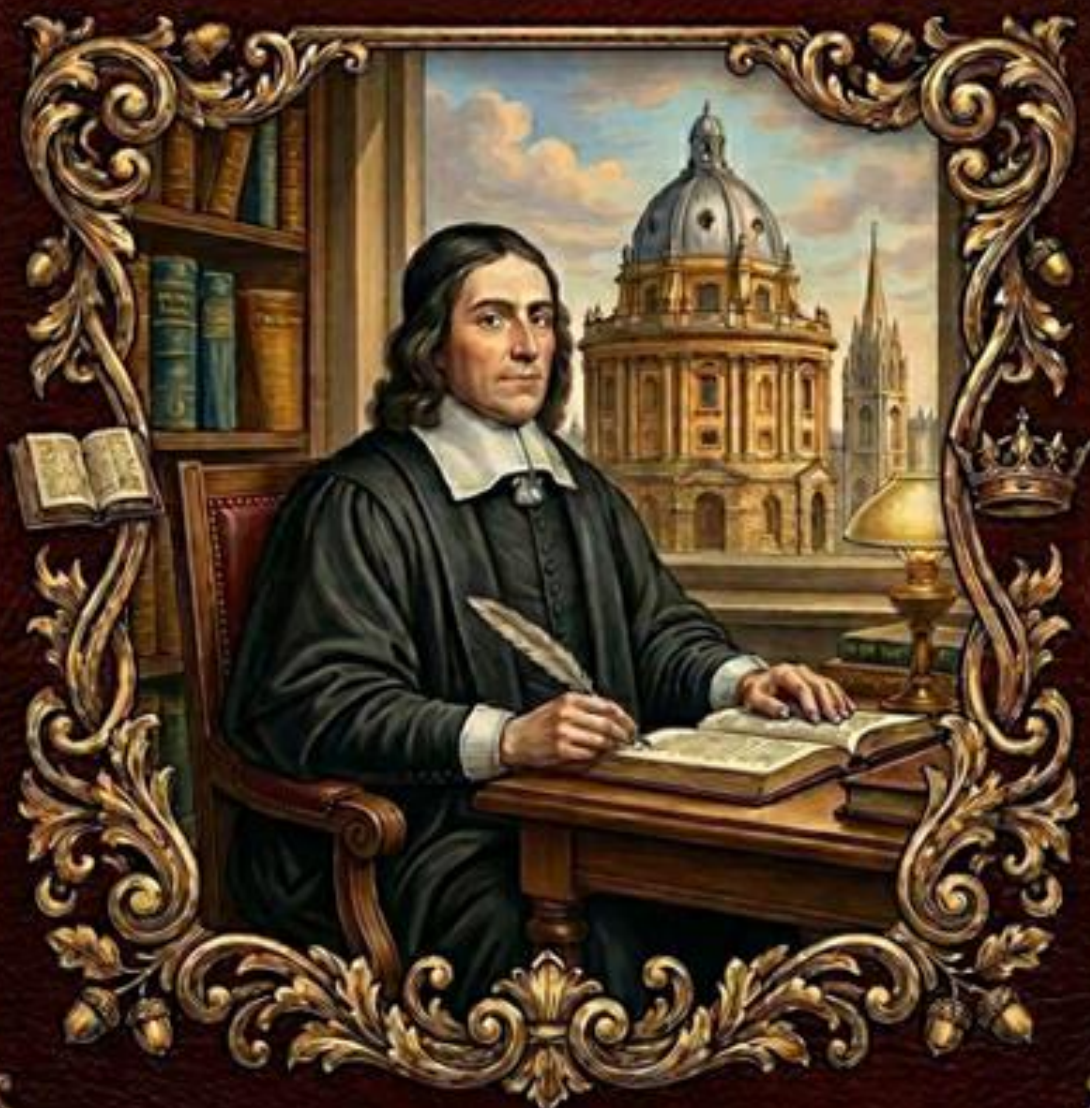


THE NATURE OF TRUE THEOLOGY

Volume 4: The Restoration of Theology



JOHN OWEN



MONERGISM

THE NATURE OF TRUE THEOLOGY

VOLUME 4: THE RESTORATION OF THEOLOGY

JOHN OWEN

Monergism Books

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EDITOR'S NOTE

We used Claude to generate this translation of volume 4 of John Owen's *The Nature of True Theology*, which comprises Book II of Owen's original. English translations of Hebrew and Greek citations are included in square brackets, except in cases where Owen has supplied his own translation.

BOOK II ON THE RESTORATION OF
THEOLOGY AFTER THE FALL AND THE
ENTRANCE OF SIN, AND ITS RENEWED
CORRUPTION; OR, ON ADAMIC
ANTEDILUVIAN
SUBLAPSARIAN THEOLOGY

CHAPTER I

Theology corrupted by degrees, restored by degrees — Theology in the abstract is divine doctrine — The degrees of revelation — The origin of supernatural theology — The first degree in the promise of the seed of the woman — In that promise a new covenant is given, entered into, and established — The force of the word בְּרִית [covenant] — The nature of the covenant between God and man, Gen. 3:15, explained — Christ promised as mediator — The Lamb slain — The chief heads of the new theology — What the Targumists adduce at Gen. 3:15, and Paul, Heb. 2:14 — Who are the last days — Christ the seed of the woman — The malice of the more recent Jews — The ἀθεολογία [godlessness] of the Socinians — The notorious blunder of the Vulgate translator — The blasphemy of certain commentators — The madness of Fabricius Boderianus — The repentance and thanksgiving of Adam — The precepts of the new theology, what and of what kind — The institution of sacrifices — On this origin, the triflings of the papists, the Socinians, and Episcopius — The opinion of Smalcus

refuted — That of Porphyry examined — The sum of the Adamic theology after the fall.

I. What pertains to the general notions of theology we set out in the preceding book. We also showed the origin, use, and ἀφανισμόν [abolition] of ἔμφυτος [innate] or original theology. We must now go on to treat of the institution of another theology as a substitute taking its place. For the rest, since neither did that corrupt natural theology perish altogether ἀολλήδην καὶ μονοειδῶς [all at once and in one single form],¹ nor did this new one which we are approaching attain its perfection in the same manner, but the former suffered its corruption πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως [in many parts and in many ways] and the latter obtained its perfection in the same way, I have judged it worthwhile briefly to set out the more notable degrees of each.

II. We taught above that theology can be taken either in the abstract — as they say — for divine doctrine, or in the concrete for the habit of mind in theologians, or for the ἔξει πρὸς διάκρισιν καλοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ [settled disposition for discerning good and evil], Heb. 5:14. So Aristotle on astrology: “Astrology is called both the science concerning heavenly things and the skill of sailors concerning those same matters.” For ἀστρολόγος [astrologer] was in antiquity the same as ἀστρονόμος [astronomer]; he who predicts I know not what influences of the stars is now so named. But all post-lapsarian theology of any true denomination is of the same kind — renewed objectively only by various degrees of revelation. The habit of mind therefore by which that doctrine is comprehended and perceived is altogether the same in all theologians of all ages. But since we shall have much to say of it in the consideration of properly so-called Christian theology, we have judged that all the doctrine of it is to be reserved for that

place. Concerning the various degrees and progress of supernatural revelation, or of the new theology, we shall first speak briefly. The apostle alludes to all of this doctrine at Heb. 1:1. And since the primordial theology received degrees of corruption almost equal to those of this theology, they also must be set out.

III. After the entrance of sin, and the ἀνωφελίαν [unprofitableness] and ἀφανισμόν [abolition] of natural theology thence following, from the infinite abyss of divine grace, wisdom, and φιλανθρωπίας [love toward man], the Adamic antediluvian theology came forth — or the πάμπρωτον [very first] evangelical promise. Here supernatural theology planted its first footprint; here was its origin and first degree. This revelation therefore of the mind and grace of God is to be narrated first; and then how the corruption of theologians overtook its progress, and thereafter the catholic ἀποστασία [apostasy] and the dreadful πανωλεθρία [utter destruction]. We showed above that all true theology rests upon some divine covenant. Now although בְּרִית [covenant] sometimes signifies a bare promise, and is so employed first in the Scriptures — Gen. 6:18, Exod. 34:10, Isa. 59:21 — yet since a promise of this kind sets forth some good which requires a counter-stipulation of duties, or συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν [the answer of a good conscience toward God], Jer. 31, v. 33, we can pronounce that every divine covenant has its precepts and promises. When therefore we say that God entered into a new covenant with fallen Adam, we mean a new prescription of obedience fortified with gracious promises. For the establishing and confirming of a covenant between God and men, nothing further is required. But that covenant was one of grace, we say, because it was founded gratuitously in another — that is, in a mediator. For whatever covenant could have been entered into immediately with men,

even if it had exacted obedience κατ' ἐπιείκειαν [according to equity] and without strict rigour, would have been a covenant of works. This new covenant therefore was one of grace, because it was founded in another who was bound to perform all its conditions. And this new theology consisted in the promises and precepts of that covenant.

IV. Now the foundation and nature of this covenant may be contemplated in that most celebrated promise of the victorious seed. Gen. 3:15:

וְאִיבָה אֶשְׂיֵת בֵּינְךָ וּבֵין הָאִשָּׁה וּבֵין זֶרְעֶךָ וּבֵין זֶרְעָהּ הוּא יְשׁוּפְךָ רֹאשׁ וְאַתָּה תִּשׁוּפֶנּוּ עָקֵב

“And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed; he shall crush your head, and you shall bruise his heel.” Here Christ was first promised; hence he was afterwards called ὁ λόγος [the Word] — that is, he concerning whom that saving word of God, or word of promise, was made. For “word” is very frequently used absolutely for “promise” — as in English we say “I will give you my word for it, and I will make good my word; that is my promise” — as observed by the most learned Cartwright in his *Harmony of the Gospels*. In this promise also, that Lamb was slain — slain indeed with respect to the real event in prospect, but slain with respect to its saving effect; that is, from the laying of the foundations of the world. This, I say, is the sum of the new theology. Here, moreover, that river of paradise (if I may so speak) divides into four branches; namely, justice — and by virtue of it, gracious acceptance — is here first revealed as something no longer to be sought at home and in obedience performed by native powers, but to be received freely from another who should ward off the peril of eternal death. Concerning death as the desert of sin, and the justification of sinners before God, a proceeding was now under way between God and the πρωτοπλάστους [first-formed parents]. God calls Adam to plead his cause at v. 9; at v. 11 he charges and

convicts him of sin; he pronounces death upon the guilty at v. 19 — for by that most solemn remonstrance “Have you eaten of the tree concerning which I commanded you that you should not eat?” he shows that Adam had entirely voided the covenant of works, and thereby had taken from himself all communion with God. The renewal of that communion through another is therefore here being treated. For he had most clearly taught that the sinful man placed in himself had no hope. Then, that this deliverer — this other, through whom all manner of salvation was henceforth to be expected — was to be brought into the world through ἐνσάρκωσιν [incarnation], that is, to be made of a woman, Gal. 4:4. Hence he is here called the seed of the woman — which introduction the apostle calls εἰσαγωγὴν τοῦ πρωτοτόκου εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην [the bringing of the firstborn into the world], Heb. 1:6, and he is said εἰσερχεσθαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον [to enter into the world], ch. 10:5. Accordingly, just as sin had entered the world through the woman at the suggestion and instigation of the serpent, God promises that the remedy would also come through her. Thirdly, that in order to be a perfect liberator, he must both suffer and conquer the serpent; for the bite of the heel by the serpent inflicts a deadly blow. He therefore foretells that the deliverer of the seed of the woman would taste death for sin and for sinners, Heb. 2:9. And since Satan wished to pursue and exercise the victory he had recently won over the human race unto the eternal destruction of all, God promises that that seed would not only wrest the victory from his hands and divide the spoils with that mighty one, Isa. 53:12 — but would also conquer Satan himself and overthrow his works, 1 John 3:8. Last of all, that this most excellent Saviour and supreme Victor, together with that eternal righteousness — צְדָקָה עֲלָמִים [everlasting righteousness], Dan. 9:24 — which he should bring back, was to be apprehended by faith. Both the nature of

the thing and the manner of revelation require this. For when the announcement is made to ruined and accursed sinners that all salvation is to be sought and expected from another, absolutely nothing further is required than that they trust in him, and placing all their hope in him while denying themselves, receive their share of that salvation. The manner of revelation consisted in a promise, which also demands faith; for it cannot be understood how anyone is to prepare himself to obtain a promised thing except by giving faith to the promise itself. Now that these heads contain — though more obscurely — the whole doctrine of the person and office of the mediator, of gratuitous justification, of repentance, of eternal death, of life and reward, and of the resurrection of the flesh, would be easy to demonstrate.

V. The older Jews acknowledged that this promise had regard to the Messiah; the more recent deny it. Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel: “They shall apply a remedy to the heel מְשִׁיחָא מְלָכָא בְּיוֹמֵי [in the days of King Messiah].” The Jerusalem Targum: “Let them administer safety to the heel בְּסוֹף עֵקֶב יוֹמֵי מְשִׁיחָא דְּמְלָכָא בְּיוֹמֵי [at the end of the extremity/heel of days, in the days of King Messiah].” And it says: “It shall be remembered against you” — or, of you — which is the voice of one threatening; as in English we say “Remember this,” by which we threaten retaliation. That the wound inflicted by the serpent would be incurable, both paraphrasers teach. In the same sense Paul, dealing with the Jews from their common faith of that time, narrates this promise at Heb. 2:14: Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ παῖδια κεκοινώνηκε σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος, καὶ αὐτὸς παραπλησίως μετέσχε τῶν αὐτῶν, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὸν διάβολον [Since therefore the children have shared in flesh and blood, he himself likewise partook of the same, that through death he might destroy

him who has the power of death, that is, the devil]; v. 15, καὶ ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους, ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας [and might deliver those who through fear of death were subject to lifelong slavery]. What other meaning do these words have than that a medicine or remedy has been prepared for the bite of the serpent through the Messiah? But this was to take place ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν [in the last days] — that is, אַחֲרֵי יוֹמֵי עֲקִיבָה [at the end of the extremity of days]. That the days of the Messiah are the last days, the apostle also asserts elsewhere — namely, ch. 1:2.

Furthermore, that no remedy was prepared for the serpent — which both Targums expressly affirm — the same apostle teaches at ch. 2:16: Οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται [For surely it is not angels that he helps, but the seed of Abraham]. So also in the *Midrash Tehillim* on Ps. 1: הַכֹּל מִתְרַפְּאִים לְעוֹלָם הַבָּא חוּץ מִן הַנָּחָשׁ [All are healed in the world to come except the serpent]. That Paul argues in the Epistle to the Hebrews from principles once conceded among the Jews, we shall show — σὺν Θεῷ [God willing] — in our commentary on that epistle. The more recent Jews, from hatred of Christ, are of another opinion. Fagius rightly says: “Hence we see that there was greater sincerity among the ancient Hebrews in the interpretation of the Scriptures than there is today among the more recent Jewish writers, who often deliberately corrupt the clearest and most important passages of Scripture, and maliciously twist them to their own meaning.” Josephus of old stuck to the bark of the words, *Antiquities*, Bk. I, ch. 3. Philo invents I know not what allegories. The Socinians deny that any promise of Christ is here contained. “If we deny that there is here a promise but rather a curse — and that, like all the others, a temporal one, signifying the enmity between men and serpents, where

none existed before — what, pray, will Carolus bring forward to confirm that λόγος [the Word] is promised here?” — Johann Sommer, *Against Peter Carolus*, Bk. II, ch. 3, fol. 73.

Hence, in setting out the degrees of the revelation of the divine will, Volkel, *On True Religion*, Bk. II, ch. 8, pp. 13, 14, and in his footsteps Simon Episcopius, *Institutes of Theology*, Bk. II, ch. 11, pass over this passage in perpetual silence. Valentinus Smalcius is explicit, *Refutation of the Theses of Frantz*, disputation IV, p. 94: “That the gospel took its first beginnings immediately in paradise — these are the words of Frantz — is confirmed by no authority of sacred letters, by no reason. If he says that those words, ‘The seed of the woman shall bruise the head of the serpent,’ can be understood of Christ and the victory which he won over Satan — which is the only thing urged by all, and which can be elicited from those words — I reply that this has nothing to do with the matter in hand. For many sayings exist in the sacred letters concerning other matters, which under the new covenant can afterwards be referred to Christ and to the things pertaining to the new covenant. But to take those words for prophecies and promises belongs to those who have nothing from which to prove their opinions plainly. And certainly if the beginnings of the gospel had commenced in paradise, it seems scarcely credible that it could have come about that no one of the sacred writers of the New Covenant would have at least once cited that prophecy — yet that this has never been done is clearer than light itself.” We have seen what is this man’s opinion concerning this evangelical prophecy and promise. He denies that it directly pertains to Christ — and this boldly — or that any mention of it is made in the New Testament. But not all are of the same opinion. Christ, “that seed of the woman promised by God in paradise to fallen men, who should crush

the head of the infernal serpent,” Jeremias Felbenger calls him, *Evangelical Demonstration*, p. 17.

But that mention of this promise is made in the new covenant, Smalcus denies with altogether too much impudence. The serpent is the devil: 2 Cor. 11:3; Rev. 12:9, 14; 20:2. The wicked are γεννήματα ἑχιδνῶν [offspring of vipers], Matt. 3:7; ἐκ πατρὸς διαβόλου [of their father the devil], John 8:44; who is ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς [a murderer from the beginning], ch. 8:44; and ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἁμαρτάνει [has sinned from the beginning], 1 John 3:8 — through the seduction of the common parents of men, by which he killed all. Then, the seed of the woman is Christ: Heb. 2:14; Gal. 3:16; 4:4. That he himself crushed the head of that serpent, the Socinians will not deny, I think. See John 12:31; 14:30; Luke 10:18; 1 Cor. 15:54; Heb. 2:14; 1 John 3:8 — but of these things elsewhere. The Vulgate translator has *ipsa conteret* [she shall crush]; and certain commentators babble I know not what blasphemy about the blessed Virgin derived from it, with a downright asinine stupidity. זרע [seed] is of the masculine gender; the pronoun הוּ [he] answers to it. Therefore, although the Septuagint renders זרע by σπέρμα [seed] and not σπόρος [sowing], yet in place of הוּ they have αὐτόν [him], attending to the matter itself rather than the words — after the manner of the ancients. So the comic poet: “Where is the villain who has ruined me?” — the same freedom of expression is not uncommon in the New Testament: Μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτούς [Make disciples of all nations, baptising them], Matt. 28:19; and the converse form: “Ὁ μὲν [σπόρος] ἔπεσε παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέφαγεν αὐτό [Some (of the seed) fell by the wayside, and the birds of heaven devoured it],” Luke 8:5; and Πάλιν ἐντολὴν καινὴν γράφω ὑμῖν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν [Again I write to you a new commandment,

which is true in him and in you], 1 John 2:8; and Rev. 17:16: Καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα ἃ εἶδες ἐπὶ τὸ θηρίον οὗτοι μισήσουσι τὴν πόρνην [And the ten horns which you saw on the beast, these shall hate the harlot] — why? because those κέρατα [horns] were in reality βασιλεῖς [kings], of the masculine gender. Jerome rejects that reading as contrary to the Hebrew truth, *Hebrew Traditions on Genesis*. The detestable audacity therefore of Guido Fabricius Boderianus — a learned man in other respects, but burdened with superstitions — is to be condemned, who in the interlinear edition of Plantin attempted to substitute Ⲛⲓⲛ [she] for Ⲛⲓⲛ [he]. That there is not the least trace of a variant reading here is evident from the most acute investigator of such variants, Ludwig Cappel, *Sacred Criticism*, Bk. V, ch. 11, sect. 4. In place of Ⲛⲓⲛ [he], either through the care of printers that the crime of forgery should be made known, or through their carelessness, there crept in ⲛⲓⲛ [was] — a form which is not a Hebrew word. Moreover, that Adam, upon receiving this promise, repented and was freed from sin, the author of the book whose title is the *Wisdom of Solomon* shows, ch. 10:1: Αὕτη [she — that is, Wisdom] πρωτόπλαστον πατέρα κόσμου μόνον κτισθέντα διεφύλαξε, καὶ ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ παραπτώματος ἰδίου [This one preserved the first-formed father of the world, who had been created alone, and delivered him from his own transgression]. And the Targum on the *Song of Songs*, ch. 1:1, affirms from Jewish tradition that Adam, after the remission of his sin, on the Sabbath day sang a hymn to God. Through this new revelation of grace, redemption, and remission of sins to be obtained through the death of the mediator, the whole nature of special theology for sinful men was utterly changed. The ultimate end common to all theology remained indeed — which is the eternal enjoyment of God. But that an

innovation was made not only in doctrines but also in principles and media, a fuller narration of evangelical theology will show.

VI. The precepts pertaining to this new theology were of two kinds. For first, all the moral precepts which for the greater part constituted the ἔμφυτος [innate] theology were transferred to the use of this new one. That natural light directing moral operations — which God implanted in the mind of the first man at his very creation — we demonstrated above at greater length to have remained, by God's gracious οἰκονομίᾳ [dispensation], in all his posterity even after the fall, though corrupted and weakened, ἐκ μέρους [in part]. But God did not cease daily to foster that light in those who embraced this new revelation by faith through his Spirit. Hence although those precepts were not yet ratified by the προφορικῶ [expressed] word, they nevertheless turned out to be a perfect rule of obedience — faith supplying them with new use, and theologians with new light.

VII. No other precepts were given to Adam as a rule of life, besides the relics of the natural light distinguishing the honourable from the base. Those relics, aroused and directed by faith, sufficed for that end. And very many examples of obedience performed according to this law by the antediluvians exist: Gen. 4:4, 6, 7; 7:1, 2. Concerning the seven precepts which some say were given to Adam, others to Noah, more is to be said later. This much is most certain: that all human duty rests upon the precepts of God.

VIII. And indeed that ἔμφυτον [innate] light, or ἐνδιόθετος [internal] theology, extends itself to all the precepts of the Decalogue. Now just as it seemed good to God to explain and confirm the second commandment — by which his will concerning the manner of all worship is established for

ever — in the very state of integrity, through the arbitrary command concerning not eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, adapted to that state: so also after the entrance of sin and the promise of the restoration of sinners through the seed of the woman, it pleased him to establish the same commandment through a new command adapted to that state — through the obedience to which, and through faith exhibited toward the promise, they might also express the new use of the ἔμφυτος [innate] law. This was the institution of sacrifices, which completes the whole Adamic theology after the fall.

IX. Now the papists assign the origin of sacrifices to the natural light, and contend that this rite of worshipping God would have had its place and use in the state of innocence: Gregory of Valencia, *On the Sacrifice of the Mass*, Bk. I, ch. 4; Bellarmine, Bk. I, *On the Mass*, ch. 24; Lessius, *On Justice and Law*, Bk. I; Suarez, *On the Third Part of Thomas*, dist. 71, sect. 8. This fiction, along with very many others, is what the mass is in need of — that thing itself being the most portentous of fictions. The Socinians suspect that this rite took its origin from right reason, by which a man concludes that he ought to worship God with the best things in his possession. And the Arminian Episcopius: “Abel,” he says, “by faith alone, led by no divine precept — that is, by the sole instinct of right reason alone — judged that God was to be worshipped with the best things which he had in his possession, that is, with sacrifices of the firstlings of his flocks and of their fat,” *Institutes of Theology*, Bk. I, ch. 8, sect. 3. Nonsense! As if anyone could act from faith without being led by any divine precept? Or as if acting from faith and acting from right reason without any precept were the same thing? Or as if there could be any faith that did not look both to a precept and a promise? Or as if God had granted his creatures the latitude to invent

new manners of his worship at their own discretion? Or as if this were the whole rationale of Abel's sacrifice — that he determined that God was to be worshipped with the best things which he had in his possession? All of which are plainly ἀθεόλογα [contrary to theology].

The same Episcopus elsewhere also, investigating the origin of this rite, once again boldly restates this opinion: “Without danger,” he says, “it can be believed that the rite of sacrificing was introduced from the very beginning of the world, from a certain great zeal and affection for propitiating and honouring God by that singular act and duty whereby the best, dearest, and most precious things were expended for the honour of God; and thus it was publicly demonstrated that all these things were owed to God by greater right than to men, in whose service, food, and indeed will they daily served. But God, even if that rite did not perhaps seem the best” (for it is not credible that God delights in blood and the slaughter of innocent animals, which reason perhaps also suffices to make us believe that this rite was not commanded by God himself) “yet, since it proceeded from so religious a mind, wished to hold it acceptable, and by his goodness permitted it to be always used henceforth; and so at last eventually enjoined it also upon his most beloved people and prescribed it — nothing prevents this.” Nothing prevents it, you say, O Episcopus? On the contrary, whatever can be known of God naturally, whatever he himself has revealed about himself or his will in the Scriptures, prevents us from giving credence to this most absurd fable. For what? Is it fair to make the wisdom and will of God so subservient to the wisdom and will of miserable sinners as to allow, receive, and even most severely enjoin under penalty of death and excision to be observed by his whole church for two thousand years, something which those sinners found out in his worship — though it was

neither the best that could have been found, nor even pleasing to him? Will τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ [what can be known of God] — which proclaims that nothing but what is supremely perfect is to be ascribed to God — permit us to believe this? Will Scripture permit it, where God himself so often rejects and condemns all human inventions in his worship? Was there nothing in the ancient sacrifices beyond the sentiment of expending the best and dearest things upon God? Had these no relation to Christ and to his sacrifice? Was there no specimen of divine wisdom and goodness in them — except that he permitted mortals to follow their own ways, which he does only as a sign of the greatest curse? Was there no divine instruction in them, no prop for faith in the Messiah to come established in them? But it is a shame to linger over nonsense of this kind.

X. We know what the human race is, and what manner of men compose it; nor is it difficult to conjecture what would have become of divine worship had even the smallest part of it been conceded to human discretion. Nor is it lawful to judge that this solemn rite — through which it pleased God to set out the whole mystery of the death and merit of his only-begotten Son — took its origin from any other fountain than the proper counsel of his own will. The new covenant being entered into, remission of sins was accomplished. But that this χωρὶς αἱματεκχυσίας [cannot be without shedding of blood], the apostle teaches, Heb. 9:22. By sacrificial blood therefore — perhaps of the cattle from whose skins God fashioned coats for the first parents — that covenant was by God's institution sealed.

XI. Among the philosophers, Porphyry is the only one who undertook deliberately to investigate the beginnings of sacrifices. It is therefore our pleasure to narrate his opinion ὡς ἐν παρόδῳ [in passing] — especially since it contains certain things the knowledge of which can throw some

light upon certain passages of holy Scripture. In the second book *On Abstinence from Animals*, he takes up the subject. First therefore he ascribes the origin of all sacrifices to the thankful mind of men and to the purpose of worshipping God with the best things they had in their possession. Τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, he says, τὰς ἀμοιβὰς καὶ τὰς χάριτας ἄλλοις μὲν ἄλλως ἀποδοτέον κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς εὐποιΐας, τοῖς δὲ εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἡμᾶς εὖ πεποιήκοσι, τὰς μεγίστας, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τιμιωτέρων· καὶ μάλιστα εἰ αὐτοὶ εἶεν τούτων πάροχοι. Κάλλιστα δὲ καὶ τιμιώτατα ὧν ἡμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ εὖ ποιοῦσιν οἱ καρποὶ· ὥστε ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτοὺς τιμητέον — “The returns and thanks for benefits are to be rendered to different persons differently, according to the worthiness of the benefit; and the greatest thanks, and from the most excellent things, to those who have most benefited us. And this especially if they themselves are the givers of those best things. But the most excellent and most precious things with which the gods benefit us are the fruits of the earth; with these therefore the gods are to be honoured.” Now what he affirms is true, and sufficiently congruent with Holy Scripture. See Prov. 3:9. He then undertakes at length in the same place to establish that this was the origin of the sacrificial rite. For he says, καθάπερ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀπαρχάς — “Just as to good men, so also to those” (that is, to the gods) “we think it right to pay the first-fruits of our things, it is just.” He teaches that the Egyptians had practised this custom from immemorial time; and elsewhere, that various others ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς [from the beginning] did the same, sect. 5. And he affirms that this religious worship was demanded by right reason and by the due respect owed to the supreme benefactor derived from it — in accordance with which opinion certain Christians, as has been shown, hold the same view.

Furthermore, δουλεύων ὑποθέσει [being enslaved to the pretext] of not eating flesh, and drawn over to Cain's side, he contends that only the fruits of the earth are to be used in sacrifices. For he narrates that from the beginning of things and nations, sacrifices were made from herbs, grain, and flowers — not mixed with myrrh, cassia, or saffron of incense, but pure, just as the earth produced them; and that only many centuries later, as error by degrees grew heavier, were they offered from whatever other things. The most ancient nation, the Egyptian, he says, ἥρξατο πρῶτον ἀφ' ἐστίας τοῖς οὐρανίοις θεοῖς θύειν, οὐ σμύρνης οὐδὲ κασίας καὶ λιβανωτοῦ κρόκῳ μιχθέντων ἀπαρχάς, οὐ τούτων ἔθρον πρότερον· ἀλλὰ χλόης οἶον, εἴ τινα τῆς γονίμου φύσεως χνοῦν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀράμενοι [first began from the hearth to sacrifice to the heavenly gods — not with first-fruits of myrrh or of cassia and frankincense mixed with saffron; they did not sacrifice these at first; but with grass, as if lifting up in their hands some down of fruitful nature], sect. 5. And throughout the greater part of that book he narrates and confirms that opinion. But he contends that the offering of animals — or blood — in sacrifices was introduced into use only much later, when wickedness, impiety, and superstition had gained strength, and that too with oracles disapproving of that worship in very many instances and permitting it at last only with much caution. Ἐπισκόπῳ, he says, ὃς ἦν ἔκγονος θεοπρόπων βουληθέντι τῶν προβάτων ἀπάρξασθαι, ἐπιτρέψαι μὲν φασὶ τὸ λόγιον, σὺν πολλῇ δ' εὐλαβείᾳ, ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως: Οὐ σε θέμις κτείνειν οἷον γένος ἐστὶ βιαίως Ἐγγονε θειοπρόπων· ὁ δ' ἐκούσιον ἂν κατανεύσῃ Χέρνιβ' ἐπιθύειν τὸ δ' ἐπίσκοπε, φημὶ δικαίως.

“To the overseer of sacred rites, who was of the family of soothsayers and wished to offer first-fruits from his sheep, the oracle granted permission, they say, but with much caution; for its words are these: ‘By force to slay

the race of sheep it is not lawful for you, O offspring of soothsayers; but if one shall of its own will nod assent, to sacrifice it with hands washed before the sacred fire — that I declare to be just.”

Now that caution is plainly contrary to the divine institutions, by which all things that had died of themselves were altogether impure. Furthermore, persisting in his purpose, he teaches that there is some supreme power which, being good and holy, does and can do nothing but what is good, pleasing, and useful to men. This he supposed to be natural to it — from which it is impossible for it to depart. Τούτους ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν, he says, sect. 38, καὶ τὰς ὠφελείας ἐκπορίζειν, καὶ πάλιν ἂν βλάβης ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς αἰτίας γίγνεσθαι — “It is impossible for them” (the good gods, that is) “both to supply advantages and again to become the authors of harm.” To these he numbers the good genii or angels: Διαγγέλλοντας τὰ παρ’ ἀνθρώπων θεοῖς, καὶ τὰ παρὰ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις, τὰς μὲν παρ’ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ὥς πρὸς δικαστὰς ἀναφέροντας τοὺς θεούς — “Intermediaries between gods and men, bearing our prayers to the gods as to judges.” But he argues that the worship of the supremely good and greatest divine power — or of the good gods — is to be performed not by sacrifices, but by the laying aside of passions, the abstraction of the mind from bodily things, the contemplation of heavenly things and the love and pursuit of them, dictated by reason and not by imagination. He maintains moreover that there are evil and harmful spirits or daemons who, inhabiting the air nearest the earth, are the authors and causes of all evils — namely, sicknesses, famines, pestilences, earthquakes, and wars. But he holds them to be liars and proud, desiring to occupy the place and position of the greatest God among the human race. Τὸ ψεῦδος, he says, τούτοις οἰκεῖον, βούλονται γὰρ εἶναι θεοί, καὶ ἡ προεστῶσα αὐτῶν δύναμις δοκεῖν θεὸς εἶναι ὁ μέγιστος — “Lying is

natural to them; for they all wish to be regarded as gods, and the power that presides over the rest would wish to be reckoned as the greatest God.” These things he drew from the sacred books, which no one among the ancient philosophers unrolled more diligently, or with a mind more occupied with malice. For τὸ ψεῦδος τούτοις οἰκεῖον [lying is proper to them] most plainly reproduces the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, John 8:44: Ὅταν λαλῇ [when he speaks] — the devil, that is — τὸ ψεῦδος, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λαλεῖ, ὅτι ψεύστης ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ [he speaks from his own nature, for he is a liar and the father of it]. The remaining things derived from the same source are diverted into Platonic swamps. But he teaches that sacrifices must necessarily be offered to those daemons — who are addicted to corporeal and earthly things, over which they have power, and who are devoted to corrupt passions. Ὡς γάρ φασιν οἱ θεολόγοι τοῖς δεομένοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτός, καὶ μηδέπω κρατοῦσι τῶν παθῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἀποτρέπεσθαι καὶ ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε πόνων οὐ λήξουσιν — “For as the theologians say, for those who are in need of external things, and who cannot yet restrain their passions, it is necessary to avert the force or ill-will of these genii; otherwise they will never be free from troubles.” And he contends at length that it was to these — and to none other — that animal sacrifices were offered, and that they are fattened by their smoke and vapour, which of all things contained in animals comes nearest to incorporeal substance. Ὁ εὐσεβείας φροντίζων, ὥς θεοῖς μὲν οὐ θύεται ἔμψυχον οὐδέν, δαίμοσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις ἦτοι ἀγαθοῖς ἢ καὶ φαύλοις — that is, “He who is studious of piety knows that no living thing is sacrificed to the gods, but to daemons and other divine powers, whether good or bad.” Here we have the accused confessing: namely, that the nations worshipped not God but daemons by sacrifices — which wickedness the apostle Paul

had reproached to them before in almost the same words, 1 Cor. 10:20: “Ἀ θύει, he says, τὰ ἔθνη, δαιμονίοις θύει, καὶ οὐ Θεῷ [What the nations sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God]. Accordingly, this testimony is employed against the nations by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Bk. III; Augustine, *City of God*, Bk. X; Theodoret, *On the Healing of Greek Diseases*, sermon III. So much so that Lucas Holstenius has not undeservedly pronounced in his *Life of Porphyry*: “That no one of τῶν ἔξω [of those outside] had supplied more or stronger weapons to the teachers of the church, by which they might dispatch the manifold error of the pagans, than this same Porphyry.” Such is the force of truth — ever consistent with itself and inserting its particles through all the windings of errors — that it often falls from the lips of men against their will.

XII. And this was the sum of the Adamic theology after the fall. All the theology of sinners consists of those three parts which we have set out. What followed was only variation in the degrees. The foundation of the whole is placed in the promise, which — drawn out through various increments of light for the use of the church — the gospel at last exhibited and fully expounded. The Decalogue at the appointed time expressed the norm of obeying God, or the ἔμφυτος [innate] law — whose nature and use the prophets set out. The exemplar of external or ceremonial worship, and of the divine good pleasure, was confirmed in the institution of sacrifices; and was sacredly consecrated as a θεοπρόπιον [divine oracle] for all posterity: that no worship is acceptable to God unless instituted by himself.

1. Claude supplied the conjunction καὶ [and] in this sentence.

CHAPTER II

The institution of the new church according to the norm of post-lapsarian theology — The zeal and duty of Adam in building it up — How long it endured in purity — The defection in the apostate Cain — The nature, degrees, and manner of that defection — And Jehovah had regard for Abel and his offering — The παροράματα [oversights] of certain ancient writers — The obscurity of the Septuagint translation — Why the Cainite sacrifice was rejected by God — On the words of Moses: “And Cain said to Abel his brother,” Gen. 4:8 — The fables of the Targums — Cain removed from the church, and flees it, distrusting the promise of mercy — The reformation of the church in the ejection and cursing of Cain.

I. According to the norm of the theology we have set out, the first church of sinners was instituted in the family of Adam. This was its immediate end — that an assembly of those worshipping God in the Mediator should be constituted. The care of that work lay upon Adam. For since he was the head of the household of the whole human race, and had received the promise of the victorious Seed to be proclaimed to all his posterity, he was

held by the obligation of that duty by virtue of both natural and positive precept. That he was not wanting to that duty, very many things argue. For to discharge the committed office diligently, there can be no doubt that the following things moved him powerfully: the most great benefit recently received from God, love and compassion for his own kind, and a most tender sense of the wretched condition into which by sin he had brought his miserable posterity. The whole of his family therefore — under his care and governance — that is, the whole human race without exception, was the church of God, in which faith, observance, and religious worship flourished. In that state the church was absolutely catholic. But how great a space of time it endured irreproachably in the profession of the new theology is not altogether beyond doubt: it admitted the first stain of defection in the apostasy of Cain. Since that apostasy was the first specimen of defection in the first church of sinners professing the worship of God in the Mediator, it is to be briefly narrated.

II. We showed above that this theology had three parts. The apostate sinned against all of them. The foundation of the whole was the promise of the Mediator. But that Cain's defection began with unbelief — while celebrating the faith of Abel — the apostle shows at Heb. 11:4. Nor, when admonished by God, did he acknowledge his sin — which ἀμετανοησία [impenitence] sprouted from the same root. Then he performed the instituted worship otherwise than he ought — and here the ἀπιστία [unbelief] long lurking inwardly first asserted itself outwardly. Finally, anger and envy drove him, as he was defecting from faith, to fratricide — by which he transgressed the dictate of right reason, or the ἔμφυτον [innate] law. Thus, he proved a sinner and rebel against the whole divine covenant

and each of its parts. From this, he became the first of hypocrites, and the leader and τύπος [type] of all the rest to the end of the age, 1 John 3:12.

III. Some of old were of the opinion that God testified his acceptance of Abel's sacrifice by sending fire from heaven to devour it. Thus, Theodotion translated those words Gen. 4:4, וַיִּשַׁע יְהוָה אֶל־הַבֶּלֶל וְאֶל־מִנְחָתוֹ [And Jehovah had regard for Abel and his offering] as: Καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν [And he set on fire] — “And the Lord set on fire over Abel.” Jerome praises that exposition, *Hebrew Traditions on Genesis*. Remarkable is the παράφρασις [paraphrase] of the Septuagint at Gen. 4:6, 7 — which in the exposition of Cain's sin led many of the ancients astray. The words are: Καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Κάϊν, Ἵνα τί περίλυπος ἐγένου; καὶ ἵνα τί συνέπεσε τὸ πρόσωπόν σου; οὐκ ἔαν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς ἡμαρτες; ἡσύχασον· πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἀποστροφή αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ [And the Lord God said to Cain, Why have you become very sorrowful? And why has your countenance fallen? If you offered rightly but did not rightly divide, have you not sinned? Be still; his turning is toward you, and you shall rule over him]. What the words “If you offered rightly but did not rightly divide” mean to say is entirely uncertain. They do not belong to the sacred text. They are notable as the occasion of remarkable blunders and περιεργίαι [over-curious speculations] in Augustine, *City of God*, Bk. XV, ch. 7; Chrysostom, *Homily XVIII* on Gen. 4; Cyril *Against Julian*; and others. Jerome, *Hebrew Traditions on Genesis*, ch. 4, sharply attacks this παρόραμα [oversight] of the Septuagint — though not without a μνημονικῶν [lapse of memory] himself. חַטָּאת [sin-offering/sin], he says, “is of the masculine gender among the Hebrews, but in the Greek tongue of the feminine.” For it is certain that חַטָּאת is of the feminine gender. What misled Jerome is that here it is joined with רָכַץ [crouching], a participle of the

masculine gender. But this is not unusual among the Hebrews; and אָמַן and אָנָן — both meaning the same as אָמַן — in the masculine gender remove the ἀνωμαλία [irregularity] of this passage. The most learned Mercer uncovers the source of the slip in his commentary on the passage. I will say briefly what the matter is. The sacrifice of Cain was rejected — not on account of its material, nor on account of the wrong portion of his possessions consecrated, nor on account of any defect in external rite, but on account of the sin and unbelief of the one sacrificing.

IV. Cain, rebuked by God, concealed his envy and anger against his brother for a time. This appears to be signified by the words: וַיֹּאמֶר קַיִן אֶל־הָבֶל אָחִיו [And Cain said to Abel his brother]. Our translators render these words: “And Cain talked with his brother Abel.” The Samaritan Codex and the Septuagint add “Let us go out into the field.” The Vulgate has “Let us go out,” doubtless from the Jerusalem Targum. In the Masoretic Bible, after אָחִיו [his brother] there is a gap of one short line. Lindanus, Morinus, and others cry out that the Hebrew text is corrupt. Jerome rejects the addition: “Cain spoke to his brother,” he says, “and what was spoken by the Lord is to be understood; therefore, what is found in the Samaritan and our volume is superfluous,” *Hebrew Traditions on Genesis*. See also how highly he esteemed that Samaritan codex which some prefer to the Hebrew. Aben Ezra follows Jerome in supplying the sense in his comment on the place: “It seems to me,” he says, “that he narrated to him with what rebukes he had been received from God.” Onkelos adheres to the words of the text. Jonathan — as also the Targum called the Jerusalem Targum — narrates a long dispute between the brothers: “And Cain said to Abel his brother, ‘Come, let us both go out into the field.’ And when both had gone out into the field, Cain answered and said to Abel: ‘I understand that the world was

created by mercies’ “(differently in the Jerusalem Targum: “That the world was not created by mercy”), “but it is not governed according to the fruit of good works, and there is acceptance of persons in judgment; for which reason your oblation was accepted, but my oblation was not accepted with goodwill.’ Abel answered and said to Cain: ‘The world was created with mercies, and it is governed according to the fruits of good works, and there is no acceptance of persons in judgment, and because the fruits of my works are better than yours, my oblation was received with goodwill.’ Cain answered and said to his brother: ‘There is no judgment, and there is no judge, and there is no other age, and no good reward will be given to the righteous, and no vengeance taken on the wicked.’ Abel answered and said to Cain: ‘There is judgment, and there is a judge, and there is another age, and a good reward will be given to the righteous, and vengeance will be taken on the wicked.’ And on account of these matters they were contending upon the face of the field.” This is Ben Uzziel’s work — after his own manner, that is, absurdly.

“For now was not the place for these things.”

V. Philo the Jew says that Cain was a σοφιστήν [sophist] “and challenged his brother to a disputation” — perhaps from the fact that he dealt captiously even with God himself, Gen. 4:8. But the matter is plain; and our translators admirably hint at the sense of the words in their translation: “And Cain talked with his brother.” That is: after he had resolved in his mind to put his brother out of the way, he suppressed deep in his heart the deadly hatred which he nourished from envy in his very marrow, and while feigning love on his countenance, conversed with him in a friendly and brotherly manner. That is the meaning of the words. That is the custom of those who thirst for the blood of others. So afterwards Joab treacherously

dispatched Abner, and Absalom dispatched Amnon, by the simulated renewal of love. Lured by that pretext, the first martyr fell into the snare.

VI. Now the devil in a special manner was the instigator of this murder for Cain. Therefore not only on account of this very murder is Cain said to have been ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ [of the evil one], 1 John 3:12, but also the devil is called ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς [a murderer from the beginning], John 8:44. For he is not called a murderer there only because he enticed the first humans into sin, from which death was to follow, but also because he actually procured this murder to be committed — just as at the instigation of the devil the Pharisees of that day wished to kill the Lord Jesus. An ancient poet, whose verses are extant in Epiphanius, expressed this elegantly:

Ὡ παῖσιν ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας κακῶν ὄφεις,
Ἦ τ' ὧ βαρύν τίκτουσα θησαυρὸν κακῶν,
Πλάνη τυφλοῦ ποδηγὸς ἀγνοίας, βίου
Χαίρουσα θρήνοις, καὶ στενάγμασι βροτῶν.
Ἕμεῖς ἀθέσμους εἰς ὕβρεις ὁμοσπόρων,
Τὰς μισαδέλφους ὀπλίσαντες ὠλένας,
Καὶν μολῦναι φοινίῳ πρῶτον λύθρῳ
Ἐπείσαι' ὀργήν· κᾶξ ἀκηράτων πεσεῖν
Αἰωνίων τε πρωτόπλαστον ἐς χθόνα
Ἕμεῖς ἐτεκτήνασθε.

“O serpent, first origin of disasters and their final limit,
And you, father of the heavy treasure of evils,
Forerunner of blind and wandering ignorance,
Whose food is the tears and sighs of men —
While rousing to lawless outrage against kinsmen,

You armed the brother-hating hands,
 And drove the wrath of Cain to be defiled first with blood.
 And you it was who contrived
 That the first-formed man should fall from the pure and eternal state
 Down to the earth.”

VII. But after the unbelief and hypocrisy of Cain had in this manner openly revealed themselves — so that he could no longer be tolerated within the church — God, who still exercised immediate care of the tender flock, expelled him from the bounds of the church laden with the curse, lest the fellowship of the impious apostate and those who clung to him in wickedness — whose number appears to have been not small, since with their help he set about building a city — should contaminate it. That is the meaning of those words, Gen. 4:12: נָע וָנָד תִּהְיֶה בְּאֶרֶץ [A wanderer and a fugitive you shall be on the earth] — that is: “Go out over the face of the world on account of your newly multiplied curse — compounded as it is with fresh defection from my authority; wander there wherever you will; set your mind on earthly things; you shall have nothing henceforth in common with my worship and my church.”

VIII. He himself repeats this part of his punishment at v. 14: וְהָיִיתִי נָע וָנָד בְּאֶרֶץ [And I shall be a wanderer and a fugitive on the earth] — not Στένων καὶ τρέμω [Groaning and trembling], as the Septuagint has it; and מִפְּנֵיךָ אֶסְתֵּיר [I shall be hidden from your face]. He had already formerly despised the gracious face of God in the promised Seed. In other words, he casts away the hope of entering again into grace with God: גָּדוֹל עֲוֹנִי מִנְּשׂוּאָה — “My iniquity,” he says, “is greater than can be pardoned,” or “than I am able to bear.” That these words “are to be faulted as if they contained something evil in themselves,” Jonas Schlichting, *On the Trinity, Against Meisner*, p.

119, denies — as if they proceeded from right reason. But it is certain that they did not proceed from that faith, and therefore were full of despair. Furthermore, he had neither hope nor fear that the providence of God could be hidden from him. He therefore acknowledges himself excluded from the communion of the saints and from the presence of God in solemn worship. And having been driven out from the church, he also flees it, Gen. 4:16.

IX. Now this defection of Cain took place in the one hundred and twenty-ninth year after the founding of the church in the promise of the Liberator. For it is probable that in the year immediately following the death of Abel, Eve bore Seth — which was the one hundred and thirtieth year of Adam's life, Gen. 5:3. In that space of time the human race had without doubt grown in number and multitude; and so had the church itself, which was still absolutely catholic and embraced the whole of that race. The first church of sinners professing faith in the mediator therefore endured for one hundred and thirty years or thereabouts, walking holily and blamelessly before God according to the norm of the restored theology.

X. Cain therefore fell into apostasy at the age of one hundred and twenty years. For it is an absurdity — what Gregory Abulfaraj, the Arab chronologist whose history the distinguished Pococke not long ago published, reports from the opinion of a certain Theodosius — namely “that Adam did not beget Cain until thirty years had elapsed from his expulsion from paradise, and that Abel had lived one hundred years before Adam, returning to his wife, begat Seth.” But the sacred text ρητῶς [expressly] rejects these ravings, Gen. 5:3; and yet this most absurd rumour — arising I know not from where — travelled through the whole East and stained the writings of very many.

XI. The progress of hypocrisy therefore, from unbelief toward God to the persecution of the saints, brought both the occasion and the necessity of the reformation of the church; the first specimen and pattern of which, divinely appointed, we have in the ejection and cursing of Cain.

CHAPTER III

The second reformation of the antediluvian church, Gen. 4 (last verse) — הִתְחַל [began] — Certain σφάλματα ὀνοματολόγικα [nomenclatural errors] noted — The Enoshite idolatry: the opinions of Maimonides, Selden, Cyril — The total defection of the reformed church — The beginning, occasion, and manner of that defection, Gen. 6:1-5 — The sons of God and daughters of men — The triflings of the Jews, and of certain ancient Christians — No antediluvian idolatry — The causes of the diluvian πανωλεθρίας [utter destruction] and the tradition of it among the nations — The end of the antediluvian church — In it the type of things to come.

I. Cain, the ringleader of the corrupters of Adamic antediluvian theology, having been expelled from the bounds of the church, its force and ἐνέργεια [energy] and the pure worship of God resting upon it flourished down to the age of Enosh. A new corruption — and one spreading widely — had at that time invaded the church; which a new reformation meeting it swept away: “For then it was begun to call upon the name of the Lord,” Gen. 4:26. On which passage certain things must be added.

II. The words are: הָיָה בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה לִקְרָא [Then it was begun to call upon the name of Jehovah]. Some think the reformation of the church is denoted in them; others its lapse into idolatry. The Septuagint renders them thus: Οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ [This one hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God]. They derived ἡγεῖα, that is, not from ἡγεῖα but from ἡγεῖα. Hence arose the innocent error of certain people. They suspected those words to express the notation of the name of Enosh. Chrysostom's interpretation of the passage rests on that blunder alone. For supposing that Enosh means "he hoped," he discourses at length about the pious hope of his parents.

III. And indeed in rendering the meaning of Hebrew names the Greeks blunder everywhere without exception. So George Cedrenus, p. 172: Τὸν πρωτότοκον ὠνόμασε Κάϊν ὃ ἐστὶ ζήλος, ὃ καὶ ζηλώσας ἀνεῖλε τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἄβελ, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται πένθος, ἐπ' αὐτῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ φονευθέντι ἐπένθησαν οἱ γονεῖς [He named the firstborn Cain, which means zeal, since he in his jealousy slew his brother Abel, which is interpreted as mourning, since for him, who was the first to be slain, the parents mourned] — absurdly, and against the account of the ὀνοματολογίας [nomenclature] assigned in the very text of Gen. 4:1. But there is a shade of colour — for קִנְיָה [kinah] means envy, and אֲבֵל [abel] means mourning. And Zonaras also: Ἄβελ δὲ ὁ δεύτερος, δηλοῖ δὲ πένθος ἡ κληῖσις [And Abel the second: the name signifies mourning]. Now וְ [then], or "at that time," I think is to be referred to the whole span of Enosh's life. These things took place in the days of Enosh, whom Seth begat. That the condition of the church was already wretched when Enosh was born, I would readily grant — hence the occasion of the ὀνοματολογίας [nomenclature] for pious parents. עֲנֹשׁ [Enosh] is wretched man, from עָנָה

[anash], he was mortally sick, was calamitous, Ps. 9:21. But no reason compels us to restrict what is here mentioned to the time of his birth. For these things happened perhaps three hundred years or so after the first reformation of the church through the ejection of Cain — since the birth of Enosh falls in the one hundred and sixth year after his flight. For although the beginnings of that work — whatever it finally was, of which the Holy Spirit here makes mention — were perhaps placed at the very birth of Enosh, yet I do not believe it was brought to full effect until Enosh himself, who is pointedly noted, had for some time been a householder. And in this opinion are the Jews almost without exception.

IV. That the entrance of idolatry into the world is noted by these words, the Targum attributed to Jonathan asserts: *הוא דרא דבימוהי שריאו למטיי ועבדו* — “That generation,” he says, “in whose days they began to err and made idols for themselves, and named their idols by the name of the Word of the Lord.” That is, they called their idols gods. So also the Arabic translator from the edition of Erpenius: “Then men began to turn away from obedience to God” — differently from the codex in the London Polyglot Bible. Of the Targum of Onkelos there are two copies; one was published by Arias Montanus in his Royal Bible edition, another by Buxtorf in his Basel edition; of these one affirms that “men desisted from invoking” God, the other that they “began to call upon the name of the Lord.” Maimonides traces the beginning of all idolatry from this point, at the beginning of the book *On Idolatrous Worship*: *בימי אנוש טעו בני האדם טעות גדולה ונבערה עצת חכמי אותו הדור ואנוש עצמו מן הטועים הנה וזו היתה טעותם: אמרו הואיל והאל ברא כוכבים אלו וגלגלים להנהיג את העולם ונתנם במרום וחלק להם כבוד והם שמשים המשמשים לפניו ראויים הם לשבחם ולפארום ולחלק להם כבוד* — “In the days of Enosh the children of men erred with a great and foolish

error; and the counsel of the wise of that generation was confounded; even Enosh himself was among those who erred; and this was their error: they said, since God himself created these stars and spheres to govern the world, and placed them on high and gave them glory, and they are the ministers who serve before him — it is surely fitting that we praise them and extol them and give them glory.” The learned man had his eye upon the words of Moses, Gen. 1:16: וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־שְׁנֵי הַמָּאֹרֹת הַגְּדֹלִים אֶת־הַמָּאֹר הַגָּדֹל לְמַשְׁשֵׁל הַיּוֹם וְאֶת־הַכּוֹכָבִים הַקָּטָן לְמַשְׁשֵׁל הַלַּיְלָה וְאֶת־הַמָּאֹר הַקָּטָן לְמַשְׁשֵׁל הַלַּיְלָה וְאֶת־הַכּוֹכָבִים [And God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night, and the stars]. From these, he perceives that the degenerate sons of the patriarchs took occasion to worship the sun, moon, and the whole host of the heavens, to which had been committed dominion over days and nights, and so over the whole world. R. David Kimchi is of the same opinion: “In the days of Enosh,” he says, “they went astray after idolatry, and the invocation of the name of God was then profaned; but there are those who expound the word הַיְהִי through ‘beginning,’ thus: ‘Then men began to call the names of images and idols by the name of God.’” Selden follows Maimonides, *Prolegomena* III to his *Syntagma on the Syrian Gods*.

V. Josephus, however — older than all of these — asserts that the worship of the true and one God endured until the seventh generation, *Antiquities*, Bk. I. R. Eliezer agrees with him in *Maase Bereshith*, ch. 22; and proves that no mention is made here of idolatry, because no mention has been made of other things they would worship — that is, of the sun and stars. Most of the ancient Christians agree with these. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐξ Ἀδάμ, says Cyril *Against Julian*, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Νῶε γεγονότες ἄνθρωποι, θεὸν ἓνα τὸν φύσει καὶ ἀληθῶς τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν τετιμήκασιν· μετὰ δὲ κατακλυσμὸν καὶ τοῦ πύργου κατασκευὴν ἀσύμβατον ἐσχήκασιν περὶ Θεοῦ δόξαν, οἱ μὲν

οὐρανὸν ὑπετόπεσαν εἶναι θεὸν, ἥλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην ἄλλοι [The men who lived from Adam until Noah honoured the one God who is by nature and truly the Creator of all things; but after the flood and the building of the tower, they held an incompatible opinion about God — some supposed heaven to be God, and others the sun and the moon]. And this opinion is most true, with which Epiphanius also agrees, Bk. I, ch. 1, sect. 4. Bede in his *Chronicle*: in the Piel, הָחֵל signifies principally “to begin,” and “to profane” only very rarely in the Hiphil or Hophal. Hence תְּחִלָּה [techillah] means “beginning,” and חָלַל [chalal] “to begin something publicly.” And this interpretation Jerome embraces. Nor was the name of the Lord first profaned then, in the days of Enosh — since this had long been done by the impious Cainites long before Enosh was born. There is therefore no reason why it should be said pointedly that it was then that men began to profane the name of God. But the greatest reason exists why it should be said that they then began to call upon it in a peculiar manner.

VI. Therefore it is not the corruption of religious worship but the reformation of the church that is indicated by these words. The prefixed particle marks something new and unusual. But since the church was contained within the limits of one family, its reformation was not difficult — namely, through the ejection of the contumacious. But with the human race grown to an immense size and the boundaries of the church extended, another road had to be taken. For a multitude of sinners produces impunity and licence of sinning. These two words therefore denote two things. First, that the pious formed separate assemblies for the solemn performance of the worship of God. Second, that they took upon themselves the distinctive name of worshippers or sons of God, which they used until the next defection. So they invoked the name of God separately in a solemn manner;

and were called by the name of God — that is, worshippers or sons of God. Both meanings are confirmed by our translators; for as they read in the text, “Then began men to call upon the name of the LORD,” so they add in the margin “To call themselves by the name of the LORD.” And this was the only road to reforming the church that remained. To enter upon it — when very many are corrupting the true worship of God and persisting stubbornly in wicked morals (which was the condition of the church in those times) — both the nature of the matter itself and right reason demand. For what should those do who desired to present their consciences unblemished and pure to God in religious worship? Should they allow themselves to be mingled with the crowd of apostates and corrupted by them? That does not seem to be their duty. Should they cast the apostates out and banish them from the bounds of the church? But this cannot be done by the few against the many. The separation of the pious therefore remained, and their gathering into separate assemblies. That this was done at this time, these words record. For the name of the Lord was not then first profaned — since that had long been done by the impious Cainites — nor did men then first in an absolute sense begin to call upon the name of the Lord, since all the pious had been devoted to his worship from the foundations of the world; but then for the first time certain men, having made a visible separation from the rest of the world, were performing religious worship solemnly among themselves.

VII. And this was the second reformation of the antediluvian church. The first defection was singular in the person of Cain. By his ejection the first reformation was constituted. In the time of Enosh, hypocrisy had crept more widely and infected more. In order to present themselves free from the common stain and to preserve the pure worship of God in the promised

Mediator, the pious Sethites, seceding from the crowd of apostates and forming separate assemblies, were called “sons of God.” And here for the first time the church, visibly and voluntarily separated from the world, existed.

VIII. By virtue of this reformation, pure theology flourished, and by its force the visibly separated church, for a thousand years or thereabouts. In that course of time God set forth a distinguished example of obedience, a τεκμήριον [pledge] of true theology and earnest of eternal life, in the translation of Enoch, Gen. 5:24. But as time advanced, the impious Cainites and those Sethites from whom the pious had separated at the time of the Enoshite reformation — apparently making a show of pursuing mutual peace through intermarriages and other bonds of political life — having been admitted into the fellowship of the pious, brought almost everything divine and human to universal ruin. This is commonly the fatal outcome, after a reformation, of corruption admitted once more into the church.

IX. But the very great crowd of impious apostates, having been admitted into the fellowship of the pious, when the latter could no longer free themselves either by the authoritative ejection of the former — as they say — or by voluntary secession, the defection immediately became catholic, and the whole church proved corrupt. God therefore brought this dispensation, and the Adamic sublapsarian theology, to an end in the diluvian πανωλεθρία [utter destruction] of apostate theologians.

X. The origin, progress, and end of this last defection of the antediluvian church was committed to memory by the most just avenger of it himself, Gen. 6:1-5. The origin is narrated in vv. 1, 2: “And it came to pass when men had begun to multiply upon the face of the earth, and daughters were

born to them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and took them wives of all which they chose.”

XI. Who these “sons of God” are, and who the “daughters of men,” is disputed. The Jews trifle about good or evil angels — I know not what nonsense — and so also Philo and Josephus before the rabbis were born. Also, the author of the books of Enoch, some fragments of which still survive in Joseph Scaliger’s *Observations on Eusebius* and in Kircher’s *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, Vol. II, ch. 2. Very many of the ancient fathers favour that delusion: Justin, *Apology* II; Clement, *Stromata*, Bk. III; Tertullian, *On Women’s Dress*; Lactantius, *Institutes*, Bk. II, ch. 15; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Bk. V; Ambrose, *On the Veiling of Virgins*; Zosimus of Panopolis in Photius, Codex 191. But neither the nature and condition of the angels, Matt. 22:30, nor the sequence of the Mosaic narrative, permits that suspicion. בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים, or “sons of God,” Onkelos renders by בְּנֵי דְנִגְבִּיָא [sons of the noble] or “sons of the mighty,” and בָּנוֹת הָאָדָם [daughters of men] by בָּנוֹת אֲנָשָׁא or “daughters of the poor.” The Septuagint has υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ [sons of God]. Aquila, υἱοὶ θεῶν [sons of gods]. Sons of τῶν δυναστευόντων [those who hold power], says Symmachus, as Jerome testifies. And all of these understand the supreme confusion of all orders in the political state and common manner of living — as if men had come together among themselves after the manner of cattle, with no regard for degrees or honour of dignities. In this opinion is Rambam, *More Nevukhim*, Pt. I, ch. 14: “אָדָם signifies,” he says, “also ‘common people’ and ‘the multitude of men’; as also ‘sons of Adam,’ also ‘sons of man,’ Ps. 33:13; and in this signification it is said, ‘And the sons of God saw the daughters of Adam.’”

XII. But the matter is sufficiently plain of itself. The “sons of God” were those who from the days of Enosh had instituted separate assemblies for celebrating the true worship of God, professing υἱοθεσίαν [adoption]. By that name they were objects of hatred and mockery to the impious world. Nor has the world ever been, nor will it ever be, otherwise unlike itself in this matter. For perhaps some hundreds of years they had separated themselves from the communion with the wicked — which has always been the chief cause of ecclesiastical defection. With the passing of time, even they were increased with wicked offspring in whom there was only the μὶμῶσις [form] of υἱοθεσίας [adoption]. These, driven by unbridled lust, joined to themselves by marriages the daughters of the apostates. And those were the “daughters of men.” That the pious Sethites had until that time held all laws — both divine and human — separately from the Cainites, and had inhabited places far distant from them without any commerce of life or intercourse with the age — this is an old tradition of the Jews, which, because it has the appearance of truth, I would not rashly reject. Abulfaraj Pococke reports it interpolated with fables: “Seth,” he says, “son of Adam — it is reported that he was the first author of writing, and that he inspired in his progeny a desire for the blessed life which had been that of his parents in paradise; so that they withdrew to Mount Hermon, devoted to the worship of God, piety, and continence, by no means approaching women — whence they were called Bani-Elohim [sons of God]. But in the fortieth year of Jared, descending from Mount Hermon, when they had despaired of returning to paradise” (that is, when the holiness of life and separation from the world had begun to be a weariness to them) “they desired women; and when those related to them by kinship refused to give them wives, despising them, the Cainites invited them to marriage, freely offering them their

daughters — with whom having come together they begat giants, distinguished in wars and hostile incursions.”

XIII. These things he drew from the apocryphal book of Enoch *On the Watchers* — except that what the former ascribes to the Sethites, the other Jewish trifler assigns to angels descending upon Mount Hermon. But of those books *On the Watchers* and *On the Apocalypse of Moses*, the fragments still extant will supply fables of this kind in abundance to anyone who thirsts for them. The angels were called ἐγρήγοροι [watchers] by the ancients. They snatched their handle from Dan. 4:10, where עִיר [ir] or “a watcher” is said to have looked down from heaven. Common copies of the Greek text retain the Hebrew word עִיר; certain manuscripts have ἐγρήγορος [a wakeful one].

XIV. From this source there arose the ἀθέμιτος μίξις [unlawful mingling] of all with all. At last, both groups came together into one in such a way that, the family of Noah alone excepted, scarcely any distinction between the world and the church remained. This the Holy Spirit shows when he affirms that “all flesh had corrupted its way,” Gen. 6:12. This, I say, was the origin of the catholic defection of the Enoshite — or Adamic antediluvian — church, reformed a second time; in which we have an illustrious example of the origin of all catholic apostasy. For it was always that communion with the wicked which brought the church to ruin.

XV. Let us see further the progress of this defection. The Holy Spirit sets it out at vv. 11, 12: “The earth was corrupt before God himself, and was filled with violence; and God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted its way.” To such a degree had it advanced as to extend itself to all flesh — Noah alone excepted, vv. 8; 7:1. But he was “a preacher of righteousness,” 2 Pet. 2:5, in whose ministry the

Spirit of Christ “disputed with the rebellious,” 1 Pet. 3:19, for one hundred and twenty years, Gen. 6:3. So the Targum of Ben Uzziel expounds that passage — though he trifles in his usual manner about Shamchazai and Uzziel, who at that time descending from heaven begat giants.

XVI. Maimonides contends that the nature of this apostasy consisted chiefly in idolatry. Selden has gone over to his opinion. The names of the gods they worshipped are provided to us in the Koran by Mohammed, Surah 81: Wadd, Suwa’, Yaghuth, Ya’uq, and Nasr. For these, as it appears, Shamchazai and Uzziel laboured. But let us dismiss these triflings. What is said concerning antediluvian idolatry is entirely without probability. For the Holy Spirit makes no mention of it — and he would least of all have passed it over, since it is the most grievous of sins, and the most powerful argument for carrying out the vengeance of divine justice in destroying the world. Doubtless God wished to exhibit in the diluvian destruction of the ancient world a great prejudging of the future judgment — as Tertullian says — second only to the cross of Christ. Could it therefore be thought that in setting out the causes of so great a disaster and punishment — less only than eternal — he would pass over in silence the greatest of all sins? Especially when he accurately reviews other crimes and wickednesses that merited it? For the wickedness of men’s hearts, the universal corruption of life, violence and robbery, and even illicit marriages are expressly mentioned, Gen. 6:2, 5, 11-13. For the rest, Berosus in the spurious Annus of Viterbo — and so also Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I — not unaptly narrates the vices and crimes of that age: “These giants,” he says, “confident in their vast bodily size and strength, rushing in with arms oppressed all, and serving their lusts they discovered butterflies and musical instruments, and all delights; they ate men... and there was nothing they did not commit,

despisers of religion and the gods.” That the real Berosus also consecrated the flood to memory in his history, Josephus, *Antiquities*, Bk. I, ch. 4, is the witness.

XVII. The end or issue of this catholic apostasy was the diluvian πανωλεθρία [utter destruction] of the apostates — namely, ὁ τότε κόσμος ὕδατι κατακλυσθεὶς ἀπώλετο [the world that then was perished, overwhelmed with water], 2 Pet. 3:6. That the nations received through tradition this cause of the flood, Lucian among very many others is the witness, *On the Syrian Goddess*, sect. 12: “Ἦδε ἡ γενεή, he says, οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι οὐ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ γενεὴ πάντες ὤλοντο. Οὗτοι δὲ γένεος τοῦ δευτέρου εἰσὶ, τὸ αὐτίς ἐκ Δευκαλίωνος ἐς πληθὺν ἀπίκετο. Ἐκείνων δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάδε μυθέονται. Ὑβριστὰὶ κάρτα ἐόντες, ἀθέμιστα ἔργα ἔπρασσον, οὔτε γὰρ ὅρκια ἐφύλασσον, οὔτε ξείνους ἐδέκοντο, οὔτε ἱκετέων ἠνεύχοντο· ἀντ’ ὧν σφίσι ἡ μεγάλη συμφορὴ ἀπίκετο. Αὐτίκα ἡ γῆ πολλὸν ὕδωρ ἐκδιδοῖ, καὶ ὄμβροι μεγάλοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ κατέβησαν μέζονες, καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἀνέβη, ἔστε ὃ πάντα ὕδωρ ἐγένοντο, καὶ πάντες ὤλοντο. Δευκαλίων δὲ μούνος ἀνθρώπων ἐλίπετο ἐς γενεὴν δευτέραν, εὐβουλίας τε καὶ τῆς εὐσεβέος εἵνεκα. Ἡ δὲ οἱ σωτηρίῃ ἦδε ἐγένετο. Λάρνακα μεγάλην, τὴν αὐτὸς ἔχε, ἐς ταύτην ἐσβιβάσας παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐωυτοῦ, ἐσέβη. Ἐσβαίνοντι δὲ οἱ ἀπίκοντο σύες, καὶ ἵπποι, καὶ λεόντων γενεὰ, καὶ ὄφεις, καὶ ἄλλα, ὁκόσα ἐν γῇ νέμονται πάντα ἐς ζεύγεα· ὃ δὲ πάντα ἐδέκετο· καὶ μιν οὐκ ἐσίνοντο, ἀλλὰ σφίσι μεγάλη διόθεν φιλή ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐν μιᾷ λάρνακι πάντες ἔπλευσαν, ἔστε τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεκράτεε· τὰ μὲν Δευκαλίωνος περὶ Ἕλληνας ἱστορέουσι — that is, “This generation which now exists was not the first of men; but that generation which then was, all perished. But these men who now exist are of the second generation, which again grew to

a multitude from Deucalion. And of those men such things as these are told: being very insolent, they committed lawless deeds; for they kept no oaths, and received no strangers, and endured no suppliants. In return for which the great disaster came upon them immediately — for the earth poured forth much water, and great rains fell, and the rivers descended larger than before, and the sea rose greatly, until all things became water and all perished. But Deucalion alone of men remained for the second generation, both on account of his prudence and his piety. And his salvation was effected thus: he boarded a great ark which he himself possessed, embarking in it his children and his own wives. And as he was boarding, there came to him swine, horses, a race of lions, serpents, and all other things that feed upon the earth — all in pairs. He received them all, and they did him no harm, but a great friendship was wrought between them from God; and in one ark they all sailed as long as the water prevailed. These things the Greeks record of Deucalion.” These things he says — all of which everyone sees to have been taken from the sacred text. Horace also plays upon this in *Odes* II, I:

*“It terrified the nations, lest the harsh age of Pyrrha return,
Lamenting strange portents —
When Proteus drove all his herd to visit
The lofty mountains.
And the race of fish clung to the tops of the elm
Which had been the known haunts of doves;
And frightened deer swam
Over the overwhelmed plain.”*

Similar things from Hieronymus the Egyptian, Berosus, Mnaseas, Nicolaus of Damascus are cited by Josephus, *Antiquities*, Bk. I, ch. 4; and

from Abydenus and Alexander Polyhistor by Eusebius in his *Chronicle*.

XVIII. But most people confuse the universal flood with the local one of Deucalion — or with the Ogygian, which preceded it by a great interval. Concerning all of them a most ancient writer at Cedrenus speaks rightly: Ὅτι δύο κατακλυσμοὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν διαβεβλημένοι γεγόνασιν· πρῶτος μὲν ἐπὶ Ὠγύγου ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ (very many however say that Ogyges was king not of Attica but of Thebes); χρόνοις δὲ ὕστερον ἐν Θετταλίᾳ (that is, in what was later so called, for that name was unknown even to Homer) ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος, βασιλεύοντος Ἀθήνησι δευτέρου Κραναοῦ αὐτόχθονος. Τούτου τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος δηλονότι, δοκοῦσι μεμνησθαι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, φάσκοντες τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν μὴ κατακέκλυσθαι· καὶ δικαίως φιλονεικοῦσι μὴ κατακεκλύσθαι τότε τὴν Αἴγυπτον· τοπικὸς γὰρ γέγονεν οὗτος ὁ κατακλυσμός. Τὸν γὰρ πρότερον ἦτοι τὸν καθολικὸν κατακλυσμὸν οὐδὲ γινώσκουσιν. Οὕπω γὰρ ἦν ὁ πατριάρχης αὐτῶν γεννηθείς. Χάμ δὲ ὁ υἱὸς Νῶε, πατὴρ Μεστρέμ, ἀφ' οὗ Αἰγύπτιοι [That two floods have been handed down as having occurred in the land of Greece: first under Ogyges in Attica; and at a later time in Thessaly under Deucalion, when Cranaus the autochthon was reigning as the second king at Athens. Of this flood — the one under Deucalion, that is — the Egyptians also seem to make mention, saying that their own land was not flooded; and they rightly contend that Egypt was not then flooded; for this flood was local. For the earlier one — that is, the universal flood — they do not even know. For their ancestor had not yet been born. For Ham the son of Noah was the father of Mestram, from whom the Egyptians come]. But no one doubts that the first mythographers so mingled the report of the universal flood with the history of the particular ones that neither those nor the former were understood by later generations. Whoever desires

more on these floods should consult Augustine, *City of God*, Bk. XVIII, ch. 9; Nonnus, Bk. III; Orosius, Bk. I, ch. 9.

XIX. And this was the end which the apostate antediluvian church reached. Binding herself with the crime of fresh defection after a reformation, she proved incapable of further reformation. This was the solemn period which the first supernatural theology of revelation completed. And in it, as we shall see, were constituted the type and exemplar of all churches to be founded in future times and reformed when lapsed. May God, in his infinite mercy, avert the omen from the reformed Christian churches.