

is not subject to infirmities of age, nor is there any weakness attending on the *Ancient of days*; but, on the contrary, I believe Omnipotency to be an essential attribute of his Deity, and that not only in respect of operative and active power, (concerning which I shall have occasion to express my faith hereafter,) but also in regard of power authoritative, in which I must acknowledge his antecedent and eternal right of making what, and when, 47 and how he pleased, of possessing whatsoever he maketh by direct dominion, of using and disposing as he pleaseth all things which he so possesseth. This dominion I believe most absolute in respect of its independency, both in the original, and the use or exercise thereof: this I acknowledge infinite for amplitude or extension, as being a power over all things without exception; for plenitude or perfection, as being all power over every thing without limitation; for continuance or duration, as being eternal without end or conclusion. Thus *I believe in God the Father Almighty.*

Maker of Heaven and Earth.

ALTHOUGH this last part of the first Article were not expressed in the ancient Creeds⁵⁶, yet the sense thereof was delivered in the first Rules of Faith⁵⁷, and at last these parti-

⁵⁶ For we find it not mentioned by St. Augustin, *de Fide et Symbolo*; neither hath Ruffinus expounded it in the Aquileian, or noted it to be found in the Roman or Oriental Creeds. Leo, reciting the three first Articles in his Epistle to Flavianus, maketh no mention of it. [Ep. xxiv. vol. i. p. 479.] Maximus Taurinensis hath it not in *Traditione Symboli*, nor Petrus Chrysologus in his Sermons, amongst six several expositions. It is not in the Homilies of Eusebius Gallicanus, or the exposition of Venantius Fortunatus. Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra left it not at Rome with Julius; nor did Arius in his Catholic Confession unto Constantine acknowledge it: neither are the words to be found in the Latin or Greek copy of the Creed written about the beginning of the eighth century, and published out of the MSS. by the most reverend and learned Archbishop of Armagh; or in that which Etherius and Beatus produced against Elipandus,

Archbishop of Toledo, toward the end of the seventh century.

⁵⁷ As in that delivered by Irenæus, *Eis éna theón patéra pantokrátora, tón peποιηκότα τόν οὐρανόν καί τήν γήν καί τὰς θαλάσσας, καί πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. Adv. Hær. lib. i. cap. 2.* [I. 10. 1. p. 48.] and that by Tertullian, 'Unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit.' *De præser. adv. Hær. cap. 13.* [p. 206 D.] and that under the name of Novatian, not in formal words, but with an *id est*, by way of explication; 'Regula exigit veritatis ut primo omnium credamus in Deum Patrem et Dominum Omnipotentem, id est, rerum omnium perfectissimum conditorem, qui cælum alta sublimitate suspenderit, terram dejecta mole solidavit, maria soluto liquore diffuderit, et hæc omnia propriis et condignis instrumentis et ornata et plena digesserit.' *De Trin. cap. 1.* [p. 706 A.] It was also observed by Origen, that the Christians were wont most

cular words inserted both in the Greek and Latin Confessions. And indeed the work of Creation most properly followeth the attribute of Omnipotency, as being the foundation of the first, and the demonstration of the second explication of it. As then we believe there is a *God*, and that God *Almighty*; as we acknowledge that same *God* to be the *Father* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and in him of us: so we also confess that the same *God* the *Father* made both *heaven and earth*. For the full explication of which operation, it will be sufficient, first, to declare the latitude of the object, what is comprehended under the terms of *heaven and earth*; secondly, to express the nature of the action, the true notion of Creation, by which they were made; and thirdly, to demonstrate the Person to whom this operation is ascribed.

For the first, I suppose it cannot be denied as the sense of the Creed, that under the terms of *heaven and earth* are comprehended all things; because the first rules of Faith did so express it, and the most ancient Creeds had either, instead of these words, or together with them, *the Maker of all things visible and invisible*, which being terms of immediate contradiction, must consequently be of universal comprehension; nor is there any thing imaginable which is not visible or invisible. Being then these were the words of the Nicene Creed; being the addition of *heaven and earth* in the Constantinopolitan could be no diminution to the former, which they still retained together with them, saying, *I believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible*; it followeth, that they which in the Latin Church made use only of this last addition, could not choose but take it in the full latitude of the first expression.

48 And well may this be taken as the undoubted sense of the

frequently to mention God under that as the most common title; 'H γὰρ ἀόριστος ὁμολογοῦσι τὸ κοινὸν ὄνομα, τὸ, ὁ Θεός, ἢ καὶ μετὰ προσθήκης τῆς, ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων, ὁ ποιητὴς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. *Cont. Cels. lib. i.* [c. 25. vol. i. p. 343 E.] Eusebius delivered the first Article thus in his Confession to the Nicene Council, Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἓνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. [apud Socrat. i. 8. p. 23.] and that Council expressed the same without alteration in

their Creed. But after the Nicene Council we find added *ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς*, by St. Cyril of Jerusalem in his Catechism, [cat. ix. p. 126 A.] and Epiphanius in *Ancorato*: [§. 120. vol. ii. p. 122 C.] which addition was received, confirmed, and transmitted to us by the Council of Constantinople. By which means at last we find this Article thus expressed in the Western Confessions, *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem cæli et terræ.*

Creed, because it is the known language of the sacred Scriptures.

Exod. xxxi. *In six days, saith Moses, the Lord made heaven and earth:* in the same time, saith God himself, *the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is.* So that all things by those two must be understood which are contained in them: and we know no being which is made or placed without them. When God would call a general rendezvous, and make up an universal

auditory, the Prophet cries out, *Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth.* When he would express the full splendour of his majesty, and utmost extent of his actual dominion, *Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool.* When he would challenge unto himself those glorious attributes of Im-

mensity and Omnipresence, *Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord.* These two then taken together signify the Universe, or that which is called the World. St. Paul hath given a clear exposition of these words in his explication of the Athenian altar; *God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands.* For being God is necessarily the Lord of all things which he made, (the right of his direct dominion being clearly grounded upon the first Creation,) except we should conceive the Apostle to exempt some creature from the authoritative power of God, and to take some work of his hand out of the reach of his arm; we must confess that *heaven and earth* are of as large extent and ample signification as the *world and all things therein.* Where it is yet farther observable, that the Apostle hath conjoined the speech of both Testaments together. For the ancient Hebrews seem to have had no word in use among them which singly of itself did signify the World, as the Greeks had, in whose language St. Paul did speak; and therefore they used in conjunction the *heaven and earth*, as the grand extremities within which all things are contained⁵⁸. Nay, if we take the expositions of the later writers in that language, those two words will not only as extremities comprehend between them, but in

Jer. xxiii. 24.

Acts xvii. 24.

58 Καλῶς δὲ πάντες σχεδὸν ἐξεδέξαντο τοὺς ἄκροισι, οὐρανὸν τε καὶ γῆν, τὰ μέσα συμπεριελθῆναι στοιχεῖα.—πῶς δὲ ἄκρα φημί; ὅτι γῆ μὲν τὸ κέντρον παντὸς ἐμπεριέλαμψε. καὶ ἔστι κάτωθεν μὲν ἀρχὴ πάντων ἢ γῆ, πέρασ δὲ τούτων ὁ πάντα περιεχὼν οὐρανός· τοῦμαλιν δὲ ἄνωθεν, ἀρχὴ μὲν ὁ οὐρανός, πέρασ δὲ πάντων ἢ γῆ· μετὰ δὲ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆσ γῆσ τὰ λοιπὰ τρία

περιέληπται στοιχεῖα. Jo. Philop. de Mundi Creat. lib. i. cap. 5. [Galland. xii. p. 478 B.] Τῷ μὲν οὐρανῷ σώματι (ἢ φύσει) τὸ περίε τοῦ παντὸς ἀπένειμε· τῷ δὲ περιγίφῳ τὸ κέντρον· ἐν δὲ σφαίρα ἄλλωσ μὲν τὸ κέντρον ἀρχή, ἄλλωσ δὲ ὁ τοῦ περιέχοντοσ ὄρωσ. Hieroc. in Aur. Carm. [v. 52. p. 180.]

the extension of their own significations contain all things in them. For when they divide the universe into three worlds⁵⁹, the inferior, superior, and the middle world; the lower is wholly contained in the name of *earth*, the other two under the name of *heaven*. Nor do the Hebrews only use this manner of expression, but even the Greeks themselves; and that not only before, but after⁶⁰ Pythagoras⁶¹ had accustomed them to one name. As therefore under the single name of World or Universe⁶², so also under the conjunctive expression of *heaven and earth*, are contained all things material and immaterial, visible and invisible.

49 But as the Apostle hath taught us to reason, *When he saith* 1 Cor. xv. *all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted,*²⁷ *which did put all things under him:* so when we say, all things were made by God, it is as manifest that he is excepted who made all things. And then the proposition is clearly thus delivered; all beings whatsoever beside God were made. As we read in St. John concerning the *Word*, that *the world was made* John i. 10 *by him;* and in more plain and express words before, *All things* Ver. 3. *were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made.* Which is yet farther illustrated by St. Paul: *For by* Col. i. 16. *him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in*

59 For the Rabbins usually divide the whole frame of things into שלש עולמות *three worlds:* the first, הַתחתון *the inferior,* or הַשפל *the depressed* and lowest world; הוּא זֶה עוֹלָם *that is this world,* say they, to wit, this globe of earth on which we live. This they divide into three parts; ים *the sea,* lakes and rivers, הַמִּדְבָּר *the desert,* solitary and inhabitable* places, רְחוֹק מִן הַיְשׁוּב *far from the habitations of men,* and יְשׁוּב *תְּהוֹמֵינוּ* *the earth inhabited.* The second is called הַתְּיָכוֹן *the middle* or *inmost world;* הוּא עוֹלָם הַגְּלִילִים *this is the world of the spheres,* containing the aerial region, and the starry heavens. The third is, עוֹלָם הַעֲלִיּוֹן *the superior world;* הוּא עוֹלָם הַמַּלְאָכִים *this is the world of angels,* הַלְלוּם *of God,* נְשׂוּת, *עוֹלָם הַרוּחִי* *the spiritual world.* [Buxtorf. these three comprehend all things imaginable; being the first is sufficiently

expressed in אֶרֶץ *the earth,* and the two last in שָׁמַיִם *the heaven;* it followeth that, in the sense of the Hebrews, *heaven and earth* signify all things.

60 Εἰς, ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἰς ἔστιν θεός, Ὅσ οὐρανὸν τέτευχε καὶ γαῖαν μακράν. Sophocl. apud Just. Mart. Clem. Alex. &c.

61 Πυθαγόρας πρώτοσ ἀνόμασε τὴν τῶν ὄλων περιοχὴν, κόσμον, ἐκ τῆσ ἐν αὐτῷ τάξεωσ. Plutarch. de Plac. Philosoph. lib. ii. cap. 1. [p. 886 B.]

62 'Si mundum dixeris, illic erit et cælum, et quæ in eo, sol, et luna, et sidera, et astra, et terra, et freta, omnis census elementorum. Omnia dixeris, cum id dixeris quod ex omnibus constat.' Tertul. de Virg. Veland. cap. 4. [p. 175 B.] Φασὶ δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θεοὺσ καὶ ἀνθρώποισ τὴν κοινωvian συνέχει, καὶ φιλίαν, καὶ κοσμογέντη, καὶ σωφροσύνην, καὶ δικαιοσύνην· καὶ τὸ ὄλον τοῦτο διὰ ταῦτα κόσμον καλοῦσιν. Iamb. Protrept. [c. xix.] but the words are Plato's in Gorgia. [p. 507.]

* [This word would now be written *uninhabitable*.]

earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him. If then there be nothing imaginable which is not either in heaven or in earth, nothing which is not either visible or invisible, then is there nothing beside God which was not made by God.

This then is the unquestionable doctrine of the Christian Faith, That the vast capacious frame of the world, and every thing any way contained and existing in it, hath not its essence from or of itself, nor is of existence absolutely necessary; but what it is, it hath not been, and that being which it hath was made, framed, and constituted by another. And as every house is builded by some man; for we see the earth bear no such creature of itself; stones do not grow into a wall, or first hew and square, then unite and fasten themselves together in their generation; trees sprout not cross-like dry and sapless beams, nor do spars and tiles spring with a natural uniformity into a roof, and that out of stone and mortar: these are not the works of Nature, but superstructions and additions to her, as the supplies of art, and the testimonies of the understanding of man, the great artificer on earth: so if the world itself be but an house⁶³, if the earth, which *hangeth upon nothing*, be the foundation, and the glorious spheres of heaven the roof, (which hath been delivered as the most universal hypothesis,) if this be the habitation of an infinite Intelligence, the Temple⁶⁴ of God; then must we acknowledge the world was built by him, and, consequently, that *he which built all things is God*.

From hence appears the truth of that distinction, Whatsoever hath any being, is either made or not made: whatsoever is not made, is God; whatsoever is not God, is made. One uncreated and independent Essence; all other depending on it, and created by it. One of eternal and necessary existence; all other indifferent, in respect of actual existing, either to be or not to be, and that indifferency determined only by the free and voluntary act of the first Cause.

Now because to be thus made includes some imperfection,

⁶³ Ὁ αἰσθητὸς οὐρανὸς κόσμος οὐδὲν ἕρα ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ. *Philo de Insomn.* [vol. i. p. 648.] Κόσμος εὐπρεπὴς καὶ ἔτοιμος, αἰσθητὸς οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ. *Idem, de Plant. Noe.* [vol. i. p. 337.] Θεῶν τι μέγεθος ὁ κόσμος, καὶ οἶκος θεοῦ αἰσθητὸς. *Idem, de Mundi Incorr.* [vol. ii. p. 509.]

⁶⁴ Lucretius calls the heavens, —*Mundi magnum et versatile templum.* De Rer. Nat. lib. v. ver. 1435. Τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερὸν θεοῦ νομίζει τὸν σύμπαντα χρῆ κόσμον εἶναι. *Philo de Monarch.* [lib. ii. vol. ii. p. 222.]

and among the parts of the world some are more glorious than others; if those which are most perfect presuppose a Maker, then can we not doubt of a creation where we find far less perfection. This house of God, though uniform, yet is not all of the same materials, the footstool and the throne are not of the same mould; there is a vast difference between the heavenly expansions. This first aerial heaven, where God setteth up his pavilion, where *he maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind*, is not so far inferior in place as it is in glory to the next, the seat of the sun and moon, the two great lights, and stars innumerable, far greater than the one of them. And yet that second heaven is not so far above the first as beneath the third, into which St. Paul was caught. The brightness of the sun doth not so far surpass the blackness of a wandering cloud, as the glory of that Heaven of presence surmounts the fading beauty of the starry firmament. For in this great Temple of the World, in which the Son of God is the High Priest, the Heaven which we see is but the Veil, and that which is above, the Holy of Holies. This Veil indeed is rich and glorious, but one day to be rent, and then to admit us into a far greater glory, even to the Mercy-seat and Cherubins. For this third Heaven is the *proper habitation* of the blessed Angels, which constantly attend upon the Throne. And if those most glorious and happy spirits, those *morning stars which sang together, those sons of God which shouted for joy when the foundations of the earth were laid*, if they and their habitation were made; then can we no ways doubt of the production of all other creatures, so much inferior unto them.

Forasmuch then as the Angels are termed the *sons of God*, it sufficiently denoteth that they are from him, not of themselves; all filiation inferring some kind of production: and being God hath but one proper and only-begotten Son, whose propriety and singularity consisteth in this, that he is of the same increated essence with the Father, all other offspring must be made, and consequently even the Angels created sons; of whom the Scripture speaking saith, *Who maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire*. For although those words, as first spoken by the Psalmist, do rather express the nature of the wind and lightning: yet being the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews hath applied the same to the Angels properly so called, we cannot but conclude upon his authority, that the same God who

Amos iv. *created the wind, and made a way for the lightning of the thunder,*
 13. hath also produced those glorious spirits; and as he furnished
 Job xxviii. them with that activity there expressed, so did he frame the
 26. subject of it, their immaterial and immortal essence.

If then the angels and their proper habitation, the far most eminent and illustrious parts of the world, were made; if only to be made be one character of imperfection; much more must we acknowledge all things of inferior nature to have dependence on their universal Cause, and consequently this great universe, or all things, to be made, beside that one who made them.

This is the first part of our Christian Faith, against some of the ancient Philosophers, who were so wildly fond of those things they see, that they imagined the Universe⁶⁵ to be infinite and eternal, and, what will follow from it, to be even God himself. It is true that the most ancient of the Heathen were not of this opinion, but all the Philosophy for many ages delivered the world to have been made⁶⁶.

⁶⁵ 'Mundum, et hoc quod nomine alio cælum appellare libuit, cujus circumflexu teguntur cuncta, numen esse credi par est, æternum, immensum, neque genitum, neque interitum unquam.' *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. i.*

⁶⁶ Γενόμενον μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες εἶναί φασιν, says Aristotle, *de Cælo, lib. i. cap. 10.* [§. 2.] confessing it the general opinion that the world was made. Which was so ancient a tradition of all the first Philosophers, that from Linus, Musæus, Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, and the rest, they all mention the original of the world, entitling their books, *Κοσμογονία*, or *Θεογονία*, or the like. Εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ φασιν οὐθέν ἀγένητον εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντα γήγενσθαι γενόμενα δὲ, τὰ μὲν ἀφθαρτα διαμένειν, τὰ δὲ πάλιν φθίρεισθαι: μάλιστα μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἡσίοδον εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολογήσαντες, says Aristotle, *de Cælo, lib. iii. cap. i.* [§. 7.] In which words he manifestly attributes the doctrine of the creation of the world, not only to Hesiod, but to all the first natural philosophers: which learning, beginning with Prometheus the first professor of that science, continued in that family amongst the Atlantidae, who all successively delivered that truth. After them

the Ionian philosophy did acknowledge it, and the Italian received it by Pythagoras, whose scholars all maintained it beside Ocellus Lucanus, the first of them that fancied the world not made, whom Plato, though he much esteemed him, yet followed not; for there is nothing more evident than that he held the world was made. Λέγωμεν δὴ, δι' ἣντινα αἰτίαν γέγενεν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τὸδε ὁ ξυριστὰς ξυνέστησεν ἀγαθὸς ἦν. [Plato. *Timæus*, p. 29 D.] In which words he delivers not only the generation of the universe, but also the true cause thereof, which is the goodness of God. For he which asks this plain and clear question, Πότερον ἦν ἀεὶ, γενέσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχων οὐδεμίαν, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρχάμενος; and answers the question briefly with a γέγονεν [p. 28 B.] he which gives this general rule upon it, Τῷ δ' αὖ γενομένῳ φημὲν ὑπ' αἰτίου τινὸς ἀνάγκην εἶναι γενέσθαι: and then immediately concludes, Τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὐρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὐρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν [ibid.] cannot (notwithstanding all the shifts of his Greek expositors) be imagined to have conceived the world not made. And Aristotle, who best understood him, tells us clearly his opinion; Ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ, (from whence I cited the precedent

When this tradition of the creation of the world was delivered in all places down successively by those which seriously considered the frame of all things, and the difference of the most ancient Poets and Philosophers from Moses was only in the manner of expressing it; those which in after-ages first denied it, made use of very frivolous and inconcluding arguments, grounding their new opinion upon weak foundations.

For that which in the first place they take for granted as an axiom of undoubted truth, that *Whatsoever hath a beginning must have an end*⁶⁷, and consequently, *Whatsoever shall have no end had no beginning*, is grounded upon no general reason, but only upon particular observation of such things here below, as from the ordinary way of generation tend in some space of time unto corruption. From whence, seeing no tendency to corruption in several parts of the world, they conclude that it was never generated, nor had any cause or original of its being. Whereas, if we would speak properly, future existence or non-existence hath no such relation unto the first production. Neither is there any contradiction that at the same time one thing may begin to be, and last but for an hour, another continue for a thousand years, a third beginning at the same instant remain for ever: the difference being either in the nature of the things so made, or in the determinations of the will of him that made them. Notwithstanding then their universal rules, which are not true but in some limited particulars, it is most certain the whole world was made, and of it part shall perish, part continue unto all eternity; by which something which had a beginning shall have an end, and something not.

The second fallacy which led them to this novelty was the very name of *universe*, which comprehendeth in it all things; from whence they reasoned thus⁶⁸: If the world or universe were made, then were all things made; and if the world shall be dissolved, then all things shall come to nothing: which is impossible. For if all things were made, then must either all, or at least something, have made itself, and so have been the cause

words,) *ἐκεῖ γὰρ φησὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν* (where by the way observe that in Plato's *Timæus οὐρανὸς* and *κόσμος* are made synonymous) *γενέσθαι μὲν, οὐ μὴν φθαρτόν.* [de *Cælo*, lib. i. cap. x. §. 12.]

⁶⁷ Ocellus Lucanus, *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς φύσεως*, which book Aristotle hath

made use of, and transcribed in many parts.

⁶⁸ Τὸ γὰρ δὲ πᾶν γινόμενον οὖν πᾶσι γίνεται, καὶ τὸ φθιρόμενον οὖν πᾶσι φθιρεται: καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ δὲ ἀδύνατον, ἀναρχὸν ἔρα καὶ ἀτελεύτητον τὸ πᾶν. *Ocell.* [c. i. §. 3. p. 7.]

of itself as of the effect, and the effect of itself as of the cause, and consequently in the same instant both have been and not been; which is a contradiction. But this fallacy is easily discovered: for when we say the Universe, or all things, were made, we must be always understood to except him who made all things, neither can we by that name be supposed to comprehend more than the frame of heaven and earth, and all things contained in them; and so he which first devised this argument hath himself acknowledged⁶⁹.

Far more gross was that third conceit, that if the world were ever made, it must be after the vulgar way of ordinary natural generations: in which two mutations are observable⁷⁰, the first from less to greater, or from worse to better; the second from greater to less, or from better to worse. (The beginning of the first mutation is called generation, the end of it perfection: the beginning of the second is from the same perfection, but concludeth in corruption or dissolution.) But none⁷¹ hath ever yet observed that this frame of the world did ever grow up from less to greater, or improve itself from worse to better: nor can we now perceive that it becomes worse or less than it was, by which decretion we might guess at a former increase, and from a tendency to corruption collect its original generation. This conceit, I say, is far more gross. For certainly the argument so managed proves nothing at all, but only this, (if yet it prove so much,) that the whole frame of the world, and the parts thereof which are of greater perfection, were not generated in that manner in which we see some other parts of it are: which certainly no man denies. But that there can be no other way of production beside these petty generations, or that the world was⁵² not some other way actually produced, this argument doth not endeavour to infer, nor can any other prove it.

69 Τὸ δὲ γε ὕλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὀνομάζω τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἐτύχε ταύτης, ἐκ τῶν ἀπάντων δὴ κοσμηθείς. *Ocell.* [c. i. §. 8. p. 12.]

70 Πᾶν τὸ γενέσθω ἀρχὴν εἰληφὸς, καὶ διαλύσθωσιν ὀφείλων κοινωνήσαι, δύο ἐπιδέχεται μεταβαλάς· μίαν μὲν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μείονος ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον—δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ μείζονος ἐπὶ τὸ μείον, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίονος ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον—Ἐὰν οὖν καὶ

τὸ ὕλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν γεννητὸν ἔστι καὶ φθαρτὸν, γενόμενον, ἀπὸ τοῦ μείονος ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον μετέβαλε, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. *Ocell.* [c. i. §. 4. p. 8.]

71 Τὸ δὲ γε ὕλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παρέχεται τεκμήριον τοιοῦτον· οὔτε γὰρ γενόμενον αὐτὸ εἶδομεν, οὔτε μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τὸ μείζον μεταβάλλον, οὔτε χείρον ποτε ἢ μείον γενόμενον· ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτο καὶ ὡσαύτως διατελεῖ, καὶ ἴσον καὶ ἴσιον αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ. *Ocell.* [c. i. §. 6. p. 11.]

The next foundation upon which they cast off the constant doctrine of their predecessors, was that general assertion, That it is impossible⁷² for any thing to be produced out of nothing, or to be reduced unto nothing: from whence it will inevitably follow, that the matter of this world hath always been, and must always be. The clear refutation of which difficulty requires an explication of the manner how the world was made: the second part before propounded for the exposition of this Article.

Now that the true nature and manner of this action may be so far understood as to declare the Christian Faith, and refute the errors of all opposers, it will be necessary to consider it first with reference to the Object or Effect; secondly, in relation to the Cause or Agent; thirdly, with respect unto the Time or Origination of it.

The action by which the Heaven and Earth were made, considered in reference to the effect, I conceive to be the production of their total being; so that whatsoever entity they had when made, had no real existence before they were so made. And this manner of production we usually term *creation*, as excluding all concurrence of any material cause, and all dependence of any kind of subject, as presupposing no privation, as including no motion, as signifying a production out of nothing⁷³; that is, by which something is made, and not any thing preceding out of which it is made. This is the proper and peculiar sense of the word *creation*: not that it signifies so much by virtue of its origination or vulgar use in the Latin tongue⁷⁴; nor that the Hebrew word used by Moses, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*, hath of itself any such peculiar acception. For it is often used synonymously⁷⁵ with words which signify

72 Ἀμήχανον γὰρ τὸ ἐν ἀποτελέσθαι ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων, ἢ εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀναλυθῆναι· ἄφθαρτον ἔρα καὶ ἀνώλεθρον τὸ πᾶν. *Ocell.* [c. i. p. 16.]

73 So I conceive it best expressed by Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury: 'Dicitur aliquid esse factum de nihilo, cum intelligimus esse quidem factum, sed non esse aliquid unde sit factum. *Monolog. cap. 8.* [p. 7 A.]

74 'Creatio apud nos generatio vel nativitas dicitur, apud Græcos vero sub nomine creationis verbum *facturæ* et *conditionis* accipitur.' *S. Hieron. in Epist. ad Eph. cap. 4.* [vol. vii. p. 626 E.]

75 ברא is promiscuously used with

פשו, which is of the greatest latitude, denoting any kind of effectation, and with יצר, which rather implies a formation out of something, from whence יצר a potter. For the first, we read Gen. ii. 3. that God rested from all his work יָנוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מִכָּל עֲשָׂוֹ, not that on the sixth day he did the work of two days, that he might rest on the seventh, as Rabbi Solomon [on Gen. ii. 3, quoted from the Bereshit Rabba]; not that in six days he made the roots of things that they might afterward produce the like, as Aben Ezra [Comm. on Gen. ii. 3.]; not these or any other fancies of the Rabbins; as if ברא signified one

any kind of production or formation, and by itself it seldom denotes a production out of nothing, or proper creation, but most frequently the making of one substance out of another preexisting, as the fishes of the water, and man of the dust of the earth; the renovating or restoring any thing to its former perfection, for want of Hebrew words in composition; or, lastly, the doing some new or wonderful work⁷⁶, the producing some strange and admirable effect, as the opening the mouth of the earth, and the signal judgments on the people of Israel.

We must not therefore weakly collect the true nature of creation from the force of any word which by some may be thought to express so much; but we must collect it from the testimony of God the Creator, in his word, and of the world created, in our reason*. The opinion of the church of the Jews will sufficiently appear in that zealous mother to her seventh and youngest son; I beseech thee, my son, look upon the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, and consider that God made them of things that were not: which is a clear description of creation, that is, production out of nothing. But because this is not by all received as Canonical, we shall therefore evince it by the undoubted testimony of St. Paul, who expressing the nature of Abraham's faith, poundeth him whom he believed as God who quickeneth the dead,

work, and עשה another; for they both express the production, as appears clearly in the following verse, *These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth, when they were created, ביום בראתם* when they were created, ביום בראתם *in the day that the Lord God made the heavens and the earth.* So Isa. xlv. 12. *I have made the earth, and created man upon it:* where the first expresseth the proper, the second the improper creation. Which indifferent acception appeareth in collating Psal. cxv. 15. and cxxi. 2. with Isa. xlii. 5. and xlv. 18. as also Isa. xvii. 7. with Eccl. xii. 1. From whence the LXX. translate ברא indifferently ποιεν or κτισεν. For the second, ברא is usually rendered by the Targum ברא, and by the LXX. though generally πλαττει, yet sometimes κτισεν. And that it hath the same signification will appear by conferring Gen.

ii. 7. with Isa. xlv. 12. and not only so, but by that single verse, Isa. xliii. 1. *Now thus saith the Lord, בראך that created thee, O Jacob, ויצרך and he that formed thee, O Israel.* Lastly, all these are jointly used in the same validity of expression, Isa. xliii. 7. *Every one that is called by my name: for בראתי I have created him for my glory, יצרתיו I have formed him, יעשיתיו I have made him.*

⁷⁶ 'Creatio atque conditio nunquam nisi in magnis operibus nominentur: verbi causa, mundus creatus est, urbs condita est, domus vero, quamvis magna sit, aedificata potius dicitur, quam condita vel creata. In magnis enim operibus atque facturis verbum creationis assumitur.' *S. Hieron. in Epist. ad Eph. cap. 4. [vol. vii. p. 627 A.]*

* [i. e. the word of God, or the scripture, will give us the testimony of God himself; our reason will enable us to collect another testimony from the material creation.

and calleth those things which be not, as though they were. For as to be called in the language of the Scripture is to be, (*Behold* John iii. 1. *what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God, saith St. John in his Epistle, who in his Gospel told us, he had given us power to become the sons of God*;) so to call is to make, or cause to be. As where the Prophet Jeremy saith, *Thou hast caused all this evil to come upon them, the original may be thought to speak no more than this,* ²³ *Thou hast caused this evil to them.* He therefore calleth those things which be not, as if they were, who maketh those things which were not, to be, and produceth that which hath a being out of that which had not, that is, out of nothing. This reason, generally persuasive unto Faith, is more peculiarly applied by the Apostle to the belief of the creation: for *through faith, saith he, we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.* Not as if the earth, which we see, were made of air; or any more subtil body, which we see not; nor as if those things which are seen were in equal latitude commensurable with the worlds which were framed: but that those things which are seen, that is, which are, were made of those which did not appear⁷⁷, that is, which were not.

Vain therefore was that opinion of a real matter coeval with God as necessary for production of the world by way of subject, as the eternal and Almighty God by way of efficient. For if some real and material being must be presupposed by indispensable necessity, without which God could not cause any thing to be, then is not he independent in his actions, nor of infinite power and absolute activity, which is contradictory to the divine perfection. Nor can any reason be alleged why he should be dependent in his operation, who is confessed independent in his being.

And as this coeternity of matter opposeth God's Independency, the proper notion of the Deity, so doth it also contradict his

⁷⁷ For I take μη ἐκ φαινομένων in this place to be equivalent unto οὐκ ἐξ ὄντων in the Maccabees, and that of the same sense with ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, as the Syriac translation, *לולא מן אילין* *ex eis quae non conspiciuntur.* Which manner of speech may be observed even in the best Greek authors: as in Aristotle, *Nat. Auscult. lib. v. cap. 2. §. 8. Μετα-*

βάλλοι ἀν τὸ μεταβάλλον τετραχῶς ἢ γὰρ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ὑποκείμενον, ἢ οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς οὐχ ὑποκείμενον, ἢ μη ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς ὑποκείμενον, ἢ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου εἰς μη ὑποκείμενον. Where οὐκ ἐξ ὑποκειμένου is the same with ἐξ οὐχ ὑποκειμένου, and μη ἐξ ὑποκειμένου with ἐξ μη ὑποκειμένου. [In Bekker's edition there is a different reading of this passage.]

All-sufficiency. For if without the production of something beside himself he cannot make a demonstration of his attributes, or cause any sensibility of his power and will for the illustration of his own glory; and if without something distinct wholly from himself he cannot produce any thing, then must he want⁷⁸ something external: and whosoever wanteth any thing is not all-sufficient. And certainly he must have a low opinion and poor conception of the infinite and eternal God, who thinks he is no otherwise known to be Omnipotent than by the benefit of another⁷⁹. Nor were the framers of the Creed so wise in prefixing the *Almighty* before *Maker of heaven and earth*, if, out⁵⁴ of a necessity of material concurrence, the making of them left a mark of impotency rather than omnipotency.

The supposition then of an eternal matter is so unnecessary where God works, and so derogatory to the infinity of his power, and all-sufficiency of himself, that the later Philosophers⁸⁰, something acquainted with the truth which we profess, though rejecting Christianity, have reprov'd those of the school of Plato, who delivered, as the doctrine of their master, an eternal companion, so injurious to the Father and Maker of all things.

Wherefore to give an answer to that general position, that *out of nothing nothing can be produced*, which Aristotle⁸¹ pretends to

78 'Nemo enim non eget eo de cuius utitur; nemo non subicitur ei cuius eget, ut possit uti: sic et nemo de alieno utendo, non minor est eo de cuius utitur; et nemo qui prestat de suo uti, non in hoc superior est eo cui prestat uti.' *Tertul. adv.-Hermog. cap. 8.* [p. 236 A.]

79 'Grande revera beneficium Deo contulit, ut haberet hodie per quem Deus cognosceretur et omnipotens vocaretur: nisi quod jam non omnipotens, si non et hoc potens, ex nihilo omnia proferre.' *Ibid.* [p. 236 B.] 'Quo igitur ab homine divina illa vis differret, si, ut homo, sic etiam Deus ope indiget aliena? indiget autem, si nihil moliri potest, nisi ab altero illi materia ministretur.'

Lactan. lib. ii. cap. 9. [c. 8. vol. i. p. 121.]

80 As Hierocles, Καὶ τὴ καταλέγω σοι τοὺτους; ὅπου γὰρ καὶ τῶν Πλατωνικῶν τινὲς οὐκ ἔρθησαν τὴν περὶ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ διασώζουσαν ἔννοιαν; οὐ γὰρ ἰκανὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι φήθησαν, αὐτοτελεῶς ὑποστήσαι δύνασθαι κόσμον οἰκεῖν δυνάμει καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐξ αἰδίου ἐνεργούντα· ἀλλ' ἀγεννήτου ἔλης συνεργείᾳ· καὶ τῇ μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑποστάσει φύσει καταχρόμενον, μόνως δημιουργεῖν δύνασθαι. *De Provid. et Fato.* [p. 246.]

81 Πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι ἢ ἐξ ὄντων ἢ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων· τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γίνεσθαι ἀδύνατον· περὶ γὰρ ταύτης ὁμολογοῦνοσσι τῆς δόξης ἅπαντες οἱ περὶ φύσεως. *Phys. lib. iv. cap. 1**. [lib. i. c. iv. §. 4.]

* [It is well observed by Barrow, that "it is nowise harder, nor more impossible, to produce matter itself, than to produce a form therein, without or against its aptitude to receive it: nay, it seems more difficult to make children to Abraham out of stones, than to make them out of nothing: there being a positive obstacle to be removed; here no resistance appearing; there being as well somewhat preceding to be destroyed, as something new to be produced." Vol. vi. p. 198.]

be the opinion of all natural Philosophers, I must first observe, that this universal proposition was first framed out of particular considerations of the works of art and nature. For if we look upon all kinds of artificers⁸², we find they cannot give any specimen of their art without materials. Being then the beauty and uniformity of the world shews it to be a piece of art most exquisite, hence they concluded that the Maker of it was the most exact Artificer⁸³, and consequently had his matter from all eternity prepared for him. Again, considering the works of nature and all parts of the world subject to generation and corruption, they also observed⁸⁴ that nothing is ever generated but out of something preexistent, nor is there any mutation wrought but in a subject, and with a presupposed capability of alteration. From hence they presently collected, that if the whole world were ever generated, it must have been produced out of some subject, and consequently there must be a matter eternally pre-existing.

Now what can be more irrational, than from the weakness of some creature to infer the same imbecility in the Creator, and to measure the arm of God by the finger of man? Whatsoever speaketh any kind of excellency or perfection in the artificer, may be attributed unto God: whatsoever signifieth any infirmity, or involveth any imperfection, must be excluded from the notion of him. That wisdom, prescience, and preconception, that order and beauty of operation which is required in an artist, is most eminently contained in him, who hath *ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight*: but if the most absolute idea in the artificer's understanding be not sufficient to produce his design without hands to work, and materials to make use of, it will follow no more that God is necessarily tied unto preexisting matter, than that he is really compounded of corporeal parts.

Again, it is as incongruous to judge of the production of

82 'Ut igitur faber cum quid ædificaturus est, non ipse facit materiam, sed ea utitur quæ sit parata, factorque item cera: sic isti providentiæ divinæ materiam præsto esse oportuit, non quam ipse faceret, sed quam haberet paratam.' *Cicero de Nat. Deorum.* [Fragm. ap. Lact. ii. 8.] 'Ἀπεικαστέον τῷ μὲν θεῷ τὸν τεχνίτην, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα τῷ κόσμῳ. *Method. περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν.* [in Photii Bibl. 235. p. 303.]

83 So Hierocles calls him κοσμοποιὸν καὶ ἀριστότεχρον θεόν. *in Δωρ. Carm.* [v. i. p. 14.]

84 "Ὅτι δὲ αἱ οὐσίαι, καὶ ὅσα ἕλλα ἀπλῶς ὄντα ἐξ ὑποκειμένου τινὸς γίνονται, ἐπισκοποῦντι γένοιτ' ἐν φανερόν· αἰὲ γὰρ ἐστὶ τι δὲ ὑπόκειται, ἐξ οὗ γίνονται τὸ γινόμενον, οἷον τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἐκ σπέρματος. *Aristot. Phys. lib. i. cap. 7.* §. 6.

the world by those parts thereof which we see subject to generation and corruption: and thence to conclude, that if it ever had a cause of the being which it hath, it must have been generated in the same manner which they are; and if that cannot be, it must never have been made at all. For nothing is more certain than that this manner of generation cannot possibly have been the first production even of those things which are now generated. We see the plants grow from a seed; that is their ordinary way of generation: but the first plant could not be so generated, because all seed in the same course of nature is from the preexisting plant. We see from spawn the fishes, and from eggs the fowls receive now the original of their being: but 55 this could not at first be so, because both spawn and egg are as naturally from precedent fish and fowl. Indeed because the seed is separable from the body of the plant, and in that separation may long contain within itself a power of germination; because the spawn and egg are sejungible from the fish and fowl, and yet still retain the prolific power of generation; therefore some might possibly conceive that these seminal bodies might be originally scattered on the earth, out of which the first of all those creatures should arise. But in viviparous animals, whose offspring is generated within themselves, whose seed by separation from them loseth all its seminal or prolific power, this is not only improbable but inconceivable. And therefore being the Philosophers⁸⁵ themselves confess, that whereas now all animals are generated by the means of seed, and that the animals themselves must be at first before the seed

⁸⁵ These words of Aristotle are very observable, in which he disputes against Speusippus and the Pythagoreans, who thought the rudiments of things first made, out of which they grew unto perfection: "Ὅσοι δὲ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Σπεύσιππος, τὸ ἄριστον καὶ κάλλιστον μὴ ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶναι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ζώων τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰτία μὲν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καλὸν καὶ τὸ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς ἐκ τούτων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴονται· τὸ γὰρ σπέρμα ἐξ ἑτέρων ἐστὶ πρότερον τελείων· καὶ τὸ πρῶτον οὐ σπέρμα ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλειον. οἷον πρότερον ἄνθρωπον ἢ φάινε τις εἶναι τοῦ σπέρματος, οὐ τὴν ἐκ τούτου γεννώμενον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἐξ οὗ τὸ σπέρμα. *Metaph. lib. xi. cap. 7. [§. 10.]* By which words Aristotle hath sufficiently destroyed his own argument, which

we produced before out of the first of the Physics, and is excellently urged in that philosophical piece attributed unto Justin Martyr: *Εἰ πρῶτόν ἐστι τὸ σπείρον σπέρμα, καὶ ὕστερον τὸ ἐκ σπέρματος γιγνόμενον, καὶ γενητὰ ἀμφοτέρα, τῇ μὲν γενέσει τοῦ κειμένου ἐκ σπέρματος γιγνόμενου ὑπόκειται τὸ σπέρμα· τῇ δὲ γενέσει τοῦ σπείραντος ὑποκείσθαι τὸ σπέρμα οὐ δυνατόν. οὐκ ἄρα αἰετὰ τὰ ζῶα καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ἐκ σπέρματος γίνονται. *Aristot. Dogm. Evers. [i. p. 550C.]* "Ὅθεν οὐθεὶς λέγει τοῦ σπέρματος εἶναι τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲ τοῦ ὡοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀλεκτορίδα· τῆς δὲ ἀλεκτορίδος τὸ ὡὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λέγεται. *Plutarch. Sympos. lib. ii. Probl. 3. [vol. ii. p. 636 F.]**

proceeding from them; it followeth that there was some way of production antecedent to and differing from the common way of generation; and, consequently, what we see done in this generation can be no certain rule to understand the first production. Being then that universal maxim, that *nothing can be made of nothing*, is merely calculated for the meridian of natural causes, raised solely out of observation of continuing creatures by successive generation, which could not have been so continued without a being antecedent to all such succession; it is most evident it can have no place in the production of that antecedent or first being, which we call Creation.

Now when we thus describe the nature of creation, and under the name of *heaven and earth* comprehend all things contained in them, we must distinguish between things created. For some were made immediately out of nothing, by a proper, some only mediately, as out of something formerly made out of nothing, by an improper kind of creation. By the first were made all immaterial substances, all the orders of angels, and the souls of men, the heavens, and the simple or elemental bodies, as the earth, the water, and the air. *In the beginning* Gen. i. 1. *God created the heaven and the earth; so in the beginning, as without any preexisting or antecedent matter: this earth, when so in the beginning made, was without form and void,* covered Gen. i. 2. with waters likewise made, not out of it but with it, the same which, *when the waters were gathered together unto one place, appeared as dry land.* By the second⁸⁶, *all the hosts of the earth, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea; Let the earth,* Verse 9. *said God, bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind. Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth; and more expressly yet, Out of the ground God* Gen. ii. 19. *formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air. And well may we grant these plants and animals to have their origination from such principles, when we read, God formed man* Verse 7. *of the dust of the ground; and said unto him whom he created in his own image, Dust thou art.* Gen. iii. 19.

Having thus declared the notion of creation in respect of those things which were created, the next consideration is of

⁸⁶ 'Hic visibilis mundus ex materia tor's reading,] factus est et ornatus.' quæ a Deo facta fuerat, [ex his quæ *Gennad. [Eccl. Dogm.] cap. 10. [p. creata fuerant* is the Benedictine edi- 77 C.]

that action in reference to the Agent who created all things. Him therefore we may look upon first as moved; secondly, as 56 free under that motion; thirdly, as determining under that freedom, and so performing of that action. In the first we may see his goodness, in the second his will, in the third his power.

I do not here introduce any external impulsive cause, as moving God unto the creation of the world; for I have presupposed all things distinct from him to have been produced out of nothing by him, and consequently to be posterior not only to the motion but the actuation of his will. Being then nothing can be antecedent to the creature beside God himself, neither can any thing be a cause of any of his actions but what is in him; we must not look for any thing extrinsecal unto him, but wholly acquiesce in his infinite goodness, as the only moving and im-

Matt. xix.
17.

pulling cause. *There is none good but one, that is God*⁸⁷, saith our Saviour; none originally, essentially, infinitely, independently good, but he. Whatsoever goodness is found in any creature is but by way of emanation from that fountain, whose very being is diffusive, whose nature consists in the communication of itself. In the end of the sixth day *God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good*: which shews the end of creating all things thus good was the communication of that by which they were, and appeared, so.

Gen. i. 31.

The ancient Heathens have acknowledged this truth⁸⁸, but with such disadvantage, that from thence they gathered an undoubted error. For from the goodness of God, which they did not unfitly conceive necessary, infinite, and eternal, they collected that whatsoever dependeth of it must be as necessary and eternal⁸⁹, even as light must be as ancient as the sun, and

⁸⁷ Ἄλλο γὰρ τὸ ἐπικτητὸν ἀγαθὸν, ἄλλο τὸ καθ' ἑξὶν ἀγαθὸν, ἄλλο τὸ πρῶτως ἀγαθόν. *Proclus in Timæum*. [lib. ii. p. 110 D.] Τὸ δὲ αὐτοαγαθὸν πρῶτως ἀγαθόν. *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ As Plato, *Λέγωμεν δὴ δι' ἣν τινα αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τὸδε ὁ ξυνοστάς ξυνέστησεν· ἀγαθὸς ἦν. ἀγαθὸς δ' οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· τοῦτου δ' ἐκτὸς ἂν πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ· ταύτην δὲ γενέσεως καὶ κόσμου μάλιστα ἂν τις ἀρχὴν κυριωτάτην παρ' ἀνδρῶν φρονιμῶν ἀποδεχόμενος, ὁρθότατα ἀποδέχοιτο ἂν. *In Timæo*. [p. 29 D.] Αἰτία γὰρ τῆς τῶν πάντων ποιήσεως οὐδεμία*

ἄλλη πρόσεστιν εὐλογος, πλὴν τῆς καθ' οὐσίαν ἀγαθότητος. *Hieroc. in Aur. Carm.* [v. i. p. 20.] Αἱ γὰρ παρὰ τὴν ἀγαθότητα λεγόμενα αἰτίαι τῆς δημιουργίας τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς, ἀνθρωπίνως μάλλον περιστασεσιν ἢ τῷ θεῷ πρόπεουσιν. *Ib.*

⁸⁹ Ἀνάγκη διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα ὄντος τοῦ κόσμου, ἀεὶ τε τὸν θεὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὸν κόσμον ὑπάρχειν· ὥσπερ ἡλίω μὲν καὶ πυρὶ συνυφίσταται φῶς, σώματι δὲ σκιά. *Sallust. de Diis et Mundo*, cap. 7. [p. 24.] Εἰ γὰρ ἕμεινον μὴ ποιεῖν, πῶς εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν μεταβέβηκεν; εἰ δὲ τὸ ποιεῖν, τί μὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐπραττεν; *Hieroc. de Fato et Provid.* [p. 248]. Neither doth he mean any less, when in his

a shadow as an opacous body in that light. If then there be no instant imaginable before which God was not infinitely good, then can there likewise be none conceivable before which the world was not made. And thus they thought the goodness of the Creator must stand or fall with the eternity of the creature.

For the clearing of which ancient mistake, we must observe, that as God is essentially and infinitely good without any mixture of deficiency, so is he in respect of all external actions or emanations absolutely free without the least necessity. Those bodies which do act without understanding or preconception of what they do, as the sun and fire give light and heat, work always to the utmost of their power, nor are they able at any time to suspend their action. To conceive any such necessity in the divine

sense he thus describes the first cause of all things: 'Ἔστ' ἂν (so I read it, not ἐστ', ἂν, as the printed copies, or ἔως ἂν, as Curterius) ἢ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῶν αἰτίον ἀμετάβλητον πάντα καὶ ἄτρεπτον, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τὴν αὐτὴν κεκτημένον, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα οὐκ ἐπικτητὸν ἔχον, ἀλλ' οὐσιωμένη καθ' αὐτὴν, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν [αὐτῆς in Needham's edition] τὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ εἶναι παράγον· (so I read it, not πάντων πρὸς τὸ εἶναι, as the printed.) *Hieroc. in Aur. Carm.* [v. i. p. 20.] Συνήρηται ἄρα τῇ μὲν ἀγαθότητι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τῆς προνοίας ἐκτένεια· ταύτη δὲ ἢ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ διαιώνιος ποιήσις· ταύτη δὲ ἢ τοῦ παντὸς κατὰ τὸν ἀπειρον αἰδιότης.—καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ταύτην τε ἀναρεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα τοῦ πεποιηκότος. *Proclus in Timæum*. [lib. ii. p. 111 E.] Now although this be the constant argumentation of the later Platonists, yet they found no such deduction or consequence in their master Plato; and I something incline to think, though it may seem very strange, that they received it from the Christians, I mean out of the School of Ammonius at Alexandria; whom though Porphyrius would make an apostate, for the credit of his heathen gods, yet St. Jerome hath sufficiently assured us that he lived and died in the Christian faith.* The reason of my con-

jecture is no more than this: Proclus acknowledgeth that Plutarch and others, though with Plato they maintained the goodness of God to be the cause of the world, yet withal denied the eternity of it: and when he quotes other expositors for his own opinion, he produceth none but Porphyrius and Iamblichus, the eldest of which was the scholar of Plotinus the disciple of Ammonius. And that he was of that opinion, I collect from him who was his scholar both in philosophy and divinity, that is, Origen, whose judgment, if it were not elsewhere apparent, is sufficiently known by the Fragment of Methodius, *Peri γεννητῶν*, preserved in Photius [Bibl. 235. p. 302]. Ὅτι ὁ Ὀριγένης, ὃν κένταυρον καλεῖ, ἔλεγε συναίδιον εἶναι τῷ μόνῳ σοφῷ καὶ ἀπροσδεῖ θεῷ τὸ πᾶν. Being then Porphyrius and Iamblichus cited by Proclus, being Hierocles, Proclus, and Sallustius were all either ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς γενεᾶς, as they called it, that is, descended successively from the School of Ammonius, (the great conciliator of Plato and Aristotle, and reformer of the ancient Philosophy,) or at least contemporary to them that were so; it is most probable that they might receive it from his mouth, especially considering that even Origen a Christian confirmed the same.

* [Eusebius says the same, (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 19.) but the testimony of Porphyrius is preferred by Brucker, Mosheim, &c. There were two persons named Ammonius; one of whom was a Christian writer; the other was founder of the later Platonists.]

operations, were to deny all knowledge in God, to reduce him into a condition inferior to some of the works of his own hands, and to fall under the censure contained in the Psalmist's question, *He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see? he that teacheth man knowledge, shall he not know?* Those creatures which are endued with understanding, and consequently with a will, may not only be necessitated in their actions by a greater power, but also as necessarily be determined by the proposal of an infinite good: whereas neither of these necessities can be acknowledged in God's actions, without supposing a power beside and above Omnipotency, or a real happiness beside and above All-sufficiency. Indeed if God were a necessary Agent in the works of creation, the creatures would be of as necessary being as he is: whereas the necessity of being is the undoubted prerogative of the first Cause. *He worketh all things after the counsel of his own will*, saith the Apostle: and wheresoever counsel is, there is election, or else it is vain; where a will, there must be freedom, or else it is weak. We cannot imagine that the all-wise God should act or produce any thing but what he determineth to produce; and all his determinations must flow from the immediate principle of his will. If then his determinations be free, as they must be coming from that principle, then must the actions which follow them be also free. Being then the goodness of God is absolutely perfect of itself, being he is in himself infinitely and eternally happy, and this happiness as little capable of augmentation as of diminution; he cannot be thought to look upon any thing without himself as determining his will to the desire, and necessitating to the production of it. If then we consider God's Goodness, he was moved; if his All-sufficiency, he was not necessitated: if we look upon his Will, he freely determined; if on his Power, by that determination he created the world.

Wherefore that ancient conceit of a necessary emanation of God's goodness in the eternal creation of the world will now easily be refuted, if we make a distinction in the equivocal notion of goodness. For if we take it as it signifieth a rectitude and excellency of all virtue and holiness, with a negation of all things morally evil, vicious, or unholy; so God is absolutely and necessarily good: but if we take it in another sense, as indeed they did which made this argument, that is, rather for beneficence, or communicativeness of some good to others; then God is not

necessarily, but freely, good, that is to say, profitable and beneficial. For he had not been in the least degree evil or unjust, if he had never made the world or any part thereof, if he had never communicated any of his perfections by framing any thing beside himself. Every proprietary therefore being accounted master of his own, and thought freely to bestow whatever he gives; much more must that one eternal and independent Being be wholly free in the communicating his own perfections without any necessity or obligation. We must then look no farther than the determination of God's will in the creation of the world.

For this is the admirable power of God, that with him to will is to effect, to determine is to perform. So the Elders speak before him that sitteth upon the throne: *Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure (that is, by thy will) they are, and were created.* Where there is no resistance in the object, where no need of preparation, application, or instrumental advantage in the agent, there the actual determination of the will is a sufficient production. Thus God did make the heavens and the earth by willing⁹⁰ them to be. This was his first command unto the creatures, and their existence was their first obedience. *Let there be light*⁹¹, this is the injunction; *and there was light*, Gen. i. 4. that is the creation. Which two are so intimately and immediately the same, that though in our and other translations⁹² those words, *let there be*, which express the command of God, differ from the other, *there was*, which denote the present existence of the creature; yet in the original there is no difference at all, neither in point nor letter. And yet even in the diversity of the translation the phrase seems so expressive of God's infinite power, and immediate efficacy of his will, that it hath raised some admiration of Moses in the enemies⁹³ of the religion both

⁹⁰ So Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of God, *Ψιλῶ τῷ βούλεσθαι δημιουργεῖ, καὶ τῷ μόνον ἐλεῆσαι αὐτὸν ἔπεται τὸ γεγενῆσθαι.* *Protrept.* [c. iv. vol. i. p. 55.]

⁹¹ *Γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ τὸ πρόσταγμα ἔργον ἦν.* *S. Basil.* [In Hexaem. Hom. II. 7. vol. i. p. 19 C.] "Ὅταν δὲ φωνὴ ἐπὶ θεοῦ καὶ βῆμα καὶ πρόσταγμα λέγωμεν,—τὴν ἐν τῷ θελήματι ῥοπήν—ἡγούμεθα ἐν εἰδει προστάγματος σχηματίζεσθαι. *Idem,* in *Hexaem.* [ib.] *Τίνος ὑπουργίας δέοιτο ὁ θελήματι μόνῳ δημιουργῶν, ὁμοῦ τῆ βουλήσει συνυφισταμένης τῆς κτίσεως;*

Idem, lib. ii. adv. Eunom. [§. 21. vol. i. p. 257 B.]

⁹² *As, Γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς. Fiat lux, et facta est lux;* or as Aquila, *Γενέσθω, καὶ ἐγένετο* as Symmachus, *Ἔστω, καὶ ἐγένετο* all with a difference: whereas in the Hebrew it is a most expressive and significant tautology יְהי אור. אור יְהי אור.

⁹³ *As Dionysius Longinus, Περὶ ὕψους, sect. 9. [p. 22.] Ταύτη καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνήρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἐγνώρισε καὶ ἐφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας*

of the Jews and Christians. *God is in the heavens, he hath done whatsoever he pleased*⁹⁴, saith David; yea in the making of the heavens, he therefore created them, because *he pleased*; nay more, he thereby created them, even by willing their creation.

Now although some may conceive the creature might have been produced from all eternity by the free determination of God's will, and it is so far certainly true, that there is no instant assignable before which God could not have made the world; yet as this is an Article of our Faith, we are bound to believe the heavens and earth are not eternal. *Through faith we understand the worlds were framed by the word of God.* And by that faith we are assured, that whatsoever possibility of an eternal existence of the creature may be imagined, actually it had a temporal beginning; and therefore all the arguments for this world's eternity are nothing but so many erroneous misconceptions. *The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old, saith Wisdom. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.* And the same Wisdom of God being made man reflecteth upon the same priority, saying, *Now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.* Yea, in the same Christ are we *blessed with all spiritual blessings, according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world.* The impossibility of the origination of a circular motion, which we are sure is either in the heaven or earth, and the impropriety of the beginning of time, are so poor exceptions, that they deserve not the least labour of refutation. The actual eternity of this world is so far from being necessary, that it is of itself most improbable; and without the infallible certainty of faith, there is no single person carries more evidences of his youth, than the world of its novelty⁹⁵.

It is true indeed, some ancient accounts there are which would persuade us to imagine a strange antiquity of the world, far beyond the annals of Moses, and account of the same Spirit

τῶν νόμων, εἶπεν ὁ θεός, φησί· τί· γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο. Where observe, Longinus made use of the translation of Aquila.

⁹⁴ Πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ· ὅρας ὅτι οὐχὶ πρὸς τὴν δημιουργίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ γῆ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν κτίσιν τῶν ἕνω δυνάμεων ἤρκεσεν ἢ θέλησις αὐτοῦ μόνη; *S. Chry-*

sost. Περὶ τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτου ii. [§. 4. vol. i. p. 457 E.]

⁹⁵ As even Lucretius confesseth, and that out of the principles of Epicurus:

Verum, ut opinor, habet novitatem summa, recensque

Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit.

De Rer. Nat. lib. v. ver. 33.

which made it*. The Egyptian Priests pretended an exact chronology for some myriads of years⁹⁶, and the Chaldeans or Assyrians far out-reckon them⁹⁷, in which they delivered not only a catalogue of their kings, but also a table of the eclipses of the sun and moon⁹⁸.

59 But for their number of years nothing is more certain than their forgery; for the Egyptians did preserve the antiquities of other nations as well as their own, and by the evident fallacy in others have betrayed their own vanity. When Alexander entered Egypt with his victorious army, the Priests could shew him out of their sacred histories an account of the Persian empire, which he gained by conquest, and the Macedonian, which he received by birth, of each for eight thousand years⁹⁹: whereas nothing can be more certain out of the best historical account, than that the Persian empire, whether begun in Cyrus or in Medus, was not then three hundred years old, and the Macedonian, begun in Coranus, not five hundred. They then

⁹⁶ Plato tells us of an account which an Egyptian priest gave to Solon, in which the Athenians were 9000 years old, and those of Sais 8000. *Προτέρων μὲν τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ἔτεσι χίλιαι ἐκ γῆς τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου τὸ σπέρμα παραλαβούσα ἡμῶν, τῆρδε δὲ ὑστέραν· τῆς δὲ ἐνθάδε διακοσμήσεως παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν ὀκτακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸς γέγραπται.* *In Timæo.* [p. 23 D.] Pomponius Mela makes a larger account out of Herodotus: 'Ipsi vetustissimi (ut prædicant) hominum trecentos et triginta reges ante Amasim, et supra tredecim millium annorum ætates certis annalibus; [lib. i. cap. ix. §. 8.] where, as the Egyptians much stretch the truth, so doth Mela stretch the relation of Herodotus, who makes it not 13,000, but 11,340 years. [ii. 142.] Diodorus Siculus [i. 26.] tells us of 23,000 years from the reign of the first king of Egypt to the expedition of Alexander; and Diogenes Laertius, out of other authors, more than doubles that account.

Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν γὰρ Νείλου γενέσθαι παῖδα Ἡφαιστου, ὃν ἔρξα φιλοσοφίας, ἧς τοὺς προεστῶτας ἱερέας εἶναι καὶ προφήτας· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακέδονα

ἐτῶν εἶναι μυριάδας τέσσαρας, καὶ ὀκτακισχίλια ὀκτακόσια ἔτη ἐξήκοντα τρία. [Proem. §. 1, 2.]

⁹⁷ Ἀσσύριοι δέ, φησιν Ἰάμβλιχος, οὐχ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδας ἐτῶν μόνως ἐτήρησαν, ὡς φησιν Ἰππάρχος· ἀλλὰ καὶ διας ἀποκαταστάσεις καὶ περιόδους τῶν ἑπτὰ κοσμοκρατῶρων μὴμῃ παρέδωσαν. *Proclus in Timæum.* [lib. i. p. 31 C.]

⁹⁸ Ἐν οἷς ἡλίον μὲν ἐκλείψει γενέσθαι τριακοσίας ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς, σελήνης δὲ ὀκτακοσίους τριάκοντα δύο. *Diog. Laert.* [Proem. §. 2.]

⁹⁹ This fallacy appeareth by an epistle which Alexander wrote to his mother Olympias, mentioned by Athenagoras, Minucius Felix, St. Cyprian, and St. Augustin. 'Persarum autem et Macedonum imperium usque ad ipsum Alexandrum, cui loquebatur, plus quam octo millium annorum ['octo et annorum millium' in the Bened. ed.] ille constituit; cum apud Græcos Macedonum usque ad mortem Alexandri quadringenti octoginta quinque reperiantur; Persarum vero, donec ipsius Alexandri victoria finiretur, ducenti et triginta tres computentur.' *S. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xii. cap. 10.* [vol. vii. p. 309 C.]

* [i. e. far beyond also the account given by persons who were inspired by the same Spirit which made the world.]

which made so large additions to advance the antiquity of other nations, and were so bold as to present them to those which so easily might refute them, (had they not delighted to be deceived to their own advantage, and took much pleasure in an honourable cheat,) may without any breach of charity be suspected to have extended the account much higher for the honour of their own country. Beside, their catalogues must needs be ridiculously incredible, when the Egyptians make their first kings' reigns above one thousand two hundred years apiece¹, and the Assyrians theirs above forty thousand*; except ye take the Egyptian years for months², the Assyrians for days; and then the account will not seem so formidable.

Again, for the calculation of eclipses, as it may be made for

¹ As Diodorus Siculus takes notice of the Egyptians, and Abydenus of the Chaldeans, whose ten first kings reigned 120 sari. 'Ὡς τοὺς πάντας εἶναι βασιλεῖς δέκα· ὧν ὁ χρόνος τῆς βασιλείας συνήξε σάρος ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι. [Euseb. Chron. lib. i. p. 5.] Now this word *σάρος* was proper to the Babylonian or Chaldean account. *Hesych.* *Σάρος, ἀριθμὸς τις παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους*: but what this number was, he tells us not. In the fragment of Abydenus preserved by Eusebius. [Chron. lib. i. p. 5.] *Σάρος δὲ ἐστὶν ἑξακόσια καὶ τρισχίλια ἔτη*: every *σάρος* is 3600 years, and consequently the 120 *σάροι* belonging to the reign of the ten kings 432,000 years. Neither was this the account only of Abydenus, but also of Berosus; neither was the interpretation only of Eusebius, but also of Alexander Polyhistor. [In Euseb. Chron. lib. i. p. 6.] who likewise expresseth *τὸν χρόνον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν σάρος ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, ἥτοι ἐτῶν μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα τρεῖς καὶ δύο χιλιάδας*. This seemed so highly incredible, that two ancient monks, Anianus and Panodorus, interpreted those Chaldean years to be but days, so that every *σάρος* should consist of 3600 days, that is, nine years, ten months and a half; and the whole 120 *σάροι* for the ten kings 1183 years, six months, and odd days. This is all which Jos. Scaliger or Jacobus Goar of late could find concerning this Chaldean computation: and the first of these

complains that none but Hesychius makes mention of this account. I shall therefore supply them, not only with another author, but also with a diverse and distinct interpretation. *Σάροι μέτρον καὶ ἀριθμὸς παρὰ Χαλδαίους: οἱ γὰρ ρκ' σάροι ποιοῦσιν ἐνιαυτοὺς βσκβ', οἱ γίνονται ἡ' ἐνιαυτοὶ καὶ μῆνες ἕξ*. That is, according to the translation of Portus, *Sari apud Chaldaeos est mensura et numerus: nam 120 sari faciunt annos 2222, qui sunt anni 18 et sex menses*. Well might he fix his N. L. or *non liquet*, to these words; for as they are in the printed books, there is no sense to be made of them; but by the help of the MS. in the Vatican Library, we shall both supply the defect in Suidas, and find a third valuation of the *σάροι*. Thus then that MS. represents the words: *Οἱ γὰρ ρκ' σάροι ποιοῦσιν ἐνιαυτοὺς βσκβ' κατὰ τὴν Χαλδαίων ψήφον, εἴπερ ὁ σάρος ποιεῖ μῆνας σεληνιακῶν σκβ', οἱ γίνονται ἡ' ἐνιαυτοὶ καὶ μῆνες ἕξ*. And so the sense is clear. *Σάρος*, according to the Chaldee account, comprehends 222 months, which come to eighteen years and six months; therefore 120 *σάροι* make 2220 years; and therefore for *βσκβ'*, I read, leaving out the last *β*, *βσκ'*, that is, 2220.

² *Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὁ φησὶν Εὐδοξὸς ἀληθὲς, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μῆνα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάλονον, οὐκ ἂν ἦ τῶν πολλῶν τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν ἀπαριθμησις ἔχοι τι θαυμαστόν. Proclus in Timaeum, xxxi. 50. [p. 31 F.]*

* [In the first edition it is thirty thousand.]

many thousand years to come, and be exactly true, and yet the world may end to-morrow; because the calculation must be made with this tacit condition, if the bodies of the earth, and sun, and moon, do continue in their substance and constant motion so long: so may it also be made for many millions of years past, and all be true, if the world have been so old; which the calculating doth not prove, but suppose. He then which should in the Egyptian temples see the description of so many eclipses of the sun and moon, could not be assured that they were all taken from real observation, when they might be as well described out of proleptical supposition.

Beside, the motions of the sun, which they mention together and with authority equal to that of their other observations, are so incredible and palpably fabulous, that they take off all credit and esteem from the rest of their narrations. For with this wild account of years, and seemingly accurate observations of the heavens, they left it written to posterity, that the whole course of 60 the celestial motions were four times changed: so that the sun hath twice risen in the east, and set in the west, as now it does; and, on the contrary, twice risen in the west, and set in the east³. And thus these prodigious antiquaries confute themselves⁴.

³ *Ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθῶν τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι· ἔνθα τε ὡν καταδέχεται, ἐντεῦθεν δις ἐπαντεῖλαι· καὶ ἔθεν ὡν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαῦτα δις καταδύναι. Herod. Euterp. [c. 142.] 'Mandatumque literis servant, dum Ægyptii sunt, quater cursus suos vertisse sidera, ac solem bis jam occidisse unde nunc oritur.' *Mela, lib. i. cap. 10.* [c. ix. §. 8.] Whereas Aristotle more soberly, *Ἐν ἅπαντι γὰρ τῷ παρεληλυθῶσι χρόνῳ κατὰ τὴν παραδεδομένην ἀλλήλοις μῆμην οὐδὲν φαίνεται μεταβεβληκὸς, οὔτε καθ' ὅλον τὸν ἔσχατον οὐρανὸν, οὔτε κατὰ μέρος αὐτοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν οὐδέν. De Cælo, lib. i. cap. 3. [§. 11.] Vide Simplic. [ad loc.]**

⁴ As the Chaldees did affirm that they had taken observations of the celestial motions for 470,000 years; and withal they also affirmed, that for the same space of time they had calculated the nativity of all the children which were born. Which last is certainly false. 'Nam quod aiunt quadringenta et septuaginta millia annorum in periclitandis experiundisque pueris quicun-

que essent nati Babylonios posuisse, fallunt: si enim esset factitatum, non esset desitum. Neminem autem habemus auctorem qui aut fieri dicat, aut factum sciat.' *Cicero, lib. ii. de Divinat.* [c. xlv. §. 97.] And if the last be false, we have no reason to believe the first is true; but rather to deny their astronomical observations by their vain ambition in astrological predictions. And indeed those observations of the Chaldees being curiously searched into by Callisthenes, appointed by Aristotle for that purpose, were found really to go no farther than 1903 years before Alexander, as Porphyrius hath declared, who was no friend to the account of Moses. *Διὰ τὸ μήπω τὰς ὑπὸ Καλλισθένους ἐκ Βαβυλωνῶν πεμφθείσας παρατηρήσεις ἀφίκεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦτο ἐπισκῆψαντος αὐτῶ· ἔς τινος διηγείται ὁ Πορφύριος χιλίων ἐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐνεακοσίων τριῶν μέχρι τῶν χρόνων Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος σωζόμενας. Simplic. ad lib. ii. Aristot. de Cælo, p. 123.*

What then are these feigned observations and fabulous descriptions for the world's antiquity, in respect not only of the infallible annals of the Spirit of God, but even of the constant testimonies of more sober men, and the real appearances and face of things, which speak them of a far shorter date?

If we look into the historians which give account of ancient times, nay, if we peruse the fictions of the poets, we shall find the first to have no footsteps, the last to feign no actions, of so great antiquity. If the race of men had been eternal⁵, or as old as the Egyptians and the Chaldees fancy it, how should it come to pass that the poetical inventions should find no actions worthy their heroic verse before the Trojan or the Theban war, or that great adventure of the Argonauts? For whatsoever all the Muses, the daughters of Memory, could rehearse before those times, is nothing but the creation of the world, and the nativity of their gods.

If we consider the necessities of life, the ways of freedom and commerce amongst men, and the inventions⁶ of all arts and sciences, the letters which we use, and languages which we speak, they have all known originals, and may be traced to their first authors. The first beginnings were then so known and acknowledged by all, that the inventors and authors of them were reckoned amongst their gods, and worshipped by those to whom they had been so highly beneficial: which honour and adoration they could not have obtained, but from such as were really sensible of their former want, and had experience of a present advantage by their means.

If we search into the nations themselves, we shall see none

⁵ This argument is therefore to me the stronger, because made by him who cannot be thought a favourer of our religion, because he was a countenancer of none, Epicurus, whose mind is thus delivered by Lucretius;

*Præterea, si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Terrarum et cæli, semperque aeterna
fuere,*

*Cur supera bellum Thebanum et funera
Trojæ,
Non alius alii quoque res cecidere
Poetæ?*

*Quo tot facta virum toties cecidere? ne
que usquam*

Æternis famæ monumentis insita florent?
De Rer. Nat. lib. v. ver. 325.

⁶ Pliny gives a large account of these, *lib. vii. cap. 57.* and Lucretius makes use of this argument;

*Quare etiam quædam nunc artes expo-
liuntur,*

*Nunc etiam auferunt, nunc addita
navigiis sunt*

*Multa; modo organici melicos pepe-
rere sonores:*

*Denique natura hæc rerum ratioque
reperta est*

*Nuper, et hanc primus cum primis
ipse repertus*

*Nunc ego sum in patrias qui possim
vertere voces.*

De Rer. Nat. lib. v. ver. 333.

without some original: and were those authors extant which have written of the first plantations and migrations of people, the foundations and inhabiting of cities and countries⁷, their first rudiments would appear as evident as their later growth and present condition. We know what ways within two thousand years people have made through vast and thick woods for their habitations, now as fertile, as populous as any. The Hercynian trees, in the time of the Cæsars, occupying so great a space, as to take up a journey of sixty days⁸, were thought even then coeval with the world⁹. We read without any show of contradiction, how this western part of the world hath been peopled from the east; and all the pretence of the Babylonian antiquity is nothing else, but that we all came from thence. Those eight persons saved in the ark, descending from the Gordiæan mountains, and multiplying to a large collection in the plain of Sinaar, made their first division at that place; and that dispersion, or rather dissemination, hath peopled all other parts of the world, either never before inhabited, or dispeopled by the flood.

These arguments have always seemed so clear and undeniable, that they have put not only those who make the world eternal, but them also who confess it made, (but far more ancient than we believe it,) to a strange answer, to themselves uncertain, to us irrational.

For to this they replied, that this world hath suffered many alterations¹⁰, by the utter destructions of nations and depopulations

⁷ I mean, not only such as wrote the building of particular cities, as Apollonius Rhodius *Καύρου κτίσιν*, Xenophanes *Κολοφῶνος κτίσιν*, Crito *Σαρακουσῶν κτίσιν*, and Philochorus *Σαλαμῖνος κτίσιν* but those more general, as Aristotle *Κτίσεις καὶ πολιτείας*, Polemo *Κτίσεις πόλεων ἐν Φωκίῳ*, Charon *Πόλεων κτίσεις*, Callimachus *Κτίσεις νήσων καὶ πόλεων*, Hellenicus *Κτίσεις ἑθνῶν καὶ πόλεων*, and the indefinite *Κτίσεις* written by Dercyllus, Dionysius, Hippius, Clitophon, Trisimachus, and others.

⁸ 'Sylvarum, Hercynia—dierum sexaginta iter occupans, ut major aliis, ita et notior.' *Mela, lib. iii. cap. 3. §. 3.*

⁹ 'Hercyniæ sylvæ roborum vastitas intacta ævis et congenita mundo, prope immortalis sorte miracula excedit.' *Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 2.*

¹⁰ Thus Ocellus, who maintained the

world was never made, answers the argument brought from the Greek Histories which began with Inachus, as the first subject, not author of History, (as Nogarola in his Annotations mistakes Ocellus,) *Διὸ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσι τὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου εἶναι τοῦ Ἀργείου, προσεκτέον οὕτως, οὐχ ὡς ἀπὸ τινος ἀρχῆς πρώτης, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενομένης μεταβολῆς κατ' αὐτὴν.* So that he will have Inachus to be the first not absolutely, but since the last great alteration made in Greece; and then he concludes that Greece hath often been, and will often be, barbarous, and lose the memory of all their actions: *Πολλὰκις γὰρ καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἔσται βάρβαρος ἡ Ἑλλάς, οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον γινομένη μετὰ σάτατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως οὐ μείζονος οὐδὲ μείονος αὐτῆς γινομένης, ἀλλὰ γὰρ νεωτέρας αἰεὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀρχὴν*

of countries, by which all monuments of antiquity were defaced, all arts and sciences utterly lost, all fair and stately fabrics ruined, and so mankind reduced to paucity, and the world often again returned into its infancy. This they conceived to have been done oftentimes in several ages, sometimes by a deluge of water, sometimes by a torrent of fire; and lest any of the elements might be thought not to conspire to the destruction of mankind, the air must sweep away whole empires at once with infectious plagues, and earthquakes swallow up all ancient cities, and bury even the very ruins of them. By which answer of theirs they plainly afford two great advantages to the Christian Faith. First, because they manifestly shew that they had an universal tradition of Noah's flood, and the overthrow of the old world: secondly, because it was evident to them, that there was no way to salve the eternity or antiquity of the world, or to answer this argument drawn from history and the appearances of things themselves, but by supposing innumerable deluges and deflagrations. Which being merely feigned in themselves, not proved, (and that first by them¹¹ which say they are not subject themselves unto them, as the Egyptians did, who by the advantage of their peculiar situation¹² feared neither perishing by fire

λαμβάνουσης. *Ocell. de Universo, cap. 3.* [p. 44.] Thus Plato, who asserted the creation of the world, but either from eternity, or such antiquity as does not much differ from it, brings in Solon inquiring the age of the Greek Histories, as of Phoroneus, and Niobe, Deucalion and Pyrrha; and an Egyptian priest answering, that all the Greeks were boys, and not an old man amongst them; that is, they had no ancient monuments, or history of any antiquity, but rested contented with the knowledge of the time since the last great mutation of their own country. Πολλὰ γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ φθοραὶ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔσσονται, πυρὶ μὲν καὶ ὕδατι μέγιστα, μυρρίοις δὲ ἔλλοις ἕτεροι βραχύτεροι. *In Timæo.* [p. 22 C.] Origen of Celsus, τὸ πολλὰς ἐκ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐκπυρῶσεις γεγόνεαι, πολλὰς δ' ἐπικλύσεις, καὶ νεώτερον εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίονος κατακλυσμὸν ἕναρχος γεγεννημένον· σαφῶς τοῖς ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ δυναμένους παρίστησι τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦ κόσμου ἀγέννητον. *lib. i.* [§. 19. vol. i. p. 337 C.] And Lucretius the Epicurean, who thought the world but few thousand

years old, as we believe, and that it should at last be consumed, and we also are persuaded, thinks this answer of theirs so far from being a refutation of the former, that he admits it as a confirmation of the latter part of his opinion:

*Quod si forte fuisse antehac eadem omnia credis,
Sed periisse hominum torrenti saccla vapore,
Aut cecidisse urbeis magno vexamine mundi,
Aut ex imbribus assiduis exisse rapacis
Per terras amneis, atque oppida cooperuisse:
Tanto quippe magis victus fateare necesse est,
Exitium quoque terrarū calique futurum.*
De Rer. Nat. lib. v. ver. 339.

11 Ἔστωσαν δὲ τῷ Κέλσῳ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἐκπυρῶσεων καὶ ἐξυδατώσεων μύθου διδάσκαλοι οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν σοφώτατοι Αἰγύπτιοι. *Orig. adv. Cels. lib. i.* [c. 20. p. 338 B.]

12 So that Egyptian priest in Plato's *Timæus* tells Solon, that the Fable of Phaethon did signify a real con-

nor water,) serve only for a confirmation of Noah's flood so many ages past, and the surer expectation of St. Peter's fire, we know not how soon to come.

62 It remaineth then that we steadfastly believe, not only that the *heavens and earth and all the host of them* were made, and so Gen. ii. 1. acknowledge a creation, or an actual and immediate dependence of all things on God; but also that all things were created by the hand of God, in the same manner, and at the same time, which are delivered unto us in the books of Moses by the Spirit of God, and so acknowledge a novelty, or no long existence of the creature.

Neither will the novelty of the world appear more plainly unto our conceptions, than if we look upon our own successions. The vulgar accounts, which exhibit about five thousand six hundred years, though sufficiently refuting an eternity, and allaying all conceits of any great antiquity, are not yet so properly and nearly operative on the thoughts of men, as a reflection upon our own generations. The first of men was but six days younger than the being, not so many than the appearance, of the earth: and if any particular person would consider how many degrees in a direct line he probably is removed from that single person Adam, who bare together the name of man and of the earth from whence he came, he could not choose but think himself so near the original fountain of mankind, as not to conceive any great antiquity of the world. For though the ancient Heathens did imagine innumerable ages and generations¹³ of men past,

flagation of the world; but so as all they which lived in mountains or dry parts of the earth were scorched and consumed, but of those which lived near the seas or rivers, in the valleys, some were preserved. Ἡμῖν δὲ, saith he, ὁ Νεῖλος εἰς τε τὰλλα σωτήρ, καὶ τότε ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀπορίας σώζει λυόμενος. [*Plat. Tim. 22 D.*] Thus the Egyptians pretend Nilus saved them from the flames of Phaethon. Nor were they only safe from conflagrations, but from inundations also. For when in Greece or other parts a deluge happened, then all their cities were swept away into the sea: Κατὰ δὲ τήνδε τὴν χώραν, says the priest, οὔτε τότε, οὔτε ἄλλοτε ἠνωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρούρας ὕδωρ ἐπιρρεῖ· τὸ δ' ἐναντίον κάτωθεν ἐπανίναται πέφυκεν· ὕθεν καὶ δι' ἃς αἰτίας τὰνθάδε σαφέστερα λέγεται παλαιότατα. [*ibid.*] So Egypt receiving not their waters from above by clouds, but

from below by springs filling the river Nile, was out of danger in a deluge, and thereby preserved the most ancient monuments and records. But, alas, this is a poor shift to them which believe that in the great and universal flood, *all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.* Gen. vii. 11.

13 So Cicero indeed speaks, *innumeraabilia sæcula*, in his book of *Divination*; [*ii. c. lxxi. §. 147.*] and Socrates in Plato's *Theætetus* brings this argument against the pride of great and noble families, that they which mention a succession of their ancestors which have been rich and powerful, do it merely ὑπὸ ἀπαίδευσις, οὐ δυναμένων εἰς τὸ πᾶν δεῖ βλέπειν, οὐδὲ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι πάππων καὶ προγόνων μυριάδες ἐκάστω γεγόνασιν ἀναριθμητοί, ἐν αἷς πλοῦστοι καὶ πτωχοί, καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δούλοι, βάρβαροι τε καὶ

though Origen¹⁴ did fondly seem to collect so much by some misinterpretations of the Scriptures; yet if we take a sober view, and make but rational collections from the chronology of the sacred Writ, we shall find no man's pedigree very exorbitant, or in his line of generation descent of many score.

When the age of man was long, in the infancy of the world, we find ten generations extend to one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years, according to the shortest, which is thought, because the Hebrew, therefore the best account; according to the longest, which, because the Septuagint's, is not to be contemned, two thousand two hundred and sixty-two, or rather, two thousand two hundred and fifty-six. From the flood, brought at that time upon the earth for the sins of men which polluted it, upon* the birth of Abraham, the father of the faithful, not above ten generations, if so many, took up two hundred and ninety-two years according to the least, one thousand one hundred and thirty-two according to the largest account. Since which time the ages of men have been very much alike proportionably long; and it is agreed by all that there have not passed since the birth of Abraham three thousand and seven hundred years. Now by the experience of our families, which for their honour and greatness have been preserved, by the genealogies delivered in the sacred Scriptures, and thought necessary to be presented to us by the blessed Evangelists, by the observation and concurrent judgment of former ages, three generations¹⁵ 63

* Έλληνες πολλὰ κείναι μυρία γεγονάσιν ὄψον [Theat. 175 A.] as if every person were equally honourable, having innumerable ancestors, rich and poor, servants and kings, learned and barbarous.

¹⁴ Origen did not only collect the eternity of the world from the coexistence of all God's attributes, as because he is παντοκράτωρ and δημιουργός, therefore he was always so, (for how could he be δημιουργός ἄνευ δημιουργημάτων, or παντοκράτωρ ἄνευ τῶν κρατουμένων;) but also from the 90th Psalm; *From everlasting to everlasting thou art God. For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday: and that at the beginning of Ecclesiasticus; Who can number the sand of the sea, and the drops of the rain, and the days of eternity?* But Metho-

dius, Bishop and Martyr, hath well concluded that disputation: Ταῦτά φησιν ὁ Ὀριγένης σπουδάζων, καὶ ὕρα οὐα παίζει. [Phot. Bibl. 235. p. 304.]

¹⁵ By the Greeks called γενεαί, which are successions of generations from father to son: as in St. Matth. i. 17. Indeed sometimes they take it for other spaces of time; as Artemidorus observes, for seven years: Κατ' ἐπίου μὲν ἔτη ζ', ὕθεν καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ ἰατρικοὶ, τῶν δύο γενεῶν (not πρὸ τῶν, as Wolfius and Portus would correct it) μηδὲνα (not μὴ δέω, as Suidas) φλεβοτομεῖν, τὸν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαετῆ (not τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατον, as Suidas transcribing him negligently) λέγοντες. Sometimes they interpret it twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years, as appears by Hesychius: and by that

* [Upon. This means to the birth of Abraham. The words "upon the birth" — three thousand and seven hundred years" were not in the first edition.]

usually take up a hundred years. If then it be not yet three thousand and seven hundred years since the birth of Abraham*, as certainly it is not; if all men which are or have been since have descended from Noah, as undoubtedly they have; if Abraham were but the tenth from Noah, as Noah from Adam, which Moses hath assured us: then it is not probable that any person now alive is above one hundred and thirty generations removed from Adam. And indeed thus admitting but the Greek account of less than five thousand years since the flood, we may easily bring all sober or probable accounts of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Chineses, to begin since the dispersion at Babel. Thus having expressed at last the time, so far as it is necessary to be known, I shall conclude this second consideration of the nature and notion of creation.

Now being under the terms of *heaven and earth* we have proved all things beside God to be contained, and that the making of all these things was a clear production of them out of nothing; the third part of the explication must of necessity follow, that he which made all things is God. This truth is so evident in itself, and so confessed by all men, that none did ever assert the world was made, but withal affirmed that it was God who made it. There remaineth therefore nothing more in this particular, than to assert God so the Creator of the world as he is described in this Article.

Being then we believe in God the Father, Maker of heaven and earth, and by that God we expressed already a singularity of the Deity; our first assertion which we must make good is, that the one God did create the world. Again, being whosoever is that God cannot be excluded from this act of creation, as being an

last account they reckoned the years of Nestor, Κατ' ἐπίου δὲ λ'. ὕθεν καὶ τὸν Νέστορα βούλονται εἰς ἐννεήκοντα ἔτη γεγονέναι: so Artemidorus and the grammarians. Although I cannot imagine that to be the sense of Homer;

Τῷ δ' ἦδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων

Ἐφθιάβ', οἱ οἱ πρόσθεν ἄμα τράφην ἠδ' ἐγένοντο. ἸΑ. α'. 250.

And I conceive that gloss in Hesychius, Ἐπὶ διαστήματος χρόνων τῶν μὴ κατ' αὐτὸ βεβιωκότων, to be far more properly

applicable to that place. But, in the sense of which now we speak, it is taken for the third part ordinarily of an hundred years; as Herodotus, mentioning the Egyptian feigned genealogies, Καὶ τοὶ τριηκόσται μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνάται μύρια ἕτεα, 300 generations equalize 10,000 years, γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἕτεά ἐστι. *Euterp.* [c. 142.] And after him Clemens Alexandrinus, Εἰς τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη τρεῖς ἐγκαταλέγονται γενεαί. *Strom.* lib. i. [c. 21. vol. i. p. 401.]

* [In the first edition it was, "If then it be not yet four thousand years since the universal deluge."]

emanation of the Divinity, and we seem by these words to appropriate it to the Father, beside whom we shall hereafter shew that we believe some other persons to be the same God; it will be likewise necessary to declare the reason why the creation of the world is thus signally attributed to God the Father.

The first of these deserves no explication of itself, it is so obvious to all which have any true conception of God. But because it hath been formerly denied, (as there is nothing so senseless, but some kind of heretics have embraced, and may be yet taken up in times of which we have no reason to presume better than of the former,) I shall briefly declare the creation of the world to have been performed by that one God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

As for the first, there is no such difference between things of the world as to infer a diversity of makers of them, nor is the least or worst of creatures in their original any way derogatory to the Creator. *Gen. i. 31.* *God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good,* and consequently like to come from the fountain of all goodness, and fit always to be ascribed to the same. Whatsoever is evil, is not so by the Creator's action, but by the creature's defection.

In vain then did the heretics of old, to remove a seeming inconvenience, renounce a certain truth; and whilst they feared to make their own God evil¹⁶, they made him partial, or but half the Deity, and so a companion at least with an evil God. For dividing all things of this world into natures substantially evil and substantially good, and apprehending a necessity of an origination conformable to so different a condition, they imagined one God essentially good, as the first principle of the one, another God essentially evil, as the original of the other. And this strange heresy began upon the first spreading of the Gospel¹⁷; as if the greatest light could not appear without a shadow.

¹⁶ 'Inde Manichæus, ut Deum a conditione malorum liberet, alterum mali inducit auctorem.' *S. Hier. in Nahum, cap. 3.* [vol. vi. p. 582 E.]

¹⁷ For we must not look upon Manes as the first author of the heresy, though they which followed him were called from him Manichæans. Nor must we be satisfied with the relation of Socrates, [H. E. i. c. 22. p. 54] who allots the beginning of that heresy μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν

τῶν Κωνσταντίνου χρόνων, a little before Constantine; being Epiphanius asserts the first author of it, στέλλεσθαι τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα περὶ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ἀποστόλων, to have gone to Jerusalem even about the Apostles' times. [adv. Hær. lib. ii. tom. ii. §. 3. vol. i. p. 620 A.] Manes then, formerly called Cubricus, (not Urbicus, as St. Augustin,) who disseminated this heresy in the days of Aurelianus or Probus the

Whereas there is no nature originally sinful, no substance in itself evil, and therefore no being which may not come from the

Emperor, about the year 277, had a predecessor, though not a master, called first Terebinthus, after Buddas. For this Buddas left his books and estate to a widow, who, saith Epiphanius, ἐμεινε πολλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ οὕτως, [p. 621 B.] continued with his estate and books a long time, and at last bought Cubricus for her servant. This Buddas had a former master called Scythianus, the first author of this heresy. Beside these, between Scythianus and Cubricus there was yet another teacher of the doctrine, called Zaranes. Ἦν δὲ πρὸ τούτου (Μάνητος) καὶ ἕτερος τῆς κακίας διδάσκαλος ταύτης, Ζαράνης ὀνόματι, δμόφρον αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων. If then we insert this Zaranes into the Manichæan pedigree, and consider the time of the widow between Buddas and Cubricus, and the age of Cubricus, who was then but seven years old, as Socrates [i. 22. p. 55] testifies, when she resolved to buy him, and discover the heresy to him; there will be no reason to doubt of the relation of Epiphanius, that Scythianus began about the Apostolical times. Nor need we any of the abatements in the animadversions of Petavius, much less that redargution of Epiphanius, who cites Origen as an assertor of the Christian faith against this heresy; for though he certainly died before Manes spread his doctrine, yet it was written in several books before him, not only in the time of Buddas, to whom Socrates and Suidas attribute them, but of Scythianus, whom St. Cyril and Epiphanius make the author of them. Neither can it be objected that they were not Manichæans before the appearance of Manes: for I conceive the name of Manes (thought by the Greeks to be a name taken up by Cubricus, and proper to him) not to be any proper or peculiar name at all, but the general title of Heretic in the Syriac tongue. For I am loath to think that Theodoret or the author in Suidas were so far mistaken, when they call Scythianus *Manes*, as to conceive Cubricus and

he were the same person; when we may with much better reason conclude that both Scythianus and Cubricus had the same title. For I conceive *Manes* at first rather a title than a name, from the Hebrew מנין or מניא signifying a Heretic. And although some of the Rabbins derive their מנין from Manes, yet others make it more ancient than he was, referring it to Tzadok and Bajethos, called ראשי המינים the first or chief heretics, who lived 100 years before Christ. [Buxtorf. Lex. Rab. sub מנין.] Wherefore it is far more rational to assert, that he which began the heresy of the Manichees was called מנין as an Heretic in the Oriental tongues, and from thence Μάνης by the Greeks, (to comply with μανία or madness in their language,) than that Μάνης was first the name of a man counted an heretic by the Christians, and then made the general name for all heretics, and particularly for the Christians by the Jews*. Which being granted, both Scythianus and Cubricus might well at first have the name of Manes, that is, Heretic. However the antiquity of that heresy will appear in the Marcionites, who differed not in this particular from the Manichees. 'Duos Ponticus Deos affert, tanquam duas Symplegadas naufragii sui: quem negare non potuit, id est, creatorem, id est, nostrum; et quem probare non poterit, id est, suum. Passus infelix hujus præsumptionis instinctum de simplici capitulo Dominicæ pronunciationis, in homines non in Deos disponentis exempla illa bonæ et malæ arboris, quod neque bona malos neque mala bonos proferat fructus.' *Tertul. adv. Marcion. lib. i. cap. 2.* [p. 366 B.] This Marcion lived in the days of Antoninus Pius, and, as Eusebius testifieth, Justin Martyr wrote against him. *Hist. lib. iv. cap. 11.* [p. 157.] Irenæus relates how he spake with Polycarpus Bishop of Smyrna, who was taught by the Apostles, and conversed with divers which saw our Saviour, *lib. iii. cap. 3.* [c. 4. p. 176.] Nei-

* [Beausobre derives Manes and Manichæus from *Manæem* or *Manachem*, a Comforter, in Persian. *Hist. de Manichéé*, vol. i. p. 69.]

Isa. xlv. 7. same fountain of goodness. *I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I the Lord do all these things, saith he who also said, I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God besides me.* Vain then is that conceit which framed two gods, one of them called Light, the other Darkness; one good, the other evil; refuted in the first words of the Creed, *I believe in God, Maker of heaven and earth.*

But as we have already proved that one God to be the Father, so must we yet farther shew that one God the Father to be the Maker of the world. In which there is no difficulty at all: the whole church at Jerusalem hath sufficiently declared this truth in their devotions: *Lord, thou art God which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is: against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were gathered together.* Jesus then was the child of that God which made the heaven and the earth, and consequently the Father of Christ is the Creator of the world.

We know that Christ is the light of the Gentiles, by his own interpretation; we are assured likewise that his Father gave* him, by his frequent assertion: we may then as certainly conclude that the Father of Christ is the Creator of the world, by Isa. xlii. 5, the Prophet's express prediction: *For thus saith God the Lord, he that created the heavens and stretched them out, he which spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it; I the Lord have called thee*

ther was Marcion the first which taught it at Rome, for he received it from Cerdon. 'Habuit et Cerdonem quendam informatorem scandali hujus, quo facilius duos Deos cæci existimaverunt.' This Cerdon succeeded Heracleon, and so at last this heresy may be reduced to the Gnostics, who derived it from the old Gentile Philosophers, and might well be embraced by Manes in Persia, because it was the doctrine of the Persian Magi, as Aristotle testifieth: 'Αρι-

στοτέλης ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους (τοῦς Μάγους) εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα. Laert. in Proæmio. [§. 8.] And this derivation is well observed by Timotheus, Presbyter of Constantinople, speaking thus of Manes: Παρὰ δὲ Μαρκίωνος καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐκείνου αἰσχροποιῶν καὶ δυσσεβῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ Περσίδα μάγων ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν δογματίζει δύο ἀρχάς†.

* [The meaning of *gave* in this place may be seen in the end of the following quotation.]

† [The subject of this note is illustrated by Wolfius, *Manichæismus ante Manichæos*: and the history of Manes is most fully discussed by Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*. Concerning the words, *Maker of heaven and earth*, being added to the Creed on account of the Gnostics, see King on the Creed, p. 93, &c.]

in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles.

And now this great facility may seem to create the greater difficulty: for being the Apostles teach us that the Son made all things, and the Prophets that by the Spirit they were produced, how can we attribute that peculiarity in the Creed unto the Father, which in the Scriptures is assigned indifferently to the Son and to the Spirit? Two reasons may particularly be rendered of this peculiar attributing the work of creation to the Father. First, in respect of those heresies arising in the infancy of the Church, which endeavoured to destroy this truth, and to introduce another Creator of the world, distinguished from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. An error so destructive to the Christian religion, that it raseth even the foundations of the Gospel, which refers itself wholly to the promises in the Law, and pretends to no other God, but that God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; acknowledgeth no other speaker by the Son, than him that spake by the Prophets: and therefore whom Moses and the Prophets call Lord of heaven and earth, of him our blessed Saviour signifies himself to be the Son, rejoicing in spirit, and saying, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth.* Secondly, in respect of the paternal priority of the Deity, by reason whereof that which is common to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, may be rather attributed to the Father, as the first Person in the Trinity. In which respect the Apostle hath made a distinction in the phrase of emanation or production: *To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.* And our Saviour hath acknowledged, *The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do;* which speaketh some kind of priority in action, according to that of the Person. And in this sense the Church did always profess to believe in God the Father, Creator¹⁸ of heaven and earth.

The great necessity of professing our faith in this particular appeareth several ways, as indispensably tending to the illustration of God's glory, the humiliation of mankind, the provocation to obedience, the aversion from iniquity, and all consolation in our duty.

¹⁸ 'Stabat fides semper in Creatore et Christo ejus.' Tertul. adv. Marcion. lib. i. cap. 21. [p. 375 D.] 'Non alia agnoscenda erit traditio Apostolorum, quam quæ hodie apud ipsorum Ecclesias editur. Nullam autem Apostolici census Ecclesiam invenias quæ non in Creatore christianizet.' Ibid.

God is of himself infinitely glorious, because his perfections are absolute, his excellencies indefective; and the splendour of this glory appeareth unto us in and through the works of his hands. *The invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead.* For he hath made the earth by his power, he hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion. After a long enumeration of the wonderful works of the creation, the Psalmist breaketh forth into this pious meditation; *O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all.* If then the glory of God be made apparent by the creation, if he have made all things for himself, that is, for the manifestation of his glorious attributes, if the Lord rejoiceth in his works, because his glory shall endure for ever; then is it absolutely necessary we should confess him *Maker of heaven and earth*, that we may sufficiently praise and glorify him. *Let them praise the name of the Lord, saith David, for his name alone is excellent, his glory is above the earth and heaven.* Thus did the Levites teach the children of Israel to glorify God: *Stand up and bless the Lord your God for ever and ever: and blessed be thy glorious name, which is exalted above all blessing and praise. Thou, even thou, art Lord alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their hosts, the earth and all things that are therein.* And the same hath St. Paul taught us: *For of him, and through him, and to him are all things, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.* Furthermore, that we may be assured that he which made both heaven and earth will be glorified in both, the Prophet calls upon all those celestial hosts to bear their part in his hymn: *Praise ye him all his angels, praise ye him all his hosts. Praise ye him sun and moon, praise him all ye stars of light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord, for he commanded, and they were created.* And the twenty-four Elders in the Revelation of St. John, fall down before him that sitteth on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns, the emblems of their borrowed and derived glories, before the throne, the seat of infinite and eternal majesty, saying, *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.* Wherefore, if the heavens declare the glory of God, and all his works praise

him; then shall his saints bless him; they shall speak of the glory of his kingdom, and talk of his power. And if man be silent, God will speak; while we through ingratitude will not celebrate, he himself will declare it, and promulgate: *I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power and by my outstretched arm.*

Secondly, The doctrine of the world's creation is most properly effectual towards man's humiliation. As there is nothing more destructive to humanity than pride, and yet not any thing to which we are more prone than that; so nothing can be more properly applied to abate the swelling of our proud conceptions, than a due consideration of the other works of God, with a sober reflection upon our own original. *When I consider the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars which thou hast ordained; when I view those glorious apparent bodies with my eye, and by the advantage of a glass find greater numbers before beyond the power of my sight, and from thence judge there may be many millions more, which neither eye nor instrument can reach; when I contemplate those far more glorious spirits, the inhabitants of the heavens, and attendants on thy throne; I cannot but break forth into that admiration of the Prophet, What is man, that thou art mindful of him? what is that offspring of the earth, that dust and ashes? what is that son of man, that thou visitest him? what is there in the progeny of an ejected and condemned father, that thou shouldst look down from heaven, the place of thy dwelling, and take care or notice of him? But if our original ought so far to humble us, how should our fall abase us? that of all the creatures which God made, we should comply with him who first opposed his Maker, and would be equal unto him from whom he new received his being. All other works of God, which we think inferior to us, because not furnished with the light of understanding, or endued with the power of election, are in a happy impossibility of sinning, and so offending of their Maker: the glorious spirits which attend upon the throne of God, once in a condition of themselves to fall, now by the grace of God preserved, and placed beyond all possibility of sinning, are entered upon the greatest happiness, of which the workmanship of God is capable: but men, the sons of fallen Adam, and sinners after the similitude of him, of all the creatures are the only companions of those angels which left their own habitations, and are*

2 Pet. ii. 4. *delivered into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment.*

How should a serious apprehension of our own corruption, mingled with the thoughts of our creation, humble us in the sight of him, whom we alone of all the creatures by our unrepented sins drew unto repentance? How can we look without confusion of face upon that monument of our infamy, recorded

Gen. vi. 6. *by Moses, who first penned the original of humanity, It repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart?*

Thirdly, This doctrine is properly efficacious and productive of most cheerful and universal obedience. It made the Prophet call for the commandments of God, and earnestly desire to know what he should obey: *Thy hands have made me and fashioned me: give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments.* By virtue of our first production, God hath undeniably absolute dominion over us, and consequently there must be due unto him the most exact and complete obedience from us. Which reason will appear more convincing, if we consider, of all the creatures which have been derived from the same fountain of God's goodness, none ever disobeyed his voice but the Devil and man.

Isa. xlviii. *Mine hand, saith he, hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the heavens; when I call unto them, they stand up together.* The most loyal and obedient servants, which stand continually before the most illustrious prince, are not so ready to receive and execute the commands of their sovereign lord, as all the hosts of heaven and earth to attend

Isa. xl. 26. *upon the will of their Creator. Lift up your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, that bringeth out their hosts by number: he calleth them all by names, by the greatness of his might, for that he is strong in power, not one faileth, but every one maketh his appearance, ready pressed to observe the designs of their commander in chief. Thus the Lord commanded, and they fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera.*

1 Kings xvii. 4, 6. *He commanded the ravens to feed Elias, and they brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening; and so one Prophet lived merely upon the obedience of the fowls*

Jonah ii. 10. *of the air. He spake to the devouring whale, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land; and so another Prophet was delivered from the jaws of death by the obedience of the fishes of the sea.*

Ps. cxlviii. 8. *Do we not read of fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy wind fulfilling his word? Shall there be a greater coldness in man*

than in the snow? more vanity in us than in a vapour? more inconstancy than in the wind? If the universal obedience of the creature to the will of the Creator cannot move us to the same affection and desire to serve and please him, they will all conspire to testify against us and condemn us, when God shall call unto them, saying, *Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me.*

Lastly, The creation of the world is of most necessary meditation for the consolation of the servants of God in all the variety of their conditions: *Happy is he whose hope is in the Lord his God, which made heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is.*

This happiness consisteth partly in a full assurance of his power to secure us, his ability to satisfy us. *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein. For he hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods.*

By virtue of the first production he hath a perpetual right unto, and power to dispose of all things: and he which can order and dispose of all, must necessarily be esteemed able to secure and

68 satisfy any creature. *Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?*

There is no external resistance or opposition where Omnipotency worketh, no internal weakness or defection of power where the Almighty is the agent; and consequently there remaineth a full and firm persuasion of his ability in all conditions to preserve us. Again, this happiness consisteth partly in a comfortable assurance, arising from this meditation, of the will of God to protect and succour us, of his desire to preserve and bless us.

My help cometh from the Lord, who made heaven and earth: he will not suffer thy foot to be moved, saith the Prophet David; at once expressing the foundation of his own expectancy and our security. God will not despise the work of his hands, neither will he suffer the rest of his creatures to do the least injury to his own image.

Behold, saith he, I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work. No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper. This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord.

Wherefore to conclude our explication of the first Article, and to render a clear account of the last part thereof; that every one may understand what it is I intend, when I make confession

of my faith in the *Maker of heaven and earth*, I do truly profess, that I really believe, and am fully persuaded, that both heaven and earth and all things contained in them have not their being of themselves, but were made in the beginning; that the manner by which all things were made was by mediate or immediate creation; so that antecedently to all things beside, there was at first nothing but God, who produced most part of the world merely out of nothing, and the rest out of that which was formerly made of nothing. This I believe was done by the most free and voluntary act of the will of God, of which no reason can be alleged, no motive assigned, but his goodness; performed by the determination of his will at that time which pleased him, most probably within one hundred and thirty generations of men, most certainly within not more than six, or at farthest seven, thousand years*. I acknowledge this God Creator of the world to be the same God who is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: and in this full latitude, *I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.*

ARTICLE II.

And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord.

THE second Article of the Creed presents unto us, as the object of our faith, the second Person of the blessed Trinity; that as in the Divinity there is nothing intervening between the Father and the Son, so that immediate union might be perpetually expressed by a constant conjunction in our Christian Confession. And that upon no less authority than of *the Author and Finisher of our faith*, who in the persons of the Apostles

John xiv. 1. gave this command to us, *Ye believe in God, believe also in me.* Nor speaketh he this of himself, but from the Father which sent

1 John iii. 23. him: for *this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ.* According therefore to the Son's prescription, the Father's injunction, and the sacramental institution, as we are baptized, so do we believe in the name of the Father and the Son¹⁹.

¹⁹ 'Eadem regula veritatis docet nos Dei, Christum Jesum, Dominum Deum credere post Patrem etiam in Filium nostrum, sed Dei Filium; hujus Dei qui

* [In the first edition, "most certainly within much less than six thousand years."]