nimrod was perhaps a *mighty hunter* of this sort, and hereby raised himself his kingdom, Gen. x. 9. But how far any thing of this nature can be useful or right, I shall submit to further consideration.

his friend, his genius——
 ——Master of the poet and the song^e;

that I should think much of what we find from about the 147th line of the third epistle, to the 216th, was written upon anecdotes given to the poet, and, in respect to him that gave them, well ornamented: but they have not that firmness and stability, which can be given to nothing but what is true. It would be going absolutely from the subject I am concerned in, to examine all Mr. Pope's positions which might be here stated. One of them, indeed, I am more particularly concerned in, namely, the origin of sacrifices. I have supposed sacrifices of the living creatures to have been appointed from after our first parents' transgression; and what I have offered upon this topic has been largely replied to. I hope I shall not mispend a few pages, if I endeavour to clear this matter.

It is argued that sacrifices of the living creatures were not made in the most early ages: that they did not commence until after mankind eat flesh: that we need not imagine them to have had their rise from a positive command of God; for that there is weakness enough in human nature for us to opine, that mankind might invent this service without any command enjoining the use of it. All these points have been treated by a very ingenious writer^f; an answer to whom will, I hope, be a sufficient reply to all that can be objected upon this topic. And my answer hereto is, that Abel unquestionably offered a sacrifice of an animal or living creature; that he did it in obedience to a command of God; and consequently that the original of this institution was not of human contrivance.

I. Abel, I say, offered a sacrifice of a living creature. Abel, Moses tells us, *brought of the firstlings of his flocks, and of the fat thereof*^g: this offering was made before the 130th year of the world^h, and is indeed the first sacrifice the Scripture mentions. That Abel's was a sacrifice of a living creature is, I think, to be proved both from Moses's express account of it, and from what is said upon it by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Moses's account begins with the offering of Cain: *Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord*ⁱ. It is plain, nothing animate was intended in Cain's oblation:

^e Epist. iv. ver. 363.

^f See Philemon to Hydaspes, Letter v.

^g Gen. iv. 4.

^h Adam was but 130 when Seth was born after Abel was killed, Gen.

v. 3.

ⁱ Gen. iv. 3.

it was an offering of corn or herbs, the produce of the ground, and of nothing more : and it will be observed, that it is accordingly called *minchah*^k, the word often used for a meat offering or oblation of things inanimate, in distinction to the sacrifice of a living creature^l. But Abel brought of the *firstlings of his flock, and the fat thereof*: the words that follow are to be observed ; *And the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering*^m ; the text says, *ve el minchatho*ⁿ : so that the word *minchah* is here also used, to speak of Abel's offering, as it was of Cain's. Wherein then did they differ ? or why should we think Abel's offering to be a sacrifice of a living creature, when it is thus hinted to be a *minchah* ? The learned are herein very diligent to exert themselves. Grotius observes, that the word we render *the fat thereof*^o, may signify *the milk thereof*, and would think that Abel did not sacrifice a lamb, but perhaps only some wool and cream of the lactage and growth of the *firstlings of his flock*^p. I answer ; learned men will seem to say something for any singularity they have a mind to support, and Grotius is herein remarkable in this particular : but it is observable, that he lays the stress of what he would argue upon explaining a word not material to the argument, but says nothing upon some other words, on which the true meaning of the place most absolutely turns. The word we translate *fat* may signify *milk*, or must be rendered *fat*, as the sense and context, when it is used, requires ; but the words here to be principally considered are, *of the firstlings of his flock*^q. The *firstling* or *firstlings* of *beasts*, of *cattle*, of *the herd*, or of *the flock*, are expressions very common in Moses^r ; and the question is, whether, wherever he speaks of an *offering of firstlings*, he means any thing but an offering of the living creatures so called ? Whether in Moses's language, had Abel offered only *wool*, and *milk* or *cream*, the expression must not have been, he brought of the *wool, milk* or *cream* of the *firstlings of his flock, an offering to the Lord* ? And whether, supposing the word we render *fat* may signify *milk*, the words of Moses here used, he brought of the *firstlings of his flock, and the milk thereof*, would not have denoted, that he brought

יבא קין מפרי האדמה מנחה ליהוה

^l See Levit. ii. 1, 4, 5, 15. vii. 9, 10. xiv. 10. Numb. xv. 3—6. xxviii. 5. et sexcent. al. in loc.

^m Gen. iv. 4.

ⁿ The Hebrew words are, ואל מנחתו

^o Annot. in loc.

^p Grotius observes these to have been thought very ancient sacrifices by the heathen writers, *ibid.*

^q מנברוה צאנו Gen. iv. 4.

^r Lev. xxvii. 26. Numb. xviii. 15. Deut. xv. 19. Numb. iii. 41. Deut. xii. 6. xiv. 23, &c.

both the living creatures and their *milk* also? But a further question is, whether *firstlings* were ever reckoned but by the males only^s? If they were reckoned thus only, our learned annotators mistake most ridiculously. Abel, I apprehend, brought of his *young rams* unto the Lord, and the *lactage* of his rams: our learned disputants would be as well fed, as they would teach us, if they had nothing else to eat till they gave up this absurdity. In a word, Moses's expression can in no wise signify any thing else but that Abel brought a living animal of his flock an offering unto the Lord: for,

As to Abel's offering being called a *minchah*, that is easy to be accounted for: the word *minchah* is indeed often used *sacrifically* to denote an *inanimate offering*, in opposition to the *sacrifice of a living creature*: but it has also a more general acceptation. It is the word used of Jacob's *present* to his brother Esau^t; and again, for the *present* sent out of Canaan to Joseph^u: it is well translated, when used in this sense, by the Greek word δῶρον, a *gift*: the Apostle thus renders it^x. In this general sense it is and may be used of all sacrifices both *animate* and *inanimate*; for every sacrifice is, in this sense, a *minchah*, δῶρον, a *gift*, or *present* unto the Lord; though every *minchah*, or gift, is not a sacrifice of a living creature.

Having thus far shewn that Moses must be understood to express Abel's offering to be of a living creature, I come now to consider, that the Apostle plainly tells us, that this was his meaning. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews tells us of Abel's offering, that it was *θυσία*, i. e. the oblation of a creature slain^y. I laid great stress upon the inspired writer's using this term^z. I am answered, that it is notorious that the word *θυσία* is several times used in Scripture for an *inanimate* oblation: and the ingenious writer above mentioned cites for his assertion Lev. ii. 1.^a Undoubtedly he might have cited many other passages. His mistake is, he cites the Septuagint translation for Scripture; not considering that the translators, not being infallible, might err in

^s See Exod. xiii. 12.

^t Gen. xxxii. 13, 19.

^u Gen. xliii. 11.

^x Heb. xi. 4. ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ.

^y Θυσίαν Ἰβελ προσήνεγκε, *ibid.* I might, I think, here observe, that the Apostle elsewhere expressly calls Abel's offering an *offering of blood*. Alluding to the blood of Christ, by whose death we have the forgiveness of sins, he says, *Ye are come—to the blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things*

than that of Abel, Heb. xii. 24.—*that of Abel*; he does not mean Abel's blood, or the blood shed by the death of Abel, for Abel's death was no sacrifice for sin; but the blood of Abel was the blood that Abel offered in his *θυσία*, or sacrifice, which, though accepted by God, as he had commanded it, was but a shadow in comparison to the sacrifice of Christ.

^z See Connect. vol. i. b. ii. p. 50.

^a Phil. to Hydasp. Letter v. p. 32.

their translation. The translators of the Septuagint were extremely careless in their use of this word: they render the third verse of the fourth chapter of Genesis, ἤνεγκεν Κάιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ. Here they call Cain's offering, which is described and allowed to be *of the fruits of the ground* only, θυσίαν, a *sacrifice* or *mactation*: but then it is to be remarked, that the Apostle herein particularly corrects them, removes the word θυσίαν, misapplied by them, and uses it of Abel's sacrifice only, and not of Cain's offering^b. The inspired writers of the New Testament are known generally to cite the Old Testament according to the Septuagint version, and where they do so, it is evident they did not think the expression importantly faulty: but when, in any particular passage, an Apostle thus remarkably varies and corrects the diction of the Septuagint, ought we not to think he observed an impropriety, and designed to amend it? Θυσία is in many places of the Septuagint version used to signify *inanimate* offerings; but the Septuagint were not inspired writers, and therefore ought to stand corrected by those who were. The word θυσία occurs frequently in the New Testament: but although, after the legal sacrifices of the Old Testament were done away, the sacred writers of the New adopted the word θυσία, to use it in a *spiritual sense*, to express the making our *bodies a living sacrifice*^c; to represent our *charity* to

^b I would take away all possible ambiguity that can be supposed in the Apostle's expression, and would therefore observe, that should any one imagine the Apostle's words to be *elliptical*; that the words may be taken, *by faith Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain's*, i. e. sacrifice; that the word θυσίαν may as well be understood at the end of the period, as inserted in the beginning: I answer, it is impossible so to construe the Apostle, his words being, πίστει πλείονα θυσίαν Ἰβελ παρὰ Κάιν προσήνεγκε. Were this the meaning, it should be παρὰ τοῦ Κάιν. But we say, *a more excellent* sacrifice; where do we find πλείονα to signify *more excellent*? *Things that are more excellent* are called τὰ διαφέροντα, Rom. ii. 18. Phil. i. 10. *A more excellent way* is, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν, 1 Cor. xii. 31. *A more excellent name* is διαφορώτερον ὄνομα, Heb. i. 4. and *a more excellent ministry* is διαφορωτέρας λειτουργίας, Heb. viii. 6. But πλείων signifies *more, amplior*, says Stephens, Concord. Græco-Lat. Nov.

Testam. And to its here having this signification agrees what follows; Abel brought θυσίαν πλείονα παρὰ Κάιν: the preposition παρὰ is used in the New Testament to signify *præter, besides, more than, over and above*. Thus St. Paul, guarding the Galatians against receiving the observances of the Jewish law superadded to the Christian religion, most solemnly warns them not to receive any thing that should be preached to them, παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα, or παρ' ὃ παραλάβετε, Gal. i. 8, 9. They were to receive no doctrines, as gospel, *more than, over and above*, what St. Paul had preached to them. And thus Abel's θυσίαν was πλείονα παρὰ Κάιν. Cain had offered only *inanimate* gifts: Abel probably had offered these also; for these often accompanied the burnt-offering: but Abel's θυσία was something *over and besides* these, it was the *mactation* of an animal; and in the not having this added, Cain came short of what ought to have been done by him.

^c Rom. xii. 1.

be a sacrifice acceptable unto God^d; to exhort to offer the sacrifice of praise^e—&c. I say, although, after animal sacrifices were ceased, the one real sacrifice being offered, which alone could take away sin^f, inspired writers did use the word *θυσία* in a *spiritual* sense, to signify our giving ourselves up to perform many of the commanded duties of the Christian religion, sacrificing ourselves in them truly to *serve God in spirit and in truth*; yet, I think, they did not use the term *θυσία* of any sacrifices of the Old Testament, but of such only, wherein there was the shedding of blood^g; preserving it an allowed truth of all revealed religion from the beginning of the world, that *without shedding of blood* there had been no declared remission of sin—

II. The second point I am to consider is, that Abel's offering his sacrifice was an obedience to some divine command, some explicit injunction given by God: and, I confess, that to me a most unanswerable argument that it was so, is Abel's being said by the Apostle to have made his offering *by faith*, Heb. xi. I have already argued, that *the faith*, concerning which the Apostle wrote this chapter, supposes, in all the instances he gives, some express declaration or direction from God; the believing and paying obedience to which is *the faith* set forth and recommended to us^h. I have shewn this to be the fact in the case of Rahab, when she entertained the spies at Jerichoⁱ. My ingenious adversary thinks otherwise^k; but with how little reason, I must entirely submit to the reader's impartial consideration: he would argue of Enoch, as he reasons of Rahab^l; he opines Enoch to have obtained his translation to heaven, not upon account of his receiving and believing any particular declaration by an express revelation from God to him, but upon

^d Phil. iv. 18.

^e Heb. xiii. 15.

^f See Heb. x.

^g See Matth. ix. 13. xii. 7. Luke ii. 24. xiii. 1. Acts vii. 41, 42. 1 Cor. x. 18. Heb. v. 1. vii. 27. viii. 3. ix. 9. &c. I know but one place in the New Testament where *θυσία* may seem to be used of an *inanimate* offering of the law: our Saviour says, *every sacrifice* (*πᾶσα θυσία* are the words of the Evangelist) *shall be salted with salt*, Mark ix. 49. The law here referred to is Levit. ii. 13. which may be thought to be the law of the meat-offering. But I would observe, that the text in Leviticus first provides, that the *meat-offering*, which was in-

deed *inanimate*, should be salted: but having ordered this, it adds further, *with all thy offerings thou shalt offer salt*. The word for thine offerings is קרבני, a word used of a sacrifice of an animal, Numb. xxviii. 2. as קרבן הבהמה Levit. i. 2. So that the text provides, first, that all offerings inanimate shall be salted; and then further, that salt shall be also used in all sacrifices; and the word *θυσία* is used by St Mark, referring to the law given in the latter part of the verse.

^h Connect. vol. i. b. ii. p. 52.

ⁱ Vol. iii. b. xii. p. 258, 259, &c.

^k See Phil. to Hydasp. Letter v. p.

39.

^l Id. *ibid*.

account of the general *tenor* and conduct of his life, that he was a man of eminent virtue, faithfully attached to perfect holiness in the fear of God, assuring himself that he should have a reward for thus doing. I answer, had the hopes of Enoch been only the general and rational expectations arising from a moral life, he had not been herein in any wise above others eminent for *faith*, which is not an act of mind paying regard to arguments arising from considering what may appear intrinsically, without external testimony, to be in reason true; but *faith cometh by hearing*^m, *faith* is the believing something that is testified or declared to usⁿ. Accordingly, the author of Ecclesiasticus, who observes of Enoch, that *he pleased God, and was translated*, does not ascribe his being translated to his being more and above others a man of a righteous or moral life, but tells us, he was made *an example of repentance unto all generations*^o. We should perfectly understand what is here suggested, if we may say a special revelation was made to Enoch, that man should have life for ever in another world, if they sought it *believing, through his name* by repentance, to *receive remission of sins*^p. If Enoch embraced and testified unto others *this faith*, and it pleased God to confirm unto the world, that what he had declared by Enoch was true; by granting to Enoch not to *die and fall like other men*, but, without *tasting death*, to be received to the life to come which was published, and by him believed, and declared according to the word of God made known to him; herein we shew Enoch to have been literally, according to the words of the author of Ecclesiasticus, set forth *an example of repentance unto all generations*: and as clearly according to the full meaning of the Apostle's expression, *by faith*, believing and doing according to what had been especially revealed to him, *was translated that he should not see death*^q.

There is no point upon which many able and very learned writers appear more fondly mistaken, than in not truly stating the doctrine of *faith*, according to the Scriptures. It is a favourite notion with them to divide the states mankind have been in, into that of natural religion and that of the Gospel: they call the state of *creation*, or *natural religion*, the *dispensation of the Father*; the state of the Gospel the *dispensation of the Son of God*: and they argue the former, *natural religion*, to be a *necessary preparation* for the latter^r. But

^m Rom. x. 17.

ⁿ Vide quæ sup.

^o Eccelus. xlv. 16.

^p See Acts x. 43.

^q Heb. xi. 5.

^r The reader may see this way of thinking fully stated by the late Dr. Clarke, Sermon. I.

herein they certainly introduce a language very different from the Scriptures: to *come unto God*, to *seek God*, to *walk with God*, all these and other like expressions, in their Scripture meaning, signify to accede to that law which is *from God's mouth*, to *lay up his words in our hearts*, to live according to what God has revealed and commanded^s; the *fearing God* and *working righteousness*, according to what is called natural light, is not what is in Scripture designed by those expressions. In like manner the *dispensation of the Father*, in contradistinction to the *dispensation of the Son*, must be the revelation of the *Old Testament*, as distinguished from the revelation in the *New*. Our blessed Saviour's exhortation to his disciples was, that as they had *believed in God*, so *also* they would *believe in him*^t: and the enforcing this particular duty is the great intendment of the whole Epistle to the Hebrews: *God at sundry times and in divers manners had spoken to their fathers*^u: here now is the dispensation of the Father, which the Scriptures recognize, and from hence the Apostle endeavours to lead them to the dispensation of the Son; to what *in these last days God hath spoken unto us by his Son*^x, that they should *take the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard*, not to neglect the great salvation, which was begun to be spoken by the Lord himself, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost^y. He observed to them that, in obeying Moses, they had not refused one that spake to them on earth: he exhorts them now agreeably hereto, not to *refuse him* who spake to them *from heaven*^z: in a word, the whole design of this Epistle is to set forth to the Hebrews, that *faith* had always come by hearing; that the foundation of all revealed religion had in all ages been the receiving and believing the word of God; and the intent of the eleventh chapter is to set before us a cloud of witnesses or examples of this fact: and to suppose any one instance given by the Apostle in this chapter to be intended to hint any other faith, than the belief of some explicit revelation, is to suppose the Apostle to have deviated from his argument to something entirely foreign, if not opposite to it.

But it will be here asked, What proof, or shadow of proof, can we bring of Enoch's having had any express revelation from God? I answer, 1. We are informed that Enoch pro-

^s See Job v. 8. Psalm cv. 4, 5. Isa. lviii. 2. viii. 19, 20. Deut. viii. 6.
² Kings xxiii. 3, &c. Job xxii. 22.

^t John xiv. 1.

^u Heb. i. 1.

^x Ver. 2.

^y Chap. ii. 1—3.

^z Heb. xii. 25.

phesied of the judgment to come, *that the Lord would come with thousands of his saints*—&c.^a 2. Moses informs us, that in Enoch's days *men began to call upon the name of the Lord*^b: upon which words I would observe, 1. That the expression in this place means, that at this time began the distinction of mankind's being called, some the *sons of God*, others the *sons of men*^c. 2. I have indeed observed, that the words *Kara beshem Jehovah* was an expression used of Abraham and his descendants, and signified that *they invoked God, in the name of the Lord who had appeared to Abraham*^d: but I do not think this expression to have been thus used before the days of Abraham^e. 3. A very learned and judicious writer observes, and gives instances, that the word *hochalî*, which we translate *began*, may signify *had hope*^g: and he remarks, that the Septuagint so understood and translated it. *Ὁδτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ*: to Enoch then *hope* was given in his being called by the name of the Lord his God. I can see no reason to reject what this able writer offers upon the text: and we may consider upon it, that the hope was undoubtedly great unto whom it was given to be called by this name: why ought we not to reason concerning them, as we may of ourselves? *Beloved, what manner of love* was herein *bestowed upon them, that they should be called the sons of God*^h! They were *now the sons of God*: undoubtedly it did not appear *what they shall be*; but

^a See Jude 14, 15.

^b Gen. iv. 26.

^c See Connect. vol. i. b. i. p. 25, 26.

^d See Connect. vol. i. b. v. p. 176.

I have been told that I must be thought to err in my giving this particular interpretation of the words *Kara beshem*. It is said, that the xviiiith chapter of the first Book of Kings, ver. 26. shews, that the expression signifies to *call on the name*. The priests of Baal, we are there told, *ויקראו בשם־הבעל*, *called upon the name of Baal, saying, O Baal, hear us*. Are we not here told plainly, that their saying, *O Baal, hear us*, was their calling upon the name of Baal? Why then must *Kareau beshem Baal* be any thing more than they *called upon the name of Baal*? I answer, we are easily herein misled by our rendering *leamor, saying*: had the *participle* been here used, *amarin, dicentes*, there would have been a greater plea for what is objected to me: but the *infinitive mood* with *le* prefixed, though it

may be often rendered by the gerund in *do*, in Latin [*leamor*] *dicendo*, is also many times to be rendered by the gerund in *dum*, [*leamor*] *ad dicendum*, (see Noldius in Partic.) and may signify *to the saying*: when thus used, it implies a proceeding from what was said before, to something further. We often pray unto God in the name of our Saviour; but we often proceed further, and say, *O Christ, hear us*. In this manner, the priests of Baal invoked in the name of Baal, *to the saying*, i. e. and proceeded even to pray, *O Baal, hear us*. *Kara shem*, or *Kara el shem*, may signify to *invoke or call upon the name*; but *Kara be shem* cannot admit this signification. See Connect. ubi sup.

^e Connect. vol. ii. b. vii. p. 346.

^f See Rutherford's Essay on Virtue, p. 297.

^g The Hebrew verb יהל is *speravit: desiderio expectavit, &c.*

^h See 1 John iii. 1.

as Enoch *prophesied* unto them, *that the Lord cometh, with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment*,—it must be, that all that had this hope of their calling, and held fast the profession of it, knew that *when he shall appear, they shall be like him, for they shall see him as he isⁱ: when he who is their life shall appear, they also shall appear with him in glory^k*. We may surely hence well understand what was the particular revelation made to Enoch; namely, a revelation of the hope of another world, and the supposing him translated for receiving and embracing this faith, and faithfully preaching it to others, himself living *an example of repentance* according to the *tenor* of it, is no more than supposing God to testify in him to the world, that what he had published by him was truth. Enoch was translated A. M. 987, which is 57 years after Adam's death^l: Enoch was born A. M. 622^m, above 300 years before the death of Adam: if we may suppose Enoch to have received and preached the revelation of this hope in about the middle of his life, we have the grounds for what the reader will find me to have offered; namely, that sometime before Adam died, God had given the hopes of another worldⁿ.

III. I have to consider, that sacrifices of the living creatures were not originally the invention of men. The writers that would argue them to be such, carry us back to the times of Orpheus, or of some other sage and wise personages of about his age, who reformed and civilized the barbarous clans of savage and uncultivated people, who overran the parts adjacent to them: they endeavour to shew us, that the first step they took to humanize the minds of those they conversed with, was to endeavour to dissatisfy them with the thoughts of eating the living creatures, and to persuade them, that taking away the life of any thing must be a violence that could not make the so doing an acceptable sacrifice to God. This, the poet tells us, was the endeavour of Orpheus in particular:

Sylvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum
 Cædibus et fædo victu deterruit Orpheus,
 Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rapidosque leones.

Hor.

Orpheus is supposed to have lived about the Argonautic times, later than A. M. 2700: but what if he, and all the

ⁱ 1 John iii. 2.

^k See Coloss. iii.

^l See the Table of the Lives and Deaths of the Antediluvian Patriarchs,

Connect. vol. i. b. i. p. 30.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ See hereafter, near the end of the volume.

reformers such as he was, had lived much earlier ; what if, not really knowing the history of the beginning of mankind, they had thought it a reasonable doctrine, very proper to repress and subdue the outrage and violence they saw the earth full of, when men not only destroyed the beasts of the field, but made as free with the lives of one another ; what, I say, if they deemed it a doctrine that might be effectual to put an end to these violences, to teach that the gods could not be pleased with blood ; that the first sacrifices of mankind were of the fruits of the earth, or mixtures of oil, milk, and honey, of odoriferous spices, herbs, and gums, of the leaves of trees, of nuts, acorns, and berries, of every thing that men could offer innocuous, neither doing violence to any thing to which God had given the breath of life, nor to one another ? Will it, because these doctrines have in them what is agreeable to the humanity of our nature, and might be thought reasonable to these men, who first taught these tenets ; will it, I say, hence follow, that what a well warranted history relates to us to have been fact near 3000 years before, was mere fiction and fable, because it does not accord to what was taught in these so much later times ?

If the natural tenderness and regret of human nature against all appearance of barbarity were made use of to shew how great a consternation it must have been to the first men, at a time when the creatures were not their food^o, and it could not but be more natural for them to say of every thing living,

——vitaque magis quam morte juvatis, *Ovid.*

when to see it living, must have been more agreeable as well as more useful^p, than to put it to death ; what less than a command from God, whenever they committed a sin, that the sin might not remain, and lie at their door^q, could have

^o The writers who would argue sacrifices of the living creatures to have commenced from human institution, would have it, that the eating flesh was before the flood ; that the command to Noah was to regulate, not to give the first liberty to eat flesh. See Philemon to Hydaspes, p. 55. Letter v. But what a mere pretence, without shadow of foundation, this is, let any one consider, who will examine what Lamech said at the birth of Noah, Gen. v. 29. If they had eat flesh as freely before the flood, as after Noah had obtained a grant of it, what

comfort did they want or could expect concerning their work and toil of their hands, because of the ground which the Lord had cursed ?

^p The heathen poets conceived that some creatures might be sacrificed upon account of their destroying the fruits of the earth, of the vines or trees, or otherwise having been prejudicial to men. See Ovid, *Fastor.* l. i. *Metam.* l. xv. But nothing of this sort can be imagined to have been Abel's reason for offering of the firstlings of his flock.

^q See Gen. iv. 7.

induced them to bring an innocent, and to them innocuous animal, to offer its blood upon account of their own transgression? Time and custom may reconcile us to almost any thing; but it is difficult to avoid the reflection, that when mankind came first to this service, it would truly *rent their hearts* to see, as it were, death, unto which they knew themselves must one day come; to have displayed before their eyes its pangs and agonies, inflicted by themselves on a creature that had no demerit; merely because they had themselves committed some offence against their God. Such a service could not but cause them both to think upon the victim and upon themselves. As to the suffering animal, how could they avoid asking, What *has this sheep done*? Upon themselves they must look with confusion of face, that what flesh and blood would naturally shrink back at, was without mercy to be performed, purely upon account of their misdoings: one would think, that whilst their minds were tender, (and they ought carefully to have kept them so,) nothing could have been enjoined them that could have been a more affecting rebuke of sin, to raise in them hearty desires, if possible, to sin no more, rather than to come often to repeat a service in its nature so disagreeable; to perform deliberately the rites of it: one would think, not Cain only, but all mankind, would have been glad to have avoided it, if the offering of the fruits of the ground might have been accepted instead of it.

In fact, sacrifices appear to have been offered thousands of years before any thing that can be cited concerning them from heathen writers was written; and in truth nothing can be hence cited to shew us the reason of them or their origin: sacrifices of the living creatures, as in the case of Abel, were made ages before mankind had any thought of eating flesh; and consequently, none of the weak reasons our ingenious writer supposes mankind might fall into, to induce them to offer to the gods in their injudicious way of thinking, part of what they experienced to be of sustenance to themselves, could have any place in their minds at all. From what is argued in the New Testament, the first sacrifices in the world came *of faith*, were made in obedience to some divine command: they may be apprehended to be an institution so dehortatory against sin, that even upon this account they would appear a command worthy of God, to creatures wanting to be strongly warned against it; and they bear such a reference to what was afterwards in reality to take away sin, and they might so instructively prepare

^r *Quid meruistis oves, placidum pecus*— Ovid.

the world to receive the revelation of it, when it should be more fully published, and to lead men to it; that, what is said for its being supposed to be an human institution being shewn to be frivolous and without foundation, I may, I think, without further controversy, refer the reader to what I have given as the reason of this institution, viz. that God, having determined what should in the fulness of time be the propitiation for the sins of the world, namely, *Christ*, who through his own blood obtained us eternal redemption, thought fit, from the time that man became guilty of sin, to appoint the creatures to be offered to represent the true offering, which was afterwards to be made for the sins of all men^s.

^s See Connect. vol. i. b. i. p. 51. My ingenious adversary (see Philemon to Hydaspes, Letter v. p. 31.) thinks it not reasonable to suppose that Abel offered sacrifice for any sin of Adam's; and would argue, from St. Paul's having said that *sin is not imputed without a law*, Rom. v. 13. that there was no law given in Abel's time that declared death to be the punishment of any sin but of the first transgression: and consequently, that there could be no reason that Abel should offer a sacrifice for any sin of his own. A little observation may both explain St. Paul's meaning, and clear the confusion raised by my antagonist. The Apostle thus argues: *As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, AND SO* (I should render it *EVEN SO*) *death passed upon all men, for that all men have sinned: for until the law sin was in the world.* The point to be observed is, that the Scriptures conclude *all men under sin*, Gal. iii. 22; affirm, that *there is no man on earth that sinneth not*, 1 Kings viii. 46. This therefore being an allowed truth, that sin was in the world until the law; that from Adam unto Moses, not Adam and Eve only, but every individual of their descendants, had actual sins of their own, the Apostle reasons, that there can be no injustice pretended that *ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν*, that *in Adam all die*, 1 Cor. xv. 22. *ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἡμαρτον* Rom. v. 12. not *in whom* all sinned, as our marginal reference would correct our version; for had this been intended, it would have been *ἐν ᾧ*, like *ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν* *ἐφ' ᾧ* is *eo quod, in that, or because: as by one man*, says the Apostle, *sin entered into the world, and death by sin; καὶ οὕτως*

—even so, in like manner, i. e. as deservedly, death hath passed upon all men. The foundation of which reasoning is plain: for *death being the wages of sin*, and all men having done the works of our first parents, having actually sinned as well as they, we not only receive in dying, but by our sins deserve, the same wages. Having thus stated this point, the Apostle proceeds to consider an objection. *But sin*, says he, *is not imputed where there is no law. Nevertheless, death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression*, ver. 13, 14. The Apostle's argument is so clear, I wonder it can be mistaken. He allows, that *sin is not imputed where there is no law*; which indeed is exactly what he elsewhere says, *where no law is, there is no transgression*, Rom. iv. 15. For as St. John observes, *sin is the transgression of a law*, 1 John iii. 4. *Nevertheless*, says he, notwithstanding all that may thus be reasoned, and although none, like our parents, have eat of the forbidden tree, yet death hath reigned from Adam down to Moses; all have received the wages of sin, and therefore in fact all have sinned: and consequently, as there would have been no sin, had there been no law, there certainly has been a law, which all men, every one, has in many instances failed of living up to, and in these failures every man living, or that has lived, has had actual sin: and thus the Apostle's argument concludes directly contrary to my ingenious correspondent. Abel had sin as well as all other men; but he would have had no sin, if he had not lived under some law: Abel therefore lived under the law of some revelation

I have here endeavoured very largely a reply to what has been objected to me upon this subject; I thought it to require a full consideration: I would as freely defend or retract any thing I have written, that other writers have thought wrong, if I apprehended it alike material: but where I think myself only misrepresented, or a controversy to be rather sought for, than to be of any service to truth, I wish to enjoy silence and quiet, rather than to trouble the world with a pother of altercation that can be of no utility. In some small points the reader may observe me to have varied from myself: when I began my Connection, I too hastily concluded, that *God appeared to Cain*^t; I thought this a mistake when I wrote my second volume^u. I have in the ensuing treatise followed what I apprehended upon second examination to be true^x: and yet I let my *error* stand in later editions of my first volume, as I at first printed it. I shall do the same thing, as to what I differ in this treatise from what I formerly conceived to be the situation of the garden of Eden^y: I would not, by having wrote, be confined from growing wiser; but hope the alterations of what I have written may not be necessarily so many, but that, if I live and have health to finish my Connection, they may be collected and referred to in a page by themselves, and the whole of what is printed continuing as it is, I may shew myself at least just to the world, in not printing new editions of any thing that is mine, such as may depreciate any former ones.

which appointed sacrifice for sin; and upon sinning, that his *sin* might *not remain* and *lie at his door*, believing and obeying what God had commanded, he offered his sacrifice, and therein *by faith* obtained forgiveness of sin.

If it was not foreign to the point before us to proceed to the context, we might refute by it a calumny of lord Bolingbroke against Eve: he says, she *damned* her children before she bare them. Study of History, Letter iii. p. 109. His lordship in no wise understood, how, *not as the offence in Adam, so also is the free gift in Christ*, Rom. v. 15. *In Adam* indeed *all died*, and *so in Christ shall all be made alive*, 1 Cor. xv. 22. But we shall not only be made alive; that might be given us, and we might live unto condemnation for our own sins: but the *free gift aboundeth* in the forgiveness of *many offences unto justification of life*,

Rom. v. 16—18. &c. And thus Eve damned none of her children; for there was no necessity that *any should thus terribly perish*. All were to *live again*: and to as many as would truly strive to obtain it, *power* was given to *become the sons of God*, to live unto honour, to glory, to eternal happiness. But this is not the only instance of this unhappy writer's most unwarrantable rashness: how dogmatically he can abuse even the Scriptures, not really knowing them, must be very evident to any one that will read Mr. Herve's most excellent Remarks on lord Bolingbroke's Letters; a treatise worth every one's attentive consideration.

^t Connect. vol. i. b. i. p. 2.

^u See vol. ii. b. ix. p. 525.

^x See hereafter, ch. iv.

^y Connect. vol. i. b. i. See hereafter, chap. viii.

The chief point inquired into in the ensuing treatise is indeed the direct opposite to what I see stated by the author I have often cited: "If we consider," says he, "the order of the sciences in their rise and progress, the first place belongs to natural philosophy, the mother of them all, or the trunk, the tree of knowledge, out of which, and in proportion to which, like so many branches, they all grow^z." The Scriptures, I think, teach otherwise: the first information man had came from hearing the word of God^a; and the first error, that came into the world, arose from our first parents opposing to it their *first philosophy*^b: their thought was indeed low and mean, not deserving to be called *philosophy*; but it was the supposed *science* of their day, and they ventured to be led by it, contrary to what God had commanded. If we proceed, the Scriptures shew us wherein the word of God was to be to man *the ground of truth*, and how human *science, falsely so called*, opposed to it, has been, and may still be, the root of all error: and the rightly determining how far we ought to begin under the guidance of *faith*, and wherein and how we may proceed to *add knowledge* to it, to *prove and examine whether we be in the truth*, in contradistinction to what some contend, that we must begin in knowledge, and hereby become perfect, is the one question, which, rightly stated and examined, will, according to what we determine concerning it, incline us to Deism, or to embrace and see the reason of the revelation set before us in the Scriptures; concerning which, with regard to myself, I will venture to say, I have studied them, not, as lord Bolingbroke imputes to us, *in order* (i. e. right or wrong determined) *to believe*; but, the more impartially I examine, I find more and more reason to believe them to be true, and accordingly, although I am a clergyman, I am verily persuaded, I believe and profess in matters of religion nothing but what, if I was a layman, I should believe and profess the same. His Lordship says of the clergy, in his round and large manner of affirming, that "in natural religion the clergy are unnecessary; in revealed they are dangerous guides^c." How far any will be guided by me, I hope I shall always know myself so well, as to leave that to their own choice. As to the inutility of my inquiries, and

^z Lord Bolingbroke's Letters to sir William Wyndham, and to Mr. Pope, p. 466.

^a Gen. ii. 15, 16. See the ensuing

Treatise, chap. iv. v.

^b Ibid. chap. ix. See chap. v. vii.

^c Lord Bolingbroke, ubi sup. pag.

531.

also the impartiality of them, here I confess myself to wish, as I think what I wish may be a good not absolutely terminating upon myself, that the reader will consider, with as unbiassed a freedom as I have written, how far he may exempt me out of his lordship's most absolute sentence of reprobation.

CANTERBURY,
June 2, 1753.

THE
CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

THAT mankind have not been in this world, nor this world itself been from eternity, may be proved by many arguments from the nature, and from what is and has in fact been the known state of the world in the diverse ages of it^a. But in what particular manner men at first began to be; where, and how they lived; are points we can be certain of no farther, than we have some authentic testimony declaring them unto us.

The heathen writers have given us their conjectures upon these subjects; but they are conjectures only^b: some part of what they offer might be admitted as probable, if we were not better informed, that in the beginning things were not done as they supposed: but, in having Moses's writings, we have a real history of these matters; and, as I have elsewhere^c made some observations upon his account of *the creation of the heavens and the earth*, I would herein examine what he relates concerning the creation of mankind; the manner and circumstances in which our first parents began their being, and the incidents which befell them; hoping that I may shew, that Moses's account may reasonably be

^a See archbishop Tillotson, Sermon. i. Wilkins, Nat. Rel. book i. c. 5.

^b Diodor. Sic. p. 5. lib. i.

^c Connect. Sac. and Prof. Hist. Pref. to vol. i.

believed to set before us what were real matters of fact, and that no part of what is related by him ought to be taken to be apologue and fable, as some writers are fond of representing^d.

That the subject I am attempting has many difficulties, I am ready to confess; and not willing to be too positive I can remove them all: but as I apprehend the substance of what I have to offer will be seen to carry an evident design to give a reason for, and thereby to establish the principles of revealed religion; I persuade myself I shall find all that candour, which I have long ago experienced the world not unwilling to bestow upon a well-intended endeavour, conducted, as I trust this shall be, without ill-nature or ill-manners to other writers, however I may happen to differ from them.

CHAP. I.

The Contents of the First and Second Chapters of Genesis; and how they are to be adjusted to each other.

THE first and second chapters of Genesis give us the whole of what Moses relates concerning the creation of mankind: and we shall see them to accord perfectly, the one to the other, if we consider the first chapter to give only a short and general account of this great transaction; and the second to be a resumption of the subject, in order to relate some particulars belonging to it, which in the conciseness of the first relation were passed over unmentioned.

In the first chapter, Moses, having recorded the several transactions of the five preceding days, begins the sixth day

^d It is observable, that some years ago the most forward writers expressed doubt and reserve in treating this subject: *Quædam esse parabolica in hac narratione neque penitus ad litteram exigenda omnes fere agnoscunt: nonnulli etiam totum sermonem esse volunt inordinatum artificiosam ad explicandas res veras*, said Dr. Burnet, *Archæolog. p. 283*. But we find writers, who have

added no argument beyond what Dr. Burnet had before offered, now more absolutely asserting, that the matter of Moses's account is inconsistent with the character of an *historical narration*, and must, they say, convince all, who consider it without prejudice, that it is wholly *fabulous* or *allegorical*. See Middleton's *Exam. p. 135*.

with God's creating the cattle, and living creatures of the earth^e, and then adds his determination to make man: *God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth^f.* After this, Moses tells us, that God effectuated his purpose: *so God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he HIM^g: unto which he adds, male and female created he them^h.* The Hebrew words are as I have below transcribed themⁱ: and they might be translated as I have underlined them: *the male and the female, he created THEM*, i. e. he created them *both*; not the male only, but the female also. The words of Moses are very plain: he tells us that God, on the sixth day, created the woman as well as the man; he does not say that God created both at the same instant, nor in the same manner; for this he distinctly considers in the next chapter: but he here hints to us, that God made both the male and the female within the time of this sixth day: and Moses's expression gives no ground for the conceits concerning Adam before Eve was taken out of him, in which some writers have egregiously trifled^k.

After both the man and the woman were created, God blessed them, and said unto them, *Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the*

^e Gen. i. 24, 25.

^f Ver. 26.

^g Ver. 27.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ וְכָר וּנְקָה בָרָא אֱהָם
eos creavit et feminam marem.

^k Some fanciful writers have represented, that the man was at first created of two bodies, a male and a female; and that God of these made two persons, by dividing or separating the one body from the other; and it is generally said, that this was a fiction of the Rabbins: but I should apprehend it to be of a more early ori-

ginal. Plato's fable of the Androgynes (see Plat. in Conviv. vol. iii. p. 189. edit. Serrani) shews us what sort of traditions he met with in searching through the then ancient literature; and I should think it no unreasonable supposition, that a figment of this kind might have its first rise in those early times, when the Egyptians and Phœnicians began or made proficiency in disguising the plain narrations they found of the origin of things with their fables and mythology. See Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10. Connect. of Sac. and Prof. Hist. vol. ii. b. viii.

face of all the earth, and every tree, in the 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^l. And now the evening and the morning were the sixth day^m. The sixth day was now completed, and the seventh day began, on which God, having finished the creation, rested from all the work which he had made: and God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work which he had created and madeⁿ. These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created^o.

Moses here ends his summary, or general account of the creation: and here, I think, the dividers of our Bible into chapters and verses should have ended the first chapter of Genesis; and the second chapter should have begun with these words, *In the day that the Lord made the earth and the heavens, &c.*

The second chapter of Genesis being, as I have hinted, a resumption of the argument treated in the first, in order to set forth more explicitly some particulars which the first chapter had only mentioned in the general, begins thus: *In the day that (i. e. when^p) the Lord made the earth and the heavens, and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the Lord God had not caused it^q to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground; nor^r did a mist go up from the earth, and*

^l Gen. i. 28—30.

^m Ver. 31. This was the ancient original way of computing the natural day: it began from the morning, proceeded to the evening, and continued until the next morning; finished the preceding, and began the ensuing day: thus the evening and the morning were the day. Gen. i. 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31. And in this way of computing the Jews continued to their latest times: for thus we are told of the end of the sabbath, Matt. xxviii. 1. The sabbath was ending, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week. The end of the night which had closed the sabbath was the end of the computed day: the

day following began with the morning sun.

ⁿ Gen. ii. 2, 3.

^o Ver. 4.

^p *Eo die*, i. e. *quando*—*Dies tempus in genere passim dicitur*. Cleric. in loc.

^q We begin this sentence with the particle *for*. The Hebrew text having the particle ׀ [oi], we put in *for* to answer it: but *ci* should be here rendered *nempe*, *quidem*, *indeed*, not *for*; the sentence not being, *for the Lord God had not caused it to rain*—; but rather, *the Lord God had indeed not caused it to rain*.—

^r We render this paragraph, *but there went up a mist from the earth*, in the

water the whole face of the ground: *But the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul. And the Lord God had^s planted a garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had formed.* In this manner Moses proceeds to reconsider the creation of man; first observing, that of itself, or by any powers of its own, the earth had produced nothing. It was an ancient opinion, and very early in Egypt, where Moses had his birth and education, that the earth originally of itself brought forth its fruits, and plants, and trees, and all kinds of living creatures, and men^t: and some opined, that the natural fertility of the ground for these purposes was put in action either by the rain which fell from heaven, or by some moisture exhaled

affirmative; whereas the sense of the place shews us, that Moses intended to assert that God made all things, before any natural powers were in activity to be the cause of their production. The Hebrew particle *v*, *ve*, is here used, and joins similar, i. e. negative sentences. *There was no man to till the ground, nor mist went up from the earth.* The Arabic version has observed the true meaning of the place, rendering it, *nec exhalatio ascendebat*, &c.

^s We say *planted*, in the perfect tense: but the Hebrew perfect tense is often used in the sense of a preterpluperfect, to speak of things done in a time past. This the Syriac version seems rightly to observe in a passage like this in the 19th verse of this chapter. We say, *the Lord God formed out of the ground every beast*—, as if God then made them; whereas the beasts were made some time before: the Syriac version is rendered, *and the Lord God had formed*—, and thus we should render the place before us: *and the Lord God had planted a garden*—; for the garden was undoubtedly planted on the third day of the creation, when God caused all the plants and trees to spring out of the earth, Gen. i. 11, 12, 13. Vide Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. i. p. 5. The Greeks had sentiments of this kind from Egypt: for thus Euripides,

Ὄς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μόρφῃ μιᾷ
Ἐπει δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα,

τίκτουσι πάντα κἀμέδωκαν εἰς φάος,
τὰ δένδρα, πτηνὰ, θήρας, οὐς θ' ἄλμη
τρέφει,
Γένος τε θνητῶν—.

In Menalippe. Fr. 22.

^t The Roman poet seems to have been in doubt between two opinions in this matter; rather inclining to introduce an *opifex rerum* into all the produce of the whole creation; but not absolutely determining against the opinion of all things arising from their natural seeds in the earth, as soon as the earth was aptly disposed to give rise to them.

*Vix ita limitibus discreverat omnia
certis,
Cum quæ pressa diu massa latuere
sub ipsa
Sidera cæperunt toto effervescente
cælo:
Næ regio foret ulla suis animalibus
orba,
Astra tenent cæleste solum, formæ
que deorum,
Cesserunt nitidis habitandæ piscibus
undæ;
Terra feras cepit, volucres agitabilis
aer:
Natus homo est, sive hunc divino
semine fecit
Ille opifex rerum, mundi melioris
origo;
Sive recens tellus seductaque nuper
ab alto
Æthere cognati retinebat semina
cæli.*

Ovid. Metamorph.

from the earth, fertilized by the sun, and, falling down in a mist, spread abroad over the face of the ground^u. But Moses, contrary to all the imaginations of this philosophy, affirms, that by the word of God only all things were made; that there was not a plant which God did not create before it was in the earth; nor an herb, which he had not made before it grew; and that God had made them all, before either rain or dew had watered the earth, or the earth had had any tillage from the hand of man; for that all the produce of the world had its beginning before there was any man to till the ground: but that, other things being thus set in order, God last of all made man. He had, as I have observed, before told us, that God made man; and that he made two persons, the male and the female^x: he now proceeds more distinctly to relate, of what materials God made them both; when and how they were created, where he placed them, and what command and directions he gave them, as soon as he gave them being.

And, 1. *God made the man of the dust of the ground, breathed into him the breath of life, and caused him to become a living souly.* 2. He put him into the garden which he had planted, to *dress it, and keep it*; and, having therein caused to grow *every tree* either *pleasant to the sight, or good for food*; the *tree of life* also, and *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil*^z;—*the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*^a. 3. Having given the man this injunction, *the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him*^b. But, 4. before God proceeded to make this *meet help* for man, the beasts of the field being before formed^c, and every fowl of the air, God brought Adam to a trial how

^u Thus perhaps they thought who would have sung with Pindar, Ἀριστον μὲν ἔδωκε Olymp. Ode i. or thought with Thales,—*Aquam esse initium rerum.* Cicero Lib. de Nat. Deor. i. c. 10.

^x Gen. i. 27.

^y Gen. ii. 7.

^z Ver. 9.

^a Ver. 16, 17.

^b Ver. 18.

^c We render the place, *God formed*; but, as I have before observed, the Syriac version is rightly translated, *God had formed*; for the creatures were made before man.

he might name them^d: and, after this, 5. *God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof. And the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman; because she was taken out of the man*^e. These are the particulars relating to the creation of mankind, which Moses distinctly mentions in this second chapter: and if we would place them in order as they were done, together with what is hinted in the first chapter, we might add them between the 27th and 28th verses of the first chapter. *God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him; and the male and the female he created both of them*^f. The male he *formed of the dust of the ground*^g; placed him in the garden, commanded him his duty there^h; declared that he did not intend him to be aloneⁱ; called him to try to name the creatures of the world^k; then caused him to fall into a deep sleep, and out of the man made the woman to take her beginning^l. And now both the male and the female being created, God gave them both the general blessing, and said unto them all that Moses farther adds in the 28th, 29th, and 30th verses of the first chapter: in all which the two chapters entirely agree, and the second is no more than a supplement to the former: for I think it needless to remark, that there is no manner of contradiction between the first chapter's giving them leave *to eat of every tree upon the face of all the earth*^m, when the second shews plainly, that of one tree in the garden they were not to eatⁿ; it is only to be observed, that the forbidden tree was one tree only, and that growing in the garden; there was no forbidden tree out of the garden all over the world; the restraint, as to one tree, was enjoined to be observed by them within their garden, but wherever they went out of their garden into the earth to replenish and subdue it, all was common; they had

d Gen. ii. 19, 20.

e Ver. 21—23.

f Ch. i. 27.

g Ch. ii. 7.

h Ver. 11—17.

i Ver. 18.

k Ver. 19, 20.

l Ver. 21, 22.

m Ch. i. 29.

n Ch. ii. 17.

no care to inquire, whether a like tree with that prohibited in the garden grew any where else in the world; for all that grew without the garden, every tree, and every herb upon the face of the earth, was indiscriminately given them for meat.

CHAP. II.

Some Considerations of some of the Particulars related by Moses to belong to Adam's First Day.

NO sooner was Adam created, than, Moses tells us, he heard the voice of God^o; and that, I think, upon two different points: *first*, he was audibly commanded, that he should not eat of the forbidden tree^p; *secondly*, he was told, that he should not live alone, for that God would make for him *an help*, that should be his likeness^q. Without doubt he sufficiently understood what was thus spoken to him, otherwise the voice of God had spoken to him in vain. But it will be here queried, How should Adam, having never before heard words, instantly know the meaning of what the voice of God thus spake to him? May we not fully answer this question by another? How did the Apostles, and such of the early disciples of Christ as God so enabled^r, instantly know words, viz. the meaning of words, in tongues or languages never before heard or understood by them? The

^o Gen. ii. 16.

^p Ibid.

^q Ver: 18. I apprehend the word, which our version renders *an help meet for him*, might be translated, *an help, that shall be his likeness*. The Hebrew words are, עֹזֵר כְּנֶגְדוֹ, *nezer cenegado*: the interlinear Latin renders them, *auxilium quasi coram eo, an help as it were before him*, i. e. in his sight or presence, to stand ready to receive his instructions, to aid and execute them. But I do not find the word *neged* ever thus used: to *stand before*, or in the *presence of one*, ready for his aid or service, is, I think, always otherwise expressed in Scripture: see Deut. x. 8. 1 Sam. xvi. 22. &c. Some of

the versions intimate the meaning of this passage to be, that God would make for Adam an help *like himself*: *adjutorium simile sibi*, says the vulgar Latin; βοηθόν κατ' αὐτόν, says the Septuagint. The Syriac is, *adjutorem similem ipsi*. Onkelos, *adjutorium quasi eum*. And why may we not, instead of taking the word *neged* to be a preposition, and to signify *coram, before*, or in the *presence of*, suppose it to be a noun substantive from the verb *nagad, indicavit*, and translate *cenegado, quasi indicium ejus*; I would say in English, *an indicating, or, as it were, a speaking likeness of him?*

^r 1 Corinth. xii 10—30.

spirit of God in both cases raised in the mind the *ideas* intended, as far as God was pleased to have them perceived, which the words spoken would have raised, had a knowledge of such words in a natural way been attained. God, who *planted the ear*, hath given us to hear; has so made us, that whatever sound strikes that organ, shall move the mind of him who hears it. But in themselves words are but *mere* sounds; when they strike the ear, the understanding instantly and naturally judges whether they are *soft* or *loud*, *harsh* or *agreeable*; i. e. how the ear is affected by them. But to give words a meaning; to make them carry, not only the voice of the speaker to the hearer's ear, but the intention of the speaker's mind to the hearer's heart; this comes not naturally from mere hearing, but from having learned what intention is to be given to such words as are spoken to us. Should a man hear it said to him, *Bring the bread*; it is evident that if the words had never before been heard by him, they would be to him sounds of no determinate meaning: but let the word *bread* be repeated to him, and the loaf shewed him, until he perceives that whenever he hears the word *bread* the loaf is intended by it; let him farther, upon hearing the word *bring*, see the action intended by this word done until he apprehends it; and from that time the words, whenever he hears them, will speak their design to him. But should we now say, that therefore some process of this sort must have been necessary for our first parents' understanding what God in the beginning of their being was pleased to cause in words to be heard by them, we err most inconsiderately, neither attending to the Scriptures nor to the power of God. The Scriptures shew us, in the instance of the Apostles and early disciples above mentioned, that God has in fact, long since the days of Adam, made men instantly understand words never before heard or learned by them; and he can undoubtedly, from any sound heard, teach the heart of man what knowledge he pleases, instantly causing, from any words spoken, such sentiments to arise in the mind as he thinks fit to cause by them: a matter, I apprehend, so plain, that it cannot want in the general to be argued; though it may not be improper,

before I leave this topic, to consider a little farther what extent or compass of *ideas* we may reasonably suppose our first parents had of the things spoken to them from the words of God in this their first day heard by them.

An ingenious writer has queried upon this subject: How could Eve, upon hearing that death was threatened to the eating of the forbidden tree, have any notion of what could be meant by dying^s, having neither seen nor felt any thing like it? Our author seems to opine, that our first parents could have no *ideas* of death at all, if they had not such sentiments as time and experience enabled them to form, and gradually to have more and more enlarged of it: whereas nothing can be more obvious, than that if upon hearing what God threatened, namely, that they should die, God caused them to apprehend that they should cease to be, though the manner *how* might in nowise be conceived by them; a general notion of this sort might have been sufficient for them. The first *idea* of dying was undoubtedly not the image which they afterwards came to have of it, when they slew their first sacrifice; and their *idea* of death became afterwards farther augmented with new terrors. The murder of their son Abel by Cain shewed them more plainly how it would affect them in their own persons; and many incidents, very probably, occasioned them additional observations and reflections concerning it; although as we cannot, so neither could they have their *idea* of death full and complete, until they had gone through their own dissolutions. But as in this one instance, so in all others, the sentiments which God was pleased to raise in the minds of our first parents of the things he spake to them, were no more than as it were their first and unimproved notions of those things; God did not cause them to think of them in that extent and variety of conception, which they came afterwards to have about them, as their thoughts enlarged by a farther acquaintance with the things spoken of, and with other

^s Quo die comedetis moriemini—
Mori! Quid hoc rei est inquit ignara
virgo, quæ nihil unquam mortuum vi-
derat, ne florem quidem, neque mortis

imaginem, somnum, vel noctem, ocu-
lis vel animo adhuc senserat. *Burnet,*
Archæol. p. 291.

things, from which they distinguished, or with which they compared them. In and from the words which God was pleased to speak to them, he gave them some plain and obvious sentiments, which were the first beginnings of the thoughts of their lives; conceptions which grew gradually, and produced others more enlarged and diversified, as they grew more and more acquainted with themselves and the things of the world.

It may here be considered, whether God was pleased to give Adam and Eve to understand all the words of some one language, so that whatever was said to them in that particular tongue was immediately conceived and understood by them. It has been by many supposed, that God endowed them with both the speaking and understanding some innate language; but I confess myself not to see sufficient reasons for this sentiment, as I have suggested in another place^t. The author of Ecclesiasticus does indeed tell us of our first parents, that *they received the use of the five operations of the Lord, and in the sixth place he imparted them understanding, and in the seventh speech, an interpreter of the cogitations thereof*^u; but we shall hastily go beyond the true sentiment of this considerate writer, if we conclude from it, that God instantly gave Adam every word he was to introduce into his language, or gave him instantly to understand every word of that language in which God spake, by whomsoever any word of it might have been spoken to him. The author of Ecclesiasticus does indeed pronounce the speech of man to be the gift of God; but in like manner he represents the perception of man by his five senses, and the judgment of man by his understanding, to be so too^x; not meaning that, in giving man speech, God actually gave him every word he was to utter, any more than that, in giving him the *five operations* of his senses, or in giving him *understanding*, God planted innate in him every *idea* his senses were to raise in him; or actually formed upon his mind every sentiment that was to be his judgment and understanding of the things that were perceived by him. Rather, in all these cases,

^t See Connect. vol. i. book ii.

^u Ecclesiasticus xvii. 5.

^x Ibid.

God gave a capacity or abilities only: in the one, he made man capable of sensations of the things without him; in the other, able to form a judgment of the things perceived by him, and, in language capable of uttering sounds, and of judging, from what he had heard from the voice of God, how he might make his own sounds significant to himself, and in time to others, to intend what he might fix and design by each sound to point out and denominate. In this manner Adam and Eve might form for themselves all the words of their language, over and besides those few which had actually been spoken to them by the voice of God: their immediately understanding these was unquestionably from him who spake to them^y; but because they were instantly enabled, by the power of God, who could affect their minds as he pleased, to understand each word that proceeded *from the mouth of God*, (for otherwise they could not have been instructed by God's speaking to them,) that therefore they should as readily understand all the words of some one whole tongue: herein there is no consequence.

Some writers do indeed set forth Adam abounding in a great fluency of speech, pouring forth the fulness of his heart in most eloquent *soliloquies*, as soon as he perceived he was in being^z; but a considerate inquirer will think this very unnatural. Adam, though created a man, not in the imbecility of infancy and childhood, cannot be supposed to have had a mind stored with *ideas* (and without these what could be his thoughts?) before he attained them by sensations from without, or reflections upon his perceptions within: and shall we think him to have had words upon his tongue sooner or faster than he acquired sentiments? Moses introduces Adam into the world in a manner far more natural: whatever Adam heard and understood from the voice of God, Moses does not hint him to have attempted to speak a word, until God called him to try to name the creatures^a; so that here we find the first attempt Adam made to speak. And we see the manner and the process of it; God, we are told, brought the beasts of the field and the fowls of the

^y Vide quæ sup.

viii. ver. 273.

^z See Milton's Paradise Lost, book

^a Gen. ii. See to ver. 19,

air^b unto Adam, *to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof*^c. After Adam had been called to this trial, we find him able to name the woman^d. But before this trial we read nothing that can cause us to think he attempted to speak at all; but rather, an attention to what was said to him by the voice of God entirely engrossed him. *God brought to Adam the creatures, to see what he would call them; i. e. to put Adam upon considering how to name them.* But how superfluous a thing would this have been, if Adam had had an innate word for every creature that was to be named by him? Whenever he saw a thing, the innate name for it would have readily offered itself without trial; he must have had that name for it, and he could have had no other: but the text plainly supposes Adam, in naming the creatures, to have been more at liberty; *whatsoever Adam named every living creature, that was the name thereof.* He might have called them by other names than he did, he might have fixed this or that sound, just as he inclined to call this or that creature, and therefore had no innate names for any; but, having determined with himself what sound to use for the name of one, and what for another, God Almighty herein not interposing, he was left to himself, and so fixed what he determined for the name of it. But,

I cannot but confess, that an incident which follows may require our examination before we leave the point before us. If we consider how Eve was affected when the serpent spake to her^e, we see no reason to think she had any difficulty in understanding any part of what was said to her; she as readily took the meaning of what the serpent expressed to her, as either she or Adam had before apprehended what had been spoken to them by the voice of God: *God doth know, said the serpent, that in the day that ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil*^f. God had said nothing to them concerning their

^b The fact here related will be more distinctly considered chap. iii.

^c Gen. ii. 19.

^d Ver. 23.

^e Ch. iii.

^f Ver. 5.

eyes being opened, nor of their being *as gods*; and therefore, if they had no farther knowledge of the meaning of words, than of those only which the voice of God had spoken to them, here seem to have been sounds never before heard by them, and how could these be so readily received and apprehended? We can in nowise suppose the serpent to have had God's power to make his words instantly as intelligible to Eve as he pleased.

And it will increase the difficulty, if we may consider the words here spoken to carry not a plain, but a *metaphorical* meaning: their *eyes* were to be *opened*, i. e. say some, their understandings were to be enlarged; *open thou mine eyes*, said the Psalmist, *and I shall see wondrous things from thy law*^g. The Psalmist here prays for what he elsewhere expresses in words without the figure, that God, *through his commandments*, would *make him wiser*; would give him *more understanding* than he should have had without them^h: and it may seem that, according to Moses, the event of their eyes being opened was, *they knew they were naked*ⁱ; they had a different knowledge of themselves, other than what they had before; so that we may perhaps think, that Moses here used the eye of the body *metaphorically* for the sense of the understanding, intending by the opening of the one the increase of the judgment of the other. And if this was the meaning of the words of the serpent to Eve, and if Eve thus understood them, she cannot be conceived to have been at this time a mere novice in language, just beginning to form first notions of a few original and plain words; rather we must think her an adept in the tongue the serpent spake in, to have a ready conception of all the elegance of its diction, to give its *metaphors* and figurative expression their true meaning, to receive and feel the full and real import of them. But to all this I answer:

1. There was no *metaphor* intended by Moses in the words in which he has expressed what the serpent said to Eve; the diction of the Psalmist is indeed *figurative*, *Open thou mine*

^g Psalm cxix. 18.

^h Ver. 98, 99.

ⁱ Gen. iii. 7.

eyes, and I shall see wondrous things from thy law^k; but the word used for *open* is not the same with that of Moses: *Gal nainai*, says the Psalmist^l. The word here used is a termination of the verb *galah*; but Moses expresses the serpent's words to Eve, *Your eyes shall be opened*, *niphkechu neineicem*^m: Moses's word for *shall be opened* is a termination of the verb *pakach*. The Hebrew language has both these verbs, and we render both by the word *open*: but the one only, namely, *galah*, speaks in the metaphorical sense; means, by opening the eye, instructing the understanding, either by our forming a better judgment of things, or when God by vision, or in any other manner, was pleased to give an extraordinary revelationⁿ. *Pakach nain* signifies no more than *to see*, what is the object of the natural eye^o: and to this meaning it is confined so strictly, that although *pakach nain* is sometimes said of God, when God is spoken of, *after the manner of men*, yet it is used only where God is said to look upon such outward actions as can come under the observation of the eye^p: wherever God is said to regard what can be matter of the attention of the mind only, the expression *pakach nain* is, I think, not used.

Pakach nain therefore carries the intention no farther than to the outward sight; signifies no more than to open the eye of the body: I might say, it has such a propriety to express this, and this only, that as *facere* in Latin may be put, as it were, idiomatically for *to sacrifice*,

Cum faciam vitulâ— Virg.

so a participle of the verb *pakach*, without *nain*, the word for *eye*, after it, may be used in the Hebrew language for *one who has his eye-sight*, in opposition to the being blind^q; so that we use Hebrew words, not in their Hebrew or true meaning, if we take Moses, by the words he has used, to intend the serpent to have herein said any thing referring farther than to their natural eye. †But,

^k Psalm cxix. ubi sup.

^l גל-עיני ל

^m נִפְקַחוּ עֵינֵיכֶם, Gen. iii. 5.

ⁿ See Numb. xxiv. 4.

^o Gen. xxi. 9. 2 Kings iv. 35. vi. 17, 20. Prov. xx. 13.

^p See 2 Kings xix. 16. Isa. xxxvii.

17. Dan. ix. 18, &c.

^q Exodus iv. 11. xxiii. 8.

† It may perhaps be here queried, whether the words in this place used by Moses were the very words spoken

2. Let us observe, that in what the serpent said to Eve, he was for the greater part confined to use the very words, and none other, than what both Eve and Adam had heard and understood from the voice of God; and therefore all these she readily understood as she had before heard and understood them. Accordingly, there could be nothing in the serpent's first address to Eve, *Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden*^{s?} but what she must have readily understood from God's having said, *Of every tree of the garden ye may freely eat*^t: only we may remark, that though Moses has in divers places historically called God *Elohim*^u, yet that God not having as yet so named himself to her and Adam, the word *Elohim*, God, might not have been heard by Eve before the serpent spake it to her. But if this was in fact true, as there was no other person but one that had spoken before this to her or Adam, there could be no confusion in her hearing the serpent call him *Elohim*, God; she must readily understand who by that name was intended by him. To go on: The serpent's next words, *Ye shall not surely die*^x, must instantly, when spoken, be sufficiently understood, from her having understood what God had said before, *ye shall surely die*^y; as any one that understands a proposition affirmed, must understand the denial of that same proposition. The serpent proceeded; *For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, (ce Elohim, as God) knowing good and evil*. Here I would observe, that *in the day that ye eat thereof* had been before said to them from the mouth of God^z, and that God had called the tree *the tree of the knowledge of good and evil*^a; and therefore from what God had in

by the serpent? And indeed I should apprehend they were not; as I do not conceive that Moses's Hebrew was the first original unimproved language of the world. See Connect. vol. i. b. ii. But as we have all reason, whether we conceive Moses to have wrote by an immediate inspiration; or whether, under a divine direction, he wrote from ancient memoirs of his forefathers, which perhaps were recorded in an older, and perhaps then obsolete diction; we may and ought to allow,

that he expressed in the language of his own times, with a strict propriety, what the serpent had spoken in words of the same meaning, though probably of a more antique form, construction, and pronunciation.

^s Gen. iii. 1.

^t Ch. ii. 16.

^u Ch. i. and ii.

^x Ch. iii. 4.

^y Ch. ii. 17.

^z Ibid.

^a Ibid.

these words said to them, all the sentiment she had of knowing, and of knowing good and evil, may be conceived to arise upon the serpent's in these like terms speaking to her. The serpent told her they should be *as gods*: we render it in the *plural* number, but not rightly; for it is not reasonable to imagine the serpent intimated to her herein, that there were spiritual beings, many in number, in the invisible world; this as yet did not enter her imagination: she and Adam had heard but one that spake to them; the serpent had told Eve that this person was *Elohim*^b; he here tells her, that if they eat of the tree, they should increase in knowledge of good and evil, be *ce Elohim*, like *him*: and herein, as far as they had any notions of what knowledge was, nothing unintelligible was proposed to her.

There remains still to be considered, what she expected from what seemed promised in the words, *your eyes shall be opened*: but I may fully answer this in three or four observations. 1. I have already said that these words have no reference to the improvement of the knowledge of the mind: what the tempter offered concerning that came afterwards under the words *Ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil*. The words concerning their *eyes being opened* are such, that, according to the Hebrew idiom, they speak no more than some enlargement of their outward sight. 2. I would remark, that it cannot be necessary to say that Eve had an adequate and full notion of the true meaning of these words. The writers that would puzzle and perplex this matter, would contend, that the fall happened immediately after the creation; but we can in nowise find any one reason for such an assertion. Rather, I apprehend, we shall see what may induce us to think that several days intervened between the sabbath after^c the day of Adam and Eve's creation, and the day on which the serpent tempted Eve.

^b Gen. iii. 1.

^c See hereafter. Syncellus cites the *Λεπτά Γενέσεως* to say, that Adam was guilty of the transgression in his seventh year, and expelled Paradise in his eighth. Syncelli Chronogr. p. 8. What the minutes of Genesis here cited

were, I cannot say, nor by whom made; their authority can avail only to hint, that there have been ancient writers who did not think the fall to have been so instantaneous as others have since imagined.

On the night of each of these days, Adam and Eve, in the course of nature, had known what sleep was, and how it differed from the being awake, and therefrom what it was to *shut the eye*, and what it was to *open it*; and probably had made themselves, before the serpent spake to Eve, a name for the one and a name for the other; and therefore, though the serpent here used words which they had not heard from the mouth of God, yet he might not herein use words which they had not agreed to make, and had daily spoken to and heard from themselves, and consequently were words that were not without meaning. I do not say that Adam or Eve, at hearing these words, conceived exactly the event which afterwards came to pass; for it is obvious to observe, that we may be said to know the general meaning of words, sufficiently to give us expectations from them, and yet not be able determinately to see their full extent and import. Every one that has a common understanding of the Greek tongue would, upon reading the Philosopher, *καθαρμοὶ ψυχῆς λογικῆς εἰσι αἱ μαθηματικαὶ ἐπιστημαὶ*^d, apprehend that these studies may greatly improve us; as the English reader may, from no better translation of the words than, *the mathematics are purgations of the reasonable mind*: but the particular improvement to be had from them would not hence be known to any, who had not experienced the habit that may be acquired from these studies of pursuing long trains of ideas variously intermingled, so as to see through all the steps that truly lead to the most distant conclusions. Whether Eve, well knowing, from many days' experience, wherein the opening the eye differed from the shutting it, thought that after eating the fruit she should never more slumber nor sleep; or whether she conceived such an addition to their sight, as that they might thenceforth be able to see Him whom hitherto they had heard only without his being visible to them^e, I cannot say: but may conceive her to have formed to herself great expectations, without reaching the full meaning of the words, much less apprehending what

^d Hierocles in aurea Carmina Pythag.

^e No divine appearance is recorded

to have been seen before the days of Abraham. See Connect. book ix. p.

525.

became in reality the event of them. Upon the whole: when God was pleased to speak to Adam and Eve, they having not before heard words, it is not to be conceived that they could have understood what the voice of God spake, unless God had caused them to understand the words spoken. But allowing that God enabled them to perceive what he thought fit to say to them, and duly attending to what Moses relates farther, we shall see no reason to think that any thing more was said to them, or that they hurried into the world, or the things of the world broke in upon them faster, or in a greater variety, than they could form themselves words to talk of, and to know distinctly, as far as their knowledge did, or it was necessary it should then reach, the things they had to hear or to speak, to be concerned in, or affected with in their lives: and therefore no more being necessary for them, than that God should cause them so to understand what he thought fit to speak to them, we justly conclude, that, as to making other words, and settling the meaning and intention of them, he left our first parents to do what he had given them full powers and opportunity to do, in a natural way for themselves, unto which God was pleased to lead Adam, as far as he herein wanted guidance and direction, in the manner which shall be set forth in the ensuing chapter.

CHAP. III.

A Consideration of the particular Manner in which God was pleased to lead Adam to name the living Creatures of the World.

THE fact, which I am in this chapter to inquire into, is thus related to us by Moses: *Out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam, to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the*

fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field^f. To form a right judgment of what is here said to be done, we must not too hastily set down with our English version of Moses's words, but inquire more strictly into the text of Moses, and examine how he indeed relates this matter.

The words of Moses are :

*Veÿtzer Jehovah Elohim min ha Adamah col chajath hassedah, ve'ath Col Noph hashemaim, vejabea æl ha Adam lireoth mah jikrah lo : Ve col asher jikra lo ha Adam nepesh chajah hua Shemo : vejikra ha Adam Shemoth lecol habeshema ve lenoph has Shemaim ve lecol chajath hassedah*g.

The passage verbally translated is as follows: *And the Lord God formed out of the ground every beast of the field, and every fowl of the heavens; and he brought unto Adam to see what he would call IT. And whatsoever Adam called IT, THE LIVING CREATURE, that was the name of IT. And Adam gave names to every living creature, and to the fowls of the heavens, and to every beast of the field.*

It is observable of the passage, that the first period of it, namely, *And the Lord God formed out of the ground every beast of the field, and every fowl of the heavens*, was not intended to hint to us that God now, at this juncture, created any living creatures anew: rather the words should have been rendered agreeably to what is the translation of the Syriac version^h, *the Lord God had formed*—; for they are not a relation that God now made them, but a recognition of

^f Gen. ii. 19, 20.

^g The Hebrew words are, and may be written and interlined as follows :

	ויצר יהוה אלהים מן הארמה כל חית השדה
	agri animal omne humo ex Deus Dominus et formavit
	ואת כל-עוף השמים ויבא אל האדם
	Adamum ad et adduxit cœlorum volatile omne acetiam
נפש חיה	לראות מה יקראלו וכל אשר יקראלו
vivens animal	ipse Adam illi nomen dedit quod et omne daret illi nomen quid ad videndum
	הוא שמו :ויקרא האדם שמות לכל הבהמה
	bestiæ omni nomina ipse Adam et edixit nomen ejus hoc
	ולעוף השמים ולכל חית השדה
	agri animali et omni cœlorum et volatili

^h *Compegerat autem Dominus Deus de humo omnem bestiam. Vide Walt. Polyglott. Syr. Vers. in loc.*

what had been before related, that God had been the creator both of the birds and cattleⁱ; none of which were now made at this time: for the one were created a day sooner than Adam^k, the other on the same day, but earlier and before him^l.

In like manner the words which begin the 20th verse, *And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field*, do not mean that Adam now, at this one time, gave names to all living creatures; but are rather a remark, that the names of the creatures were given by Adam, and by no other: he himself, [*ha Adam*] says the text, named them; not now, all at once; that undoubtedly would have been too much for him: but he named them gradually, some at one time, and some at another, in the process of his life, as incidents happened to give occasion for his so doing.

That the fact really was not that Adam now named all the creatures, is evident from the very express words of Moses, which relate the particular we are examining: the words of Moses are, *And the Lord God brought unto Adam to see what he would call IT^m; and whatsoever Adam called IT, THE LIVING CREATUREⁿ, that was the name of IT^o*. The question here to be asked is, What did God bring unto the man? Our English version, following other translations, says THEM; i. e. *every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air*, for these are the words which THEM must refer to: but we are to observe, that the word THEM is not in the Hebrew text; according to Moses, the name given by Adam was [לֹא] *lo*, i. e. to IT: the pronoun is of the singular number, not plural: and the next sentence expresses this more fully; the words being not as we render the text, *And whatsoever Adam called every living creature*.—There is no word in the text for *every*: the Hebrew words say, *Whatsoever Adam*

ⁱ See Gen. i.

^k Ver. 20.

^l Ver. 21.

^m *Lireoth mah jikra lo*. Gen. ii. 19.

ⁿ *Ve col asher jikra lo ha Adam nepesh chajath hu*. Shemo. Ibid.

^o *Hua Shemo*. Ibid. The Samaritan

text is rendered more strictly to the Hebrew words in the Latin translation of it in our Polyglot Bible thus; *Ad duxitque ad Adam, ut videret, quomodo vocaret illud: et omne quod vocaret illud Adam animæ viventis hoc est nomen ejus*.

called *IT*, *the living creature*, that was the name of, not *THEM*, but, the text says, *that was the name of IT*.

Thus the fact before us appears to be, that God brought unto Adam, not all the living creatures; for the text says no such thing: God indeed made all the creatures^p, and Moses here recognizes this truth: but God brought unto Adam some one creature only; a *nepesh chajah* in the singular number^q, to see what he would call *IT*. Adam hereupon gave *IT* a name: and what he thus called *IT*, that was the name of *IT*. God was pleased herein to bring Adam to a trial, to shew him how he might use sounds of his own to be the names of things: God called him to give a name to one creature, and hereby put him upon seeing how words might be made for this purpose: Adam understood the instruction, and practised according to it. For so Moses tells us: *Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field*^r. The names of the creatures were not given by any express words from the voice of God, but were of Adam's own making, as he proceeded to use sounds of his own to be the names of things, as himself designed the names of them. God, as I said, brought Adam to name one creature: Adam had the sense and understanding to see hereby how he might make words, and make use of them: and accordingly in the progress of his life, as the creatures of the world came under his observation, he used this ability, and gave names to them all.

^p Gen. i.

^q See the text of Gen. ii. 19. I should have some difficulty to say why *nepesh chajah* is not *lenepesh chajah*, in the dative case, as I think *nepesh* standing after and referred to *lo* the construction should require: but I would offer to the consideration of the learned, whether if in the ancient manuscript this text was wrote in lines ending with the words which I have

made the final words of the several lines, as I have before transcribed them, *nepesh chajah* might not be so situated at the end of a line, as that a copyist might mistake, and put it to the end of the third line, when it really should be at the end of the second. If this may be supposed, the words of Moses are exceeding clear, being exactly as follows:

And the Lord God had formed of the ground every beast of the field, and every fowl of the heavens, and brought unto Adam a living creature to see what name he would give to it. And whatsoever name Adam gave it, that was the name of it, &c.

^r Gen. ii. 20.

And now if this was the fact, it must, I think, be allowed me, that Adam had, as I have already observed, no formed, fixed, and innate language: for had he had such language, it must have been a most superfluous thing to bring him to this trial, to set any creature before him to see what he would call it. An innate language whenever and wherever he had seen any creature or thing in the world, would have instantly given him its innate name; no trial could have been wanted to lead him to it; this name would, as it were, have offered itself, and I cannot see how he should have thought of any other. But Moses seems in nowise to represent Adam under these limitations; a creature was brought to him *to see what he would call it*: there is not the least hint that he was so much as directed what to call it; for [*ha Adam*] Adam himself named all the creatures^s; we have no reason to think that God dictated the name of any: and the expressions of Moses hint Adam to have had all possible liberty to name them as his own imagination should lead him: nothing seems to have been herein fixed or determined for him, but he called every thing by what name he pleased, and whatsoever name he fixed and determined for any creature, *that was the name thereof*.

Our Bibles close the 20th verse of the second chapter of Genesis with these words: *But for Adam there was not found an help meet for him*. The adding these words to the end of this 20th verse may seem to represent, that in the transaction ending with this observation, there undoubtedly had been a survey taken of all the creatures of the world, to have it seen that none of them were fit to be Adam's associate, and consequently that all the creatures had been convened for Adam to name them. I believe our translators had this sentiment, and the dividers of the Bible into verses were probably of this opinion. It is a thought that may easily take the unwary, though I am surprised that the difficulty of conceiving how it could be, has not occasioned it to be more strictly examined. However, as I have shewn Moses's text to say no such thing, I may as clearly evince, that in the words of

^s Gen. ii. 20. ut sup.

Moses, which we improperly add to the 20th verse, there was really intended no such insinuation. For,

1. *But for Adam there was not found an help meet for him:* these words ought not to have been made a part of the 20th verse; they are the beginning of the relation of a new transaction, and, not having any reference to any thing before-going, they should have begun a new period, absolutely independent of and detached from the former. Agreeably hereto we may observe, 2. that the particle ו [*ve,*] which we here translate BUT, ought to be in this place rendered AND: it is often so rendered in the first and this second chapter of Genesis: it is not here a discretive particle, disjoining and distinguishing two parts of one period; but it is the particle often used by Moses, when, having finished his narration of one fact, he passes on from that to quite another^t. 3. If we will suppose the words above cited to belong to the 20th verse, we shall have difficulties to make out their grammatical construction; difficulties to ascertain a nominative case to the verb *found*; for the word which we translate *was found* is not passive, as we render it: the words are לֹא־מָצָא , *loa matza*, *he did not find*, in the active voice; and the nominative case to this verb follows after the next verb in the next verse, and is *Jehovah Elohim, the Lord God*^u. This is a construction very clear and frequent in many languages, and in the Hebrew tongue amongst others; and our translators ought to have been carefully attentive to it. 4. I would farther observe, that the Hebrew verb *matza* does not always signify to *find a thing*, after having looked for it; but when used with a noun, to which ל is prefixed, it makes an idiom of the Hebrew tongue, to which we have something similar in a particular use of our word *find* in English. Buxtorf remarks^x, that the verb *matza*, with a dative case by the prefix *le*, signifies to *suffice*; I

^t Gen. i. 6, 9, 14, 20, &c. ii. 7, 15, 18, 20, 21.

^u The words are, Gen. ii. 20.

וְיִסַּל	כִּנְגְדוּ	עוֹר	לֹא־מָצָא	וְלֹא־מָצָא
at	cadere	fecit	judicium	ejus
				adjutorium
				non
				invenerat
				et
				homini
				וְהוּא־
				אלהים
				תְּרַמָּה
				עַל־הָאָדָם
				Adamum
				in
				soporem
				Deus
				Jehovah

^x Buxtorf in voce מָצָא .

should rather say, *sufficiently to supply*: thus Numbers xi. 22. *Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them?* (וּמְצֵא לָהֶם, *ve matza lehem*) and *will it suffice them?* i. e. *will it sufficiently supply them?* Thus again, Judges xxi. 14. *And Benjamin came again at that time; and they gave them wives which they had saved alive of the women of Jabesh-gilead.* But the Hebrew words are, וְלֹא-מְצְאוּ לָהֶם כֵּן, *ve loa matzaeu lehem cen*, and yet so they *sufficed them not*, they did not sufficiently supply them so. I would, more closely to the Hebrew, translate both these places by our English word *find*: *Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them?* I should say, *Will it find them?* In the passage in the book of Numbers, *They gave them wives, which they had saved alive of the women of Jabesh-gilead*, but (I should render the place) *they did not find them so*. The expression, *to find a person*, is still used in some parts of England to signify to supply that person with such things as we undertake to procure for him; and in this sense I take the word *matza* to be here used by Moses: God had promised to *find* Adam with a person or helper, that should be his likeness; Moses, now going to relate in what manner God made his person, introduces his narration very properly with observing, that God had not yet *found* or supplied Adam with this companion: and having suggested this observation, he proceeds to relate in what manner God now supplied him: *And the Lord God had not supplied or found the man with the help meet for him: but caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, &c.*^z

CHAP. IV.

Concerning the Formation of Eve, and the further Transactions of Adam's first Day; together with some Observations upon the whole.

THE account given by Moses of the formation of Eve is in words as follow: *And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall*

y Gen. ii. 20.

z Ver. 21.

upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof: and the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam: the Hebrew word for a deep sleep is תרדמה, *tardemah*. It is a word used in divers places in the Old Testament; in some it signifies no more than what we in English call a sound sleep; a sleep from which we awake, not having dreamed, or been sensible of any thing that has passed during the time of it. It is thus used in the book of Proverbs, *Slothfulness casteth into a deep sleep*^a: and more emphatically in the first book of Samuel, where David and Abishai went by night into Saul's camp, and took away the spear and cruse of water from his bolster, without awakening him, or any of the soldiery that lay asleep round about him^b; for, says the text, [*tardemah Jehovah,*] a deep sleep of or from the Lord was fallen upon them; hereby meaning, that they were in a most exceeding sound sleep, so sound an one, that we might, using the Hebrew idiom^c, speak as if God himself had been the cause of it. But although this is the general signification of the word *tardemah*, yet it is farther used sometimes to denote that kind of sleep in which God, in the earlier ages of the world, was pleased in divers manners to give revelations unto men: sound asleep, their natural sensations made them

^a Prov. xix. 15.

^b 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

^c It is a solemn, but not unusual expression in the Hebrew tongue, to say of a thing beyond measure great, that it is of the Lord; not always meaning hereby, that God himself is the immediate cause of it, but signifying it to be such, that naturally no account is easy to be given of it. So great was the hardness of Pharaoh's heart, that God is thus said to have hardened it, though Pharaoh really *hardened his own heart*, Exod. vii. 13, 22. viii. 15, 19, 32. ix. 7, 34. See Connection, vol. ii. b. ix. And thus it is said, that it was of the Lord to *harden the hearts of the Canaanites*, that they should come out against the Israelites in battle. Not that we are to say that God actually prevented the Canaanites from securing themselves from ruin. See Connect. vol. iii. b. xii.

It was the obstinacy of their own hearts that brought them to destruction, which obstinacy being so great, as that we in English would call it a *fatal obstinacy*, the Hebrew expression for it was, an obstinacy from the Lord; not meaning hereby, that when any man was tempted, he should say he was *tempted of God*, for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man, James i. 13. Their obstinacy was their own wilfulness; great, and indeed beyond all common expression, and therefore said to be of the Lord: and in this sense I should understand what is said of the sound sleep of Saul and his army, not taking the text to mean any more than that it was so deep a sleep, as might be hard to say how it could be, that they were not awakened out of it.

no impressions; but by internal visions and movements of their minds, they had strong and lively sentiments raised in them of what God was thus pleased to shew unto them. Daniel says of himself, using the verb from which the noun *tardemah* is derived, [*nirdampti*,] *I was in a deep sleep on my face towards the ground; but he touched me, and set me upright*^d: in a deep sleep of this sort Daniel was made to understand a vision that appeared to him^e. And Job in like manner in *tardemah*, a *deep sleep* of this kind, when a vision of the night befell him, saw a *spirit* passing *before his face*, an *image* before his eyes, and heard a voice^f. Abram^g in *tardemah*, this depth of sleep, had a very signal revelation made to him; and accordingly, such was the *tardemah, deep sleep*, that on the occasion before us fell on Adam. Whether, abstracted from all impressions of his outward senses, he saw, as Balaam speaks, a *vision of the Almighty*^h; as the book of Job mentions, *a spirit, an image before him*ⁱ, actually performing what was done to him, I cannot determine: but, as Moses has nowhere said that Adam ever saw any *similitude* or appearance to represent God^k, I should rather think that God was pleased, by impressions such as the ear usually conveys to the mind, and which God undoubtedly can cause to arise in us as lively as he pleases, as well without their actually coming through the ear, as if they did come through it, to cause Adam to perceive the same, as if awake he had heard that voice, in which God had before spoken to him, commanding a *rib*, a bone to be taken out of him, and seen that it was done; bidding *the flesh be closed up instead thereof*^l, and it was so; saying, Let the woman be made hereof, and she was created. Upon Adam's awaking, he found in fact what in his sleep had been shewed to him: the woman, such in reality as he had before apprehended her, was brought to him, i. e. was present before him: and he now, using the power of naming things, the exercise of

^d Daniel viii. 18.

^e Ver. 19—26.

^f Job iv. 13, 15, 16.

^g Gen. xv. 12—16.

^h Numbers xxiv. 16.

ⁱ Job ubi sup.

^k We read of no divine appearance to any one before the days of Abraham. See Connect. book ix. p. 525.

^l Gen. ii. 21—23.

which was upon his mind, as he had just begun to practise it, before he fell asleep; having had a clear perception of what had been transacted, said naturally of this new creature; *This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man^m*. But I conceive here Adam ended; for he in nowise added the words which follow, *therefore shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one fleshⁿ*: for Adam could not yet say what it was to be a father or a mother, and therefore could draw no conclusion concerning them. Moses indeed records these words as now spoken, but he does not say that Adam spake them: and our Saviour has told us, that not Adam, but God himself, said this to them; it was *he which made them*, that said, *For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh^o*.

The last transaction of this first day of Adam's life was, that, after the woman was created, God blessed them both, and said unto them what we read in the 28th, 29th and 30th verses of the first chapter of Genesis; the particulars of which may be sufficiently considered, if I take a general review of the things concerning Adam said and done in this day.

One of Dr. Burnet's objections to the history of Moses is, that it heaps together too many things for the space of time allotted to them^p: and indeed this writer has endeavoured to run together a multiplicity of incidents, and to crowd them all into this one day, in order to represent it to have been a day of great hurry and confusion, rather than such as the day ought to have been, on a cool and deliberate sense of which, and a conduct according to it, depended the life or death; we might say, if there had been no further purpose in the deep counsel of God for us, depended *the whole of man*. But if we carefully examine and distinguish what are the facts which Moses ascribes to this one day, and what

^m Gen. ii. 23.

ⁿ Ver. 24.

^o Matt. xix. 4, 5.

^p Quantillo tempore hæc omnia per-

acta narrantur—! Quot autem, et quanta congerenda sunt in hunc unum diem! *Burnet, Archæol. p. 294.*

are not, and in what manner he describes them, we shall see reason widely to differ from this writer. *God breathed into Adam the breath of life*, and caused him to become a living soul^q; but Moses in nowise describes Adam, as soon as he began to think, to abound instantly in a variety of conceptions concerning his own nature, concerning the Deity, or of the works of God, and of the fabric of the world^r: had Moses brought forth Adam expatiating in such an unbounded wild of sudden and indigested apprehensions, there would have been reason to consider whether the human mind would not have hence fallen into great confusions. But there is a propriety in the manner in which Moses brings Adam into the world: he does not tell us, that, in order to take his first sight of things, God set him upon an hill, to look around him over the creation; but God put him into a garden, where a few plain and easy objects surrounded and confined his first views from taking in a variety, that would have been too much for him. A bounded shade of trees was a scene that neither fatigued his eye, nor gave a multiplicity of conceptions to his mind: in this silent cover from the many things there were in the world, he hears the voice of God, and feels himself to know what was said to him.

And the words now spoken to him were not such as called him into the midst of things, to load him with a multitude of sentiments, either of God, of himself, or of what was in the world, or concerning what were to be the moral and relative duties of his life; but the voice of God, as yet, spake to him only of the plain objects then visibly before him; called the lofty plants which he saw, the trees of the garden; told him that he might eat of all of them except one; but commanded him not to eat of that one, for that if he did eat of it he should *surely die*^s. And it is remarkable of that one tree, that it was so distinguished from all others by its situation^t, that it could not but at sight be thereby

^q Gen. ii. 7.

^r We may see a large field of imaginations of this kind most beautifully coloured, but in fact, and the reason of the thing, mere fancy and romance, in

Milton, Par. Lost, b. viii.

^s Gen. ii. 16, 17.

^t It does not seem to me determined, that the tree of life stood also in the midst of the garden: Eve seems

known in order to be avoided, before he had time to make observations, to see wherein one tree differed from another.

May we add, that Adam heard the voice of God declare, that *it was not good* that he should *be alone*; but that *an help*, which should be his likeness, should be made *for him*^u? Take these words to have spoken to him, not all the enlarged notions of the wants and imperfections of solitary life^x, nor the variety of the comforts of social happiness, the *ideas* of which could not begin and increase in him sooner or farther than a knowledge and experience of life raised and improved them; but supposing the words to suggest to him no more than that another person like him should be made to be with him, and that it was *good for* him to have it so; (a point which, perhaps, if God had not told him, he would as yet not have thought of;) nothing herein was proposed to him so complex, as that his first thoughts could be in any confusion about it.

The next incident may indeed seem an embarrassment, if we imagine it to have been transacted as it is commonly conceived: but this, I think, I have already obviated. There was no assemblage of the living creatures of the world for Adam to name them, nor could he at any one time make a survey of them; it would have been a work too large for him: but observing, that though Adam had heard the voice of God, yet he had not as yet made any one word of his own for himself, we may allow, that the fact of his naming the creatures, as Moses truly states it, shews us very naturally how the man, having been enabled to understand the words that God had spoken to him, was introduced to begin and exercise himself to make further words for the

rather to hint that the forbidden tree stood single and alone in that situation, Gen. iii. 3. Our 9th verse of the second chapter might be pointed and translated thus: *And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food, and the tree of life: in the midst of the garden also the tree of knowledge of good and evil.* And thus this verse would agree exactly with what Eve said in the next chapter.

^u Gen. ii. 18. Vide quæ sup.

^x Milton supposes Adam wonderfully able to expatiate upon the unhappiness of solitude, the benefits of equal society; to say why God might, but man could not comfortably be alone. The representation he draws is most delightfully poetical: but we can in no wise think considerably, that Adam could as yet have thoughts like these upon the subject. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, b. viii. 365—435.

occasions of his life. The naming one creature taught him how he might name another; and the making names for the creatures gradually apprised him how he had it in his power to name and to speak of all kinds of things, for him and Eve to begin and improve a conversible life: for it was in this easy and natural manner that, to use the words of the author of the book of Wisdom, it was *granted* to them *to speak as they would of the things* that were *given* them^y.

Before Adam had proceeded far in naming the creatures, it pleased God to cause him to fall into a deep sleep^z, wherein no sensations from without gave him any interruption; but he had a clear and disimplicated perception of the manner in which Eve was taken out of him, and therein learned to name some parts of his own body a rib, a bone, his flesh, and, from what he had perceived concerning her origin, to name the woman also according to it. And,

After he had received the person made for him, and given her a name, reconsidering her extract, *He that made them* both *said unto* them^a, the voice of God spake what he intended should be the strict and indissoluble union of man and wife in their lives. Relations of life were indeed here suggested, of which Adam and Eve as yet could not have any judgment; for it seems to appear that Adam as yet did not know that Eve was to be a mother, or himself a father; it being observed, that as soon as he knew she was to be *the mother of all living*, he gave her a name accordingly, and thereupon *called* her *name Eve*^b; but this was not until after the fall, and after the sentence of God passed upon them^c. However, it may be apprehended, that what God here said must strike their minds, charged as yet with but few things, and be so remembered by them, as that when afterwards they came to be a father and a mother, and in time had children grown up to be husbands and wives, they might consider and instruct them, what in the beginning had been said unto them, and how, according to God's original designation

^y Wisdom vii. 15.

^z Gen. ii. 21.

^a Vide quæ sup.

^b Gen. iii. 20.

^c Ibid.

and commandment, man and wife were inseparably to live together in the world.

Before the close of this their first day, *God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth—*^d. It does not seem that they had, I rather think I may affirm, that our first parents as yet had not looked beyond their garden: they had not seen *the compass of the world*, nor took account of the numbers of the creatures that were *therein*: they had not been on the sea shores; neither could they know the inhabitants of the floods, whose paths are in the waters; so that it would be unnatural and absurd to think of the words now spoken to them, that they were any further understood by them, than to give them a general expectation of seeing and becoming acquainted with a various and extensive scene of things, far beyond what was as yet beheld by, or known to them. Their garden was the inclosure that at present surrounded them: but they were now informed that there was a whole world to be opened to them, that they should find innumerable living creatures on the land, in the seas, and in the air; and that they themselves should *be fruitful and multiply*, should *replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over*, and be, as it were, proprietors of all the living creatures that were created: that there was a sustenance provided for all things living in the fruits of the ground; for that they were all given without exception or restraint, the one limitation only observed, of one tree in the garden, of which Adam and Eve were not to eat^e. These were the intimations now given them; but they were in nowise instructed by them to know the things spoken of, as fully as day after day more and more led them to understand them: rather, what God now spake to them had only this general effect; it so prepared them, that as the world opened to them, nothing in it was so absolutely unexpected as to sur-

^d Gen. i. 28, &c.

^e Ch. ii. quæ sup.

prise and confound them; for, remembering what had been said to them, they might, as new things presented themselves, gradually proceed to name them and distinguish them, and daily grow acquainted with them, to consider how they could use their power over them to make them useful or agreeable to them.

I should add further; that how much soever of these things was told them, it appears to have been provided for them, that they should not hurry too fast to look into and after the many things in the world; for the day ensuing was to be a sabbath^f, a day of rest, to be set apart to recollect and consider all that had been said and shewed to them; that before they proceeded, they might have all the instruction, which a repeated review of it could give them, distinct upon their hearts; and when the sabbath was over, they were not instantly at liberty to wander at large over the earth, for their first business was in their garden. God had herein given them employment; they were *to dress it, and to keep it*: their duty here, if attended to, would so far confine them, that the world would not break in upon them, nor they go into the world faster or farther than they might become gradually able to receive and digest the knowledge of things that would arise from it. In this manner Moses represents God to have given our first parents the beginnings of their lives; and whoever will duly examine the sentiments which he sets before us upon this subject, and compare them with what other writers have fancied and represented, of all whom we shall find none so likely to captivate us as our Milton^h: I say, whoever will compare Moses with other writers upon this subject, will find that he deeply entered into the real nature of man; and will be brought to say of him above all others,

Quanto rectius hic—nil molitur inepte.

Hor.

His account speaks itself to be fact, and not fable; and however our first thoughts may not go to the bottom of

^f Gen. ii. 2.

^g Ver. 15.

^h Paradise Lost.

what he has written, a careful examination of it will shew us, that they who have thought it fable have not taken pains truly to understand it. I have only to observe, before I close this chapter, that from what has been said we may reasonably conceive, that our first parents were not hurried into any scene, of either things or sentiments, larger or sooner than they could be able to form, as they should want them, all such words as the incidents of their lives would call for, over and besides those which God already had, or did afterwards speak to them.

CHAP. V.

An Inquiry, what we may reasonably think to have been at this time the actual state of Adam's knowledge.

MOST writers, who have treated of the fall, give us accounts of what they think the primitive state of Adam's and Eve's knowledge before they committed sin. But their sentiments, however they may seem ingenious, are no better than groundless imaginations. Our English poet represents Adam, as soon as he was created, not only to see things as they came before him, but instantly to know their natures, by God's giving him an immediate apprehension of them; introducing Adam relating how he named the creatures. Supposing the hypothesis to have been fact, that God caused an assemblage of the whole animal world to see what Adam would name every creature of it, he makes Adam say of himself,

I nam'd them as they pass'd, and understood
 Their natures; with such knowledge God endu'd
 My sudden apprehensionⁱ. —————

That God could, if he had pleased, have thus endowed Adam, can be no question; but that God did not, is plain: for nothing can be more evident, than that neither Eve nor

ⁱ Milton's Paradise Lost, book viii. 352.

Adam had in fact this knowledge ; they seem both to have been together when the serpent spake to Eve^k, but neither of them appear to have been surprised at hearing a serpent speak *in man's voice*. The observation they hereupon seem to have made was, that *the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field*^l: they had heard no other creature thus speak, and therefore apprehended the serpent to have higher endowments than other animals. But we have no hint which represents either of them to have been at all aware that the serpent was not by nature as conversible as themselves^m; a plain indication, that they had no such knowledge of the animal world as Milton supposes. Milton variously imagines Adam to have had this innate sudden apprehension to guide him aright to judge of all things; of the nature of Godⁿ; of the nature of man^o; in a word, of every thing knowable within the reach of the human capacity: and, in truth, this seems to be the general opinion of writers; they speak of Adam, that he was created a philosopher, had implanted in him a natural fund of all science, instantly informing him of the true natures of things, whensoever any sight of them came before his eyes, or any occasion was given him to have thoughts of them in his mind; that he had innate sentiments of all moral duties; that before the fall, he was ignorant of nothing but of sin. But the history of Moses sets

^k The supposing Eve to have gone forth to work, separate from Adam, on the morning that the temptation befell her, is an ingenious fiction of our poet's, which gave him room to introduce an episode as beautiful and well

והתן נבלאִישה עֵמָה וַיֵּאָכֵל
et edit secum viro etiam et dedit

That *she took of the fruit and did eat, and gave also to her husband, who was with her, and he did eat.*

^l Gen. iii. 1.

^m Milton, book ix. supposes Eve to have been much surprised at hearing the serpent speak, and represents her to ask, how he came by that ability; and him to answer, that he was raised to that attainment by eating of the fruit of the forbidden tree, and that she hence argued, that if the dumb animal was so heightened beyond his

ornamented in all its incidents, as human imagination could contrive or can conceive. See Milton's Paradise Lost, book ix. But I do not see that the text of Moses appears to countenance it: Moses says, that Eve,

וַחֲקָה מִפְּרִי וְהֵאָכַל
et edit de fructu ejus et cepit

natural abilities by eating of this fruit, well might she and Adam hope to be as God, if they eat of it. But however agreeable this fiction is in the manner the poet has most elegantly painted it, yet it can be but an elegant fiction. Moses suggests nothing like it, nor is it likely that God would have permitted what might have given a more than ordinary appearance and strength to the temptation. See hereafter.

ⁿ Book viii. 357—413, &c.

^o Ibid.

before us plain facts, flatly contradicting all these assertions. If Adam had a true and innate knowledge and apprehension of the nature of God, how could he have been so ignorant of him *with whom he had to do*, as to think him *such an one*, that the getting behind the cover of a few trees would hide him from *his presence*? or, if he philosophically knew himself, had full and innate apprehensions of the use and light of his own reason, and of all that could come within the reach of it, what room could there be for the serpent frivolously to offer to open further either his eyes or his understanding? Rationally judging, and having a right judgment of every thing that came before either his outward perception or his inward reflection, the serpent's temptation must have appeared intuitively absurd to him; he would both have felt himself not to want such additions as the serpent suggested, and have had a better thought of things, than to be capable of imagining that the improvements proposed to him could arise from doing what the serpent recommended. We may therefore, if we will write at random, say high things of Adam and Eve's natural and philosophical knowledge; but we can never make them appear to have had as yet much science, if in fact they knew things no better than to be capable of thinking that a serpent might naturally be able to speak to them; or of grossly believing that *meat for the body* might be food for the understanding; that the fruit of a tree, which they saw growing in their garden, could be a thing *to be desired* to eat *to make one wise*^a; a sentiment not to be digested by any one that has, and consequently must speak our first parents as yet not to have attained advances of real knowledge.

Adam, as soon as he received the breath of life, became *a living soul*^t; but he had a body made of the ground^s, and his soul was, as our souls are, shut up within the inclosure of this *tabernacle*: in this state, the things without him, the material objects of this world, could raise in him no ideas but as sensations of them were conveyed to him by his out-

p Gen. iii. 8.

q Ver. 6.

r Ch. ii. 7.

s Ibid.

ward senses^t; and he could naturally judge of what he thus perceived no farther than ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἀξίως τῶν διδομένων^u, to think of them suitably to what was *given*, or presented to him; and if he looked inward upon himself, he could form ideas of his own mind only as he made trial of the capacity and powers of it, and thereby came to know them: so that experience only could give him naturally an increase of knowledge. Let us suppose him to turn his thoughts from himself to an higher object; to consider him who made him;

Say,—of God above——

What *could* he reason, but from what he knew?

Pope^x.

He knew of God, as yet, no more than what the words which God had spoken to him could teach him, or his own few and first observations of things done might lead him to infer.

There are indeed some texts of Scripture, which, if not rightly considered, may lead us into mistake in this matter. St. Paul tells us of the Gentiles, who had not had the light of the law of Moses, that they did *by nature the things contained in the law*: not having the law, *they were a law unto themselves: which, he says, shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts—accusing, or else excusing one another*^x. Are we now to conclude from hence, that God has actually wrote, as it were, or implanted innate sentiments of duty upon the heart of man? I should rather apprehend, that a true essay of the human understanding, a true judgment of whatever was or still is the ability of man, will shew us, that a capacity of attaining just notions of our duties, and not an actual possession of real sentiments of them, is the utmost of what the first man was created

^t This I think must be allowed as unquestionable; see Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, b. ii. c. 1. unless we could imagine Adam to have been a creature originally furnished with different abilities of perceiving the things without him, other than

the *five operations*, or senses, which the author of Ecclesiasticus represents him to have been endued with as we are, Eccclus. xvii. 5.

^u Wisdom vii. 15.

^x Essay on Man, Ep. 1.

^y Rom. ii. 14, 15.

in, or we any of us are born to ; and a careful examination of what is offered by St. Paul will in nowise lead us to conclude more. The Apostle elsewhere tells us of the Gentiles he spake of, that *that which may be known of God was manifest in them; for that God had shewed it unto them*^z. The question is, How had God shewed it? Had God planted it innate in their hearts? This was not the sentiment of St. Paul: rather, he tells us, *that God had shewed it unto them; for or because the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made*^a. The Gentile nations, of whom the Apostle here and elsewhere treats, had so far read the volume of the book of nature, had so far either heard of, or known and considered the works of God, as to be *without excuse*^b, if the thence apparent duties of their natures were not collected by them. But we should be in fact mistaken, and err from the meaning of St. Paul, if we should expect to find implanted in men's hearts real characters of their duties further than the book of nature has been read and considered by them; or they have attained a knowledge of them, more or less perfect, as they have happened to hear of, and be instructed from some of the revelations which God has made to the world: and consequently, speaking rationally of Adam, whilst he had as yet heard and seen but a very few of God's works, and those few had not been so repeatedly examined by him, and compared with things that in time followed, as to give him a various trial, and an enlarged and corrected judgment; he cannot be thought to have attained a great extent of any kind of knowledge. All natural science has grown amongst men as observation has gradually increased it; and therefore to say of Adam, that, as soon as he lift up his eyes, after he was created, and saw the sun and moon and stars, which gave light upon the earth, he instantaneously knew that these lights of heaven were to be *for signs and for seasons, for days and for years*^c, is to talk very irrationally: he cannot be supposed to have known, before his first evening shewed it, that the sun was to have a

z Rom. i. 19.

a Ver. 20.

b Ibid.

c Gen. i. 14.

going down; nor can we imagine that the next morning told him of the rising day what would have enabled him to have said with the poet,

———*aliusque et idem*
Nasceris.——— *Hor.*

He could not have told whether the rising sun of his second day was a new one, or the same which had the day before shone upon him. In time he formed a better judgment of these and other appearances; but as ages passed, many of them abounding in all kinds of learned disquisitions, before it was apprehended that the sun did not move round the earth, it must be a wild notion to think, that in the beginning of the world our first father was possessed of an innate astronomy. All notions of his innate knowledge of the nature of the animals must, if thus considered, fall likewise to the ground; he could know nothing of them until he observed them: and then, nothing farther than what he observed, or concluded from observations made of them. And, of God, he knew that he had received an audible injunction not to eat of *one* tree; and he had heard from the same voice other particulars; and in the formation of Eve he had had a sensible conviction, that he that spake to him had great power to make or create, and consequently to destroy; and he hence, as soon as he had disobeyed him, reasoned, that he might justly be afraid; *he was afraid, and hid himself*^d: but having had nothing yet told or shewed him, whereby he might consider the omnipresence of God, the imperfection of his own sight led him to imagine he might get out of God's sight, if he hid himself behind the cover of a few trees. Of himself he had experienced, that he saw, and heard, and felt, and lived; that he tasted the food he was to eat; that it revived his spirits, and *strengthened his heart*^e. And though I cannot but think that he had a clear intellect to reason and conclude of things as far, though no farther, than they appeared to him, or he had experience of them; yet hitherto he could have made no advance of knowledge that could

^d Gen. iii. 10.

^e Psalm civ. 15.

shew him whether there were or were not juices in the fruit of a particular tree, which might literally *cheer both God and man*^f; give fresh life and spirits to the body, and to the mind wisdom and understanding also: and therefore he did not hereupon know enough to argue and refute the falsehood which the imagination of Eve seems to have proposed^g, that the tree was *to be desired to make one wise*.

It will, I am sensible, be here said by some, that they do not assert Adam and Eve to have had *innate* any actual knowledge: but that they apprehend both our first parents to have been created with such powers of capacity, that they would naturally form just and true notions of things, as they came under their inspection and observation: so as not really to want any further instruction concerning any thing which they ought or could be obliged to know, than what might naturally arise to them from their own senses and understanding. Our modern rationalists think, that they cannot only support this notion from reason, but that they can bring Scripture also to confirm it. They argue that “Moses says, that *God created man in his own image*^h, and “that Solomon tells us that *God made man upright*ⁱ: the “meaning of both which expressions taken together im- “ports, they say, that man was endued with rational moral “faculties, resembling the moral perfections of his Creator; “was made perfect in his kind, capable to know and fulfil “the duties, and attain the end, of his creation, by a right “use of his rational faculties, which were given him to be “the guide and rule of his life and actions: and therefore “that the reason which God gave must have been sufficient “to direct him to those duties which God required of him, “and to conduct him to that happiness, which is the natu- “ral effect, or, by God’s will, the appointed reward, of the “performance of it.”

The writer, from whom I have cited these words, did, I dare say, conceive himself to have guarded his expressions in a manner liable to no exception: but he has, I think, the

^f Judges ix. 13.

^g Gen. iii. 6.

^h Gen. i. 26.

ⁱ Eccles. vii. 29.

misfortune common to these writers, not to hit the least tittle of the meaning of the texts cited by them.

God, he says from Moses, *created man in his own image*. It cannot, I think, be disputed, but that in a most obvious sense of the words, man's being created in the image of God may refer to the make of his body, and intimate, that he was formed not after the fashion of any other of the living creatures, but was made in a pattern higher than they: a more excellent form than theirs was given to him.

Pronaque cum spectant animalia cætera terras,
Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.

Ov. Met^k.

It is an expression not unfrequent in the Hebrew Scriptures, to say of things, that they are *of God*, if they are in quality eminent above others, which have no more than common perfections. In this manner of speaking, trees of a prodigious growth are called *trees of God*, or *the trees of the Lord*: such were the cedars of Lebanon; so greatly flourishing and *full of sap*, as to be for that reason called *the trees of the Lord*, trees *which he had planted*¹. And thus man might be said to be made in the image of God: his outward form was of a different make, far more respectable, superior to the make of all other creatures of the world; and accordingly, to speak suitably of it, the expression is used, which, in the language of Moses's times, was commonly said of any thing that was so superlatively excellent as to have nothing like to, or to be compared with it: no image of any thing in the world was equal to, or like that of man; and therefore man was said to be created in *the image of God*.

I would observe, that St. Paul appears to confirm to us that the expression of Moses may carry this meaning: *A man*, he says, *ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is*

^k In like manner the Roman philosopher: *Figuram corporisabilem et aptum ingenio humano dedit: nam cum cæteros animantes abjecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit, ad cælique—conspicuum excitavit: tum speciem ita formavit oris, ut in ea penitus reconditos*

mores affingeret: nam et oculi nimis arguti, quemadmodum animi affecti simus, loquuntur, et is, qui appellatur vultus, qui nullo in animante esse præter hominem potest, indicat mores.
Cic. de Legib. l. 1.

¹ Psalm civ. 16.

the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man^m. The Apostle is here inquiring, not into the dignity of the mind or soul of the man or the woman, but considering what ought to be the outward appearance or dress of their persons; and he would not have the man's head covered, because the man was *the image of God*: his form was original, not the copy of another; and therefore, to express its original superiority above all others, is said to *be of God*. But the woman herein was inferior; she was made after the likeness and similitude of man: she therefore, in the sentiment of the Apostle, ought to wear a covering upon her head, in acknowledgment of her not being *suæ formæ*, the original pattern of the make she was of; she was herein inferior to the manⁿ, in that the glory or dignity of her make was his; she was the *glory of the man*, the high excellence of her make was but a copy of what he the man was made in before her.

But the words of Moses bear also a further sense, and yet not that which the writer I have cited would put upon them. *God created man to be immortal, and made him an image of his own eternity*^o. Herein a great original difference may appear to have been intended between *the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward*^p: and that Moses had in view this particular, when he said of man, that he was created *in the image of God*, seems agreeable to the reason given for the early law pronounced against murder: *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man*^q. God so made man to be immortal, that it is an high insult and violence against the design of God's creation to put an end by murder to the life of man: and therefore, *surely—at the hand of every man's brother will God require the life of man*^r. And this explains our Saviour's calling the Devil a

^m 1 Cor. xi. 7.

ⁿ I should here observe, that in the ancient times, contrary to our modern customs, the having the head free, or without the incumbrance of being covered, was a mark of dignity and superiority; and on the contrary, to

wear a covering on the head was a token of inferiority and subjection.

^o Wisdom ii. 23.

^p Eccles. iii. 21.

^q Gen. ix. 6.

^r Ver. 5.

murderer from the beginning^s: a murderer; he had acted contrary to the design of God concerning the life of man, in that when God had *created man in his own image, to be an image of his own eternity*; to be immortal: *nevertheless, through envy of the Devil, death came into the world*^t.

Thus if we explain the text of Moses, without going beyond what was the intended meaning of it, we shall find that this text says no more than that man was originally made to be of a more excellent form than all other creatures, and that he was made to be immortal; had not, what God did not make for man^u, death through sin come into the world^x. But there is so little foundation to infer from this text, that Moses had any thought to represent, that man was made to resemble his Maker in his powers of knowledge^y, that such a thought appears not only not deducible

^s John viii. 44.

^t Wisdom ii. 24.

^u Ch. i. 13.

^x Rom. v. 12.

^y If we examine what the heathen inquirers argued upon this subject, we shall find them greatly more correct than our modern reasoners. They all indeed, except a more sensual sect, Epicurus and his followers, (see Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 18.) saw plainly, that man could in no wise resemble God in his outward form and figure: and therefore would have understood Moses's expression of man's being *made in the image of God*, as to man's outward form, in no higher sense than I have above mentioned; namely, that man was of an extraordinary and singular make, eminent above other creatures, of a form appropriated to man. As to his inward powers, they saw in them what was far more worthy than his outward person to be compared to God. *Tu—sic habeto NON ESSE TE MORTALEM, SED CORPUS HOC. Nec enim is, quem forma ista declarat, sed mens cujusque is est quisque: non eu figura, que digito demonstrari potest: Deum te igitur scito esse, siquidem Deus est, qui viget, qui sentit, qui meminit, qui providet, qui tum regit et moderatur et movet id corpus cui præpositus est, quam hunc mundum ille princeps Deus.* Cic. Somn. Scipionis. But however they thus thought in general terms of a

resemblance in man of the divine nature, they always, when the subject called for it, so explained themselves, as not loosely to assert, that in man, *motus iste celer cogitationis, acumen, solertia, quam rationem vocamus*; Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. c. 27. the mere faculty of human reason made man like to God: rather they argued, the *likeness of man to God* to arise from this faculty so managed and conducted as to possess us of virtue; *ad similitudinem Deo propius accedebat humana virtus quam figura*. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. i. c. 34. And thus Plato, *οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ὁμοίωτατον οὐδὲν ἢ ὁς ἂν ἡμῶν αὐ γένηται ὅτε δικαιοτάτος*. Plat. in Theætet. Thus again, *Ὁμοίωσις θεῶν——δίκαιον καὶ ὁμοιον μετὰ φρονήσεως γενέσθαι*. Id. *ibid.* Again, *Ὁ μὲν σώφρων ἡμῶν θεῶ φίλος, ὁμοιος γάρ· ὁ δὲ μὴ σώφρων ἀνόμοιος τε καὶ διάφορος καὶ ἔδικος*. Plat. de Legib. l. iv. We are here to observe, that these ancients in no wise, like our modern rationalists, crudely affirm man to be endowed with moral faculties resembling the moral perfections of his Creator; but they distinguish the faculties of man then only to render us like to God, when they are so conducted as to make us *σώφρονες*, so *truly wise*, as to be *really virtuous*. They did not determine our likeness to God to consist in our barely having a faculty of free reason; but they considered, that we could then only be like God

from this text, but absolutely a contradiction to what Moses expresses upon the subject: for their desire to be *ce Elohim*, as, or like to, God in *knowing*^z, was the mistake that became our first parents' ruin.

Let us now see how the other text will answer the purpose designed to be served by it: *God*, said Solomon, *made man upright*^a. The words of Solomon are, *God made the man, Jashar*; we might render the word *aright*. God implanted in him nothing that was wrong. Adam, before the fall, had not in him the evil inclinations of a corrupt nature, and the not having these was *the rectitude* in which he was created. When the sentence of death passed upon him, he, who before was an *image of God's eternity*, was now become mortal, his body became corruptible; and a *corruptible body presseth down the soul*^b. He now began to have sensual appetites and desires, which created him many inclinations which he had to strive against, if he would *strive against sin*: he was now fallen into the imperfection in which we all labour,

—Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor——.

He might now many times see and approve the things that are most excellent, and yet have an heart that might cause him often to be such as we, the best of us, are, who, as there is *no man upon earth that sinneth not*^c, do in many things

when we made ourselves *just and holy*, *δίκαιοι καὶ ὅσιοι μετὰ φρονήσεως*; or, in other words, when we attained a *right understanding to depart from iniquity*. They observed the difference between *reason and right reason*: they pointed out an height of reason, which all that are endued with may in all things act intuitively aright; but this they allowed to be above man: *Quartus autem gradus et altissimus est eorum qui natura boni sapientesque gignuntur, quibus a principio innascitur ratio recta, constansque, quæ supra hominem putanda est, Deoque tribuenda*. Cic. lib. ii. c. 13. Herein they stated the great difference between the human nature and divine: they allowed God to be

the standard of all rectitude and truth; but they affirmed man in nowise to be so; but to want a measure or rule to adjust his judgment by, in order to act aright: 'Ο δὲ Θεὸς ἡμῖν πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἐν εἴῃ μάλιστα, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ τις, ὡς φασιν, ἄνθρωπος. Plato de Leg. lib. iv. Which one point, duly considered, is that sobriety of knowing and estimating ourselves, which will lead us to admit both the sentiments I above observe Moses to hint to us, and what I endeavour to build upon it.

^z Gen. iii. 5.

^a Eccles. vii. 29.

^b Wisd. ix. 15.

^c 1 Kings viii. 46.

offend all^d. But though before he became corruptible he had not in him those evil appetites which are since grown so powerful in our nature, yet it will not follow that God originally gave him such a beam of unerring understanding, as to place him in light that would not admit of mistake and error.

Decipimur specie recti——. *Hor.*

To this failure Adam was subject in his *first estate*: and herein it was that he fell from it. Both Eve and he judged what the tempter proposed to them to be very right, although it was grossly wrong; and in the error of their judgment they went astray. Their appetites were not the strength that prevailed against them: in their judgment lay their weakness; they were misled, they were *deceived*. Thus St. Paul speaks of their transgression, not imputing it to their corrupt inclinations, but to their erring in their understanding; *the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty*^e: the insinuation of the tempter became too subtle for them. Herein therefore the writers, who use the text of Solomon with the view above mentioned, mistake the true meaning of Solomon: from Solomon's asserting that *God made man upright*, they would infer that God gave Adam a perfection of actual understanding, by which he might, without further direction, have *devised his own way* aright, to complete himself in every moral virtue; whereas Solomon says no more, than that God made man, *jashar, rectus*, i. e. not *crooked* or *perverse*; or, as we render it in English, *upright*, i. e. not *inclined* or *propense* to evil. Solomon speaks Adam to have had originally a rectitude of heart or inclination: but these writers would infer, that he had a perfection of head, an unerring judgment; whereas these are two very different things. I can apprehend Adam to have had a natural capacity quick and lively, far greater than we have; but as he had far less acquaintance with, and information of, the natures of things than even we have had, his actual knowledge, at the time of his being seduced, must have been less

^d James iii. 2.

^e 2 Cor. xi. 3.

than our knowledge is: and consequently it happened in fact, that he erred in a matter, wherein no one of a moderate share of improved understanding would have been so grossly mistaken.

But may we not correct a little the expressions used in setting forth the pretended rational scheme contended for, and query upon the subject as follows? Is not *the spirit of man the candle of the Lord*^f? Is there not a *spirit in man*^g, created with abilities of reasoning suited to his state? Is there not herein a natural *inspiration of the Almighty to give man understanding*^h, as soon as we grow up to know the use of it? And if Adam was created not a child, but a man; if he was created *upright*, having a right heart, not biassed by evil appetites, must he not have had all the *powers of a sound mind*? And what can we say or think he could want more? Would not things have gradually appeared to him in their true light? His mind, not corrupted, would have admitted them to have been rationally considered; and his knowledge, as it grew and increased, being sincere and unbiassed, would have led him in a right use of his reasonⁱ unto true sentiments of his duty, as the relations of life came to be known by him; so as that he might, by his own natural light, have gone wisely and virtuously through the world. I might cite many passages from the best and most virtuous heathen writers to shew, that they seem to have sometimes thought the human ability of this sort^k: but I might again cite other places from them, which lay a foundation for not being positive in this nice disquisition^l. And herein they

^f Prov. xx. 27.

^g Job xxxii. 8.

^h Ibid. I think I need not here observe, that the word רוח here used, which we translate *inspiration*, is the word used by Moses, Gen. ii. 7. to signify the *inspiration*, or *breath* of life: and that therefore we may justly here take it to mean, not what we Christians call the *grace of God*, but rather that original ability of mind which God has given unto man.

ⁱ Πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν συντελοῦντα διὰ βραχέων ὑπέγραψεν ὁ λόγος τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοκλήτων. Hierocles.

^k *Est quidem vera lex, recta ratio, naturæ congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna, quæ vocet ad officium jubendo; vetando a fraude deterreat.* Cic. de Rep. lib. iii. in Fragment. *Erat enim ratio profecta a rerum natura et ad recte faciendum impellens et a delicto avocans.* Id. de Leg. lib. ii.

^l *Si tales nos natura genuisset, ut eam ipsam intueri et perspicere, eademque optima duce cursum vite conficere possemus; haud erat sane quod quisquam rationem ac doctrinam requireret: nunc parvulus nobis dedit igniculos, quos celeriter malis moribus opinionibusque deprivati sic restinguimus, ut nusquam*

preserved a sincerity of inquiry, far more to be respected than the arrogant forwardness of our modern contenders for the sufficiency of human reason: these latter seldom fail to shew an unwarrantable disposition to assume, without proving, that God gave no revelation until men had first departed from the guidance of their reason, and wanted to be brought back, to be told the use and the light of it. And they hastily conclude, that if human reason at first was not in itself a sufficient guide and direction for man, it will follow that God did not sufficiently provide for him. They tell us, "that God at first left men to the guidance of natural light, " by a due use of reason to discover what best became the " station they were placed in, and what duties were incumbent upon them, in the relation they stood to God as their " creator, and to one another as fellow-creatures; expecting no service from them but what their own reason " would suggest, and the very nature and circumstances of " their being would have recommended." And they add, that "God did not interpose until man had herein greatly " failed." But all this is directly contrary to what Moses informs us: according to Moses, after Adam was created, before he had had time to do, I might say to think of, good or evil, the voice of God *commanded* him, *saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*^m. A com-

natura lumen appareat. Cic. Tusc. Qu. lib. iii. in init. *Est profecto animi medicina philosophia.* Id. *ibid.* This able writer appears to me here to allow, that men by nature are not so made as to look at once to the bottom and truth of things; to see, without further information than the prompt suggestion of their own reasonings, the true relations of things, and the moral duties of their lives. Had he known what we do, from Moses, of the true origin of mankind, he would, I dare say, have allowed, that it might be necessary for man, when he first came into the world, not to be left absolutely to himself, to be guided by the *parvulos igniculos*, as he calls them, which God

had given him; he would have considered man as not admitted *naturam ipsam intueri*, but so far only endowed, as that though he had received *rationem a Deo*, yet he might make it *bonam aut non bonam a seipso*. [The reader may find this sentiment suggested by one of the disputants in Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.] And therefore he would have rejoiced in the clear light he would have had of man's having all the *rationem et disciplinam*, which he supposes him to want, from the directions which, over and above his reason, God began, as soon as man came into being, by express revelation to give unto him.

^m Gen. ii. 16, 17.

mand was here given, such as the reason of man would not have investigated, had not the voice of God appointed it to him: and consequently, a service or observation was herein expected from him, other than what his own reason would have suggested. But these writers will perhaps say of this particular command, that it is allegory, and not a fact. Let us then proceed, and we shall find, that, as soon as Eve was created, Adam and she were both told that *a man should leave his father and his mother, and should cleave unto his wife, and that they should be one flesh*. This command, as Moses states it, was, our Saviour tells us, spoken to them by the voice of God: herein then there is no allegory; herein we have the witness of a greater than Moses, that Moses related what was really fact; and it is a testimony which, duly considered, will prove, that both our Saviour used, and the Jews also, to whom our Saviour spake, received the accounts of what Moses relates to have been done *in the beginning*, not as allegory and fable, but to be read and cited as true historyⁿ. God, in fact, declared to Adam and Eve what was to be the inseparable union of man and wife, and therefore herein they were not *left at first to the guidance of natural light, by a due use of reason to discover what best became the station they were placed in to one another*, but received a special direction by an audible voice from their Maker concerning this relation of life, before they had in any one thing failed in the use of their reason.

What these writers say further, that to suppose reason, the reason of man, *in itself in any state or circumstances an insufficient guide, is directly to impeach the Author of reason*; is to say, that *God did not give man sufficient abilities to know and do his duty*. This is equally dogmatical; contradictory to what we are informed by Moses was in fact the manner in which, and the abilities with which, Adam and Eve were brought into the world. Moses does not say that God originally gave Adam a sufficiency of knowledge for him to depend solely upon it; but he abundantly shews us that man was

ⁿ *Have ye not read?* said our Saviour, appealing, as to fact, to what was recorded in Moses's writings. See Matt. xix. 4, &c. above cited.

not left insufficiently provided for, because he shews us how God would by his voice have directed him, as directions would be necessary for him. Upon the whole: the texts of Scripture above cited, for there being in man a light of reason, do in nowise determine to what degree it is given; and therefore are not in themselves conclusive against the necessity of revelation: and whatever else has been offered, may at best be but the conceits of mere human imagination, and therefore intrinsically vain: so that I should apprehend, if we would proceed as we ought in this inquiry, it may pertinently be examined, whether in the reason of things it may not be right that the infinite Creator should make a rank of rational beings, so far endowed with reason as to be above the restraint and confinement of instinct, and yet not endowed with so unerring a beam of reason as not to want a further direction than what would arise from the intimations of their own breasts. After which inquiry carefully made, we may consider whether man was the creature made in this rank; and whether the directions said by Moses to have been originally given to the man may not be apprehended to have been the most proper means to supply his defects, to make him perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every thing necessary to his answering the great end of his creation and being.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Points above stated.

THE creation of God, as far as we can examine it in the things that may be known by us, shews us a wonderful connection of all things to one another. If we go to what I would call the lowest, the most dead and inorganic parts of matter, it is a question, whether a vegetative life does not subsist in all; so slow indeed in some, as that it will escape our first inspection: but stones and minerals in time shew enough of it to apprise us, though it be hard to conceive

how small its first beginnings are, that probably there is not any thing in the natural world wherein it really is none. We may trace a gradual increase of the circulation of it from the more inert parts, as it were, of matter, to the trees, and shrubs, and plants, and flowers, whose living growths are more and more conspicuous, daily ornamented with new appearances of accrescent variety and alteration: and how near do some of these come to almost a visible connection unto the animal world! It is difficult to ascertain how much more sensation there is in an oyster, if there really are not living animals of less sensation than an oyster, of whose motion we can hardly say more than that it opens its shell to take in the water and soil that is to feed it, and shuts at the approach of any thing that may more sensibly affect it, than in those plants which open their flowers to the soft and warm air, but will instantly close up and shrivel if any grosser object be admoved almost near enough to touch them. If we enter and proceed through the innumerable varieties of animal life, until we come to those beings in whom the breath of it is most conspicuous; if we consider the differences of the discernments of these, and carry on the progression until we enter the rational world; we may find, says an ingenious writer^o, that there are some brutes that seem to have as much reason and knowledge as some that are called men: so that the animal and rational creation do so nearly approach, that if you take the highest of the one, and compare it with the lowest of the other, there will scarce be perceived a difference between them. The variety of the capacities of men considered will carry us over a vast field, and bring us to the borders of the angelic state: for man was made but *a little lower than the angels*^p. How far, had sin not come into the world, and death by sin, the highest and most perfect of men might have improved and come near to the lowest of the angels, we cannot say; but if, from what we can see of *the creation of the world*, we may

^o See Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, b. iii. c. 6.
^p Heb. ii. 7.

reason concerning the things that are invisible, supposing that God created the first man with the highest capacity that could belong to the rank of being he was of; yet, knowing that he was made *a little lower than the angels*, that the lowest of these intelligences was made greater than he, we cannot place man higher than upon an ascent next between the animal and more intellectual state: and, considering how it answers to the analogy of things, that all the intellectual powers should each rise gradually, one order above another, to complete a fulness in God's creation of *the heavens and of the earth*^q; it will be no unreasonable sentiment, that God created man with such powers indeed of reason, as to be above all that can be come up to by the animal life; but yet not with so masterly a light of reason as absolutely to want no assistant information. Mr. Pope has excellently well expressed what I am aiming at. In the creation of God he observes, that, as

—All must full or not coherent be,
And all that rises, rise in due degree;
Then, in the scale of life and sense, 'tis plain,
There must be, somewhere, such a rank as man.—
Plac'd on the isthmus of a middle state,
A being darkly wise and rudely great^r.

There must be somewhere, in the ascents up from sense to the heights of reason, a rank of creatures above the confinements and limitations of instinct; but not so perfect in their powers of reason, as to stand in need of none other than their own direction.

Of this rank the poet deemed man, estimating him made

With too much knowledge for the Sceptic side,
With too much weakness for the Stoic's pride^s:

to have light enough to see how he may, with a sufficient certainty from known premises, draw many important con-

^q Without this Plato thought the heavens would be imperfect: Οὐρανὸς ἀτελής ἔσται, τὰ γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐν αὐτῷ γένη ζῶων οὐκ ἔξει. Δεῖ δὲ εἰ μέλλει τέλειος

ἰκανὸς εἶναι Plato in Timæo.

^r Pope's Essay on Man, Ep. i. 44. and ii. 3.

^s Ibid. Ep. ii. ver. 5.

clusions; but not light enough absolutely to rest satisfied in the sufficiency of his own wisdom^t. The poet gives us many rational intimations that man must originally have been formed in this line of being, that there might be a just gradation in the works of God:

—*that progressive life may go*
 Around *its width, its depth* extend below.
 Vast chain of being! which from God began,
 Nature's ethereal, human, angel, man,
 Beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see,
 No glass can reach! from infinite to thee,
 From thee to nothing^u.——

The poet further expatiates upon the subject:

Far as creation's ample range extends
 The scale of sensual, mental pow'rs ascends.
 Mark how it mounts to man's imperial race,
 From the green myriads in the peopled grass!—
 How instinct varies in the growling swine,
 Compar'd, half-reas'ning elephant, with thine!
 'Twixt that and reason, what a nice barrier!
 For ever sep'rate, yet for ever near^x!

And he further hints to us, that we ought not to think it wrong that man, made to be of this order, has not a larger share of reason to guide him:

——say not man's imperfect, Heav'n in fault;
 Say rather, man's as perfect as he ought:
 His being measur'd to his state and place.—
 Presumptuous man! the reason would'st thou find,
 Why formed so weak, so little, and so blind?
 First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess,
 Why form'd no weaker, blinder, and no less.—
 What would this man? would he now upward soar,
 And little less than angel, would be more!—
 ————— On superior pow'rs
 Were we to press, inferior must on ours;

^t The Stoic's pride here hinted at is, I think, what is expressed in the latter part of the following sentence: *Judicium hoc omnium mortalium est; fortunam a Deo petendam esse, a seipso*

sumendam esse sapientiam. Vide Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. c. 36.

^u Ep. i. 235.

^x Pope's Essay, Ep. i. 207. and 221.

Or in the full creation leave a void,
 Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroy'd.—
 The gen'ral order, since the whole began,
 Is kept in nature, and is kept in man^y.

These sentiments do, I think, most clearly lead us to see, that, in the reason of things, there must be somewhere in the universe a being of such, and no greater, powers of reason, than are here supposed to belong to man; and that this is our true standard has been the opinion of the best writers^z, and has been confirmed in fact by the experience^a of all ages^a: so that for man to talk of his having unerring reason, or of our wanting no further instruction^b than a careful attendance to the result of our own judgment, is a vanity that might sufficiently be exposed in the sentiment offered us in the book of Job; *Vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt*^c: such an independence of understanding is an height that we were not made for. We may think of ourselves as we please; but from the beginning to this time, from the time that Adam was brought into the world until now, *he that has thus absolutely trusted in his own heart*^d has been *a fool*. What a propriety then has it to the nature of man, that God, as soon as he was created, made to him, as Moses relates, an especial revelation! If the perfection of man could have come merely from his reason, without doubt no such revelation would have been given him; for the all-wise God does nothing superfluously in vain^e: and therefore, since a revelation was in fact made to

^y Pope's Essay, Ep. i. 69, &c.

^z It is the sentiment expressed by Cicero, that we are not creatures made able by nature, *naturam ipsam intueri et perspicere, eademque optima duce cursum vitæ conficere*; but that we want for this purpose what he calls *rationem ac doctrinam*, having only *igniculos*, which if not properly fed and cherished will fail and be extinguished. See Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iii. in princip. sup. cit. *Quartus autem gradus et altissimus eorum est, qui natura boni sapientesque gignuntur: quibus a principio innascitur ratio, recta constansque, quæ supra hominem putanda est, deoque tribuenda.* Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. c. 13.

^a Our Scriptures rightly tell us, that *there is no man that sinneth not*, 1 Kings viii. 46. *There is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not*, Eccles. vii. 20. The philosophers say, *Sapientiam nemo ussequitur.* Vide Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. c. 32.

^b *Nam, ut nihil interest, utrum nemo valeat, an nemo possit valere, sic non intelligo, quid intersit, utrum nemo sit sapiens, an nemo esse possit.* Vide Cic. ibid.

^c Job xi. 12.

^d Prov. xxviii. 26.

^e The argument used by the Apostle concerning the law, might, I think, be justly accommodated to the topic before us, in words as follow: For

man in the beginning, hence know we, that it was necessary, and that his original reason was not alone sufficient for him. For as to those who say, that the narration of a revelation made to the first man is a mere allegory and fable; let not these pretend to argue that, if the original reason of man was not alone a sufficient guide, then it must follow, that God did not sufficiently provide for the creature made thus imperfect: for the answer hereto is, that the revelation given to Adam, and intended to have been continued over and above his natural reason, would have been sufficient for man's natural weakness, and have thoroughly *instructed* him more and more *unto every good work*, if it had not been set aside and disregarded by him.

CHAP. VII.

Some further Considerations of the original State of our first Parents; of the Nature of the first Command or Prohibition made to them, and wherein consisted the Sin of their not observing it.

THE point we considered in the before-going chapter was, how far we may reasonably conjecture, from the rank and order of being man was formed in, that he was made a creature not of absolute independent understanding. I would here observe, that a most excellent writer has hinted to us this very thing: the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus enumerates the endowments with which, and the direction under which, God thought fit to bring our first parents into the world. *The Lord, he says, created man of the earth.—They received the use of the five operations of the Lord, and in the sixth place he imparted them understanding, and in the seventh speech, an interpreter of the cogitations thereof. Counsel, and a tongue, and eyes, ears, and a heart, gave he them to understand*^f. In these and the three following verses he remarks how God

if there had been reason given unto Adam such as, or so sufficient, that it might have given him life, verily his

righteousness would have been by his reason. See Gal. iii. 21.

^f Eccclus. xvii. 1—9.

gave unto man his five senses, his ability of speech and understanding: but he had before observed, that, when God made man in the beginning, *he left him in the hand of his counsel*^g. The question is, whose counsel was man now left in the hand of? The Latin version says *sui consilii, his own counsel*; but very absurdly: the Greek text is ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίου αὐτοῦ· not ἑαυτοῦ, *his own*, but αὐτοῦ, *his*, i. e. *God's counsel*: and this truly agrees to what follows in the next verse, if man would have conformed to it. His duty was to have kept the commandments, καὶ πίστιν ποιῆσαι εὐδοκίας^h: he was to have paid unto God ὑπακοὴν τῆς πίστεως, *the obedience of faith*. The intimation is no other than what is the substance of all revealed religion, that *without faith* it was *impossible* man should *please God*ⁱ; for that not to follow absolutely the counsels of man's own heart^k, but to *fear God, and to keep his commandments, this* was to have been *the whole of man*^l. And this is what Moses sets before us: he tells us, that God made man; but, over and besides making him *a living soul*, and creating him, as Solomon speaks, *jashar, aright*, having nothing in him not *meet* for an intelligence of his order and rank of being; having given him senses and understanding in such measure as his Maker thought fit to bestow upon him^m; over and above all, he gave him a commandment, which, if he would have faithfully kept to and observed, would have led him unto every thing sufficient for him. But,

^g Eccles. xv. 14.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ Heb. xi. 6.

^k The following *our own counsels* is, in Scripture-meaning, the deserting or departing from what God has revealed, to do what seemeth *right in our own eyes*. See Deut. xii. 8. &c. and many other places that might be cited.

^l Eccles. xii. 13.

^m Ibid. vii. 20. His imperfect reason would have been the occasion of no evil, if he had not departed from observing the commandments of God. Adam's ability of reason was such as it ought to be in one of his rank of being, and the important thing to him was, to

Know thy own point: this kind, this due degree

Of blindness, weakness, Heav'n bestows on thee. Pope, Ep. i. 283.

He ought not to have aimed to be knowing as God, but, obeying what God commanded, thereby to have learned and done the duties of his life; but

—In reas'ning pride our error lies; All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.—

Men would be angels, angels would be gods.

Aspiring to be gods, if angels fell, Aspiring to be angels, men rebel: And who but wishes to invert the laws Of order, sins against th' eternal cause. Pope, Ep. i. 123.

The difficulty which objectors raise against interpreting literally what Moses relates of the command here said to be given, lies in their conceiving the command to be in itself in nowise rationally conducing to man's perfection. It is impossible, they think, that such a being as God is should appoint so great a weight of the happiness or misery of mankind to depend upon a matter in itself of so little real importance as the eating or not eating of the fruit of a particular treeⁿ. Here, I confess, they start what ought to be examined very considerably, and is not to be so hastily determined as some imagine, who, I think, add to, instead of removing, the stumblingblock by their unaccountable ratiocinations. They say, "God had laid the whole stress and weight of his authority upon this one command. If," say they, "you suppose a case so circumstanced, that if a son's disobedience to a father, in some one particular, in itself of no moment, will infer not merely a neglect, but even a contempt of his parent's authority; be the matter of the offence what it will, will it not deserve the severest resentment? What the son thinks a trivial thing, and in common estimation may pass as such, he will presume the father will think so too: but had the father expressly laid the whole weight of his authority upon this one thing; had he expressly said beforehand, Son, whatever else you may think to do to please or shew regard to me shall have no acceptance, unless in this one easy thing, which I make and appoint to be the test of your duty, you carefully obey me: for upon your failure herein, I will most absolutely treat you as a rebel. Should the son after all this presume to offend in this one point, would any reasonable man plead it to be excusable?" I confess, such a defence as this shocks me exceedingly. It is obvious that the unbeliever will readily reply; "Should a man build the most magnificent habitation in the world, and add to it in estate every desirable possession, but in some one room of his house should set up a piece of wood,

ⁿ Id utique videtur gravissimum et ob rem exiguam. *Burnet, Archaeol.* p. asperrimum quod gentem humanam 296. plexisse, imo perdidisse dicatur Deus,

“ with this strict prohibition to his son : As a mark of my
 “ authority, as a test of your obedience to me your father, I
 “ command that this one piece of wood be never touched
 “ by you ; for I have made it my will, that if ever you
 “ touch it, an absolute disherison shall take place against you
 “ and your posterity for ever.” Should the son now offend
 herein, I will not, says the Freethinker, ask so much as a
 question about the son ; I give him up for a fool, to receive
 the fruits of his trifling impertinence : but I must inquire
 concerning the father, What may posterity, considering such
 a ruin of a whole family unto all generations, think of him,
 who made so trifling an injunction so peremptory and so
 penal ?

It will not be admitted that we write worthily of God, if
 we suppose him to have given Adam a commandment of no
 real moment, only to make his neglect of it, if he should
 happen to neglect it, most terribly destructive. *God is not
 man*, that he should lay the stress of his authority in caprice ;
 upon a matter of no moment whether it be observed or no :
 and therefore, if we would give unto him the honour due
 unto his name, it will be proper to consider, whether such
 as God had made to be the nature of man ; such a com-
 mand, as Moses describes in the prohibition of the forbidden
 tree, was not highly fit, I might say necessary, to be given
 him : and whether, this command being broken, it could
 otherwise be in the reason and nature of things, as God had
 made them, unless he had created things anew, than that the
 punishment and ruin threatened for man must take place ;
 for that otherwise man might not have had a way back to
honour, to glory, to immortality. If we can, in such a tract
 of examination as this, search and find any grounds to be-
 lieve God, in what Moses writes, to have dispensed to our
 first parents no otherwise than suitably to their natures, we
 shall see great reason for all that is set before us concern-
 ing the proceedings of his providence, as Moses has related
 them.

The prophet Jeremiah argued to the Jews, that God *spake
 not unto their fathers—concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices :*
but this thing commanded he them, saying, Obey my voice, and

I will be your God, and ye shall be my people^o. A directing intimation hence arises, that the great end and design of the legal institutions were to discipline and to exercise the Jews to *obey* God. In like manner, when God thought fit to make the covenant of circumcision with Abraham, the declared design of what was instituted was, that Abraham should walk *before* God, and thereby *be perfect*^p. And we are thus to consider the commandment given to Adam concerning the forbidden tree; not as if God spake to him concerning a tree, merely to preserve that inviolate; but he herein commanded him this one thing, namely, *Obey my voice indeed*, to do whatever I shall declare to be the duties of thy life: not that God required that man should obey his voice purely for the sake of, and to lay a stress upon, his own authority; but because it was necessary for man not to be left to his own guidance, but to be kept in the hand of God's counsel. Adam, when created, was not so made as that directions absolutely right in themselves would arise to him, from his own judgment of things, for the whole guidance of his life; and therefore God gave him a command not to eat of a particular tree, as he afterwards gave to Abraham the command of circumcision: as Abraham received the command of circumcision to be *the sign, a seal of the righteousness of faith*^q; so Adam received the command of not eating of the forbidden tree to be a sign, an attestation, a standing and inviolate memorial, that he was not to follow his own inventions, but truly and faithfully to obey God.

If we consider the commandment concerning the forbidden tree in this light, the narration of it will be greatly cleared of the difficulties surmised to be in what Moses has said of it. In every revelation which God has made unto men it is observable, that some positive institution or institutions are enjoined for the receivers of such revelations truly to pay unto God, in obeying them, *the obedience of faith*; i. e. to *believe and to do* whatever God is pleased to declare to them, or demand of them. It is thus that we receive the two ordinances which Christ has appointed us in the New

^o Jerem. vii. 22, 23.

^p Gen. xvii. 1.

^q Rom. iv. 11.

Testament, baptism, and the communion of bread and wine. It was thus that the Jews were bound to observe the rites, and to make the sacrifices, of the law by Moses; even as Abraham before received the command of circumcision^r. And thus unto Adam was given the injunction not to eat of the particular tree that was called the *tree of the knowledge of good and evil*: of which command we can no more say, that God did not literally enjoin our first parents not to eat of that tree, than we can say, that he did not literally enjoin Abraham *the circumcision of the flesh*; or the Israelites to offer the sacrifices which are directed in the law; or us Christians the *washing of water* in baptism, and the eating of bread and drinking of wine in remembrance of our Saviour, as they are enjoined by him. Upon the whole, the interpreting literally what Moses says of the prohibited tree, and afterwards of the tree of life, does not make the texts that speak of them *ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως*^s; sets up no singular or peculiar notion in religion, which has nothing like it in the other Scriptures; but rather it is so truly *κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως*^t, has such an agreement with what is read of a like nature *from faith to faith* in all the subsequent revelations which God has been pleased to make unto men, that it approves itself, in shewing the way of God to lead man through the world, to have been in this point none other than one and the same in principle, though diversified in circumstances, as the different circumstances of different ages might require, from the very beginning of man down to these last times, and is to continue the same until our state here be fulfilled.

The objectors to a literal interpretation of Moses's account of the two particular trees of the garden do therefore vainly think themselves to have a difficulty insuperable in asking, How could there be in nature trees that could bear such fruits as seem by a literal interpretation of Moses to be ascribed to the tree of knowledge and to the tree of life? For if any one should ask us concerning baptism, What sort of water can that be which can give the washing of regene-

^r Rom. iv. 11.^s 2 Pet. i. 20.^t Rom. xii. 6.

ration? or concerning the Lord's Supper, What can we conceive of the natural nourishment or juices of that bread and that wine, from the eating and drinking of which we may be made partakers of the body and of the blood of Christ? Would any one, who thinks soberly upon the benefits ascribed to the doing these things, as God has commanded them, find himself at a loss to answer in these matters? or would he apprehend the things commanded to be a mere allegory; and that we are not enjoined literally to use real water, or to eat and drink real bread and real wine? Rather, how much more reasonably may we see and apprehend, that as we eat the bread and drink the wine, which God has commanded in *assurance of the faith*, that, if we obey God, it will be unto us according to his word, to give us eternal life, to raise us up at the last day^u; even so might Adam, having done the will of God, when God should direct it, have literally *put forth his hand*, and taken *of the tree of life*, and eaten and have lived *for ever*^x. And as we are to be washed with water as Christ has required, and God will give us of his holy Spirit, both to think and to do above what we otherwise will be able of our own sufficiency, presumptuously assuming to stand in our own strength without him; so ought Adam, literally speaking, not to have eaten of the forbidden tree, and he would have continued *in the hand of God's counsel*, and not have corrupted himself and his way before God: not that *meat*, or the abstaining from any meat, *recommendeth unto God*; not that the washing or not washing with water is in itself any thing; rather, we may, and Adam and Eve might have eat, or not eat, and therein have been neither the better nor the worse, had there not been the commandment of God. The tree prohibited was, I apprehend, like other trees of the garden, *pleasant to the eyes*, and *good for food*; but the point to have been considered was, whether, in observing the prohibition not to eat of this one tree, the man was not to keep himself *in the hand of God's counsel*, not to take upon himself to be his own independent director, but to have obeyed absolutely, wherein

^u John vi. 54.

^x Gen. iii. 22.

soever God was pleased to give him special directions, to live according to *every word* which should proceed *from the mouth of God*^y. If man had persevered herein, as God gave him one law for a relative duty^z, he would in like manner, as occasions required, have given him others also, which otherwise, through man's inexperience of the natures of things, he would have erred in investigating for himself; until God's word having thus been *a lantern to his feet, and a light to his paths*, man might, through it, have attained a right understanding, and having, as long as and wherein soever he might want them, been *guided by God's counsels*^a, be thereby made gradually wise, meet, and fit to be received unto God into glory. But, on the other hand, man, rejecting this the counsel of God towards him, and taking upon himself to judge absolutely for himself; it hence came to pass, that, not having a light of actual knowledge of his own sufficient to preserve him from error, he would find, that, however God had created him (*jashar*) able, under the directions designed him, to go aright into the duties of his life; yet now, not keeping himself within this guidance, but becoming a follower of his own cogitations, he would become a creature full of error, and be in the end both wicked and vain. God must be conceived not to see us only, but to see through us; to know us, and to know the point upon which will turn the issues of our lives: he thus knew the Israelites, when he commanded them to expel the Canaanites out of their land; that, if this one thing was not carefully observed to be performed by them, however they might resolve to keep his law, yet they certainly would be drawn away into idolatry by the remains of that people. The Israelites would not apprehend this, but made the experiment: the event came out to the full of what had been foretold to them^b. In like manner, how obvious is it to see, that God might know that the active and *busy faculty* he had given our first parents, *which we call reason*, not given

^y Deut. viii. 3. Matt. iv. 4.

^z I have before observed, that God gave our first parents the law, that man and wife should not be twain,

but one flesh, Mark x. 8. Vide quæ supra.

^a Psalm lxxiii. 24.

^b See Exod. xxiii. 33. Judges ii. &c.

in a greater measure than he had endowed them with it^c, would never have been kept within its proper bounds, unless at first exercised under some such especial command as he thought fit to give them, and therefore gave such command to them, to be the standing inviolate *memento* of their lives; that *whether* they eat, or *whether* they drank, or *whatsoever* they did^d, they should in nothing *turn aside* from what God commanded *to the right hand or to the left*^e.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the Situation of the Garden of Eden.

THE writers who contend that Moses only designed an instructive apologue, and not a real history, would represent, that his very description of the situation of the garden of Eden hints this to us. They set before us the variety of opinions which different writers have had concerning the situation of this garden^f, and would thence argue that most probably no such spot of ground ever really existed. Plato, they tell us, feigned *Διὸς κήπον*, a Jupiter's garden, wherein he relates how Porus and Penia became the parents of Eros^g: Plato formed a mythologic tale of the origin of the principle he termed *eros* or love, and supposes a garden, which he calls Jupiter's, to have been the scene of the fable enarrated by him. Of this sort they would have Moses's garden of Eden; a fictitious scene, the supposed place where Moses's mythological account of the origin of sin was transacted; no more a real spot of ground than Jupiter's garden, in which Plato represented love to have had its first original. They say divers of the early fathers of the Christian Church understood Moses in this manner; and they cite a very learned

^c Motum istum celerem cogitationis, acumen, solertiam, quam rationem vocamus. *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* lib. iii. c. 27.

^d 1 Cor. x. 31.

^e Deut. v. 32.

^f Dr. Middleton justly remarks, that

it would be tedious to collect the strange variety of conceits which have been invented about the single article of a paradise: the reader may find enough of them in Burnet's Theory, both the Latin and English.

^g Plato in Sympos.

one, Eusebius in particular, for this opinion. To which we may well answer; what sentiments some of the Fathers sometimes had of divers parts of Moses's writings is not very material: our inquiry is, what we may reasonably admit the Scriptures to inform us of the matter before us. However, I would observe of Eusebius, that he certainly did not mean what is inferred from him. We find in our editions of him these words, Μώσεως κατά τινας ἀπορρήτους λόγους—τίνα παράδεισον γεγόνεναί φάντος—ε: from hence it is said Eusebius represents Moses to have wrote of his Paradise mythologically, whenas I apprehend, that whoever will duly examine Eusebius will see that he here hinted Plato's sentiment of Moses, but not his own. Eusebius represents Plato to have been an allegorical writer, and the passage cited from him has some defect^h, or is obscurely worded, but seems to me to say of him, that he aimed to set himself ἀντικρυς Μώσεως, in a point of view over-against Moses; to appear such a writer as he [Plato] took Moses to have been before him; and accordingly, though Plato changed the facts related by Mosesⁱ, he did not narrate the very same which he read in Moses's writings, but adopted others; yet he thought himself to write as elegantly of Porus and Penia, as he deemed Moses to have wrote of Adam and Eve; reputed Moses, as well as himself, φάντος κατά τινας ἀπορρήτους λόγους, to have wrote, not as an historian, but in the mythic style of allegory. The sentiment of the whole period cited from Eusebius is different, if we understand Μώσεως φάντος to mean, that Moses really wrote in allegory; that Eusebius so thought of him; from what it would appear, taking those words to refer to Plato, and to intend only that Plato so thought of Moses. The Greek sentence may, I think, admit the latter sense^k. An English reader may be apt to catch the

ε Vide Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. xii. c. 11. *Hunc hortum Dei apud Mosem eundem esse volunt nonnulli ac Διὸς κήπον, Jovis hortum apud Platonem, et eandem esse utrobique historiam vel allegoriam κατά τινας ἀπορρήτους λόγους Μώσεως, secundum arcanos sensus Mosis, inquit Eusebius.* Burnet's Archæol. p. 287. ed. Lond. 1692.

^h I should suspect that Eusebius

wrote, Μώσεως ὡς κατά τινας ἀπορρήτους λόγους—φάντος. *Mosis, quasi secundum quosdam arcanos sensus loquentis.* The meaning of the place would thus be clear; but perhaps the unskilful transcriber dropped the second ὡς, not seeing the meaning of it.

ⁱ Τὰ βήματα μεταποίησας ὁ Πλάτων.

^k The words of Eusebius in our present copies of him are, Μώσεως κατά

former : and Dr. Burnet hereupon endeavours, in a manner unworthy a scholar, to palm the former upon us. We may fully see Eusebius's opinion of Plato's imitating Moses in the chapter following what is cited : Eusebius tells us how Plato formed his fable of the *Androgynes* from what Moses had related of God's making the woman out of the man^l. Plato changed the fact related by Moses, and used a fiction, as he thought similar to it, and reputed it as warrantable : opining Moses herein, as well as himself, to have wrote allegory : but Eusebius hereupon tells us expressly, that Plato did not understand Moses's intention^m, was ignorant of his way of speakingⁿ. Here then we come to Eusebius's sentiment both of Plato and Moses : he plainly shews us that he knew Moses to have wrote fact, and history ; but thought Plato to mistake him, and to imagine him an allegorist, and that, in writing in that style, he was an imitator of him ; and accordingly we ought so to construe what was before cited from Eusebius, as to make it agree with what is thus plainly declared by him.

But to return from whence I have digressed : The writers, who are not for admitting in a literal sense what Moses relates of the garden of Eden, remark to us, that the ignorance all ages have been in of the true place and situation of it, must be deemed a considerable argument, that no such real place ever existed^o. It is not likely, they say, but that some of Adam's early posterity must have found in the world some traces of the mansions of their first parents, if any so remarkable a place of their abode had ever been ; but if it be in fact true, that, choose we where we will, we can hear of no spot of ground so situate and bounded as Moses describes, why should we think his garden any other than a mere scene of fancy, which no real geography could ever mark

τινας ἀπορρήτους λόγους ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως θεοῦ τινα Παράδεισον γεγονέναι φάντος, καὶ [κ' ἐν] τούτῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἠπατήσθαι διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸς τοῦ ὄψεως, ἀντικρυς μονουχι τὰ ῥήματα μεταποιήσας ὁ Πλάτων, ἐπάκουσον οἷα ἐν Συμποσίῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλληγορῶν τέθεικεν. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. xii.

c. 11.

^l Euseb. *ibid.* c. 12.

^m Μὴ συνείς ὁ Πλάτων ὅποια εἴρηται διανοία. Euseb. *ibid.*

ⁿ Δῆλος μὲν ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀγνοήσας τὸν λόγον. *Id.* *ibid.*

^o See Middleton's Essay upon the allegorical and literal interpretation.

out upon the face of the^p whole earth? But these writers are in all this guilty of the most shameful inobservation. They first call for an inquiry, whether any of Adam's posterity could ever trace out any marks of the situation of the place where Adam first lived; and then overlooking that ages after Adam Moses gave his contemporaries a very particular designation of it, they run away to a modern disquisition, whether we can now find charts of the world that may perfectly agree to Moses's descriptions. But the best method we can take to clear the whole of this inquiry will be to examine, I. Whether we can reasonably admit that any situations of places in the world before the flood could possibly be found the same in the postdiluvian earth. II. To examine whether Moses does or does not settle the boundaries of his garden, such as they were known to be after the flood. III. Whether it appears that the site of the garden, as Moses describes it, was known in the world before, in, and after Moses's times. IV. To determine what his description of it precisely is. V. Whether there has not happened since his times such alterations of the countries bordering upon its situation, as may be admitted to give us reason not to think we can now ascertain the local spot described by him; but how far, notwithstanding all the changes of the face of the world, we may still find the country in which Moses's garden of Eden may be reasonably concluded to have had its situation.

I. Our first inquiry ought to be, Whether any spot of ground, in the first world, could possibly be found again after the flood? And here we have to combat with two opinions: one, that the first world was made so very different from the postdiluvian earth, that it cannot be thought there was such a situation in it as Moses describes: the other, that if there had been originally such a primitive situation, the earth must have suffered such alteration by the flood, that after that catastrophe no traces of what had been before could ever be found. For the former of these we may read Dr. Burnet's Theory; that there were no hills, no

^p Middleton's Examination of the Lord Bishop of London's Discourses, p. 133.

such rivers in the first world as now water the earth^q: but we shall find this a mere fancy of his philosophy, which he would not have fallen into had he kept to what he proposed should conduct his inquiries, namely, the light he might have had from the holy Scriptures^r. The sacred writers have ever reputed mountains and hills to be coeval with the world: the writer of the book of Job was of this opinion: he speaks of the first man as made *before the hills*^s; not meaning *before* them in point of time; the expression is, made *in the sight of the hills*^t; that is, when as yet not men, but the hills only were spectators of his coming into being. The expression intimates what the Psalmist also suggests, that the mountains were brought forth as soon as the earth was made; for to these he appeals as to the most ancient of things, to argue from them of him who was before them, that he is God: *Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth, even from everlasting to everlasting thou art God*^u. Agreeably hereto Moses speaks of hills that had not their rise from the deluge, but were more ancient; were the heights of the earth, over and above the loftiest of which *the waters* of the flood, he tells us, *prevailed fifteen cubits upwards*, to cover all the high hills that *then* were under heaven^x. But it was in Dr. Burnet's imagination that a fluid mass rolled round upon its axis might gradually throw outward its earthy particles, and become incrustated over an huge body of waters; and, growing more and more firm and compact, have its surface naturally formed in an even oval^y. But how small a mote became here a beam in our author's eye, from his not considering the greatness of this work of God! He does not treat (though he is not willing to allow his conceptions to be so narrow^z) his mundane egg suitably to the real amplitude of the world^a.

q Theory, book i. c. 5.

r Adducamus in concilium naturam et rationem, præeunte semper, qua licet, sacrarum literarum lumine. *Tell. Theor. sac.* lib. i. c. 5.

s Job xv. 7.

t לפני גבעות. *Ibid.*

u Psalm xc. 2.

x Gen. vii. 19.

y Theory, vol. i. c. 4.

z Id. c. 11.

a Id. c. 5. It is the doctrine of the mundane egg: I do not know any symbolical doctrine so universally entertained by the Mystæ. *Id.* book ii. c. 8.

Geometry shews us of the highest mountains of the earth, that the height of any of them bears no greater measure to a semidiameter of our globe, than to be in proportion to it as about 1 to 860^b; so that, though to us many of the mountains are vast objects, as they take up great room in, or, if we approach them, more than fill the little orb of our sight, yet they are in truth no greater prominences on the face of the world than an excrescence of about the one hundred and forty-third part of an inch high would be upon a ball a yard round. Our sight is not minute enough to reach so insensible an irregularity; and were our sight large enough to comprehend a view of a whole hemisphere of the earth, it would not have a ken that could spy so little an object as the^c hugest mountain. Had our author thus considered the bigness of the earth, cavities for the seas impressed upon the formed orb of it, to receive the gatherings together of the waters, which were to *run from amongst the hills*, and the mountains and hills raised upon the face of the antediluvian globe, might have been deemed by him to be no more than the *ὁ θεὸς γεομετρῶν*, the divine workmaster, who gave every thing its due weight and measure, might know to be proper to balance the parts of the earth one against another, to give a due libration to our globe.

But the other opinion is, that if the earth was indeed originally made such as to have hills and rivers like to what are mentioned by Moses, yet that such alterations of our globe must have happened from the universal deluge, that any the same mountains and rivers that were before the flood cannot be supposed to have remained, to be found after it: a sentiment thought supportable either by considering, 1. what a fracture must have happened to the earth, to bring forth the abyss of waters produced by God's breaking up the fountains of the deep^d; or, 2. the strata of the relics of a flood, which are said to lie every where deep in all parts of the present earth.

^b Varen. Geogr. sect. iii. c. ix. prop. vii.

^c Varenius's proposition is, *Montium altitudo ad semidiametrum telluris non habet sensilem proportionem, sive adeo*

exiguam, ut rotunditati telluris non magis officiat, quam punctum in globi artificialis superficie notatum.

^d Gen. vii. 11.

1. Moses tells us, that at the deluge *all the fountains of the great deep were broken up*^e. Our ingenious theorist, having observed what a quantity of water must otherwise have been created to fill a sphere extended fifteen cubits every way higher than the summit of the highest hills^f, represents the old world to have been arched over a vast abyss of waters inclosed around its centre, laid up here as in a store-house^g, contained as in a bag^h, against the time when God called them forth to have the world, that then was, perish in them. God then, he says, broke up the fountains of this deep; caused the compass of the world set over itⁱ, the earth^k established upon these floods, to be broken down, and in huge fragments to fall into this vast cavern, whereby the waters forced out of it were added to the rain of forty days to drown the world. He adds, in lively descriptions, that the face of the present earth, overspread with broken mountains, craggy precipices, and ragged and unshapen rocks, looks apparently such a world of ruins; shews us that we live upon the remains of a thus fractured globe. And he concludes, that, if we admit his hypothesis of such a disruption of the earth, we cannot expect to find rivers now as they were before; the general source is, he says, changed, and their channels are all broke up^l. It is surprising that this ingenious author should not reflect, that even his own hypothesis does not make it certain that the ruins he supposes occupied the face of the whole earth. Might not divers enormous fragments fall into the abyss, represented by him, in many different parts of the world, and for vast and extensive tracts of country together, and yet in other parts vast plains, and a well-watered champaign, such as are to be found, and have been found, in all ages in many countries, have remained not disfigured, as not having suffered in these ruins? The disruption of the world was local, here and there in places, as the rocky precipices are found to be, which are scattered over, but do not every where cover the whole

^e Gen. vii. 11.

^f Theory of the Earth, vol. i. c. 2.

^g Ibid. vol. i. c. 7. Psalm xxxiii. 7.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ Psalm cxxxvi. 6.

^k Psalm xxiv. 2.

^l Theory of the Earth, vol. i. b. ii. c. 7.

face of the earth: and if Moses's Eden was in a tract of country that did not break and fall in fragments so disjointed into the deep, its primitive situation might remain, and be well described by him in the postdiluvian world. In like manner,

2. If we examine what is offered by others concerning the several strata in the bowels of the earth, occasioned, as they represent, by an universal deluge, we shall find nothing in their speculations that can prove that Moses might not be able to describe the local situation of the garden of Eden by such boundaries as might really exist in the postdiluvian earth.

The writers who tell us of shells and exuviæ of fishes, of teeth and bones of some animals, often found buried under the surface; many times deep in the bowels of the present earth; sometimes inclosed even within the mass of the most solid stones, or beds of minerals; apprehend the earth, at the universal deluge, to have been so long soaked in the water that overflowed it, that the crustation or concretion of all its parts was absolutely loosened, and the whole orb liquidated into an universal fluor; in which trees and animals, fishes and all sorts of vegetables, not of a contexture such as that water was a proper menstruum to dissolve them, were variously tossed about and carried; until, when God was pleased to have the floods quieted, and the agitations of the waters become a dead calm, things began regularly to subside; the earth to concreté again, and the bodies rolling here and there in the turbid and thick waters, to sink and lodge regularly; deeper or nearer the surface of the accrescing earth, as their specific gravities might rest them higher in, or sink them lower into, the mud that surrounded them: that the bed of earth, in which they became thus situated, hardening daily, suitably to the nature of its respective soil, some stratas becoming in time a chalk; others vegetating and concocting to stone; to ore of minerals, in concretions of various sorts, such as might be formed according to the different nature of the parts they were compounded of; the undissolved bodies that subsided in them, and rested where the surrounding matter answered their gravity and sustained

them, became, as that hardened, inclosed in it; and are therefore, wherever the earth is ransacked down to the beds they lie in, found sometimes whole and entire, where no air has been introduced to loosen the contexture of their parts, or any menstruum has been generated, that could corrode and dissolve them: and many times, where the shells or the animals are dissolved and gone, such a print appears to have been taken of them in the yielding and soft substance, whilst pliable, of the strata they lay in, as to exhibit to us even in what now are the hardest stones, impressions of various kinds, more perfect than the best matrices which the highest art of foundry could ever have made to cast their forms in. In this manner they suppose the liquidated earth, full of all that perished in it, to have gradually become again a round lump, precipitated to the centre of the waters it was immersed in; and they say, that, after this subsidence, God raised the earth again above the waters, by breaking the round orb, and elevating some parts into hills, making deep channels for rivers and seas, and thereby draining great tracts to be dry land for a new habitable world: and they remark this to be the reason why, in some mountains and sides of hills, the reliques are found to lie in lines perpendicular, and not, as in other parts of the earth, in horizontal strata¹. These mountains, they say, were raised up from their flat and recumbent situation; set, as it were, on edge, so as to have what originally was their horizontal surface now posited sloping or perpendicular to the horizon, and accordingly to have their whole contents in a like situation. In this manner we are apt to think ourselves able speculatively to destroy and make a world: but whether in fact these things were thus done must be more than doubted by any one that attends to Moses's history. If the earth within six generations of Adam was found to abound in such ore of metals as could employ every artificer in brass and iron, of which we read Tubal-Cain was an early instructor^m, there can be no conception of the whole globe's having been at the flood of so loose and dissoluble a contexture, as that forty days' rain,

¹ See Woodward's Theory.

^m Gen. iv. 22.

and the waters that came from the great deep, should altogether melt it away: and if, as an ingenious friend observed to me in a conversation upon this subject, *the dove*, which Noah sent out the second time from the ark, came to him in the evening, *and, lo, in her mouth was an olive-leaf, plucked off; so Noah knew that the waters were abated;* trees, some at least, that were before the flood, stood their ground, and therefore their ground was not absolutely washed away from them. Their summits or tops of boughs appeared as the flood decreased, for the dove to alight on, and to bear away the spoils of them.

The world, such as it subsided during the increase of the flood, such it appeared again in the parts where the ark rested, rising by degrees out of the waters: the summits of trees upon the hills, from one of which Noah's dove plucked an olive leaf, emerged first; the tops of hills became next visible; the earth, and what was upon it, came gradually into sight, until the face of the ground was dry. The heathen poet seems to have described this great event more suitably to what the providence of God caused to be the fact than our philosophers. Ovid tells us, that upon the abating of the flood,

Flumina subsidunt, colles exire videntur,
Surgit humus: crescunt loca decreescentibus undis:
Postque diem—nudata cacumina silvæ
Ostendunt, limumque tenent in fronde relictum,
Redditus orbis erat.

Ovid. Met. lib. i. 344.

The world was restored to the remains of mankind; not a new world, created over again, upon a total dissolution of the former, but a globe, which, however the waters left every where sufficient marks of an inundation, was in no wise so entirely stripped of its trees, its herbs, and all its other garniture, that the sons of Noah could not know it to be the same, or could think it absolutely another earth.

We may well account for all the phenomena our naturalists are so full of without running the lengths of their imaginations for a solution of them. If we consider the accounts

and effects of many lesser inundations that have happened in divers parts of the world, we may explain effects such as are mentioned by the poet,

Vidi ego, quæ quondam fuerat solidissima tellus
 Esse fretum, vidi factas ex æquore terras :
 Et procul a pelago conchæ jacuere marinæ,
 Et vetus inventa est in montibus anchora summis :
 Quodque fuit campus vallem decursus aquarum
 Fecit, et eluvie mons est deductus in æquor.

Ovid. Met. lib. xv. 262.

Great tracts that were formerly dry land may be now in the sea; and much of what the waters covered anciently in many parts of the world become dry and habitable ground. The shells of sea-fish are often seen in parts very remote from any mention or memory of seas, and ancient anchors have been found upon the tops of mountains. A flow of waters have gulled plains into deep valleys, and hills have been washed down, and borne away into the ocean.

Our own country might afford many illustrations of facts of this nature. In the levels of Cambridgeshire, there are many reasons to think that there was anciently a surface that now lies buried some yards deep under the present soil: the bottoming of some of their rivers shew itⁿ: and, in setting down a sluice, there has been found, sixteen feet deep, a smith's forge, and the tools thereunto belonging, with several horse-shoes. At Whittlesey, in that county, in digging through the moor, at eight feet deep, they came, we are told, to a perfect soil of sword-ground, or grass: timber-trees of several kinds are said, in other places, to lie deeply buried; and in some parts skeletons of fishes, whole and entire, lie many feet under ground in a silt: from all which appearances our naturalists inform us, with great show of probability, that some ancient land-floods have brought down, from the higher countries, a prodigious wash of soil along with their waters; that their waters, not finding a sufficient outlet to run off with a strong current, spread over

ⁿ See Dugdale's History of Inbanking.

the whole level the adventitious earth brought along with them, which in time hardened and incrustated to a new surface over the whole ground, covering whatever was overflowed upon the former lands, and containing the exuviæ of whatever fishes or animals were choked and buried in the silt of it. From these lesser effects of lesser causes, we may, I think, well trace the greater effects of greater. If an inundation of so small a country as an inland level heaped a soil over the face of it yards deep, why might not the universal deluge of the world, in places where the drain from them might let away the water, but retain the sediment, lodge vast and mountainous tracts of adventitious earth? in which might be buried all the layers of the exuviæ, which are the noted curiosities of their strata, and over which the earths they were buried in were at first but wet mud, loose mould, gritty sand, loam, or marl; little particles of stony substance; some of all aptitudes for all sorts of accretion, concoction, and vegetation, and which have accordingly, in the maturation of ages, remained sandy and sabulous, earthy in all kinds, or become rocks or minerals, veins of metals, or quarries of all sorts of stone, according to the respective natures of their component particles and constitution. The hills, as the waters surmounted all, might in many places, where their summits were plain and extensive, and the fall from them but little, have their tops hugely heaped, and their sides every way loaded with these incrustations; and, in countries where a great fall was open for the waters from high hills, and a spacious outlet for their currents into the sea, mountains of this adventitious soil might be carried off through the channels of large rivers, deepened by the torrents borne through them, and the face of the adjacent lands, scoured indeed of some of its own surface, might have its boundaries left much the same after as before such deluge.

The depths to which the labour of man has, or ever can, explore the earth, are, comparatively speaking, a mere span; for how little do the deepest mines approach towards the centre of our globe! It may probably be true, after all our naturalists have offered upon these subjects, that none of the

shells and exuviæ they talk of, such as really are, or have been, what they take them for, have ever been found any where in the earth, but where the deluge heaped and left the soil they are found in. In other parts of the world, wherein the flood did not make a new ground, if these parts were dug and opened to proper depths, undoubtedly we should find different layers or strata of earth, quarries of stones, or veins of minerals, such as may have been forming from the original of things; but no such exuviæ in these as are found in like beds in the other places: and, where the exuviæ are found to lie perpendicularly, or aslope, and not in horizontal lines, I should suspect, that earthquakes, since the deluge, may have variously broken up these places from their deepest foundations, subverted the old, and made a new position of huge fragments of them. And,

If thus examining all that has been suggested, we can, after all, find a situation in the present world so far such as Moses describes, as to have all appearance of its being the tract wherein he marked out the boundaries of his land of Eden, and its garden; I cannot but conceive, that, if those parts were dug up and explored, exuviæ of the flood would not be so found in them, as to give us reason to think otherwise than that the spot of ground described by Moses, such as he describes it, has existed both upon the antediluvian and postdiluvian earth. But let us consider,

II. Whether the description of Moses does not plainly tell us what were the marks or bounds of his garden of Eden in the first world; and also as plainly, that these boundaries remained, but had new names, and were well known in the second. A river, he tells us, went out of Eden to water the garden, and it was a river of four heads^o: this was the run and streams of the river of Eden, when the garden was first planted, and the man put into it. The words of Moses must have this, they can have no other intention. But Moses does not rest his description here; he proceeds to tell us what these rivers were called, and what countries they washed upon in after-ages. He calls the first of the rivers Pison, the

^o Gen. ii. 10.

second Gihon, the third Hiddekel, and the fourth Euphrates^p: and tells us of the first river, that it compasseth the whole land of Havilah^q, a country noted for its gold and precious stones^r: of the second, that it compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia, or Cush^s: of the third, that it runs east into Assyria^t: of the fourth, that it is the Euphrates^u. These names of the rivers here mentioned by Moses, three of them at least, are not, that I know of, mentioned any where by the profane geographers; but the most ancient of these are mere moderns, comparatively speaking, with regard to the ancient Scripture geography^x. The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus mentions both Pison and Gihon^y, and hints both to have been rivers that, at particular seasons of the year, abounded in their flow of waters^z, and as not unworthy of being named with the Tigris and Euphrates^a; so that we may think that in his day they were noted, and in nowise inconsiderable streams. The Pison, Moses tells us, encompassed the whole land of Havilah^b; a country well known by this name from after Abraham's days^c, and in the times of Saul^d, although not thus called in the antediluvian world; for it must have been thus denominated from its having been planted after the flood by Havilah, one of the sons of Joktan^e, or perhaps originally by Havilah, a son of Cush^f. We can find no more of Gihon, than that it compassed the whole land of Ethiopia, or land of Cush^g. The country called the land of Cush was what the sons of Cush first planted^h, most probably Babyloniaⁱ; undoubtedly not called the land of Cush until after the flood, when Cush

^p Gen. ii. 11—14. Moses, having told us that the garden was watered by a river from four heads, proceeds here to make as it were a new terrier of it, by giving its streams, and the countries they washed upon, those names they were called by after the flood, &c.

^q Gen. ii. 11.

^r Ibid.

^s The word which we translate *Ethiopia* is *Cush* in the Hebrew, Gen. ii. 13. See Connect. Sac. and Prof. Hist. vol. i. book iii.

^t Gen. ii. 14.

^u Ibid.

^x Vide quæ post.

^y Eccles. xxiv. 25, 27.

^z Ibid.

^a Ibid.

^b Gen. ii. ubi sup.

^c Ch. xxv. 18.

^d 1 Sam. xv. 7.

^e Gen. x. 29.

^f Ver. 7. See Connect. vol. i. b. iii.

^g Gen. ii. ubi sup.

^h Ch. x. 7. See Connect. vol. i. b. iii.

ⁱ Ibid.

the son of Ham, and grandson of Noah, had been an inhabitant of it. The river Hiddekel was known to Daniel: it was a great river in his days; one of the visions he saw was made to him, in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia, upon the banks of it^k. The fourth river of Moses's Eden was the Perath, or Euphrates^l; a river so known as to want only to be named to be sufficiently distinguished from all others: it was called by way of eminence *The great River* in Abraham's days^m; again so in like manner by Moses at the exit out of Egyptⁿ. It is well known throughout the whole Scriptures by the same name^o; and the heathen geographers are all very large and full in their accounts of it^p. In this manner therefore Moses writes his situation of the garden of Eden, not as if he thought the flood had washed it away, that the place of it could no where be found; but he remarks what names the rivers of it had from after the times of the sons of Noah, what countries they bounded, and he so remarkably observes it to have been situate in the neighbourhood of the most known river in the world, the river Euphrates, that it must be evident, he had no thought of placing it in some obscure corner, which surely he would have done if he had intended a mere fiction: and I should apprehend, considering him as describing a real place, he would have added more, if he had not thought what he wrote clear enough to leave no doubts, at the time he wrote, concerning the situation described by him. But,

III. The site of the garden of Eden, as Moses describes it, seems to have been well known in the world both before, and in and after Moses's times. The Scriptures are generally concise; every part confined to the matter it treats of: and therefore the garden of Eden being situate beyond the Euphrates, and near the river upon whose banks Daniel was in his captivity at Babylon, it must at first sight be obvious, that the land and garden of Eden were in the

^k Dan. x. 4.

^l Gen. ii. 14.

^m Ch. xv. 18.

ⁿ Deut. i. 7.

^o The reader may find it thus named in all parts of the Old Testament.

^p Vide Strab. Geogr. lib. xi. Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. v. c. 26. lib. vi. c. 9. &c.

neighbourhood of Babylonia. But the history of the Bible, from after Abraham's days to about the times of the captivity, has no accounts relating to any thing beyond the Euphrates; and therefore it is no wonder if we meet nothing remarkably relating to places of this country in all this interval. But Abraham and Lot came into Canaan from Haran^q; and before they dwelt in Haran they had left a further part of the country of the Chaldees: they had come from Ur^r. They were not young men^s when they left these parts, but may be well supposed to have been no strangers to a country they and their fathers had for many generations lived in: we accordingly find them readily agreeing in a material point concerning the subject of our inquiry: they sojourned together in Canaan, between Bethel and Hai; their flocks and herds were so large, that they could not conveniently live together, but were now to separate^t; and Lot, we read, chose to live in the plain of Jordan, because it was every where well watered, even *as the garden of the Lord*, and like the land of Egypt^u. Abraham and Lot had been together in Egypt, so that this country was well known to them^x; and from the whole course of their travels it must appear that they could have seen no parts of the world so well watered as the plains of Jordan, except the lands upon the waters of the Nile and the waters of Babylon: the one they speak of expressly; and *the garden of the Lord*, in the country of the other, they agree to, without any further mention than its name, as being a place familiarly known to both of them^y; and the comparing the

^q Gen. xii. 5.

^r Ch. xi. 31.

^s See Connect. vol. i. b. v. Abraham was 70 years old when his father removed from Ur to Haran, and 75 when he came into Canaan.

^t Gen. xiii.

^u Ver. 10.

^x Ver. 1.

^y It may seem to us a great retrospect for Abraham to look back for Adam's first habitation. But if we consider the length of men's lives from Adam to Abraham, Adam lived to see Lamech 56 years old; see the Table of Antediluvian Lives according

to the Hebrew Chronology, Connect. vol. i. b. i. Lamech appears to have been a person that had much considered the state of his forefathers, the labours they had from the ground in God's having cursed it. He therefore knew what had been the error of Adam's life, and was enabled to assure his contemporaries, upon the birth of his son Noah, that this child of his should obtain them a relief of their difficulties; see Gen. v. 29. Lamech lived to within five years of the flood; see the Table above cited. Shem, the son of Noah, was 100 years old two years after the flood, (see Gen. xi. 10.)

plains of Jordan with the spot of ground watered by these rivers, said by Moses to be the rivers of Eden, was so just a sentiment, that the writer of the book of Ecclesiasticus afterwards agreed to its being true. The waters of Tigris, and Pison, and Geon, and Euphrates, are by him, as Abraham and Lot long before agreed them, very properly compared with the waters of Jordan^z.

But if it may be doubted whether by *the garden of the Lord*, mentioned by Lot to Abraham, was meant the garden of Eden, described by Moses; let us consider how far this place's retaining this very name in the countries where it was situate, down to the captivity, may be of weight to clear this matter. Ezekiel, in his prophecy against Tyre, whose merchants traded to all parts of the earth, observes of them, that they had been at the *garden of God*^a. Where now was the place so called? in what land? He plainly tells us it was in Eden^b. I would observe what the merchandise was which the Tyrians brought thence; it was, the Prophet observes, many precious stones, and amongst them the onyx stone, and gold^c; the very commodities which Moses tells us were the produce of this country^d. Shall we doubt where the Prophet imagined the situation of this country of Eden and this garden of God? we may see he placed it near to Babylon, and amongst the domains of the Assyrian empire. Eden seems to have been beyond Haran and Canneh, near to Shebah and Ashur^e; all which well agrees with Daniel's being upon the banks of the river Hiddekel, one of Moses's rivers of Eden, when he was of the children of the captivity

and therefore was born 97 years before the beginning of the flood, and 92 years before the death of his grandfather Lamech. Shem lived 502 years after the flood, see Gen. xi. 10. i. e. the flood happening A. M. 1656. See Connect. vol. i. b. i. Shem lived to A. M. 2158. Abraham was born A. M. 2008. (see Connection, vol. i. b. v.) so that Shem lived to see Abraham 150 years old. Abraham therefore might converse many years with Shem, Shem with Lamech, and Lamech with Adam. And though a knowledge of where Adam first lived may seem to have tra-

velled through a vast tract of time to come down to Abraham, yet we may observe the links of the chain of the tradition of it were so few, that we may think it really not more remote, from his having a full account of it, than it may be to us to know the habitation of our father's grandfather.

^z Ecclus. xxiv. ubi sup.

^a Ezek. xxviii. 13.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid.

^d Gen. ii. 11, 12.

^e Ezek. xxvii. 23.

of Babylon^f. These are very directing hints, of which if any one will say they do not amount to a demonstration, I shall not herein contend with him; but I think, at the same time, I may venture to offer it to be seriously considered, whether they do not concur more reasonably to induce us to admit, that the *garden of God*, in Eden, was a place well known by that name to Abraham and Lot, and many ages after by the Jews, in the days of their captivity, and known to be situate not very far from the waters of Babylon, and in a situation very well agreeing to Moses's description of it, than all the suggestions, in comparison very trifling, that can be offered to cause us to think otherwise. Let us,

IV. Consider what Moses's description of the land and garden of Eden precisely is. And if we attend carefully to Moses's narration, we shall find it plainly to offer us the following particulars. 1. That a river went out of Eden and watered the garden^g: Eden then was the country higher up the stream than the garden; for the river ran down from Eden to the garden. 2. And *from thence it was parted*^h: after the river had run past, i. e. at or below the farther end of the garden, it was parted. The meaning of the words is sufficiently clear: the river, after it came out of the land of Eden, was one single or undivided stream to and all along the garden; but when it had passed the garden, then it divided and branched into more streams. But, 3. what next follows seems more confused: it *became into four heads*ⁱ. Heads of rivers are the springs or origin from whence they have their waters: so that to say of rivers, that the current of their stream proceeds and becomes into four heads, or comes to four heads, seems to be an inversion of nature, a kind of describing them to run upwards to their fountains; when, on the contrary, all streams must run down *from*, and not *to* or *into*, their heads. The Hebrew particle used by Moses, and which we translate *into*, is indeed *le*^k, which generally signifies *to*, or *unto*: but the translators ought to have observed,

^f Dan. ubi sup. See chap. iii. and v.

^g Gen. ii. 10.

^h Ibid.

ⁱ Gen. ii. 10.

^k לארבעה Hebrew text.

that it sometimes also signifies *from*, and so it ought to have been rendered in this place. In the book of Chronicles we read, when Solomon was made king, *he, and all the congregation with him, went [לבמה] to the high place that was at Gibeon; for there was the tabernacle of the congregation of God, which Moses, the servant of the Lord, had made in the wilderness*¹. Here the particule *le* is prefixed to *bamah*, and signifies *to* or *unto* the high place: but in the 13th verse we are told, *Then Solomon came, [לבמה]* (the same prefix and word is again used,) our English version says, *from his journey to the high place that was at Gibeon to Jerusalem*. But the Hebrew text has no words for *from his journey*: the vulgar Latin therefore renders the passage more truly, *venit ergo Salomon ab excelso Gabeon in Jerusalem*. The Septuagint say, *Καὶ ἦλθε Σαλωμὼν ἐκ βαμὰ τῆς ἐν Γαβαὼν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ*. The fact was, Solomon had been at the high place at Gibeon; he was now to return back again to Jerusalem, and this the Hebrew text expresses by, *Then Solomon came [labbamah] from the high place that was at Gibeon to Jerusalem*: here the particule *le*, prefixed to *bamah*, signifies *from*, though it is as plain, that in the 3d verse, prefixed in like manner to the same word, it signifies *to* or *unto*; i. e. this particule in the Hebrew tongue may have either of these significations, and the necessary sense of the place must guide us when to give it the one and when the other: and under this direction, in the text of Moses which we are considering, it must signify *from*, and not *into*. The words of Moses are, *vehajah le arbanah rashim*^m; they should be rendered, *and it was from four heads*. This then is the express account Moses gives of the river of Eden. It came from Eden to water the garden; from thence it parted; from Eden downwards to the garden it was but one stream; beyond the garden it parted, and branched into more streams. Moses does not say of these, how many they were, nor what their courses were, where they ran to; but returns to give account of the one stream that ran down to the garden: and this he tells us was made

¹ 2 Chron. i. 3.

^m יהיה לארבעה ראשים
capitibus e quatuor et fuit

by the confluence of four rivers, afterwards named by him Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Euphratesⁿ. We are,

V. To consider whether there have not happened such alterations of the face of the country and rivers of Moses's Eden, since his times, as may make it impossible to trace every mark of the garden or land of Eden, as he bounded it; but to inquire, nevertheless, how far we may find sufficient marks of the situation of it.

It was evidently near to or upon the Euphrates^o, upon the Hiddekel^p, a river not far from ancient Babylon^q: it was in the country where the mighty empires of Assyria had their seat, their height of grandeur and their ruin. And we can hardly think of the amazing works performed by the powers that ruled in these countries; in their alterations of the courses of rivers; building and removing even great cities, all which are since become no better than a vast tract of stupendous ruins; without seeing that it must be impossible to think of finding in these parts any face of things, to a minute degree such as Moses described, ages before what has been their glory in the variety of all the works of art and labours of empire which adorned them, and which are now their desolation.

The two great rivers of these countries are the Tigris and the Euphrates: these have been rivers always noted by all geographers that have wrote of these parts of the world. The Euphrates is not doubted to have been Moses's Perath, and we may well allow the Tigris to have been his Hiddekel, considering it remarked to have been called by Daniel the great river^r, the eminent title of the Euphrates^s; and not likely to be given to any lesser stream, not competently to be compared with it. But can we offer as much to find out what river was the Gihon or the Pison of Moses? I confess I

ⁿ We may here observe of Dr. Burnet, that he most egregiously mistook Moses's expression. He asks insulting, *Dic ubi in terris—quatuor fluvii nascuntur ab uno fonte?* Archæol. p. 287. 288. In his English work: *Where are there four rivers in our continent that come from one head?* Theory of the Earth, vol. i. b. ii. c. 7. He would

insinuate Moses to have been guilty of supposing an absurdity: but he did not understand Moses; the absurdity is his own.

^o Gen. ii. ubi sup.

^p Ibid.

^q Dan. x. ubi sup.

^r Ibid.

^s Gen. xv. ubi sup.

think not. The memory of both these rivers seems to have been distinctly kept up to the times of the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, who, according to dean Prideaux, wrote in Hebrew about 250 years before Christ^t, what his grandson above a century later turned into Greek. This writer appears to refer to all the four rivers^u mentioned by Moses as well known in his times, and known to have their extraordinary flows, like to the river Jordan, annually; but the geographical writers we have now extant are but moderns in comparison of the age of even this author, none of them so old by above 200 years, and some, that are often cited as old writers, falling short of him many centuries. A vast change began to be made in the face of this country about a century before the writing of the book of Ecclesiasticus, when Seleucus built Seleucia on the Tigris, to the desolating old Babylon^x. What the rivers of this country were, before the province where Babylon had stood began to become an heap of deserted ruins, might be recollected when the writer of Ecclesiasticus made mention of them; but be lost in a good deal of confusion before the earliest writers of geography after his times, whose works are now extant, made their inquiries into the state of the world. For I think Strabo's is the most ancient work, at least of any figure, we have of this kind, and this was not composed before the times of Tiberius. If Dionysius Periegetes was about the same age, Pliny and Ptolemy were much later, and the Nubian geography still more modern. And it is observable, that whatever more ancient writers Strabo, or any that followed him, had to collect from, even these had difficulties about the waters of Babylon: they had no clear accounts what were the original ancient rivers that might here concur, and what were artificial lakes, streams, and canals, cut from and into the Euphrates, for the ornament

^t Prideaux, Connect. part ii. b. v. Anno ante Christum 132. At this time, the learned Dean says, it was translated into Greek: it was, he says, originally written in Hebrew by the author of it, about the time that Onias, the second of that name, was high priest at Jeru-

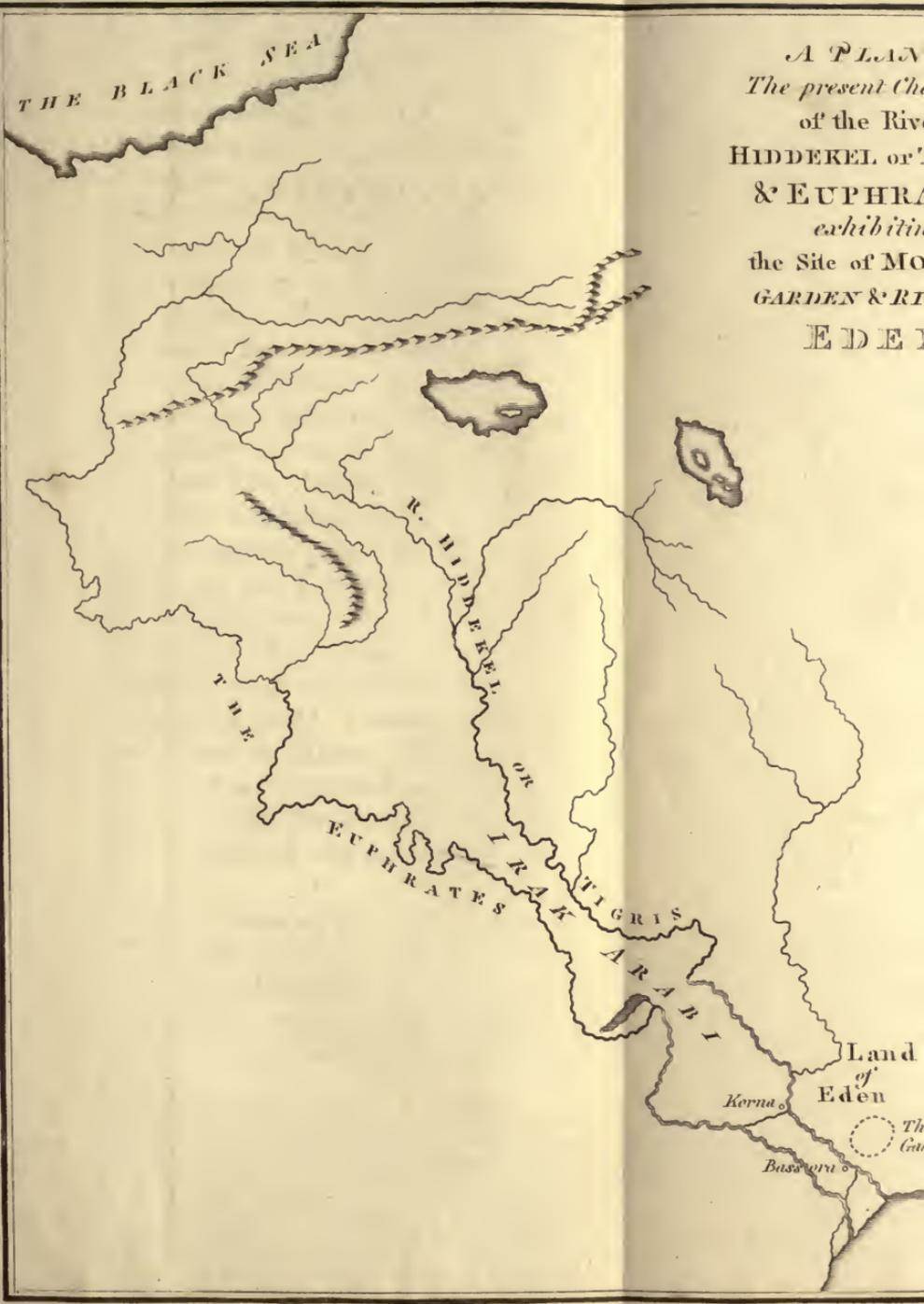
salem, which was about anno ante Christum 250. See his Connect. p. ii. b. ii.

^u Ecclus. xxiv. 25—27.

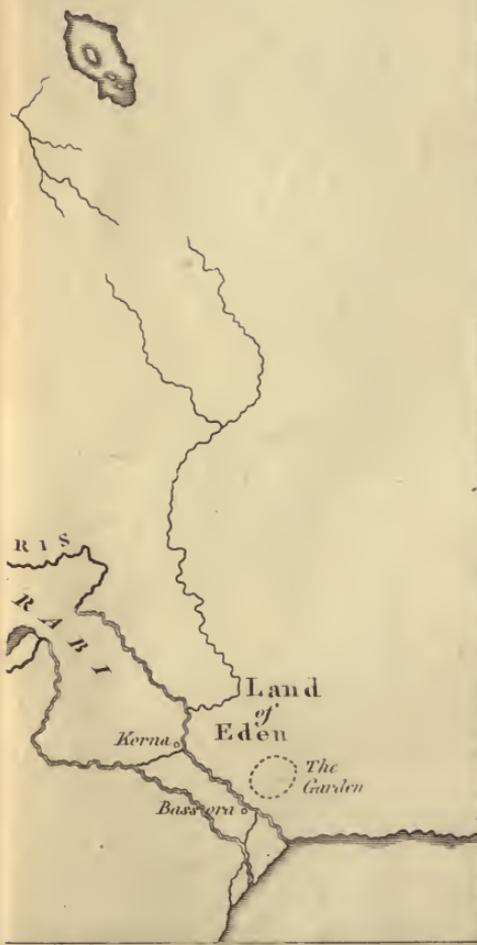
^x See Prideaux, Connect. part i. b. viii.

THE BLACK SEA

A PLAN
The present Channel
of the River
HIDDEKEL or
& EUPHRATE
exhibiting
the Site of MO
GARDEN & RI
E D E N



A PLAN of
The present Channels
of the Rivers
HIDDEKEL or TIGRIS
& EUPHRATES,
exhibiting
the Site of MOSES'S
GARDEN & RIVER of
E D E N.



or convenience of that superb, and beyond comparison great and populous city^y. In the confusion hence arising, and in length of time growing inexplicable, we may reasonably allow all knowledge of the true channels of the rivers Pison and Gihon to have been lost; and we should greatly trifle were we now to pretend to a curiosity to find them. The material point is, whether we have not enough left indisputably certain, to lead us to think Moses's description not such a romance as our modern allegorists would imagine.

The garden of Eden bordered upon a river made up of a confluence of four streams, one of which was the Euphrates, the other the Hiddekel^z: the question is, is there a place in the world where these two rivers and other streams join? I answer, There is; viz. at the south-east extent of the province of the now Irak Arabi of the Turkish empire, which was the ancient Chaldæa; at the place where the Turks now have a fortification called Korna, at which place the Hiddekel or Tigris, and Euphrates, with some other lesser streams, fall in and make one river. Let us inquire further, Do these rivers, thus joined, continue to run in one stream, as Moses mentions his river of Eden to have run down from Eden to the garden of God? I answer, They run in one undivided channel down to Bassora: from hence they are parted, and run in streams, navigable even by large ships, in different channels into the Persian gulf. An inspection of the map I have here inserted will exhibit what I offer in the clearest view.

Whether these rivers were so large in Moses's time as they now are, I do not pretend to say; though it is observable, that Hiddekel was a great river in Daniel's days^a. The Euphrates^b was reputed eminently so in the times of Abraham; and it was the taste of Moses's days to esteem a

^y Qualis facies Euphratis fuerit, priusquam manu factis fossis et alveis distraheretur, difficile est delineare: nam et illæ fossæ antiquiores pleræque sunt, quam Græci, a quibus et naturæ rerum, aut ab hominibus gestarum memoriam habemus, ad scribendum et historias componendas, aut res naturæ

tradendas se composuerunt. Cellarii Geogr. lib. iii. c. 16. Strabo makes many complaints of the incorrectness of the Greek geographers in many parts of his work.

^z Gen. ii. ubi sup.

^a Daniel, ubi sup.

^b Gen. ubi sup.

ground well watered, which lay, as the land of Egypt did, upon the confines of a great and overflowing river, so as that a man might *water it with his foot*^c, might trace out furrows or channels that might be filled with the flow of it, and convey water to the plants, wherever he might desire to design lines for its conveyance. But, leaving the reader to consider and determine, as he thinks fit, whether in the first world there were any snows covering, in their season, the hills or mountains whence these rivers take their rise, and if there were not, whether their flow might not be less, and their channels not so wide and deep in Adam's days, as they became afterwards, when greater currents made their way through them; I might remark, that this augmentation of their waters may, in the hand of Providence, have been one means of keeping their channels open and known even until now, and likely to continue so unto the end of the world.

The course of the Euphrates is to be traced in all noted writers of geography: and it is plainly to be seen, in all the tracts of the country it passes through, that in no point, but that one I have mentioned, it can be found to come to a confluence with other rivers, to make one stream, as Moses describes; and to part again before it runs into the sea. And if, as I measure it, from Korna to Bassora be not above sixty miles, we bring our inquiry after the earthly paradise within a narrow compass; and, however inconsiderately some may be disposed to ridicule the inquiry, we may reasonably conclude we cannot be far from the spot which was the garden of Eden, any where in the confines of the flow of this river between Korna and Bassora.

^c Deut. xi. 10. Thus Ezekiel hints the furrows of her plantation. Ezek. xvii. 7.
a vine so planted in a good soil by great waters, that it might be watered by

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the Temptation that happened unto Eve from the Serpent: and concerning her and Adam's eating of the forbidden Tree.

WE left Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden. The day after their creation was a sabbath; to be employed in considering the bounty and goodness of their Creator; what expectations he had given them; what duties enjoined them, and how they might perform them: and it is most unnatural to think, that, when this day was over, and they began to employ themselves in what God had appointed them to do, namely, *to dress the garden and to keep it*, they should go out to their work not desirous to see and consider the creation of God, and fully purposing to revere and obey him in every thing he had said, or should farther speak to them. Dr. Burnet supposes that the temptation which they submitted to befell them instantly on the very day of their creation^d. But it is observable, that, although the narration of Moses is very concise,

Semper ad eventum festinat——— Hor.

although he has related to us only a few events, upon which all the whole affairs of the first world turned; and relates them in their order as they were done, omitting all that was intermediate between the particulars recorded by him; yet the intervals of time between the facts recorded by him must have been filled up in a manner reasonably agreeing to the nature of the things related, and the character of the persons concerned in them.

^d Istoc die creavit omnia pecora, omnes feras, et omnia reptilia—denique creavit Adamum,—finita hac opera fabricavit foeminam: eodem die conjugium ineunt mas et foemina recens nati.—Eodem die nova nupta, nescio quo proposito, vagata inter arbores nemoris, incidit in serpentem:

ille serpens colloquium instituit cum foemina: argumenta jactant hac illuc de quadam arbore aut quodam fructu, edendo, vel non edendo: illa tandem rationibus aut lenociniis victa fructum comedit; neque id tantum, sed eundem defert marito, qui pariter comedit. *Archæol.* p. 295.

Both a just writer, and a judicious reader,

Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique, *Hor.*

will know how to say, and, where it is not necessary to be expressed, how to think what is suitable to every character: but it is hard to think of God, that he should permit a temptation of so great consequence to break forth upon our first parents, before they had had time to form any sort of thoughts of the things about them. And we give Adam and Eve no character at all, if we imagine, that, whilst the voice of God, strictly charging them not to eat of the tree, had scarce ceased speaking to them, they would eat, because they heard a serpent say they might safely do it. If Moses had expressly told us that they thus instantly fell into the sin which became their ruin, he had, I think, laid before us a great rock of offence against his narration: for to suppose, that, as soon as God gave the prohibition, Adam and Eve would immediately transgress it, implies not only a want absolutely of all consideration in our first parents, but something incredibly prone not to regard him, who only had shewed himself proper to be regarded by them. But Dr. Burnet takes up the sentiment only that he may tragically complain of Moses's narration^e: had not this bias possessed him, he would have seen, that, notwithstanding any thing said by Moses, many days might intervene between Adam and Eve's creation, and their breaking the commandment of God.

Our English poet took a view of the subject in a better temper and disposition: and, accordingly, though what he supposes is a mere fiction of his own, not at all warranted by Moses, or suggested by any inspired writer; nor do I think it in fact true; yet, I would observe, it seemed natural to him to imagine the angel Gabriel to have spent half a

^e Intra unius diei spatiolum hæc omnia confecta legimus: magna et multifaria negotia. Sed ardeo dolore, cum tantillo tempore omnia inversa et perturbata video, totamque rerum naturam vixdum compositam et adornatam ante primi solis occasum, ad in-

teritum ruere et deformari. Mane diei Deus dixit, Omnia esse bona: sub vespere omnia sunt execrabilia. Quam fluxa est rerum creaturarum gloria! Opus elaboratum per sex dies, idque omnipotenti manu, infamis bestia totidem horis perdidit. *Archæol.* p. 295.

day with Adam and Eve, after the night in which he represents Eve to have had a troublesome dream^f, and that the temptation happened the day after the angel left them^g. He tells us, that on the day the angel visited them, they had in the morning said

Their orisons, each morning duly paid
In various style^h:

which implies his conceiving them to have had divers mornings, in which they had diversified their devotions. I cannot tell how any one that will think reasonably upon the subject can be satisfied in so shocking a view of it as Dr. Burnet sets before us: but, as I before hinted, it is obvious to see what misled him, namely, his disposition to represent Moses's narration to intimate that the works of God's infinite wisdom, displayed for six days together in creating and forming a wonderful system of things in the fabric of a world, were all ruined and undone by a low reptile, a serpent, in as few hoursⁱ. The reflection is so offensive, that if some strange perversion has not *taken away our hearts*, it must check us to consider, whether what is thus said was indeed thus done: and we shall be easily hence led to remark, that the ruin that happened was not so absurdly precipitate as our author represents it.

Our first parents went out daily to the care of their garden, and made their observations of the things that occurred to them: they named the living creatures as they found opportunities of seeing and considering them; and upon the serpent's coming in their way, and being observed by them, he in an human voice spake unto Eve^k. They were now not such novices as not to have remarked that no other creature could thus speak; which occasioned them to think, what is recorded, that *the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which the Lord had made*^l. Had the serpent's speaking to them been so early in the beginning of their life, as to be

^f See Milton's Paradise Lost, book v. &c.

^g Ibid. book ix.

^h Ibid. book v. 145.

ⁱ Burnet, sup. citat.

^k Gen. iii. 1.

^l Ibid.

before they had made observations of the other creatures, they would have had no notion of the serpent's being herein superior to other animals; for they might have expected that all other animals might have spoken to them in like manner. Many days therefore may reasonably be hence inferred to have passed between their creation and the serpent's thus speaking to them; as many as we can judge must have intervened, before they could know in the general, concerning the living creatures, that none of them, the serpent only excepted, had any power to speak to them. But we ought to remark, that they were not as yet masters of so much science as to know, that thus to speak could not be within the natural powers of a brute creature; for it gave them neither fear nor amazement. Had they apprehended the serpent's speaking to have been an incident miraculous and unnatural, they would, as Moses did, when he saw the bush burned with fire, and was not consumed^m, have turned aside to see this great sight: they would have been greatly confounded at what could be the meaning of so unnatural a prodigy. But, as Moses represents, they heard what was said to them as undisturbed and unmoved as they would have been by any other new, but ordinary incident, that could have come under their observation; so, agreeably hereto, we ought to fix the time of Eve's being tempted: it was not until she and Adam had observed in the general of the animal creation, that none of them had the gift of speech, and they could not have observed this of the several species of creatures in the world in a very few days. It happened before they knew it to be a miraculous thing for an animal to speak, and therefore it unquestionably did happen early in their livesⁿ.

^m Exod. iii. 3.

ⁿ Syncellus cites some minutes of the book of Genesis, which suppose seven years to have passed before the transgression. The passage cited by Syncellus is in these words, under the title of *Ἐκ τῶν Λεπτῶν Γενέσεως: Τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει παρέβη [Ἀδάμ], καὶ τῷ ὄγδῳ ἐξερίφησαν τῆς παραδείσου, ὡς φησι, μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας τῆς παραβάσεως, ἐν τῇ ἐπιτολῇ τῶν Πλειάδων.* Syncellus, p. 8. What may be the au-

thority or antiquity of this fragment, or whether it was originally written in a language more ancient than its present Greek, I cannot say; but, by its mentioning the Pleiades, I should think it in no language to have been as old as Moses's times: for however early asterisms, or combinations of pluralities of stars, were formed, as they certainly were very early, for we have mention of such in the book of Job; yet Moses hinting nothing like them in his

Moses calls the serpent נחש, *nachash*^o: it is the general word for a *serpent*, used throughout the Old Testament, and was perhaps the original name which Adam gave this animal, if we make allowance for some variation of pronouncing the word, after words became of more syllables than one^p. The word signifies an *augur*, *diviner*, or *foreteller* of things to come^q. It appears to have been Adam's manner in naming things, to consider some particular observed of them, and from that to name them: thus, knowing Eve to have been made out of him, himself being *aish*^r, *man*, he called her *aishah*^s, which we render *woman*. And thus he afterwards gave her another name, and called her *Chaiah*, or *Chevah*, *Eve*, as soon as he was told she was to bear children, and be *the mother of all* [*chai*] of *all living*^t; of all their descendants who were to derive life from them: so here the serpent in his speaking, foretelling that they should have their *eyes opened, and be as gods*^u, Adam called him the *diviner*, or *foreteller*, of what was to come; [*nachash*.] If this may be admitted, it will further hint Adam to have lived some time before the temptation; for, in the first instants of life, before he had had any kind of practice both of eyes and understanding, to consider the difference between seeing and knowing immediate objects, and considering and pronouncing things that afterwards should be, he would not have been able in any wise to give the serpent a name implying such a considered sentiment concerning him.

Milton represents Eve to have been alone, without Adam present with her, when the serpent spake to her^x: but we

books, I think we must look for this astronomy in times later than his days. This citation then can be no authority to warrant our saying seven years to have passed before Adam's transgression; though the reason of things will compel us to allow, that a competent time must have passed before our first parents could know enough to be able to kindle in their hearts even a conceit of desiring to be wise, or a notion of becoming so, without or in opposition to their Maker.

^o נחש, Gen. iii. 1.

^p See Connect. vol. i. b. ii.

^q The verb נחש, from which the word denoting *the serpent* is derived, signifies, where it is used in the Old Testament, *auguratus est, augurium fecit, divinavit, ominatus est: certas conjecturas habuit*.

^r Gen. ii. 23. See Connect. vol. ii. book ix.

^s Gen. ii. 23.

^t Ch. iii. 20.

^u Ver. 5.

^x Paradise Lost, book ix.

ought to observe, that Moses does not say this; nor is there any thing any where hinted by the sacred writers, which may oblige us to admit it. Milton's design was to make

Ex noto fictum carmen——. *Hor.*

Milton took the fact, as far as Moses related it, as the ground of his poem; but ornamented it his own way, in a variety of episodes, such as he thought might naturally coincide with what Moses had related, and have the uses both of edifying as well as entertaining his reader. And he has no where in his performance worked up a scene more natural than what he represents of the vanity of Eve to desire to work apart alone by herself; of the manner of the temptation, and the success of it; of her address to Adam after she had eaten of the forbidden fruit; of his seeing better than she had done the ruin she was fallen into; the fond but rash resolution he had, rather to perish with her than to live without her; the turbulent scenes of passion and disgust, of mutual accusations and resentments, that soon arose when both of them were become guilty; elegantly expressing, how surely there is in the being partakers in sin what will not satisfy but disturb the soul. But however Milton may have elegantly represented these things, if we would truly judge of the subject as Moses relates it, we must distinguish, that all this is Milton's imagination, and not Moses's history. Moses does not hint that Eve had to go any where from the place where she had eaten to carry of the fruit of the tree to her husband; but *she took of the fruit of the tree, and did eat; and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat*^y. The point treated proceeds without any discontinuance: her husband was with her at the time she eat; she eat, and reached to him, and he partook of what she had taken^z, and eat also. The serpent indeed spake to Eve only, and she only replied to him: she admitted his temptation, and added a sentiment of her own to strengthen it. The serpent told her she should in eating become wise: she had no fear of being over-wise,

^y Gen. iii. 6.

^z If she had carried fruit to her husband, he not being upon the spot to

eat at the same time with her, this would have required other words than those used by Moses to express it.

though the danger threatened was, that she should therein destroy herself; but professed herself to see that the tree was *good for food*, and that it was *pleasant to the eyes*, and a tree to be desired to make one wise; she considered not, not knowing, that there could be *no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against God*: and Adam, we read, *hearkened unto the voice of his wife*^a. Thus far we may say Adam was not deceived, in the words of the Apostle^b, not meaning, as the poet intimates, that Adam had superior sense and judgment beyond Eve absolutely to have rejected the temptation, if, after she had eaten, and was thereby ruined, he had not rather chose to die with her than to live without her^c; for this is entirely Milton's fiction. *But the woman being deceived, was in the transgression:—the serpent through his subtilty deceived Eve*^d. The words spoken by the serpent were all the subtilty they knew of him: these took the imagination of Eve first: *Adam was first formed, then Eve*^e; but *Adam was not deceived*: the Apostle means, Adam was not deceived first. Here Eve unhappily took the preeminence; and, by what she added to what the serpent had said, led her husband to be deceived also. This I take to be the true meaning of what the Scriptures declare to us upon the subject. But it will be said, there are much greater points than what I have mentioned that ought here to be well explained; as,

I. How is it possible that a serpent should speak, as Moses supposes? I answer: We have so clear a judgment of the natural capacity and abilities of the brute creation, that I may be allowed to say, 1. that the serpent could not of himself be able to speak the words which Moses relates to have come from him. But, 2. the tongue of the serpent might be so vibrated, if some superior invisible agent moved it, as to utter the sounds or words coming from, or out of its mouth, which, Moses tells us, Eve heard from him. This, I think, must readily be allowed by any one who will consider how the tongue of Balaam's ass was moved, *speaking in man's voice, to forbid the madness of that prophet*^f. But, 3.

^a Gen. iii. 6—17.

^b 1 Tim. ii. 14.

^c Paradise Lost, b. ix. 896, &c.

^d 1 Tim. ii. 14. 2 Cor. xi. 3.

^e 1 Tim. ubi sup.

^f 2 Pet. ii. 16.

I would add here what I considered more at large upon that case^g; that there can be no reason to imagine that the serpent here speaking to Eve, any more than the ass there speaking to Balaam, understood the meaning of any one word spoken by him: both their tongues were moved otherwise than of themselves they would have moved them: they were so moved, that sounds proceeded from them, such as were significant words to the person who heard them, and understood such words when spoken; but they were sounds of no meaning to the serpent or to the ass, both of whom I apprehend to have spoken without any kind of apprehension of the intention of the sounds that came from them. In all which that there was a miracle is plain: that the thing was impossible cannot reasonably be asserted; unless we can assert that the air could not, by the power of any agent whatsoever, be, in using the tongue of a serpent, put into this or that motion, to cause what words such agent designed to be sounded by it. But, 4. was it then God who miraculously caused the tongue of the serpent to utter the words spoken? In the case of Balaam, the text tells us, that the^h Lord opened the mouth of the ass: shall we here say, *the Lord God opened the mouth of the serpent* in like manner? I answer, No: the deceiving our first parents by a miracle cannot be deemed a work worthy of God; it looks more suitable to belong to him whom our New Testament denominates *that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world*ⁱ. The falsehoods spoken by the serpent unto Eve seem natural enough to come from him, who, *when he speaketh a lie, speaketh of his own*, he being the original author of falsehood; for *he is a liar, and the father of it*^k; and our blessed Saviour hints, that he was the real person who deceived Eve; for he was *the murderer from the beginning*^l: it was by him that *death came into the world*^m. Such intimations therefore have we, that it was not God, but Satan, or the Devil, who spake unto our first parents by

^g See Connect. vol. iii. book xii.

^h Numb. xxii. 28.

ⁱ Rev. xii. 9.

^k John viii. 44.

^l Ibid.

^m Wisd. ii. 24.

the serpent. But the question that will here occur is, 5. Can we then say that there is any power in the universe, except the power of him who is *God over all, blessed for ever*, that can make alteration of the natural faculties of any creature, cause a mere serpent to be heard, speaking in man's voice, whatever he may purpose to have spoken. If we say there may be any such power, it will be queried, whether, in supposing it, we do not set up two opposite and contending powers, each able, beyond our being capable to distinguish their limitations, to create or to give things new natures contrary to their true ones? and do we not hereby lay a foundation for a great confusion of sentiment concerning God, and his power over the world?

I answer, 1. I apprehend here was no change made of the nature of the serpent in his speaking to Eve from what in every respect he was before: he was the same reptile; went upon his belly, even then, as the serpent now doesⁿ; had the same mouth and tongue, the instrument of speech as a serpent still uses: his tongue was indeed moved in a way he had not been accustomed to move it, and made such sounds as he indeed never made before nor after: and Adam and Eve, who heard him thus speak, and understood what he spake, but did not yet know that it was not natural for a serpent to have this faculty, readily apprehended from it, as indeed they well might, not knowing by what power he spake to them, that he was a creature of greater sagacity than all other creatures of the animal world; all the rest appearing to them to be dumb, and not capable of such conversation. But all this while I cannot conceive that the serpent was at all wiser when he was speaking than whilst he was dumb: for, as the vibrations of tongue which gave the sounds he uttered were as involuntary and unconceived by him, as any mechanical or convulsive motions can be; the serpent knew no more what his tongue had uttered, than if the words spoken had been blown across him by a wind that was not of him at all. 2. That Satan, the Devil, that spiritual being, who, in the New Testament, is styled *the prince*

ⁿ Vide quæ postea.

of the air, may have a power to make in the air, by the tongue of any bird, beast, or animal, sounds of significant words, if God shall think fit to permit it, does not, as far as I conceive, contradict any principle of true philosophy; any more than that he might inflict on Job^o, or may inflict on any of us, boils, sickness, or many other evils, if permission is given to him. But herein the dependence of all powers upon God is preserved and acknowledged; herein we guard against all notions of two independent principles, the one good and the other evil; in that we shew, in all that has been done by the great agent of evil, that no one thing was ever done by him, but just so far as God permitted him to go, but no further. Of our great adversary, who seduced our first parents, let us consider all that was done by him: Did he speak to them from heaven, in a voice as God spake to them? No. Why did he not? He was not permitted to speak in this manner. Did he appear to them in person; in a similitude that might carry dignity and create himself respect? No; any thing of this sort was not allowed him. Did he make some noble and respectable creature of the world to propose his insinuations? This he was not suffered to do. Did he create even a serpent, to have it suit the intention he designed to serve by it? This can in nowise be pretended. He was allowed indeed to use a creature of this very low species, but not to use it but at a time when the persons tempted by him did not so know the nature of a serpent, as to think it at all a miraculous thing to hear one speaking: and when he had liberty to use this animal, was he able to make it speak elegantly what great parts and capacity would have invented upon the subject? Not at all.—What Milton has intimated to us may abundantly shew a field that might

o The author of the book of Samuel had this notion of the agency of the wicked one, that he could do nothing but under the permission and control of God; and accordingly says of David's numbering the people, that God moved him to do it, 2 Sam. xxiv. when in fact the instigation came immediately, not from God, but from Satan, see 1 Chron. xxi. 1. But the au-

thor of the book of Samuel intended to establish it as an universal truth, that God was supreme, that nothing could be done without him. Had God not permitted, Satan herein could have done nothing; and this, and nothing but this, was intended in his saying, that he, *the Lord*, moved David to number the people.

have been^p expatiated in, if the tempter had been suffered to argue copiously upon the point proposed: but the fact was, the tempter was only permitted to bring, from the mouth of his agent, little more than a bare negation of what had been affirmed by the voice of God. In the event indeed, little as he said, he said enough; for he succeeded. But all this while an impartial examiner must allow that no temptation was suffered to befall our first parents that could have had weight with them, unless they gave up the great principle, without which nothing could be wise or strong in them, namely, that they were *indeed* to obey God. They had heard him that made them, say they should not eat; they heard a serpent, a low and creeping creature, vastly beneath themselves, say they might eat: they apprehended nothing wonderful in this animal's speaking, so that no thought of a miracle had any weight with them; what then determined them? We are told Adam hearkened to the voice of his wife^q; and it is plainly to be seen of Eve, that, though the serpent was the occasion of her falling, yet her judging for herself, contrary to the direction of God, that as the *tree was pleasant to the sight, good for food*, so it was *to be desired to make one wise*: this was that which made the temptation too hard for her. But the Apostle tells us, *the serpent beguiled Eve by his subtilty*^r. Is the expression here used by the Apostle absolutely coinciding with what I have been saying? I answer, Perfectly so: the Apostle only represented a plain and real fact, as it was most evidently done; and it is a very proper way thus to speak things to be done as they are evidently seen to be, without always entering to the bottom into the true springs and causes of them. Moses relates, that the serpent was subtle, and said—His speaking was the subtilty remarked of him: from his speaking to her, Eve received sentiments which became a

^p Milton carries on the temptation in a fine process of reasoning, supposed by him to have been artfully used by the serpent; any part of which must have been infallibly too much for our first parents, in the state of their knowledge of the reason of things, to be

able to gainsay or contradict. But all this is Milton's fancy: Moses in no-wise represents them to have been thus tempted above what they were able. See Milton, book ix. 532—732.

^q Gen. iii. 6.

^r 2 Cor. xi. 3.

deceit to her. What now could be said with more propriety of diction, than that the serpent, who really and truly spake to her, beguiled her? The Apostle was no more obliged to discuss here, whether the serpent spake *sua*, or nicely distinguishing *non sua verba*; whether the subtilty used by him was of his own natural sagacity or of another's suggestion; or whether the persons beguiled by him did not add sentiments of their own to his intimations, than if his converts had suffered what he was afraid of, namely, their being corrupted from the simplicity of the Gospel by any one speaking to them things contrary thereto, he must, if he had charged the person so speaking with having corrupted them, have strictly determined whether what such person said to them was his own contrivance, or only words dictated to him by some other, and whether no improvement of what he said came into the minds of those who were seduced by him. This might be a matter proper to be considered, if the nature of the guilt of him, who had deceived them, was the subject inquired into; but was in nowise necessary, if the fact only was to be related, viz. by whom they had been deceived. *The serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty*^s. The Apostle barely recognizes a fact, really done, as Moses had recorded it. The words which Eve had heard from the serpent were all she knew of the serpent's subtilty: and therefore we carry the Apostle's words to a view further than he designed, if we suppose him to be deciding from whom originally, and by what manner of reasoning, the temptation offered to Eve proceeded; he only reminds us from whose mouth the words actually came, which ministered the temptation that was her ruin. But the next point may have greater difficulties. For,

II. Can it be conceived that the infinitely good God; the God, not of all power only, but of all truth and all rectitude, should admit, as it were, *the throne of iniquity to have fellowship with him, to frame mischief by a law*^t? Can we

^s 2 Cor. xi. 3.

^t Psalm xciv. 20. There are passages in the book of Psalms, which, though we may inattentively overlook them, hint at and refute ancient abstruse

notions, which obtained amongst the then sages of the world, who were not in the true religion. One of these sentiments, recorded by Theopompus to have been a tenet of the ancient Magi,

think that God would make a law, intrinsically of no importance, and then suffer *a throne of wickedness*, a power or principality of darkness, the *Devil*, or any of his angels, to *frame mischief* from it; to contrive to have it broken, only to bring thereby labour and sorrow, sin and misery, and death, unto men? Can we think that God, having made a rank of creatures of a lower degree of light and understanding, but such, that, if not tempted by some other, they would have persevered in their obedience to him, and been happy; he should permit a wicked spirit, of higher abilities than they, to attack these creatures in a way in which, without his permission, he could not have had access to them, and thereby beguile and ensnare them into ruin? Should we not rather think it more reasonable, that, if God gave our first parents such a law as has been mentioned, and if, being left to themselves, they would not have swerved from it, he should not have permitted any agent to have herein perverted them? The objection has in it a variety that ought to be considered in several parts, if we would fully and truly answer it.

CHAP. X.

The Objection last stated considered and refuted.

THE objection above stated will, I think, require us to consider,

that ἀναβιώσασθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθανάτους, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπικλήσει διαμενεῖν (see Diog. Laert. &c. in Proœm.) seems to be considered and refuted in Psalm xlix. in what the Psalmist offers, for a due observation, *how wise men die, likewise the fool and the brutish person perish, and leave their wealth to others*; contrary to what he intimates to be the *inward thought* of some, who seem to have opined, that *their houses should continue for ever, and their dwelling-places to all generations*: and they call their lands after their own names, &c.—In like manner, as the power of God and of Satan in the affairs of the world appears to have been

a subject not unthought of in and before David's times, (see Job i. and ii. 2 Sam. xxiv. compared with 1 Chron. xxi. above cited,) I cannot determine, whether *the throne of iniquity*, mentioned by the Psalmist, and what is said of it, had a view only to wicked earthly rulers, as the commentators seem to take it, or might be designed to explode false doctrines of an higher nature, concerning the *two principles*, which some very early sages opined to have each its share of power over the world. Πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι Ἀρχὰς, ἀγαθὴν δαίμονα καὶ κακὴν δαίμονα. Laert. ubi sup.

I. Whether it can be reasonable that our first parents should be permitted to be tempted, by any being of a superior intelligence above themselves, in any manner whatsoever. But if we determine this in the negative, how greatly may we err, not seeing sufficiently into the creation of God.

He, who through vast immensity can pierce,
 See worlds on worlds compose one universe ;
 Observe how system into system runs,
 What other planets, and what other suns,
 What varied being peoples ev'ry star,
 May tell why Heav'n made all things as they are.
 But of this frame, the bearings and the ties,
 The strong connections, nice dependencies ;— *Pope.*

the knowledge of them may not lie within our reach, and we may therefore determine very wrong of much of what we can only partially consider in forming our judgment ;

Respecting man, whatever wrong we call,
 May, must be right, as relative to all. *Pope.*

The circle of our own agency, wonderfully operating over and by the powers of the creatures beneath us, though, in all they do, they have an intention of their own distinct from us, may reasonably argue to us, that,

When the proud steed shall know why man restrains
 His fiery course, or drives him o'er the plains ;
 Then shall man's pride and dulness comprehend
 His action's, passion's, being's use and end :
 Why doing, suff'ring, check'd, impell'd ;— *Pope.*

An analogy to one another runs through the powers of all the intelligences of the creation. The universe is but one WHOLE in the hand of God. We are not independent principals unconnected unto others : rather, the variety of the spheres of action of all the innumerable orders of intelligent spirits, that have being amongst the works of the supreme God, are to have, under his direction and control, their line, their weight and measure, to affect and be affected by one

another : and the event of all is to afford a true judgment of all ; when all the evil that may hence have come in shall have had its course, and be cast out, and the sum of all be found the greatest possible good of the whole to the Creator's glory.

In human works, though labour'd on with pain,
A thousand movements scarce one purpose gain ;
In God's, one single can its end produce,
Yet serves to second too some other use :
So man, who here seems principal alone,
Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,
Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal ;
'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole.

Pope.

We in nowise see the scene of the demerit of apostate spirits ; nor how far it may be requisite they should be permitted to fill up their own measure, within just and wise limitations, (and such we find the tempter of Eve greatly restrained in,) to answer the great ends of the infinite and eternal Providence. Sin indeed and death have hereby come into our present state, and death must reign upon all, until the state we are in be accomplished : but let us

Wait the great teacher Death—— Pope.

and we shall in time be able

To look through nature up to nature's God ;
Pursue the chain which links th' immense design,
Joins heav'n and earth, and mortal and divine.

Pope.

We shall then see beyond what we are now able to conceive, that all that has befallen us will display a most amazing *height* and *depth* and *length* and *breadth* of the wisdom and power and goodness and glory of Him, who will hence bring those of us who shall be meet to be partakers of it^u, through *the one man, whom he has ordained, Jesus Christ, to the kingdom prepared for man from the foundation of the*

^u Col. i. 12.

world^x; and the wicked, whether they have been men or angels, shall *go* to their *own place*. But,

II. It may be said, What if it was fit, and might answer great ends, that an evil spirit of intelligence, higher than they, should be permitted to tempt our first parents? Is there not a natural impropriety in supposing the particular access of such a spirit to them to have been as Moses describes, and the temptation to have been of the sort recorded by him? To imagine that an intellectual spirit, not visible to our first parents, should speak to them, not in a voice that might have been thought his own, but by the tongue of a serpent seen by them, and this to persuade them to do a thing in itself neither good nor evil, to eat of the fruit of a tree, only because God had bidden them not to eat of it; is there any thing that bears a natural face or appearance in this procedure? has it the colour of a rational endeavour to bring moral evil into the world? If our adversary the Devil had been permitted, as he is a spirit, to have had a spiritual access to the minds of our first parents, to put into them evil thoughts and evil desires, to fill them by degrees with all uncleanness, to bring them to destruction both of body and soul;—this would have seemed a reasonable procedure for such a spirit of darkness: he has for ages thus worked, and even still *worketh* thus *in the children of disobedience*^v. But to suppose the Almighty to have set as it were a spell over our first parents, to require them not to eat of a particular tree; to have determined, that, whilst they would keep within this injunction, no evil spirit should get within them to hurt them; but that if they would be seduced to break through it, neither they nor their posterity should ever after be able to be proof against the evil one;—does this look to be the way of the supreme understanding, according to the reason and nature of things, and therefore to be the way of God unto man? I have, I think, given this objection all the strength it is capable of; I am sure I have endeavoured it: if I knew how to find words that would express it more advantageously, I would use them; for I take

^x Acts xvii. 31. Matt. xxv. 34.

^v Eph. ii. 2.

it, in truth, to be the whole hinge upon which all that is to be said against the religion of the Bible can turn. Let us now attentively consider how far we can answer it.

And here the material point to be considered is ; whether the particular manner of the temptation objected to was not in reality exactly suited to the economy, or manner and measure, in which the Creator had made man ? God, the divine workmaster, could not but so order his dispensations as to have them suited to the measure and nature of his works they were designed for : such as he made man, as to such he dispensed to him ; that man,

Qualis ab incepto *procederet*— Hor.

might have the progress and procedure of his being exactly suited to what were his original native powers and endowments. Had God made man such a being, as that a true and right intelligence of the nature of things would at all times instantly have appeared upon his mind, to give him a right judgment of all things^a, the natural way of temptation to such a being might have been to admit a perverted spirit to try his better judgment ; to draw him, if he could, from his own right sentiments into evil. But if God at first made man with lesser powers, such a permission would have submitted man to an unequal conflict indeed. However reasonable it may be that the wicked one may be permitted to attempt to *catch away that which is sown in our hearts*^b, when there is that sown, so as that we need not lose it, if we will preserve it ; it cannot follow that it could be fit that he should be admitted, before any thing was sown in the heart of man, to possess the heart, to make it naturally impossible to have any good thing find a ground in it. Had God made man at first such as our rationalists assert, left absolutely to the guidance of natural light to discover thereby the duties of his life ; expecting no service from him but

^a Si tales nos natura genuisset, ut eam ipsam intueri et perspicere, eademque optima duce cursum vitæ

conficere possemus. *Cic. Tusc. Quest.* lib. iii.

^b Matt. xiii. 19.

what his own reason would suggest; it would seem unnatural, I might say, a contradiction, to assert, that, before man had done, or even thought good or evil, God should interpose to give him a law, which no reason of his own could, without God's interposing, have laid before him, and to have him tempted by the voice of a serpent to break this law, absolutely to defeat all he might otherwise have done, in pursuing what his natural powers would have led him to see to be the reason, and reasonable conduct of his life. But if, on the contrary, we may establish, from what is written by Moses, that God did not create man with this beam of actual understanding, but gave him only the information of his senses, and a capacity of mind free, as not being under an over-ruling instinct, and yet not having the power to be so perfect as to want no external information; and that God designed, wherever man should want it, to give him this information, by making him to hear his voice from heaven; requiring him to have *faith* in him; to believe and obey whatever he should thus hear from his Maker; it is absolutely consistent with this economy that he might give man, thus far, but no farther endowed, such a command as Moses mentions, to be to him both a sign of what he was to expect from God for the direction of his life, and an inviolate standard and remembrancer, to pay unto God, in every thing he should command, *the obedience of faith*. And the faith of man in believing God, being thus to *come of hearing*^c, it could not be meet to have the temptation to disobey come to him otherwise than by hearing; that, unless he would choose to pervert himself, no other should have a more intimate admittance to corrupt him. And if the temptation was thus to come to him only by hearing, surely we must allow, that what he heard from God, and all that he heard to tempt him from obeying God, must appear, in all the circumstances of both, to have been very sufficiently distinguished to leave our first parents without excuse for their not strictly adhering to obey the one and reject the other. And thus the whole apparent reasonableness, or seeming

^c Rom. x. 17.

contrariety to the reason of things in Moses's relation, taken to be historically true, depends upon whether it be fact that God did at first create man to guide his own life as himself should devise, left absolutely to himself to find out the reason of the duties he should investigate and practise; or whether God made man to hear *his* voice, in order to be directed by it; to receive whatever God should by external revelation make known to him; to make this the rule and guide of his actions: and this therefore is the point so material, so really *the whole of man*, that I hope I do not digress from the intention of this undertaking, if I now and then repeatedly endeavour to prove that this ought to have been the ruling principle of our first parents in their lives. But,

It is asked, Was the prohibition a sort of spell, that, whilst our first parents observed it, so preserved them, that the evil one could have, although he was a spirit, no approach to hurt them, nor they any fall into evil, to their undoing: but that, as soon as they had broke through this charm, they became so liable to all evil, from both without and from within, that henceforth all men inevitably would sin, and a freedom from guilt would be now no more? I answer, the dressing up a proposition in terms of ridicule is not a just and reasonable way to discover what is true, or to detect what is false^d. It is raising an inconsiderate contempt of what ought to be brought to the bar of a more deliberate examination, to be there approved or rejected, as a right and well-weighed judgment of things may appear for or against it. And if, instead of using frivolous words upon the occasion, which prove nothing, we take the point to be here considered, under a due inquiry, we shall see the prohibition given to our first parents, as Moses relates it, to be no spell or charm, but to be what was naturally both necessary and sufficient for them. Our first parents were made *living souls*; they had outward perception and inward understanding, but both only in such a degree, that if, in using them, they would admit the voice of God to direct them, wherever he should see they wanted direction, hereby they would be

^d See Mr. Brown's very excellent Essay on Ridicule.

kept *in the hand of God's counsel*, not to fall into any error to their undoing: their knowledge of life, and experience of their being, could as yet not shew them their moral situation. How suitable then was it for them to have some one plain inhibition, to teach them that they were not to do any thing whatever, which God should think fit by his express voice to prohibit? And as God was pleased to add hereto his express commands, enjoining them the duties of their lives^e, what now could they have wanted, if they would truly have^f made *this* their *wisdom*, *this* their *understanding*, to keep and observe all that the Lord their God should declare to them? The natural event of their herein preserving themselves could be no other than that, using all the powers of their own minds, wherein soever God did not think fit specially to interpose, but strictly conforming to whatever he directed, man, however made with lower powers of reason than angels, might gradually have advanced, ripening himself, and guided by his Creator unto all truth. But when, instead of thus proceeding, our first parents deviated from obeying the voice of God, to hearken to the words of a lower speaker, and to break the commandment of him that made them, because it seemed to be *pleasant* to their *eyes* to do so, and *a thing to be desired to make them wise*; what else did they herein but take themselves out of the hand of God's counsel into the hands of their own? And what could this possibly lead to, unless they had been created with greater actual knowledge, or with the powers of a more unerring understanding, but to all mistake, and, by degrees, unto *every evil work*?

Another part of the objection is, that if our first parents had not been tempted from without by a deceiver, they would not have broken the commandment of their God. But we see things superficially indeed, if we do not see enough to apprise us, that if we *say* this *in our heart*, we certainly *do not*

^e God's adding to the prohibition of not eating of the tree, his command for the relative duty of man and wife. (Gen. ii. 24.) shews in what manner he would have been pleased to inform

them, as time and the incidents of their lives should require, in other their moral duties.

^f See Deut. iv. 6.

inquire wisely into this matter. That, in fact, a serpent speaking in man's voice occasioned in our first parents (whilst they two were the all of mankind as yet in the world) a sentiment, that what God had prohibited was both pleasant and desirable in the reason of the thing to be done, *to make them wise*, is indeed true; and that this sentiment was too hard for them: but it can in nowise follow, that, had it not been thus incidentally occasioned, earlier perhaps than otherwise they might have thought of it, it would never have had rise in the heart of man. If we consider the nature of it, no thought here took hold of them but *what is common to man*^g; for it has in all ages been a captivating point in human theory, that what seems to us contrary to what we surmise to be wisdom, may not be a real revelation from God. And if the breaking the commandment of the *forbidden tree* had not happened until our first parents had gradually formed their hearts more deliberately to reject it; how know we, that *a cogitation* would not have been raised in them, *which could never be changed*^h in the way and manner in which it must be ever fit, that God should govern, not absolutely to force the moral world: or, that had it not taken effect until the sons of men were many, until mankind were multiplied upon the earth, can we say whether the fall of mankind would, in the measure and the manner of it, have been so suited to the great and deep purpose in the *hidden* counsel of God, to bring man out of all his evil at length to salvationⁱ? The nature of virtue or vice in moral agents must require that it be really in our own choice to do the one or the other; but the times and seasons when the incidents shall happen, that may give us an opportunity of standing or falling by our own choice, are best left unto God, to have them ministered to us as he sees to be most proper. The Jews were permitted to complete our Saviour's death, whilst yet they protested, that if he would have come down from the cross, they would have believed in him^k. Whether they really would or no,

^g See Connect. vol. iii. b. xi.

^h Wisd. xii. 10.

ⁱ See Eph. i. 4—12. iii. 11. Rom.

v. 12—19.

^k Matt. xxvii. 42.

we cannot say : but if God knew they would not, it was a mercy to them that he let their transgression be finished, whilst yet it might be prayed for^l. That mankind would not so govern that spark of reason wherewith God had endowed them, as not through it to break away from the dependence which they ought to have on him, was undoubtedly foreseen by God before the worlds were; which, duly considered, will open to us to think, that if we could be admitted to see the whole of the counsel of God, we might find, that, in permitting sin and death to come by *one man* into the world, as is related by Moses, he best knew how to link and connect his design of bringing, by the *obedience of one*, mankind unto salvation.

But there remains one suggestion more, which, I think, a few observations may very clearly refute. It will be said, What if our first parents did break this positive command concerning the tree, of which no reason could tell them it was intrinsecally good or evil; will it follow that they therefore would have disobeyed God in any one moral law, that he would have been pleased to make known to them? We do not see, although Adam and Eve did not keep inviolate the observance not to eat of the tree, that they proceeded, or had any desire to think of breaking the law concerning man and wife, which God declared to them^m: might they not have been as punctual in observing every moral law for the duties of their lives, whenever such laws should have been made known to them? I answer, We may judge very rashly in this great matter, and in all we thus say of it only *darken the counsels of the most High by words without knowledge*ⁿ. The Israelites, I question not, believed that both they and their posterity would keep their solemn resolution to serve their own God^o, and not to be corrupted to go after the idols of Canaan, although they did not so strictly expel the Canaanites out of their land as God had commanded them^p. But the event soon shewed their imagination to be but vain: God, who sees into us, and sees through

^l Luke xxiii. 34.

^m Gen. ii. 24. ut sup.

ⁿ Job xxxviii. 2.

^o Josh. xxiv. 21—25.

^p See Judges i. Numb. xxxiii. 52,

us, knows best what observances may be necessary to exercise us to our duties ; and could best judge whether, whenever our first parents would go beyond the restraint he had prescribed them, they would not therein begin a cogitation, that would naturally fill apace every measure of error, and heap it up, to run over into their bosom. The principle intended to be established by the command concerning the tree was, as I have said, that our first parents, having no actual science of life, should proceed *in the hand*, under the direction, *of God's counsel*, to make it their *wisdom and understanding*, whatsoever God should enjoin them, strictly to do thereafter : and the consequence of rejecting to be under this direction, to follow instead thereof what seemed *agreeable* in their *own eyes*, and *desirable* in their *own judgment*, might naturally plant in them the root, from whence have come all the shoots that have been the great perversion of human life ; which, duly considered, must lead us, not to think of the positive command given our first parents, that it was a thing indifferent or of no real moment ; rather, to use the words of St. Paul, equally applicable to this the beginning of revealed religion, as to the end and completion of it, God, in giving our first parents the law of the prohibited tree, *abounded towards them in all wisdom and prudence*⁹, to give them, such creatures as he had made them, a law, which, observed as it ought, would in its natural event have been their life and salvation.

We may speculate at random as we please upon the subject ; but if what has been fact is at all to guide us, we cannot but observe, that this beginning of error, being once admitted, notwithstanding God's immediately proceeding to denounce and ascertain the terrible punishment he had declared should be the wages of it, yet the error itself did not cease, although it could not be again committed in the same fact that was Adam's transgression ; rather, it grew in the world luxuriant and abounded. We read of one person in the first world that most eminently *walked with God*^r, in

⁹ Ephes. i. 8.

^r Gen. v. 22, 24.

the obedience of faith. Enoch so herein pleased God as to be *translated*^s; others there were who were found faithful *in their generations*, in what had been revealed to them^t; but in the general the principle of doing what seemed right in their own eyes appears to have so greatly prevailed, that Lamech, a descendant from Cain, some centuries before Adam died^u, thought so differently from what God had most expressly commanded concerning man and wife^x, that he introduced polygamy^y. And the world in general, in little more than the then age and half an age of a man, was become so corrupt in man's departing from God and his laws^z, to follow the imaginations of their own hearts^a, that, to preserve right and truth from perishing from off the face of the earth, it became the wisdom of God, eight persons only saved, to destroy the world.

CHAP. XI.

The immediate Consequences of our first Parents' eating of the forbidden Tree, and the Sentence which God passed upon the Serpent upon account of their Transgression.

NO sooner had our first parents eat of the tree forbidden them, but, we are told, their eyes were opened, and they knew they were naked^b. We cannot but here ask, what sentiments could our first parents receive from what they had done, to affect them in this manner? And it is amazing how many writers have most absurdly trifled upon this topic^c.

^s Heb. xi. 5.

^t Gen. v. Ecclus xliv. Heb. xi.

^u Lamech was grandson of Cain; perhaps born not later than Enos the son of Seth; and, if so early, was born almost 700 years before Adam died. See the Tables of the Lives of the Antediluvian Fathers, Connect. vol. i. b. i.

^x Gen. ii. 24.

^y Ch. iv. 19.

^z The life of man at this time was

about 900 years. See Gen. v. .

^a Gen. vi. 5. Job xxii. 17.

^b Gen. iii. 7.

^c Videtur ingenerasse, nescio quo succo, vel qua alia virtute, novos sensus pudoris et modestiæ, vel nuditatis ut dicitur; quasi nullum pudorem habuissent in rebus venereis ante lapsum, hodie tamen in rebus istiusmodi innocuos maxime comitatur pudor. *Burnet, Archæol.* p. 292.

If we would know truly what Moses here intended, we must carefully attend to what he himself has expressed. And here let us observe, that Moses does not say that what the serpent had promised our first parents was fulfilled to them. They understood the serpent to tell them that some great advantage of sight would be given them^d; but the event certainly did not answer their expectations: the serpent had said unto them, *Your eyes shall be opened*. Moses observes, that their eyes were opened; so indeed they were, according to a true meaning of Moses's expression, though not at all according to what they hoped for. A fact related by a heathen historian may shew us the manner of speaking here made use of by Moses, in the case of our first parents.

When the Lacedæmonians consulted the oracle at Delphos, whether they should make war upon the Arcadians, Herodotus tells us, that the oracle answered them,

Δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι,
Καὶ καλὸν πεδίων σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι

that *he would give them to march over the country of the Tegeans, and to measure its fair plains with a line*^e. The Lacedæmonians expected that they should overrun and absolutely conquer Tegea, and divide and set out their lots in that country as they pleased. But the event that happened was, the Lacedæmonians were beaten and taken prisoners by the Tegeans, and were employed by them as their slaves, to measure their lands and to labour in them; and, says the historian, measured with their line the Tegean plains: a remark severe, but true in fact, though not in the manner it had been expected. And thus was Moses's observation upon our first parents; *their eyes were indeed opened*, in a true sense of Moses's expression, but in a manner very different from what they had conceived would have befallen them.

What Moses here intended to say was the real event which happened to our first parents, must be gathered from the use he makes elsewhere of the expression, *eyes being*

^d Vide quæ sup. p. 386.

^e Herodot. lib. i. c. 66.

opened. We find it remarkably used in the case of Hagar, in the wilderness of Beersheba^f: she had wandered there with her son Ishmael^g; the water she had brought with her in a bottle was all spent, and both she and her child were in danger of perishing for want of a supply.—But Moses tells us, *the Lord opened her eyes, and she saw a well*^h. We are not to suppose a miracle here done; the well is not said at this time to have been created; undoubtedly it was in the same place before she saw it as it was afterwards; and her eyes might be in reality as open before she saw the well as when she espied it: but she now turned her eyes to the place where the well was, and saw what before she had not observed; and this, in Moses's expression, was having her eyes opened. And in this sense Moses writes it of our first parents: after eating of the tree, their *eyes were opened*; they saw a circumstance of their condition, which before they had not remarked, and which led them to a thought as new to them, *they knew that they were naked*ⁱ.

The question now is, In what sense did they know themselves to be naked? And here both later commentators, and many ancient and grave writers, have, as I above hinted, immodestly trifled. It is generally thought that *nakedness* now first became a shame; but Moses in nowise gives any such intimation: he tells us of a very different passion here raised by it; it gave them *fear*: Adam was not *ashamed*, but *afraid, because he was naked*; and therefore hid himself^k. And it is obvious to see the just reason he had for this sense of his condition. The word which we render *naked* has indeed, in the general, this its most obvious signification; but it is used in other senses by a sort of metaphor in many places of the Scriptures: and in the place before us particularly we ought to take it as it is used in the book of Job. *Hell*, says that writer, *is [narom] naked before him, and destruction has no covering*^l: i. e. hell and destruction lie open, not concealed from the eye, nor in any way covered from

^f Gen. xxi.

^g Ver. 14.

^h Ver. 19.

ⁱ Gen. iii. 7.

^k Ver. 10.

^l Job xxvi. 6.

the vengeance of God. This is a sense of the place just and elegant, free of the shameful fooleries which writers, not carefully considering, have ingrafted upon it. Adam and Eve had taken upon them not to rest satisfied in what God had commanded, but to begin to think for themselves, contrary to what God had said to them. And their thoughts taking this turn, one sentiment brought on another: they were now to be wise for themselves without, nay, against, their Maker. And how natural was it for them, going in the paths of this theory, to be reminded to consider how to guard against him who had severely threatened what they had committed! Alas! their eyes now told them they had no covering; neither could they think how to find a shelter that might protect them: however, they attempted to do the best they could, *they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons*^m.

They made themselves aprons.—Here again Moses is supposed to say what no one would have any thought of, unless he imagined our first parents had reasons of shame to cover some particular parts of their bodies. But Moses hints nothing like it: his words are, *vagithperu naleh teenah, vejanashu lehem chaggoroth*ⁿ. We may observe, that the word which we render *leaves* is in the text not plural, but singular: and I apprehend that both here and in some other places of Scripture it should be rendered, not *leaves*, but a *foliature*, or *intertwining of leaves*, and that the whole paragraph should be thus translated; *They wreathed together a foliature of the fig-tree, and made themselves enwrapments*; i. e. they wrapped themselves up in them. What they wanted was to hide themselves from God: an apron, or a cincture about their waists, would in nowise answer this purpose,

^m Gen. iii. 7.

ⁿ חגגרת ויעשו להם עלה תאנה ויעשו ויתפרו
 Vestimenta circumligata sibi et fecerunt ficus foliaturam infuerunt

i. e. intexuerunt

As the text may be thus construed, Dr. Burnet's low ridicule of the beginning of the art of a seamstress, of their having neither thread or needle, is without foundation, *En!* says he, *primordia artis sutoriæ: sed unde illis*

acus, unde filum? Archæol. p. 293. There was no want of any instruments to try to intertwine tender boughs into one another, and it cannot but look a very natural thought for them to attempt a work of this nature.

and therefore they could have no thought of so partial a covering; but the casing themselves up within boughs full of leaves, to look like trees, and thereby to escape his observation,—this might be a sentiment not too weak for a first thought of persons, who, when they found their investments inconvenient or insufficient, were still *so ignorant and foolish before God*, as to conceive that behind the trees of the garden they might possibly be hid from him.

What Moses therefore relates, thus explained, is highly natural. They had broke the commandment of the Lord their God: it now came into their minds, How shall we escape his observation? Will he not soon see us? and, when he sees us, will he not punish? Every thought of themselves now was a new terror: their eyes were opened, and they saw they had no cover: their hearts were alarmed, they considered they had nothing wherewith they might protect themselves against him. Whither now could they fly from his presence? or what should they do to ward off his displeasure? Had they now known the world, and the hiding-places that are therein, they would have gone into *the dens and rocks of the mountains, and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us* from the face of him, and from his wrath to come°. But they had as yet been little farther than the compass of their garden, and knew of no thicker covert than the leaves and shelter of their trees; with some of these therefore they tried to wrap up and disguise themselves, as well as they could, and herein they seem to have amused themselves until towards the evening of the day. They then heard the voice of God moving from one part of the garden to the other^p: this struck them with a fresh confusion: their fears came now upon them *like an armed man*: they were not able to abide in the way of the voice of God, but gat themselves into the closest thicket of trees they could find, and here they hoped to lie hid. But the voice of God calling now more peremptorily, *Adam, where art thou?* darted terrors quite through him; he could no longer support a thought that he was concealed, but came forth con-

° Rev. vi. 16.

^p Gen. iii. 8—10.

fessing that he was *afraid, because* he was *naked*, and had therefore hid himself^q. The transaction is a most natural progress of conscious guilt; and the words Adam now spake are as natural, and a deep humiliation of himself before God. They are as if he had said, I was afraid, and hid myself; but I see I am naked, I have no cover from thine eye: I know also I am further naked, unarmed against, having nothing to oppose to, or protect me from thy power: I submit, Lord; do unto me as thou wilt.

It is very obvious to remark, how our translators and commentators came to have a notion of Adam and Eve's shame for their nakedness. In the last verse of the second chapter of Genesis we have this observation, that *they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed*: it being here observed, that no shame attended their being naked before they eat of the tree, it was concluded that a shame of being naked entered with sin into the world. But I would hereupon offer to the reader's consideration,

1. That what is expressed in this 25th verse of the second chapter of Genesis, is an observation that has no manner of reference and connection to any thing before said, that might give occasion for it, nor does it any way lead to introduce what follows it in beginning the next chapter. It seems, in its obvious sense, quite an independent remark, that might indeed be made by any one that considered, that at that time they were not clothed: but had mankind never worn clothes at all, nothing was as yet said that would have occasioned such an observation. Every thing that Moses had related, or proceeded to relate, would have been as full and complete without it as with it.

2. There are several observations of this sort in many parts of the Old Testament, and in this book of Genesis particularly, which the learned agree not to have been originally in the text, but to have been hints wrote in the margin of ancient copies^r, as observations from or upon the text;

^q Gen. iii. 10.

vol. ii. b. vii. p. 375. vol. iii. b. xii. p.

^r See Prideaux's Connect. part i. b. 317.

v. Connect. Sac. and Prof. History,

and that transcribers, from copies so wrote upon, not carefully distinguishing, took them into the text: that such transcribers, not being modern, but more ancient than any printed copies, or indeed any manuscript Bibles now extant, we may now have no copies that have not in the text these insertions. If indeed the meaning of the verse we are treating was, that Adam and Eve were not ashamed at their wearing no clothing, and I could have any warrant from any one copy for omitting it, I should be inclined to think it an insertion of this nature. But,

3. I apprehend the truth to be, that this verse was not intended at all to speak of their being *naked as to clothing*. As the word *naked* has metaphorical senses in some passages of the Old Testament, so also has the word which we here translate *ashamed*^s. It is far from signifying, in all places, being affected with what we call the passion of shame; it often means being *confounded* or *destroyed*. The word here used is a termination of the verb *buosh*, בּוֹשׁ, and this is the verb used by Isaiah, where, recollecting how God had destroyed the kings of Canaan before the Israelites, and laid *waste their fenced cities into ruinous heaps*, he tells us, that *their inhabitants were of small power; they were dismayed*, [וּבִשּׁוּ, *veboshu*]: he does not here mean that they literally *had the passion of shame affecting them*, but *were confounded; were*, as he proceeds, *as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the house tops, and as corn blasted before it be grown up*^t. And this was Moses's meaning in the word here used; a meaning of it perfectly coinciding with what afterwards appeared to be his sentiment of man's standing personally to hear the voice of God. Moses elsewhere speaks it to be no ordinary mercy that a man should *hear the voice of God and live*^u; and therefore he might here leave us this observation concerning our first parents, that God spake to them, and that, although they stood *naked* before him, i. e. in his more immediate presence, under no coverture, *nigh to him*, to hear *the voice of his words talking to them*,

^s The Hebrew text is וְלֹא יִתְבַשְּׁשׁוּ t 2 Kings xix. 26. Isaiah xxxvii. 26.

^u Deut. iv. 33.

they experienced, what Moses always reputed a very extraordinary thing, that *God did talk with man*, and they were not *confounded*, but *lived*^x.

Thus far we have no difficulty. We are now to consider, what the voice of God said to Adam upon his confessing himself thus naked before him: *And he [i. e. God] said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?*^y The words point very clearly to what I have explained to be the meaning of Adam's thinking himself *naked*. Had Adam intended by that expression that he was ashamed to appear before God, upon account of his having no clothes, here would have been something said hugely trifling, and no way pertinent to any circumstance of his condition. But take him to mean by *naked*, *not covered* from the sight of God, and *without* any *defence* or protection against his power, and the reply from God here is, as if it had been said, You say you are without cover from, and without defence against me: have you never been so before me until now? Have you hitherto wanted any cover or defence? Who tells you that you now want them? I never threatened you but for one thing: art thou afraid? Hast thou done that one thing to be afraid of me? This now speaks itself to be the reason and explanation of what God was pleased to say to Adam, and refers evidently to what Adam had done to occasion this being said to him. Adam hereupon denied not, but confessed his guilt: *The woman*, said he, *whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat*^z. The woman being interrogated, answered without evasion, *The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat*^a. All this, I think, can want no comment; we may therefore proceed to examine the sentence which God hereupon passed upon the offenders.

And here we read, that *the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life*^b. The objectors

^x Deut. v. 24.

^y Gen. iii. 11.

^z Ver. 12.

^a Ver. 13.

^b Ver. 14.

hereupon ask, Shall we say that the nature of the serpent was now changed? that, before the serpent had done what he is here made criminal for, he was an animal that walked upright^c, and moved in a manner very different from that he now moves in? Were his whole make, and shape, and powers of moving, upon the sentence now passed upon him, totally altered? If they were not, he was before this sentence just the same reptile as he was after it; and if so, then no punishment was inflicted. If we say God changed his make and form, and degraded him to a low reptile, for the mischief he had done; how can this be^d? for where there was no fault, how should God punish? If, as I have observed, the words which came to Eve from the mouth of the serpent were in reality not the serpent's words; were words he in nowise intended, nor had any sense of, or meaning in them^e, wherein could the serpent be criminal? and if he was not criminal, why should he be so execrated and degraded? They who oppose our understanding Moses in a literal sense, seem here to triumph; and I cannot say that those who answer them do speak so clearly as might be wished in this particular. The true fact in what had been done undoubtedly was, that the serpent had been no moral agent in the affair, had really done nothing; for he was but a mere tool, an instrument in the use of an agent invisible; and therefore cannot be thought either accountable, or deserving to be punished for any thing that had happened: so that we ought carefully to examine the words of Moses, whether he says any thing that intimates God to have really called the serpent here to any account, or inflicted any punishment upon him.

It is indeed observable, that not our English only, but all

^c Vide Criticos in loc. Rivet. exercit. in Gen.

^d De pœna serpentis non levis est quæstio: si diabolus rem totam egit sub specie serpentis; vel si coegit serpentem, ut ea ageret vel pateretur; quid serpens luit pœnas criminis a diabolo commissi? Dein quoad modum et formam pœnæ in serpentem irrogatæ, nempe quod in posterum pronus iret in ventrem, quid hoc sibi velit non

est facile explicatu: erectum antea fuisse serpentem, aut quadrupedum more incessisse ægre quis dixerit. Quod si vero ferebatur pronus in ventrem ab initio, ut hodierni angues, ineptum videri possit id pro supplicio, et in pœnam singularis facti, huic animali imponi aut attribui, quod semper et a natura habuit. *Burnet, Archæol.* p. 291.

^e Vide quæ sup.

versions of the text of Moses, do render the place as if great guilt was imputed to the serpent, and punishment thereupon denounced against him. But if the reader be apprised how the Hebrew particle *ci* in the text, which we translate *because*, ought to have been rendered, not *because*, but *although*, the passage will appear to have a very different meaning^f.

The words used by Moses are, *ci nashitha zaoth*^g; we render them, *because thou hast done this*. The particle *ci* has often this signification, and possibly may be thus taken where Adam is spoken to in the 17th verse, [*ci shamanta*^h] *Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife*— But it must be rendered otherwise in other places. In Gen. viii. 21. *the Lord God said, I will not curse the ground any more for man's sake; FOR [ci] the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth*. Had we here rendered the particle [*ci*] *because*, we had darkened the sense extremely; the translating it *FOR* does not entirely clear it. The words truly rendered are as follows; *I will not curse the ground any more—ALTHOUGH the imagination of man's heart is evil*. This is the true meaning of the words: God was pleased to determine not to curse the ground any more, *although* the wickedness of man was such as deserved its being again cursed. And thus again in another place: *Israel stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon Ephraim's head, who was the younger, but he laid his left hand upon Manasseh's head; [ci] we say, FOR Manasseh was the firstborn*ⁱ. Surely the reason intimated is a little confused: but if we rendered the words, *ALTHOUGH Manasseh was the first-born*, the expression would be just and significant. And thus in Psalm xxv. *Pardon mine iniquity, [ci] we say, for it is great*^k; we should better express the Psalmist's meaning, if we translated it, *ALTHOUGH it is great*. Our version has in one place given the particle this its true meaning: *God led them not through the land of the Philistines,*

^f The Arabic version seems to specify that the serpent designedly beguiled Eve; *cum feceris hoc scienter*, in the Latin version of the place. But how groundless is this fancy!

^g כִּי עָשִׂיתָ זֹאת.

^h Gen. iii. 17.

ⁱ כִּי מִנְשָׁה הִבְכֹּר Gen. xlviii. 14.

^k כִּי רַב הוּא ver. 11.

(we here render the particle *ci*, justly) ALTHOUGH *it was near*^l.

And thus the verse concerning the serpent ought to have been translated: *And the Lord God said unto the serpent, ALTHOUGH thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.* The words in nowise imply, that a change of the nature of the serpent was now inflicted on him; he remained the same animal he was before created: but they are, as it were, an apostrophe to the serpent, in the hearing of Adam and Eve, designed to evince to them what a folly, as well as crime, they had been guilty of, in being deceived by so low a seducer. The words are, as if God had said to the serpent, “Although thou hast done this great mischief, yet thou art no lofty and respectable creature: thou art one of the meanest of all animals: thou are not raised to any high form, but art a mere reptile, and shalt always continue to be so: upon thy belly thou art made to go; and shalt feed low all the days of thy life, in the very dust.” Adam and Eve had conceived high notions of the serpent, *above all the beasts of the field which the Lord had made*^m: but God here reprehends their foolish fancy, and sets before them, what their own eyes might have told them, that the serpent was a creature made only for a very low life, and that no such elevation as they imagined should ever belong to himⁿ.

The translators of the Bible were, I dare say, led to think a punishment was here inflicted upon the serpent, from the expression of his being *cursed* above every beast of the field. *To be cursed* may be to have some signal mischief or great evil either wished to or inflicted upon the person *cursed*. This is indeed the general signification of the word. But it ought to be considered, whether it is contrary to the nature

^l כִּי קָרַב Exod. xlii. 17.

^m Gen. iii. 1.

ⁿ The ancient naturalists have largely considered the propriety of the motion of a serpent to its whole make, and construction of the nature of its

body; ἐκ τούτων γὰρ φανερόν, ὅτι τῶν ἐναίμων ὄσα κατὰ μήκος ἀσύμμετρά εἰσι πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ σώματος φύσιν, καθάπερ οἱ ὄφεις, οὐθὲν οἶόν τε αὐτῶν ὑπόποδον εἶναι. &c. Arist. lib. de Animalium Incessu, c. viii.

of the Hebrew tongue, to call a thing *cursed*, when such circumstances belong to it as are so extremely bad, that it might be deemed as unhappy a thing even as a most severe curse, to be under them, though they be not inflicted as a particular judgment. In this sense the Jews, in our Saviour's time, called their vulgar or common people, who they thought could not know the law, *cursed*^o. We cannot suppose them here to mean that the body of their people were under any particular *curse* or judgment of God, which deprived them of all possibility of knowing their duties; rather they thought of them in the sentiment of the Prophet: *Surely these are poor; they are foolish: for they know not the way of the Lord, nor the judgment of their God. I will get me to the great men, and will speak unto them: for they have known the way of the Lord*^p. The Prophet here looks upon the poor, not as particularly cursed of God, for this he could not think^q; but they were in such circumstances as might not have afforded them any considerable information concerning their duties; and he therefore said, he would *get him to the great*, as reputing it more likely to find them *ready to hear and understand*. And in this way the Jews held their estimation of their common people: they imagined it not likely these should know the law; and therefore they deemed them so despicably ignorant, that though no particular judgment of God was in the case, yet they held them in no kind of regard, but as in a *cursed* or most contemptible condition. It is no unnatural way of speaking to say of poor, barren, and unprofitable land, that it is *cursed ground*, not only where God may have been pleased to make a *fruitful land barren, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein*^r, as was particularly the case of the earth thus cursed upon our first parents having sinned^s; but also when the land is very steril and unfruitful, though no particular *curse* of God has ever been denounced against it. In the Hebrew tongue we often find things eminently excellent in their kind said

^o John vii. 49.

^p Jerem. v. 4, 5.

^q Prov. xxii. 1. Deut. xv. 11.

^r Psalm cvii. 34.

^s Gen. iii. 17.

therefore to be of God; cedars of Lebanon, highly flourishing, to be for that reason of God's planting: so, on the contrary, the word *cursed* may as reasonably be used, as it were in contrast, where God had given no appearance of a blessing. Adam and Eve were thinking highly of the serpent: the design of what God now said was to shew them that he was a creature deserving their lowest notice: they thought him above *any beast of the field which the Lord had made*. The words here spoken were to tell them that he was not above, but beneath all others; so creeping and abject, that his make and form might be spoken of in terms as if they were a curse upon him^t. But,

The words that next follow have greater difficulties: *And 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*^u. The inquiries I would make concerning these words are, I. Whether Adam and Eve understood them? II. Whether they conceived them to have any reference to the animal, the serpent, from whose mouth they had heard the words which had beguiled Eve? III. What may be the true and literal meaning of them?

I. Are we sure that Adam and Eve understood what God now spake to them^x? They are words, which I hope I shall be able reasonably to explain, and shew to be the first prophecy that was made to the world. I call them prophecy, as speaking of events to come; and that *for many days to come*; referring to what was to be accomplished in *times that were afar off*^y. And therefore, though it seems obvious that Adam and Eve might understand, from what was spoken,

^t I do not know whether I might not observe, that the death of being *hanged on a tree* was said to be a *cursed death* in this sense of the word. See Deut. xxi. 22, 23. There were other deaths inflicted by the laws of God; such as stoning with stones till a man died, Levit. xx. 2, 27, &c. Whoever came under the sentence of this, or any other death inflicted by God's law, was as really *accursed of God* as he that was *hanged on a tree*: but the

ignominy of this death was despicable beyond others: it had a shame belonging to it hard to get over and despise; it was stigmatized, low, and base beyond other punishments; and therefore had peculiarly this term of reproach annexed to it.

^u Gen. iii. 15.

^x Ver. 15.

^y Ezek. xii. 27. See Dan. xii. 8, 9, 13. x. 14. viii. 26, 27. vii. 28.

that the enemy who had hurt them would at length be conquered; yet it does not appear that they were precisely informed who this enemy was, nor what the contest was that should be with him and against him; nor how, or by whom in particular, he should be subdued. What had been said in their hearing concerning the *cursed*, or very low and grovelling nature of the serpent, must have apprised them, that they had been much mistaken in their notions of this animal. Whether it caused them to reflect, although they did not before think so, that the serpent did not perhaps speak of himself; but that they had some greater enemy, whom they had not seen nor known, I cannot say. But that our first parents, though their experimental knowledge could as yet be but little, were not of slow parts, but able to turn every thing hinted to them over in their minds, to conceive of it all that a lively imagination would, as far as they could know things, present to them, must, I think, be admitted as unquestionable: and that they henceforward acquitted the serpent of all guilt towards them, seems to me to appear from what I shall presently consider, viz. that we have no hints in history that either they, or their immediate descendants, commenced any particular enmity or hostility against the animals called serpents, any more than against any other of the animals of the world. But, that Adam or Eve knew the real meaning of what was here said to them, any more than the ancient Prophets perfectly understood what was revealed to them, to be by them declared unto the world, is what I see no reason to conclude. Are we to think that Daniel, after he had wrote down what had been revealed unto him concerning the *seventy weeks determined upon his people*^z, could have exactly determined *what manner of time was here signified beforehand*; or how that which was testified was to be fulfilled in the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow^a? Or shall we think that David, to whom it had been foreshewn, that *his soul* should not be left in hell^b, neither should God's *Holy One* see corruption;

^z Dan. ix. 24—27.

^a 1 Pet. i. 11.

^b Psalm xvi. 10. Acts ii. 25—35.

could have hence been able to declare that Jesus Christ, or even any one of his (David's) descendants, should be dead and buried, and on the third day be raised from the dead? Or that even Moses, who recorded the words which God had thus spoken to our first parents; and afterwards, that in *Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed*^c; and afterwards, that Shiloh should come of *the tribe of Judah*^d; and further, that God would give the *Israelites a prophet from among their brethren like unto him*, that they should *hear him*^e: can we say that Moses could have explained, as St. Paul was able afterwards to shew, who the particular person was that was to be this *seed of the woman; the seed of Abraham; the Shiloh; the Prophet who was to come*; and in what particular manner all that had been foretold should in him be fulfilled^f? Prophecy was designed to point beforehand to something which was afterwards more fully to be revealed; to create in those, unto whom it was given, expectations of things not yet fully explained to them; which things were in the process of ages to be further added to and opened, as God should think fit more and more to shew the contents of them; until, when the time was come that the whole was fulfilled, they, unto whom the things foretold were accomplished, might look back, and, by seeing from the beginning what had been said, before any one but God knew how these things should so be, might hereby have *a surer word*^g than could possibly have been contrived for *cunningly devised fables*, to shew them that the things thus foretold and thus accomplished were of God. And such is that series of promises or predictions began in the words now spoken by God to our first parents; enlarged, and more specified as to their meaning, by some farther prophecies given in after-ages; until, at the end of about 4000 years, a person appeared, in whose life and death, resurrection and glory, the whole of what had been foretold was clearly seen to be fulfilled truly and literally; but yet

^c Gen. xxii. 18.

^d Ch. xlix. 10.

^e Deut. xviii. 15.

^f Gal. iii. 14—16.

^g 2 Pet. i. 19.

so foretold and so fulfilled, as that no one, before the things were come to pass, ever so understood the prophecies as to think, that thus would be the event of them : whereby it was the more demonstrably proved, that the whole was God's work : for, as he only could declare *the end from the beginning*^b, mark out truly beforehand the traces of his own deep counsels and designs ; so what had been foretold by him was always so imperfectly understood, as to be looked for by men quite otherwise than it came to pass : and therein it became evident, when it was come to pass, that no human contrivance was in the fulfilling it, any more than in the foretelling it ; for, had there been human contrivance in it, it would have been brought about to have been fulfilled in quite another manner. The words therefore before us, now spoken by God, are, as a most excellently able and learned prelate has pointed out to usⁱ, the first of “ a chain of prophecies, reaching through several thousand years, manifestly subservient to, and gradually opening, one and the same administration of providence from beginning to end,” of which our first parents knew no more than to think that they literally had hopes herein, so far seen by them as to give them reason to trust and depend upon God ; but not enough explained to them to shew them what the particular things were, which they were to hope for, or how or when they were to be accomplished. But,

II. Did our first parents apprehend any thing here said to concern or relate to the animal, to the serpent, from whose mouth the guile came, which had deceived them ? I answer ; I think they did not. Had Adam and Eve understood God to mean that there should be continual war between mankind and serpents ; that the serpents should bite the heels of men, and that men should crush and bruise to pieces the heads of serpents, would not ancient history have

^b Remember the former things of old : for I am God, and there is none else ; I am God, and there is none like me, declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying, My counsel shall

stand, and I will do all my pleasure. Isa. xlvi. 9, 10.

ⁱ Bishop Sherlock's Preface to the third edition of the Use and Intent of Prophecy.

given some account of the endeavours of mankind, in the first ages, to destroy these their enemies? It is observable, that God does not speak of the serpent as a creature of enormous size, but rather as so contemptible, that Adam could have no reason to be afraid of it^k, but might easily have perhaps stamped it under his feet. How came it then to pass, that neither Adam nor Eve, if they understood that they were to destroy serpents, did instantly bruise the head of this their enemy? Or, if it may be said, having no weapons, they might be afraid he should bruise their heel, is it not wondrous they should never afterwards contrive how to afflict this hostile creature? and that it did not become the heroism of the first generations of the world to commence a sort of religious war against these devoted animals, to extirpate the whole breed of them from off the face of the earth? In after-ages, and in countries where the clearing them of serpents was thought a public good, exploits of this kind had their glory.

— diram qui contudit Hydram. *Hor.*

The subduing a serpent was one of the labours of Hercules^l; nay, he was said to have killed two serpents in his very cradle^m; a story that implies, that the killing serpents was at this time of such public utility, and therefore so highly estimated, that no greater thing could be said of this hero, to give high expectations of his future achievements, or to evince his origin to be more than mortal. Can we then

^k We are told by heathen writers of serpents of a most incredible size. Pliny relates from Livy, that, when Regulus commanded the Roman forces in Africa, he was infested by a serpent 120 feet long, and so invulnerable, its scales being impenetrable, and its breath so infectious, that he was forced to use the military engines, which they used against towers, and the walls of towns, before they could subdue it; and says, the skin of it was hung up at Rome, and remained there until the war with Numantia, i. e. about 100 years. Vide Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 14. Liv. Hist. lib. xviii. c. 15, 16. And the same naturalist speaks of serpents

20 cubits long in other places, (vide Nat. Hist. lib. xxxi. c. 2. §. 15.) and of so large a size as to draw away oxen and stags whole. Vide lib. viii. c. 14. Whether these accounts did not exceed what was strictly the truth, ought to be considered. The Scriptures hint serpents in Moses's time to have been of a more common measure, such as might lie in the way, and bite the heels of horses, Gen. xlix. 17. And we have no reason to suppose the serpent that spake to Eve to have been larger.

^l Apollodor. l. ii. c. 4. §. 2. Mart. Ep. lib. ix. Ep. 104.

^m Apollodor. ubi sup.

think, in the first world, of which the history, though very short, is not so imperfect but that the inventors of useful artsⁿ, of the entertainments of life^o, as well as the names of those who were eminent for religion, are come down to us^p; if one great instance of performing what God had declared had consisted in destroying serpents, we should not have had the name of some one worthy at least who had exerted himself in this warfare? But, in truth, the animals called serpents were as yet little in size, contemptible in figure, not understood to be marked out by God for men to make it their employment to destroy them: and accordingly nothing more is told us of the serpent's having to do with man, or man with the serpent, until the flood came, and took away man and beast from off the earth. The serpent that tempted Eve is reckoned amongst the *beasts of the field*, and not a water animal^q; and therefore we may suppose his

ⁿ Gen. iv. 20, 22.

^o Ver. 21.

^p Ver. 26.

^q Gen. iii. 1. Water-snakes are mentioned in all writers. The two serpents related in Virgil to have killed Laocoon, are described to have come over the sea.

Ecce! autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta,

(Horresco referens) immensis orbibus angues

Incumbunt pelago, pariterque ad littora tendunt:

Pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta, jubæque

Sanguinæ exuperant undas: pars cætera pontum

Pone legit, sinuatque immensa volumine terga.

Fit sonitus spumante salo: jamque arva tenebant,

Ardentesque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni,

Sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora. Virg. Æn. ii.

The annotators observe, that the Latins called the water-snakes, *angues*; the land-snakes, *serpentes*; and when these animals were consecrated, and in temples, *dracones*: *angues aquarum sunt, serpentes terrarum, templorum dracones*. And so Virgil styles these very serpents,

when they were said to be hid at the feet of Pallas;

At gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones

Effugiunt, sævæque petunt Tritonidis arcem,

Sub pedibusque deæ, clypeique sub orbe teguntur. Id. ibid. 225.

The Hebrews had a different word for serpents of the water, from that which they used for the land kind. The river serpent they called [תנין] *tennin*. Thus when Moses's rod was turned into a serpent before Pharaoh, it was turned [לתנין] *letennin* into a water-snake, as Pharaoh probably was now where he usually went in the morning, to the river. But the serpent that had tempted Eve was not a *tennin*, but a *nachash*, a land-serpent. It may perhaps be observed, that the serpent called *tennin* is also called *nachash*, (See Exodus vii. 9, 10, 12.) To which it may be replied, that *nachash* was the first general word used for a serpent, before the different kinds of them were distinguished; and therefore the water kinds may be sometimes called by this general name: but it will not follow that where *nachash* is used above, we should think a water-snake intended. As in English, though we may say a water-snake is a snake, yet, if we

kind to have been preserved in the ark, and accordingly to have come to Noah as innocuous to men^r, and to have been as well received and dismissed by him as any other living creature of the world: so that I do not see the least ground to imagine that Adam apprehended, in what God now said, any thing to be intimated, that there should subsist between men and serpents a perpetual enmity, to be always biting and destroying one another.

If we look into the ages after the flood, we find that serpents were, before Moses's days, become noxious animals^s; and men, when Moses lived, were in the general afraid of them^t. There might, ere this time, be poisonous juices in many of the herbs and plants that grew on the earth. The same alteration of the world^u, which began from the flood, and conduced to the shortening the lives of men, might cause such an alteration in many herbs, that men might not perhaps now find every green herb and tree as wholesome as they had found all in the first world: and the nourishment of some, in the concoction of some animals, might breed in them what to man and other creatures might be malignant poison. At the going out from the ark the living creatures of the world appear to have been none of them hurtful or destructive to man: but time produced in many a ferocity, and in others other qualities, which made them terrible; and serpents were in general such objects of terror in Moses's days, that when the miracle which God gave him to assure him that he sent him to Egypt, took effect, Moses, we read, when he saw his rod turned into a serpent, *fled from before it*^x. But, notwithstanding any thing that may be said of men's natural fears, from their apprehensions of the venom of serpents, a thought of God's having ever given any order in particular for man to destroy serpents, looks to be a mere modern imagination. We can find no traces of such a sentiment in all antiquity: rather, the sages of the early times,

should name a snake or serpent only, we should not be thought to mean a water-snake.

^r Gen. vi. 20. vii. 9.

^s Gen. xlix. 17.

^t Exod. iv. 3.

^u See Connect. vol. i. b. i.

^x Exod. iv. 3.

who searched into antiquity, and added to it what they thought the religion of nature, to be above the common notions of the vulgar^y, held serpents in high honour; had introduced them into their temples^z, delineated their figures in their ancient tables and formularies of worship^a, and gave many such as they thought reasons, for thinking them endowed with a kind of divine nature^b. And what is remarkable, they had no notion of the serpent's being the representative of an evil being, in opposition to the good God; for the Egyptians, we are told, reputed the serpent to be an emblem of their god *Oneph*^c, by which word they meant the *Δημιουργός*^d; we might render it *the Workmaster*^e, or *Maker* of all things. The Phœnicians translated it *ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα*, *the good Deity*^f, and from their most ancient symbols they may be thought to have intended to represent in their σχήματα, or mystic figures of the serpent, what some of them called the *συνεκτικὸν*^g: I might render it, the power by which *all things do consist*.

^y See Connect. vol. iii. b. xi. The sentiments that led them to their notions of the divinity of the serpent are said to be, πνευματικώτατον τὸ ζῶον πάντων τῶν ἔρπετων καὶ πυρῶδες—παρεδόθη, παρ' ἧ καὶ τάχος ἀνυπέρβλητον διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος παρίστησι, χωρὶς ποδῶν τε καὶ χειρῶν, ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν ἐξωθεν, ἐξ ὧν τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα τὰς κινήσεις ποιεῖται. καὶ ποικίλων σχημάτων τύπους ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐλικοειδεῖς ἔχει τὰς ὁρμὰς ἐφ' ἧ βούλεται τάχος· καὶ πολυχρονιώτατον δέ ἐστιν, οὐ μόνον τῷ ἐκδυόμενον τὸ γῆρας νεάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀΐησιν ἐπιδέχεσθαι μέγιστα πέφυκε· καὶ ἐπειδὴν τὸ ὠρισμένον μέτρον πληρώσῃ, εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναλίσκεται ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ὁμοίως αὐτὸς ὁ Τάαντος κατέταξε γραφαῖς. διδὸν καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον καὶ ἐν μυστηρίοις συμπαραέληπται. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 10. We cannot sufficiently despise the *beggarly elements* of this philosophy; but yet it ought to be observed, that it was reputed an height of wisdom in its day: a plain demonstration, what may be the trifles of mere human reasoning, that has not been enlightened by any better information. But my intention in the citation above was to shew, that no notions had traditionally prevailed to intimate the serpent to have been originally a cursed creature, appointed

every where for men to destroy them; for that the most ancient speculative and more curious inquirers had no bias against theories which might represent them to be representatives of the most high God.

^z Πάντες—ἐφυσιολόγησαν ὡς περ πρόκειται· καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα στοιχεῖα τὰ διὰ τῶν ὕψων ναοὺς κατασκευασάμενοι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀφιέρωσαν, καὶ τούτοις θυσίας καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐπιτελοῦν καὶ ὄργια, θεοὺς τοὺς μεγίστους νομίζοντες καὶ ἀρχηγούς τῶν ὄλων. Id. *ibid*.

^a Id. *ibid*. See the Table of Isis, Montfauc. Antiq. vol. i. part ii. b. ii. c. 1.

^b Vide quæ sup.

^c Αἰγύπτιοι Κνήφ ἐπονομάζουσι. Euseb. *ubi sup*.

^d Τὸν δημιουργόν, ὃν Κνήφ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι προσαγορεύουσιν. Id. lib. iii. c. 11.

^e See Wisd. xiii. 1.

^f Φόινικες δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καλοῦσιν. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.

^g Ἐτι μὲν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας τὸν κόσμον γράφοντες, περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεροειδῆ καὶ πυρῶπον χάρασσουσι, καὶ μέσον τεταμένον ὕφιν—καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν Θῆτα· τὸν μὲν κύκλον Κόσμον μηνύοντες τὸν δὲ μέσον ὕφιν συνεκτικὸν τοῦτον ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα σημαίνοντες. Id. *ibid*.

I do not pretend to trace the exact time of the rise of these heathen superstitions; they were brought out of one country into another: they were thought to have been introduced into Greece by Pherecydes^h, who was contemporary with Thalesⁱ, and did not flourish there earlier than about 1000 years after Moses^k; but Pherecydes had them from the Phœnicians^l, and the Phœnicians from the books of the Egyptian Taautus^m. And, I think, I may represent these notions of the serpent to have been in vogue in Egypt in and before Moses's times; for it is much to be observed, that though Moses, when he first saw his rod turned into a serpent, was terrified and fled from it, until God bade him put forth his hand and take itⁿ; yet, when the same rod was in like manner turned into a serpent before Pharaoh, and when all the rods of his magicians were turned into serpents likewise, neither Pharaoh nor his magicians appear to have been under any consternation^o. They knew the *arcana* of their temples, that serpents were at this time amongst the *sacra* in their worship, and reputed the representatives not of a malign, but of their good God: they might therefore think that their *gods* were *come down amongst them*^p, to support them against the demand made by Moses, and that the wonderful phenomena before them portended them great assistance and good, but no evil to give them any terror. It ought only to be observed, that, when they saw Moses's rod swallow up all the rods of their magicians^q, they ought hence to have been instructed, in the way of their own speculations, that a power appeared for Moses, which literally *executed judgment against the gods of Egypt*^r; annihilating and

^h Παρὰ Φοινίκων δὲ καὶ Φερεκύδης λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐθεολόγησε περὶ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ λεγομένου Ὀφιονέως Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν Ὀφιονιδῶν. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.

ⁱ Pherecydes was thought to flourish to about the 59th Olympiad; Thales to have died in about the 58th

^k Moses died A. M. 2554. The 59th Olympiad was about A. M. 3555.

^l Euseb. ubi sup.

^m Τάαυτος οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Θᾶθ προσαγορεύουσι—τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ Δράκοντος φύσιν καὶ τῶν Ὀφειῶν αὐτὸς ἐξεθείασεν ὁ

Τάαυτος, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀθθίς Φοίνικες. Euseb. ubi sup. We are to observe of Δράκοντος, that a serpent was called *draco* when consecrated, put into a temple. Vide quæ sup.

ⁿ Exod. iv. 3, 4.

^o See Exod. vii. 10, 13.

^p Thus the men of Lystra, upon seeing a miracle, thought of Barnabas and Paul according to their superstition, Acts xiv. 11.

^q Exod. vii. 12.

^r Ch. xii. 12.

destroying the most wonderful appearances they could imagine of their gods, to gainsay what by Moses was required of them.

As what I have observed does, I think, hint to us, that there were in the world no notions of serpents, antecedent to Moses's writing his history, which can in any wise speak mankind to have had any remarkable enmity against, or to have thought themselves under any command to destroy them; so I might observe further, from what follows in the books of Moses, that serpents were not, from any thing said by him, devoted to either such odium or destruction: for I should think, if they had been so devoted, it is not likely God would have appointed a serpent to have been set up in the wilderness for the people to look up to^s, in order to be cured of the plague he then inflicted upon them; any other sign, if God had appointed it, would have been as salutary. And it does not seem agreeable to any end of a divine dispensation, to have a prophet make the figure of a creature an emblem of health and life, if he had designed the same prophet to proscribe the whole species of that creature to be abominated and destroyed. But the fact was, the serpent spake to Eve as the ass did to Balaam, both, as to themselves, ignorantly and without intention; and neither was the one ordered to be honoured for what he said, nor the other to be disgraced and destroyed. It was fit Adam and Eve should be apprised how mean an animal they had admitted to be the instrument of deceiving them; and God was pleased very emphatically to tell them this in what he said to them of the serpent, as I have above explained it. It was in nowise reasonable they should henceforth be employed to become killers of serpents; and, agreeably hereto, the words further spoken do in nowise order, nor were or could be understood by them to order them this service, as will more evidently appear by considering,

III. The true literal meaning of the words, *And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed*

^s Numb. xxi.

and her seed: IT shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise HIS heel. Upon which words I would remark, 1. that nothing is said which in any wise employed Adam. It was not said, *I will put enmity between the man and the woman and thee, and between thy seed and their seed: they shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise their heels*; but the enmity was put between the woman only and the person here spoken of, and between *his* seed and *her* seed. Adam was not the woman, nor of the seed of the woman; for the woman was made out of him: he was *made first*, and *then the woman*. So that whatever this enmity was, we see that Adam was remarkably not made a party to engage in it: an incident that could not but occasion him to reflect, that the matter here intended could not be the hating and killing the animal called a serpent; for if that had been designed, a slaughter of the then serpent would have been seen to be what might more likely have been instantly accomplished by Adam, than by Eve and her future posterity.

But I would observe, that, in this particular, there appears plainly what must, with all reasonable thinkers, forever silence all pretence of reconciling an allegorical interpretation to the real meaning of this Scripture. The allegorical interpreters say, that the serpent is the *symbol of lust and sensual pleasure*^t: that Adam and Eve's being tempted by the serpent means, that they were *drawn away and enticed of their own lusts* and appetites: that the fact in truth was, that they were originally formed to a state of happiness and perfection, which they lost and forfeited by following their lusts and passions, in opposition to the will of their Creator^u. If now this be the true way of interpreting Moses, it must follow, that the enmity appointed against the serpent means an opposition to the insinuations of sinful appetites, a *striving against sin*: and the event declared of this contest must be, that our sinful appetites and lusts will often hurt us; but that, if we will press forwards, though

^t See Middleton's Essay on the Allegorical and Literal Interpretation, p. 132.

^u See Middleton, id. *ibid.* 131.

in many steps we take we may sometimes meet defeat, yet in the end we shall capitally wound and subdue them. I promise myself no candid allegorist will accuse me of having herein falsified or injured his system. Herein then is summed up all that is so highly boasted of as rational. But how obvious is it to see of all this, that it does not touch the matter related by Moses! The *enmity* declared by Moses to be put was, I observed, such, that Adam was assigned no part of it: Eve only, and her seed, were the parties in this warfare. And shall we now say, that nothing more was intended than the duty of striving against and conquering sinful appetites? Was Adam then, after the fall, to have no such appetites as well as Eve, and all that were to be born of her? or was he to have no struggle against such like passions with other men? Was he to be given up to a reprobate mind, to do whatever he should lust? This I take to be a plain fact, which all the art and subtilty of our pretended reasoners will never be able to reconcile and clear up. To this therefore I would earnestly call the reader's strictest attention; I would beg to have this one point taken into the severest examination; for I cannot but think, if it be found to be as I have represented, the allegory must here meet its bane. It will be so clearly evident that there is something in the text before us, which the allegorical interpretation cannot reach, that no one that is truly ingenuous will any more contend for it.

But, 2. We ought to observe, that, in the words here related by Moses to have been heard from God, it was not said that mankind and serpents should have a general enmity against each other; but the Hebrew words, if truly interpreted, denote, that some *one person* should be descended from the woman, who should capitally conquer and subdue the great enemy of mankind. If I were forced to allow that we have now so far lost the perfect understanding of the idiom of the Hebrew tongue, as not to see that the words here used by Moses must carry this restrictive sense, yet from the Septuagint version of the place it appears, that, when that translation was made, the Hebrew words were

known to have that meaning^x. The Septuagint version of the passage is thus: Καὶ ἔχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς γυναίκος, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματος σου, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς. ΑΥΤΟΣ σου τηρήσει κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν· i. e. *And I will put enmity between thee and between the woman, and between thy seed and between the seed of her: HE shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* The point to be observed in this translation is, that it does not say IT shall bruise thy head, the pronoun does not refer to the word seed; but it is HE *shall bruise*, the pronoun being personal and masculine, not agreeing with the word σπέρμα, *seed*, which is neuter; but denoting some one person to be *the seed*, and that *he* should bruise the head of the enemy here spoken of. Had the Greek interpreters thought the text to mean that the woman's seed or offspring in the general were here intended, they would have said αὐτὸ, to agree with σπέρμα, as we say IT in our English; but they more correctly rendered the place αὐτὸς, HE, apprehending some one particular person to be here intended, and not the offspring of the woman in the general.

But may it not be said that the αὐτὸς here used is a mistake; that the Septuagint did perhaps not take the true meaning of the Hebrew expression: that they should have wrote, not αὐτὸς, but αὐτὸ; IT, not HE? I answer, We, who believe the Scriptures, have the authority of St. Paul to assure us, that the Septuagint version is most judiciously right in this particular; that Apostle having remarked to us of a similar and subsequent expression to that which is here used, that God therein spake not *of seeds, as of many; but of seed, as of one*: and hereby intended Christ^y. Thus absolutely certain therefore are we, that the Septuagint translators have, in the peculiarity of the pronoun αὐτὸς, given us the true meaning of the text; for we have an inspired Apostle testifying to us, that they have therein given us what was really the *mind of God*. But I would consider in the next

^x The Septuagint translation of the books of Moses was made about 277 years before Christ, about A. M. 3727.

See Archbishop Usher's Annals. Prieaux's Connect. part ii. book i.

^y See Gal. iii. 16.

place the Hebrew text, whether that does not speak the very same thing.

The Hebrew words here used are, *hua jeshup ka rosh*^a, which signify, not *IT*, but *he himself shall bruise thee in the head*^a. The Hebrew text may not at first sight appear so remarkably to point out what the Greek version clearly intimates; for in the Hebrew the word *zeran*, *seed*, is masculine, not neuter, as the word *σπέρμα* in the Greek; and therefore the pronoun *hua* in the Hebrew does not, like *αὐτὸς* in the Greek, directly vary in gender from the noun it should be referred to. But we should here consider, that the Hebrew pronoun *hua* is specifically restrictive, to intimate what is said to belong to some one person, or one thing: and thus the Septuagint took the place to speak, *not of seeds, as of many; but of one*.

I do not say that the pronoun *hua* in Hebrew may never be used, where in Greek or in other languages we would use a neutral pronoun; *IT* in English, *illud* in Latin, or *αὐτὸ* in Greek: but I think, where *hua* is used, it naturally speaks the thing intended in the singular number, and not referring to a noun of multitude as plural. Thus, Leviticus x. 3. *Hua asher dibber Jehovah*^b; we say, *This is that the Lord spake*; which, I think, is deficient of the true emphasis expressed in the Hebrew: the words were designed to shew the error of Nadab and Abihu's offering *strange fire, which the Lord commanded them not*, i. e. had not commanded them; and they should be translated, *this is the one thing, or the thing itself which the Lord spake*. The words were intended to lay down one special or specific rule, that was the principle in all the laws given; they strictly required one thing only, namely, nothing to be done but what God directed, to sanctify HIM, and *him only*, in them that come nigh him^c. We may, I think, put in *itself, him or her self*, in the singular number, where *hua* is used; and thus, in the text before us, *hua jesuphka rosh* cannot mean *IT, her seed shall bruise thee*

^a The Hebrew words are,
 הוא ישופקך ראש
 caput conteret te ipse

^a Gen. iii. 15.

^b הוא אשר דבר יהוה

^c Levit. x. 3. as above.

in the head, taking the word *seed* as a noun of multitude to intend many, for in such case the Hebrew language would have been, *they shall bruise thee in the head*; but *hua jesuphka*, if we rightly translate the Hebrew, must be *he himself*; intending one person and no more. And thus the translators of the Septuagint rendered the place, without inspiration, and before any Prophet or Apostle had directed any such interpretation, by being only true masters of the Hebrew tongue, so as not to lose or vary from the precise meaning of a very significant expression in it. But I must still remark, that if I should be judged wrong in all I have here said of the Hebrew expression, the authority of St. Paul will still remain to give us the true meaning of the place; for in that the Apostle, an inspired writer, informs us, that in the word *seed* was intended, *not many, but one*; and that one, *Christ: God has not left himself without a witness* to us what was the intention of the words before us spoken to our first parents. And,

If what St. Paul explains to be the meaning of the word spoken to our first parents was the real intention of God's purpose in them, we cannot but admit that God, when he caused Adam and Eve to hear the words from him, caused them so far to know the intention of the words spoken to them, as not to imagine from them that he designed an idle and insignificant war between Eve and her children, and serpents; but he promised them [*Hua*] *Him*, one person of her seed, although he did not tell them who that one person was, who was to be the *Captain of our salvation*^d, the conqueror here foretold to subdue him who had deceived them.

And this was all they could possibly as yet know of this matter; no more than this being, as I have said, told them. Who the particular person promised was; what the warfare he should accomplish; who the very enemy was, to be conquered by him; when, and where, and in what manner he should appear; none of these things can be said to have been discovered to them: and therefore, as Joseph and Mary,

^d Heb. ii. 10.

when our Saviour, upon coming home with them from the temple, said to them, *Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?—understood not the saying which he spake unto them;—but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart*^e: so our first parents did not understand the whole meaning of what God here intended, but they carefully treasured up the words in their hearts; formed hopes from them, the extent of which they could not as yet determine; preserved the words, to have their children know them, to the intent that they also might shew their children the same, that the generations to come might see the whole of what God had spoken, to observe what might farther arise in the fulfilling it.

We who live in these last days of the world, unto whom, in the Gospel, the kingdom of God is come, may greatly see what that purpose of God is, which was *hid from ages from the foundation of the world*; but is now *made more manifest*^f. We may see *Jesus Christ, a man ordained of God*^g, of the *seed of the woman*, most literally speaking, as born of a virgin^h; descended from Davidⁱ, who was of the *seed of Abraham*^k, a descendant of our first parents; and may know of this one person, that he is to conquer *that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world*^l, of whom we may consider the words to have come that were spoken by the serpent to Eve; though our first parents saw him not, neither understood that they came from him. We may further understand, that, by the power of Christ, this the great enemy of mankind will be cast down^m; whereby will finally be accomplished, in a most literal and true sense, all that the text before us first intimated, and all that has been since said pursuant thereto, either by immediate revelation from God himself, or by the mouth of all his Prophets since the world began.

^e Luke ii. 49—51.

^f See Coloss. i. 26.

^g Acts xvii. 31.

^h Isa. vii. 14. Matt. i. 18, 24, 25.

Luke i. 34, 35.

ⁱ St. Luke, as he tells us, chap. ii.

ver. 4. that *Joseph was of the house and*

lineage of David, so also, chap. i. 27. informs us, that the Virgin Mary also was a descendant from David.

^k See Matt. i.

^l Rev. xii. 9. xx. 10.

^m Ibid.

This, I think, is a true consideration of the words I have endeavoured to explain: and, in the whole of what I have gone through, as in what is to follow, I shall, I hope, be allowed to stand clear of what the objectors impute to all that write upon this subject. I do not sometimes adhere to a literal narration, and sometimes have recourse to allegory, forced to allow some part of what was said or done not to have been as is historically told us; but I endeavour to shew, that there is no allegory in the whole, or in any part, of Moses's relation: and that a material part of what he relates, that important part, in which the allegorist must absolutely lose his point if he cannot make it out to be allegory, cannot possibly agree to an allegorical interpretation at all. I contend, that a real, a natural serpent as truly spake to Eve, as a real ass spake to Balaamⁿ. But I apprehend, from what we may be apprised of from other Scriptures, and, from considering the nature of the thing, we may know, that neither the ass nor the serpent spake of themselves^o; neither knew they what the words were that were spoken by them, although our first parents could not know this to be true of the serpent at the time he spake to them. I take the words contained Gen. iii. 14, 15, to have been literally spoken by the voice of God; that the former part of them were in the way of apostrophe to the serpent, but for the instruction of Adam and Eve: for that the serpent did not know the words, nor the meaning of them, nor was in any wise affected by them; but that Adam and Eve were herein remonstrated to, and informed how basely they had been deceived, and by hearkening to how abject and con-

ⁿ Numb. xxii. That the ass speaking to Balaam was a real fact, and not a trance, or vision of the Prophet's, see Connect. vol. iii. b. xii. p. 209.

^o Dr. Burnet trifles most egregiously in this particular: his words are, *Aiunt nempe, sub hoc serpente latuisse Diabolum, vel malum Dæmonem, qui hujus animalis ore et organo usus affutus est feminam voce quasi humana: sed quo teste, quo auctore hoc dicitur? Non id præ se fert litera Mosis, cujus illi adeo sunt tenaces.* Burnet's Archæol. p. 290.

A plain answer to all this is, The letter of Moses says, that the serpent really spake to Eve; this unquestionably was fact: Moses does not say that he spake of himself, or of any ability of his own, nor does he say the contrary. We see no reason to think our first parents, at first, at least, apprehended him not to speak of himself: but we have many hints from the New Testament who it was that spake by or through him. Will these now conclude, that no voice came literally from the serpent?

temptible an animal. It will be allowed me, that the invisible agent, whose words the serpent had spoken, was at this time present before God; for, in truth, all persons and all things may at all times be present before him, in what manner he pleases:—and I take the latter part of what was spoken, the 15th verse, to be a conversion of the speaker to this wicked spirit, denouncing to him what should literally be the doom unto which he was reserved; spoken in the hearing of Adam and Eve, though they did not apprehend the full meaning of it, yet so spoken as that they must have considered it could not concern the animal they had heard to speak, but had a further intention, and was a declaration which they ought to ponder in their hearts, and transmit to their children: and that from this the first, and from several other prophecies which have followed, more enlarged and more directing, as God has thought fit to give them in the several ages of the world, there has been a sure path laid, to lead *from faith to faith*^v, from one revealed declaration to another, those unto whom such prophecies have come; so as that we, and the posterities that are to be, may, if we will carefully attend to the information, have, over and besides all other arguments for the truth of it, what may shew us of the Gospel, that it is that one *purpose of the wisdom and power of God*, which he foretold, and therefore designed, from the beginning of the world. In all which I trust I do not theologize with those whose schemes are inconsistent to reason and themselves; but, saying none other things than what reason, fairly considering, must admit to be possible, and revelation warrants to be true, what I offer may be more fit to be impartially considered, than all the speculations of human wisdom, which cannot be truly reconciled with the holy Scriptures.

CHAP. XII.

The Sentence passed upon Adam and Eve, and the Consequences of their Transgression considered.

THE sentence passed upon Eve was, that it should henceforth be specially her duty to be governed by and obey her husband^q; that she should bear children^r, be *the mother of all living*^s; but have herein a multiplicity of sorrow^t. Adam henceforth was to find his tillage of the ground a necessary but laborious employment^u; *in or by the sweat of his face he was to eat his bread.*

It seems natural to think, that, whilst there were yet but two persons in the world, a sufficient produce for two only might more easily be obtained from the fruits of the trees, of the shrubs, and from the herbs of the ground. Might not our first parents, notwithstanding it pleased God to have the earth now not so kindly fruitful, but apt to abound in thorns and thistles, unless duly cultivated for a better produce^x, for some time, at least, as to their diet, find the easy days which the heathen poets ascribed to their golden age,

Contentique cibus nullo cogente creatis,
Arbuteos fetus montanaque fraga legebant.

Ovid. Met.

Excluded the garden, wherever they wandered into the adjacent country, may we not suppose the earth to have afforded them fruits of divers trees, nuts, and berries, grain of all sorts, corn of several kinds, and all salads; every thing that grew and had seed within itself, being at first created and made to spring out of the earth^y? And might they not hence gather daily what we may suppose no hard and uncomfortable living, without finding a great pressure of want

^q Gen. iii. 16.

^r Ibid. 1 Tim. ii. 15.

^s Gen. iii. 20.

^t Ver. 16.

^u Ver. 17—19.

^x Ver. 18.

^y Ch. i. 12.

and distress? I answer: We read Moses too hastily, if we do not observe, 1. However our first parents were allowed within the garden to eat of every tree except one^z, and the trees of the earth, as well as the herb upon the face of all the earth, were given them for meat^a; yet, upon their expulsion out of the garden, their living would be thenceforth chiefly of the ground^b. Are we to think, because God planted or created within that particular spot of ground, which he had distinguished from all others to be called *The garden*, trees of whatever perfection he was pleased to give them, that therefore all trees were of their full growth, and abounded in their fruits all over the world? Rather, may we not apprehend that the earth, in many parts, was made only to put forth its shoots, which grew gradually up to their perfection? When Adam and Eve therefore were driven out of the garden, fruits of trees, acorns, and great plenty of berries, might be more rare than we may hastily imagine; a point I think hinted, in that at first the fowls of the air, as well as every beast of the earth, were to live, not so remarkably of the fruit of trees, as of the green herb, distinguished from the trees, and said to grow upon the face of all the earth: it was of a lower growth, nearer to and more closely covering the ground^c. But, 2. we cannot form an exact theory of the labours of our first parents' lives, because we cannot ascertain how long they lived in their first habitation before they committed the transgression that caused them to be driven from it. We may observe, that one part of their employment in the garden was [*lenabdah*^d] *to dress it*^e: it is the same word which is used where we are told that God sent *Adam forth from the garden* [*lanavod*] *to till the ground, from whence he was taken*^f. Adam was now put out of the garden into the adjacent country, where God created him^g. His *tillage*, expressed by the same word as his *dressing* the garden, seems to have been the same employ-

^z Gen. ii. 16, 17.

^a Ch. i. 29.

^b Ch. iii. 17.

^c Ch. i. 29.

^d לעבדה

^e Gen. ii. 15.

^f לעבד אמהאדמה Gen. iii. 23.

^g Ibid.

ment, only to be exercised upon a different soil: and, if we may suppose him to have been exercised long enough in the garden, to know what the employment was which God had given him in it, we cannot think him quite a novice as to what was now to be his labour. Nothing, in truth, confounds us in forming our conceptions concerning our first parents, except the imagining the fall to have happened instantly, before they had lived long enough to have some experience of living. Let us but suppose it not so early, but that they might have had some months to observe of the herbs of the garden what they liked best to eat, and how they might cultivate them, to give them a due growth; and we may imagine them sent forth into the world with this care, to find places here and there, where there were such produces as they had eaten of; to cultivate and preserve them, to weed out the thistles which soon began to grow amongst them, to defend and keep them from the cattle; that enough of them might be had within such distances as they could go to for the sustenance of their lives; and this labour, if duly considered, will be allowed to have been a burden they had not felt whilst they lived in the garden; and to be sufficient, although at first, before both beasts and cattle and mankind were multiplied on the earth, it would be not absolutely too much for them. The first husbandry was no more than gardening^h; and the grounds most commodious for the early tillage were reputed to be such spots as might be made gardens of herbsⁱ, and the easiest and happiest situation for these was accounted such as that a man might water them with the greatest ease^k: and such spots of ground abounded out of the garden, all along the land of Eden, on the borders of its rivers^l; and upon some of these, I conceive, Adam bestowed his first pains, and by a diligent care cultivated and preserved in them enough for him and Eve, of what they had often

^h Antiquitas nihil prius mirata est quam—hortos—hinc primum agricolæ aestimabantur prisci. *Vide Plinii Nat. Hist.* lib. xix. c. 19. §. 1—3.

ⁱ Deut. xi. 10.

^k Ibid. Vide quæ sup.

^l Felicitas major Babylonæ, Seleuciæ, Euphrate atque Tigre restagnantibus, quoniam rigandi modus ibi manu temperatur. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. xviii. c. 47. ad fin.

before eat within the garden. When mankind came to multiply, it would be necessary for them to look for further provision; and before Adam was 130 years old, Cain, one of his sons, began improvements of tillage^m. And though iron or brass was not yet found out, and consequently no instruments for tillage were made of any metals, it would require no extraordinary imagination to conceive that this early age might, by sharp stonesⁿ, cut wood, and frame tools of divers sorts, such as would serve well enough to perform their less improved agriculture:

———primi cuneis scindebant fissile lignum. *Virgil.*

Or we may suppose the first men soon able to contrive how to pull off, or to cut from young trees, such twigs as might be scraped, and reduced to fit the uses they had occasion to make of them, before they knew how in a workmanlike manner to take down a whole tree, or wanted, or even had large trees for greater occasions. Arts and improvements grew and had their progress: Abel began to be a keeper of sheep; and a descendant of Cain's, Jabal, in the sixth descent from him, set up booths or tents in the fields, and began to order herds of the greater cattle: and Tubal Cain, about the same time, found out and instructed others to be artificers in brass and iron^o. And now we may apprehend the tillage of the earth received an increase of improvements:

Mox et frumentis labor additus———. *Virgil.*

The garden-tillage would not afford a sufficient produce for the increased multitudes of mankind, nor could large tracts be managed with the insufficient implements of the most

^m Adam was 130 years old at the birth of Seth, after the death of Abel, Gen. iv. 25. v. 3. Abel was killed by Cain about the time they each of them brought an offering unto God from the improvement of their respective employments, not many years, I suppose, before the birth of Seth, Gen. iv. 2—4.

ⁿ The great use of sharp stones, made

in the first unimproved ages of all countries, might be collected from all that have wrote of the American nations. And it might be observed, that even the use of them, to cut as with a knife, was not in some improved countries laid aside even in Moses's times. See Exod. iv. 25.

^o Gen. iv. 20, 22.

early husbandry; but, as they wanted them^p, human art and industry contrived better: and agriculture grew and increased gradually, as the necessities of mankind called for farther and larger improvements of it. Of all which, one observation only is material, that the sentence of God upon man was in all these ages enough felt to keep them sensible of that part of the punishment denounced which concerned the labour of their lives^q. Our first parents had not such enlarged wants as their more numerous posterity; but, having less knowledge how to supply their lesser demands, sufficient for their day was the labour thereof: though, as the gracious purpose of God was not instantly to destroy man, but to have him ripened through a mortal life for an happier state, no wants were made to take hold of him, but what he might by industry and labour get the better of^r. Yet we do not find that any improvements of husbandry made in the first world were so great, but that the most experienced in its later times acknowledged themselves sensible of the heavy and universal burden of their lives; of *the great toil and work of their hands*, before it was granted them to make use of animal food, for a further supply than what they could reap from the ground^s. But,

The last part of the sentence denounced upon the man was, that he should die; that, as he had been taken out of the ground, so he should, after a laborious life, return unto the ground again, and become no better than his primitive dust^t.

This sentence, we may observe, is not so particularly repeated against Eve as against the man. But as all experience testifies that the woman is in nowise exempted from death, it cannot but be remarked, that enough was said in the original denunciation of death^u, as well as acknowledged by Eve herself^x, to shew, that, having transgressed, and the

^p — *Tum varie venere artes.*
Virg. Georg. i.

^q — *Pater ipse colendi*
Haud facilem esse viam voluit—
— *curis acuens mortalia corda.*
Id. *ibid.*

^r — *Labor omnia vincit*
Improbis, et duris urgens in rebus
egestus. Virg. Georg. i.

^s Gen. v. 29.

^t Ch. iii. 19.

^u Ch. ii. 17.

^x Ch. iii. 3.

sentence of death against such transgression being in nowise reversed, it could not be imagined that she could think it should not proceed against her. But there appears an evident reason why the sentence of death should be thus repeated, and as it were reestablished, against Adam: he had thought, and offered it as a mitigation of his fault, that he was not first in the transgression; for that the woman had misled him to eat^y. God therefore denounced more particularly to him, that he should not escape the punishment that had been declared against what he had done; to tell him, that his plea was no excuse; for that, ^z*although* he had been misled by hearkening unto the voice of his wife, yet, as he had done what had been commanded that he should not do, he also should surely die.

It has been thought by some, that the death declared against the sin of our first parents ought, according to the plain intendment of the words in which it was denounced, to have proceeded to an immediate execution. *In the day that they eat of the tree, they were surely to die^a*. Can it be said with any propriety, that when Adam died, *nine hundred and thirty years afterwards^b*, that he died *in the day that he eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil*? But this is a cavil too trifling to want a confutation: every one that reads the Hebrew Bible must see a manifest difference between the general expression *bejom^c, in the day*, and *bejom hazeh^d, in that very day*, or *bejom hahua, in the same day^e*. Had either of the latter expressions been used in the 17th verse of the second chapter of Genesis, it might have signified that in the very day of their eating they should without further delay have been put to death. But the general expression, *in the day*, may very obviously claim to have

^y Gen. iii. 12.

^z It may be observed, that the particle *ci* may be even here rendered, not *because*, but more elegantly *although*, as I have before observed it must be sometimes translated. Vide quæ sup. p. 487.

^a Gen. ii. 17.

^b Gen. ii. 5.

^c ביום Gen. ii. 17.

^d ביום הוה Gen. vii. 11.

^e ביום ההוא Gen. xv. 18. See Gen. xvii. 23. 26. Exod. v. 6. xii. 1. Levit. xxiii. 29. Isa. vii. 20. et in aliis ubique.

a larger signification, and intend no more than that, from the time of their transgression, they should become mortal; have in themselves *the sentence of death*^f, sure to take effect, and be executed in its time, which he who made them would appoint for it.

It was now determined that they should inevitably die; but the instant, hour, or day when, was still left in God's power; and we may easily apprehend great and wise reasons why God was not pleased to bring our first parents, and their immediate descendants, to a more early dissolution. God in nowise made man for nought^g: and although he *made not death* for us^h, but man sought it out in the error of his lifeⁱ, yet herein God's abundant goodness has provided for us. It could not be consistent with the liberty of reason and the freedom of our natures, that he should absolutely force upon us either wisdom or virtue; such creatures as he intended us, it was more suitable for us to be admitted to grow up, if we would, as our faculties were capable of improvements in both, under the universal influence of his spirit, in and by which, agreeably to their respective natures, all things *are and do consist*^k: and consequently time would be necessary for our increasing in all knowledge as well as virtue. What I shall here offer shall chiefly concern the former.

We now have indeed lives as but a shadow, short as a dream, in comparison to the duration of the first men. But we stand in the height of the experience of ages; all the knowledge we want for life is not so far from us as it was from them, who lived in the beginning. Had our first parents, and their immediate descendants, came to decline as precipitately as we do, their knowledge of life would have been cut down too fast for any shoots to be made that might yield a produce of arts and sciences necessary for the improvement of the world. So that if we will duly think of mankind, what we came from, and how we are come up

^f 2 Cor. i. 9.

^g Psalm lxxxix. 47.

^h Wisd. i. 13.

ⁱ Wisd. i. 12.

^k See and consider John i. 9. Job xxxii. 8. 2 Cor. iii. 5. Coloss. i. 17.

to what we now are, we may see as well of our present life, that it is long enough, ordinarily speaking, for what is to be our work in the world^l, as that the early ages could not but require a more extended period, for human attainments to be gradually opened and displayed; that what man was made capable of, if he might have time to come up to it, he might not absolutely be cut off from, by not being allowed a sufficient term to attain it. The complaint, that life is not long enough for man to reap all the fruits of his labours under the sun^m, might be as sensibly felt by our earliest forefathers as it is by us. They lived, as I might say, nearer the ground: their prospects were not so raised (things not having been tried for the common use and benefit) as our sights of things are. The schools of literature, or the shops of artificers, can at once put us, even in our younger years, upon a rise of science above what they could come near to in all their centuries; and, excepting that if they would *fear God, and keep his commandments*, they had herein all that they wanted for a life to come; and we, in all our attainments, more than this, have nothing worthy to be compared with it; they could not but feel of their life, when over, though they did not feel it so soon as we do, that, in comparison to what they might have hoped from it, *few*, after all, *and evil were the days of their pilgrimageⁿ*: a pilgrimage it was, which, however long we may think it to have been in counting over *the days of the years* of it, unquestionably seemed to them, when they had passed through it, but *as a tale that was told*; and brake off at last short of that human perfection which they might see to be far larger than what they had attained; and that, had their lives been shorter, they would not have had room to lay the foundations of what God intended they should contribute to the human science and improvement of the world.

^l See Sherlock upon Death, c. iii. §. 2.

^m We commonly say, *Ars longa, vita brevis*.

ⁿ Jacob said this of his days when he was 130 years old, Gen. xlvii. 9. And

can we think, if he had lived *to the days of the years of the life* of his progenitors, he would have found in the human life, to use Tully's language, the *quod est diu?* Cic. de Senectute.

In the day that our first parents eat of the tree, they died, or became mortal. It is frivolously inquired by some, whether the food of the tree was not of a deadly or poisonous nature; deceitful to the eye; appearing to be *good for food*^o, but inwardly a

—P fallax herba veneni:

Virgil.

treacherously full of malignant juices, that would have a natural effect to cause mortality? I should rather think, that as yet every thing that God had made was intrinsically good^q; that there was nothing naturally nocent and baneful; nothing that would hurt or destroy^r. And the mortality of man is in nowise hinted by Moses to have been the natural event of his having eaten of the tree: he rather suggests, that the frame man was built of would of course not be eternal, unless God was pleased further to make it so enduring. *Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return*^s, was the declaration now made to Adam. Undoubtedly he, who

^o Gen. iii. 6.

^p The epithet *fallax*, here used by Virgil, is I think peculiar. I do not remember any herb described by the naturalists to be remarkably tempting to the eye or taste, and inwardly a treacherous and deceitful poison: but this seems the intention of Virgil's epithet. Mr. Pope well enough calls it *the herb that conceals poison*: see the notes on his eclogue Messiah. Had he had a word that would have hinted the herb to have been tempting to induce men to be deceived to be poisoned, he had more fully come up to Virgil's expression. The annotators upon Virgil say, *fallax herba, quia mortales fallaciter iis utuntur*. I do not see the spirit of Virgil's poetry in this explication; it rather creeps to human artifice in the use of the medicine to represent the deceit of it, than gives a lively hint that the herb itself had an innate quality both to hurt, and to tempt to be deceived to ruin, those who should be inclined to use it. The learned generally suppose Virgil to have wrote his *Pollio* upon hints taken from some prophetic poems amongst the Romans, which had originally been

formed from some sentiments taken out of the Jewish Scriptures. And as Virgil introduces the serpent in the same line, *occidet et serpens et fallax herba veneni*; if it may be supposed that any fragment or sacred book of the heathens had hinted any thing of a serpent's having deceived mankind by eating what he had offered to them; or if Virgil had, by any search after the notions of the Jewish literature, formed any thought of such an ancient sentiment, he may be conceived very poetically to have thence wrote his *fallax herba veneni*.

^q Gen. i. 31.

^r Things were, I apprehend, at first universally innocuous, as the prophetic writings, and best comments upon them, (see Isa. ii. 4. xi. 6, 7, 8, 9. lxxv. 25, &c.) hint they will in their time be restored to be; of which happy state of things to come, Virgil had collected many sentiments almost *verbatim*, and thought them an ornament to his poem. See Pope's notes on his Messiah; and more particularly Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity.

^s Gen. iii. 19.

upholdeth all things by the word of his power, in whom we live, move, and have our being, and by whom all things do consist, could have spoken the word, and the mortal of our first parents would have put on immortality; and of this he gave them a sign in the appointment of the tree of life^u. But this word was not as yet spoken; for they had not yet, under the direction of it, taken and eat of the tree of life to live for ever^x; and this not being done, God was now pleased to prevent their doing it^y: and, accordingly, they were henceforward to have their houses of clay, whose foundations were but dust, stand only until time would moulder them, and bring them, by a gradual decay, down again to the ground.

And this, rightly understood, must instruct us to say of the tree of life also, that it could have no natural effect to give to them who should eat it eternal life: no such power in nature could be in it. God only hath immortality^z; and he can give to have life in himself to whomsoever, to whatsoever, and in what manner soever he will. If he appointed that our first parents should, whenever he commanded it, have taken and eaten of a particular tree, and from thenceforth be immortal, the command is to be rationally understood, as we understand our eating bread and drinking wine in our sacrament, in order to be partakers of the body and blood of Christ^a. The outward action would profit nothing^b, were it not the commandment of God. But the doing, with a faithful heart, what God has expressly commanded as a memorial, and in acknowledgment, that we receive the benefits we hope for, not as coming of ourselves, but, as they in

^t Heb. i. 3. Acts xvii. 28. Coloss. i. 17.

^u Gen. ii. 9.

^x Ch. iii. 22.

^y Ver. 23, 24.

^z 1 Tim. vi. 16.

^a See Common-Prayer Communion Office. John vi. 51—58.

^b *The flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life*, John vi. 63. These words of our Saviour do, I think, plainly hint to us, that the notion of

a transubstantiated body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as the Papists hold it, is a fancy not groundless only, but in itself insignificant and vain; for, that as the words our Saviour spake, the commandment he gave was not meant thus grossly, but intended in a spiritual sense, *the flesh would profit nothing*: the eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ really in his flesh, if they could do it, not being what he commanded, would be of no moment at all.

truth are, the gift of God, may be both a reason and an assurance, that they shall be given us, according to our believing and doing his word. And herein we may see why, man having forfeited the hope of immortality, which he was to have become a partaker of, in eating of *the tree of life*, the liberty to eat of that tree was now denied him. We cannot be so absurd as to imagine, that if Adam and Eve, as soon as they had eaten of the forbidden tree, before God had prevented them, had taken also and eat of the tree of life, they would thereby have defeated the purpose of God; and, notwithstanding what God had denounced, would have escaped death by having eat of it: the text of Moses neither speaks nor hints any such thing.

The words of Moses are, *And now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat [vechai lenolam^c].* Moses does not here use the verb *vachajah*, which would be rightly rendered, *and live*, as we translate *veacal^d*, *and eat*: but the words used by Moses are the particle *ve* and the participle *chai*; and *ve* in many passages of Scripture signifies not *and*, but *as*, *quasi* or *sicut* in Latin^e; and *ve chai*, strictly rendered, signifies *as living*. And the expression of Moses, rightly translated, is, *And now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life as one living*; i. e. *as if he was one that was to live for ever*. The sense of the place thus rendered is clear and reasonable, free of the trifling insinuations we may otherwise deduce from it. It was not fit that God should leave our first parents the use of the sign of immortality when the thing signified was taken from them; and therefore God now ordered them to remove out of the garden, *and placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life^f*, to deter and prevent their approach to it. God now gave them a visible evidence, such as he afterwards shewed the Jews in the holy place of Sinai^g, that he

^c וְחַי.

^d וְאָכַל.

^e See 1 Sam. xii. 15. 2 Sam. xv. 24.

et in al. loc. Noldius in partic. 162.

^f Gen. iii. 24.

^g Exod. xix. 16—18. Psalm lxxviii. 14.

was greater to be feared, than it had as yet entered their poor imaginations to conceive; that he had hosts in heaven to execute his word; angels that were *his ministers, and a flame of fire*^h.

The facts we have considered can, I think, want no farther examination. There are undoubtedly other inquiries which may be started. It may be asked, Why, or how came it to pass, that the all-good and all-merciful God did not admit our first parents to mercy; to repent and be forgiven, especially if they sinned no more in the like manner, but became thenceforth absolutely obedient to his word; to be restored to his favour, to have, without dying, eternal life? Would not this have more clearly answered our reasonable apprehensions of the nature of the goodness of God, than that he should purpose to allot us to go through a life of many sins, and much original and acquired infirmity, at last indeed to have a way through death unto this immortalityⁱ? I answer; An inspired writer has suggested an answer to this query: *If, says he, we believe not, yet he abideth faithful; he cannot deny himself*^k. If God had denounced that man should die, unless he would keep the commandment that had been enjoined him, it could not be that he, *for whom it is impossible to lie*^l, should, after our first parents had herein transgressed, still admit them not to know that death, which he had most expressly declared against such transgression. And to this we may unquestionably add further; that if it had not been most fit, in the reason and nature of things, that man now should die, the unerring goodness and wisdom of God would not have threatened nor appointed this punishment. This, I think, is suggested by Moses: *Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest—he live for ever*^m. The meaning of the words will, I dare say, by none be thought, that the man, by eating the forbidden tree, was actually become *wise*, as God is wise; *knowing*, as God is knowing: this in fact was not true; this, in the nature of

^h Heb. i. 7.

ⁱ Matt. xxv. 34.

^k 2 Tim. ii. 13.

^l Heb. vi. 18.

^m Gen. iii. 22.

the thing, was impossible: but they point out to be considered, that the man, whom God had made so as that he ought to be kept *in the hand of God's counsel*, had now taken upon him to be guided, contrary to God's directions, by his own. The creature, not made intrinsically all-wise, not endowed with a beam of unerring wisdom, not capable of being to himself a steady dictator of every thing that was right, for the guidance of his lifeⁿ; the creature, able indeed to *reason*, but liable often to *reason not aright*^o, had now set up himself to judge, without dependence upon what God had said or should say to him, what should be his good and what his evil: *and now, lest—he live for ever*—. The point here intimated seems to be, whether it could be meet this creature, now subject to vanity, should be indulged a peccant immortality? And here how ought we to consider, that, to

Snatch from God's hand the balance—

to venture to define, contrary to what is, what we may think might better have been his dispensations to his creatures; to

Rejudge his justice, be the God of God; *Pope.*

is a most blind employment. Rather, examining what is declared to have been in fact his purpose towards us, and considering how, although he made man *upright*^p,

———just and right,

Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall;

Milton, Par. Lost, b. iii.

Although——*man* had of God

All he could have——

Id. ibid.

consistently with his being a free agent;—I say, considering that although man was thus created, yet that God, foreknowing how our first parents would abuse their liberty;

ⁿ Quartus gradus et altissimus eorum, qui natura boni sapientesque gignuntur, quibus a principio innascitur ratio, recta constansque quæ supra ho-

minem putanda est, Deoque tribuenda. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. ubi sup.*

^o *Wisd. ii. 1.*

^p *Eccles. vii. 29.*

did *verily* foreordain, *before the foundation of the world*, a man to be *the power and wisdom of God unto our salvation*^q; we may reasonably apprehend, however apt we may be to judge otherwise, that if God had not known that our first parents, in eating of the tree, had began a cogitation which (they and their posterity remaining free agents) would not be so changed as we may imagine, he would not have denounced nor executed upon man that sentence of death which obtains against us: observing further, that if this is indeed the appointment of God, as we have all reason to say of all that is so,

Whatever is is right; Pope.

so it must unquestionably be true, that if there might have been some better way provided for us, than that which is appointed, such better way would have been given to us. But seeing this is the way, and being able to prove from the Scriptures that we may, if we will, through this dispensation of God to us, come at length to the life eternal^r, we hence rightly conclude, that, although *it doth not yet appear what we shall be*^s, nor how every particular of God's appointments doth conspire to connect and make up the one universal design of him, *of whom the whole family of the heavens and the earth is named*^t; yet nothing can be so warrantable in us as to believe and confess, that both *great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, and just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints*^u.

A consequence of the fall, I apprehend, must have been, that a depravity of the mind of man gradually arose, and was occasioned from it. *God at first made man upright, [jashar] not inclined to any evil*^x; but man was, when thus upright,

^q See 1 Cor. i. 24. 1 Pet i. 20.

^r As in matters of speculation and philosophical inquiry, the only judge of what is right or wrong is reason and experience; so, in matters either of human testimony or divine revelation, the only certain rule of truth is the testimony or the revelation itself. Clark's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, Introd.

^s 1 John iii. 2.

^t Ephes. iii. 15.

—*Man, who here seems principal alone,
Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,
Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal;
'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole.*
Pope.

^u Rev. xv. 3.

^x Sup. 414. &c.

to be *immortal*^y. After the transgression, our first parents were to die: they had now in the body what would by degrees bring them to decline, and in the end effect their dissolution; and a body, become thus *corruptible*, *presseth down the soul*^z;

—————prægravat una
Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ. Hor.

will introduce affections grosser and less pure, irregular and distempered; other than they might have known, had they never been encumbered with such a decaying tabernacle. The sages of the heathen world would readily have admitted this truth. St. Paul himself, in describing the state of the unregenerate man, speaking in his person, *I know*, says he, *that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not.—But the evil which I would not, that I do*^a; is hardly more express than Plato^b: *As long*, says Plato, *as we have the body, and our soul is intermixed with such an evil, we shall never satisfactorily possess ourselves even of what we desire*. The philosopher, we see, and others that followed him, would easily have allowed it to be of the utmost consequence to a divine spirit, whether it be joined to a mortal or an immortal body^c. Our first parents might have had *in the heart, in that which was not corruptible*^d, what might render them superior in affections and inclinations to what naturally became their appetites, when a *bondage of corruption* began to work in them a nature below the *liberty of the sons of God*^e. We may easily reconcile herein the Scriptures and true philosophy; for the body and the soul are so intimately

^y Vide quæ sup.

^z Wisd. ix. 15.

^a Rom. vii. 18, 19.

^b Έως αν τδ σωμα έχωμεν, και ξυμπεφυρμένη η ήμων ή ψυχή μετὰ του τοιούτου κακού, ου μήποτε κτησώμεθα ικανώς οδ επιθυμούμεν. Plat. in Phæd.

^c *Ipsi animi, magni est, quali in corpore locati sint—Tanta vis est ad habitum mentis in iis, quæ gignuntur in corpore.* Cic. in Tusc. Disputat. lib. i.

c. 33.

^d See 1 Pet. iii. 4.

^e See Rom. viii. 21. Φαμέν δε τουτο, αληθές· μυρίας μὲν γάρ ήμίν ασχολίας παρέχει τδ σωμα—εμποδίζουσιν ήμωv τήν του όντος θήραν· έρωτων τε και επιθυμιων και φόβων και ειδώλων παντοδαπων, και φλυαρίας εμπίμπλησιν ήμωv πολλής· ώστε τδ λεγόμενον ως αληθώς τφ όντι υπ' αυτου οδδε φρονήσαι ήμιν έγγίγνεται οδδποτε οδδέν. Plato ubi sup.

joined in our composition, that they both must have a considerable influence the one upon the other. And having herein intimated what our first parents now became, it is obvious to consider, that, *as was the tree*, such must be *the branches*; that henceforth there would be no natural descendant from these now mortals, who would not have in him a sensuality of nature^f, such as must render it very reasonable, not only to *a master in Israel*^g, but to any one that duly estimates the composition of man, to admit what our Saviour argued, namely, that we must be *born again*, if we would *see the kingdom of God*^h. Our first parents now came to have, and their descendants to be born to, that duplicity of nature elegantly described by Platoⁱ, as well as considered by St. Paul^k; mankind came now to have inclinations arising from the body, which would often run contrary to the better sense of the mind, and give every one the unhappiness to know of himself, in looking back upon his life, that he had done, thought, and said, so many things below what his own mind and sentiments would tell him ought and might have been his conduct^l, as to see in himself, as clearly as in a glass, that we greatly want to be delivered from a *body of sin*^m. In this point therefore reason and revelation agree, and bear testimony to one another; that we are in fact imperfect, not in our knowledge only, but still more imperfect in oftentimes having a will not to act so well as we know to be our duties. And this Moses's history proceeds to shew in the actions of men; and particularly that, ere Adam came to be 130 years old, evil had got such an

^f XXXIX Articles; see Art. ix.

^g See John iii. 10.

^h Ibid. ver. 3.

ⁱ Διπλῆς δὲ οὐσης τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, τὸ κρεῖττον εἶη γένος τοιοῦτον, ὃ καὶ ἔπειτα κεκλήσονται ἀνὴρ· ὅπότε δὴ σώμασιν ἐμφυτευθεῖεν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸ μὲν προσιοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπιοι τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν, πρῶτον μὲν αἰσθησιν ἀναγκαῖον εἶη μίαν πᾶσιν ἐκεῖ βιαίων παθημάτων ζύμφυτον γίγνεσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ μεμιγμένον ἔρωτα· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φόβον καὶ θυμὸν. ὅσα τε ἐπόμενα αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅποσα ἐναντίως πέφυκε διεστώτα· ὧν εἰ

μὲν κρατήσειαν, ἐν δίκῃ βιώσουτο, κρατηθέντες δὲ ἀδικίᾳ. Plato in Timæo.

^k Rom. vii. 23.

^l 1 Kings viii. 46. James iii. 2. 1 John i. 8.

Αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, τότε μὲν κακός, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλός·

γενέσθαι μὲν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν χαλεπὸν ἀληθείας, οἶδόν τε μὲν τοι ἐπὶ γε χρόνον τινα· γενόμενον δὲ διαμένειν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἔξει, καὶ εἶναι ἀγαθὸν—ἀδύνατον καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπειον, ἀλλὰ θεὸς ἂν μόνος τοῦτο ἔχοι τὸ γέρας. Plat. in Protag.

^m See Rom. vii. 24.

ascendant, where it had been indulgedⁿ, that one of Adam's children became a murderer, and slew his brother^o. But

Moses mentions one particular more, which I have not considered. He tells us, *Unto Adam also, and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them*^p. I would observe, 1. that the word which we render *skins* is in the singular number, *a skin*^q, not *skins*, in the plural: and that we have no reason from the Hebrew text to put in the particle *of*: the verse verbally translated is, *And the Lord God made a skin coats for the man and his wife, and clothed them*^r. The fact was, God now appointed them to use the skin of a beast for clothing, not, I apprehend, manufactured into coats; improvements of this sort undoubtedly were afterwards introduced: our first parents did no more than put about them the skin of some beast, as we read the early inhabitants of other countries, and in later ages of the world, did^s, whenever they wanted such a clothing. 2. Although the verse we are now treating stands prior to God's putting Adam and Eve out of the garden, and the end of the verse says, that *God clothed them*; yet I do not conceive Moses here to hint to us that God instantly clothed them and sent them into the world. The Hebrew word *vejalbasha*, and *clothed them*^t, is the future tense, with *vau* prefixed, which prefix the grammarians observe to turn such future tense into a perfect, or to speak the thing treated of to be actually done. I may observe, all the verbs used in this and the verses following, he *made coats—clothed them—sent them forth—drove*

ⁿ Cain undoubtedly did not come at once to that outrageous wickedness of killing his brother. He had been a bad man before in many evil actions; so Moses hints in what he records God to expostulate unto Cain, Gen. iv. 7. And the Apostle further observes it,

^r The Hebrew words of the text are,

ויעש יהוה אלהים לאדם וילבשו עור ואלבשו עור וילבשו עור
et amicit eum pellem tunicas et mulieri ejus Adamo Deus Dominus et fecit.

^s κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων
—ἀνθρώπους ταῖς δὲ δοραῖς τῶν θηρίων
σκηλασθηρίους κρησθα. Diodor. Sic. lib.
i. p. 14.

^o John iii. 12. *Cain—slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous.*

^p Gen. iv.

^q Ch. iii. 21.

^r עור עור pellis.

—————uti
Pellibus, et corpus spoliis vestire ferarum. Lucret. lib. v.
^t וילבשו.

out the man, are thus in the future tense with *vau*^u. May we not understand the reason of the piece of grammar just above hinted? Some ancient writers imagined that our first parents were permitted to stay some little time in the garden before they were put out of it into the world^x; may not these future tenses, with the *vau* prefixed, hint something of this sort? The clothing them, the sending them out of the garden, &c. were things absolutely and actually done; but some process of time, to instruct and prepare them for it, might be taken up before it was completed; and may not the future tenses, with *vau* prefixed, hint this to us? The things spoken of had their execution, but not instantly at once; but proceeded gradually to be effected, as God thought fit to have them dispatched. If we may take them in this sense, we shall easily find an answer, 3. to what is or may be queried upon the occasion: How should our first parents get possession of the skins of beasts, and make them fit for the uses they were to make of them? I answer; I apprehend God at this time appointed sacrifices^y; and if so, as he afterwards gave Moses directions for the passover, and for other institutions of the Jewish law^z, so he now might give our first parents such instructions as they could not but want, and which might suggest all they wanted to know upon the occasions now before them. However, I cannot but remark, in the general, that we consider things with a judgment dull and unobserving, if we can allow the mind of man no invention, but as we can trace and mark out the steps that led to it: how Tubal Cain came to find out brass and iron, and the ways of working them, or how Jubal became a master of music^a, is not to be investigated in this manner. Our minds are too lively to be accounted for by such stated deductions: incidental sentiments often stir in us, we know not whence nor how, and they lead us as often to consequences as unexpected; they open to us trials and

^u ויגרש—וישלחו—ויאמר—וייעש.

^x ἐξεργρήσαν τῆς παραδείσου, ὡς φησι, μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε ἡμέρας τῆς παραβάσεως. Syncell. p. 8.

^y See Connect. vol. i. b. ii. p. 49.

^z See Exod. xii. &c.

^a Gen. iv.

experiments, which produce what we had no thought of, even whilst we were pursuing them; and many times, before we are aware, throw us upon what we had no intention, or even notion of seeking. The best heathen writers were ready to acknowledge the rise of the useful and important inventions of their lives to have been of God^b: and we can never reason of these things, but shall find it to be the best philosophy, as well as religion, not only to acknowledge *every good and perfect gift*^c, in all our endowments, to have come down from *Him, in whom we live, move, and have our being*^d, but

——— *πάντη δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες.* Aratus.

He also, whose *incorruptible spirit is in all things*^e, is often the author to us of many happy turns of mind, which lead us, in what we are apt to call fortunate thoughts, unto great and useful discoveries, which, if we had been *without him in the world*, might never have been made or conceived by us. But, 4. I cannot apprehend our first parents to have been so unthinking, that common sense would not have led them, after a very little experience of their now condition, both to know it decent to have, and to invent themselves, a covering: for what they did, when their fears alarmed them to wish to hide themselves from God^f, may suggest what they naturally would have done to have been clothed in the sight of one another. Wreaths of greens, foliages, and flowers might be variously combined to have made them ornamental habits; and we may indulge our imagination to say that even *Solomon, in all his glory*, might not be *arrayed* beyond what Eve, after a little trial and experience, might be able to decorate herself in these: and the climate they lived in might perhaps be such, that a clothing of this nature might be sometimes more agreeable than to be always in a closer and warmer covering. But if it be considered how soon leaves and flowers would fade away; that a dress of long endurance could not be had from these materials, and

^b Plato in Polit.

^c James i. 17.

^d Acts xvii. 28.

^e Wisd. xii. 1.

^f Gen. iii. 7.

that the labour and other cares of their lives would not admit them to lay out all their time in this one particular; not to say that a cover of this sort might not serve in all weathers, but at some seasons at least a better shelter must have been an happy, a necessary accommodation; leaving our first parents to add any ornament they could like, as circumstances might admit of any, the provision God was pleased to make for them was such, that we cannot see how they could continue to live long without it.

I have now carried this undertaking to the utmost extent I proposed to give it. It contains, I think, an account of all that Moses has related of the CREATION and FALL of MAN. It will perhaps be asked, Did God clothe them only? Was his care of them such as to provide for them in this lesser, and did he not instruct them in, greater and more important matters? I answer; Undoubtedly he did: and I apprehend both Moses to suggest, and subsequent Scriptures to confirm to us, that God gave them a method for their repentance and obtaining pardon of their sins; and, some time before Adam died, set before them hopes of another world. But to proceed to treat of these would be to begin a new subject: all I proposed herein was, to examine what Moses has said of the Creation and Fall, and what possible objections may be made to his narration. I think I have omitted none of any moment: for of some that are pretended, we surely, consistently with the greatest candour, may say, that they need not be mentioned; they are too frivolous to want an answer. One at least of this kind I find in Dr. Burnet: he asks, What if *Adam had not sinned*? could all his descendants have come from all parts of the world^g, in all ages, to eat of the one tree of life, planted in the garden of Eden? or could this one tree have been sufficient unto all times and for all nations? It is most obvious to see, 1. that we cannot say, if Adam had persevered to live according

^g Præterea, si ex una arbore, vel ipsius fructu, perpendisset longævitas vel immortalitas hominum, quid si non peccasset Adamus? Quî potuis-
sent ipsius posterî per totum terrarum

orbem diffusi fructus repetere ex hoc horto, vel ab hac arbore? aut quî potuisset sufficere toti humano generi unius arboris proventus? *Archæol.* p. 292.

to the word of God, until he should have been commanded to eat of the tree of life, whether, as now in Adam all have died, in such case all mankind, descended of immortal parents, would not have been immortal. Or, 2. it must be evident that as God knew beforehand what events would happen in all things, it is undeniable that he might foresee when and how long it would be before our first parents would transgress; and that the appointments he had made would be sufficient for what would be the duration of that state of mankind for which they were appointed. 3. That if mankind had not fallen, but proceeded to walk with God according to his laws, until they had become so instructed in all knowledge, and rooted in all truth, as never to swerve from it; if the partaking of some sign of immortality had been thought fit to be commanded for them in using it to *walk humbly with God*^h, not arrogating immortality to themselves as their own, but receiving it, as it was indeed his gift to them; as we have considered that the *tree of life* had no innate virtue in itself to give lifeⁱ, but could be of moment only as it was the commandment of God; so God might, as men multiplied and dispersed, have at sundry times and in divers manners given other commands, other signs for this purpose as necessary and beneficial, just as he should be pleased by his word to appoint, according to what he saw most fit for distant and different parts of the world, in the *counsel of his own will*.

I am aware that some may treat it as a topic of ridicule, to imagine that God made man so weak a creature as to want his Creator *at every turn an admonisher at his elbow*^k: but it is obvious to reply, that to dress a proposition in ludicrous terms, and then to laugh at it, is laughing at the dress we give it, but does not really affect what ought not to be treated with so fancied a levity. To consider rationally the order and gradation of God's works will, I think, abundantly shew us, that man ought to be^l, as fact and experience agree to testify that he really is, a creature

^h Micah vi. 8.

ⁱ Vide quæ sup.

^k Dr. Middleton's Inquiry, p. 102.

^l See above, chap. vi.

higher than and above the blinder instinct of an animal life ; but to say hereupon that man was made so perfect as to want no guidance but his own, is a step at once to an height of wisdom which may be many ranks above us in the intellectual world^m. That there are prodigious differences between the abilities of even different men, is most apparent : and it is most evidently reasonable that there should be so ; that, in the progressive order of each rank of being above that which is beneath it, some should descend almost to the species of those next below them, as others may, on the other hand, be raised to a near approach unto the orb above them. There may be, there ought to be, there are some men, such as that it were to be wished they never would *act without an admonisher at their elbow* : but, on the contrary, to say of the most intelligent of men, of those who have the most exalted human understanding, that they have a self-sufficiency of wisdom above all want of superior direction, this is

——to think beyond mankind. *Pope.*

It is to think ourselves to have powers which are over the line which is our boundary : our nature does not reach to this height.

*Our reason raise o'er instinct as you can,
In this 'tis God directs, in that but man.* *See Pope.*

In our degree, we have real perfections both of body and mind. The body has its eye, the mind its understanding ; both of excellent use and direction : but to say of either, that they are so perfect as not in any point to want aid or assistance, is to opine beyond our tether. The eye of the body is able in many cases intuitively

——*curvo dignoscere rectum,* *Hor.*

to distinguish a straight line from a crooked. But shall we

^m Quartus autem gradus, et altissimus est, eorum qui natura boni sapientesque gignuntur ; quibus a principio innascitur ratio recta constans-

que, quæ supra hominem putanda est, Deoque tribuenda. *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* lib. ii. c. 13.

say of any man that he has an edge of sight so unerring, (however some may excel others in this particular,) as to be able, without line, rule, or measure, by his eye alone, to raise a various fabric, *just, straight, upright, and regular*, in all true dimensions? It is the same with the understanding, the *eye of the mind*. We may be able by *our reason* to deduce and judge aright of many moral duties; but if we would say of the best *human reason*, that it ever did, without any rule but its own direction, raise the true fabric of all moral virtueⁿ, we must produce something to warrant such assertion, beyond what either the ancient inquirers or our modern reasoners have been able to evince. The wisest masters of the Greek learning could not fix the criterion by which they might know what was only human sentiment, and what more surely was real truth^o. The Roman philosophy was as indeterminate: the *quid est virtus*, the very *exemplar honesti*, was what they were not able indisputably to ascertain^p: they wanted some test, whereby they might settle how to distinguish, in the several duties of life, wherein *reason* and *right reason* might happen to differ from one another^q. And it is as remarkable of all our modern moralists^r, that, however they shew a great want of precision, of determinate and indisputable direction each in one another's rule or standard, they are every one at last exactly as deficient in their own^s.

The *word of God is truth*^t. This was to have been the

ⁿ Ut sine ullo errore dijudicare possumus, siquando cum illo, quod honestum intelligimus, pugnare id videbitur, quod appellamus utile, *formula quædam* constituenda est: quam si sequemur in comparatione rerum, ab officio nunquam recedemus. *Cic. de Offic. lib. iii. c. 4.*

^o Εἰ μὲν νοῦς καὶ δόξα ἀληθοῦς ἔσονται δύο γένη. Plato in Timæo. Φάμεν ἀνθρώπου δοξάζειν ἢ ποτε μὲν ἀληθῆ, πότε δὲ καὶ ψευδῆ. Plat. in Theætet.

^p Sentit domus uniuscujusque, sentit forum, sentit curia, campi, socii, provinciæ, ut quemadmodum ratione recte fiat, sic ratione peccetur. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 27.* The author of the book of Wisdom suggests the difference. We may *reason*, but not

aright. *Wisd. ii. 1.*

^q The test wanted is, By what shall we know when we *reason aright*, and when not? *A Deo*, says the disputant in Tully, *rationem habemus, bonam aut non bonam a nobis*. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.* We want a standard, whereby to judge when we make our reason the one, and when the other.

^r Mr. Brown, in his very excellent Essay on the Motives to Virtue, rightly observes, that our modern moralists have said little more than what might be transcribed from the old Greek philosophers, and from Tully after him. p. 122.

^s See Mr. Brown's Essay.

^t See Psalm cxix. 142. John xvii. 17.

rule of *truth* in all moral and religious duty to our first parents and their descendants; and a *good understanding* would have prevailed amongst them, if they would carefully have *done thereafter*^u: through the *precepts* of God, as they more and more improved in knowledge, they would have seen the error of every *false way*, and in time have been able to delineate the true *religion of our nature* according to it. But although God gave them his instructions, we are not to represent that he was *minutely at their elbow*, to leave them in nothing to themselves, in reason to consider things: Moses in nowise writes of them in this manner. God gave our first parents one command, to be a rule to them, how they were to *walk humbly with him*^x: he gave them one more, to be the foundation of their relative duty to one another^y: he afterwards gave like precepts in other particulars. If now they would have made these their *faith*, to receive and believe them, and to square their lives according to them, herein they would have had an abundant direction, and would not have erred, if they would not vary and decline from it. To have added *knowledge to their faith*, as the incidents arose, which might afford them knowledge, would have been their *reasonable duty*, as it is ours^z. And a great field for them herein to exercise themselves must have opened daily unto them: for we cannot opine them to have been so insensible, as to think nothing to be their duty, but barely to observe literally the points commanded them, and no more: they were to see, and would see every thing to be wrong, which would make their lives run counter to the intention of what was directed. The being forbidden to eat of one particular tree, enjoined our first parents not only to abstain from the fruit of a tree^a, but in every thing, whenever

^u Psalm cxi. 10. cxix. 104.

^x Micah vi. 8. Gen. ii. 17.

^y Ver. 24.

^z 2 Pet. i. 5.

^a If it could be conceived that our first parents could have imagined, that if they but abstained from eating of the tree, they duly observed the law of God, though in other points they did not live according to the directions of

their Maker, it is evident they would herein have kept the form of their religion only, without admitting the power and influence of it: than which nothing can be more contrary to reason, or more severely reprimanded in the holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament. See Connect. vol. iii. p. 111, &c.

and whereinsoever God commanded, they were to *obey* his *voice indeed*: as the being obliged never to separate from one another^b, must shew it to be their duty to consider, and be rationally such in their conduct, as to live suitably to this indissoluble tie; that what God had made the indispensable condition, they should for themselves make the real happiness of their lives. And thus revelation can in nowise be said to have superseded reason, but from the beginning to have been no more than the necessary aid, without which human nature could not be *made perfect*. It was given to be a *lamp to our feet*, and a *light to our paths*; to give us what in Tully's language we might say are the *formulæ*^c, to mark to us the points, which, if we had been made creatures of an higher intellect, we might have intuitively seen for ourselves, in looking into the natures of things; but which, if they had not been given such creatures as we are, if we had had nothing to give us judgment but the fruits of *the tree* of our own *knowledge of good and evil*, we should, not only from the now bias of our appetites, but from (what man was subject to from the beginning) mistakes of understanding, not have found or pursued, so as to be such as we ought in this world, or be able justly to satisfy ourselves how we might be meet for a better.

^b Gen. ii. 24.

^c Jura, formulæ de omnibus rebus constitutæ, nequis aut in genere inju-

riæ, aut in ratione actionis errare possit.
Cic. Orat. pro Q. Roscio Comedo.

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